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The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820

by

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ABSTRACT

Jane Austen and her family engaged with music in ways that seem typical of English provincial gentry families of this period, and the music books collected by various members of the family are among the most important sources for understanding how. This is the first study to explore the contents of all the music books belonging to Jane and her immediate family. It focuses on repertoire in the seventeen extant music books and makes connections with other forms of music-making in the provinces, for example, the examination of which composers, genres or scorings are most prominent and how certain repertoire played in public performance is then found in a domestic setting. The study describes the physical condition of the books and the repertoire contained within, which ranges from theatrical songs, sonatas, oratorio extracts and French periodicals. It also records important findings on duplications within the collection and the different types of scoring used in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The study then expands to view Hampshire music-making in the period 1770-1820 in order to explore intersections with the music within the collection. After an overview of the provincial concert scene, I pursue a more extensive investigation of festivals, subscription and benefit concerts in Hampshire including those taking place in the key centres of Winchester, Southampton and Portsmouth. I concentrate particularly on the Hampshire Music Meeting, held in Winchester, an event Jane Austen almost certainly attended in 1800. The final chapter explores the relationship between the Austen domestic music collection and the public concerts taking place in Hampshire and how these two repertoires connect, with descriptions of the key works that exemplify this connection. I close with further consideration of how domestic music-making can be understood in relation to concert culture, concluding with observations on how this ostensibly private musical activity functioned to support women's participation in the public sphere. The appendix shows a complete listing of all the concerts held in Hampshire during this period, according to the *Hampshire Chronicle*. In addition there is a DVD of a concert presentation entitled 'Jane Austen and the Winchester Connection' presented and filmed at the Turner Sims concert hall at Southampton University in September 2012.

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List of accompanying materials

Thesis- 'The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820'

DVD DVD- Lecture performance filmed at Turner Sims, Southampton University, 26 September 2012, entitled 'Jane Austen's Music and the Winchester Connection'

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Samantha Carrasco

declare that the thesis entitled

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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:.....

To Ted, Anastasia

and Rafael

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Definitions and Abbreviations

PRIMARY SOURCES

HC -*Hampshire Chronicle*

HT -*Hampshire Telegraph*

SJ -*Salisbury Journal*

PLACES

RCM -*Royal College of Music*

BL -*British Library*

HRO -*Hampshire Record Office*

CHL -*Chawton House Library*

INTRODUCTION

Domestic music-making was an important part of many women's daily existence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Large quantities of music were designed for women, and it was a crucial element in the networks of composers, publishers, concert organizers and performers who created British musical culture in the period. Domestic music-making was intimately connected through these networks to the more public musical activities of the day. Jane Austen and her family were no exception to this interaction and the musical sources they used at home provide access to a study of these networks, as well as contributing important insights into the life of a major author.

The secondary literature surrounding Jane Austen's novels is extensive, but there are relatively few examples of research that explore the Austen music collection.¹ Until now, those musical studies that do exist have focused around Jane rather than considering the family as a whole. The main area of my research has been into the music books belonging to the Austen family, not all of which have previously been available to other scholars. Seventeen music books, including both manuscripts and bound collections of sheet music, which belonged to Austen family members in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are still extant today. Previous studies have mainly been inventories of the music with some explanations of their contents: for example, composer biographies and some background information are given in the first inventory written by Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch.² However, as well as exploring this material, this study looks in greater depth into the emerging domestic music market, linking the music in the collection to

¹ Studies that consider some of the Austen music books, primarily in relation to Austen's fiction include Patrick Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion: A Study of Music in the Life and Writings of Jane Austen*, Clover Hill ed. (London: Douglas Cleverdon, 1979); Lorna Annabel Charlotte Gibson, "Seen through the Veil of Diffidence and Modesty: Women and Music in Jane Austen's Novels," (Southampton: University of Southampton, 2000); David Selwyn, *Jane Austen and Leisure* (London: Hamledon Press, 1999), 115-44; Robert K. Wallace, *Jane Austen and Mozart: Classical Equilibrium in Fiction and Music* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983).

² Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music. The Musical World of Jane Austen* (St Albans: Corda Music Publications, 1996).

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Hampshire music-making as a whole. The music collection, combined with family letters, indicate that music was played regularly and it is therefore an area of scholarship that merits investigation.

The thesis is the first study to explore in detail Hampshire music-making from 1770-1820. In recent years, the increasing amount of literature concerning provincial music studies has not included the Hampshire area, but the county was a rich source of musical activity featuring many of the foremost performing venues outside London. It attracted many leading performers and composers alike, a fact which until now has been overlooked by musicologists.

There is still much to be learned from provincial music. Although similar studies have been made on the areas surrounding Hampshire, including Chichester and Salisbury, and others on areas further afield such as Oxford, Bath, York and Leeds, few have made connections between domestic and concert repertoire. This thesis considers how the Austen collection fits into the provincial music scene by uniquely combining these music studies with a domestic collection of the same period.

The benefit of this approach is that it has been possible on a general level, to explore connections between the Austen repertoire and Hampshire provincial music. Not all of the repertoire contained within the Austen collection is directly linked to Hampshire contexts; the provenance of some of the music books points towards the music being collected in Kent rather than Hampshire: for example, one book belonged to a member of the Jackson family based in Kent prior to her marriage into the Austen family. However, some of the Austen music can be connected to Winchester events and people and shows how domestic music-making was related to larger trends in public musical activity in the provinces. The combination of these two areas has allowed a fuller picture of English provincial musical life to emerge, instead of examining only domestic music, or conversely, examining only public events in Hampshire.

The most important primary source material for this study has been the collection of printed and manuscript music books belonging to the Austen family. The collection consists of music from the early eighteenth century through to the beginning of the nineteenth century, which was either purchased or copied into manuscript. The Austen family music books known today were discovered in the Knight family library in 1951 and subsequently dispersed in several directions descending down differing family lines. In 1952, nine books were donated to the trustees of the Jane Austen Memorial Trust by Miss Beryl Bradford; one of these books which contained printed music was unfortunately later lost.³ According to Austen scholar Deirdre Le Faye, Beryl Bradford was in direct line of descent from Edward Austen/Knight to his son Edward Knight II, then his daughter Elizabeth Adela Knight who married Major E.R.C. Bradford; their daughter Beryl was born in 1875.⁴ Patrick Piggott, in his 1979 study on Jane Austen and music, called these books the 'First Collection', but in order to prevent confusion with other books, the term 'collection' in this study will mean the entire music collection, followed by the term 'set' indicating that the books are housed with one of the three differing sets within the collection. At the time of printing the second book from this first set is on permanent display in Jane's Austen's House in Chawton as an example of the penmanship in the manuscript, and the other seven books are housed for safe keeping at the Hampshire Record Office in Winchester. (See Table 1 in Chapter 1).

The ownership of the second set, which currently belongs to Richard Jenkyns, is further described by Deirdre Le Faye: Miss Bradford owned another 7 books, four were printed, and three were manuscript. She gave these books to her distant cousin, Elizabeth, who was very interested in the music of the period. Elizabeth married Henry Jenkyns (1917-2007) who was the father of Richard Jenkyns who inherited the books in 2007.⁵ The second set, comprising seven books, is housed at Chawton House Library and belongs to Professor Richard Jenkyns who generously deposited them there for research in 2009.

³ T. Edward Carpenter, "Report for the Year 1952," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1949-1965* 1 (1952): 33.

⁴ Correspondence with Deirdre Le Faye written in an email 22/10/2010.

⁵ *Ibid.*

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During the course of this study, two further books were discovered which I will refer to as the third set. This set was only discovered in 2009 within the Knight collection and is believed to have come to the Chawton House Library in 1989. The books' existence was unknown until my research led to discussions with the librarian of Chawton House, Jacqui Grainger. She described a music book belonging to Richard Knight, and while looking for it in the vault of the Library she discovered another music book. There are therefore two books into which no scholarly research has been done until now. This third set belonging to Richard Knight comes in direct descent from Edward Knight, Jane Austen's brother, who was adopted into the wealthy, but childless, Knight family. The Knight Collection is on permanent loan to Chawton House Library under the terms of an agreement between Richard Knight and Chawton House library.⁶

The music books in the Austen collection had different owners; they did not all belong to Jane. Some of the music belonged to Jane's mother Cassandra Austen (1739-1827). Cassandra and George Austen had eight children and of those, there is music belonging to Jane and her sister Cassandra (1773-1845) and the wives of her brothers. Her brother Edward Knight (1767-1852) married Elizabeth Bridges and they had 11 children. Jane Austen had a particularly close relationship with the eldest of their children, Fanny Knight. There are books in the collection belonging to Elizabeth Bridges, which contain music that Fanny must also have played in her youth. Jane's other brother Henry married twice. His first wife, Eliza de Feuillide, was also a cousin to Jane as she was her father George Austen's brother's daughter, Elizabeth Hancock, who was born in Calcutta, India in 1761. Henry Austen was Eliza's second husband and after she died in 1813, Henry married Eleanor Jackson in 1820. Both Eliza's and Eleanor's music is contained within the collection. Finally, there is also music belonging to Ann Cooper who was a close family friend of

⁶ Chawton House remained in the Knight family from 1551 to 1993, when Richard Knight (who had inherited the house and lands in 1987) sold the lease to American entrepreneur and philanthropist, Sandy Lerner, via the charitable foundation established by her and her husband Leonard Bosack: the Leonard X. Bosack and Bette M. Kruger Foundation. After eight years of major restoration work, the house re-opened in 2003 as Chawton House Library. Many thanks to Jacqui Grainger for her help in alerting me to the existence of the Knight collection music books, and for trying to track down the provenance of this 3rd set of books.

the Austens. She helped to educate Jane and Cassandra Austen as children, before they moved on to a more formal education at Abbey House in Reading.

The following family tree lists all the children and grand-children from Jane Austen's parents, Rev. George Austen (1731-1805) and Cassandra Leigh (1739-1827). These family members are the key figures in music ownership within the collection. The Austen line is particularly complex, and its intricacies have been meticulously detailed by Deirdre Le Faye in *A Family Record*.⁷ The family pedigree section listing all the various branches of the Austen-Leigh family can be found between the bibliography and index where the changing relationship of Eliza de Feuillide can also be found.

⁷ See 'Family Pedigrees' section located at the back of Le Faye, *Record*, 345 onwards.

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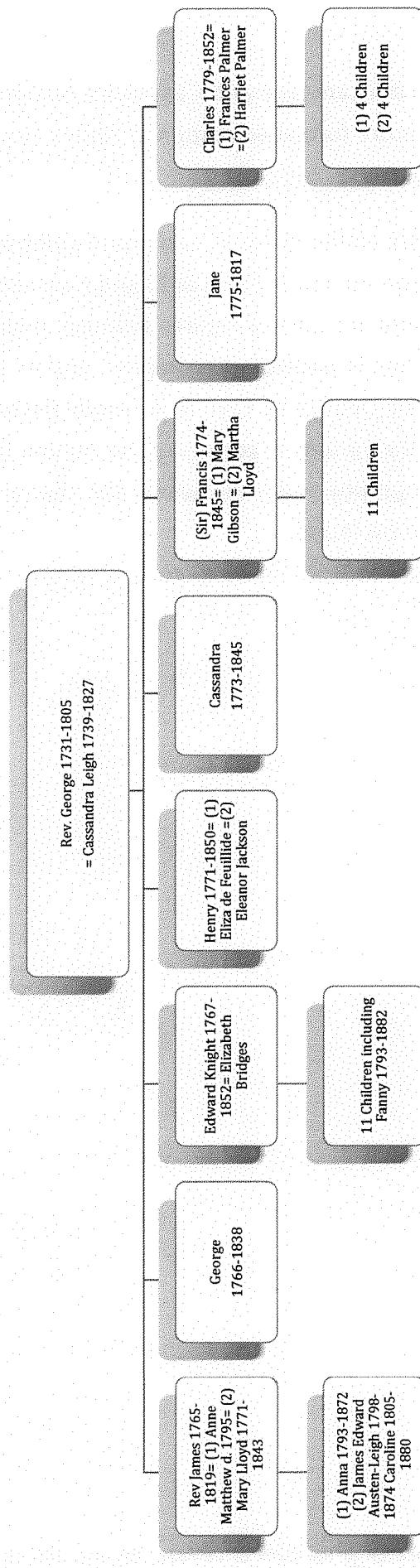


Figure 1 - The Austen family tree, 1731-1882

The eight books in the first set belonging to the Jane Austen Memorial Trust were first catalogued by Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch who provide a brief contextual analysis, followed by a comprehensive list of all the musical works listed in each of the eight books with composer biographies.⁸ The books belonging to Richard Jenkyns described as the second set were catalogued by Jon A. Gillaspie (afterwards Nessa Glen) in 1987, at the request of the books' previous owner Henry Jenkyns, Richard Jenkyns' father.⁹ Gillaspie similarly was able to attribute a number of works, and also did a preliminary study of hands and watermarks for some of the material. Gillaspie's work remains unpublished and as Le Faye's *A Family Record* was not published until 2004, there are some mistakes in identifying family members. There has been no catalogue data on the third set of music books belonging to Richard Knight prior to this thesis as the two books were discovered only recently in Chawton House Library.

The Handlist, which is Appendix II in this thesis represents an inventory of the contents of the music collection as a whole instead of providing descriptions of each book, as previous catalogues have done. As the Handlist is in alphabetical order, it provides an invaluable resource for performers to establish music by differing composers. Whilst it may say less about individual albums and their owners, it allows the observation of larger trends in repertoire, for example, the proportion of foreign language works or levels of representation of particular composers. Through using the handlist I have easily been able to construct different programmes for a wide range of concerts including different ensemble combinations and different themes.

Cataloguing items from these three collections has been a lengthy process so I devised a labelling system in order to find items quickly and efficiently and, where possible, I tried to follow existing numbering to avoid confusion.

⁸ Gammie and McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music*.

⁹ Jon A. Gillaspie, "Handlist of Austen Family Music (Manuscript and Printed) in the Possession of Mr. H.L. Jenkyns," 1987.

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I kept the book referencing system consistent with Gammie and McCulloch's study of the music books in the first set.¹⁰ Similarly, the book numbering used by Jon Gillaspie in his study of the second set has been used in this study. I then numbered the two books in the Knight collection.¹¹ My numbering system consists of three characters: the first describes the set number, the second describes the book number within that collection, and the third describes the number of the piece within the book. Thus set one, belonging to the Jane Austen Memorial Trust, which is housed at Jane Austen's House Museum and the Hampshire Record Office, is coded as '1'. The second set, belonging to Professor Richard Jenkyns and housed at Chawton House Library, is coded '2'. The third set, belonging to Richard Knight and housed within the Knight Collection at Chawton House Library, is coded '3'. Therefore, the code Book 1/2 No. 4 means that this piece of music is taken from the second book in the first set and is the 4th item within this book. In addition to the bound albums, there are a further two loose sheets belonging to the Jane Austen Memorial Trust that were found inside the music volumes and these have been identified as Appendix 1 and 2 followed by the number of the piece on the sheet, for example, App 1/2 means that this is the second item on the first of the loose sheets marked 'Appendix'.

In addition to the music books, I have studied other primary source material including letters, diaries, pocket books, notes, handbills and newspapers. The Hampshire Record Office in Winchester has a wealth of material from the eighteenth century and the chapter books from Winchester Cathedral are on deposit here.¹² In addition to the majority of the first set of the Austen music books, the Hampshire Record Office houses handbills for all the Hampshire concerts, various letters outlining musical activities, some eighteenth-century maps and a complete microfilm of the *Hampshire Chronicle*, a newspaper predominantly covering the areas of Winchester, Salisbury and Southampton from 1772 to the present day. The concert handbills are part of the Jervoise of Herriard Collection, which is also housed at the Hampshire Record Office.¹³ In addition, the archives of Winchester College have provided me with further

¹⁰ Gammie and McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music*.

¹¹ Gillaspie, *Handlist*.

¹² HRO, ref CATH_CB_CD5 and WIN_CATH_CB_10.

¹³ HRO: Jervoise of Herriard Collection: ref 44M69.

information concerning George Chard and his compositions. The College owns a large selection of pieces from this period, including various versions of the *Dulce Domum*. The Portsmouth Searchroom, based in Portsmouth, contains a microfilm version of the *Hampshire Telegraph*, which started in 1799 and covered the area surrounding Portsmouth including Chichester, Havant with some reference to Southampton and Winchester. The Portsmouth Searchroom also houses the notes of the late Frank Warren, who compiled music references concerning the *Hampshire Telegraph*.¹⁴ I have also referred to the notes of Betty Matthews, which are housed at the Royal College of Music and provide information on provincial music activities in Hampshire.¹⁵ Finally, I also consulted the pocket books and letters written by Fanny Knight, Jane Austen's niece, housed at the Kent Archives in the Centre for Kentish studies in Maidstone.¹⁶

The title of the thesis 'The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820' is, in short, an amalgamation of two main topics: the music collection of the Austen family and Hampshire provincial music culture during the lifetime of Jane Austen. Chapter One focuses on the music books, with detailed descriptions of the books and their contents. I explore the relationship between music mentioned in the Austen letters and the music in the collection. I discuss the owners of the books and consider signatures and other ownership marks. The contents of the books are then examined with reference to the owner's music choices and the tastes and trends they reflect. There is some discussion of generational differences in music choice in addition to pedagogical influence. In this chapter, I bring together and consider the Austen music books with recently published Austen documents. Finally, there is a more in-depth analysis of the music selections within the books focusing on composers, ensemble combinations, different score types, key signature choices and the use of different languages. The Handlist of items in the Austen books provides the basis for this analysis; I have included it in as a second appendix for consultation. It outlines the three collections, including the works in the Knight collection which have just been discovered.

¹⁴ Portsmouth Searchroom, ref 212 9A

¹⁵ RCM, ref MS 7089.

¹⁶ Kent Archives, ref U951 A75, U951 C33, C103-107.

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The Handlist starts with a guide which explains the items in each column to aid the reader.

Chapter Two moves away from the Austen family and their music, and extends into the music scene in Hampshire in the late eighteenth century. It describes concert life in the period 1770-1820 in the towns of Winchester, Southampton and Portsmouth. I provide a detailed discussion of benefit and subscription concerts and music festivals, with emphasis on the Hampshire Music Meeting. The chapter describes how Hampshire concerts were organised, highlighting the different types of concert publicity and promotion including the roles of the press, organisers and the venues. This leads into a description of the types of performers and audiences who attended these concerts, with some comparison of the provincial music scene with that of London. I identify orchestra members and discuss the role of the militia in the forming of an orchestra looking in detail at the Hampshire music meeting of 1814 and using it to analyse concert finances. Finally, I look at another Hampshire Music Meeting concert in 1800 where, under the new leadership of George Chard, the format of festival repertoire choice was changed. The chapter closes with a particularly revealing post-concert report, which is an excellent example of early nineteenth-century musical reception in the region.

The objective of the final chapter is to link these two repertoires together and describe the connections between the Austen music collection and Hampshire concert life. It explores the effect of public concerts on private collections, and examines the influence of Hampshire concerts on the music books. There are various composer and performer parallels between the Austen collection and the Hampshire concerts but this chapter also notes some of the types of repertoire that are not included, for example, 'Ancient music'. In closing, this chapter considers recent work on the public and private sphere and how the Austen music collection shows the intimate links between these two domains.

The conclusion highlights many of the main arguments that this thesis has explored and then continues to indicate areas of possible future research. As well as contributing new information about Jane Austen's family and musical

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life, this thesis provides new insights into Hampshire concert-life and uses this case study to show how domestic and public music-making interacted to produce a wider musical culture.

CHAPTER 1

THE AUSTEN FAMILY MUSIC COLLECTION

At Christmas time in 1786, Jane Austen's mother wrote:

...we have borrowed a Piano-Forte, and she [Eliza, Jane Austen's cousin] plays to us every day; on Tuesday we are to have a very snug little dance in our parlour, just our own children, nephew & nieces... quite a family party.¹

The quaint imagery of this domestic musical setting was typical of many a home in the late eighteenth century. Music-making was one of the main sources of private entertainment and the ability to play an instrument was a highly valued attribute for young ladies. The fame of Jane Austen and the role of the family have led to the preservation and publication of family letters and documents, and a raised level of documentation of private life than is available for most young ladies of the time. In light of this, scholars also have to be wary of trusting everything, especially the later family memoirs, which are at times aimed at producing a particular version of Austen. Despite this however, the availability of letters and documents in addition to the music books is a great advantage for this dual study, which paints an altogether much fuller picture of the domestic music scene than has previously been explored in Austen scholarship. It provides a greater understanding of late eighteenth-century repertoire choice and availability, which has, until recently, been overlooked in favour of concentrating on canonic repertoire. The music contained in the Austen books provides a basis for comparison between provincial public music events and the concert scene in London, and reveals trends in repertoire choices which have hitherto been little explored.

¹ Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen's 'Outlandish Cousin': The Life and Letters of Eliza De Feuillide* (London: The British Library, 2002), 75.

Chapter 1

The letter mentioned above highlights the Austen family's enjoyment of performing and listening to each other; participating in dances, music, songs and theatricals. This chapter considers how music touched the lives of the Austen family through the study of their music collection. It seeks to describe and evaluate these important primary sources and arrive at conclusive statements about the collection as a whole. The Austen music books are then, where possible, placed in a broader context of music collecting in the period.

The Austen family was fairly typical of English gentry families in their range of engagement with music. Music touched their lives in many differing forms: through public and private entertainment, personal study and proficiency, and through concerts and trips to the theatre. They endeavoured to install a piano in many of their residences either through rental or purchase.² The Austens experienced a wide range of different pianos from the Ganer square that was hired to the piano that Jane Austen owned, the Kirkman harpsichord that most probably belonged to cousin Elizabeth and the grand pianos which she heard at concerts.³ This range of pianos was reflected in the performance presentation that was linked to this thesis, entitled 'Jane Austen's Music and the Winchester Connection'. I used different keyboards to display not only the different tonalities, touches and timbres of the various pianos of the era but also to link certain repertoire to different keyboards: for example the John Marsh duet entitled 'Handel's Hallelujah in the Messiah and Grand Coronation

² The Austens had to borrow a piano for a visit from their cousins in 1786 but a letter dated May 1801 describes how Jane Austen got 'Eight [guineas] for my Pianoforte' when they moved to Bath. At some point after hiring a piano in 1786 the Austens purchased a Ganer piano which they sold in 1801. See Robin Vick, "The Sale at Steventon Parsonage," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1986-1995* (1999): 295-298. They later hired a piano again in Southampton in 1807, see Patrick Piggott, "Jane Austen's Southampton Piano," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1976-1985* (1989): 146-149. In the preparations for the move to Chawton in 1808, Jane was able to purchase a piano of her own described by Anna Lefroy 'The Pianoforte was parted with on the removal from Steventon, and during the whole time of her residence at Bath she had none. In course of time she felt the loss of the amusement, or for some other reason repented of her own decision; for, when settled at Chawton she bought a Pianoforte.' See J.E. Austen-Leigh, *A Memoir of Jane Austen and Other Family Recollections*, ed. Kathryn Sutherland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 183. My thanks to Professor Jeanice Brooks for making known to me the specific dates of piano ownership.

³ In a letter dated 31 January 1772 from Jane's uncle Tysoe Hancock to her aunt Philadelphia he writes 'When you buy an Harpsichord, let it be the best, mind not the Price. Kirkman is the best Maker.' Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen's "Outlandish Cousin": The Life and Letters of Eliza de Feuillide* (London: The British Library, 2002) 30-31.

Anthem To which are prefix'd Two fugues: The whole adapted & composed for 2 Performers on one Organ or Harpsichord' was performed on a harpsichord. The instruments in the concert included a Broadwood grand fortepiano made in 1796, a Collard and Collard square piano circa 1840 and the Blanchet double manual harpsichord by Milan Misina made in 1988. I performed each of the pieces on a keyboard chosen to reflect either the timbre and intimacy of the salon pieces or the more virtuosic songs and piano solos. The concert concluded with a Dussek piano duet on a Steinway model B and a Mason & Hamlin Model BB to demonstrate that the repertoire was flexible enough to be performed on modern instruments and also to explore the progression of sound and technology from the eighteenth century to the present day.

The Austen Family Music Books

The music collection of the Austen family consists of seventeen bound albums containing printed or manuscript music or a combination of both. Some of the music was compiled in Hampshire and belonged to the Austens, but other music came from women who married into the Austen family; these volumes originated in Kent and in some cases, France. Indeed Jane Austen, her sister and mother spent some of their time in Bath so some music could also have been bought there or on various trips to London. The books' relationships are complex as several were compiled by various individuals or had multiple owners; therefore sorting out which pieces were acquired by whom is not always possible. However, the books can be taken as a typical collection of an extended family of Hampshire gentry, and this thesis will consider the repertoire as being characteristic of what was being cultivated during Austen's life. To date, there are ten printed volumes, five manuscript volumes and two volumes which contain a combination of printed and manuscript music. As can be seen in the Handlist there are 548 different composer entries altogether in the entire collection; 270 are printed and 278 are manuscript. This seventeen-book collection currently neatly sub-divides into three differing collections according to the descent of the family line. However, the current collection is unfortunately still incomplete as further books are known to have been lost or to have been bought by private collectors.

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Physical Description of the Music Books

The books belonging to the Jane Austen Memorial Trust in the first set are currently in a fair condition as they have been restored. However, the second set belonging to Richard Jenkyns and the third set belonging to Richard Knight are in poor condition. The following descriptions give a more detailed account of the state of the books in addition to the table outlining the owner, location and state of the books in the introduction. Table 1 provides a brief summary of the books and their owners, current location and a brief physical description:

Table 1- List of owners, location and description of music books

BOOK REFERENCE	CURRENT OWNER	CURRENT LOCATION	BRIEF DESCRIPTION
Set 1 Book 1	Jane Austen Memorial Trust	Hampshire Record Office	MS, Oblong- Full calf cover with gold gilded edges and flower tooling on the spine. No signature or contents
Set 1 Book 2	Jane Austen Memorial Trust	Jane Austen's House	MS, Oblong- Full calf cover with gold gilded edges. Title page contains a picture of a cherub with words written 'Juvenile Songs and Lessons for young beginners who don't know enough to practise,' no signature
Set 1 Book 3	Jane Austen Memorial Trust	Hampshire Record Office	MS, Oblong- Full calf cover with gold gilded edges and flower tooling on the spine. 'Songs and Duets' [sic] written on the title page
Set 1 Book 4	Jane Austen Memorial Trust	Hampshire Record Office	PM, Upright- Leather spine with marble paper on cardboard covers. Signed 'Miss Jane Austen' with a contents page
Set 1 Book 5	Jane Austen Memorial Trust	Hampshire Record Office	PM, Upright- Leather spine with marble paper on cardboard covers. The book has been restored and rebound. Signed 'Jane Austen' with a contents page
Set 1 Book 6	Jane Austen Memorial Trust	Hampshire Record Office	PM, Upright- Book that has been re-bound in the style of eighteenth century binding with a leather spine and the original marble paper has been used to cover new cloth on cardboard covers. Signed 'Elizabeth Austen' twice with no contents page
Set 1 Book 7	Jane Austen Memorial Trust	Hampshire Record Office	SB, Upright- Cardboard covers covering faded marble paper with a new leather spine. Book is in a scrapbook style entitled 'Songs', signed 'Austen 1778' then it is later signed 'Miss Jane Austen' and then just 'Miss'
Set 1 Book 8	Jane Austen Memorial Trust	Hampshire Record Office	PM, Upright- Marble paper on cardboard covers with a leather spine. Entitled 'Songs' in a red leather label embossed with gold leaf letters, signed 'Jane Austen'
Set 2 Book 1	Professor Richard Jenkyns	Chawton House Library	MS, Oblong- Full calf cover with gold gilded edges, signed 'Ann Cooper'
Set 2 Book 2	Professor Richard Jenkyns	Chawton House Library	MS, Oblong- Leather bound spine with marble paper covering cardboard, signed 'Elizabeth Austen August 1799'
Set 2 Book 3	Professor Richard Jenkyns	Chawton House Library	Mixed, Oblong- Only the first piece is printed the rest of the book is manuscript. Half-calf cover which has more recently been re-bound, deep blue marble paper on stiff bindings, signed 'C.E. Austen'
Set 2 Book 4	Professor Richard Jenkyns	Chawton House Library	PM, Upright- Cardboard outer covers with a leather spine. Most of the marble covering is missing, the book is covered in brown paper to protect the original binding, signed 'Mrs Austen'
Set 2 Book 5	Professor Richard Jenkyns	Chawton House Library	PM, Upright- Half-calf cover with marble paper on cardboard outer covers. There is a red leather label with gold leaf letters entitled 'Songs'. The book is signed 'Mrs Henry Austen'

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BOOK REFERENCE	CURRENT OWNER	CURRENT LOCATION	BRIEF DESCRIPTION
Set 2 Book 6	Professor Richard Jenkyns	Chawton House Library	PM, Upright- Half-calf cover with warped cardboard outer covers, edges have been taped to prevent further damage, signed 'Mrs Henry Austen'
Set 2 Book 7	Professor Richard Jenkyns	Chawton House Library	PM, Upright- Half-calf cover with a 'morning prayer' printed into the cardboard, signed 'Cass. Elizth. Austen'
Set 3 Book 1	Richard Knight	Chawton House Library	PM, Upright- Leather spine with marble paper covering cardboard with a pasted insert 'Nicolai', signed 'Austen 1787'
Set 3 Book 2	Richard Knight	Chawton House Library	PM, Upright- Leather spine with marble paper covering cardboard with taped edges to prevent damage. There is a pasted insert 'French Songs', and a gold embossed 'J', signed 'Mrs Austen'
Appendix Sheet 1	Jane Austen Memorial Trust	Jane Austen's House	Single manuscript sheet including the songs 'Glee Robinhood' and 'Siciliano'
Appendix Sheet 2	Jane Austen Memorial Trust	Jane Austen's House	Single manuscript sheet including the piano music 'Savage Dance' and 'Commencement d'Escoute d'Jeanetto' and the songs 'Suite de l'Air' and 'Duo des Deux Savoyards'

Each book is bound with board covered with either leather or marble paper.

The full calf bound books are all manuscript in oblong format with simple gold line borders and a full gilt spine. The printed music books are half calf bound with marble paper covering cardboard boards; some of these have been re-bound in the twentieth century. In the case of the printed music books, it was customary for music-collectors to buy sheet music individually and have it bound when they had accumulated enough or established a theme to the book; some music collections had the same binding as their library collection.⁴ This is a phenomenon noted by Jeanice Brooks in an article describing female music collections at the beginning of the nineteenth-century: 'from the 1790s onward, wealthier buyers increasingly had sheet music bound into upright folio collections of a more uniform style, featuring half-calf bindings with leather corners and spine and covers of marbled paper over board.'⁵ The owner would decide upon the order of the music and the front design, for example if the

⁴ For music bound from the same book-binders, see the music collection at Tatton Park which is all customised with emerald green leather covers and gold embossing.

⁵ Jeanice Brooks, "Les collections féminines d'albums de partitions dans L'Angleterre au début du XIXe siècle" [Women's sheet music albums in the early 19th Century] in 'La la la...Maistre Henri': *mélanges de musicologie offerts À Henri Vanhulst*, eds. Christine Ballman and Valérie Dufour, trans. Jeanice Brooks (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 17.

title of the music book was to be indented or embossed with gold. However, the books in the Austen collection do not have a uniform style of binding, probably due to the different binders used, the different style of binding from generation to generation, and the collection having had more than one owner. Once the book was bound the owner sometimes would write a contents page which was copied on the inside cover or the flyleaf. The list of contents was sometimes paginated, suggesting that the contents page was written after binding. Some books contain foliated pages, which is an important indication that the books were still used after binding. The contents are listed in Books 2, 3, and 4 of the first set, but in the 7th book there are some discrepancies between the listed contents and the actual contents in the albums, as music has evidently been cut out or added after the contents page was written. In the second set Books 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 contain a contents page but Book 4 is inconsistent in the way that the contents are formatted: some songs are listed by composer whilst others are listed under the title of the song. The books in the third set have no contents pages at all.

Manuscript books differed, as they were often in landscape format and bought complete as a pre-ruled book from the bookseller; five of the Austen music books are in landscape format whilst the other twelve are portrait. The ratio of portrait to landscape books (in effect, volumes containing printed music rather than copied out manuscript works) reflects the financial position of the Austens. Music was copied because it was expensive to buy: the ability to copy music was considered to be not only an important skill but of financial significance for a middling gentry family. This can also be seen in other Hampshire families: for example, the letters written by Anne Bourne suggest that music was copied into other music books for the recipient to play: 'Many thanks for your letter, my dearest Marianne and do not be ashamed of my writing music for you, because I do not at all dislike it.'⁶ This letter shows that manuscript books were lent to others for music to be copied into, so the provenance of manuscript music did not always correspond to original ownership.

⁶ HRO, ref 9M55/F1/2/ Page 1. Correspondence between Anne Sturges Bourne (daughter of William Sturges Bourne MP of Testwood House), and her friend Marianne Dyson of Petworth, Sussex. The letter was written in Testwood but the date is unknown. The correspondence lasted from 1822-1870.

The First Set of Music Books

In the first set of the Austen music collection, the first three manuscript books are in oblong format 30 cm wide and 24 cm high, and contain between 84 to 97 pages. These manuscript books are similar in design, with Longman & Broderip supplying Book 2 and Henry Holland supplying Book 3. The other five books contain printed music with a predominance of music by John Preston or Longman & Broderip and these books are in upright format with leather spines and a marble paper covering on board.⁷ When the books were donated to the Jane Austen Trust in 1952, they were sent off for repair in the Department of Printed Books at the British Museum who endeavoured to retain as much of the original binding as possible.⁸

Jane Austen's scrapbook (Book 1/7) is the exception in terms of both condition and binding. This volume combines printed and manuscript music which belonged to older family members first; followed by Jane Austen who used the volume to collect a complete variety of songs and pieces inserting additional leaves when she acquired a new piece. The scrapbook was 'apparently a home-made collection with items pasted into a large book with cardboard covers.'⁹ The pages have been stitched together, with some items additionally stitched into the book. This was similar to Jane Austen's practice with her written manuscripts, as she stitched folios together to form a writing book to work from. Due to obvious use and wear and tear, some stitching is also evident within the music on the pages where there has been damage. All of this period stitching has been carefully preserved.

⁷ Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music. The Musical World of Jane Austen* (St Albans: Corda Music Publications, 1996), 7.

⁸ T. Edward Carpenter, "Report for the Year 1952," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1949-1965* 1 (1952): 33.

⁹ Gammie and McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music*, 7.

Second Set of Music Books

The manuscript books (Books 1, 2 and 3) are again in oblong format, generally 24 cms x 31cms.¹⁰ Book 1 is full calf and Book 2 has a leather spine with marble paper covering cardboard; both contain some loose sheets owing to the spines of the books being less secure than the printed music bound albums. The 3rd book has been recently rebound 'with deep blue marbled paper boards, half-bound in burgundy calf (modern binding, c.1950).'¹¹ This volume is a combination of printed music, with a sonata by Clementi (Op.26 in F major) at the start, and manuscript music written in a variety of hands with different levels of neatness in the copying. The only other volume which displays a combination of printed and manuscript music is the scrapbook (Book 7 in the 1st set). The four other music volumes in the second collection are printed, again in upright format, with marbled paper binding.

Third Set of Music Books

The two books in the third collection attributed to the Knight family are also in upright format with a marble covering and leather spine in a similar binding style to Books 2, 4 and 6 in the second set.¹² The spines are worn but there is a 'J' embossed on the leather spine of the second book. They both have soft cardboard covers with no contents page.

Previous Research on the Music Books

The first set housed by the Jane Austen Museum in Chawton has drawn the

¹⁰ The current librarian at Chawton House Library, Jacqui Grainger, has made a very detailed description of the state of the second set of books and has kindly forwarded her description of the books.

¹¹ Document drawn up by Jacqui Grainger detailing the description of the books on loan to Chawton Library.

¹² Correspondence with Jacqui Grainger 7/6/2011.

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most scholarly interest, as it has been more accessible to the public. Unfortunately, at least one volume in the set donated to the Jane Austen Memorial Trust went missing before it was catalogued by Gammie and McCulloch. Thankfully, an article by Elisabeth Lockwood in 1934 outlined some of the musical highlights which appeared in the book before it was lost. None of the items listed in the article appear in any of the extant volumes apart from another copy of Kotzwara's well-known piano work, *The Battle of Prague*.¹³ In 1956, shortly after the books were donated, Mollie Sands wrote a short article outlining some of the material contained within the books. From this brief article it is possible to deduce that the missing volume included a *Selected Collection of Choice Music* containing concerto transcriptions, duets and sonatas by Arne, Handel, Schobert, Haydn, Corelli, Corri and others.¹⁴ In 1964, Elizabeth Jenkins (note different spelling from the Jenkyns family) wrote an article outlining some of Elizabeth Austen's (née Bridges) musical biography, quoting from the letters, with a fleeting reference to the sonatas of Maria Hester Reynolds in Book 1/6 belonging to her.¹⁵ The music books were not commented on again until 1972, when Diana Shervington wrote a short article describing the music books that contained some Italian opera referring to items in Book 1/5 and Book 1/7.¹⁶ In 2001 she wrote an article describing the list of subscribers in Elizabeth Austen's book (in Book 1/6) where she makes the point that Jane Austen would have played from this book on her trips to Godmersham.¹⁷ Not until 1979, however, when Patrick Piggott wrote *The Innocent Diversion* did the music collection undergo more detailed scrutiny.¹⁸ The focus of Piggott's book is primarily on the contents of the first set of music books, which he explored in much more detail than earlier studies. He endeavoured to fuse some of the musical references in Jane Austen's personal letters to the music collection and discussed the way in which Austen's characters employ music in her novels. Indeed, these musical

¹³ Elisabeth M Lockwood, "Jane Austen and Some Drawing-Room Music of Her Time," *Music & Letters* 15, no. 2 (1934): 112-19.

¹⁴ Mollie Sands, "Jane Austen and Her Music Books," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1949-1965* 1 (1956): 91-93.

¹⁵ Elizabeth Jenkins, "Elizabeth Austen's Music Book," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1949-1965* 1 (1964): 264-67.

¹⁶ Diana Shervington, "Jane Austen's Music Books," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1966-1975* 2 (1972): 149-51.

¹⁷ Diana Shervington, "Elizabeth Austen's Music Book," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 2001-2005* 6 (2001): 15-16.

¹⁸ Patrick Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion: A Study of Music in the Life and Writings of Jane Austen* (London: Douglas Cleverdon, 1979).

references in Jane Austen's novels have naturally been quoted extensively by other Austen scholars.¹⁹ Prior to publication Piggott was able to view the second set of books, as he wrote a chapter at the end describing the second set belonging to the Jenkyns family which is now currently housed at the Chawton House Library. However, it seems he was not able to consult the collection exhaustively as there are errors in the listings of the owners of this set of books: Piggott was unable to differentiate between the books belonging to Elizabeth Austen (née de Feuillide) and Eleanor Austen (née Jackson). Later in 1979, Robert Wallace wrote an article for the Jane Austen Society, which describes the music in the scrapbook (Book 1/7) whose analysis of contents Wallace felt had been neglected by Piggott's earlier book.²⁰ He draws together themes of the songs in the album with text in *Persuasion*. He later expanded upon this theme and wrote *Jane Austen and Mozart* in 1983, which tenuously links Mozart piano concertos and the novels of Austen, specifically *Pride and Prejudice* with Mozart K271, *Emma* with K503 and *Persuasion* with K595.²¹ There are also two Appendices which briefly discuss some of the other music books in the collection. In 1988, Peter Alexander wrote an article describing the piece *Robin Adair* 'as a Musical Clue in Jane Austen's Emma' where he drew parallels between the text in the song and the storyline in *Emma* and made the important observation that this piece is the only music mentioned directly in her novels.²² However, despite the connection being made between the piece

¹⁹ For an overview of Jane Austen's regard for music with references to the novels see David Selwyn, *Jane Austen and Leisure* (London, Hambleton Press, 1999), 115-143 and 235-260. For reference concerning theatre trips to London and descriptions of the musicians see Paula Byrne, *Jane Austen and the Theatre* (London: Hambleton, 2002), 29-67. For references in the novels concerning musical education in *Mansfield Park* see D. D. Devlin, *Jane Austen and Education* (London: Macmillan, 1975), 30-38. Patrick Piggott's book quotes musical references extensively in separately labeled chapters. Further references to music in the Austen novels can be found in Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 38-43. See also Matthew Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 2 (1999): 203-54. See also Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff, eds., "The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction," in *Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 83-104.

²⁰ Robert K. Wallace, "Jane Austen's Neglected Song Book," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1976-1985* 3 (1979). See also R. Larry Todd, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, 2nd ed. (New York Schirmer, 1990), 1-15. See also D. D. Devlin, *Jane Austen and Education* (London: Macmillan, 1975), 30-42. There are further references to music in the novels in: Carol Neuls-Bates, ed., *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 73-79.

²¹ Robert K. Wallace, *Jane Austen and Mozart: Classical Equilibrium in Fiction and Music* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983). See also Park Honan, *Jane Austen: Her Life* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 98-125. For a discussion of Mozart in relation to Jane Austen and her novels see: Richard Jenkyns, *A Fine Brush on Ivory: An Appreciation of Jane Austen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 76-79 and 94-97.

²² Peter F. Alexander, "'Robin Adair' as a Musical Clue in Jane Austen's *Emma*," *Review of English*

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and the novels, Alexander made no reference to a copy of Kiallmark's Theme and Variations based upon the theme of *Robin Adair* in Book 2/7 of the Austen collection. This article was later extended in 2000 by Kathryn Shanks Libin who explored in greater detail the relationship between the characters of *Emma* and the *Robin Adair* reference; sadly however, the original copy contained in the second set was not consulted when the article was written.²³

Piggott later researched archives concerning the hiring of a piano in Southampton and wrote an article for the *Jane Austen Society* describing the piano and cost of hiring it.²⁴ There is another gap in scholarship until 1999, when the Jane Austen scholar Deirdre Le Faye wrote an article concerning the 'Three Missing Songs', which will be addressed later in this study.²⁵ More recently, Lorna Gibson at Southampton University sought in 2000 to identify print sources for the manuscript material in the first set.²⁶ In terms of looking at the music books with relation to people in Jane Austen's life, Mollie Sandock discussed some of the songs, emphasizing the Irish connection, positing links between some of the songs and speculating about the Austens' interactions with the LeFroy family.²⁷ This idea of looking at the music books in a wider context was explored further by Elizabeth Morgan in her thesis entitled 'The Virtuous Virtuosa' which considers the way in which female accomplishment in the home affected compositional virtuosity in later generations. She looks towards the music books to answer far-reaching questions in music history concerning, for example, how études shaped the feminine amateur in a manner similar to that of conduct books, and how eroticism in music was reflected in the domestic drawing room.²⁸ Morgan later completed an article in 2012, which compares the compositional structure and texture of the accompanied sonata to the new direction that novels took at the beginning of

Studies XXXIX no.153 (1988): 84-86.

²³ Kathryn L. Shanks Libin, "Music, Character, and Social Standing in Jane Austen's *Emma*," *Persuasions- Jane Austen Society* 22 (2000): 15-30.

²⁴ Patrick Piggott, "Jane Austen's Southampton Piano," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1976-1985* (1989).

²⁵ Deirdre Le Faye, "Three Missing Jane Austen Songs," *Notes and Queries* (1999): 454- 55.

²⁶ Lorna Annabel Charlotte Gibson, "'Seen through the Veil of Diffidence and Modesty' Women and Music in Jane Austen's Novels" (master's thesis, University of Southampton, 2000).

²⁷ Mollie Sandock, "'I Burn with Contempt for My Foes': Jane Austen's Music Collections and Women's Lives in Regency England," *Persuasions- Jane Austen Society* 23 (2001): 105-117.

²⁸ Elizabeth Natalie Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780-1820" (PhD diss., University of California, 2009).

the nineteenth century. Morgan focused in particular on the sonatas by Maria Hester Park, which feature in the Austen collection with the novels written by Maria Edgeworth.²⁹

Further Domestic Collections

At this stage it is worth describing other domestic music collections and noting how they compare to the Austen collection. In depth study has been done on two such collections at Tatton Park in Cheshire and Killerton House in Devon respectively, as part of an ongoing project linking Southampton University with the National Trust.³⁰ What is interesting about these two music collections is that they represent a great contrast to the Austen music collection in terms of location and the amount of disposable income of the families concerned. The magnificence of Tatton Park house with its striking columns and extensive grounds belonging to the Egerton family contains a different collection compared to that housed in the more modest building of Killerton House, owned by the Acland family- which, despite its less imposing and more family-orientated architectural style, still had a very large estate. These two different collections are a perfect way to contrast music selections in other regions and financial incomes to that of the Austens.

Elizabeth Sykes (1777-1853) was born into a wealthy family and her mother had already started collecting music. Despite the fact that the family could well afford to buy music, she was encouraged to learn to copy. The manuscript music at Tatton suggests that she copied the music for pleasure or for study purposes rather than from financial necessity, as in the Austen household. Elizabeth copied and collected works by Purcell and was encouraged by her father to have an appreciation for 'Ancient Music'. Elizabeth's father was a violinist, and the Tatton Park collection differs from

²⁹ Elizabeth Morgan, "The Accompanied Sonata and the Domestic Novel in Britain at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *19th-Century Music* 36, no.2 (2012): 88-100.

³⁰ My thanks to Penelope Cave and Leena Rana for helping me with the descriptions of these two collections; their forthcoming theses in September 2013 will describe and annotate the music in greater detail.

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the Austen collection in that there is a cello manual belonging to her cousin, and violin pieces, including the later piano trios by Haydn Hob. XV: 5-31.³¹ The performance of chamber music at Tatton is an obvious difference from the music of the Austen household, where Jane's brothers and father are not known to have played instruments and the music in the collection is dominated by instrumental music and songs targeted at women.

The Tatton Park collection, amounting to an estimated 100 music books, has a large selection of glees which were sung by the males of the house, whereas there are only four such examples in the Austen collection. The Tatton collection period runs much later than the Austen collection: there are examples of music which date from the early 1700s through to the 1840s and beyond. However, there is a similar selection of keyboard music by composers such as Jan Ladislav Dussek and Ignaz Pleyel, but a greater number of works by Leopold Kozeluch. The Tatton collection contains more Italian repertoire including works by Luigi Cherubini, Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, Antonio Sacchini and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. At the same time, however, there are many similarities between them reflecting national taste of the time: for example, there are many compositions by George Frideric Handel and more popular theatrical composers like Stephen Storace, Charles Dibdin, James Hook, John Calcott and William Shield.

The collection at Killerton contains the same *Christmas Box*, which is a collection of nursery rhymes, found in the Austen collection. Lady Acland had ten children as seen in the family portrait in the drawing room, which shows Lady Acland at the piano surrounded by her husband and children watching and participating; it suggests that music was a central entertainment for the household. Both the Tatton and Killerton collections contain the complete Samuel Arnold edition of Handel's works including his operas, oratorios and chamber works, in addition to his works featured in other music books. The albums in each collection have been identically bound to match and complement books contained within the library of its respective house. The

³¹ Jeanice Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection and Display at Tatton Park," *Music & Letters* 91, no. 4 (2010): 9.

Austen family shared the same enjoyment of Handel but evidently could not afford to buy a complete edition of his works and have them identically bound. This is a substantial difference between the Austen collection and the two collections housed in the National Trust properties.

Caroline Wood's essay 'Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House' describes a music collection compiled in the nineteenth century at Burton Constable Hall near Hull.³² There are similarities to the Austen collection in that some of the music is in manuscript form whilst the printed music is bound in albums. From the description of the music in the article it also seems that there are parallels as the 'music ranges from elementary to the virtuosic.'³³ It is also apparent that various family members would perform together. However, the Constable family who lived at Burton Constable Hall were very enthusiastic performers and there is evidence of large-scale performances and theatrical works there which contrast with the more modest milieux of the cottage at Chawton and the vicarage in Steventon.

Barry Cooper's work on a recently discovered music collection in Lampeter lists an inventory of music housed in the Founders Library at the University of Wales.³⁴ This is an unusual collection, as it contains instrumental instruction books for wind instruments, guitar and violin, in addition to keyboard instruments. The collection spans a longer time period and seems to indicate that the amalgamation of music belonged to a variety of different owners, rather than being passed down a solitary family line. However, it is from a similar period to the Austens and a comparison of the Lampeter and Austen inventories shows that a few items are duplicated. The following items occur in both collections: 'The Manly Heart' by Mozart, Dibdin songs, 'Richard Coeur de Lion' by Grétry, Hook songs, Hasse Sonatas, Mazzinghi Opera dances, Valentino Six sonatas, Shield Songs and some Steibelt duets.

³² Bennett Zon, ed. *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*. vol. 1. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 209-226.

³³ Zon, ed. *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*. vol. 1, 215.

³⁴ Barry Cooper, "An Unrecorded Collection of Early Music Sources in Lampeter: Description and Annotated Inventory," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 41 (2008): 93-120. For further examples of music collection see: Derek McCulloch, "The Musical *Oeuvre* of Willoughby Bertie, 4th Earl of Abingdon (1740-99)," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 33 (2000): 1-28.

Music and Letters

The collections described at Tatton, Killerton, Burton Constable Hall and Lampeter show that domestic music collection was a wide-spread eighteenth-century pursuit. Through the study of the music it is possible to gain more insight into family tastes and trends, an argument echoed by Retford, who describes how 'cultural artefacts can be used to generate insight on to historical attitudes to children and family.'³⁵ In order to further explore collection habits it is possible to glean musical information from letters. In the case of the Austen family, there is further scope to productively compare letter references with the scores. However, if we study letters by other Hampshire families in addition to the Austens, we discover that the music-making habits of the county families are again similar. The main difference is that, unlike the Austens, the men in the following Hampshire letters were very keen on music, to the extent that they were also collecting music themselves.

Thomas Lewin [1753-1843] had an avid interest in music, following all the latest musical fashions and displaying very similar habits and tastes to those of the Austen family. He made his fortune in the East India Company and came to settle in Hampshire taking up residency at Ridgeway, Pear Tree Green in Southampton from 1792. He lived there for the remainder of his life, so the Lewin family were in Southampton at the time when the Austens took up lodgings in the town. The Lewins valued music highly, especially Mr Lewin who often recalls enjoying musical activities with his family and was friends with the Broadwoods in London. There are two volumes of Lewin letters, diary entries and reminiscences that span 128 years of cultural and family history. In Vol I, Thomas Lewin writes in his diaries in May 1806 that he 'spent the evening in music in which Popsy [Harriet] joined us', and in August 1807 that 'after breakfast, I accompanied Harriet on my violin while she played some of Haydn's and Pleyel's sonatas'.³⁶ The three different sets of Pleyel sonatas and

³⁵ Kate Retford, "Sensibility and Genealogy in the Eighteenth-Century Family Portrait: The Collection at Kedleston Hall," *The Historical Journal* 46, no.3 (2003): 533-560.

³⁶ Thomas Herbert Lewin, *The Lewin Letters: A Selection from the Correspondence & Diaries of an English Family, 1756-1844. Collected & Edited by T. H. Lewin ... With Portraits*, vol. I (London: Printed for private circulation, 1909), 143-144.

sonatinas in the Austen collection show that it was common practice for Hampshire families to be learning and performing them. A comparison of the Austen family letter quoted at the beginning of this chapter on page 13 written by Jane's mother in 1786, with the following diary entry written in Christmas 1815 reveals many overlaps:

After dinner I played country dances for the children till tea-time. Afterwards Harriet and Charlotte performed some songs from Handel's oratorios and I accompanied their voices on the violincello.³⁷

These diary entries confirm the supposition that Hampshire families performed regularly for each other and enjoyed participating in musical activity in a private setting. Particularly of note is the fact that both letters were written at Christmas time, when musical entertainment at a family gathering was considered to be the norm. Volume II of the Lewin letters records the reminiscences of the early life of Harriet Grote [1792-1879, daughter of Thomas Lewin]. She described her father, 'who was passionately fond of music and of playing the violin, [he] passed much time in visiting about at the houses of people of like tastes- among others, at Mr. Tate's, who was a skilled violincellist, while his daughter, Miss Tate, played very well on the Piano Forte. Mr Sharp, from Southampton, took 1st. Violin, and my Father 2nd Violin or Viola as occasion required.'³⁸

Further examples of Hampshire families engaging in musical activity can be seen in the letters written by Anne Sturges Bourne (daughter of William Sturges Bourne MP of Testwood House) and her friend Marianne Dyson of Petworth, Sussex. This correspondence spanned decades from 1822-1870 with letters mainly written from the Bourne's Hampshire residence in Testwood to the Dyson's in Petworth. Anne Bourne writes frequently about music; her letter

³⁷ My sincerest thanks to Sarah Lewin at the Hampshire Record Office for alerting me to the letters of her great-great-great-grandfather who lived at Ridgeway, Pear Tree Green, Southampton. Lewin, *The Lewin Letters*, vol. I, 144.

³⁸ Thomas Herbert Lewin, *The Lewin Letters: A Selection from the Correspondence & Diaries of an English Family, 1756-1884. Collected & Edited by T. H. Lewin ... With Portraits*, vol. II (London: Printed for private circulation, 1909), 139.

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written whilst visiting friends on the Isle of Wight in July 1826 particularly sparks our imagination where she describes:

The other two have been singing with me today, they have very nice voices, but practise very little, & we have some difficulty in making our own voices go together.³⁹

It is evident that when visiting families it was common practice to be involved in a musical gathering, but also some music sharing took place. In the same letter, Anne Bourne describes how 'we have copied some of their music & I am now longing for Wallenstein's march.'⁴⁰ Anne Bourne would have copied the music that she enjoyed at an acquaintance's house into a manuscript book or paper in order to share it and have an opportunity to learn the piece herself.

These Hampshire letters present a limited view of domestic music-making; without the physical scores to supplement them, they alas provide only part of the picture. However, as a result of Jane Austen's fame, musicologists are in the unique position of being in possession of both personal letters and the music books owned by her and the larger Austen family. Therefore, by combining the Austen scores with Hampshire correspondence, this study has been able to step further into the provincial world of domestic music-making and draw together a variety of sources to create a clearer impression of music choice and repertoire in the late eighteenth century.

The Austen family letters are numerous, written by various branches of the family.⁴¹ There are letters written by Jane to her sister Cassandra and various friends and acquaintances, but few letters from Jane's youth survived as Cassandra Austen burnt many of them after her death. However, there are

³⁹ HRO, ref 9M55/F4/12 Page 1, Written from Cowes on the Isle of Wight, Saturday July 1826.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Deirdre Le Faye, ed., *Jane Austen's Letters*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). —, *Jane Austen's 'Outlandish Cousin': The Life and Letters of Eliza De Feuillide* (London: The British Library, 2002). —, *Fanny Knight's Diaries: Jane Austen through Her Niece's Eyes* ([Winchester]: The Jane Austen Society, 2000). Anne Lefroy, Helen Lefroy, and Gavin Turner, eds., *The Letters of Mrs Lefroy: Jane Austen's Beloved Friend* (Winchester: Jane Austen Society, 2007).

many letters concerning the upbringing and youth of her cousin Elizabeth. These were written by Jane Austen's aunt Philadelphia (1730-1792) to Jane Austen's uncle (Tysoe Saul Hancock d.1775) when Aunt Philadelphia had moved back to England with her daughter Elizabeth while Uncle Tysoe was still based in India. The correspondence from England to India provides insight into the early education of girls in the Austen family. Elizabeth Austen had a more extensive musical education than Jane, as her father, Tysoe Saul Hancock, had more disposable income to spend on his daughter's education and also considered her accomplishments a necessity. Jeanice Brooks observed that 'Eliza's accomplishments would render her finer than [Tysoe's] current income could justify, but that they would also open avenues for her to marry well even if his fortunes did not improve as he hoped they would.'⁴² This interest in her education can be seen as he writes on 23 September 1772 that he was 'glad to hear that Betsy [Elizabeth] has a good Ear to Musick [sic]; if she attempts the Guitar at all I beg she may have the best Masters, otherwise she will get a Wrong method of Fingering which can never after be rectified.'⁴³ Jane Austen's cousin, Elizabeth, firstly married the Comte de Feuillide in 1781 and after his unfortunate demise in the French Revolution, she married Jane's brother Henry in 1797.

Elizabeth (formerly de Feuillide) and Henry Austen (1771-1850) shared the same passion for music and organised concerts and soirées at their house in Sloane Street, London.⁴⁴ Jane Austen describes one of these concerts in her letters in April 1811: 'above 80 people are invited for next Tuesday Eveng & there is to be some very good Music, 5 professionals, 3 of them Glee-singers, besides Amateurs'.⁴⁵ This particular concert inspired one of the longest letters she wrote about music, which describes the concert, the musicians and the repertoire performed.⁴⁶ She wrote that 'the Drawg room being soon hoter than we like, we placed ourselves in the connecting Passage, which was comparatively cool, & gave us all the advantage of the Music at a pleasant

⁴² Jeanice Brooks, "Les collections féminines," *Mélanges De Musicologie*, 23.

⁴³ Le Faye, *Outlandish Cousin*, 32.

⁴⁴ Le Faye, *Letters*, 183.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴⁶ This letter has been described at length by Patrick Piggott in his book *The Innocent Diversion*, 22-23, and Deirdre Le Faye has footnoted individual pieces that are outlined in the letter in her edited version of *Jane Austen's Letters*, 403.

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distance, as well as that of the first view of every new comer...The Music was extremely good', and amusingly ended with the observation that 'all the Performers gave great satisfaction by doing what they were paid for, & giving themselves no airs.- No Amateur could be persuaded to do anything.'⁴⁷ This private soirée appealed greatly to Jane as she was able to combine listening to music with the sport of watching the social interaction of the guests.

The Austen family's opportunities to hear music live were not just confined to concerts. The family's upbringing in theatricals and music led to a passion to follow the theatre.⁴⁸ As Byrne comments in *Jane Austen and the Theatre* 'Theatre in the late Georgian period became an essential part of fashionable middle-class life.'⁴⁹ Theatre trips were a way for the middle classes to be seen socially, wearing the latest fashions and forming acquaintances with other families. Jane's mother and brother Edward (1767-1852) accompanied her with his eldest daughter Fanny Knight (1793-1882) to many theatres where music was played. Fanny recorded in her journal that on 14 September 1807 the party saw John Bannister in *The Way to Keep Him* and the musical adaptation of Kotzebue's *Of Age Tomorrow* in Southampton.⁵⁰ The theatre-going members of the Austen family are important as not only did they share musical experiences with Jane at the theatre, but they were also owners of some of the surviving music books.

Jane Austen also made many visits to the theatre in London with her brother Henry and his wife Eliza. One such visit was to Astley's theatre which was 'popular not only for equestrian events, but for acrobatics, swordsmanship, musical interludes, songs and dancing.'⁵¹ Theatrical programmes from the time advertised musical events ranging from songs to concertos. The Austen letters also include descriptions of other theatrical events which contained musical items: 'They revelled last night in Don Juan, whom we left in Hell at ½

⁴⁷ Le Faye, *Letters*, 183.

⁴⁸ See Betty Askwith, "Jane Austen and the Theatre", *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1976-1985* 3 (1989): 268-84. Jane's trips to the theatre are also discussed in: Peter Knox-Shaw, *Jane Austen and the Enlightenment*, 1st paperback ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3-33.

⁴⁹ Paula Byrne, *Jane Austen and the Theatre* (London: Hamledon and London, 2002), 66.

⁵⁰ Byrne, *Theatre*, 42.

⁵¹ Le Faye, *Letters*, 5 and Byrne, *Theatre*, 30.

past 11. We had Scaramouch & a Ghost- and were delighted... Don Juan was the last of 3 musical things.⁵² The custom of punctuating theatre plays with musical interludes was a fashionable programming device used not only in theatres but in the Vauxhall pleasure gardens.⁵³

Did Jane Austen like music?

Through reading Jane Austen's letters it would be easy to formulate an unfair opinion of Jane Austen's relationship with music, as some of her letters suggest to a modern reader that she did not enjoy music: for example, her famous placement at a concert where 'the Gardens are large enough for me to get pretty well beyond the reach of [the music's] sound.'⁵⁴ However, as we shall see, the care and attention that Jane spent on her musical studies tells a different story, and as we also know Jane was a satirist, her written comments taken out of context could easily be misconstrued.⁵⁵

As Jane grew up learning music from tutors and compiling her various music volumes, the assumption could perhaps be made that her musical accomplishment was designed to play its part in securing a suitable marriage. As the years passed, Jane Austen's musical skills took on a different role. The letters speak, at times, rather disparagingly of the music heard at concerts and have been interpreted as her having 'little interest in or sympathy with professional musicians... music was simply a social amenity to her and chiefly by its association with dancing.'⁵⁶ Jane Austen rarely commented on the music played at concerts and only briefly mentioned the actual performers. There are accounts of her being present at concerts in London,⁵⁷ Bath and Canterbury, an

⁵² Le Faye, *Letters*, 219.

⁵³ For matters of programming and musicians see Charles Cudworth, "The Vauxhall 'Lists,'" *The Galpin Society Journal* 20 (1967): 24-42.

⁵⁴ Le Faye, *Letters*, 43.

⁵⁵ For a study of how Jane Austen's writing style and depth of dialogue in the characters of her novels see: Howard Seldon Babb, *Jane Austen's Novels: The Fabric of Dialogue* ([Columbus]: Ohio State University Press, 1962).

⁵⁶ Elisabeth M. Lockwood, "Jane Austen and Some Drawing-Room Music of Her Time," *Music & Letters* 15, no. 2 (1934): 113.

⁵⁷ Le Faye, *Letters*, 251

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impressive range for a lady of her status.⁵⁸ The letter quoted above describes a concert in Bath on 2 June 1799 where 'the Concert will have more than its' usual charm with me': this was owing to the fact that she would be out of earshot of the music.⁵⁹ This letter was discussed by David Selwyn as he compared Jane's remarks to those of Fanny Burney from a different concert. He came to the conclusion that 'Jane Austen...came from a family that did not much care for music' even though they owned a large collection of music.⁶⁰ However, her comment is deceptive, and at odds with the fact that she chose to practice every morning before she wrote. Piggott has interpreted this to mean that 'Jane Austen regarded concerts of this type as purely social events at which she could enjoy a "comfortable coze" with old friends.'⁶¹ However, considering Jane Austen's talent as a writer and mirthful character analyzer, it comes as no surprise that the focus of the evening would be upon the people and spectacle of the concert rather than the music. To the young 24-year-old writer, audience analysis was far more entertaining than attending to the music. Perhaps after re-reading the letter written on 25 April 1811 after the concert held in Sloane Square at her brother Henry's house, her dual purpose in concert attendance is a little clearer: 'The Drawg [sic] room being soon hotter than we like, we placed ourselves in the connecting Passage, which was comparatively cool, & gave us all the advantage of the Music at a pleasant distance, as well as that of the first view of every new comer.'⁶²

If the letters are read chronologically, their tone towards music softens, becoming more affectionate later in Austen's life. In a letter to her niece just months before she died in 1817 Austen wrote, 'The Piano Forte often talks of you;- in various keys, tunes & expressions I allow- but be it Lesson or Country dance, Sonata or Waltz, You are really its' constant Theme. I wish you cd come & see us.'⁶³ Austen was still gaining enjoyment from playing these pieces even in her final months, a fact confirmed by the same niece, Caroline Austen, who later wrote in her memoirs in 1867 that 'Aunt Jane began her day with music-

⁵⁸ Le Faye, *Record*, 208.

⁵⁹ Le Faye, *Letters*, 43.

⁶⁰ David Selwyn, *Jane Austen and Leisure* (London: Hambledon Press, 1999), 115. See also Jane Freeman, *Jane Austen in Bath* (Alton: Jane Austen Society, 1969), 25-36.

⁶¹ Patrick Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion*, 21.

⁶² Le Faye, *Letters*, 183.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 327.

for which I conclude she had a natural taste; as she thus kept it up- tho' she had no one to teach; was never induced (as I have heard) to play in company... she chose her practising time before breakfast- when she could have the room to herself.⁶⁴ That Austen 'chose' to practice the piano is the most striking element of this statement: it was a skill that she must have personally valued to have 'begun her day' playing the piano.

The various letters and family accounts suggest that Jane regarded her musical accomplishments with great modesty. Her brother Henry described in 1818 how 'her own musical attainments she held very cheap. Twenty years ago they would have been thought more of, and twenty years hence many a parent will expect their daughters to be applauded for meaner performances.'⁶⁵ However, the persistence with which Jane Austen practised is reinforced by Caroline Austen and also Anna Lefroy, who described how 'nobody could think more humbly of Aunt Jane's music than she did herself; so much so as at one time to resolve on giving it up... when settled at Chawton she bought a Pianoforte, and practised upon it diligently- This, as I understood at the time, she found necessary in order to recover that facility of fingering, which no doubt she had once possessed.'⁶⁶

The Owners of the Music Books

While the Austen family letters and diaries have been combed for musical information before, the results have never been collated with a study of all the extant music books. These seventeen music books in the current collection were owned by at least six main owners when they were compiled.⁶⁷ The following table lists the signatures found on the inside cover of the music books followed by the possible owners. There is speculation over the

⁶⁴ James Edward Austen-Leigh, *A Memoir of Jane Austen: And Other Family Recollections*, ed. Kathryn Sutherland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 170.

⁶⁵ Austen-Leigh, *Memoir*, 139.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁶⁷ For a detailed description of how the music collection is labelled and the reference coding types see the Introduction pp.7-8.

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signatures in the books, which are likely to have had multiple owners over the years. However, further scrutiny of the music helps scholars to draw certain conclusions about each owner's music choices, as comparisons can be made of the different repertoire styles contained within each book.

It has been deduced from signatures and preliminary handwriting analysis that six of the books belonged to Jane Austen: Books 1/2 and 1/3 contain her handwriting in the manuscript and Books 1/4, 1/5, 1/7 and 1/8 have her signature written on the flyleaf of the printed volumes.⁶⁸ Her sister-in-law Elizabeth Bridges (Edward Austen's wife) signed Book 1/6 and seems to have been the copyist for 2/2. However, identification of the owners is complex as can be seen in the second column of the table: many of the books are simply signed 'Mrs Austen' making it hard ascertain to which 'Mrs Austen' the signature belonged. Jane Austen's manuscripts are generally accepted to be hers from recognized handwriting, but there are fewer examples of handwriting for the rest of the Austen family, making definite judgements more difficult.

Jeanice Brooks was able to identify Eleanor Austen's (née Jackson) volumes (Book 2/5 and 2/6) as there are two pieces of music in Book 5 of the second set which are dedicated to 'Mrs Henry Jackson of Beckenham, Kent': the first piece is signed 'Mrs Henry Jackson, from the author.' As a result of this signature and the dedications to Eleanor Austen (née Jackson) it was possible to deduce that these pieces originally belonged to Eleanor's mother and were passed on to Eleanor at a later stage. From the French repertoire contained in Book 2/4, the book is considered to belong to Eliza de Feuillide who later became Elizabeth Austen.⁶⁹ I was able to deduce the identification of the owner for the second book in the third set, belonging to Richard Knight (Book 3/2), which contained similar music from a French subscription in Paris. Therefore there are four books which belonged to the wives of Jane's brother Henry; two belonged to his first wife Elizabeth (née de Feuillide) and two belonged to his second wife, Eleanor (née Jackson). Book 2/1 bears the

⁶⁸ See Gammie and McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music*, 13-31.

⁶⁹ Gillaspie, *Handlist of Austen Family Music*, 9.

signature of Ann Cooper, whilst Books 2/3 and 2/7 bear the signature of Cassandra Austen: this has led to speculation as to whether these volumes belonged to Jane's sister Cassandra or, as generally presumed by Austen scholars, the books were bound after Jane's death by Cassandra and signed at that time. Two books have not yet been identified formally and will be discussed in due course. (See Table 2)

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Table 2- List of signatures and possible owners

BOOK REFERENCE	SIGNATURE	POSSIBLE OWNER
1/1 MS	None	[Mrs Cassandra Austen or Ann Cooper?]
1/2 MS	None	Jane Austen Hand Identified
1/3 MS	None	Jane Austen Hand Identified
1/4 PM	Miss Jane Austen	Jane Austen
1/5 PM	Jane Austen	Jane Austen
1/6 PM	Elizabeth Austen (further signatures include Eliza Bridges)	Elizabeth Austen (née Bridges)
1/7 SB	Austen 1778 Miss Jane Austen	Jane Austen and Mrs Cassandra Austen?
1/8 PM	Jane Austen	Jane Austen
2/1 MS	Ann Cooper	Ann Cooper
2/2 MS	Elizth Austen August 19 th 1799	Elizabeth Bridges
2/3 MS	Cass: Eliz: Austen	Cassandra Austen
2/4 PM	Mrs Austen	Elizabeth Austen (formerly de Feuillide)
2/5 PM	Mrs Henry Austen	Eleanor Austen (née Jackson)
2/6 PM	Mrs Henry Austen	Eleanor Austen (née Jackson)
2/7 PM	Cass: Eliz: Austen	Cassandra Austen
3/1 PM	Austen 1787	[Same hand as 1/7 belonging to Jane Austen?]
3/2 PM	Mrs Austen	Elizabeth Austen (formerly de Feuillide)

Owners and Repertoire

What can the music in the Austen collection tell us about the tastes and personalities of the owners? In the following pages, I will argue that it is possible to link certain repertoire choices with different individuals on the basis of their personality and skill level. In previous descriptions of the music books in the Austen collection, the emphasis has been on critical comparison with the novels: for example, the connections made between Mozart piano concertos and each of Jane Austen's novels in Wallace's *Jane Austen and*

*Mozart.*⁷⁰ However, there has been little analysis of any individual's choice: for example, the difference between the music of Jane Austen and her cousin, Eliza de Feuillide. Female owners in the Austen household carefully compiled their music collections so, in broad terms, some type of critical analysis would be fitting to match repertoire choice to individual owners' tastes and abilities. However, this analysis should be made with caution, as it is possible that some of the pieces within a book were not chosen by the individual who had them bound together. Also, external influence was a factor, as music was often received as a gift, certain pieces were fashionable and 'in vogue' and there was the possibility of restrictions in availability from publishers, so musical choice was not always particular to the individual. However, the following pages give a broad analysis of music contained within volumes that can be attributed to an individual woman. This description serves as an important analysis displaying differences of taste, choice, wealth and education between the individual members of the family.

Jane Austen's Music

The six volumes attributed to Jane Austen are the collection of a pianist who enjoys the theatre, and quiet solitude as well as sociable occasions.⁷¹ There are many songs from the theatres with composers ranging from Dibdin and Shield to Storace and Hook.⁷² The influence of France is particularly noticeable as there is an eclectic mix of French songs intermingled with other repertoire. The songs entitled *Captivity* (Book 1/3 no.29), the *Marseilles March* (Book 1/3 no.25) and *Queen Mary's Lamentation* (Book 1/3 no.30) are significant political songs reflecting the political turbulence of the time.⁷³ There is a complete volume signed 'Miss Jane Austen' (Book 1/4) which contains solo keyboard music (sonatas, concertos and overtures) requiring competent pianistic skills

⁷⁰ Wallace, *Jane Austen and Mozart*.

⁷¹ Books 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/7 and 1/8

⁷² Paula Byrne, *Jane Austen and the Theatre* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), 29-67.

⁷³ See Malcolm Boyd, *Music and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). This comprehensive study outlines the various types of music available and the musical performances during this time. Also E. J. Hobsbawm, *Echoes of the Marseillaise: Two Centuries Look Back on the French Revolution* (London: Verso, 1990), which describes the political scene and the role of the Marseillaise in the French Revolution.

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and diligent practice. The volumes signed by Jane contain many piano and vocal duets, some of which she could have played with her niece Fanny, her sister Cassandra or indeed her sisters-in-law; a significant number of these duets are in manuscript form.

Jane was also fond of dancing and mentions receiving some *Quadrilles* from Fanny in her letter of February 1817 just before she died: 'Much obliged for the *Quadrilles*, which I am grown to think pretty enough, though of course they are very inferior to the *Cotillions* of my own day.' The *Cotillions* to which she was referring may be *La Rose-Cotillon* (Book 1/2 no.26) handwritten in her manuscript book, this was a dance form very popular in the late eighteenth century.⁷⁴ A consideration worth mentioning is that although Austen was the daughter and sister of clergymen and seems to have been a dutiful Christian, none of her books contain sacred music, other than oratorio transcriptions. This suggests that sacred music was only performed in a place of worship rather than in a domestic setting.⁷⁵

Cassandra Austen's Music

The two volumes bearing Cassandra Elizabeth Austen's signature show a collection of music different from Jane's. These volumes are more likely to have been bound together at a later date, so it is hard to give a definite description of repertoire belonging solely to Cassandra. Piggott considers the volumes signed by Cassandra as forming 'part of Jane Austen's own music library.' He continues to speculate that the loose sheets were separated by Cassandra into manuscript and printed music and taken to the binders by her, where she signed them after receiving the bound copies.⁷⁶ However, Books 2/3 and Book 2/7 do provide some information about personal taste and ability, and a significant amount of information about musical education and

⁷⁴ See the forthcoming thesis of Katrina Faulds at Southampton University which explores domestic music and dance in the country house.

⁷⁵ For further reading concerning Jane Austen and her Christian upbringing see: William Jarvis, *Jane Austen and Religion* (Witney: Stonesfield, 1996).

⁷⁶ Piggott, *Innocent Diversion*, 159-160.

repertoire choice. The third book in the second set is in manuscript form and there are many different handwriting styles, suggesting different authors. These books perhaps gives us more of an indication of general family repertoire enjoyed by the Austen family rather than just an individual. As the books bear the signature 'Cass: Eliz: Austen' I have considered the possibility that these volumes could have belonged to Cassandra Elizabeth Austen (1814-1849) who was the daughter of Jane's brother Francis and his wife Mary. But as the music contained within these volumes dates from the early nineteenth century and not from the 1830s onwards (to be expected if her niece Cassandra had been collecting it for herself), it is more probable that these volumes did indeed belong to Cassandra Austen, Jane's sister.

- It is in these Cassandra Austen volumes that the Dale Reels and Dances occur (Book 2/7), which form one set of two compositions (the other being the *Savage Dance* in manuscript App 2/1) containing instructions for dance movements to accompany the music.⁷⁷ Jane and Cassandra's move to Chawton in 1809 left them surrounded by nephews and nieces to entertain following the death of Elizabeth Bridges (Edward's wife) in October 1808.⁷⁸ James Hook's *Christmas Box* can be found in these volumes (Book 2/3).⁷⁹ This music compilation was used as an aid for teaching children to learn songs and practice dancing ready for future social events.⁸⁰

The books signed by Cassandra also contain 'lessons for the harpsichord' (see Book 2/3 no.6 and Book 7 in the second set) is the only book to include a detailed learning manual written by Jean Jousse: '*The Piano Forte made easy to every Capacity and the Art of Fingering clearly explained in a series of Instructions and Examples. To which is added 40 lessons composed & selected from the best Classical Author, arranged in the principal keys with the*

⁷⁷ See Chapter 5 in Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 79-106. This discusses the teaching of dance in the late eighteenth-century and the various dance masters.

⁷⁸ Le Faye, *Record*, 169-175.

⁷⁹ For a description of the role of nursery rhymes in a child's upbringing see: Gillian Avery, Julia Briggs, Iona Archibald Opie, and Peter Opie, *Children and Their Books: A Celebration of the Work of Iona and Peter Opie*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).

⁸⁰ See Footnote 1 for a description of the types of musical entertainments that took place in the Austen household: Deirdre Le Faye, 'Outlandish Cousin', 74.

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fingering marked where necessary (see Book 2/7 no.1). This is the only example of a printed collection of music lessons for the piano within the Austen collection, leading to speculation that they could be the set of lessons to which Jane referred in a letter to Cassandra when she went shopping with Fanny in London in September 1813: 'Fanny desires me to tell Martha with her kind Love that Birchall assured her there was no 2d set of Hook's Lessons for Beginners- & that by my advice, she has therefore chosen her a set by another Composer. I thought she would rather something than not.- It cost six shillings.'⁸¹ The set of lessons by Jousse (see above) also cost six shillings so it is entirely possible that it was the set bought from the publisher Birchall by Jane and Fanny for Jane's sister-in-law Martha Lloyd, as the substitute for the Hook manual to which Jane refers.⁸²

Elizabeth Bridges's Music

The books signed by Elizabeth Bridges stand apart from the other books, which may indicate the level of tutoring that she received at Mrs Devis's School in the 1780s.⁸³ Mrs Devis provided a very reputable education for young ladies. Both Elizabeth Sykes (the music collector from Tatton Park: see section entitled 'Further Domestic Collections') and Elizabeth Bridges went to the Devis's school, although not at the same time. Ellin Devis, who was an esteemed authoress, ran a school in Bloomsbury; she was 'the mistress of a highly respectable seminary for young ladies of fashion' which focused particularly on deportment, grammar and her concept of 'unstudied correctness'.⁸⁴ The diaries of Sophie von la Roche described how 'the best children were entrusted to them to receive all the good tuition which they

⁸¹ Le Faye, *Letters*, 224.

⁸² John (Jean) Jousse (c.1765-1837) 'is said to have been of a French noble family, who fled to London at the outbreak of the French Revolution. He became a teacher of the pianoforte, thorough bass, and singing and an associate member of the Philharmonic Society,' see Jamie Croy Kassler, *The Science of Music in Britain, 1714-1830: A Catalogue of Writings, Lectures and Inventions*, vol. I (New York: Garland, 1979), 609. Thanks to Penelope Cave for alerting me to the details of this book containing information about Jean Jousse.

⁸³ Thanks to Prof Jeanice Brooks for finding the details of Mrs Devis's school with help from correspondence from Deirdre Le Faye and Penelope Cave at Southampton University. See Marina Dossena and Charles Jones, eds., *Insights into Late Modern English* (Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003), 45-82.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

themselves had obtained during their education...They are particularly fond of music and singing; adore dancing; love dress and ornament...Fancy work, drawing or painting, or whatever else they undertake, are all executed to a measure of perfection.⁸⁵ The diarist then continued to describe how she met the Bridges children at the school. Although it is unclear from the diary whether she is describing Elizabeth or her sister, the Bridges girls certainly made an impression on her:

During an interval I asked to see the Misses Bridges...I saw three delightful forms between nine and fourteen years old, with beautifully moulded features, eyes, mouth, nose, neck and breast, a lovely skin and billowy brown curls on the finest napes in the world.⁸⁶

Elizabeth Sykes went to the same school in 1793-96 and her collection reflects a similar taste for Italian opera to that evident in Elizabeth Bridges's music books. It seems that their educations led to a similar appreciation for Italian opera which Jane did not share, perhaps because of her different childhood education. The connection with Italian repertoire suggests that with a superior education came a more eclectic mixture of music that included Italian opera, which had become associated with the aristocracy and the wealthy. There was an influx of Italian musicians responding to the demand of the fashion of Italian opera noted by McVeigh, who describes how 'the upper-class predilection for Italian opera, did result in an unrivalled assemblage of outstanding performers'.⁸⁷

Elizabeth Bridges's music books combine sophisticated Italian arias for large ensembles, painstakingly hand-written, followed by children's songs and

⁸⁵ Marie Sophie von La Roche and Clare Williams, *Sophie in London, 1786; Being the Diary of Sophie V. La Roche. A Translation of the Portion Referring to England... With an Introductory Essay by Clare Williams, Etc* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), 94-95.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁸⁷ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 82. See also Lowell Lindgren "Handel's London- Italian Musicians and Librettists" in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 57-83.

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nursery rhymes from Hook's *Christmas Box*.⁸⁸ It is perhaps no surprise that with eleven children, some nursery rhymes would be included within her music volumes, some of which are duplicated in the volumes bearing Cassandra's signature. However, the juxtaposition of complicated Italian arias indicates a higher level of vocal skill which sets it apart from the other books within the Austen household. The printed volume in the first collection (Book 1/6) contains just piano music, mainly sonatas, with some obbligato flute and violin parts. The famous *Battle of Prague* by Kotzwara appears in this volume and is duplicated in Book 1/4 belonging to Jane Austen.

Eliza de Feuillide's Music

The volumes of Henry Austen's first wife, Eliza de Feuillide, contain music from a monthly subscription in France. The books are signed simply 'Mrs Austen' which, as can be seen in the signature table (Table 2), could mean they belonged to any one of the Austen family. However, it is clear that the music contained within these volumes is likely to have been collected by somebody living in France who had regular access to Parisian subscription publications. The collection of music included in the Eliza books does not contain complete subscriptions, suggesting that their owner did not subscribe regularly, but instead acquired individual volumes or short incomplete runs when she could. The two volumes with music dating from 1787-1793 were collected after Eliza's move to France in 1777, followed by her first marriage to Jean-François Capot de Feuillide in 1782, and her return to England in 1789 when political turmoil was on the horizon.⁸⁹ Perhaps the rather sporadic nature of the collection suggests that even when Elizabeth moved back to England in 1789, her husband still sent her copies of music from Paris prior to his death in 1794. The writing on the title page of Book 2/4 describes how the subscriber would pay 30 'livre tournois', which was the old French currency before the

⁸⁸ Betty Matthews, "James Hook and His Family," *The Musical Times* 131, no. 1773 (1990): 622-25.

⁸⁹ M.de Feuillide was guillotined on 22 February 1794, see Le Faye, *Record*, 77.

Franc,⁹⁰ to have 52 copies delivered, with postage included, from Mr Cousineau and his son.⁹¹

The music is part of the weekly subscription series compiled by the harpist Jacques-Georges Cousineau (1760-1836) which was started in Paris in 1784. Eliza's music collection is incomplete and is not bound chronologically as it starts in 1787 in Book 2/4 and jumps back and forth between Book 2/4 and Book 3/2 up to 1793.⁹² The incomplete nature of the collection could also have been as a result of the 'Terror' which gripped France: 'Eliza went to stay with the Austens, and while she was there the political scene in France changed abruptly, for on 21 September 1792 France abolished its monarchy, and Year 1 of the new French Republic was decreed as beginning on 22 September.'⁹³ It seems likely that these French subscription pieces were sent by her husband from Paris to the Austens after Eliza left France in 1789, as one of these monthly subscription pieces can be found bound in a volume belonging to Cassandra (See Book 2/7 Nos. 41-43). This could either imply that the music could have been given to Cassandra as a gift from Eliza or, that when it was sent to the Austen house, the piece mistakenly became bound in their music volume rather than Eliza's.

The subscription music often listed the writer of the accompaniment but unfortunately much of the music does not identify the composer of the original melody. All the pieces written in these volumes are written for harp rather than piano, an instrument which Eliza played frequently. In France on 27 June 1780, she writes 'I amuse myself with walking, reading, music, work &cc I have here both an harpsichord and harp (The latter is at present the fashionable

⁹⁰ "Livre Tournois," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online* (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2011). <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/344965/livre-tournois>, (accessed March 30, 2011).

⁹¹ Original French title page reads as follows: 'On s'abonne moyennant 30tt Chez les Srs Cousineau Pere et Fils, Luthiers Brévetés de la Reine et de Madame la Comtesse d'Artois, rue des Pouties, et on recevra 52 Nos Francs de Port tant à Paris qu'en Province. On trouve à la même adresse un Journal de Clavecin dont le prix et les livraisons sont les mêmes. Gravé par le Roy l'ainé: A Paris.' Taken from Book 2/4.

⁹² Roslyn Rensch, "Cousineau," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06726>, (accessed August 10, 2012).

⁹³ Le Faye, *Jane Austen's 'Outlandish Cousin': The Life and Letters of Eliza De Feuillide*.

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instrument).⁹⁴ These pieces are collections of airs, romances, overtures and pastorals with many examples of romances that follow the fashionable 'French Romance' form.⁹⁵ Some of the works are also entitled 'Feuille de Terpsichore,' to indicate 'little pieces of poetry and dance', suggesting that it would have been fashionable to dance to some of the songs.⁹⁶ The subtitle displays an obvious target audience: 'a new study of the harp dedicated to the Ladies, in which will be found successively the pleasant, the easy and the difficult, composed by the most sought-after teachers of the instrument.'⁹⁷

Eleanor Jackson's Music

Following Eliza's death in 1813, Henry married a second time and Eleanor Jackson's volumes consequently joined those of his first wife. The first volume (Book 2/5) resembles other Austen volumes with its inclusion of songs, sonatas and theatrical numbers. This volume has been identified as belonging to her, as we have seen, because of a dedication appearing on a Linley song *Why Busy Boys*, 'Most humbly inscribed (by Permission) to Mrs. Henry Jackson of Beckenham, Kent.' (See Book 2/5 No. 45). It is then signed 'To Mrs Henry Jackson', who was Eleanor's mother.⁹⁸ However, the second volume (Book 2/6) consists of music with an emphasis on harp and piano music. Indeed, apart

⁹⁴ Le Faye, 'Outlandish Cousin', 49.

⁹⁵ 'The French used the term 'romance' in the first half of the eighteenth century to denote a strophic poem recounting an ancient story of love and gallantry. Essential to the genre were the qualities of naturalness, simplicity and naivety.' Taken from Jack Sage, et al. "Romance," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23725>, (accessed August 10, 2012). See also the work of Helen Macfarlane at Southampton University who describes the French Romance in her thesis entitled "Italian Composers and the French Romance" due for completion in February 2014. The thesis begins as a catalogue of the French romances published in Paris by Italian composers. As a result of the findings from this survey, she challenges the characteristics and conventions associated with the romance by French composers, and attempts to demonstrate how the cultivation of the romance, as a predominantly French genre, by the Italians affected the aesthetics laid down by French pioneers.

⁹⁶ Music during the French Revolution has seen an increasing amount of musicological study, particularly a chapter written by Catherine Massip, which discusses in great depth the periodical editions of music at the time of the French Revolution with references to the Cousineau editions. Catherine Massip, "Periodical editions of music at the time of the French Revolution," in *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 78-90.

⁹⁷ Book 2/4 No.21.

⁹⁸ Identification of Eleanor Jackson's volume was made by Prof Jeanice Brooks.

from the harp music contained in the Eliza volumes, this volume contains the largest amount of harp music in the collection, indicating that the harp was Eleanor Jackson's chosen instrument. The volume contains many duets for harp and piano including Steibelt's *Grand Duet for the Harp and Piano Forte or Two Piano Fortes Op.49. Composed and Dedicated to Madame Moreau* and the skill level for both pianist and harpist is significant.⁹⁹ In Knapton's harp and piano duet entitled *Caller Herring. A Favorite [sic] Scotch Air arranged with Variations as a Duet for the Harp & Piano Forte*, and Dussek's *Grand Duet for the Harp & Pianoforte*, across the top of the music the word 'harpe' [sic] is written.¹⁰⁰ The majority of this volume is devoted to harp and piano duets, where there is just the individual harp or piano part, not both sets of duet music. From studying British Library copies it is clear that the individual parts do not work musically as a solo, so the missing duet part was either lost or might be found in another volume belonging to someone else or to the teacher.

Ann Cooper's Music

The volume signed 'Ann Cooper' differs from the others in that it is in manuscript form and is a rare example in this collection of copied music which includes dates. There are two compositions with dates attached: the first is *Let's have a Dance upon the heath, In Makbeth [sic]* dated 1754 (See Book 2/1 No.3) followed by Handel's 'Overture in Rodelinda' (See Book 2/1 No.4) dated 1755. As Handel's *Rodelinda* was composed in 1725 the date in the manuscript indicates when it was copied into the book rather than when it was composed. Ann Cooper (who later became Mrs Cawley) was related through marriage and a good friend of Mrs Cassandra Austen, Jane's mother; she was the sister of Doctor Cooper who was a great friend of the Austens.¹⁰¹ The

⁹⁹ For the Harp part see Book 2/6 No.7, the piano part is housed at the British Library ref: Music Collections n.301.s.(2)

¹⁰⁰ For the Harp part of Knapton's *Caller Herring*, see Book 2/6 No.2, the piano and harp part can be seen at the British Library ref: Music Collection g.661.a.(3). For the harp part of Dussek's *Grand Duet*, see Book 2/6 No.3, the piano part is housed at the British Library ref: h.721.a

¹⁰¹ For full details of Ann Cooper's marriage to Ralph Cawley and subsequent life in Oxford see Elizabeth Boardman, "Mrs Cawley and Brasenose College," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 2001-2005* 6 (2003): 201-208.

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Austen girls, Jane and Cassandra, 'were sent to Oxford to be tutored' along with their cousin Jane Cooper in 1783.¹⁰² Later in the year they moved to Southampton where there had been an outbreak of typhus.¹⁰³ Jane Austen and the girls nearly died from the disease and were taken back to Steventon but unfortunately Mrs Cooper, who had rushed down to Southampton to the girls' aid, died of the disease. This particular volume of music must have stayed in the Austen family from then on for the girls to use and practice from. The manuscript book is incomplete and was clearly used for study purposes with each additional lesson's music added systematically within the pages. This book contains information unlike any other concerning lesson payment: there are lists of dates with numbers attached dating from 1781-1785:

1782 Dec 23.30. 1783 Jan. 9.16.20.23. Feb 10.12.13.17. March 3.17

Rec: one Guinea E.C.O.

(received) (initialled)¹⁰⁴

The lists of dates are in groups of twelve suggesting that lesson payment was for twelve lessons which cost one guinea. The manuscript book is the only book in the collection which can be likened to a musical notebook. There are further lesson dates and payment details in the book followed by a description of harpsichord tuning:

April 28th 1785 Began Tuning the Harp:d (harpsichord) at 10s 6d pr (per)

Quarter¹⁰⁵

In addition to listing the business terms of musician engagement, this volume is unique in the way it becomes a pedagogical manuscript. The majority of music is oratorios and there are some waltzes and Italian works, but no songs

¹⁰² Le Faye, *Record*, 47-48.

¹⁰³ Le Faye, *Record*, 48.

¹⁰⁴ See Book 2/1, 55.

¹⁰⁵ See Book 2/1, 55.

from the theatres such as appear in later volumes. However, in between these handwritten pieces there are pages in differing hands suggesting juvenile practising of treble clefs, notes, stems and ornaments, and some of the music has penned-over pencil markings indicating that a child was learning how to write music neatly by copying over the top of an example written by an adult. It can be conjectured that this juvenile scribbling might have been that of the young eight-year-old Jane Austen, her sister or her cousin, as they learnt the musical skills which would flourish in later years. There are many incomplete pieces of just a few bars as the pupil learned how to write in this book exemplifying its use. The dates contained in the notebook outlining lessons coincide with the period when they were receiving tuition in Oxford and Southampton;¹⁰⁶ the Austens then perhaps took this musical practice book with them when the girls were moved to be tutored at Abbey House in Reading in 1785.¹⁰⁷

Unidentified Music

Book 1/1 is one of the unsigned volumes (See Table 1), written in many differing hands similar to the fragmentary compositions in Ann Cooper's book (Book 2/1). It is my opinion that Book 1/1 belonged to either Mrs Cassandra Austen or Ann Cooper, as the hands are similar in both books; if this volume belonged to Mrs Cassandra Austen, it seems likely that at some point music was copied by her into the Cooper volume (Book 2/1). The handwriting is the same in some of the compositions with matching large clef signs and similar width quill strokes. It is also possible that this volume belonged solely to Ann Cooper and she used both manuscript books to aid her pedagogy.

In comparing these two volumes, the dominance of Handel compositions is particularly striking even though it is in line with most pedagogical collections.

¹⁰⁶ For further details concerning Jane and Cassandra's tutelage under Mrs Cawley see T.A.B. Corley, "Jane Austen's School Days," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1996-2000* (1996): 14-24.

¹⁰⁷ Details of Jane Austen's schooling away from home are detailed above: see also Le Faye, *Record*, 50-51.

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Both volumes contain a significant quantity of Handel's music from different oratorios including *Judas Maccabeus*, *Esther*, *Susanna* and *Messiah*. For the most part they indicate an earlier generation of musical taste and trends compared to the later volumes signed by Jane Austen and her sisters-in-law. These earlier books were confined to English composition taken from the earlier 1700s, including music by composers such as William Boyce, Matthew Locke, and Thomas Arne.

The last volume, which is simply labelled 'Austen 1787' (Book 3/1) contains Valentino Nicolai's sonatas Op.3 no.1-6. According to Ronald Kidd: 'Valentino's compositions appeared in London from about 1776...The Sonata in C op.3 no.1 was especially successful and, according to Burney, was "for many years taught in every school in the kingdom".¹⁰⁸ Nicolai's signature on the contents page of this volume attests that the sonatas were bought when he was at the height of his fame. The 'Austen' signature on the flyleaf of the album is also similar to that which is written on the musical scrapbook Book 1/7 and later signed Jane Austen. The similarity in the signature and also the comparable choice of music suggests that this volume may also have belonged to Jane Austen: the Nicolai sonatas are very similar in content to the solo sonatas in Book 1/4 which includes the Pleyel Sonatinas and *Overture*, *Evance Solo Concerto* and Kotswara's *Battle of Prague* (1788).

Music Selections within the Books

Copying music into a manuscript book was an eighteenth-century practice, a form of music networking and sharing where printed music would be passed amongst music lovers and copied to reduce expense. The neatness and tidiness of the copying was judged most critically and regarded as testament to the fastidiousness of the inscriber. Jane Austen complained of her sister-in-law to Cassandra in a letter written in January 1799, 'Elizabeth [Knight née

¹⁰⁸ Ronald R. Kidd, "Nicolai, Valentino," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19887?q=nicolai&search=quick&pos=8&start=1>, (accessed October 22, 2010).

Bridges] is very cruel about my writing Music; - & as a punishment for her, I should insist upon always writing out all hers for her in future, if I were not punishing myself at the same time.¹⁰⁹ Within the five manuscript books, there are still 124 manuscript compositions which have no composer name listed; evidently the care in copying did not extend to noting composer names (or poets for song texts) for a significant number of works.

The collection contains 548 pieces altogether in the seventeen volumes of music. Of the music yet to be identified, there are 131 compositions in total where either no composer is listed or it is as yet still unidentified by other scholars. It is surprising that out of those 131 compositions, 21 pieces are printed music with no composer. Six of these items are explainable as they are traditional Scottish airs where no composer is attributed: for example in Book 1/1 No.8 the words are listed for the *Thirty Scots Songs for a Voice & Harpsichord* as being written by Allan Ramsay, but there is no mention of the composer.¹¹⁰ The music is believed to be old Scottish air set to new words by Ramsay which was an established Jacobite practice.¹¹¹ One particular song written within the ten songs grouped together in Book 1/9 No.2c entitled *The Yellow Hair'd Laddie* has been attributed to Ramsay but the other songs within this entry are definitely not Ramsay's compositions.¹¹² A further seven pieces, which are printed music entries with no composer listed, are all compositions compiled from the monthly subscription of music belonging to Eliza de Feuillide in Book 2/4 and Book 3/2. The remaining eight printed entries are a mixture of pieces with no common theme to group them together.

¹⁰⁹ Le Faye, *Letters*, 33.

¹¹⁰ Some of the printed music contains several small pieces, for example: the *Selection of Marches and Quick Steps* by Corri Book 2/5 No.53, is listed as one entry but there are eighteen little marches and quick steps within the collection.

¹¹¹ Murray G.H. Pittock, "Ramsay, Allan (1684-1758)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23072>, (accessed July 4, 2009).

¹¹² For a discussion of the writing practice of Scots songs see: Derek Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois. Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989), 22-32.

Music Duplications

There are many duplicates within the collection in various forms of printed and manuscript music, even within the 131 items where there is no composer attributed. One such song entitled *Pauvre Jacques* occurs in the French subscription volumes belonging to Eliza (formerly de Feuillide) and is then copied into Jane Austen's scrapbook a tone lower into F major.¹¹³ Another duplication is the printed version of *Two of the Most Admired Russian Airs performed by the Russian Band in George St. Assembly Rooms*, which refers to the George Street Assembly Rooms in Edinburgh.¹¹⁴ In one of Jane's manuscript books there is a copied composition entitled *Polonese Russe* (Book 1/2 No.35) which I have identified as being the second of the two printed Russian airs.¹¹⁵ There are minimal discrepancies in the dotted rhythms in the opening bars but it is interesting that this connection to the musical scene in Edinburgh has been duplicated in a volume belonging to Jane and her sister-in-law, Eleanor Austen (née Jackson).

For a full list of duplications see Table 3 below.

¹¹³ See Book 2/4 No.33 and Book 1/7 No.43

¹¹⁴ See Book 2/5 No.30

¹¹⁵ See Book 1/2 No.35

Table 3- Duplications within the collection

COMPOSER	TITLE	BOOK REFERENCES
Abrams, Harriet	Crazy Jane	Bk 2/5 No.52 PM Bk 2/2 No.17 MS
Arnold, Samuel	Oh happy Tawny Moor sung by Mrs Bland & Mr Bannister Junr in the Mountaineers	Bk 2/2 No.34 MS Bk 1/3 No.23 MS
Calcott, J.W.	Epitaph. In the Church of Brading, in the Isle of Wight	Bk 2/3 No.20 MS Bk 2/5 No.28b PM
Calcott	The Friar of Orders Gray	Bk 2/5 No.28a PM Bk 2/2 No.21 MS
Carter, Thomas	O Nanny wil thou gang with me. The Celebrated song sung at the Kings Concerts by Mrs Billington at the Harmonic club	Bk 2/5 No.11 PM Bk 1/3 No.3 MS
Dalayrac, Nicolas-Marie	Ouverture de Renaud d'Ast	Bk 2/4 No.20 PM Bk 1/2 No.3 MS
Hook, James	'Goosey Goosey Gander, where shall I wander'	Bk 1/7 No.21 MS Bk 2/2 No.12 MS
Hook, James	Little Jack Horner	Bk 2/3 No.14 MS Bk 2/2 No.13 MS
Hook, James	Who comes there, a Grenadier	Bk 2/3 No.15 MS Bk 2/2 No.15 MS
Hook, James	The Wedding Day	Bk 2/5 No.50 PM Bk 1/3 No.24 MS
Jackson, William	Sad is My Day and Lingering Night'	Bk 2/5 No.55 PM Bk 1/8 No.1 PM
Kotzwara, Frantisek	The Battle of Prague A Sonata for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniment for a Violin, Bass &c.[see G&M p.20]	Bk 1/4 No.4 PM Bk 1/6 No.4 PM
Latour, Thomas	The Nightingale, a favorite Military Rondo, with Twelve Variations for the Forte Piano with an accompaniment for Flute ad libitum. Composed and Dedicated to the Vicountess Hamilton	Bk 2/7 No.18 PM Bk 1/2 No.34 MS
Le Moine, Estienne	Ouverture des Pretendus	Bk 2/4 No.21 PM Bk 1/2 No.1 MS
Linley, Thomas	The Woodman Words by William Pearce	Bk 1/7 No.17 PM Bk 2/5 No.47 PM
Naumann, Johann Gottlieb	Vino Vecchio Canzonette Aria e Coro	Bk 1/7 No.7 PM Bk 2/2 No.8 MS
Piccini, Nicolo	Overture: La Buona Figliuola	Bk 1/6 No.2 PM Bk 2/3 No.8 MS
Schobert, Johann	Trois Sinfonies pour le Clavecin avec L'Accompagnement d'un Violon & deux Cornes de Chasse ad Libitum [see G&M p.22]	Bk 1/6 No.7 PM Bk 1/5 No.10 PM

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COMPOSER	TITLE	BOOK REFERENCES
Shield, William	'Her hair is like a golden clue' Siciliano 6/8 A maj [see G&M p.17]	Bk 1/3 No.8 MS App 1 No.2 MS
Spofforth, Reginald	Ellen, The Richmond Primrose Girl. As sung by Mr. Incledon at the Public Readings Free Mason's Hall	Bk 2/5 No.22 PM Bk 1/7 No.26 MS

The quantity of duplications is evidence of the practice of music sharing which has been described above. These 20 duplications suggest that one owner bought the music and after hearing and performing it, shared it with another who copied it into a manuscript book. There are only four examples of two duplicated printed versions having been bought. It is also surprising that there are five duplications with both versions in manuscript form, which strongly suggests that the original printed music belonged to somebody else.

Since the publication of Gammie and McCulloch's book on the first collection in 1996 where duplications within the first set were noted, my research into the complete collection has led to further discoveries including the duplication of the nursery rhymes by Hook.¹¹⁶ These are all listed in James Hook's famous *Christmas Box* collection, which was a particular late eighteenth-century favourite after its first publication in 1796.¹¹⁷ There were many subsequent editions which prompted Hook to write a second set in 1798.¹¹⁸ The printed version of the *Christmas Box* does not exist in the Austen collection even though there are several manuscript versions. It seems likely that the Austen family used it, as did many in the late eighteenth century, as a way of entertaining children.

¹¹⁶ See Gammie and McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music*, 17, 20 and 22.

¹¹⁷ British Library Music Collections G.352.(23.) *Christmas Box* vol.1 (Bland and Weller, 1796).

¹¹⁸ British Library Music Collections G.379.c.(7.) *Christmas Box* vol.II (Bland and Weller, 1798)

'Three Missing Songs'

In an article written in 1999, Deirdre Le Faye observed that according to Jane Austen's aunt Caroline's reminiscences (which were written in 1867), she mentioned three songs which were not found in the first set.¹¹⁹ This article was written before the second collection was made available and after studying the second and third sets, Jeanice Brooks and I found these three missing songs. The recollection reads as follows:

My Aunt Miss Jane Austen had nearly left off singing, by the time I can recollect much about her performances- but *some* songs of hers I do remember- One was-

Her groves of green myrtle, let foreign lands reckon,
Where bright beaming summer exhals their [...]
Far dearer to me are the Braes of [...]
With the wind stealing over the long yellow broom

My memory fails at the last word of the 3d. line- and one or two in the 4th. are a guess. The Song, as she sang it, was in M.S. I never saw it in print-

Another, already mentioned, was entitled 'Oh! No my Love no! or The Wife's [Farewell] I believe from the Farce of Age tomorrow[.]' I had a printed copy of this once, myself ages ago- But the song that I heard her sing oftenest, was a little oftenest [*sic*], was a little French ditty in her M.S. book [.] The first 2 lines were

[']Que j'aime à voir les Hirondelles
Volent ma fenêtre tous les jours'

As a child, this was my favourite- & was what I asked for the oftenest.¹²⁰

The first song refers to a manuscript copy entitled *Song by Burn's* [*sic*] (Book 2/3 No.23) comprising three verses, all handwritten. This song is contained in the second set of music books and has only recently been identified as one of the songs that Jane used to sing. The poem was written by Burns in 1795 but a comparison of copies held at the British Library suggests that the wording in the manuscript version has changed.¹²¹ The second stanza of the poem is changed from 'aft wanders my Jean' to 'oft wanders my Jean' followed by

¹¹⁹ Deirdre Le Faye, "Three Missing Jane Austen Songs," *Notes and Queries* (1999): 454- 55.

¹²⁰ Austen-Leigh, *Memoir*, 193.

¹²¹ British Library Music Collections: G.805.k.(20.).

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further changes in the fourth stanza where the words 'the chains of his Jean' become 'the charms of his Jane'. Despite ongoing research, the exact composer is still unknown but there is another known copy of the song with the anglicised alterations from 'Jean' to 'Jane' which is housed in the music collection belonging to the National Trust at Tatton Park in Cheshire. The simple accompaniment with the music written between the staves is charmingly constructed with scotch snap rhythms interwoven into the melody line with a brief 4-bar introduction by the piano each time. No doubt because of the changed wording it became one of Jane's favourite songs, which was so distinctly remembered by Caroline.

The second song referred to by Caroline is the first in a two-song set which is taken from the farce 'Of Age Tomorrow'. Both of these songs are located in the Austen collection, again in the second set of books housed at Chawton House. The details of the titles and location of the songs within the collection are as follows: Book 2/5 No.35- *The Wife's Farewell, or No, My Love No. In the much admired Farce of Age To-Morrow* and Book 2/5 No.25 *The Husband's Return, or the Answer to No My Love No.* These two songs come from the play 'Of Age Tomorrow' seen by Fanny Knight and Jane Austen in September 1807 on a trip to the theatre when the Austens lived in Southampton.¹²² The first song describes the satirical position of a wife saying that she will not 'blame your departure, oh no my love no... while abroad you are straying...do you think I suspect you, oh no my love no'.¹²³ The 'Husband's Return' expresses remorse at his indiscretion as he attempts to return to his wife. These copies belong to Eleanor Austen née Jackson and are the only version of the song in the collection, which does not appear in any of the volumes signed by Jane Austen. This suggests that the version of the song that Jane knew is in another music book, which has not been preserved and perhaps belonged to Caroline Austen, as she describes how she 'had a printed copy of this once, myself ages ago'.¹²⁴

¹²² Kent Archives: Brabourne Archive Fanny Knight's Journals, shelfmark U951 F24/1.

¹²³ See Book 2/5 No.35

¹²⁴ Austen-Leigh, *Memoir*, 193

The final song is in the printed French subscription book belonging to Eliza (formerly de Feuillide) in Book 2/4 No.13 and Jeanice Brooks has discovered that this anonymous song in the collection was written by François Devienne (1759-1803).¹²⁵ It is taken from a pastoral romance called *Estelle* written by Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian (1755-1794) in 1788: the three verses of this rather fateful song describe how two swallows faithfully return to each other in the winter until one is caged and dies, whereupon the other swallow also dies.¹²⁶ According to Caroline's letter, she remembers this song being in manuscript form (see above), and if one is to trust this recollection, then one must assume that there was another manuscript book containing Jane Austen's handwritten copy as well as Eliza's printed version from Paris.

Austen music matching to letter references

There are 38 references to music in Jane Austen's letters, many of which refer to music included in the collection. One such reference is in the letter to Cassandra in April 1811 referring to the concert at their brother Henry's house in Sloane Square: 'The Music was extremely good. It opened (tell Fanny) with "Prike pe Parp pin praise pof Prapela"- & of the other Glees I remember, "In peace Love tunes," "Rosabelle," "The red cross Knight," & "Poor Insect."¹²⁷ She specifically mentions that Cassandra should 'tell Fanny'¹²⁸ that they played the piece 'Prike pe Parp pin praise pof Prapela [sic]'. Piggott identified the piece as 'Strike the Harp' which Deirdre Le Faye further explained the meaning of the words in the footnote to the letter, as some type of 'nonsense language between themselves, putting a P in front of every word'.¹²⁹ The music to this duet is contained within the collection in the set of music belonging to Elizabeth Bridges, Fanny's mother (Book 2/2 No.42). The manuscript version

¹²⁵ William Montgomery, "Devienne, François," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07688>, (accessed October 26, 2012).

¹²⁶ For further information on the three missing songs, see the forthcoming article co-authored by Jeanice Brooks and Samantha Carrasco. See also Jean-Luc Gourdin, *Florian Le Fabuliste: 1755-1794* (Paris: Ramsay, 2002).

¹²⁷ Le Faye, *Letters*, 183.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 183.

¹²⁹ Piggott, *Diversion*, 8. Reference to Fanny's nonsense language can be found in Le Faye, *Letters*, 403.

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of this piece is written for two sopranos, bass and a piano duet, and it is easy to imagine a large Austen gathering where different members of the family took various parts. However, although Piggott identifies the piece (Book 2/2 No.42), he does not explore the original scoring and assumes that the music belonged to Eliza de Feuillide.¹³⁰ In fact, the book belonged to Elizabeth Knight who was Fanny Knight's mother, as after comparison between the hands of Book 1/6, which is known to belong to Elizabeth Bridges, with Book 2/2, ownership of the two books was definite. As further research has shown that the book actually belongs to Elizabeth Knight, it is interesting that the scoring is for piano duet, two female singers and a male singer. Jane specifically asks Cassandra to 'tell Fanny' and it could be assumed that Jane Austen and Fanny (Elizabeth Knight's eldest daughter) would have played the duet and sung the parts together, perhaps with Fanny's father singing the bass line. The manuscript is headed *Trio for 2 Soprano's & a Bass with an Accompaniment for 2 Performers on the Piano Forte. The Poetry from Ossian* (See Book 2/2 No.42). The Ossian Poetry refers to a set of Scottish legend poems which were very fashionable towards the end of the eighteenth century, as the stories of rugged Highlanders appealed to the fashionable crowds in the busy cities.¹³¹ The other glees by Callcott, which are mentioned in the letter, are not in the collection, but 'Strike the Harp' was clearly a significant piece worth mentioning and it seems that Fanny and Jane enjoyed the piece together.¹³² However, although there are seven Callcott pieces altogether in the collection, with two sets of entries duplicated (See Table 3), none of the glees mentioned in the letters occur in the extant book.

There are other musical references in the letters alluding to music which has unfortunately not been found in the current collection, such as the Hermit, Boulangeries and some Quadrilles.¹³³ In one of Fanny Knight's pocket books there is a reference to a concert that the Knight family attended in August 1807 '... we were very much entertained with "Five miles off or The finger post" "The Critic" & the Opera of "Catch him who can", the music of which we have, &

¹³⁰ Piggott, *Diversion*, 8.

¹³¹ Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 60-65.

¹³² The above glees are mentioned in a footnote by Piggott, *Diversion*, 168 n7.

¹³³ Le Faye, *Letters*, 8, 294 and 330.

it was doubly entertaining to hear songs we sing often ourselves, repeated on the Stage.¹³⁴ Again, this music is not in the extant Austen collection; the music belonging to Fanny Knight does not seem to have been preserved with the other Austen books, and may have been dispersed in a different direction as Fanny Knight had nine children with her husband Sir Edward Knatchbull (1781-1849).¹³⁵

The letters written by Jane Austen do refer to other compositions within the collection including *Queen Mary's Lamentation* which describes Mary Queen of Scots's time in prison.¹³⁶ In a letter written from Southampton in 1807, when her spirits were low because the future of the Austen ladies was very unsure, Jane Austen wrote: 'It is no use to lament.- I never heard that even Queen Mary's Lamentation did her any good, & I could not therefore expect benefit from mine.'¹³⁷ Soon after the letter was written they moved to Chawton where the main period of Jane's writing took place. Later in March 1814 Jane Austen went to see Arne's *Artaxerxes* and described it beforehand to Cassandra as 'Excepting Miss Stephens, I dare say *Artaxerxes* will be very tiresome.'¹³⁸ After seeing it she asserted 'I was very tired of *Artaxerxes*, highly amused with the Farce, & in an inferior way with the Pantomime that followed.'¹³⁹ Notwithstanding this disparaging remark about Arne's composition, a version of his overture to *Artaxerxes* was copied into Jane Austen's manuscript book (See Book 1/2 No.37). Perhaps her comment describing it as 'tiresome' implied that she was over-familiar with the music and preferred modern and more fashionable music.

One of the final musical references relating to the music collection occurs in Austen-Leigh's *Memoir* in a letter to Jane's niece Caroline from 'the Revd

¹³⁴ Knowledge of this piece of music is courtesy of email correspondence with Deirdre Le Faye, who refers to Fanny's trip to the theatre in her pocketbook for 1807. The description is described further in Fanny's letter to Miss Chapman of 30th August 1807. The pocket book and letter are unpublished and form part of the Brabourne Archive in Kent; the pocketbook reference is: U.951/F.24/4, and the letter reference is: U.951/C.106/7.

¹³⁵ Le Faye, *Letters*, 265.

¹³⁶ See Piggott, *Diversion*, 152-153.

¹³⁷ Le Faye, *Letters*, 118.

¹³⁸ Rachel Cowgill, "Stephens, Catherine [Kitty]," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26378>, (accessed October 28, 2012)

¹³⁹ Le Faye, *Letters*, 260.

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F.W.Fowle... acknowledging receipt of the Memoir.¹⁴⁰ He recalled in 1870, 'I well remember her singing- & "The yellow haired Laddie" made an impression upon me, which more than half a century has had no power to efface.' The song to which he is referring contains five verses and was written by Allan Ramsay and can be found buried in the first set of 30 Scots songs in one of the printed volumes signed 'Jane Austen'.¹⁴¹ The song 'The yellow hair'd laddie' (Book 1/8 No.2c) seemingly was a favourite of Jane Austen as not only did she enjoy this melody but there are a further 60 songs in this volume which are traditional Scots melodies.

The Austen Family Repertoire

As we have seen, the Austen collection as a whole contains a wide variety of material spanning over 100 years. However, after analysing the spreadsheet compiled as part of my research (the information from which has been transferred to the Handlist), I found that there are only two composers who have over twenty compositions in the collection. Their music reflects fashionable taste in the provinces at that time. There are twenty compositions by Handel,¹⁴² and twenty-four compositions by Hook.¹⁴³ Admittedly, Hook's compositions have been duplicated much more than Handel's but it is an interesting statistic for a composer who has not managed to sustain a similar position in the canon in later generations. The fact that Handel is one of the few composers to have been present in two generations of music collection clearly confirms his continued popularity at that time.

¹⁴⁰ Austen-Leigh, *Memoir*, 194.

¹⁴¹ For identification of the Scots song 'The Yellow Hair'd Laddie' by Ramsay see: Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 22-32.

¹⁴² For a detailed view of the rise of Handel's fame see William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 223-243. See also T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 265-79.

¹⁴³ For a well documented and thorough study of theatre music in this period see Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973). For further information on James Hook see: Betty Matthews, "James Hook and His Family," *The Musical Times* 131, no. 1773 (1990): 622-25.

Only four other composers have ten or more compositions: Charles Dibdin (11), Joseph Hinner (13), Michael Kelly (10), and William Shield (10). These are all songs made famous in the theatres and pleasure gardens, showing the emphasis of theatrical compositions within the collection. There remain only fourteen composers who number between 5-9 compositions: Thomas Arne (8), John Arnold (8), Thomas Calcott (7), Nicholas Dalayrac (5), Dufeüille (5), Tommaso Giordani (5), André Ernest Modeste Grétry (5), Joseph Haydn (6), Francis Tatton Latour (6), Joseph Mazzinghi (9), Giovanni Paisiello (6), Ignaz Pleyel (5), Daniel Steibelt (6) and Stephen Storace (6). These composers present a varied mix specialising in vocal songs, solo sonatas and oratorio works. The fact that there is such a variety of composers with very little duplication perhaps reflects quickly changing tastes and a desire for all things new. The remaining 150 composers are represented by between one and four works each in the collection.

Of the 170 composers listed in the collection, 96 are British and 74 are from the continent, so just under half of them were not native to Britain. It is difficult to describe composers definitively according to nationality, as there was a degree of fluidity; musicians travelled Europe seeking better prospects. However of these 74 composers there were: 33 French, 23 Italian, 10 German, 5 Bohemian and 3 Austrian. Counting Handel, seven other composers emigrated from their native countries to England more or less permanently or made extended stays, including Pasquale Anfossi, François-Hippolyte Barthélemon, P. Anthony Corri, Jan Ladislav Dussek, Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, Tommaso Giordani, and Joseph Haydn. This shows the extent to which eighteenth-century Britain was opening its doors to different cultures and influences. To an eighteenth-century musician, the financial prospects afforded by a strong British economy, combined with lower risk of war, was appealing. Cyril Ehrlich describes how foreigners 'flowed in from readily available pools of talent, responding quickly to new opportunities in London.'¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 6.

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The predominance of French composers compared to those of other nationalities is in part due to Eliza de Feuillide's collection and the Austens' interest in French matters as Captain Frank Austen, a naval officer, was involved in the Napoleonic wars.¹⁴⁵ As Eliza lived in France for nearly twenty years it is not surprising that the majority of her music is French with some Italian compositions. The music by Italian composers is spread across the collection in the form of small arias or keyboard works: we have already noted that all the large Italian arias belonged to Elizabeth Bridges and were copied into her manuscript book. Her interest in Italian music accounts for the vast majority of Italian music in the collection.¹⁴⁶

The presence of works by foreign composers is evidence of the opportunities that Britain offered as an attractive place to make a musical career. There were many publishers and a wealthy public avid for musical novelty from abroad. Foreign musicians were also at an advantage because, as McVeigh observes, 'they could present letters of recommendation from princes all over Europe', which helped in securing patronage in Britain.¹⁴⁷ Handel had a distinct advantage: he was careful not to attach himself to any particular political party, and his cosmopolitan background meant that his music was a fusion of different musical tastes, with which different countries could identify. There was a drive to claim him as an English composer, but after various angry exchanges the consensus was 'that the genre of the oratorio was English, but the composer who devised it was not.'¹⁴⁸ He was quick to realise this potential and responded to taste through his many Oratorio compositions.

The following list displays the types of ensemble pieces within the books which include three main instrumental categories: Piano, Voice and Harp. The collection contains 548 compositions, which can be subdivided as follows:

¹⁴⁵ For a detailed description of Jane Austen's relationship with the navy in her novels and a further description of Jane's sailor brothers see Chapters 1 and 2 in: B. C. Southam, *Jane Austen and the Navy*, 2nd ed., revised and corrected (London: National Maritime Museum, 2005), 3-37.

¹⁴⁶ For information about Mrs Devis's school see the sub-heading 'Elizabeth Bridge's Music'.

¹⁴⁷ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 187.

¹⁴⁸ Weber, *Rise of Musical Classics*, 225.

333 songs (34 of which are accompanied on the harp)

170 solo piano pieces (including 1 solo piano piece with figured bass)

15 harp pieces

30 comprising differing ensemble combinations.

The 333 songs can be further subdivided as follows:¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ For an explanation of the score codings see the introduction to the Handlist.

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Table 4- Music within the collection

267	SOLO SONGS
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16	UNACCOMPANIED SONGS
2x	Vocal Line Only (VLO)
3x	Vocal Duet Only (VDO)
8x	Vocal Trio Only (VTO)
3x	Vocal Quartet Only

40	VOCAL DUETS
6x	In Treble Clef with Figured Bass (VDFB)
19x	Separate line for each voice above the score (VDAS)
1x	Written between staves (VDBS)
8x	Bass line written below, each voice with own stave (VDB)
1x	Bass Line only with figured bass (VDFBO)
1x	Piano with vocal duet written between staves with violin obligato written above the stave (PVDV)
2x	With String Quartet (SQVD)
2x	With String Trio (STVD)

9	VOCAL TRIOS
5x	Piano Part doubling bass part, just treble clef written above the bass line (VTPT)
1x	With piano duet (PDVT)
2x	With String Trios (STVT)
1x	With Bass line (VTB)

1	VOCAL QUARTET
1x	Quartet accompanied on organ

The varying types of vocal scoring identified in the collection suggest a different type of skill level: for example, if the vocal line is placed between the score it seems to indicate that the pianist would sing and play, since it is far easier to read a vocal line written between the staves whilst playing, than reading one written separately above the score. However, the vocal line

placement could also have differed according to publisher, in addition to the skill level. For this reason, the songs have been subdivided to indicate the differing types of scoring evident in both printed and manuscript music. However, most of the collection consists of solo songs, with duets forming an eighth of the entire vocal repertoire and very little repertoire needing more than two singers.

In terms of the different instrumentation used to accompany the songs, the use of string accompaniment has been highlighted in the above table. Out of the 333 songs, 34 songs are accompanied by the harp (HVAS) and three by the organ so after allowing for the 15 a cappella songs and the 50 ensemble songs the remaining 231 songs are accompanied by the piano.

These 231 accompanied solo songs on the piano can be subdivided as follows:

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Table 5- List of accompanied songs

ACCOMPANIED SOLO SONGS	
102x	Voice between treble and bass clef (VBS)
84x	Vocal line separately above the score (VAS)
5x	Vocal line separately between treble and bass clef (VLBS)
20x	Figured bass with voice between the staves
6x	Figured bass written on separate stave (FBVBA)
1x	Piano, voice line and extra bass line (PVEB)
11x	Piano with voice between staves and violin above the score (PVV)
1x	Piano with 2 violin parts and voice between the staves (PV2V)
1x	String Quartet and voice (SQV)

In addition to the 333 songs, in total there are 170 pieces written for solo piano, which forms nearly a third of the entire collection. Therefore the 15 harp pieces make a minority. Out of these 15 compositions, four are harp and piano duets (HP) and the other eleven are solo harp pieces (H).

After focusing on the songs, solo piano works and harp compositions, the final category to consider are the thirty ensemble combinations. The combinations are varied in scoring with, surprisingly, two pieces including orchestral scoring. The ensemble pieces can be subdivided as follows:

Table 6- List of ensemble music

PIANO ENSEMBLE PIECES	
10x	Piano Duets
8x	Piano works with obligato violin above stave (PVO)
3x	Piano compositions with obligato flute (PFO & PF)
2x	Piano pieces with orchestral scoring, Horns and Clarinets (PHC)
1x	Piano piece with string quartet (PSO)
6x	Piano piece with tambourine (PT)

Some Austen scholars have asked if the books contain any original musical composition by the Austen family. The two manuscript volumes, Book 1/1 and Book 2/1, are the closest example to any type of music composition by the Austen family. Part of their childhood study was composing figured bass exercises and harmony. Some of the small workings, which are either crossed out or untidy, are examples of this, but it is very unlikely that the longer, more significant anonymous compositions within the books are by the Austen family, as there is a complete lack of evidence in contemporary letters and documents of musical composition by any family member.¹⁵⁰

There are also only a handful of works by women in the entire collection. Some are by Maria Hester Reynolds (Book 1/6 No.1), others are by female singers born into a musical family such as Miss Harriet Abrams (Book 2/2 No.17) and Mrs Dorothy Jordan (Book 2/2 No.19).¹⁵¹ Certainly, wealth aided musical success as a woman in the eighteenth century, which has been well documented by Jane Bowers and Judith Tick as they describe music societies in France run by aristocratic women.¹⁵² In England, élite women were also

¹⁵⁰ See Book 2/1 Nos.15-20.

¹⁵¹ Olive Baldwin, and Thelma Wilson, "Park, Maria Hester (1760-1813)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61880>. Olive Baldwin, and Thelma Wilson, "Abrams, Harriett (C.1758-1821)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45508. Paul Ranger, "Jordan, Dorothy," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15119>.

¹⁵² Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, eds., *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* (London: Macmillan Press Music Division, 1986), 191-223. For the work of women musicians in Venice see: Frederick M. Keener and Susan E. Lorsch, eds., *Eighteenth-Century Women and the Arts* (London: Greenwood Press, 1988), 153-159. For information concerning the lack of support for women composers without status or musical connections in the family see:

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receiving notability in the music world like the Duchess of Devonshire whose composition also features in the Austen collection: Book 1/7 No.13.¹⁵³

Almost one-third of the songs (107, against 226 in English) are in a foreign language. Of the 107 songs, 84 are French, 20 are Italian and 3 are in Latin. There are no German songs despite the 10 German composers featured in the collection and the Latin songs are traditional songs which were familiar melodies in their time. Considering one third of the songs are not written in English this statistic certainly seems to suggest that appreciation of foreign language songs was particularly fashionable and the Austens, like other domestic households, enjoyed the variety that different languages offered.

The collection also shows strong preferences for certain keys which can be seen in the following table, which perhaps reflects how composers concentrated on the easier keys when working on pieces designed for the domestic market.

Table 1: The distribution of keys in the Austen collection of songs

Source: Calculated from data in the Austen collection of songs, 1813, British Library, Add. MS. 27300, fols. 1-100.

Key	Number of songs	Percentage
C major	45	42.0%
G major	20	18.7%
F major	12	11.3%
E major	10	9.3%
B-flat major	7	6.5%
A major	5	4.7%
D major	3	2.8%
C minor	2	1.9%
F major	1	0.9%
G major	1	0.9%
A major	1	0.9%
B-flat major	1	0.9%
E major	1	0.9%
F major	1	0.9%
G major	1	0.9%
A major	1	0.9%
B-flat major	1	0.9%
C major	1	0.9%
C minor	1	0.9%
E major	1	0.9%
F major	1	0.9%
G major	1	0.9%
A major	1	0.9%
B-flat major	1	0.9%
C major	1	0.9%
C minor	1	0.9%
E major	1	0.9%
F major	1	0.9%
G major	1	0.9%
A major	1	0.9%
B-flat major	1	0.9%
C major	1	0.9%
C minor	1	0.9%
E major	1	0.9%
F major	1	0.9%
G major	1	0.9%
A major	1	0.9%
B-flat major	1	0.9%
C major	1	0.9%
C minor	1	0.9%
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B-flat major	1	0.9%
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C minor	1	0.9%
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B-flat major	1	0.9%
C major	1	0.9%
C minor	1	0.9%
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B-flat major	1	0.9%
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C minor	1	0.9%
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C minor	1	0.9%
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Table 7- Quantities of differing key signatures

MAJOR KEY	NUMBER	MINOR KEY	NUMBER
C maj	85	A min	6
G maj	104	E min	3
D maj	83	B min	2
A maj	66	F# min	0
E maj	7	C# min	0
F maj	108	D min	10
Bb maj	74	G min	15
Eb maj	62	C min	18
Ab maj	2	F min	0

The apparent scarcity of minor keys within the collection is particularly striking. There were two reasons why keys in excess of four sharps or flats were avoided: firstly keys with fewer sharps and flats contained more pure intervals for tuning purposes, and secondly it was deemed more difficult to play in key signatures with more sharps and flats because they would have required hand positions and chords which domestic pianists would not have covered in their instruction and practice. The keyboard manual by Jousse (See Book 2/7 No.1), starts with Rudiments followed by Fingering exercises, Diatonic scales, Chromatic scales, Changing fingers on the same note, Intervals, Double Notes, Arpeggios, Inversions, Contractions, Extensions, Scales in the major keys or 'moods' and Scales in the minor keys or 'moods'. 40 lessons are written after that, starting in C maj and progressing through into the keys of G, D, A, F, Bb and Eb which are the only keys explored.

This chapter has described the Austen collection as a whole and has expanded upon previous scholarly findings and ideas. Before 2009, not all of the three sets of books were available for scholarship so the chapter has drawn these three sets together to link the letters of the Austen family and the collecting trends of individual members directly to the compositions within the collection. Through new statistical analysis this chapter has explored the quantity of foreign works within the collection and the composition style of music in printed and manuscript form. The Austen music collection covers many different genres and eras of music so this research extends from domestic

Chapter 1

music into more public music spheres to examine how it came to be in the home of the Austen family. The following chapter describes Hampshire music-making as a whole and puts the Austen collection into a wider context and heightens understanding and scholarship of these two domains. Jane Austen spent most of her life living in Hampshire and the following study of the county seeks to offer further musicological insight into the link between private collections and public music experience.

CHAPTER 2

CONCERT LIFE IN HAMPSHIRE 1770-1820

Hampshire in the late eighteenth century

Hampshire music-making experienced great change, expansion and, at times, failure, within the lifetime of Jane Austen. In the late eighteenth century Hampshire, or 'The County of Southampton', as it was frequently described, encompassed a cathedral city, a bustling spa town, busy commercial and naval ports and large areas of rolling countryside with lively villages and farming communities.¹ London was accessible and London's high society, latest fashions, art and culture informed the county; it was a sought-after area for the individual, family and gentry household.

Until relatively recently, most research into the history of the provinces was undertaken by local historians, often outside academic institutional structures, and it remains an area of research with scope for expansion and further knowledge. This is particularly the case for provincial music study, as Peter Borsay acknowledged in his pioneering 1989 study of urban expansion and the increase in cultural events. In musicological terms, Borsay began to describe the rise of the music festival and the relationship between the church and music in the provinces.² However, in the 1990s, cultural research took a further step with the work of John Brewer's influential *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (1997) which explored how the turn of the eighteenth century was the beginning of the expansion of cultural events and how, following the model of London, cultural events were set up in the provinces where art and

¹ 1791 Map of Hampshire surveyed by Thomas Milne in 1788, 1789 and 1790 published by William Faden in 1791 can be found published by H. Margary, *250 Years of Map Making in the County of Hampshire 1575-1826* (Kent: Harry Margary, Lympne Castle, 1976).

² Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 117-149.

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performance were at the forefront of the wishes of the Hanoverian regime.³ Further insights into the relationship between the rise of luxury and the increase of cultural events also figured in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger's *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century* (2003).⁴

The study of provincial music-making, which was triggered by this interdisciplinary research on eighteenth-century culture carried out in the late 1980s, inspired more recent scholars including Richard Leppert whose work discusses country houses in a broader treatment of musical iconography of the period, investigating how depictions of music-making related to structures of power within the landed gentry class.⁵ However, Simon McVeigh and Susan Wollenberg (2004) were the first scholars to begin to tackle concert life in the eighteenth century, opening up the vast subject to explore how, why and where concerts took place.⁶ This subject was again examined by Rachel Cowgill (2007), but extended to explore the workings of the concert scene in the provinces rather than just the concert scene in London.⁷

As Cowgill remarks, the term 'provinces' is steeped with prejudice, and is 'often used merely to refer to the administrative divisions of country or state [but] is by no means free of ideological baggage, carrying with it suggestions of otherness, dependency, and even cultural and intellectual stagnancy'.⁸ This concept of cultural sophistication being found only within the confines of the capital is highlighted through Cowgill's quotation of 'provincialism' in the OED:

Provincialism: provincial character or peculiarity; the manner, fashion, mode of thought, etc. which characterize a particular province, or

³ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997).

⁴ Maxine Berg, and Elizabeth Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

⁵ Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), ———, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

⁶ Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

⁷ Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, eds., *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

⁸ Cowgill and Holman, Provinces, 3.

'provinces' generally, as distinct from that which is (or held to be) national, or which is the fashion of the capital; hence, narrowness of view, thought, or interests, roughness of speech or manners as distinct from the polish of the court or capital.⁹

This prejudice can also be seen in Samuel Johnson's Dictionary written in 1755, where his entry on the meaning of *provincial* is particularly trenchant:

Provincial: Not of the mother country; rude; unpolished. A country 'squire having only the *provincial* accent upon his tongue, which is neither a fault, nor in his power to remedy, must marry a cast wench'. Swift.¹⁰

This chapter explores a neglected area of provincial research: music-making in Hampshire. It considers whether or not Hampshire music did indeed maintain its own 'provincial character' and if it suffered from 'narrowness of...interests' outside the 'polish of the...capital'.¹¹ It also records late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century performance practice associated with music concerts, promotion, performers and audiences within Hampshire, thus providing an overview of concert life.

Previous research concerning provincial music studies and Hampshire music-making, although meagre, includes both fleeting references in academic studies and unpublished notes by local historians. Borsay describes information relating to population growth and commerce in Hampshire towns, whilst McVeigh explores some of the concerts taking place in Portsmouth referenced in an earlier article written by Brian Pritchard in 1969.¹² Pippa Drummond's recent study of provincial music festivals between 1784 and 1914

⁹ Cowgill and Holman, *Provinces*, 3.

¹⁰ Samuel Johnson, Edward Lippincott Macadam, and George Milne, *Johnson's Dictionary. A Modern Selection by E. L. Macadam ... & George Milne*. (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963), 318.

¹¹ Cited in Cowgill and Holman, *Provinces*, 3. Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary is not stipulated.

¹² Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, 5. Wollenberg and McVeigh, *Concert-life*, 13. Brian W. Pritchard, "The Provincial Festivals of the Ashley Family," *The Galpin Society Journal* 22 (1969): 58-77.

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includes some discussion of the Hampshire Music meeting, but the scope of the study, covering all areas of Britain during a period of over a century, means the account is not detailed, and it also contains several inaccuracies.¹³ In addition to the brief references in published academic studies there are two sets of notes written by the late historians Betty Matthews (1919-1997) and Frank Warren (1911-1998), housed at the Royal College of Music and Portsmouth City Archives respectively. Matthews drew on her notes from the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* to publish a few short articles between 1960 and 1990 on organs, organists and the musical scene in Salisbury.¹⁴ Frank Warren's notes are particularly detailed and list concerts predominantly in the Portsmouth area. His research is based on issues of the *Hampshire Telegraph*, which started in 1799 and continued into the mid-1800s. Neither Matthews nor Warren, however, studied all musical events covered in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, which from 1772 reported on the whole of Hampshire. My study includes a comprehensive investigation of musical material in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, which when put together with the material gathered by Warren and Matthews, provides a fuller picture of provincial music-making at this time.

The eighteenth century swept change through Hampshire with fundamental transformations in industry, farming, health, infrastructure and politics.¹⁵ The key factor in the county's economic development and export trade was transportation. The development of transport is also observed by Mark Girouard in relation to the residences of the bourgeoisie, he remarks that 'by the end of the eighteenth century a network of excellent turnpike roads and

¹³ Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 20-21. Drummond refers to George Chad instead of George Chard on page 21 and only briefly describes the Hampshire Music Meeting for one page.

¹⁴ Betty Matthews, *The Music of Winchester Cathedral* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1974); ——, *The Organs and Organists of Winchester Cathedral*, 2nd revised ed. (Winchester Friends of Winchester Cathedral, 1975); ——, "J. C. Bach in the West Country," *The Musical Times* 108, no. 1494 (1967): 702-704; ——, "The Childhood of Nancy Storace," *The Musical Times* 110, no. 1517 (1969): 733-735; ——, "The Musical Mahons," *The Musical Times* 120, no. 1636 (1979): 482-484; ——, "Nancy Storace and the Royal Society of Musicians," *The Musical Times* 128, no. 1732 (1987): 325-327; ——, "James Hook and His Family," *The Musical Times* 131, no. 1773 (1990): 622-25.

¹⁵ For an introduction to the politics of the age see: H. T. Dickinson, *The Politics of the People in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 1-12. For an overview of the period including the internal structure of Britain, the role of religion, social cohesion and commercial and imperial expansion see: Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832* (London: Arnold, 1997), 233-76.

fast coaches made country houses much more accessible.¹⁶ Crops were transported more easily due to the improvement of local roads, pavements were built and the number of sedan chairs and horse-drawn carriages increased.¹⁷ Bridges were improved across the three main rivers of the county and there was excitement of introducing a new canal system with the help of wealthy subscription. There were weekly reports listing the price of grain and advertisements for the daily stagecoach to London, which stopped at various Hampshire towns.¹⁸ Royal Mail started to deliver letters via the coaches 'from about 1784 onwards, and the postage on a letter from Southampton to London was fourpence.'¹⁹ Rival newspapers covered similar areas pertaining to the wealth and prosperity of merchants, seamen, landowners and farmers, showing that society had become sufficiently prosperous to support more than one source of news.²⁰

The links between the Austen family and this county-wide change and expansion were direct: they took full advantage of the improved roads and coach services to make regular visits to relatives in London and beyond, and the frequent family correspondence made full use of Royal Mail's services and coach deliveries.

The three main geographical venues for music making in Hampshire in the late eighteenth century were Winchester, Southampton and Portsmouth. While these towns held frequent concerts, the smaller towns of Gosport, Romsey, Alresford, Fareham and Newport on the Isle of Wight also had a thriving, though less renowned, music scene.

¹⁶ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale University Press, 1978), 218.

¹⁷ Barbara Carpenter Turner, *Winchester* (Southampton: Paul Cave, 1980), 82. See also Barbara Carpenter Turner, *A History of Hampshire*, 2nd ed. (London: Phillimore, 1978).

¹⁸ *HC*, March 10, 1783.

¹⁹ Turner, *Winchester*, 83.

²⁰ For the origins of the *Hampshire Chronicle* in contrast to the *Salisbury Journal* see: F. A. Edwards, "The Early Newspaper Press of Hampshire," in *Hampshire Literary and Philosophical Society* (Southampton: Hampshire Independent, 1889), 4-8.

Chapter 2

Winchester

Notwithstanding its regal historical connections with William the Conqueror and Edward the Confessor and being the capital of Wessex and England from the time of Alfred the Great, in the early eighteenth century Winchester was in a period of decline. Daniel Defoe wrote in his *Journal of a Tour through England and Wales* published in 1724 that 'Winchester is a place of no trade... no manufacture, no navigation...[but] a great deal of good company'.²¹ Winchester also suffered from political corruption in this tumultuous time.²² However, one of Winchester's major developments affecting the Austen family was the foundation in 1736 of the first hospital outside London.²³ The new hospital attracted leading doctors and physicians; it offered the best that eighteenth-century medicine could provide and became legendary in its day.²⁴ Because of the hospital, Jane Austen spent the last months of her life in Winchester and is buried in Winchester Cathedral near the surgeon Giles King Lyford (1764-1837) who had helped her.²⁵

Towards the end of the century there was an increase in musical entertainment within the town; musical activities in Winchester were greatly aided and encouraged by the clergy of the cathedral. The first records of an annual music festival date back to 30 September- 1 October 1761, when Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* and *Samson* were performed.²⁶ These festivals became more elaborate as the century went on and many fundraising concerts took place at

²¹ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through England & Wales, etc.* [Extracted from "A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain."] (With an introduction by G. D. H. Cole), vol.1,(London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1928),186.

²² Tom Beaumont James, *Winchester: From Prehistory to the Present* (Stroud Tempus Publishing, 2006), 132-44.

²³ The Hospital was founded on 18 October 1736, according to annual reports, located at the *Hampshire Record Office* ref. 5M63/199.

²⁴ For further information concerning eighteenth-century consultations see: Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, *Patient's Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Polity, 1989), 70-93. See also A. R. Bramston and A. C. Leroy, *Historic Winchester. England's First Capital* (London: Longmans & Co., 1882), 348.

²⁵ Frederick Bussby, *Jane Austen in Winchester* (Winchester Friends of Winchester Cathedral, 1969), 3-8; Simon Barker and Colin Haydon, eds., *Winchester: History and Literature* (Winchester: King Alfred's College, 1992), 72-89.

²⁶ SJ, September 28, 1761.

this time to raise funds for the hospital as they did elsewhere for other provincial hospitals.²⁷

Southampton

A mere 14 miles south of England's ancient capital Winchester, and reached through the tree-lined avenue first planted in 1745, lay the spa town of Southampton. In the early 1700s Southampton 'was still largely confined within its ancient walls.'²⁸ Most of its economic prosperity relied on trade with France and the expansion of what was to become the British Empire, so prosperity suffered in times of war. Defoe observed that 'all the business of moment that is transacted there is the trade between us and the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, with a little of the wine trade and much smuggling.' His journals went on to state that 'the town is large, has... a noble fair High-Street, a spacious key; and if its trade should revive, is able to entertain great numbers of people'.²⁹ Within six years of the publication of his journals 'the vogue of drinking the waters of mineral springs increased considerably in England' and Southampton was rejuvenated into a prosperous town.³⁰ Architecture and the arts underwent major development with new buildings for music, theatre and balls. Charles Dibdin (1745-1814), who was born in Southampton, described it in 1801 as 'a place of considerable opulence...[due to] the prodigious concourse of visitors in different bathing seasons...and the large number of genteel families who have made it a regular residence'.³¹ Jane Austen was influenced by her time in Southampton as she visited the dramatic ruins of Netley Abbey, which are believed to have been the inspiration for Northanger Abbey.³² The writer Frances Burney (1752- 1840),³³ who was the

²⁷ Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, eds., *The Hospital in History* (London: Routledge, 1989), 149-63. See also hospital fund raising for the Birmingham festival in: Philip Olleson, "Crotch, Moore, and the 1808 Birmingham Festival," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 29 (1996).

²⁸ Alfred Temple Patterson, *Southampton: a Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1970), 63.

²⁹ Defoe, *Tour of England*, vol.1, 141.

³⁰ Patterson, *Southampton*, 72.

³¹ Charles Dibdin, *Observations on a Tour Through Almost the Whole of England*, vol.2, (London: G. Goulding, 1802), 368.

³² Deirdre Le Faye, "'Journey, Waterparties & Plays'," *Collected reports of the Jane Austen Society 1986-1995* 4 (1986): 24-30.

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daughter of the famous musician Dr Charles Burney, set Book VIII and Book IX of her ten-book novel *Camilla* in Southampton where she vividly describes the bustle and merchandise of the town; Book IX entitled 'a water party' is set on a yacht.³⁴ In 1804 the second Marquis of Lansdowne built a gothic castle on medieval ruins, which stood in the centre of the city overlooking the River Test and towered over the dwellings that Jane Austen rented from 1806-1809.³⁵ Jane Austen's nephew recounted his time in Southampton with his aunt where he would 'look down from the window' to see that 'the Marchioness had a light phaeton, drawn by six, and sometimes by eight little ponies, each pair decreasing in size, and becoming lighter in colour...it was a delight...to see this fairy equipage put together; for the premises of this castle were so contracted that the whole process went on in the little space that remained of the open square.'³⁶

Portsmouth

As a prominent naval base, Portsmouth was a city not without problems. Defoe describes how 'the inhabitants... submit to such things as are the consequence of a garrison town, such as being examin'd at the gates, such as being obliged to keep garrison hours, and not be let out, or let in after nine a clock at night'.³⁷ A less than favourable account written in 1795 by Dr George Princkard certainly paved the way for the future novels of Portsmouth-born Charles Dickens (1812-1870):

Portsmouth verifies to our experience all that we had heard of its unpleasantness and vulgar immorality...The busy activity of the place occurs only at intervals, as when a fleet comes in or is about to sail, at

³³ Pat Rogers, "Burney, Frances (1752-1840)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2010), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/603>, (accessed July 14, 2012).

³⁴ Frances Burney, *Camilla or a Picture of Youth*, ed. Edward A. Bloom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 604-792.

³⁵ Elsie Mary Sandell, *Southampton through the Ages. A Short History* (Southampton: G. F. Wilson & Co., 1960), 106.

³⁶ James Edward Austen-Leigh, *A Memoir of Jane Austen: and Other Family Recollections*, ed. Kathryn Sutherland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 66-67.

³⁷ Defoe, *Tour of England*, vol.1, 138.

which periods the town becomes all crowd and hurry for a few days, and then suddenly reverts to a languid intermission of dullness and inactivity... In some quarters Portsmouth is not only filthy and crowded, but crowded with low and abandoned beings who seem to have declared open war against every habit of common decency and decorum.³⁸

Long established as a naval base, Portsmouth was accustomed to being at the forefront of the persistent general state of war in which England existed from around 1689, at the beginning of the 'Second Hundred Years War,' culminating in the Napoleonic Wars which ended in 1815.³⁹ When Lord Nelson sailed on 14 September 1805 to meet the French at what transpired three weeks later as the battle of Trafalgar, the town gave him a magnificent send-off.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, in the midst of bustling naval and military activity, Portsmouth experienced a rise in musical events and entertainments. In part, this resulted from the use of military personnel in provincial orchestras, a point which will be addressed later in the chapter.

Between 1770 and 1820 there were five main periodicals in operation in the Hampshire region: the *Salisbury Journal* (started 1736), the *Hampshire Chronicle* (started 24 August 1772), the *Portsmouth Gazette* (started 1790), the *Portsmouth Telegraph* (started 14 October 1799) and the *Hampshire Telegraph* (started 14 October 1799).⁴¹ These newspapers provide an important insight into concert life which can be further substantiated with diary records, journals and letters. The eighteenth-century newspaper trade was not without its problems due to bankruptcy, changing editors and rising tax, with 'the government's latest Stamp Act, taxing all newspapers another ½ d. per copy

³⁸ William George Gates, *History of Portsmouth. A Naval Chronology* (Portsmouth: Evening News & Hampshire Telegraph Co, 1931) 486-488, quoted in Alfred Temple Patterson, *Portsmouth: A History* (Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press, 1976), 79.

³⁹ Rory Muir, *Britain and the Defeat of Napoleon, 1807-1815* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1996), 343-73. For further reading concerning the history of the Napoleonic wars see: Michael Glover, *The Napoleonic Wars: An Illustrated History, 1792-1815* (London: Batsford, 1979).

⁴⁰ Patterson, *Portsmouth*, 79.

⁴¹ Frank Warren notes, ref 212 9A.

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and advertisements another 1s. per issue' in 1712, followed by further taxation in 1725, 1757 and 1776.⁴²

Towns in Hampshire in this period were a most varied sociological, economical, architectural and historical representation of the country as a whole. Common characteristics included economic expansion and the rise of luxury, and indeed the social status to affirm that luxury could be afforded; a point that is noted by Colin Campbell: 'social emulation was the key to consumer demand.'⁴³ This luxury manifested itself in the form of more money for entertainments in Hampshire and elsewhere as Simon McVeigh argues, 'as a national form of entertainment and ritual, the concert or oratorio performance fitted most circumstances, offering a context for social status to be negotiated in an atmosphere of sociability, while at the same time providing a common ground that did not expose those conventions of conversation that differentiated social classes.'⁴⁴ This statement highlights concert attendance as a means to elevate or maintain a certain social status: being seen amongst the gentry, being sufficiently financially successful to afford the subscription and having time to go to the concert.

The provincial concert scene flourished, with subscription concerts on the increase and the annual music festival becoming an established event for the public, and provincial musicians and hired professionals from London. According to Peter Borsay, 'the pleasures of this refined entertainment were no longer to be confined to the closed circles of court, chapel, and country house, but became easily accessible to thousands of middle-ranking English citizens.'⁴⁵ He continues to argue that 'as a result of their architectural renaissance, provincial towns came to appear visually more attractive and sophisticated'.⁴⁶ This provincial sophistication encouraged families of the gentry to partake in a greater number of activities and entertainments outside

⁴² C. Y. Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 135-137.

⁴³ Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 17.

⁴⁴ Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2004), 5.

⁴⁵ Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, 122.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 117.

London: this social participation was now expected. For the performer, the restrictive London season lasted 'from late January to early June,' limiting earning potential, so provincial concert promoters were able easily to secure respected London performers out of the season.⁴⁷ This grand exodus to the provinces promoted a growing attendance at provincial music festivals, which began to acquire the same sophistication and éclat as the London model.

The Hampshire Concert Scene, 1770-1820

The music scene in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries generally comprised festivals taking place over two to three days, subscription concerts and benefit concerts. McVeigh describes the benefit concert as 'a single one-off event organized by an individual musician as an annual reward for good service, whether to a musical society or to his patrons in general.'⁴⁸ In addition to this definition, study of the Hampshire provincial papers shows that the benefit concert also raised funds either for an individual or a specific charity.

Advertisements for a benefit for the young Nancy Storace give a fascinating glimpse of such an event. On 13 September 1773 *The Hampshire Chronicle* declared:

For the Benefit of Miss Storace (a Child not Eight Years old) at Martin's Rooms, on Friday the 17th Instant, will be a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC.⁴⁹ The Vocal Part by Miss Storace who will sing a Set of new Songs...Mr Storace (ever thankful and ready to oblige the Public, particularly those Ladies and Gentlemen who have taken Notice of his Child, and have encouraged her to have a Benefit) hopes, by his Absence (being obliged to go to Worcester Music-Meeting) his Child will find

⁴⁷ Wollenberg and McVeigh eds., *Concert Life*, 12.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁹ The Martin's Rooms in Southampton have long since been destroyed but were one of the principal music venues in the city in this epoch.

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Protection from the Nobility and Gentry to whom she Will respectfully
pay her Devoirs at their several Habitations.⁵⁰

What is particularly intriguing is the preceding announcement dated 30 August 1773 describing Mr Storace's attempts to organize an annual breakfast in the Martin's Rooms:

The little encouragement Mr. Storace has had hitherto at his concert, makes it impossible for him to continue it any longer, having already lost considerably by it; he takes the liberty to try it once more, humbly hoping, that the ladies and gentlemen will take it into consideration, and grant him their protection and assistance on Friday next. His only wishes are to please them, and will think himself very happy if his endeavours meet with their approbation.⁵¹

The September benefit concert seems to have been held as a form of an apology to Stephen Storace organised 'By desire of several Ladies of Distinction'.⁵² Whatever the nature of the benefit, this is the first known newspaper reference to the young Nancy Storace who had created quite a stir singing when 'a Child not eight Years old'.⁵³ Even at the tender age of eight, Nancy Storace was receiving benefit concerts, entertaining audiences and acquiring skills that would later impress the young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who wrote the part of Susanna in the *Le Nozze di Figaro* specifically for her.⁵⁴ On her return to England in 1787 after spending time in Italy, Storace sang in the provinces where she met the amateur musician John Marsh, whose detailed journals provide a comprehensive record of eighteenth-century performance

⁵⁰ HC, September 13, 1773.

⁵¹ HC, August 30, 1771.

⁵² HC, September 13, 1773.

⁵³ HC, August 25, 1773.

⁵⁴ This role and the relationship between Storace and Mozart has been well documented by Jane Girdham, *English Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London: Stephen Storace at Drury Lane* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 17-36; John Jenkins, *Mozart and the English Connection* (London: Cygnus Arts, 1998), 97-105. See also Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol.14 (Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), 294-305.

practice and tradition.⁵⁵ On 29 September 1787 in Salisbury, Marsh heard Storace sing at a private soirée, 'Sig'ra Storace being in such boisterous spirits that she made such a noise all the time & was so vulgar in her witticisms & manner that I wish'd myself away again before I had been there 10. Minutes.'⁵⁶ Marsh heard her sing again a week later at her first appearance in the Salisbury Festival between the 6-8 of October.⁵⁷

According to Simon McVeigh, the benefit concert in the eighteenth century 'came to be seen as demeaning or merely deceptive [and] was already beginning to wane towards the end of the eighteenth century, and it was to be abandoned altogether in the nineteenth.'⁵⁸ In McVeigh's detailed research on the benefit concert at the beginning of the nineteenth century, he describes how 'Benefits had already become divorced from the established concert series where a small core of top performers habitually performed together on a regular basis.'⁵⁹ This observation describes the London concert scene and also reflects developments taking place in Hampshire as there is a move away from concerts aimed at supporting individuals, to concerts that distribute profits in other ways where there is no specific information about the deployment of the takings. This can be seen in an advertisement on 12 August 1776 detailing a concert 'For the Benefit of the Organist At The Long Rooms Southampton on Friday the 16th Instant.'⁶⁰ The following year a concert is listed 'For the Benefit of Mr Cantelo, at Martin's Rooms' and whilst a benefit concert again takes place in the following years, on 21 August 1778 and 17 September 1779, by 15 September 1780 there are no benefit concerts listed; instead there is a listing for 'The Annual Musical Meeting' taking place at Holyrood Church in Southampton.⁶¹ However, it is interesting that this change in shift from 'benefit concert' to 'music meeting' apparently took place much earlier than in

⁵⁵ For an introduction to the background and subsequent history of John Marsh's *History of My Private Life* see: Brian Robins, "An Introduction to the Journals of John Marsh," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59 no.1 (1996).

⁵⁶ John Marsh, *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer*, ed. Brian Robins (1752-1828), (NY: Pendragon Press, 1998), 414.

⁵⁷ Marsh, *Journals*, 112.

⁵⁸ Wollenberg and McVeigh eds., *Concert Life*, 8.

⁵⁹ See Simon McVeigh, 'The Benefit Concert in Nineteenth-Century London: From "tax on the nobility" to "monstrous nuisance"' in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, ed. Bennett Zon, vol.1, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 242-69.

⁶⁰ HC, August 12, 1776.

⁶¹ HC, August 25, 1777.

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London. Further study would be needed of other provincial concert series to demonstrate this conclusively, but perhaps the reason for this early transformation is that Southampton had no established regular music series. Southampton did not enjoy the same cultural activities as Winchester because of its constantly changing demographic: as a spa town, clientele were constantly changing; visitors came and went without staying long enough to support a regular music concert series. As a result, concert organisers often had to change the labelling of concerts.

Other concerts in Hampshire generated proceeds for charity. For example, in March 1806 after the Battle of Trafalgar and death of Lord Nelson records show the money made from such a concert:

Subscriptions and Donations to the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's from December 5th 1805 to February 28th 1807, to the exclusive relief of the Seamen, Soldiers, Marines, and Volunteers, wounded and to the Widows, Orphans and Relatives of those killed, in his Majesty's Service, and in defence of this country in the war with France... PORTSMOUTH: Produce of a concert under the direction and patronage of The Harmonic Society, per Mr William Deacon.....£30.0.0⁶²

The subscription concert differed from the benefit concert in that it attracted the social elite. Only subscribers normally attended such concerts: non-subscribers were allowed into concerts only on certain nights or for particular events, whereas the whole public were invited to attend benefit concerts to raise money. John Marsh spoke of the subscriber system to which he had been made 'chief manager' in Chichester. As he recalled on the 5th Oct 1787:

To these little concerts none but subscribers were usually admitted except on the public nights, w'ch were once a month during the winter, when a leader was engaged from Portsmouth with a couple of horns etc.

⁶² Frank Warren and Irwen Cockman, *Music in Portsmouth 1789-1842* (Portsmouth: Portsmouth City Council, 1998), 7.

from the Sussex Band & each subscriber had 2 tickets to give to ladies ... By the end of that year however Mr Toghill & some of the other gent'n having with much difficulty got the consent of a sufficient number of subscribers to have the Concert removed to the great Room, a subscription was set on foot at half a guinea each person for 6 concerts... Before this time only gentlemen used to subscribe, the ladies being only admitted to the *Public* Concerts by means of their tickets. But many ladies now wishing to attend the private concerts also, & also to contribute towards the expences of them... it was at length settled that they sh'd subscribe 5/6. for this season & afterwards half as much as the gent'n for which they sho'd be admitted to *all* the concerts... In consequence of this new regulation so many ladies became subscribers that altogether there were more than ever was known before.⁶³

This entry is a clear example of subscription concert organisation where ladies were not always assured entry unless it was on a 'Public night'. McVeigh describes subscription concerts as 'a way of sharing the expense of private concerts on a grand scale... the subscription concert reinforced social exclusivity'.⁶⁴ Wealthy subscribers would subscribe even if they chose not to be present at the actual concert. Apparently, not only was income guaranteed in advance preferable but it also served to prevent embarrassment. The following quote seems to politely hint that it would show greater etiquette not to pay on the door: 'Ladies and Gentlemen who intend to honour the Meeting with their Company are requested to take Tickets to prevent confusion at the door'.⁶⁵

Subscribers were notified of forthcoming events including festivals and concerts. Fig. 2 shows one of two hand bills addressed to the subscriber Thomas Hall esquire & Family which had been carefully folded to letter size and sealed with wax, and announces events in the Hampshire Musical Festival in 1801. (See Fig.2)

⁶³ Marsh, *Journals*, 415.

⁶⁴ Wollenberg and McVeigh eds., *Concert life*, 8.

⁶⁵ HC, Oct 2, 1780.

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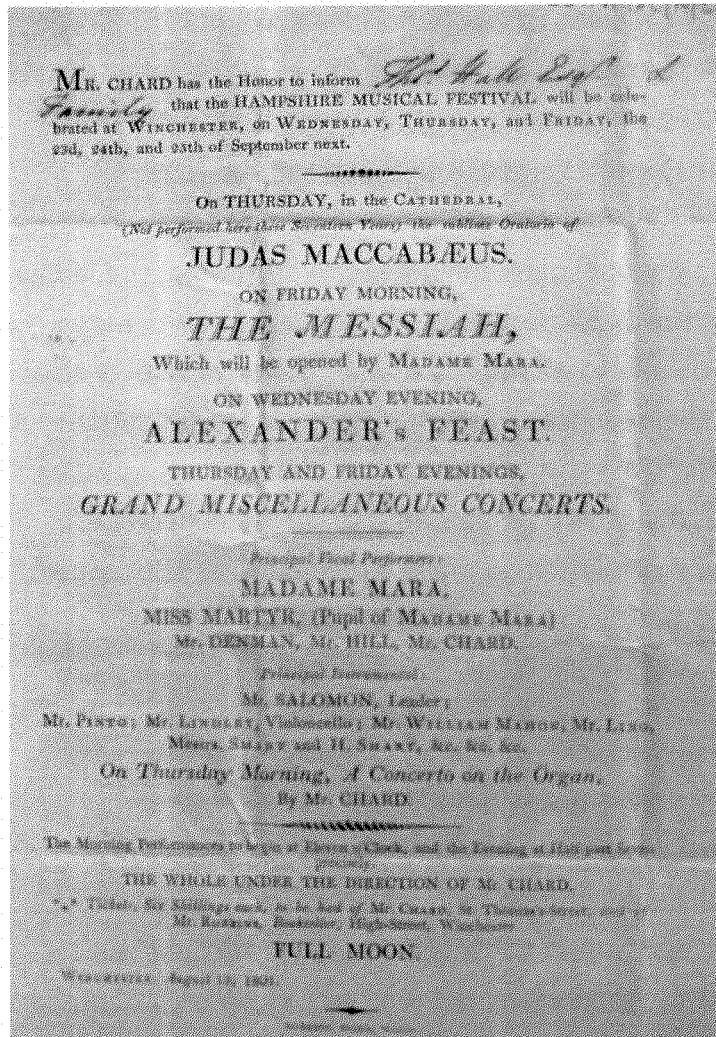


Figure 2- Handbill for the Hampshire Music Meeting in 1801. Hampshire Record Office: Jervoise of Herriard Collection: Ref 44M69/K2/10

The concert organiser, Mr George Chard (who will be discussed in detail below), would send the subscribers hand bills detailing concert times, artists, music and instrumentalists. In an advertisement for the 'WINTER SUBSCRIPTION CONCERTS and BALLS,' readers were told that 'Books of the Subscription are open at Mr. Chard's, St Thomas Street.'⁶⁶ An analysis of the advertisement shows that subscribers could pay for a set of concerts in advance for a lower price, guaranteeing the organiser advance income and an audience. The advert continues to say 'Mr. CHARD most respectfully begs

⁶⁶ HC, November 25, 1799.

those Ladies and Gentlemen who intend honouring him with their Subscriptions, to signify their intentions as early as possible.⁶⁷

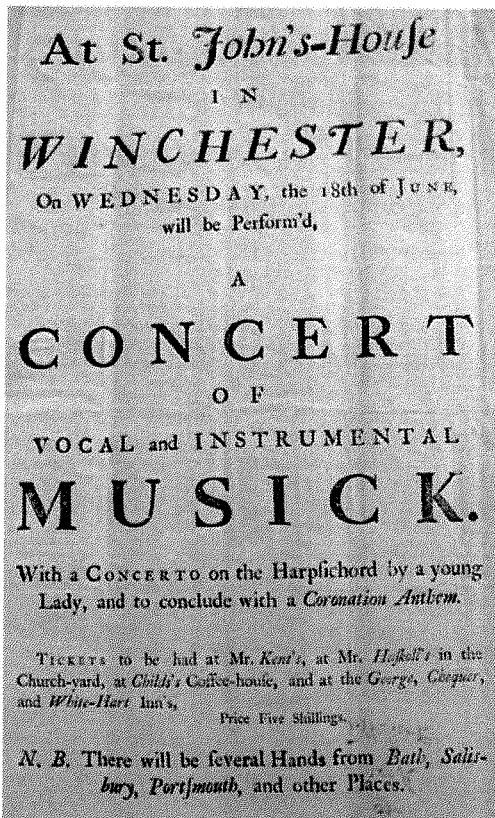


Figure 3- Poster for a concert in Winchester. Hampshire Record Office: Jervoise of Herriard Collection: Ref 202M85/7/6/2

The handbill was not the only form of concert advertisement: posters were displayed detailing the time and some programme details for concerts. The back of the poster in Fig. 3 bears an inscription, 12 June 1760, followed by the location of the poster display board, which suggests that it was the date and the place that the poster was displayed. It provides a great example of how the public were informed of concerts in the eighteenth century and the poster system continues today.

Certain conclusions can be drawn from studying concert announcements in the papers. Firstly, advertisements suggest that winter subscription concerts were

⁶⁷ HC, November 25, 1799.

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the most popular and successful at this time. Secondly, subscription series were not always popular enough to become annual events as festivals had become. Thirdly, the concert organisers who arranged concerts for the longest period of time (for example Peter Fussell and George Chard), also arranged the Winchester Music Festival over the same period, showing that their organisational expertise was used throughout the year. The following table shows a list of advertisement dates detailing subscription concerts in Winchester and their principal organisers:

Table 8- List of Winchester organisers and subscription concerts

DATE OF CONCERT	NAME OF ORGANISER	TYPE OF CONCERT	SOURCE (HAMPSHIRE CHRONICLE)
1 July 1778	Mr. Fussell	Subscription	June 29, 1778
16 December 1784	Mr. Jung	Second Winter Concert	December 12, 1784
6 January 1785	Mr. Jung (a benefit concert was held for Messers Jungs on 20 March 1785)	3rd Winter concert	January 2, 1785
20 January 1785		4th Winter concert	January 17, 1785
17 March 1785		6th Winter concert	February 14, 1785
21 February 1786	Mr. Jung	Concert	February 13, 1786
19 July 1786	Mr Fussell	Miscellaneous	July 17, 1786
17 April 1789	Mr Hill	Mr Hills Annual Concert	April 20, 1789
15 March 1798	Mr Chard	Grand Concert and Ball	March 3, 1798
13 December 1798		Subscription concert	December 10, 1798
21 February 1799	Mr. Chard	Subscription Concerts	February 18, 1799
4 April 1799			April 1, 1799
11 July 1799			June 24, 1799
26 March 1799	Mr Hill	Concert and Ball	March 25, 1799
3 February 1800	Mr Hill	Concert and Ball	January 27, 1800
11 March 1800	Mr Chard	Grand Concert and Ball	March 10, 1800
19 March 1801	Mr Hill	Concert and Ball	March 16, 1801
1 March 1802	Mr Chard	Grand Concert and Ball	March 1, 1802
5 January 1808	Mr Randle and Mr Parry	Miss Randle's Concert	January 4, 1808
30 July 1811	Mr Goss, Mr Barrington & Mr Elliot	Vocal Concert	July 22, 1811
12-14 July 1815	Sir Henry Rivers	Winchester Vocal concert	July 10, 1815
27 July 1815	Mr Goss & Mr Elliot	Grand Vocal concert	July 3, 1815
13 December 1815	Dr Chard & Mr Hawes	Winchester Subscription Concert	December 11, 1815
15 January 1816	Dr Chard & Mr Hawes	Winchester Subscription Concert	January 15, 1816
5 March 1816	Dr Chard & Mr Hawes	Winchester Subscription Concert	March 4, 1816
3 December 1816	Dr Chard & Mr Hawes	Winchester Vocal concert	December 2, 1816

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16 January 1817	Dr. Chard & Mr Hawes	Winchester Subscription Vocal concert	January 13, 1817
4 February 1817	Dr Chard & Mr Hawes	Winchester Subscription Vocal concert	February 3, 1817
16 July 1817	Dr Chard & Mr Hawes	Vocal concert	July 14, 1817
23 December 1817	Dr Chard & Mr Hawes	Winchester Subscription Vocal concert	December 22, 1817
22 January 1818	Dr Chard & Mr Hawes	Winchester Subscription Vocal concert	January 19, 1818
10 February 1818	Dr Chard & Mr Hawes	Winchester Subscription Vocal concert	February 9, 1818
5 March 1818	Dr Chard	Winchester Vocal concert	March 2, 1818
26 March 1818	Mr Hawes	Winchester Vocal concert	March 16, 1818
26 November 1819	Mr Griesbach	Concert	November 8, 1819
19-20 January 1820	Mr Griesbach	Concert	December 20, 1819
25-27 October 1820	Mr Griesbach	Two vocal and instrumental concerts	October 23, 1820

This table shows concerts that took place in Winchester in addition to the Hampshire Music Meeting. The majority of these were subscription concerts and no doubt the subscribers to the concert series were also contacted with an invitation to attend the annual music festival. The table displays the practice that whoever organised the music festival was also organising the majority of other concerts in the town and Chard and Fussell feature quite strongly in it. It also shows the popularity and success of Winchester organisers most of whom arranged concerts for several years before somebody else took over the task. It is difficult to assess from newspaper advertisements whether the organiser assumed the financial risk of mounting the concert and there is very little documentation from this period discussing the financial elements of concert organising. One could assume that in the smaller events the organiser took the risk, but the larger events, such as festivals (as will become clear at the

beginning of the section entitled 'Costs of concert'), had financial guarantees from what were described as 'Stewards'.⁶⁸

Further inferences can be drawn about the popularity of subscription concerts: events advertised as 'subscription concerts' are much less frequent at the turn of the century until about 1815 when their frequency increased again after the immediate threat of Napoleon had passed. Certainly prior to 1800, organisers tried out new formats with different names. Descriptions changed from subscription concerts to an 'Annual Concert' in Southampton organised by Hezekiah Cantelo, with also a 'New Musical Society' being briefly formed in Southampton in 1787 where 'Vocal and Instrumental Music [and a] Variety of Catches and Glees' were performed.⁶⁹ Cantelo organised these 'Annual Concerts' sporadically between 1776 and 1793, although the concert frequency was far from annual. Included in the above listings for Winchester concerts is the 'annual concert' organised by Hill in 1789 & 1792. In Portsmouth, between 1791 and 1819 the promoter Stephen Sibly also organised events variously described as 'Benefit' concerts, 'Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music' and 'Annual Concerts'.

Organisers struggled to establish a regular set of subscription concerts in Hampshire as it was difficult to continually change with the times and predict changes of taste and demand. Lack of subscription for concerts seemed all too familiar, as can be read in the earlier announcement of Mr Storace, and the unpredictable state of subscription concert attendance is shown by the lack of continuity in concert advertisement and promotion. One of the major considerations for organisers was the cost of performers and musicians. There was strong competition to attract honorary patronages to help subsidise costs but also to guarantee enough subscriptions. The difficulty of the organiser was to strike the right balance between providing famous London-based performers and managing towering overheads otherwise the outgoings far exceeded the incomings. However, one area of concert promotion that thrived on maintaining this balance was the music festival.

⁶⁸HC, December 19, 1814.

⁶⁹HC, January 1, 1787.

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Music festivals were elaborate affairs running for several days. The model of the music festival originated in London from 'The Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy [who] promoted a grand choral service every year, and from about the 1670s London celebrated the feast of the patroness of music with an annual St. Cecilia's day concert.'⁷⁰ In the adjacent county of Wiltshire, the Salisbury music festival started in 1742, with Winchester following suit in 1761.⁷¹ By the time Jane Austen was born, the 'Annual Music Festival', or 'Hampshire Music Meeting' as it had become later known, was an annual event lasting three days. In keeping with other provincial festivals, the 'Meeting' took place mostly in September or early October, and it consisted of the performance of an oratorio taking place in the Cathedral on the first day; a performance of *Messiah* on the morning of the second day, followed by a 'Miscellaneous Concert' in St. John's House that evening; and another Oratorio on the morning of the third day. The festivals had a further enticement: 'After the Concert each Evening, a BALL' as the advertisements stated.⁷² This three-day festival took place annually from 1761-1807, whereupon there is a gap until the 'Triennial Music Meetings', which took place in 1814 and 1817.

Advertisements convey information about the special attractions of each festival as well as confirming the general organisation on an annual basis. In the Hampshire Music Meeting of 1792, Madame [Sophia] Dussek played 'a duet for Grand Piano Forte and pedal harp' with her husband.⁷³ This was probably one of the first times that the harp had been heard in a county concert, certainly in Winchester. John Marsh describes hearing a Mr Evans 'exhibiting' on a harp in Romsey in 1773 where he 'was much pleased': this is one of the early records of harp performances in the area.⁷⁴ The logistics of transporting and performing on a harp within the county must have rendered its inclusion in a concert most impressive. In 1793, the festival included another harpist

⁷⁰ Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, 122.

⁷¹ For an earlier list of Salisbury and Winchester Festival programmes see: Douglas J. Reid and Brian W. Pritchard, "Some Festival Programmes of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.

I: Salisbury and Winchester," *RMA research chronicle*, 5 (1967): 51-79

⁷² *HC*, December 1, 1798.

⁷³ *HC*, September 17, 1792.

⁷⁴ Marsh, *Journals*, 91.

(Madame [Anne-Marie] Krumpholtz), perhaps confirming the public's enjoyment of this new instrument in a Hampshire concert.

A copy of the programme from the 1792 Music Meeting is to be found at the Hampshire Record Office, showing a complete list of works being performed in the two 'ACTS' (See *Fig.4*).⁷⁵ After listing the music in one of the miscellaneous concerts on the first day of the festival, the inside cover chronologically lists the '2 Acts' of music whilst the subsequent three pages record the exact names of works, performers and words for the choruses.

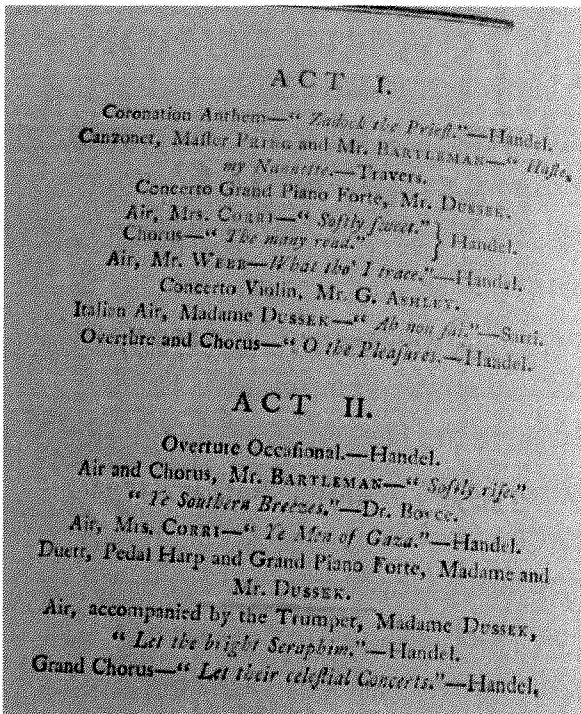


Figure 4- Programme from the 1792 music meeting. Hampshire Record Office: Jervoise of Herriard Collection: Ref 44M69/K1/12

The diversity of the music in this miscellaneous concert and the precise order were designed to hold the audience's attention over a lengthy period. This is a phenomenon noted by Weber in his extensive study on concert programming in the period, he describes how 'an eighteenth-century listener would have

⁷⁵ HC, September 17, 1792.

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thought a piano recital or a purely orchestral concert monochromatic, strange and dull. The principle of miscellany dictated that a program maintain contrast in its sequence of pieces.⁷⁶ The quantity of Handel arias in the programme is striking and certainly falls into line with the renewed interest in Handel's works after the 1784 Handel festival in Westminster Abbey.⁷⁷ Interestingly, performer's names are printed in capitals whilst composer's names are written with a mere capital at the beginning of their name, suggesting that, to the audience, the performer was more important than the composer. All of the concert listings and programmes from this era are formatted in this way; the practice of putting the composer's name first did not come into use until later in the nineteenth century.

Another such programme highlights an eighteenth-century performance practice no longer followed. In 1789, the Hampshire Music Meeting took place between 7-9th of October; the works performed included *Alexander's Feast* on the 7th, Haydn's *Stabat Mater* and *Jephtha* on the 8th, followed by *Messiah* on the 9th.⁷⁸ The programme contains the words to all the principal anthems and choruses to be performed on the second day in Winchester Cathedral but contains no other details for the rest of the festival. This suggests that the audience joined in with the choruses, swelling the performance volume and creating a more impressive and interactive concert experience. Further evidence of audience participation is provided by a report of a concert in Southampton in 1793 which advertised 'Words of the Songs, &c. will be given at the door' and of another concert in July 1821 celebrating the coronation of George IV where 'the Church-wardens distributed the words of the anthems, having had them printed for the occasion'.⁷⁹ Apart from newspaper quotations, there is little other evidence of the practice, and indeed it seems strange that only the anthems were printed; the drama moves faster in the recitatives and would be harder to follow. It is certainly feasible that the anthems were designed for audience participation and the fact that the printed words were from sacred oratorios performed in the religious setting of the

⁷⁶ William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 41.

⁷⁷ Weber, *Concert Programming*, 67.

⁷⁸ HC, October 5, 1789.

⁷⁹ HC, August 26, 1793 and HT, July 30, 1821.

cathedral also supports the concept that the audience joined in as with hymns in church services.

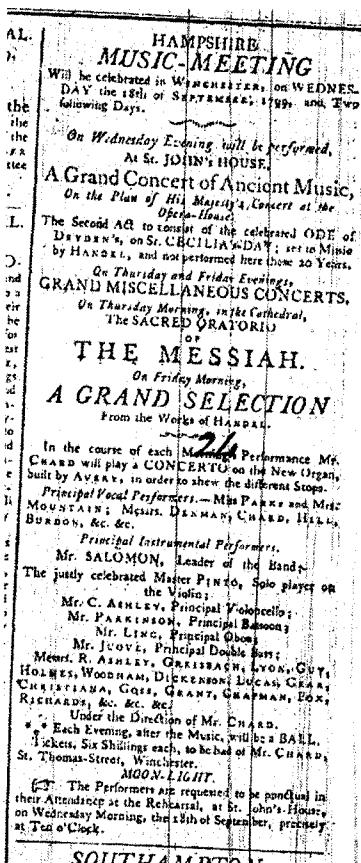


Figure 5- Advertisement from HC September 9, 1799

The advertisement in *Fig.5*, from September 1799, displays the diversity of works and performers, and includes the listing of the 'Band' members. Particularly of interest is the performance of 'a CONCERTO on the New Organ built by AVERY, in order to shew [sic] the different stops' which was to take place 'In the course of each Morning Performance'.⁸⁰ These performances celebrated the new John Avery organ that had been recently installed in Winchester Cathedral and was said to be 'the first organ in the kingdom'.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Betty Matthews, *The Organs and Organists of Winchester Cathedral* (Winchester: Friends of Winchester Cathedral, 1975), 7-9.

⁸¹ HC, July 20, 1799.

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The music festivals worked very hard to draw a prestigious audience, partly to encourage others to attend. In 1782, for example, the *Hampshire Chronicle* announced that 'Our Music Meeting...is expected to be more numerous and respectable than any we have had for several years past: The following, among many other respectable personages, will undoubtedly honour it with their presence, viz. Duke and Duchess of Chandos, Marquis of Lothian...'.⁸² The advertisement continues to list more than 50 names emphasizing the aristocratic presence at these festivals. Emulation of aristocrats seems to become a way of attracting a sophisticated upper class audience. The post-concert report dating 30 September 1782 announces:

On Wednesday evening our annual Musical Festival was opened at St. John's House, with the Grand Oratorio of Alexander's Feast, which was performed with distinguished applause to a very numerous and brilliant audience. Among the company which was present on this occasion, were; the Duke and Duchess of Chandos, Duchess of Bolton and daughter, Marquis of Lothian and Lady Kerr's. Earl and Countess of Westmorland, Earl and Countess of Macclesfield, Earl and Countess of Sussex, Earl of Northington, Earl and Countess of Portsmouth, Earl of Clanrickarde and Lady Deburgh's, Lord Viscount Palmerston, the Rt. Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons and Lady, Sir Thomas and Lady Heathcote and family, Lady Archer, Sir Peter and Lady Rivers, Sir C. and Lady Ogle, and family, Sir Charles and Lady Mill, Sir Thomas and Lady Rumbold and family, Sir William Benett, Sir Richard Reynolds, the Dean of Chichester and family, Hon. Major Pelham, Hon. Mrs. and Miss Luttrell, Hon. Capt. St. John, Hon. Mrs. Pitt, Hon. Mr Thynne, Mr. and Mrs. Thistlethwayte, Rev. Mr Thistlethwayte, Mr. and Mrs. Penton, Mr. and Mrs Fleming, Miss Mildmay's, &c. &c.⁸³

A comparison of the pre- and post- concert reports reveals that eighteen named people did not actually go to the concert, apparently being replaced by eighteen others who are listed amongst the 'respectable personages' including

⁸² HC, September 16, 1782.

⁸³ HC, September 30, 1782.

famous gentry names of 'Duchess of Bolton and daughter...Lord Viscount Palmerston... Hon. Mrs. Pitt' who appear above.

The success of the rival Salisbury and Winchester festivals hinged upon a variety of factors, but a crucial element was that their dates did not coincide: musicians and audiences were resources to be shared. The 'Hampshire Music Meeting' attracted many people outside of the locality thanks to extensive advertisement and its reputation for high musical standards. As we learn again from the diary of John Marsh (1752-1828), '...the annual Oratorios being now began at Winton on the 7th. [September 1775] Took a ride there & went to the Messiah, w'ch was now for the 1st. time done in the body of the Cathedral... The leader at this time was Lates of Oxford, with whom & Mr Ja's Scott of Southton [Southampton] I play'd.'⁸⁴ The diary entry shows that prior to 1775, the Oratorio concert would have been in St. John's House but audience numbers increased to the point where the room could no longer accommodate them. The *Salisbury Journal* reported on this particular concert, saying that 'it [Messiah] was remarkably well performed and had a pleasing, awful effect on a large audience of between five and six hundred in number...On the first night of the performance, was the most dreadful weather...the thunder...entirely overpowered one of the grandest choruses, while accompanied with the kettle drums...several ladies fainted, and were obliged to be carried out; but very fortunately no other damage was done, and the company soon after recovered from the general confusion'.⁸⁵

The year 1787 was significant as the dates of the Salisbury and Winchester festivals did collide between 26 and 28 September. This triggered a set of bitter announcements from Winchester attacking the organisers of the Salisbury festival. The promotion of festivals and attendance were central to competitive success and the tone of the announcements reflects this:

By an advertisement in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal of last week, from the Musical Society of Salisbury, it appears that they have

⁸⁴ Marsh, *Journals*, 133.

⁸⁵ SJ, September 11, 1775.

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ultimately fixed THEIR Festival for the 26th, 27th and 28th September next. I will not pretend to account for the motives which have induced THAT society to adopt, for TWO SUCCESSIVE YEARS, the same measure, I mean that of interfering with the Hampshire Meeting... This conduct of the Salisbury Directors is evidently injurious to many Musical Professors of merit, to whom an engagement at both Meetings might have been convenient...I have been induced to release him [Mr. Parry] from his engagement. I venture to affirm that the Musical Society of Salisbury have, without sufficient authority, advertised the names of Sig. Gariboldi, and Mr Ashley and Sons, as composing part of their Band. To those who may be disposed to doubt my assertions, I have letters to produce that will confirm my having engaged Mr. Parry, and Sig. Gariboldi...[signed] PETER FUSSELL.⁸⁶

The Salisbury festival retaliated, claiming that the date was fixed 'in the week nearest Michaelmas Day, when there shall be the greatest advantage of the moon'.⁸⁷ This refers to the importance of moonlight at concerts for organisers to consider in the late eighteenth century. In many of the advertisements there is a description of the state of the moon indicated with a number of stars (*) and the more distinguished concerts were carefully arranged on or near to a night of a full moon, to illuminate the coach journey after the concert or subsequent ball. Balls finished late: one report states that 'the company did not separate until three o'clock in the morning' and the need for light on a journey where the highwayman was feared was a major consideration for gentry families.⁸⁸ Advertisements in the *Hampshire Chronicle* would therefore contain the light setting at the bottom of the advertisement:

●● Full Moon⁸⁹

⁸⁶ HC, August 6, 1787.

⁸⁷ HC, August 27, 1787.

⁸⁸ HT, February 10, 1817.

⁸⁹ HC, March 10, 1800.

With this in mind, the organiser, Peter Fussell, printed in the *Hampshire Chronicle* a list of dates when the Salisbury festival should have been held with the Michaelmas moon in mind from 1769-1785, including the observation that:

The event of this obstinacy, will not only deprive a number of deserving and highly approved performers, of the emoluments usually derived from their engagement at both places, which is thus rendered impossible, but will injure the very parties it was injudiciously intended to serve, and prevent many families of distinction from giving that countenance and support to both Meetings, which is still their wish to do.⁹⁰

A comparison of the phases of the moon in the article with NASA records leads to several conclusions.⁹¹ Firstly, the organiser at the time, Peter Fussell, was completely accurate in noting the exact dates of the full moon for the years listed 1769-1787. Secondly, Fussell took over organisation of the Winchester festival in 1774, and from 1775 onwards, the Winchester festivals align with the full moon apart from 1786 where according to the newspaper, Fussell changed his dates (to his own disadvantage) to prevent a clash. Thirdly, as Fussell quite rightly points out in his statement in the paper, the Salisbury dates rarely matched up with the phases of the Michaelmas moon, which was meant to be the nearest full moon to 29 September. However, it seems that after Fussell stood his ground in 1787 by not changing the date to accommodate the Salisbury festival, the two festival organisers must have communicated better because from then on, the festivals did not collide again. This rivalry was similar to events in London with the Professional Concert and subscription series between 1783 and 1793 described by Simon McVeigh.⁹²

Despite their differences, the Salisbury and Winchester music festivals employed a similar programme format, whereas other provincial 'Festivals'

⁹⁰ HC, August 27, 1787.

⁹¹ All the dates of the full moons and eclipses can be found on the NASA website: <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/phase/phases1701.html>, (accessed Feb 11, 2011).

⁹² Simon McVeigh, "The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783-1793," *RMA Research Chronicle* 22 (1989): 1-18.

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with similar titles differed substantially from this model. Advertisements for the 'GOSPORT ANNUAL MUSICAL FESTIVAL' are listed on 14 July 1783 and 17 May 1784 and give the impression of a grand performance spanning several days, when it was actually a singing competition with a monetary prize:⁹³

The sum of Five Guineas to the Company that most excels in the vocal performance of the Glee, by Webb, in his fifth book, "The mighty Conqueror," two Elegies, two Glees, Canzonets &c. of three or more parts, and three Catches; The sum of Three Guineas to the Company next excelling; and the sum of Two Guineas for the third excelling Company.⁹⁴

The 'Gosport Annual Musical Festival' had started two years previously in Odiham in 1782 with a one shilling entry fee before it moved to Gosport. The organiser, Thomas Webb, seems to have been the composer of some of the glees in the competition. The competition was to be held 'at the George Inn... a handsome SILVER PINT CUP, to be sung for by companies in the Great Room... The company that best performs three songs with two, three or more voices and a catch, to have the prize...Each company to bring an umpire with them, by a majority of whom the prizes will be decided. Copies of what they intend to perform, to be delivered to Mr. Webb by twelve o'clock on the day of singing.'⁹⁵ The singing competition in Odiham was organised by Thomas Webb, and coincidentally the Gosport 'festival' specifically includes the performance of a Webb glee. It could be the case that Thomas Webb was related to John Webb (senior), who preceded Sibly's tenure as organist of St. Thomas church, he also happened to share the same surname (with the difference of an 'e') with the famous glee composer Samuel Webbe.⁹⁶

⁹³ HC, May 17, 1784.

⁹⁴ HC, May 17, 1784.

⁹⁵ HC, March 18, 1782.

⁹⁶ Reverend Philip Barrett, *The Organs and Organists of the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Portsmouth* (Portsmouth: Arthur Coomer Limited, 1975), 19. For the popularity of the Glee composer Samuel Webbe see: Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 69.

‘The Fareham Musical Festival’ advertised for 16 June 1777 also took the format of a singing competition and was successful for only one year. Instead of being a grand three-day event it was a one day smaller-scale singing competition. As Brian Pritchard has noted, however, the gigantic Commemoration of Handel held in Westminster Abbey in 1784 provided an important new model for provincial festivals.⁹⁷ Certainly from this date onwards the Gosport festival changed its format to include *Messiah* and *Acis and Galatea* in 1787. The Isle of Wight celebrated festivals in 1787 and 1788 with a Portsea festival running in 1789, Portsmouth in 1791 and Havant in 1797. However, these smaller festivals were not able to match the status of Winchester and its traditional annual three-day music format: they lasted only a day, which included a performance of *Messiah* along with a miscellaneous concert.

Two different commentators have remarked upon a noticeable lack of concerts between the years 1807-1814 in Hampshire. In her notes, Betty Matthews acknowledges that the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* does not report any Winchester concerts from 1807-1814, suggesting that it was due to ‘the rising expense of getting musicians from outside the city, and from the perilous state of the nation in general’.⁹⁸ A similar observation was made by Frank Warren whose notes contain a chapter entitled ‘1810-1812- Where have all the concerts gone?’ from his study of the *Hampshire Telegraph*.⁹⁹ However, after such solid musical foundations were laid in the county, is it likely that concerts ceased to exist in this time period?

Harriet Grote, who lived in Pear Tree Green, Southampton, described in 1803 how ‘the neighbours instituted a kind of social club, which consisted in each house providing an evening’s entertainment once a fortnight; there was card-playing, dancing and music with light refreshments. People seldom went to London- the war kept every English family at home, and the ties of

⁹⁷ Pritchard, *Galpin Journal*, 22:58.

⁹⁸ Quoted from the notes of Betty Matthews, ref: Royal College of Music, MS 7089/23/7.

⁹⁹ Portsmouth and City Museum and Records Office, ref 212 9A.

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neighbourhood were of a truly kind and friendly character.¹⁰⁰ This quote implies that in wartime, concerts and musical entertainment still existed but were a more private affair.

Certainly in times of financial hardship and war, musical entertainment is seen as a release, and in addition, wealthy gentry families still had the means to afford subscriptions and ticket prices. A possible solution to the 'lack of concerts' conundrum is that concerts did indeed still exist but newspaper reports ceased. The printers Wilkes and Blagden both owned music shops selling a vast selection of music during this entire period, signalling that music was still in demand for either performance or study, so the lack of newspaper reports may have resulted from a change in editorial interest.¹⁰¹ Another possibility is that public taste changed, requiring more reports detailing current political events against the background of the threat posed by Napoleon. Robinson noted after making a general study of the *Hampshire Chronicle* that there was very little local news in the newspapers of this period. Column after column recorded only national and international news suggesting that the impact of the Napoleonic Wars was reflected in the newspaper coverage at the time.¹⁰² The press certainly was used for propaganda in the war years, with further pamphlets and publications printed warning of the threat of war and invasion from Napoleon. According to Stuart Semmel, 'broadsides were produced by a host of anonymous writers' as it was considered that news coverage was not enough to get the message through to the general public.¹⁰³ The newspaper coverage of the various battles at this time is also described in the introduction to Philip Shaw's work on how the battle of Waterloo came to affect the writers Walter Scott, Southey, Coleridge, Wordsworth and Lord Byron.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Herbert Lewin, *The Lewin Letters: A Selection from the Correspondence & Diaries of an English Family, 1756-1884. Collected & Edited by T. H. Lewin ... With Portraits*, vol. I (London: Printed for private circulation, 1909), 133.

¹⁰¹ John Wilkes was the *Hampshire Chronicle* printer from 1778 to 1783 and Thomas Blagden was the printer from 1783 to 1791.

¹⁰² Steve Robinson, *Hampshire Chronicle In Black and White* (Winchester: Jacob & Johnson Ltd, n.d.), 30.

¹⁰³ Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2004), 44.

¹⁰⁴ Philip Shaw, *Waterloo and the Romantic Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 1-34.

Newspaper advertisements in the *Hampshire Chronicle* suggest a shift in concert organisation rather than a lack of concerts altogether. The last annual Hampshire Music Meeting was reported in 1807 but by 1812 a new festival format was attempted entitled 'Hampshire, Portsmouth, and Portsea Grand Musical Festival'.¹⁰⁵ This was the beginning of a new type of music festival that incorporated a larger area, similar to the successful Three Choirs Festival, founded in 1718, where the cathedral cities of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester took turns to host the festival.¹⁰⁶ In 1814, the *Hampshire Chronicle* began advertising 'The Hampshire Musical Festival' which was the beginning of a Triennial event for Winchester, Portsmouth and Havant, which was repeated in 1817.¹⁰⁷ This Triennial format was thought to be more advantageous for promoters to share the organization responsibility in addition to easing the financial burdens of the previous annual festivals.

Concert Publicity and Promotion

Mirroring the rivalry between the Winchester and Salisbury music festivals, the *Hampshire Chronicle* and *Salisbury Journal* were fiercely competitive. According to Ferdinand, the *Hampshire Chronicle*'s founder, James Linden, and the owner of *Salisbury Journal*, Benjamin Collins, 'recognized each other as particular enemies... In setting up a rival paper within the area staked out as the *Journal*'s, and by actively poaching some of its subscribers, Linden not only antagonized another newspaper proprietor, but, more serious, he undermined his own communications with Collins's trade network, which was the most extensive and important in the region.'¹⁰⁸ Collins cleverly helped contrive the bankruptcy of Linden in 1778 whereupon the *Chronicle* changed hands to John Wilkes (printer from 1778 to 1783). Subsequently, the paper passed to the printers Thomas Blagden (from 1783 to 1791), Joseph Bucknell (printer from 1795 to 1796), and Benjamin Long (printer from 1798 to

¹⁰⁵ HC, May 4, 1812.

¹⁰⁶ Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, 123.

¹⁰⁷ HC, October 10, 1814 & HC, June 23, 1817.

¹⁰⁸ Ferdinand, *Collins and Newspaper Trade*, 3.

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1805).¹⁰⁹ The paper's editorial policy varied from editor to editor as the papers changed hands and it is possible to connect music reporting with the editor of the day. Judging by his grand advertisements for it, John Wilkes, who took over the paper in 1778, had a clear affinity for music. Wilkes's era as printer of the *Hampshire Chronicle* lasted from 1778 to 1783 and he became editor for a second time between 1791 and 1795 after he took the paper back from Thomas Blagden in 1791.

The time that Wilkes first took over the *Chronicle* in 1778-1783 is significant, as he also opened a music shop and circulating library in 1779 and used the paper to advertise his large stock.¹¹⁰ By 1782 there are 10 full-page listings of music 'which may be had of J.Wilkes, Printer, in Winchester, where also may be had any Music not in the following Catalogue...on three days notice', in addition to music he continues to advertise that he also stocks reeds, strings and instruments.¹¹¹ (See Fig. 6). Wilkes's period as editor is the only time when large pages of advertisement for the separate shop are present in the paper. It thus seems reasonable to assume that large advertisements (for example, one or two entire columns) would have been expensive for others who were not in control of their own media outlet. It is unclear from the extant newpapers whether or not the promoter or organiser had to pay for concert advertisements. Advertisements were presumably paid for in order to cover newspaper costs, but the post-concert reports were part of the local news therefore were included in the main body of text and apparently not deemed as advertisement.

¹⁰⁹ John R. Oldfield, *Printers, Booksellers and Printers in Hampshire, 1750-1800* (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 1993), 3.

¹¹⁰ Oldfield, *Printers 1750-1800*, 10.

¹¹¹ *HC*, July 1, 1782.

AL 31	1	1
A List of Music printed by J. BAXEND. No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 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editor and music seller was certainly a rarity in the eighteenth-century concert scene and the choice of musical items in the paper at that time is very different from that of other publications where advertisements are fewer and smaller.

If publicity in periodicals was crucial to the success of musical events, even more important was the work of the concert organisers. Concert promotion in the eighteenth century was no mean feat: the musical and administrative skills needed for concert organising challenged most individuals, so there were only a few key figures. From the bitter announcements written by the Winchester organiser Peter Fussell, concerning the overlapping of the Salisbury and Winchester festivals in 1787, it is evident that there was great pressure to secure reputed London performers. Correspondence between artist and organiser was frequent, with evidence in the *Hampshire Chronicle* to suggest that contracts for concerts were also made and signed by all relevant parties, organiser and artist alike.¹¹³ Provincial organisers must have made regular trips to London to observe performers, compositions and concert formats in order to make these crucial musical decisions. The connection between Handel and the Harris family of Salisbury is one example of well-documented correspondence where regular trips to the capital influenced decisions on the repertoire at the Salisbury festival.¹¹⁴ The quality of the performers and musicians whose employment was secured became a measure of the success of the musical event and the organiser.

Another provincial family who undertook concert promotion were the Ashley family whose music festivals in Derby, Norwich, Nottingham, Leeds, Sheffield and at times Portsmouth, have been well documented by Brian Pritchard.¹¹⁵ According to Pritchard, John Ashley (d.1805) 'used his metropolitan position and the contacts made at other festivals to advantage, arming himself with London soloists, both vocal and instrumental, and frequently, too, with the

further information on circulating libraries see: Alec Hyatt King, "Music Circulating Libraries in Britain," *The Musical Times* 119, no. 1620 (1978): 134-37.

¹¹³ See previously quoted *Hampshire Chronicle* reference describing Peter Fussell's letters 'confirm[ing] my having engaged Mr. Parry' when the Salisbury and Winchester festival collided in 1787, *HC*, August 6, 1787.

¹¹⁴ James Harris, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732-1780*, eds. Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹¹⁵ Pritchard, *Galpin Journal*, 22:58-77.

leading chorus-singers from the Ancient Concerts and some voices from the Chapel Royal.¹¹⁶

In Winchester the main music organisers of this time were Peter Fussell, Charles Hill, and George Chard, all of whom were employed at various times by the cathedral as organists or lay vicars. The importance of church musicians is highlighted by Borsay who notes 'the influential role played by organists in the musical revolution, many becoming in practice, if not in name, civic kapellmeisters.'¹¹⁷ At any given time these promoters organised concerts themselves or were playing in other concerts organised by their colleagues. The efforts of Peter Fussell have already been recorded with regards to the Winchester subscription concerts, but it is worth acknowledging his efforts as a conductor, leader and organiser of the Hampshire music festival dating from 1774-1797. His cathedral career documents his activity as a chorister in 1768, lay vicar and then organist from 1774-1800, and he also composed anthems for the choir.¹¹⁸ He died on 1 August 1802.¹¹⁹ A report in the *Hampshire Chronicle* reads 'Sunday morning the remains of the late Mr Fussell, were interred in a vault in the Cathedral...Mr Fussell's morning service and a part of the funeral service were sung by the choir, and proper psalms and lessons were read on the occasion.¹²⁰

Charles Hill is listed in the Winchester Chapter Books as being the Lay Vicar to Winchester Cathedral and he organised various concerts in the 1790s enlisting the help of Portsmouth organiser, Stephen Sibly.¹²¹ Hill and Sibly were friends; they first knew each other as boy choristers at Salisbury Cathedral and were often employed together, as can be seen as 'Mr. Hill from Winchester' sang at the February concert in 1799.¹²² Sibly is listed as the leader of a concert on 26

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 59.

¹¹⁷ Borsay, *Urban Renaissance*, 126.

¹¹⁸ Andrew Parker "The Cathedral Choir and its Music, 1660-1800," in *Winchester Cathedral Nine Hundred Years 1093-1993*, ed. John Crook (Andover: Phillimore Press, 1993), 305-313.

¹¹⁹ Matthews, *Organists*, 25.

¹²⁰ HC, August 9, 1802.

¹²¹ HRO, ref WIN_CATH_CB_10, 103. For Stephen Sibly's organ career see: Reverend Philip Barrett, *The Organs and Organists of the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Portsmouth* (Portsmouth: Arthur Coomer Limited, 1975), 19-20.

¹²² My thanks to Brian Robins for pointing out that John Marsh noted Hill as 'principal chorister' (p.144 of the *Marsh Journals*) and then later Sibly is named as '2nd chorister' (p.149) in 1776.

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June 1799 held, rather unusually for Winchester, in the George Inn rather than at St. John's House. Hill handed over concert organisation to George Chard, another employee of the cathedral, in the following year. However, Charles Hill's listed appearances as a concert musician in Winchester spanned the years from 1793 to 1814 when he was singled out as being one of the 'principal performers' whenever an event was organised.

George William Chard (1765-1849) enjoyed a particularly varied musical career in Hampshire, holding the position of cathedral organist and supplementing his income with teaching and composition.¹²³ For much of his life he leased a house in St. Thomas Street, Winchester which was located in the hub of musical activity in the town two streets north of the Cathedral.¹²⁴ He started as a lay clerk and assistant organist, deputised for Peter Fussell as early as 1791 and in 1802 took over as full organist.¹²⁵ He is listed in the Winchester College Long Rolls annually from 1802-1849 and was the first college organist to receive a doctorate, from St. Catherine's College, Cambridge in 1812.¹²⁶ Besides his passion for music, his interest in politics led to his election as a Freeman of the City in September 1797, followed by the Low Bailiff from 1800-1 and High Bailiff from 1801-2. During his time as High Bailiff he was elected Pavement Commissioner and attended meetings until 1832. He was later elected Justice of the Peace on 18 February 1811, and became Mayor of Winchester from 1822-3.¹²⁷ All of these duties in addition to his cathedral work and concert organisation started to cause problems with his music preparation and choir discipline. The Chapter Books describing services and staff at Winchester Cathedral record that he came under pressure from 1809 onwards to ensure 'That the following Plan for the future Regulation of the Choir, and securing the proper performance of the Service...[including] That the Organist

¹²³ W.B. Squire, "Chard, George William (1765-1849)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5136>, (accessed March 20, 2012). See also: Edward Rich and John George Henry, *Recollections of the Two St. Mary Winton Colleges. By an Old Wykehamist [E. J. G. H. Rich]* (Walsall: The Author, 1883), 44.

¹²⁴ HRO, ref W/F3/312 information concerning the lease of a house and garden on the west side of St Thomas's Street.

¹²⁵ Matthews, *Organists*, 25.

¹²⁶ Winchester College and C. W. Holgate, *Winchester Long Rolls, 1723-1812*, ed. H. Chitty (Winchester: P. & G. Wells, 1904). Chard's son George Chard (jnr) is later listed as a Winchester College Scholar see: Thomas Frederick Kirby, *Winchester Scholars: A List of the Wardens, Fellows, and Scholars of Saint Mary College of Winchester, near Winchester, Commonly Called Winchester College* (London: Henry Frowde, 1888).

¹²⁷ HC, Freemen's roll 1698-1835, Ref W/B8/1/1. HC, September 6, 1947.

be admonished in Chapter to teach the Boys by note.’¹²⁸ By ‘Private Chapter 2nd Feb 1815’ a lengthy report indicated Chard’s ‘neglect of duties’, and a list of instructions was added, stating ‘That he is desired to instruct the Choiristers regularly and systematically in ‘their’ Duty and teach them by Note and that he be particularly impressed with the necessity of instructing them to make the responses...in a decent uniform manner and not at the highest pitch of their voices as at present resembles a Street Cry rather than a Religious Rite’.¹²⁹ This rather damning report emphasises his neglect of his pedagogic duty to train the choir.

Chard was primed to take over from Peter Fussell when he started to organise the Hampshire Music Meeting from 1798. From this date onwards he became a key figure for music organisation, as can be seen in the organiser listings in the previous section. He is listed as one of the principal performers from 1793 onwards and took over as the main organiser and organiser in 1798. In 1800, Chard also took over organising the sporadic subscription concerts from Hill. As a festival organiser Chard’s reign surpassed the 22 years of Peter Fussell as he is recorded to be still organising and playing in concerts and festivals in 1836, aged 71: a 38-year stretch as a promoter in Winchester.¹³⁰

There is evidence to suggest that George Chard had been Jane Austen’s piano teacher when he took over as musical organiser of the concert series in 1798, and he may also have taught Jane’s sister Cassandra. Jane’s artistic schooling stemmed from modest beginnings, informed by her father’s literary knowledge and mother’s musical understanding, but her musical skills needed to be developed with a piano teacher. In a letter to Cassandra written on 1 September 1796, Jane describes her attempts to maintain practice, ‘I am so glad to hear so good an account of Mr. Charde, [sic] and only fear that my long absence may occasion his relapse. I practise every day as much as I can- I wish it were more for his sake.’¹³¹ The connection of Rev George Austen to the

¹²⁸ HRO, Winchester Chapter Books (1804-1824), Winchester Cathedral Archives ref CATH_CB_CD5, 106-109.

¹²⁹ HRO, Chapter Books, 235.

¹³⁰ HT, October 24, 1836

¹³¹ Le Faye, *Letters*, 7.

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Winchester religious establishment may have been one of the original links bringing Chard in contact with the family. Chard's musical profile within the Cathedral would have helped him develop a good reputation for teaching piano in the area and his strong local musical presence made him a good source of information for the Austens about local concerts, as well as a source of keyboard repertoire.

The Cantelo family, based in Southampton, also spread their performing and organising activity across the different festivals and concerts in the region. However, despite his best efforts, Mr Hezekiah Cantelo (d. 1811) did not manage to arrange a festival every year in Southampton.¹³² Advertisements of the period suggest Cantelo's role as concert organiser spanned more than 10 years; he started organising concerts in 1776, and maintained them on an annual basis until 1780 whereupon there is a gap until 1785. The last concert he organised was in 1793 after another gap of 7 years.¹³³ Mr Cantelo must have been a talented musician; he was reported as 'one of the first trumpets in the kingdom' after a concert in 1775 and advertised as playing the trumpet in 1776, the oboe in 1776 and 1777, and the German flute in 1779.¹³⁴ Mr Cantelo organised concerts with his daughter, a Miss Cantelo, who was also a prolific performer in the county (listed in September 1779 as being 'from Bath').¹³⁵ Ann Cantelo was a pupil of J.C. Bach and married the famous tenor Samuel Harrison in December 1790.¹³⁶ She is first advertised as singing in the 1778 Annual Concert whereafter she is listed as the principal vocal performer in Southampton in the years 1779-1780 and 1785-1786.¹³⁷ By the last concert of 1793, she is not listed as singing but 'perform[ing] the favourite CONCERTO of BACH, &c. on the PIANO FORTE', perhaps demonstrating the skills that she learnt from having lessons with J.C. Bach.¹³⁸ The Cantelo family enjoyed a good

¹³² Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol.3, 38-40.

¹³³ HC, 8/76, Benefit 8/77, 9/78, 9/79, 8/80, 9/85, 9/86.

¹³⁴ HC, September 11, 1775, HC, August 12, 1776, HC, August 19, 1776, HC, August 25, 1777 and HC, September 13, 1779.

¹³⁵ HC, September 6, 1779.

¹³⁶ Charles Sanford Terry and Johann Christian Bach, *John Christian Bach. [a Biography, with Portraits and a Thematic Catalogue]* (Oxford University Press: London, 1929), 138-9. See also Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol.7, 145-46.

¹³⁷ HC, September 14, 1778.

¹³⁸ HC, August 19, 1793.

reputation as musicians and they were also engaged in concerts for the Hampshire Music Meeting. Mr Cantelo is listed among the instrumental performers in 1784-85, 1788-89, 1792-94 and in the Portsmouth festival in 1791 whilst Miss Cantelo was also listed as one of the principal vocalists in the Hampshire music meetings of 1779 and 1784-85.¹³⁹ Her vocal performance in 1785 was reported as ‘receiv[ing] the most deserved, and sincerest marks of approbation’.¹⁴⁰ Both Mr Cantelo and Miss Cantelo are reported to have taken part in a concert on the Isle of Wight in 1786 where ‘vocal and instrumental were engaged by Mr Cantelo... Miss Cantelo, whose taste and abilities, added to the powers of a happy voice... she is a shining ornament.’¹⁴¹ Cantelo is then listed as organising the Isle of Wight festival in 1787. The intermittent nature of concert organising was perhaps as a result of Southampton audiences being more transient. A good portion of the population came purely for the sea baths, which would have made it more difficult to sell regular subscriptions to concerts through normal networks of acquaintance and frequentation. It is also possible that people who were taking the sea baths due to poor health would have concentrated on their cure rather than entertainment.

Concert organisation was also taken on by Francis Wellman (the son of a wig maker), whose musical efforts started with the installation of a new organ in Romsey Abbey, and finished with the organisation of concerts in Southampton. Wellman is first mentioned in the Hampshire papers in the context of a concert in Romsey where he had been recently hired as the organist for the church, having previously held the post of apprentice organist with Dr. [John] Stephens in St. Edmund’s, Salisbury.¹⁴² John Marsh commented when arriving at his new post of solicitor in Romsey in August 1768 that he was ‘disconcerted at finding no organ in the church’.¹⁴³ Romsey parish decided shortly afterwards that a new organ was needed and commissioned Henry Coster of Salisbury to install one and Wellman took up the new post.¹⁴⁴ In the *Hampshire Chronicle* on the 25 August 1783, the advertisement reads ‘For the BENEFIT of the ORGANIST...THE MESSIAH... Tickets at 3s each to be had of Mr. Wellman, the

¹³⁹ HC, April 11, 1791.

¹⁴⁰ HC, October 24, 1785.

¹⁴¹ HC, July 31, 1786.

¹⁴² Marsh, *Journals*, 145.

¹⁴³ Marsh, *Journals*, 57.

¹⁴⁴ Taken from the notes of Betty Matthews RCM, ref: BM MS 7089/15.

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Organist.¹⁴⁵ The position of organist was evidently important as the previous September in 1782, *Messiah* was again advertised, this time to celebrate 'the opening of the NEW ORGAN at ROMSEY CHURCH' with the organist being billed as 'Mr. PARRY of Salisbury'.

Shortly afterwards in 1786, the *Salisbury Journal* reported on Christmas Day that Wellman's father (Richard) had died.¹⁴⁶ This event seems to have prompted his move the following year to Southampton, where he set up his own music shop and busied himself teaching with the help of his daughter (Miss Wellman) who gave lessons in the 'pianoforte and singing' and 'had for a considerable time past, [been] under the instruction of the first Piano Forte Teachers in the kingdom'.¹⁴⁷ Although Mr Wellman's performing career apparently ended in Romsey, his association with concert organising allowed occasional performances to continue in Southampton for several decades. Wellman is later described in the *Hampshire Telegraph* as organising a concert in Southampton on the 29th December 1808 with tickets obtainable from 'Mr. Wellman's Music Shop and at Skelton's Circulating Library'.¹⁴⁸ The Wellman family heavily influenced Hampshire music-making and it was Francis Wellman's son who organised the concert series for Paganini in Southampton, Portsmouth, Winchester and Chichester in 1832.¹⁴⁹

As we have seen, concert organisers were usually notable local performers. This was the case for Stephen Sibly, whom I mentioned above in relation to Hill's concert on the 26 June 1799 where he led the 'Band'.¹⁵⁰ Sibly was not only a music promoter but a practising musician for his entire life; born in 1765, he organised and performed in Portsmouth and other county concerts from 1789 to 1842.¹⁵¹ Sibly organised festivals and benefit concerts, often playing with his son Edward. After an apprenticeship with Parry in Salisbury in

¹⁴⁵ *HC*, August 25, 1783.

¹⁴⁶ *SJ*, December 25, 1786.

¹⁴⁷ *HT*, January 29, 1810.

¹⁴⁸ *HT*, December 26, 1808.

¹⁴⁹ *HT*, August 27, 1832.

¹⁵⁰ *HC*, March 25, 1799.

¹⁵¹ Sibly's life has been well researched in the paper *Music in Portsmouth 1789-1842* using the late Frank Warren's notes: Frank Warren and Irwen Cockman, *Music in Portsmouth 1789-1842* (Portsmouth City Council, 1998).

1789 he took the position of organist at St John's chapel in Portsea, and then wasted little time before appearing at the centre of the town's musical activities.¹⁵² The first report of his musical activities listed in the *Hampshire Chronicle* is The Hampshire Music Meeting in Winchester between 7-9th Oct in 1789.¹⁵³ Sibly started off organising an 'ANNUAL CONCERT' in 1799 progressing towards a series of winter subscription concerts starting in October 1801. He would often lead the 'Band' and then play sonatas on the piano and concertos on the violin in the same concert, demonstrating his proficiency in both instruments. By August 1805, Sibly managed to organise the first 'Portsmouth and Portsea Grand Musical Festival.'¹⁵⁴ This took the same format as the Salisbury and Winchester festivals, combining oratorios with miscellaneous concerts, using expertise that Sibly would have acquired as a performer in these larger events. In 1812, he organised a 'Grand Musical Festival' where it seemed 'no expense was spared.'¹⁵⁵ He organised performances from many famous musicians including Angelica Catalani, who was a resounding success. The *Hampshire Chronicle* reported that 'the extent, richness and flexibility of her voice- and her taste, science and brilliance of execution, we confess, are far beyond our ability to convey an adequate conception of. Every part of her performance was so exquisitely fine, as to combine a constellation of vocal excellence- she both so astonished and delighted her auditors...-Encore , encore- was constantly repeated.'¹⁵⁶

Concert Venues

A major challenge faced by concert organisers in the provinces was obtaining appropriate performance spaces for their events. In Winchester, the oratorio concerts took place in the Cathedral from 1775 onwards. The cathedral was too large for the miscellaneous concerts and an inappropriate venue to stage a

¹⁵² For an overview of the freelance musician and the musical opportunities in this time period see 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, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2004), 3-24.

¹⁵³ *HC*, October 5, 1789.

¹⁵⁴ *HT*, June 3, 1805.

¹⁵⁵ Warren and Cockman, *Portsmouth*, 8.

¹⁵⁶ *HT*, August 24, 1812.

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ball, so these were held at St. John's House on The Broadway In Winchester. Major renovation work took place at St. John's House after it benefitted from a legacy in 1751 from George Brydges, Member of Parliament for Winchester and a cousin of the Duke of Chandos. Brydges left £800 'for the repairing, improving and advancing the house and building called St. John's House, within the city.'¹⁵⁷ The ceiling was raised by 7 feet, 'with decorative frames of papier-maché built to contain the picture of Charles II,' presumably to enhance the beauty and acoustic of the room, to heighten the musical experience and to improve ventilation for the comfort of a large number of people dancing.¹⁵⁸ The Duke of Chandos's connection with St. John's House continued: he is listed as being one of the first 'respectable personages' attending the Hampshire Music Meeting in 1782.¹⁵⁹

In Southampton, most concerts took place at the Long Rooms, first built in 1761 as a 'bathing establishment...with views across the River Test, towards the New Forest', then modified in 1767 with a new Assembly Room next to the spa bathing room, when it 'became known as the Long Rooms'.¹⁶⁰ When Jane Austen lived in Bath (1801-1806) she frequented the Assembly Rooms, which were actually built after the Southampton Long Rooms in 1769. The Long Rooms in Southampton, like Bath, became a centre for balls, which were held up to 'three times a week... governed by the Master of Ceremonies', but they were demolished in the 1890s.¹⁶¹ Mr Sibly's concerts in Portsmouth are recorded as being in various locations including St. John's Chapel, Portsea (where he was organist from 1789-1840), the Crown Inn in the High Street, the Portsea Concert Room in St. George's Square, the High Street Theatre and the Assembly Rooms.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ Barbara Carpenter Turner, *St John's Winchester Charity* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1992), 37.

¹⁵⁸ Carpenter Turner, *St John's Charity*, 37-38.

¹⁵⁹ HC, September 16, 1782.

¹⁶⁰ Frank Warren notes Appendix 27 (i).

¹⁶¹ Adrian B. Rance, *Southampton: An Illustrated History* (Horndean: Milestone, 1986), 80.

¹⁶² Warren, *Portsmouth*, 21 & 3. See also Paul Ranger, *The Georgian Playhouses of Hampshire 1730-1830* (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 1996).

Performers and Audiences

The life of professional musicians in the provinces was particularly testing. They displayed dedication and stamina, enduring the trials of horse-drawn coaches and carriages to cover large distances on difficult roads going from one concert to another. Because of the infrequency of concerts, none of the Hampshire towns and cities boasted its own orchestra, so it was normal to draft musicians in from neighbouring counties to enlarge orchestra numbers. With the exception of the year 1787, as discussed above, the rival Salisbury Music Festival and the Hampshire Music Meeting did not clash, as the same musicians were needed at both. Periodical reports delighted in the fact that musicians would travel from afar to participate. An advertisement for a concert at Southampton Theatre on 7 April 1812 stated that the orchestra is 'partly from London, Bath, Salisbury and Portsmouth' and similarly in a report about the Hampshire Music Festival, the orchestra is described as never having 'seen a more complete Band out of London, being composed of Professors'.¹⁶³ There was evidently a real sense of pride in the provincial 'Band' composed of an eclectic mix of musicians.

The landscape that provincial musicians had to cover was vast: certain key figures are often listed in concerts ranging from Salisbury to the Isle of Wight, Southampton and Portsmouth. The diary entries of John Marsh (who considered himself just an amateur rather than a professional) provide an emblematic example of this phenomenon, his travel schedule appearing impressive even by modern standards. Then, as now, prominent musicians in the provinces needed to demonstrate high standards on a consistent basis in order to secure regular work; a good reputation was vital.

Local militia (a military force embodied to defend against an invader) played a large role in boosting orchestral numbers in provincial concert performance. There was increased nervousness of the likelihood of invasion by the French so the militia expanded in this period to be ready for the threat. The aim of the

¹⁶³ *HT*, March 30, 1812 and *HC*, October 6, 1800.

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militia was to defend home territory by making 'preparations for home defence...[and for] raising recruits for the existing regiments of the army.'¹⁶⁴ By the end of the eighteenth century, each county had a duty to provide militia for its area; in this regard 'frequently troops were to be found centred on the landed estates of noblemen and gentlemen.'¹⁶⁵ The militia was often used to stop riots, maintain good order and provide escorts but in addition to these duties certain regiments provided entertainment, as musicians often enlisted in the militia. For the most part regiments employed drummers: one advertisement in the *Hampshire Chronicle* stated 'WANTED, SIX GOOD DRUMMERS, that perfectly understand their duty.'¹⁶⁶ However, in the late eighteenth century, according to John Randle Western, 'a band was increasingly felt desirable and thus became one of the things which colonels commonly wished, or were expected, to finance out of their regimental profits.'¹⁶⁷ Mrs Harriet Grote's reminiscences of life in Southampton described 'the music of the military band playing before the Commanding Officer's tent' in 1800, when it camped on Netley Common under the command of Lord Moira.¹⁶⁸ In 1778 the expertise of the Dorsetshire militia was particularly prominent because of its location in the neighbouring county to Hampshire. In a concert organized by Cantelo in Southampton in September 1778, it was reported that there were 'several select pieces for claronets [sic] and hautboys, by the Dorsetshire band.'¹⁶⁹ Later in the same year they were again playing in Winchester for a 'most elegant entertainment... by James White, Esq; mayor of this city...[where] the evening concluded with a concert by the Dorsetshire band.'¹⁷⁰ Judging by the frequency and level of the county engagements in which they were involved, the band of the Dorsetshire militia were considered to be the best that the region could offer.

¹⁶⁴ John Randle Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century. The Story of a Political Issue, 1660-1802* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), 209

¹⁶⁵ Patrick Mileham, *The Yeomanry Regiments. 200 Years of Tradition* (Edinburgh: Canongate Academic, 1994), 12.

¹⁶⁶ *HC*, June 23, 1783.

¹⁶⁷ Western, *The English Militia*, 370. For information on music in the militia just outside of the current study see: Lt.Col. P.L. Binns, *A Hundred Years of Military Music* (Dorset: The Blackmore Press, 1959).

¹⁶⁸ Lewin, *Lewin Letters*, 130.

¹⁶⁹ *HC*, September 21, 1778.

¹⁷⁰ *HC*, December 28, 1778.

The diaries of John Marsh answer many questions concerning militia band proficiency and the type of musician that was employed:

On the 5th. of June [1778] I was gratified for the 1st. time with hearing the fine Band of the Dorset Militia w'ch this day came to Sarum, in their way to be encamp'd at Winton. The band was then led by the celebrated John Mahon, whose 3 younger brothers were then all in the same band, w'ch played a considerable time in the Close in the even'g Mr Harris being amongst the auditors very much pleased.- After this, chancing to go to Banks's, I met with J.Mahon & his bro'r Ross, the 1st horn, who also played a good violoncello, on w'ch with Mr Woodyear's assistance, who took the 2nd fiddle, we made up a quartetto (Mr Mahon playing the fiddle & I the tenor)...¹⁷¹

The Mahon family played in many musical events in the county, including the Hampshire Music Meeting. Betty Matthews supplies further information concerning the encampments of the militia in 1778 including Blandford, Winchester, Chatham, Southampton and Portsmouth.¹⁷² The fact that the militia postings were always short-term explains how the Mahon family was able to work in the militia as well as play in concerts in the locality. Employment in the local militia was seen as a respectable occupation because of the ever-present threat of invasion, but it also provided a useful way to avoid being drafted into the army or navy and being sent abroad to fight.¹⁷³

The militia act of 1786 required that 'either the lord lieutenant or the commanding officer [was] to appoint supernumerary drummers at their own expense to serve as musicians.'¹⁷⁴ It is evident that musicians would have been employed in every militia regiment from 1786 but the degree of musical interest of the lord lieutenant must to a certain extent have dictated the skill level of each militia band. Naturally, this varied from band to band and, with the country at war, militia musicians were (rather frustratingly for local

¹⁷¹ Marsh, *Journals*, 181.

¹⁷² Matthews, "Mahons," *Musical Times*, 120:483.

¹⁷³ Conversation with Flight Lieutenant J M Cox MSc BEng(Hons) RAF.

¹⁷⁴ Western, *Militia*, 370.

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promoters) moved throughout the country. There are references to other military bands in the locality in a concert organized by Chard in March 1796, where it was reported that 'some excellent symphonies were played, with good effect with the assistance of the Staffordshire band.'¹⁷⁵ Meredith McFarlane notes the relationship between the Sussex Militia and the Lancashire Fencibles Regiment which were camped near Chichester and used in many musical activities organized by Marsh himself.¹⁷⁶ Marsh's 1787 entry shows how music-loving patrons ensured that militia players could be deployed in a wide range of situations outside their basic military duties:

Sussex Militia Band...[was] intirely kept by the Duke, the Colonel, who used to have some of them instructed in playing on string instruments as well as wind ones so as to form a band by themselves for playing symphonies concertos or quartettos together... the maintenance of these people was not intirely out of his own pocket as they were most of them serjeants or corporals in the Regiment whose wages therefore as such went in part of their pay as musicians, the remainder being made up by his Grace.¹⁷⁷

While the Dorset, Stafford, Sussex and Lancashire militia had reputable bands, the records of the South Hants Militia (who were camped in Hampshire for the same period) contain no mention of their being enlisted to extend orchestra numbers.¹⁷⁸ The South Hants lord lieutenant apparently did not share the same musical interests as the Commanding Officers of other militias. However, the militia's financial records indicate that there were 16 drummers paid 8d. in 1778.¹⁷⁹ Perhaps therefore, there was a pre-disposition towards percussion rather than more standard orchestral instruments but either way, it seems that the South Hants militia was not up to the standard required for concert performance.

¹⁷⁵ *HC*, March 5, 1796.

¹⁷⁶ Cowgill and Holman eds., *Music British provinces*, 135.

¹⁷⁷ Marsh, *Journals*, 405.

¹⁷⁸ George H. Lloyd Verney, J. Mouat and F. Hunt, *Records of the Infantry Militia Battalions of the County of Southampton from A.D. 1757 to 1894 and Records of the Artillery Militia Regiments of the County of Southampton, from A.D. 1853 to 1894*, (London: Longmans Green and co, 1894), 178-208.

¹⁷⁹ Verney, *Militia*, 180.

Due to the custom of pooling musicians from the military, sometimes unforeseen circumstances upset planned events. This was the case in May 1797, when a concert had been advertised stating that the 'Concert will receive that approbation which it has been his [Mr. Chard's] utmost endeavour to merit.'¹⁸⁰ But it was later postponed 'owing to the sudden and very unexpected departure from this City of the Royal North Gloucester and West York Regiments, which unfortunately deprived him of what he considered a valuable part of his orchestra.'¹⁸¹

Sudden departure of the militia was not the only reason for changes in plans. At the Hampshire Music Meeting in 1790 the festival was postponed for three weeks following the death of the Duke of Cumberland. The following charming account by John Marsh taken from his journals in 1790 describes the occasion in great detail:

The Winchester annual Music Meeting being fix'd for Wednesday the 22d. & the 2 following days, I thought, as I had now a horse in the stable, I might as well take a ride over & partake of it & see the two boys. Accordingly on the 21st. I rode there, & after dining at Wickham bump'd it over the hills between Waltham & Winton, before I reach'd w'ch I was so tired of my long solitary ride that I began to feel happy at being arrived at near the end of it, & to anticipate the pleasure of a dish of tea at the George with a lounge afterwards at the evening's rehearsal & the amends I sho'd receive for my journey in the 3 succeeding days of pleasure. On arriving however at the inn I met with a sad damper to my spirits, as on bespeaking a good stall for my horse during the 3 days of the Music Meeting, I found it was postpon'd for 3 weeks on account of the death of the Duke of Cumberland, of which notices had been put & sent to Waltham, Wickham etc. which it was a wonder I had not seen. Instead therefore of my anticipated 3 days of pleasure I had now the idea of trotting back to Chichester on the follow'g day... On my return

¹⁸⁰ SJ, May 15, 1799.

¹⁸¹ SJ, May 22, 1799.

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home the next evening I was finely laughed at by the ladies, who heard from Mr Toghill's a few hours after I set off that the Music Meeting was put off...¹⁸²

The sheer dedication and determination that Marsh shows in covering such distances for the '3 succeeding days of pleasure' is remarkable.¹⁸³ Communication to musicians was difficult when changes were made at the last minute, and despite 'notices' being sent to many of the Hampshire towns and villages, this account shows that they did not always reach the relevant parties in good time.

In the light of John Marsh's account, the question of how musicians knew when and where to rehearse is particularly intriguing, and can best be answered by studying the newspapers. Periodicals played a crucial role in advertising, reporting, and communicating information to the musicians. Musicians at the time may not have had the means to subscribe to concerts but they would have been able to read the paper at a circulating library or one of the many coffee houses that had become so popular. Rehearsal times, it seemed, were written into the advertisement at the bottom:

~~✓~~ The Performers are requested to be punctual in their Attendance at the Rehearsal, at St. John's-House, on Wednesday Morning, the 18th of September, precisely at Ten o'Clock.¹⁸⁴

The following additional details provide an interesting clue as to the musicians' travelling arrangements:

Hampshire Music Meeting- S.Wise informs the Public that during each day of the above interesting Performances, his Coach will leave the Star Inn, Gosport, for Winchester, at SIX o'clock instead of eleven; and will

¹⁸² Marsh, *Journals*, 479.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ HC, September 9, 1799.

return from The Bell and Crown Inn, Winchester, each afternoon, at FOUR o'clock. For the further accommodation of Musicians engaged in the Orchestra, his Coach will leave Gosport on Monday morning the 15th instant, at FIVE o'clock.-¹⁸⁵

Cost of Concerts

The price of admission to a concert varied depending on the professional level, the duration of the concert and the type of event. The cost of promoting a concert would include the fees of professionals coming from London, the printing of programmes and posters, musicians' travel expenses, venue hire, rehearsals, candles, renting costs and music.¹⁸⁶ For example, a ticket to 'Mr.Cantelo's Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music...The vocal parts by Miss Cantelo and Master Gray, from Bath...A Sonata and Concerto on the Piano Forte, by the celebrated Mr. Cramer, Junr...The concert will be under the direction of Mr. Rauzzini' held in Southampton in 1786 cost 5 shillings, whereas a performance of *Messiah*, an organ concerto and Handel's coronation anthem in Romsey in 1782 cost 3 shillings.¹⁸⁷ It being more expensive to engage professionals from outside the area, the Southampton concert cost more to arrange than the Romsey concert which employed more local musicians. This is assuming that these music ticket prices were not subject to the massive fluctuation rates of inflation evident during the French wars from 1792-1815.¹⁸⁸

The *Hampshire Chronicle* reports on 13th December 1784 that Mr Jung's Winter Concerts would cost 'Subscribers to Six Concerts at 7s 6d each,- Non-

¹⁸⁵ *HT*, September 15, 1817.

¹⁸⁶ For a comparison of provincial concert finances to that of concerts held in London see: Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 167-81.

¹⁸⁷ *HC*, September 18, 1786.

¹⁸⁸ For further information on inflation rates see the Bank of England website detailing the wide range of inflation at this time

<http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/inflation/timeline/chart.aspx>, (accessed April 25, 2012).

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subscribers to pay 2s. 6d. for each performance'.¹⁸⁹ If one subscribed in advance, it cost 7s 6d for the six concerts as opposed to an individual ticket at 2s 6d. The cheaper ticket price of 2s 6d, in comparison to the Portsmouth and Romsey event, may reflect the quality expected since the advertisement has no reference to reputed musicians as we find in the publicity for the Hampshire Music Meetings; it suggests a more local and amateur performance. A footnote is added 'N.B. The Reason of altering the day of performances to Thursday next, instead of the Thursday after, is owing to many of the Performers being already engaged for that evening at the Salisbury concert,' which reiterates the provincial musicians' network playing in different concerts in the locality.¹⁹⁰

Concert reporting experienced a style change at the turn of the century. Apparently, readers were no longer satisfied with mere post-concert reports of the musicians and the success of the evening; newspapers started to include performance figures and accounts. As a result, it is possible to reach some fascinating conclusions about concert profitability. This change of style may have resulted from public concern about the rise in inflation due to the Napoleonic Wars, but it is also possible that the charitable status of the beneficiary stipulated that the accounts should be published.

One such report concerns 'The HAMPSHIRE MUSICAL FESTIVAL Consisting of Six Performances FOR THE Benefit of the COUNTY HOSPITAL' which took place between 12 and 14 October 1814.¹⁹¹ Ticket prices were listed at 10s. 6d. 'Persons subscribing two Guinea and a Half, will be entitled to a Ticket for each of the six Performances'.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ *HC*, December 13, 1784.

¹⁹⁰ *HC*, December 13, 1784.

¹⁹¹ *HC*, October 10, 1814.

¹⁹² *HC*, October 10, 1814.

	£. s. d.
Expenses incurred by the necessary Arrangement	
For the Concerts.....	1880 4 6
Receipts from the Sale of Tickets, &c. at the	
Six Performances.....	1594 11 0

Balance unprovided for.....	<u>285 13 6</u>
Collected at the Doors of the Church	314 10 0
Donations already received.....	243 1 0

	<u>557 11 0</u> ¹⁹³

This report describes a loss, as income from ticket sales fell short of the expenses of the festival and the article continues asking the stewards 'their permission to appropriate for this purpose the sum of £14 5s. 6. out of their original deposit of £50, the remainder of which will be immediately remitted to them as they shall be pleased to direct.'¹⁹⁴ The stewards were the sponsors of this grand musical venture, providing an initial substantial deposit with which the directors could secure musicians. The article continues:

¹⁹³ *HC*, December 19, 1814.

¹⁹⁴ *HC*, December 19, 1814.

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In consequence of this Statement, the Stewards very liberally directed that the Sum wanting should be supplied from their original Deposits. The Account, therefore, now stands as follows:

	£. s. d.
Receipts from the sale of Tickets, &c.	1594 11 0
From the Stewards, towards defraying the Expenses	285 13 6

	<u>£1880 4 6</u>
Expenses incurred by the necessary arrangements	
For the Concerts	<u>£1880 4 6</u>

This article confirms that the stewards took the loss of the concert out of their original deposit of £50. It is little wonder that the concert made a loss: the headline act, Madame Catalani, was an expensive acquisition for the festival. A very detailed study by Judith Milhous and Robert Hume offers great insight into the exact hire costs of the singers, dancers and instrumentalists in the London theatre season throughout the eighteenth century. In the season 1787-8, singer Nancy Storace received £800 for her work at Hanover Square; Elizabeth Billington received £2,625 plus the proceeds of a benefit concert in 1803-4. However, comparing the fee of Angelica Catalani in 1806-7 of £2,500 plus a benefit with the fee of £5,250 plus two benefit concerts in 1807-8, the figures are astonishing.¹⁹⁵ The exorbitant salary increase that Catalani secured in 1808 seems to be unconnected to inflation but as the study stops at this point it is unclear whether she managed to continue earning at this level. However, as she seems to have taken more provincial work thereafter, perhaps she fell out of favour. According to Irwen Cockman, who is describing a concert in Portsmouth: 'a similar festival held in Salisbury in 1810 says that the receipts

¹⁹⁵ Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46, no. 1 (1993): 26-83.

for that event were £2,000 and that Madame Catalani had £400 for her three days' performances.¹⁹⁶ The expenses from the Portsmouth concert certainly show some parallels to the Salisbury and Winchester festivals, so it would be reasonable to assume that Madame Catalani may have received a similar fee (subject to inflation rates). From piecing together information gleaned from advertisements, we can see that the 1814 concert employed the conductor Chard, seven vocal performers (which included the headline performers Madame Catalani and Mr. [John] Braham), leader Mr [Carl] Weichsell and 47 instrumentalists, 'female chorus singers from the Ancient Concert in London, as well as the best Performers from the Choirs of London, Salisbury, Chichester, Portsmouth, &c.'¹⁹⁷ Considering other expenditure with musicians' fees, a festival on this scale was ambitious and difficult to mount on an annual basis.

In 1817 the *Hampshire Telegraph* gave an extensive report concerning 'The Hampshire Triennial Music Meeting, for the joint benefit of the County Hospital and the Institution for the Relief of the Distressed families of Clergymen in the County' which took place between 16-18 of September.¹⁹⁸ Tickets cost 10s 6d each with a subscription price of two and a half guineas and there was also a collection on the door each morning. The *Hampshire Telegraph* reported the attendance figures from the 1817 concert, so it is possible to estimate its revenue and compare it with that of the 1814 festival.

¹⁹⁶ *HT*, July 16, 1810. Quoted in Warren, *Portsmouth*, 8-9.

¹⁹⁷ *HC*, October 10, 1814.

¹⁹⁸ *HT*, October 13, 1817.

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Attendances -		1814	1817
First	Morning	508	647
Ditto	Evening	300	370
Second	Morning	695	702
Ditto	Evening	418	429
Third	Morning	524	699
Ditto	Evening	618	651
	Total	3063	3498

Collection at the Cathedral Doors, 1817-

	£	s	d.
First Morning	66	10	6
Second Ditto	69	1	6
Third Ditto	125	11	6
Total	£261	3s	6d

The attendance figures show that the income of the 1817 festival would have been £1,836 9s assuming everyone attending paid for each concert at 10s. 6d. There was 'never a finer Orchestra ever selected out of the Metropolis; it was composed of one hundred and forty persons' with 'the choruses...supported by the young gentlemen of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of St. Pauls, Salisbury and Winchester, and some singers from London, Portsmouth, Portsea, Winchester etc.'¹⁹⁹ The conductor was Chard and the leader was Franz Cramer with a further 56 instrumentalists and 9 'principal vocalists' including Kitty Stephens and James Bartleman. The exact expenditure of the concert is not recorded but one wonders whether it could have made the profit required to make a charitable donation.

¹⁹⁹ *HT*, October 13, 1817.

Tradition and Innovation: Handel versus Haydn at the Hampshire Music Meeting

The type of music performed at concerts ranged between secular works (including songs, duets, symphonies and concertos) and sacred oratorios, arias and choruses. The majority of the works performed in this 50 year time period were by Handel. The subscription concerts and one-off benefit concerts tended to include a mixture of music, sometimes with a focus on a specific genre or instrument. For example, the third subscription concert given by Dr. Chard in Winchester on 5 March 1815 was a concert specifically for the voice, with Glees for 4 voices by Danby, Paxton and Webb; Songs by Handel, Miss Williams and Dr. Carnaby; and Catches by Atterbury and Dr. Harrington.²⁰⁰ Similarly, a benefit concert held for Mr. Sibly in Portsmouth on 15 April 1800 included a concerto for clarinet performed by Kirchner alongside other songs, sonatas and a grand symphony by Haydn and Pleyel.²⁰¹ However, one common theme runs through almost every programme: the oratorios of Handel.

The table below gives a brief overview of the main works played from 1770-1820 and indicates where George Chard took over as concert organiser. Thereafter, there is a visible shift of emphasis with a different format and choice of works. (For a more detailed listing of performers, venues and works see the concerts guide in Hampshire from 1770-1820 in Appendix 1.)

²⁰⁰ *HT*, March 4, 1816.

²⁰¹ *HT*, April 7, 1800.

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Table 9- List of works played in the Hampshire Music Meeting 1770-1820

1770- Messiah, Joshua + Judas Maccabeus
1771- Messiah, Deborah + Samson
1772- Messiah, Alexander's Feast + Judas Maccabeus
1773- Messiah, Acis and Galatea +Judas Maccabeus
1774- Jephtha, Extracts of Messiah, L'Allegro ed il Pensero + Joshua
1775- Messiah, Judas Maccabeus + Samson
1776- Messiah, Judas Maccabeus + Joshua
1777- Messiah, Esther + Rauzzini 'Pyramis and Thisbe'
1778- Messiah, Judas Maccabeus + Jackson 'Ode to Fancy'
1779- Messiah, Daphnis and Amaryllis + Judas Maccabeus
1780- Messiah, L'Allegro ed il Pensero + Jephtha
1781- Messiah, Acis and Galatea + Judas Maccabeus
1782- Messiah, Alexander's Feast + Esther
1783- Messiah, L'Allegro ed il Pensero + Joshua
1784- Messiah, Judas Maccabeus + Hercules
1785- Messiah, Acis and Galatea + 'Milton's Morning Hymn' set by Galliard
1786- Messiah, Alexander's Feast + Pergolesi- Stabat Mater
1787- Messiah, Redemption + L'Allegro ed il Pensero
1788- Messiah, Redemption + Acis and Galatea
1789- Messiah, Alexander's Feast, Haydn- Stabat Mater + Jephtha
1790- Messiah, Acis and Galatea + Pergolesi- Stabat Mater
1791- Messiah, Alexander's Feast + Sacred Music
1792- Messiah, Zadok the Priest
1793- Messiah, Alexander's Feast + Grand selection of sacred music
1794- Messiah, Acis and Galatea + L'Allegro il Pensero
1795- Extracts from Messiah and other Handel oratorios + Coronation Anthem
1796- Messiah, Alexander's Feast + Coronation Anthem
1797- Messiah, Acis and Galatea + Grand selection of sacred music

(George Chard takes over as concert organiser)

1798- Messiah, 'Grand concert of Ancient Music'- Purcell + Handel oratorios
1799- Messiah, St. Cecilia by Handel + 'Concert of Ancient Music' + Handel
1800- Haydn's Creation, L'Allegro ed il Pensero + Redemption
1801- Messiah, Judas Maccabeus + Alexander's Feast
1802- Messiah + Redemption
1803- Messiah + Judas Maccabeus
1804- Messiah + L'Allegro ed il Pensero
1805- Judas Maccabeus + Grand Coronation Anthem

1806- Messiah + Samson

1807- Selection concerts with Handel oratorio selections included

1812- Messiah + Selection concerts

1814- Messiah with Mozart's accompaniments,²⁰² Purcell Tempest + Locke Macbeth

1817- Messiah + Selection concerts

No more Hampshire Music Festival Concerts up to 1820.

As can be seen from its annual inclusion in the Hampshire Music Meeting, *Messiah* was the particular favourite throughout Jane Austen's lifetime. In many respects it is surprising that *Messiah* should maintain its position of popularity ahead of all other compositions but Handel's royal patronage placed his music deep into the hearts of the British public, to the extent that *Messiah*'s familiarity and fame made it a household name. This was a phenomenon noted by McVeigh, who writes, 'by the eighteenth century *Messiah* had undoubtedly assumed a national role'.²⁰³ The question as to why *Messiah* received such canonic status does not have a simple answer. Various self-fulfilling inferences can be drawn from its very familiarity; regular performance of a work meant that it required minimal rehearsal, leaving more time for newer works, and the eighteenth-century custom of printing the words in programmes meant that audiences would have had detailed knowledge of the work thanks to their annual participation. In his article concerning the activities of the Ashley family, Pritchard notes that '*Messiah* was performed at each meeting' in the festivals of Derby, Norwich, Nottingham, Leeds and Sheffield because 'local singers and instrumentalists were likely to be more familiar with it than any other oratorio.'²⁰⁴ There can be no doubt that the Commemoration of Handel concerts, which were held in Westminster Abbey in 1784 would also have elevated his fame and reinforced his status.²⁰⁵

²⁰² For a description concerning a shift towards and usage of Mozart accompaniments see: Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe, *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 208. See also John Tobin, *Handel's Messiah. A Critical Account of the Manuscript Sources and Printed Editions* (London: Cassell, 1969), 66. For a description of Mozart accompaniments used in the Birmingham festival see: Olleson, "Crotch, Moore, and the 1808 Birmingham Festival," 151.

²⁰³ McVeigh and Wollenberg eds., *Concert Life*, 5.

²⁰⁴ Pritchard, "Provincial Festivals," *Galpin Journal*, 22: 61.

²⁰⁵ For a detailed analysis of concert tradition throughout the eighteenth century and how the 1784 Commemoration for George Frederic Handel in Westminster paved the way for a change from performing 'Ancient music' to large-scale works in music festivals see William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology*

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As has been described, George Chard was the most active concert organiser in Winchester during Jane Austen's young adulthood, taking over from Peter Fussell in 1798. By the time Jane was 25 years old in 1800 the Hampshire Music Meeting was used to drawing in crowds with prestigious artists like Nancy Storace (1776), Signor Bartolini from the Opera House (1784) and Madame Mara (1798). As the main organiser from 1798, George Chard tried to redesign the established festival format by experimenting with different repertoire and themes. Chard was endeavouring to raise the profile of the Winchester concerts by introducing an element of perceived class in his concert programming. He had many different forces to balance and needed to appeal to wealthy patrons whose more conservative musical tastes contrasted with his own aesthetic aims. As the turn of the century approached, the concept of studying and performing music from previous generations rather than performing current and 'fashionable' pieces seemed all the more appealing to Chard. William Weber describes how the establishment of the 'Concert of Ancient Music' in 1776 appealed to the social elite, 'an exclusive, upper-class concert series devoted to musical classics.'²⁰⁶ He continues to argue that these 'Ancient Concerts became identified with a social class'.²⁰⁷ Chard was undoubtedly aware of this new London model and was eager to establish the same canon of classics within provincial music.

In 1798, he established a concert of 'Ancient Music' for the first day of the festival, which included some works by Purcell (see table above) whilst offering a variety of compositions that had never before been performed in the Hampshire Music Meeting.²⁰⁸ A 'Grand concert of Ancient Music' would perhaps have been more likely to attract the upper-class patrons whom Chard needed to guarantee subscriptions. As Simon McVeigh explains, the Concert of Ancient Music attracted 'aristocratic connoisseurs... [who] deliberately

(Oxford: Clarendon, 1992). For further information concerning Handel's relationship with the Chapel Royal and oratorio performances for the Foundling Hospital see Chapter 11 'Chapel Royal and Handel's Oratorios' in: Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 288-308.

²⁰⁶ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 143.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *HC*, October 1, 1798.

adopted the high artistic ground'; later he observes that the concerts 'attempted to link taste for great music of the past with the social élite'.²⁰⁹ The idea for the 1798 concert was most probably influenced by the 'Academy of Ancient Music', which had been founded in 1726,²¹⁰ followed by the foundation of the Concert of Ancient Music in 1776.²¹¹ The introduction of Handel's *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day* in 1799 was also a new venture, one which was not to be repeated. Perhaps as the *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day* was just a cantata rather than a full oratorio, it had less appeal than previous years' programmes. However, the most significant change to the festival programme was Chard's controversial decision to replace Handel's *Messiah* with Haydn's newly completed *Creation* in 1800.²¹²

The Hampshire Music Meeting of 1800

For the Hampshire Music Meeting of 1800, Chard decided to take the bold step of omitting *Messiah* for the first time. It was replaced by a completely new work 'THE CREATION. Composed by the celebrated Dr. Haydn, and performed but Twice in this Kingdom'.²¹³ The *Creation* had only just received its London premiere on 28 March 1800.²¹⁴ Pre-concert press notices reflected the excitement as 'Our approaching County Festival of Music, promises to afford a real treat to the lovers of harmony, as well as the bumper to our conductor [Chard] having every expectation of its being the fullest meeting for many years'.²¹⁵ Further press notices included in the *Hampshire Chronicle* the following week anticipated that 'the sublime Composition of the *Creation*...and the *Redemption*, by the immortal Handel, is judiciously chosen as a contrast'.²¹⁶

²⁰⁹ McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 13 and 23.

²¹⁰ Weber gives a detailed historical analysis of the musical canon in this period in his book: Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology*, 56.

²¹¹ McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 22.

²¹² For a full analysis of *Messiah* including the background, composition and reception see: Donald Burrows, *Handel: Messiah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For a full analysis of *Creation* including background, theology, composition and reception see: Nicholas Temperley, *Haydn: The Creation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

²¹³ HC, September 22, 1800.

²¹⁴ Marsh, *Journals*, 715.

²¹⁵ HC, September 29, 1800.

²¹⁶ HC, October 6, 1800.

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Fortunately a hand-bill has been preserved from Chard's list of subscribers sent to Thomas Hall esquire, which lists the details of the festival from 7-9 October 1800 in full. (See Fig. 7)

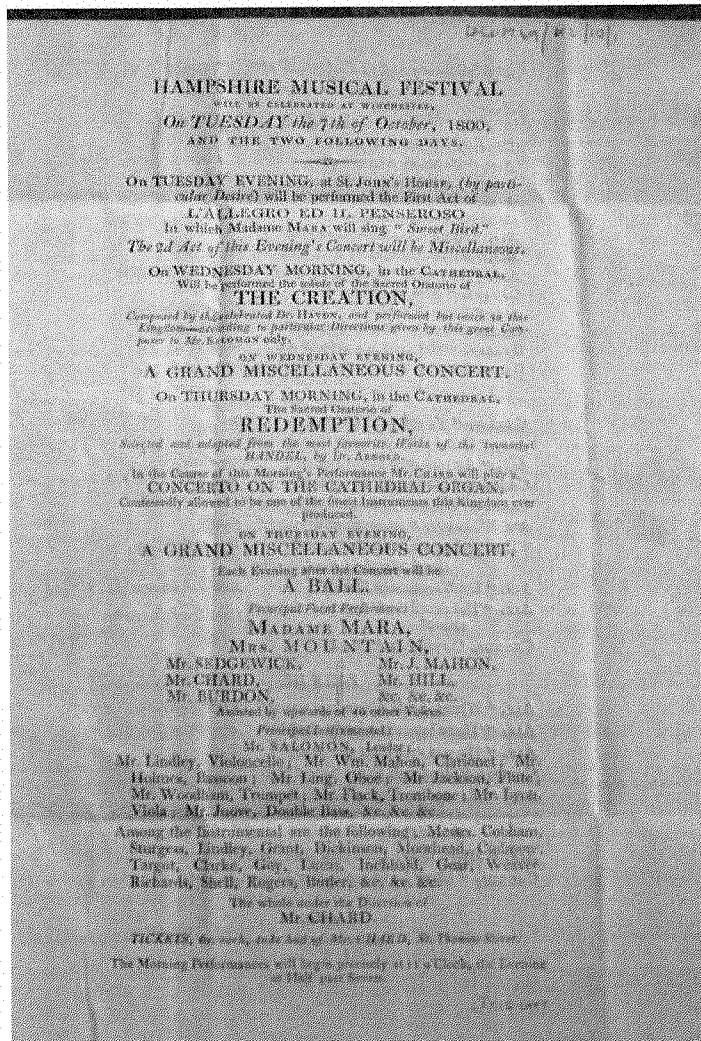


Figure 7- Handbill for the 1800 concert HRO Ref 44M69/K2/10

John Marsh was present at the 1800 performance and described the event 'at which were about 500 people, & with which (particularly the first part) I was

much pleased.²¹⁷ It is clear from his diary entry that unlike *Messiah*, *Creation* needed several rehearsals: 'Arriving at Winton about 6... I went to the rehearsal of Haydn's *Creation*... On the next morning I went to the second rehearsal of the *Creation* at the Rooms.'²¹⁸

Chard's audacity in introducing a new work in place of *Messiah* was evidently controversial, as in 1801 the old concert format was re-introduced with *Messiah* back in its canonic position. However, the following report written four days after the 1800 concert is a fascinating source for early nineteenth-century reception history:

If a judgment were to be given on Dr. Haydn's Oratorio, it might be somewhat in the following manner. The most striking fault of this Oratorio, is a vicious and excessive affectation of making the music imitate what is described by the words. The chief excellence is its originality. Through the whole of the work, there is much more of genius and imagination, than of sublimity or passion. Yet there are not wanting some strains of the pastoral kind, which are beautifully simple; nor others of a devout nature, which are highly elevating. But there are few in number. On a comparison of Haydn's with Handel's composition, it is obvious to remark, that Haydn avoids in great measure the running divisions and the common-place music which occur in Handel's writings: but then on the other hand he produces no such instances of energy, grandeur, and dignity, as occur in Handel's performances. Both Haydn and Handel have set the words "Let there be light." The former, by imitation would mark the manner in which light diffuses itself: the latter by expression shews the instantaneous effect of the divine command. Both have given us a hallelujah and an Amen. Haydn is so inferior to Handel in these two subjects, that no comparison can be drawn between them. Confining our observations on these masters, merely to the line of oratorio composition, we may give some idea of their respective merits, by ascribing to Haydn that place in music which we give to

²¹⁷ Marsh, *Journals*, 720.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

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Statius in poetry, or Julio Romano in painting; and by ranking Handel among musical composers, as we rank Homer or Virgil among poets, or Michael Angelo among painters.²¹⁹

This post-concert report is a rare example of critical analysis comparing two large-scale works. The comparison yields great insight into the long established Handelian tradition and the extent to which the reporter reluctantly acknowledges the merit of the *Creation*, writing according to tradition rather than embracing innovation. This article is a good example of concert-reviewing in the provinces, where there was good newspaper coverage with pre- and post-concert reports for the larger festivals (see Appendix 1).

As we have seen, the lead up to the 1800 *Creation* concert created quite a stir. Newspapers reported that it had been performed 'but Twice in this Kingdom.'²²⁰ The *Hampshire Chronicle* seemed to have been aware only of the March London premiere and the performance in the Salisbury festival in August 1800, although in fact there had already been other performances in London; originally, Johann Peter Salomon (1745-1815) intended to perform the London premiere, but he was not ready for his performance until April 1800.²²¹ What is particularly interesting about the performer listings seen in the 1800 handbill is that Salomon also led the 'band' in London on 21 April 1800.²²² In addition to having the same leader for *Creation*, Chard booked Madame Mara, who we have seen charged handsomely for her services. This tells us that Chard aspired to match the prestige of London musical events in the provincial town of Winchester. The festival clearly employed many of the same artists as London events, suggesting that there would have been very little difference in standard or quality of performance. If the musicians deemed it worth

²¹⁹ *HC*, October 13, 1800.

²²⁰ *HC*, September 22, 1800.

²²¹ David Wyn Jones, "Salomon, Johann Peter (bap. 1745, d. 1815)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24561>, (accessed August 17, 2012). For a detailed study into Salomon's orchestral career and relationship with and letters to the Burney family see: Ian Woodfield, *Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003). For the relationship of Salomon with Haydn see: H. C. Robbins Landon and David Wyn Jones, *Haydn: His Life and Music* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 228-252.

²²² Nicholas Temperley, *Haydn: The Creation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 39-40.

travelling difficult distances to perform concerts, there were most likely highly distinguished audiences coming to hear them. As we have previously seen, the newspapers prided themselves on listing the subscribers and distinguished members who agreed to attend the concert. The handbill from 1800 (see *Fig 7*) also states that *Creation* was to be presented ‘according to particular Directions given by this great Composer to Mr. Salomon only’, which was also his claim in the London performance.²²³ As Haydn and Salomon were great friends, with Salomon doing much to promote Haydn’s career in England, it is most probable that Salomon’s score did indeed contain exact directions given to him by Haydn himself. Salomon performed often in Winchester (he led the orchestra at the Hampshire Music Meeting in 1781-82, 1785, 1788-89, 1794, and 1798-1801, see Appendix 1 for further details) and gained a great reputation in Hampshire as well as for concert organisation in London.²²⁴ The fact that Salomon was prepared to perform and conduct this prestigious new piece at the Hampshire Music Meeting indicates that these famous musicians were expecting an audience similar to those already found in fashionable London.

Considering that this concert was quite a gamble on Chard’s part, it is most fortunate that sources exist to judge its outcome. The comprehensive review by the anonymous critic for the *Hampshire Chronicle* quoted previously, not only places Handel on a pedestal above Haydn, but it also provides an insight into the reception of art and music as a whole. One of the striking features of this review is the wide-ranging discussion which uses comparisons of artists, poets and painters to justify ranking Handel above Haydn. The fame of the poet Statius compared to that of Homer or Virgil shows a clear parallel to critical opinion of Haydn’s and Handel’s music and the device of linking poetry and art to music assumes that the reader is well-read. But his attack on Haydn’s style is damning, particularly regarding the Hallelujah and Amen choruses, in which, according to the *Hampshire Chronicle* reviewer, ‘Haydn is so inferior that in these two subjects, no comparison can be drawn between them.’ The reviewer again contrasts the relative fame of Haydn to that of the painter Julio Romano in comparison to Handel and painter Michael Angelo: a

²²³ HRO: Jervoise of Herriad Collection: Ref 44M69/K2/10/1

²²⁴ Landon and Wyn Jones, *Haydn: His Life and Music*, 230-52.

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clever layering system combining all of the arts together. This reviewer was clearly a well-educated and cultured man but the noticeable change in reviewing style around the turn of the century is consistent with the approach of this particular reporter.²²⁵ This opinion of Haydn compared to Handel was echoed in the writings of William Crotch (1775-1847) who gave a lecture at the Royal Institution in early 1805 and described Haydn 'in unfavourable terms...[taking him] to task for his lack of originality in his recitatives and choral fugues.'²²⁶

The 1800 concert was a turning point in Hampshire music-making and the wide range of sources compare the lead-up to, and the outcome of the concert in great detail. In addition to the hand-bills, concert reports, advertisements and cross-referencing for this concert, there is also another source which reflects the reception of the concert, whilst also agreeing with the opinions expressed in the review in the *Hampshire Chronicle*. The source is the diaries of Eliza Chute whose family lived at the Vyne in Hampshire, a mere 10 miles from Steventon. The Chutes were good friends of the Austens, because Jane's brother James was presented the vicarage of Sherborne St John in 1791 by Eliza's father, Mr William John Chute.²²⁷ Eliza's diaries show how time was split between the London season and their out-of-season residence at the Vyne.²²⁸ When in London, Eliza describes many trips to the theatres, shows and concerts with descriptions of the leading theatrical figures, and she shows great familiarity with the singers and musicians of the time. According to her diaries, the family were always present in Hampshire during the Hampshire Music Meeting. Eliza describes staying in Winchester with friends over these days with brief observations of the event. As in the 1800 concert report, her

²²⁵ For a list of all the post-concert reports and the dates from when they were written, see Appendix 1.

²²⁶ For a further study of Crotch see: Olleson, "Crotch, Moore, and the 1808 Birmingham Festival," 153. See also: Philip Olleson, "Crotch, William (1775-1847)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6810>, (accessed August 17, 2012). Haydn's reception in England is also discussed in Chapter 9 'Haydn and the English Audience' in: David P. Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment: The Late Symphonies and Their Audience* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 105-22. The reception of *Creation* is also discussed in Chapter 11 by James Webster 'The sublime and the pastoral in *The Creation* and *The Seasons*' in: Caryl Leslie Clark, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 150-62.

²²⁷ Le Faye, *Letters*, 71. See also the mention of the Chute family in: Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen: The World of Her Novels* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2002), 14.

²²⁸ For information concerning the Chute's residence at the Vyne see: Emma Austen-Leigh, *Jane Austen and Steventon* (London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne and co, 1937), 18.

informative description gives details of the performers and the reception of the festival:

[Under the heading 'Appointments':]

7th October 1800

Went to Winchester in the morn with Mr Chute...in the one horse chaise. Staid[sic] at Mrs Blackstone's

8th October 1800

Went to the Cathedral in the morn. The new Oratorio of Creation by Haydn very beautiful but not so fine as Handel.

9th October 1800

Went to the Cathedral. Oratorio of Redemption very fine: long. A charming concerto on the organ by Chard between the parts. Very fine organ.

10th October 1800

Heard Avery play the Organ

[Under the heading 'Memorandum and Observations']

'Music Meeting'

We went to the even Concert & ball. First Act of L'Allegro il Penserosa, the second miscellaneous, Mara principal singer. Mrs Mountain, Hill, Sedwick the others, sometimes Chard... Went to the concert in the even[,] ball afterwards. Salomon Leader Lindley Violincello charming, Ling oboe. Holmes Bassoon. Instrumental music very worthy...Went to the Concert & ball sweet music Lindley particularly. room very crowded between 4 & 5.00 Portsmouths, Sheridands, Ogles, Milionago, Miss Carleston, Belgraves.²²⁹

This diary entry gives some insight concerning the reception history of the 1800 concert and how canon is formed. The concept of the *Messiah* being so

²²⁹ HRO, ref 23M93/70/1/8

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long established that nothing could take its place is an argument echoed by Davidoff and Hall as they describe how *Messiah* was 'the central work and retained its pride of place' in concerts held in Birmingham Town Hall.²³⁰ This review highlights the way that Handel and his music were eulogized in his lifetime and particularly after his death, and how it is in part the beginning of the canon as Weber sees it. Weber dismisses the simple descriptions of canon outlined by Kerman; he re-interprets the canon as stemming from within the eighteenth century, describing how 'the most important early example of canon formation in music occurred in the English cathedrals'.²³¹ The conservative critic for the *Hampshire Chronicle* certainly matches Eliza Chute's opinion of the comparison of Haydn and Handel. The description 'The new Oratorio of Creation by Haydn very beautiful but not so fine as Handel' was clearly the view taken by the social elite at the concert.²³² The subsequent details of the performers in the concert describe such familiarity with the musicians and a clear description of the festival atmosphere at that time.

The relevance of this concert and its reception to the Austen collection is the substantial amount of circumstantial evidence that Jane Austen herself attended it. Firstly, from the practice of advertising by posters and in newspapers, for example, John Marsh's description of notices in 'Waltham, Wickham etc', there can be no doubt that the family would have known about the Winchester première of such a prominent composition.²³³ Secondly, it is more than likely that one or both of the Austen girls would still have been receiving lessons and were likely to have been in regular contact with Dr Chard at this time and we know of Chard's skill in promoting events; it is not credible that he would have failed to ensure that the family was informed of his most important experiment (see the section entitled 'Concert Publicity and Promotion' for further details about the Austen connection to Chard). Chard

²³⁰ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 439.

²³¹ For a discussion of canon in the eighteenth century see: William Weber, "The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Musical Canon," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114, no. 1 (1989): 6-17. For further studies comparing the canon see: Joseph Kerman, "A Few Canonic Variations," *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 1 (1983): 107-25; Mark Everist, "Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value," in *Rethinking Music*, eds. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 378-402.

²³² HRO ref 23M93/70/1/8

²³³ Marsh, *Journals*, 479.

was not a newcomer to concert organization and was often praised for achieving ‘selections...in a most masterly manner’, so his level of promotion and keeping the public aware would have been particularly efficient.²³⁴ Thirdly, having been a pupil of Chard’s the Austen name might very well have been in the ‘Books of Subscription’ (which unfortunately no longer exist) where members received information and handbills concerning forthcoming concerts. Fourthly, Austen chronology confirms that Jane Austen was in Hampshire at the time of the concert and we know that Jane made frequent trips to Winchester by coach.²³⁵ Lastly, Jane’s letter dated 20-21 November 1800 written to Cassandra from Steventon contains an intriguing statement: ‘...& it is the Miss Morleys instead of the second Miss Crooke, who were the beauties at the Music meeting’.²³⁶ This was written just weeks after the prestigious *Creation* concert. The terminology used is the same as Jane uses to describe the ‘Music Meeting’ and the speed of correspondence suggests that a letter written in November would be referring to a concert in October. Jane’s letters confirm that she was very fond of balls and dancing, and the post-concert ball on the third day of each festival would have appealed after the miscellaneous concerts at St. John’s House.

The 1800 concert certainly created a stir and was the most ambitious concert Chard organized before the arrival of the ‘Triennial’ concerts of 1814 and 1817 (the latter held just weeks after the death of Jane Austen). Chard directed the whole meeting himself and played an organ concerto in Winchester Cathedral, an ambitious achievement considering the planning and administration of such a project. It is perhaps no surprise therefore that concerts on this scale were fewer in number from thereon until the 1814 and 1817 concerts. By 1815 (as we have seen) concern was also raised concerning the education of the quiristers as Chard had become pre-occupied with following his political ambitions. He resumed concert organising again on 13 March 1821 advertising ‘Dr. Chard’s Concert’ with Glees, Quartets and Sinfonias and then

²³⁴ HC, October 29, 1798.

²³⁵ Deirdre Le Faye, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and Her Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 243-49.

²³⁶ Le Faye, *Letters*, 62.

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later in 1828 which seems to be Chard's last annual benefit concert, when he was 63.²³⁷

The role of Chard in the 1800 concert and his links to the Austen family paves the way for further research connecting the public Hampshire concerts with the private domestic sphere of the Austen house. In closing, this chapter has explored many different aspects of concert life in Hampshire: discussing types of concerts, performers, organisers, venues and audiences. Newspapers played an essential and diverse role in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century with the inclusion of advertisements, reports and information for musicians and audiences alike. The papers seemed to influence the public's opinion of music, particularly as the main editors for this period owned music shops as well as printing the newspaper. The decisions made in choosing provincial music repertoire were influenced by the selections made by the concert organiser. The next chapter explores this connection further showing the links between the Austen family and Hampshire music in greater detail, addressing how provincial music choices can be seen in the collection of the Austen family.

²³⁷ *HT*, March 19, 1821 and *HT*, March 3, 1828.

CHAPTER 3

PRIVATE MEETS PUBLIC: THE AUSTEN FAMILY MUSIC COLLECTION AND THE HAMPSHIRE CONNECTION

This thesis has so far discussed domestic music collection and performance, but to what extent can they be linked together? Are these seemingly separate spheres of public versus private linked to the spheres of masculine and feminine? The discussion of 'separate spheres' ideology has been an important strand of historical gender studies particularly since the 1980s. This, combined with Jürgen Habermas's influential theories on the public and private spheres, has fuelled many a scholarly debate. The concept of separate spheres started as a clear and uncomplicated mode of understanding social structures and gender roles but in many respects has since created more problems. Consideration of the separate nature of the differing spheres, soon confirmed that this was too constrictive a viewpoint, and this is particularly clear in the case of music. Recent literature has shown how the masculine and feminine domains meet, or how the spheres of public and private intertwine. With this in mind, my study of the Austen music books alongside music-making in Hampshire represents a musicological and sociological case study of this time and an opportunity to explore whether in fact the various spheres meet through musical activity, demonstrating that music transcends these divisions, and that the one sphere is dependent on the other. Did in fact the domestic female enjoy a relationship in these two differing spheres? Could music provide her with an entrée into the male-dominated world, where education and a public voice was guaranteed?

Various critiques address the debate of differing gender spheres. Linda Kerber, for example, provided a good summary of the state of the field in her

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1988 survey, which is based principally on American sources.¹ Kerber initially describes how 'historians now seek to show how women's allegedly "separate sphere" was affected by what men did' and concludes that 'as we discuss the concept of separate spheres, we are tiptoeing on the boundary between politics and ideology, between sociology and rhetoric.'² Amanda Vickery's later work focuses on a different side of the gender and sphere battle between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. As her research is based on British social history, the descriptions and analysis are particularly pertinent and she is cautious about using unjustified stereotypes where case studies offer a more descriptive picture. Vickery notes 'all this needs to be undertaken with especial sensitivity to changes in the range of language and categories employed. Only then will we establish with any precision the extent to which women accepted, negotiated, contested or simply ignored, the much quoted precepts of proper female behaviour in past time.'³ Although the ideology of separate spheres strongly conditioned nineteenth-century society as well as the early historiography of gender, more recent work underlines the connections between the ostensibly separate domains and the need for careful assessment of different realms of historical activity through case studies, rather than simply accepting prescriptive statements about women's roles as accurate descriptions. Through her studies of Victorian literature, Ruth Solie describes the confines of the female sphere and notes that girls were educated at the piano whether they liked it or not. This sense of obligation to play 'produce[d] piano playing under two guises, both as an expression of leisure and as a form of moral and emotional labour within the family.⁴ Solie's chapter on 'girling' looks carefully at women's own reactions to their social situation, using diaries and letters, and emphasizing the negotiation involved in musical gender roles in the way Vickery advocates.⁵ However, Solie does not consider the area of musical choice and repertoire and does not explore musical sources, unlike the theme of this chapter.

¹ See Linda K Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no.1 (1988); Alexis de Tocqueville, Phillips Bradley, and Francis Bowen, *Democracy in America* (New York: Knopf, 1945).

² Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," 18 and 39.

³ Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 2 (1993): 414.

⁴ Ruth A. Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley University of California Press, 2004), 95.

⁵ Solie, *Music in Other Words*, 85-117.

Equally important for my study has been research on the concepts of public and private spheres in this period. Public and private distinctions are often gendered and therefore connect to separate spheres ideology. Gender was not, however, an important consideration for the most influential theorist of the public sphere, Jürgen Habermas. In 1962, Habermas published *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, which is now considered to be ground-breaking, although it was not translated into English until 1989.⁶ Habermas traced the development of a new public sphere from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century: central to his theory was the increase in opportunity for people to meet in, for example, coffee houses in England and salons in France and engage in discussion free from the constraints of official thought. Inevitably, such conversation broadened to include art, literature, politics and economics. My intention is not an extensive critique of Habermas's work but rather to explore of some of his theories concerning venues for the public sphere and a further consideration of how such theories may apply to women, an area which Habermas has been criticised for neglecting.

This chapter examines how music choices travel across the boundaries that were becoming increasingly prominent in social organisation through the nineteenth century. Through investigation of the music repertoire it seeks to explore how domestic choices relate to public performance focussing on the reasons for these choices: for example, the types of influence that affect musical choices, such as education, upbringing and exposure to performances. Not all the music in the Austen collection was acquired in Hampshire, and Jane Austen herself spent considerable time outside the county, visiting London and Kent and living for several years in Bath. In this chapter, however, I concentrate on connections with music-making in Hampshire as one of the most important contexts for music collection, by investigating the routes through which Austen family members, and particularly Jane Austen, came into contact with Hampshire musical culture. I examine how listening to musicians in performance, from London or in the provinces, influenced choice; and in

⁶ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge; Mass.: MIT Press, 1989).

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conclusion I consider the role of music as material culture and how it came to be used in both the public and private spheres.

Musical Influence in Hampshire

There are many reasons why people choose music for their own collections. Some of the earliest influences on an individual would be environmental: that is to say parental choice, family upbringing and tradition. But as soon as an individual is able to benefit from lessons, the influence of a music teacher becomes particularly important. Jane Austen became the most famous pupil of the Winchester impresario Dr George Chard, whose influence at the end of the eighteenth century is of particular interest, connecting as it does external musical influences to more private and environmental influences within the home.

Why is the connection with Dr George Chard so important? As an esteemed musician and a member of the musical elite at that time, Dr Chard helped to shape repertoire choices. Through his association with the Hampshire Music Meetings and Hampshire musical events, his repertoire selections in turn influenced the type of music that Winchester people would become interested in buying. As we have seen from newspapers, music could be obtained 'with three days notice' as Wilkes proudly advertised and there were bookshops and circulating libraries in every town.⁷ The festivals would have enjoyed peaks of business activity as arrangements of the arias, songs and sonatas were in demand after hearing professionals sing or play them in concerts. No doubt Wilkes would have been present at every Winchester concert so that he could observe public taste and opinion of music in order to have the appropriate stock ready in his shop for the gentry to add to their valuable music collections.

⁷ *HC*, July 1, 1782.

In an article for the Jane Austen Society in 1989, Neville Davies quotes a letter by Charles Knyvett, himself a distinguished organist, to his successor S.S. Wesley in June 1849, describing how Chard's 'many pupils had been *hard* practising (during his absence) the *Battle of Prague*'.⁸ The letter, written after Chard's death, mockingly describes how this famous piece from the late eighteenth century was evidently music that Chard encouraged all his pupils to play and practice. The letter suggests that Chard may have been subject to professional jealousy and that by the end of his career he was perhaps associated with hackneyed and unimaginative musical choices. If Knyvett is right and Chard regularly assigned Kotzwara's *The Battle of Prague* to his pupils, it certainly reflects the popularity of the work, as the drama and imagination that it portrayed must have appealed to his pupils.⁹ The piece's notoriety is explored thoroughly by Elizabeth Morgan who describes the virtuosic appeal of the piece for ladies wishing to experience and perform the battle scenes and war depictions in a public sphere not normally available in their domestic circles.¹⁰ Deirdre Le Faye and Patrick Piggott both suggest that the *Battle of Prague* was popular and over-played by many.¹¹ Knyvett's letter certainly suggests that musical familiarity on Chard's part would have made it easier for him to teach with little preparation for the lesson. Despite some of Chard's professional shortcomings in later life, there is no doubt that in his most active years as concert organiser in Winchester, his musical influence was wide-reaching. This connection between public impresario and private performer can be seen in repertoire choices within the collection and will be discussed below.

It is important to consider the different types of environmental influence that may shape an individual's musical taste and collection. Teachers are undoubtedly a major influence, but our surroundings, and the level at which

⁸ H Neville Davies, "More Light on Mr Chard," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1986-1995* 4 (1989): 141.

⁹ Ronald R. Kidd, "Koczwara, František," *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online (2007), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15244> (accessed July 4, 2009).

¹⁰ Elizabeth Natalie Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780-1820" (PhD diss., University of California, 2009), 85-123.

¹¹ Deirdre Le Faye, "'To Dwell Together in Unity,'" *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1986-1995* 4 (1989): 152. See also Patrick Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion: A Study of Music in the Life and Writings of Jane Austen*, Clover Hill ed. (London: Douglas Cleverdon, 1979), 141-45.

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art and music are valued and supported in neighbouring towns, are also significant. There were many other different aspects to Jane Austen's association with Winchester; she travelled there regularly as a young lady to visit her nephews and was well acquainted with its Cathedral, history and College.¹² Eventually it became her final resting place after she took lodgings in 8 College Street, next to the College and overlooking the then headmaster's garden, in a last effort to seek a well-appointed surgeon from the prestigious hospital there.¹³ We know the Austens read the *Hampshire Chronicle* in the last months of Jane Austen's life, and we can hypothesize that they were regular or at least occasional readers of the paper before then. Park Honan describes how 'the various issues [of the *Chronicle*] during Jane Austen's lifetime... referred to friends and neighbours of the Austens'.¹⁴ However the most significant evidence occurred in the final months of Jane Austen's life when the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported about the famous annual Winchester horse races, 'in 1817 [the *Chronicle*] was implying that "their races" were a sign that Australia's culture might be that of an "England in miniature"'.¹⁵ This reference is significant because in her last days Jane wrote a set of verses called 'Venta' which poke fun at the Winchester races, apparently inspired by reading the newspaper. The verses begin:

When Winchester races first took their beginning
It is said the good people forgot their Old Saint
Not applying at all for the leave of St. Swithin
And that William of Wykham's approval was faint¹⁶

In addition to her stay in Winchester during the last weeks of her life, Jane's trips to, and correspondences with, the city meant that she would have observed posters, seen handbills, browsed music shops and listened to talk of concerts and festivals. She also kept in close contact with her brother Edward's sons who were educated at Winchester College.

¹² Deirdre Le Faye, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and Her Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 228.

¹³ Audrey Hawkridge, *Jane Austen and Hampshire* (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 1995), 26-27.

¹⁴ Park Honan, "Jane Austen's 'Venta' and Australia," *Collected Reports of the Jane Austen Society 1986-1995* 4 (1986): 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Selwyn, *Jane Austen and Leisure*, 113.

Another location of musical influence was the spa town of Southampton, where the Austen family took lodgings in Castle Square from 1807; it boasted a busy concert scene of which she was undoubtedly aware.¹⁷ Jane Austen talks of music from her time in Southampton in October 1808: 'We found ourselves tricked into a thorough party at Mrs Maitlands, a quadrille & a Commerce Table, & Music in the other room' in a way that makes clear that music was part of her social life and correspondence.¹⁸ Castle Square was near Mr. Welman's music shop, which was located at 166 High Street near to where Jane would have passed by on her trips to the centre of town, the Long Rooms, and balls at The Dolphin situated at 34-35 High Street.¹⁹

A tremendously important area of entertainment is the inclusion of music in theatres and plays. Jane Austen went to many plays where it was the custom to provide some type of musical interlude, and many of the plays and operas contained musical items within the play, which provided potential repertoire choices for the audience. There were frequent theatre performances: one such example shows how music was nestled in the interludes of the plays and comic operas: 'LONDON MERCHANT' and 'The Comic Opera of The PADLOCK' at the Winchester Theatre in 1783 is 'A SONG in PRAISE of WINCHESTER, Written by Mr. PRICE. A Grand CLARRIONET [sic] CONCERTO. By Mr. WILLS, late Pupil to Mr. MAHOON. The celebrated Hunting Song of *The shout is gone forth*. And a SONG by Miss Sharrock.'²⁰ Jane Austen enjoyed the theatre and described theatre trips to Southampton (where she watched 'Of Age Tomorrow', for example) as well as trips to London, where she went with other family members, particularly her brothers.²¹ As children, Jane and her siblings enjoyed putting on plays at Steventon, although it is unclear whether they included music.²² Theatres thrived in the main towns of Portsmouth, Southampton and Winchester, and even though the main focus of the evening

¹⁷ Le Faye, *Record*, 158.

¹⁸ Le Faye, *Letters*, 143.

¹⁹ *HT*, January 29, 1810.

²⁰ *HC*, July 14, 1783.

²¹ Paula Byrne, *Jane Austen and the Theatre* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), 29-46. Selwyn, *Jane Austen and Leisure*, 235-60.

²² Le Faye, *Record*, 53-65. See also Keith Irons, *Steventon and the Austens: Souvenir Booklet and Programme* (Steventon: Jane Austen Bi-Centenary Committee, 1975).

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was the play, musical entertainment provided light relief. Jane refers to this in a letter: 'the Clandestine Marriage was the most respectable of the performances, the rest were Sing-song & trumpery'.²³ Although this reference in many respects sums up the music's function at the theatre, it does confirm Jane's repeated exposure to it in various forms.

The different associations that the Austen family had with people and places affected the musical choices that they made. A study of the music collection reveals a remarkable resemblance to the music performed at the Hampshire Music Meetings, which suggests two clear arguments. Firstly, public provincial music taste was reflected in private music collections. Secondly, the music in the provinces was similar in repertoire to that played in London, with similar musicians hired to do the concerts. Music collected, combined with the music performed, provides a detailed picture of the variety of provincial music, performers and composers who were favoured.

The Austen music books and the repertoire of Hampshire concerts

In order to address the first argument, it is worth reflecting on similarities in repertoire between the private salon and the public concert venue. We have seen that the Hampshire Music Meeting was a formidable festival, which was clearly respected and valued by performers and audiences alike. Concerts in Hampshire generated great musical enthusiasm as well as being notable social events attracting a worthy attendance. A further investigation of the music shows some striking correlations with the Winchester programmes. One such correlation involves the heavy presence of Handel in the domestic music collection.

²³ Le Faye, *Letters*, 90.

The reputation of Handel in the eighteenth century made his compositions a major commercial venture for printed music.²⁴ In times of bankruptcy and changing proprietorship in the music printing industry, printers needed to guarantee subscription and sales.²⁵ The overwhelming popularity of Handel led to many versions of his music for solo keyboard, duets, vocal solos and vocal duets with or without accompaniment. Weber writes about the time after the Handel Commemoration of 1784: 'Fashion-minded London followed [Handel] giddily, aping his Handelian pleasures in the crassest possible manner... Singers offered more and more numbers from Handel's operas in concerts.'²⁶ It is therefore no coincidence that this is reflected in the Austen collection with Handel's many songs, choruses and arias in the music books. There is a dominance of works from *Messiah* ('O death where is thy sting', 'Comfort ye my people' and 'He was despised') but other Oratorios are conveniently replicated in the collection and match with the Hampshire Music Meetings concert performances: *Samson*, *Acis and Galatea*, *Judas Maccabeus*, and *Esther*.

Handel's oratorios were well known from concert attendance as well as in arrangements for performing the music at home. The satisfaction of singing the words to the choruses in concert with professional performers would have been most engaging, as evidenced by the distribution of the words from the oratorios. In addition, playing the music at home helped condition audiences and potential music buyers into a real sense of familiarity with the music.

This familiarity with, and love for, Handel created a thriving market for keyboard adaptations at home with local musicians responding to demand. An important addition to the Austen music collection is a duet drawing on

²⁴ For a full description of the 1784 commemoration and the influence that the celebration caused see William Weber, "The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual," *Journal of British Studies* 28, no. 1 (1989): 43-69. For an historical overview of Handel's placement in history see Donald Burrows, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Handel* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1997). For a detailed chronology of Handel's works see Christopher Hogwood, *Handel* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984).

²⁵ For an overview of the music printing industry see Michael Kassler, *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). See also Frank Kidson, *British Music Publishers Printers and Engravers* (Benjamin Blom, 1967), Charles Humphries and William Charles Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century... Second Edition, with Supplement* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970).

²⁶ Weber, "The 1784 Handel Commemoration as Political Ritual," 63.

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Handel's *Messiah* by the musician and composer John Marsh, whose diaries were referred to earlier. Marsh was an acquaintance of George Chard and wrote that he had 'breakfasted at Mr. Chard's' at the Hampshire Music Meeting of 1799.²⁷ Marsh knew Chard as a local music personality and organiser of the Hampshire Music Meeting. It is unclear whether Marsh and the Austens moved in the same social circles but perhaps knowledge of the Handel duet had come to the Austen family through Chard, as Marsh played it on many occasions: for example, with Wellman in Romsey in December 1777, Parry in Salisbury in March 1781, Mr Orpin in Bath in April 1781, with further performances in London with Mr Aylward in February 1783 and the '2 Westleys' in April 1783.²⁸ The piece is entitled 'Handel's Hallelujah in the Messiah and Grand Coronation Anthem To which are prefix'd Two Fugues; the Whole adapted and composed for 2 Performers on One Organ or Harpsichord by J. Marsh Esqr.'²⁹

The composition starts with a 13-bar Prelude in C major followed by a 72-bar 4-part fugue in C major shared between the two players. There is a brief interjection of an Adagio for three bars followed by another Prelude which is longer, with a *Largo* marking and chordal texture lasting 25 bars; another fugue in C major is sprightly in tempo with an *Allegro non troppo* marking. The second fugue contains running quaver passages as the fugue subject is more scalic and flowing in texture, leading into a central semiquaver passage. This 83-bar 4-part fugue finishes on a dominant 7th in the key of C major and plunges into a diminished 7th heralding the start of a 6-bar Adagio which finishes in the tonic key of C major. After the two fugues and preludes, the piece abruptly re-starts in D major with the introduction of the Hallelujah chorus from the *Messiah*. The orchestral parts are dispersed between the two players with markings for 'Choir organ' and 'Great organ' stops marked in the parts, just before the fugue which occurs in the middle section starting in the *secondo* part, with further entries played in the right hand of the *primo* part. This 92-bar adaptation ends with an *Adagio* for 3 bars, followed by a rather simplistic cadential suspension. The piece stays in D major for a 12-bar Prelude, which is marked *Largo e Staccato* and the piece then juxtaposes into a

²⁷ Marsh, *Journals*, 697.

²⁸ Ibid., 172, 231-2, 236, 277 and 286.

²⁹ Book 1/5 no.13.

59-bar version of ‘Handel’s Grand Coronation Anthem’, which is ‘God save the King’. From performing this piece it has been possible to identify some printing errors on the score from incorrect harmonies, but it is unclear whether this was the fault of the printer or the composer. Playing such a famous work as a duet, one cannot help but think of the original and the power that the orchestra creates, which is sadly lacking in a keyboard transcription. However, with the benefit of hearing such pieces in concert rather than recordings, performing them would have cemented the understanding and love of Handel’s music all the more for eighteenth-century audiences.

It is possible to interpret the music collection in terms of national trends complementing individual choice: the concept of nationalism versus individualism. The national trend to favour Handel and all things English is apparent from the multiple entries for Handel and the songs from the pleasure gardens and theatres. The majority of composers within the collection were English or had immigrated to England and stayed so long that they were regarded as English.³⁰

Handel’s oratorios were favoured above that of Haydns, which is reflected in the extant Austen music, there being not a single aria or keyboard transcription of Haydn’s *Creation*. English audiences were more taken with his symphonies and chamber music. However, Haydn is represented by popular pieces including a selection of his *Canzonettas* Hob XXVI: 25-30 for voice and keyboard (Book 2/2 No.36 & Book 2/3 No.24-26), which were written in England. These collections of songs reflected English attitudes to the works of Haydn. They are all in manuscript form copied from another source not in the collection. Besides the songs, there is a manuscript version of the sonata in C major Hob XVI/35 in addition to another copy of the 1st movement of the same sonata (Hob XVI/35) with the words from the song *William* adapted to fit to the melodies of the exposition. The song is written in F major rather than C major and features the two main themes from the exposition with certain extra bar additions. The song *William* stays in the tonic rather than modulating to the

³⁰ See William Weber, “Handel’s London- Social, Political and Intellectual Contexts” in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Burrows, 45-54.

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dominant in the second theme, and instead of moving to the development towards the end of the exposition the opening themes are repeated to stay within the key of F major. These two copies of Haydn's works suggest that the Austen family members shared Chard's high opinion of Haydn and even though arias from *Creation* are not evident in the collection the songs and sonatas reflect the pieces he wrote for the English market. On Haydn's first visit to England in 1791, the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported that 'Dr Haydn' (as he was described) intended to visit Winchester on his provincial travels, thus: 'it is currently (and not without the strongest reason) reported, that professor Haydn means to attend the Winchester meeting. We therefore may hope to hear some of his best compositions assisted by the execution of their inimitable author.'³¹ Haydn did tour some of the south coast including Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight and a brief overnight stay in Southampton, but it seems that the highly anticipated visit to Winchester did not occur. The *Canzonettas* in the collection were written from his London period towards the end of 1794 and set the poetry of Anne Hunter, who was the widow of a famous London surgeon.³² Haydn, like Handel before him, judged English taste most cunningly.³³ The decision to compose a set of songs written using English poetry indulged the prevailing sentiment to favour English rather than foreign compositions, a preference certainly reflected in the Austen music collection.

Only two composers to be found in the Austen collection (and listed in Chapter 1) are each represented by more than twenty works, namely Handel and Hook. Handel's importance on the public concert scene is self-evident and his representation in the collection no surprise. Yet, perhaps we should consider the works of James Hook and whether the popularity of his pieces in domestic performance is equally reflected in the public arena. The nursery rhymes from James Hook's *Christmas Box* and other theatrical songs can be found in the

³¹ *HC*, October 17, 1791.

³² See Christopher Hogwood, *Haydn's Visits to England* (Thames & Hudson, 2009), 97-98.

³³ The reception of Haydn, in particular his symphonies, is discussed in chapter 8 'The Composer-Audience Relationship' and chapter 9 'Haydn and the English Audience' in: David P. Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment: The Late Symphonies and Their Audience* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 91-122.

Austen collection.³⁴ Hook's songs also featured in Winchester concerts, specifically one concert organised by Chard in March 1800.³⁵ An advertisement describes a 'Grand Concert and Ball at St. John's House [Winchester]... In the course of the Evening will be sung, the favourite Glee of *Down the Bourn*, by Hook, as sung at the last Musical Festival'.³⁶ This listing shows how the piece had been so popular with the Winchester audience that Chard decided to include it in the programme. It also reflects how Hook's compositions were also enjoyed by Chard and how he may have used the piece to entice people to attend. The inclusion and success of the Hook glee in the festival, combined with the *Christmas Box* pieces and songs in the Austen collection, is significant, as it reflects how these two different musical platforms meet and the public performance is replicated in the private home.

It is evident from the concert advertising of March 1800 that Hook's glee had been sung before in the festival of 1799, but it is more difficult to track his compositions in the records as the secular nature of the pieces meant that they were included in the 'miscellaneous concerts' or benefit concerts rather than in the cathedral. The advertisements in the papers generally listed only the principal and longer works, for example oratorios, which is why Handel's works are generally better documented. However, although full listings are given in programmes the only one extant from this period is the 1792 programme.³⁷

The 1792 programme at the Hampshire Record Office does not include Hook's compositions at all, as the main cathedral concerts were more serious in orientation than the Vauxhall-style compositions for which he was famous, and for which his name no doubt was well known to the Austens and Hampshire families. There is little documentation of Hook's works being performed in Hampshire, the Vauxhall 'lists' describing the performances of Hook's works have been well documented by Charles Cudworth and record everything that

³⁴ Pamela McGaigl, "Hook, James," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, (2007), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13308>, (accessed July 4, 2009).

³⁵ *HC*, March 10, 1800.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *HRO*: Jervoise of Herriard Collection: ref 44M69/K1/12

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was played in the Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens, including the orchestral members each night.³⁸ The omission of Hook's compositions from the Music Meetings reflected the musical level at which promoters pitched the concerts. The more light-hearted theatrical numbers were kept separate, to be performed in theatres and miscellaneous concerts rather than on the formal cathedral concert platform.

At the end of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, 'English' composers enjoyed continued success in the theatres and concert venues as part of the burgeoning British national identity. Foreign language works were mainly appreciated by the elite and were therefore associated with the upper classes. The music of non-British composers had yet to become the canon for later generations. The composer William 'Jackson of Exeter' (1730-1803), whose '*Ode to Fancy*' was performed in the Hampshire Music Meeting of 1778, was popular enough to have three different composition sets within the Austen collection.³⁹ His *Twelve canzonets for two voices* published in 1770 are included and one of these canzonets is listed in the duplication table in Chapter 1.⁴⁰ A theatrical song of Jackson's also features in the collection (Book 1/7 no. 5): sung by Mr Bannister in *The Lord of the Manor* written in 1780, it is entitled 'When first this humble roof I knew'. Although he was based in Exeter for the majority of his working life, the play had its debut in 1780 when Jackson was touring Europe, and made a large contribution to British secular vocal music at that time.⁴¹

The oldest book in the Austen collection (signed by Ann Cooper) contains a composition entitled *In Macbeth* (attributed to Richard Leveridge, 1670-1758);

³⁸ Although the author of these lists remains anonymous, Cudworth believes that 'the most likely person was James Hook (1746-1827), the official organist and composer to the Gardens'. See Charles Cudworth, "The Vauxhall 'Lists'", *The Galpin Society Journal*, 20 (1967): 25.

³⁹ *HC*, September 7, 1778. See also: Pamela McGaigl, "The Vauxhall Jubilee," *The Musical Times* 127, no. 1726 (1986): 611-615; T. Lea. Southgate, "Music at the Public Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (1912): 141-159.

⁴⁰ See Book 1/8 no. 1 for the Canzonets and Book 2/5 no. 55 for the duplication.

⁴¹ See Richard McGrady, "Jackson, William (i)," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14032>, (accessed July 31, 2012).

it is written in manuscript form and dated 1755 at the end.⁴² This volume belonged to the generation before Jane Austen (most likely to her mother Cassandra Austen Leigh or Ann Cooper). The Leveridge composition must have been known to the younger Austens who most likely heard it played when they were children: *Mackbeth*, like Handel in the collection, was a running theme through the Austen upbringing, showing familiarity and indeed adding to the canon of English music at that time as it was often performed in the 'ancient music' concerts. *Mackbeth* was written by Leveridge in 1702 and a version of it was performed in the Hampshire Music Meeting in 1814, demonstrating the popularity of this English composer over the course of several generations.⁴³

Parallels have been drawn between the writings of Jane Austen and the compositions of Mozart but they are rather tenuous, it being unclear as to whether or not she was familiar with Mozart.⁴⁴ What can be deduced from the Austen repertoire and provincial concert programmes is that Mozart's works were rarely performed during his lifetime and were equally scarce in music collections. The Austen collection includes two different anglicised versions of Papageno's aria from the *Magic Flute* 'Das klinget so herrlich', re-scored and translated as 'Away with Melancholy'.⁴⁵ It was quite common to see programmes with 'Mozart accompaniments' to works like *Messiah*, which started to creep into programmes, for example, in the October Hampshire Music Festival of 1814.⁴⁶ From this date (a mere three years before Jane's death), Mozart compositions became more widely known and performed more frequently in Hampshire. The first performance of Mozart in Hampshire according to the *Hampshire Chronicle* was a non-specified *Mozart Quartet* at a concert for the New Musical Society in Southampton in July 1787.⁴⁷ However, *Messiah* with 'Mozart accompaniments' in 1814 seemed to provoke more

⁴²Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "Leveridge, Richard," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16511>, (accessed October 15, 2013).

⁴³ *HC*, October 10, 1814.

⁴⁴ Richard Jenkyns, *A Fine Brush on Ivory: An Appreciation of Jane Austen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion: A Study of Music in the Life and Writings of Jane Austen*. Robert K. Wallace, *Jane Austen and Mozart: Classical Equilibrium in Fiction and Music* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983).

⁴⁵ See Book 2/2 No. 40 and Book 2/7 No.11

⁴⁶ *HC*, October 10, 1814.

⁴⁷ *HC*, July 7, 1787.

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interest in the composer, with 'Crudel perchi finora' from *Marriage of Figaro* performed in a subscription concert in Winchester organised by Chard in December 1815.⁴⁸ The attraction of the Mozart accompaniments to *Messiah* are outlined by Cliff Eisen and Simon Keefe as they describe how Mozart reassigned the trumpet parts and how the original articulation was softened in accordance with late eighteenth-century performance practice. The main difference in the scoring is that Mozart filled out the textures in the continuo parts with extra flutes, clarinets, bassoons and horns to produce a richer, more sonorous sound.⁴⁹ The following year, 1816, saw more Mozart performances including 'La Mia Dorabella' from *Cosi fan tutte* and the *Magic Flute Overture*. Appreciation for Mozart had finally arrived in Hampshire; from 1814 onwards there were annual performances of Mozart's works.⁵⁰ Arias from his operatic works soon had great appeal but it was not until October 1836 that the quartet from Mozart's *Requiem* 'Benedictus, qui venit nomine Domini' was performed as one of the main attractions in a concert in Winchester.⁵¹

As to the first argument (whether or not public music taste was reflected in private music collections), my survey of the Hampshire Music Meeting programmes shows that there is a very large overlap between composer performances in Winchester and music contained within the Austen collection. The music of Handel, Marsh, Haydn, Hook, Jackson of Exeter and Mozart, for example, had been performed in the Winchester festival and also had examples of their music in the Austen family collection. Naturally, not every composer whose work was performed at the Hampshire Music Meeting has music included in the Austen collection, but the substantial similarities between composer works apparent in both the concert scene and private collection warrant notice.

⁴⁸ HC, December 11, 1815.

⁴⁹ Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe, eds., *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 208.

⁵⁰ HC, January 15, 1816 & HC, July 15, 1816.

⁵¹ HC, October 24, 1836.

The Austen music books and Hampshire performers

The second argument makes the case that not only was provincial repertoire similar to works performed in London, but that it was also often performed by the same musicians. People acquired music associated with particular performers they might have heard and in many cases these performers were famous and largely London-based, so not only does the repertoire demonstrate links between public concerts and domestic music, but it also shows the links between London and the provinces. For London-based musicians, provincial work was crucial, and the nearer the concert to London, the less time and expense it took to get there. The Home Counties were particularly useful as the location was closer to London compared with some of the less densely populated northern counties. Employment in the pleasure gardens of Vauxhall and Ranelagh was lucrative but seasonal; touring the provinces out of 'the season' not only augmented musicians' income but also widened their audience base outside the capital, and secured and spread their fame. Provincial concerts were an effective way for audiences to become acquainted with new music and keep abreast of current trends in London. Concerts provided the means for music lovers to hear a favoured piece played by a professional before starting to learn the music at home. Certain London performers and composers are featured in the Austen music collection and deserve specific reference.

The young Nancy Storace, who has already been mentioned with reference to her benefit concert, returned to Winchester in 1776.⁵² Six of her brother Stephen's songs figure in the collection, one of which is described as being sung by him.⁵³ Storace was a well-known theatre personality of whom the Austens would have been aware, and the earlier childhood performances of Nancy would have meant that Winchester audiences would have been familiar with the name.⁵⁴ Other musicians including the 'two Misses Abrams', who

⁵² HC, August 26, 1776.

⁵³ See Book 1/3 No.29, Book 1/3 No.11, Book 2/5 No.23, Book 1/7 No.37, Book 1/7 No.38 and the final song is written and described as 'Sung by Mr Bannister and Signor Storace' Book 1/7 No.34.

⁵⁴ For a full biography of Stephen and Nancy Storace see Jane Girdham, *English Opera in Late*

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came to Winchester in 1783 and have many songs listed in the collection.⁵⁵ Harriet Abrams is of particular interest since there are two copies of *Crazy Jane* in the collection.⁵⁶ Harriet (1758-1821) had three sisters (Jane 1766-1813/14, Miss G. Abrams and Theodosia 1769-1849) and was one of the few women of her generation who successfully managed to work as a professional musician and song-writer; she and her sister Theodosia sang regularly in concerts in London and the provinces.⁵⁷ Apart from song writing, she spent much of her career travelling and performing with her sisters before retiring with two of them to Devon.⁵⁸ *Crazy Jane* was her most famous and frequently published work, setting to music a poem by Matthew 'Monk' Lewis, a piece that may have been particularly resonant for the Austens. One of the versions is copied into the manuscript belonging to Elizabeth Bridges (Edward Austen's wife), and the other is in printed form in the book belonging to Henry Austen's second wife Eleanor Jackson. Judging by the careful manuscript duplication from the original printed score, the song seemed to be favoured by the Austen family. It is a rather dramatic song, which describes the cries of Jane despairing at male faithlessness, causing her to wander as if maddened after being abandoned by her lover; perhaps the sentiments of the song echoed those of Austen herself.⁵⁹

The only composer to be mentioned by name in any of the novels of Jane Austen is Johann Baptist Cramer, the piano virtuoso and publisher.⁶⁰ Notwithstanding Pleyel's contribution of twenty-three different sonatas and sonatinas and an overture and concertante transcription in the collection, we may infer that it was the keyboard compositions of Cramer that Jane valued most. Although Pleyel's music was performed in concerts in Winchester from

Eighteenth-Century London: Stephen Storace at Drury Lane (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 3-36. See also Betty Matthews, "Nancy Storace and the Royal Society of Musicians," *The Musical Times*, no. 1732 (1987): 325-327.

⁵⁵ HC, September 15, 1783.

⁵⁶ Book 2/5 No.52 is a printed version, Book 2/2 No.17 is in manuscript form.

⁵⁷ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "Abrams, Harriett (C.1758-1821)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45508, (accessed July 4, 2009).

⁵⁸ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "Abrams, Harriett," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, (2007), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00059>, (accessed July 4, 2009).

⁵⁹ Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Women Music in the Late 18th-Century England: Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 110-18.

⁶⁰ Simon McVeigh, et al. "Cramer," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44589pg2>, (accessed July 31, 2012).

1791-4 and 1798-9, his music is not mentioned in her novels.⁶¹ In *Emma*, when Frank's secret engagement to Jane Fairfax is not known, he picks up some music from the chair and says:

Here is something quite new to me. Do you know it?- Cramer.- And here a new set of Irish melodies... This was all sent with the instrument.⁶²

It is curious that Jane Austen should confine her reference to a single composer when there were plenty of others in the collection to choose from. From 1784 to 1817 one of the Cramers were listed among the principal performers at the Hampshire Music Meeting and from 1802 to 1817 the listing noted that 'Messrs Cramer' played in 'the band'. Analysis of newspaper information leads to the conclusion that Wilhelm Cramer (1746-1799) started playing in Winchester (where he would often lead the orchestra) and later his second son Franz (1772-1848, the brother of J B Cramer) also played in the band.⁶³ In the concert programmes of 1794, Cramer senior is listed as the leader and Cramer junior is listed as playing in the orchestra.⁶⁴ We know that at the time, Wilhelm Cramer held a prominent position as leader of the orchestra and George Chard played with him; it may be from discussion with Chard that Jane came to know of the music of Cramer's famous son.

One of the pieces by J B Cramer in the collection is a sonata for the piano 'In which is introduced God Save The King and an original waltz'.⁶⁵ It was common for pieces to contain a patriotic theme as the turn of the century heralded further political turbulence; there are seven examples of 'God Save the King' themes in the collection, suggesting that the patriotism shown during the Napoleonic wars was reflected in public and private music

⁶¹ HC, April 11, 1791. HC, April 9, 1792. HC, April 29, 1793. HC, April 14, 1794. HC, February 10, 1798. HC, March 25, 1799. See Rita Benton, "Pleyel (i)," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21940pg1>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

⁶² Piggott, *Innocent Diversion*, 99.

⁶³ See Simon McVeigh, et al. "Cramer," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44589pg3>, (accessed July 31, 2012); *Portsmouth Searchroom* ref: 212 9A, p. 200 also contains details of the Cramer family in the notes of Frank Warren.

⁶⁴ HC, September 28, 1794.

⁶⁵ See Book 2/7 No.6

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repertoire.⁶⁶ This particular sonata has a dedication to the Viscountess Mahon. It is unclear whether Viscountess Mahon was a direct relation to the musical Mahon family associated with Hampshire but certainly a connection could be drawn.⁶⁷ 'Messrs. Cramer' and Mahon are listed as the principal performers together in the Hampshire Music Meeting in October 1783 and September 1784.⁶⁸

Another significant piece linking domestic repertoire to the public music scene is that written by Johann Christian Fischer 'adapted for Harpsichord or Pianoforte by J.B.Cramer', entitled *An Old Favorite Air Dulce Domum with the Variations*.⁶⁹ Fischer was a reputed oboist who was particularly admired by King George III, to whom he bequeathed on his deathbed all of his scores and music.⁷⁰ In the festivals of 1779 and 1788 Fischer played alongside Cramer (senior). As frequent performers in Winchester, they would no doubt have been aware of the old Wykehamist tradition at Winchester College of processing and singing round the 'Domum Tree'.⁷¹ The choir and quiristers would sing 'the noble song of Domum' down to the tree in the meadow into which reputedly the words of the poem had been carved. There are three extant versions of Domum from that time housed within the Winchester College archives.⁷² The original melody was written by John Reading during his time as Winchester Cathedral organist between 1681 and 1692, although the Domum verse was written sometime in the 1660s.⁷³

The second version of Domum was written by Peter Fussell (Chard's predecessor as organist of Winchester Cathedral) and the original Reading

⁶⁶ See Book 1/4 No.4, Book 1/5 No.13, Book 1/6 No.4, Book 1/7 No.45, Book 2/3 No.5, Book 2/5 No.54 and Book 2/7 No.6.

⁶⁷ See Pamela Weston, "British Heritage: the Mahons, Lazarus and Charles Draper" in *Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past* (London: Hale, 1971), 249-55. See also: Betty Matthews, "The Musical Mahons," *The Musical Times*, no. 1636 (1979), 482-484.

⁶⁸ *HC*, September 15, 1783 and *HC*, September 16, 1784.

⁶⁹ Book 2/7 No.7

⁷⁰ T. Herman Keahey, "Fischer, Johann Christian," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09727>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

⁷¹ Alan Rannie, *The Story of Music at Winchester College 1394-1969* (Winchester: P & G Wells Ltd., 1969), 23.

⁷² Rannie, *Music at Winchester College*, 23.

⁷³ James Sabben-Clare, *Winchester College: After 606 Years, 1382-1988*, 2nd ed. (Winchester: P & G Wells, 1989), 202-3.

theme is mostly maintained.⁷⁴ The third version was by George Chard himself who follows the Reading theme harmonically, but changes the rhythmic notation.⁷⁵ Cramer may have learned the tune not from these vocal pieces, however, but from his colleague Fischer. In 1789 the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported that 'Mr Fischer, we hear, brings a new concerto or two, composed purposely for this occasion; in one of which he has introduced a favourite air well known to the Wykehamists.'⁷⁶ As Fischer was an oboist, he probably wrote an instrumental ensemble piece based on Domum, which was later adapted for keyboard with added variations by Cramer as a way to tap into the domestic market. The work is listed in *Grove*, but unfortunately no date is attributed to the composition.⁷⁷ Studying the careers of Fischer and Cramer senior, one cannot fail to notice that this piece, which was based firmly on Winchester traditions, was performed in the 1789 festival. Cramer senior and Fischer played in the band together in the festival of 1788; perhaps important friendships were forged on that very occasion leading to the published work for keyboard being adapted by Johann Baptist Cramer. The original versions by Reading and Fussell were settings for choir: Chard wrote for keyboard and voice. Cramer's variations themselves are rather loose in variation structure but they contain simple rhythmic differences between each one, leading from quavers in the theme to triplets in Variation 1 and semiquavers in Variation 2. There is a brief modulation from Bb major to Eb major in Variation 2 but the piece resolves with a quaint coda. This is another example of how 'public' repertoire intersects with domestic repertoire in the form of arrangements, similar to the Marsh 'Hallelujah' piano duet.

⁷⁴ Peter Fussell's version of Domum is for choir and orchestra. The version I have seen is held in the Winchester College Archives and was printed in 1811 as a collection of music performed at an anniversary 'meeting of gentlemen educated at the college.' The collection is entitled 'Harmonia Wykehamica, printed for and sold by JA Robbins on College Street, Winchester.'

⁷⁵ The Chard version is again housed in the Winchester College Archive but no date is on the printed copy. The title page reads 'An English Version of Domum set to music by George William Chard organist of the Cathedral and College.' This version is for keyboard and voice and above the music the following words are written 'the Composer received the version from a friend, who wished it set to music. In compliance with that desire, an attempt has been made; yet still as to retain somewhat of the original air.'

⁷⁶ HC, October 15, 1789.

⁷⁷ T. Herman Keahey, "Fischer, Johann Christian," *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09727>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

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In 1792, the principal performers at the Hampshire Music Meeting included a harpist, a rarity for Hampshire. The performer, who was known to Hampshire audiences as Miss [Sophia] Corri, was known for her beautiful voice and she was singing after her recent marriage to the rather louche Czech pianist Jan Ladislav Dussek.⁷⁸ The programme for the concert in 1792 describes Madame Dussek playing the harp but it also lists a 'Mrs Corri' singing songs and airs. It seems that in 1792 when Miss Corri married Jan Ladislav Dussek and became Madame Dussek, she performed in Winchester alongside her mother Mrs Corri (*née* Signorina Bacchelli).⁷⁹ Dussek's life prior to his marriage was eventful, and included skirmishes with royalty in Europe. Perhaps Domenico Corri was unaware of the swashbuckling character of his son-in-law or he would have thought twice about setting up a music-publishing business with him, which resulted in Corri's bankruptcy and Dussek fleeing England.⁸⁰

Of particular interest in the Austen collection is the *Grand Duet for the Pianoforte and Harp Op.72*, which seems to be the duet played by Mr and Madame Dussek in 1792.⁸¹ The piece can also be played by two pianos but the Austen collection contains only the original harp part (belonging to Eliza de Feuillide), which suggests that the other part of the duo belonged to another person. These new harp compositions performed by the Dusseks were particularly favoured by Hampshire audiences. In the following year, 1793, Anne Marie Krumpholtz came to perform at the Hampshire Music Meeting.⁸² She performed with Dussek, Salomon and Corri often in concerts in London and doubtless the rumours, whether true or not, that Anne Marie had been Dussek's mistress before his marriage to Sophia Corri added a certain

⁷⁸ For a biography and study of Dussek's piano works see: Nicholas Salwey, "The Piano in London Concert Life 1750-1800" PhD diss., (Oxford: St Anne's College, 2001), 95-170. See also the thorough 20 volume work of piano music in the London Pianoforte School by Nicholas Temperley, in particular "Music by Continental Composers in London, 1766-1810" in *The London Pianoforte School, 1766-1860*, 20 vols., vol.6 (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1984-7).

⁷⁹ Peter Ward Jones, et al., "Corri," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06565pg1>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

⁸⁰ Howard Allen Craw, et al., "Dussek," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44229pg2>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

⁸¹ Ref Book 2/6 No.1

⁸² Anna Tuhackova, et al., "Krumpholtz," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15591pg3>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

piquancy to these occasions.⁸³ In addition to the Dussek harp and piano duet, the Austen collection also contains two songs composed by Anne-Marie's father, Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz.⁸⁴ These two tender songs *Hither love thy beauties bring* and a French Romance entitled *Calme les maux que j'endure* represent perhaps a further correlation between a known artist's name in public concerts and the domestic music collection as the songs written by Anne Marie Krumpholtz's father are contained within the Austen music books.

The Austen collection features a number of pieces by performers who came to Hampshire, including the works of Miss Park who attended the Hampshire Music Meeting in 1799. Maria Hester Park's (1775-1822) compositions are listed under the name of Maria Hester Reynolds, the *6 accompanied kbd sonatas with vln ad lib.*⁸⁵ Her keyboard sonatas (evidently published under her married name of Reynolds) found their way into the Austen collection in one of the books belonging to Elizabeth Bridges.⁸⁶ The performer Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci came to Winchester in 1781 and 1782 and there are two examples of songs which mention his operatic skill on the title page.⁸⁷ One of these is the Arne song *To ease his heart and his flame* which was described as 'The Scotch Air in the Overture to Thomas & Sally sung by Mr Tenducci and Miss Brent at Vauxhall and Ranelagh'.⁸⁸

The operatic talent of Mrs Billington (*née* Elizabeth Weichsel) was particularly favoured and followed avidly in the Hampshire papers.⁸⁹ Her vocal skills were reported in the pre- and post-concert reports each time she sang, with descriptions like 'the sweet melody of Billington's notes' followed by praising descriptions of 'Mrs Billington [who was] in a style superior to what she or any

⁸³ Anna Tuhackova et al., "Krumpholtz," *Grove Music Online*.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ See Book 1/6 No.1

⁸⁶ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "Park, Maria Hester (1760-1813)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61880>, (accessed July 4, 2009).

⁸⁷ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "Tenducci, Giusto Ferdinando (C.1735 1790)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67196>, (accessed July 4, 2009).

⁸⁸ See Book 1/7 No.51.

⁸⁹ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "Billington, Elizabeth," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03083>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

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other singer could have been supposed capable of'.⁹⁰ Elizabeth Billington was so favoured that she was the female singer who returned most frequently to Hampshire, particularly between the years 1785-1804.⁹¹ The newspapers reported on her to such an extent that her career was often followed in Hampshire even though it was not technically local news. For example, in September 1787 this description in the *Hampshire Chronicle* of concerts taking place in Birmingham and Liverpool seems quite out of place:

By letter from Birmingham and Liverpool we learn, Mrs Billington's vocal powers were never more happily executed at their late Festivals, particularly in the songs of Redemption, at Liverpool, to which she gave every advantage that could be derived from a most extensive and sweet voice, directed by exquisite taste and the most just judgement.⁹²

Perhaps in part because of this avid following in the Hampshire newspapers, there are four songs associated with Mrs Billington in the collection. On the title page of each of the songs is written 'as sung by Mrs Billington' in songs by Carter (Book 2/5 No.11), Gugliemi (Book 2/5 No.37), Shield (Book 1/3 No.9) and Stamitz (Book 1/5 No.11).

There are also two songs written by the violinist François-Hippolyte Barthélemon (1769-1821) who led the Hampshire Music Meeting in 1780, whilst his wife Maria Barthélemon (*née* Young 1749-1799) is listed as one of the principal vocalists.⁹³ The two songs written by F-H Barthélemon feature in the second set of books: Book 2/2 No.30 belonging to Elizabeth Bridges and Book 2/5 No.33 belonging to Eleanor Jackson. The first is based on an old Scotch ballad entitled *Durandarte & Belerma* (Book 2/2 No.30); the second

⁹⁰ *HC*, October 1, 1787 and *HC*, October 24, 1791.

⁹¹ See Appendix 1.

⁹² *HC*, September 17, 1787.

⁹³ See Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 340-4. See also Neal Zaslaw and Simon McVeigh, "Barthélémon, François-Hippolyte," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02147>, (accessed August 1, 2012). See also: Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "Young," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30717pg8>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

song echoes his upbringing in France as it is entitled *An old French Air. On which the Vaudeville of Rousseau's Le Devin Du Village is partly founded with a Bass in the Musette Style* (Book 2/5 No. 33). Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810), who went on to run the concert series in Bath that Jane so famously attended, came to Winchester in 1776 and 1777 and one of his songs is in the collection.⁹⁴ Like the French Barthélemon song, this piece was reminiscent of Rauzzini's Italian ancestry, entitled *Duetto- Vive Alina sol perte sung by Sigr. Rauzzini & Sigr. Cernovale in the Opera of La Regina di Golconda* (Book 2/2 No.33). It is one of the few songs in the collection that is scored for a string trio, with recitative sections with figured bass. Given that there is relatively little foreign language in most of the books, apart from those of Elizabeth Bridges, it is interesting that the foreign language music in the collection is sometimes associated with performers who came for the Hampshire Music Meeting.

The performer John Braham (1774-1856) came to sing in 1814 and two of his compositions are in the collection.⁹⁵ Both have theatrical influence: the first, entitled *Public Singer The Celebrated Pollacca from the comic opera of the Cabinet, composed by Mr Braham, arranged as a Rondo by D Steibelt*, is taken from Book 2/7 No.16. The second is entitled *The Beautiful Maid. A favorite [sic] Ballad as Sung by Mr. Braham at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden in the comic opera of the Cabinet* from Book 2/5 No.26. These two songs are an indication that provincial audiences could hear theatrical songs (e.g. extracts from larger works) performed by the original performers, even if they were unable to see a full theatrical production, so theatre music was replicated in domestic music choices as outlined above.

Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) came to the West Country in 1773 playing in Blandford (Dorset) in July 1773 and at the Salisbury festival in October

⁹⁴ *HC*, August 26, 1776 and *HC*, August 4, 1777. For biographical information see: Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Rauzzini, Venanzio," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22960>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

⁹⁵ Ronald Crichton, "Braham, John," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03812>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

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1773.⁹⁶ His soon-to-be wife Signora Cecilia Grassi (1740-1782) is listed as one of the principal singers at the Winchester music meeting of September 1773 (see Appendix 1) so although he was not listed as a performer himself, his interest in the singers engaged would have enticed him to play there anyway.⁹⁷ It is interesting that his Six Sonatas for Piano with obbligato violin are contained within the Austen collection in one of the books signed by Cassandra Austen, and that potentially his compositions were known by the older Austen generation from some of his provincial visits out of London.⁹⁸ However, none of his songs is included in the collection as perhaps the keyboard works were tailored towards the domestic market whereas his songs were written for professional singers. This is a concept discussed by Stephen Roe who writes that his songs were 'clearly written for professional performers of the highest calibre and with one or two exceptions would not be within the scope of an amateur.'⁹⁹

One of the interesting performers who came to play at the Hampshire Music Meeting is George Kiallmark, the composer of *Robin Adair*. This is the only piece mentioned by name in the Austen novels and features in the Austen collection (Book 2/7 No.13).¹⁰⁰ Kiallmark performed in Winchester twice, in 1803 and 1805, and he is listed as one of the principal instrumentalists when Chard was organising the festival. The reference to *Robin Adair* is in *Emma*, written between 1814 and 1815, perhaps Kiallmark's composition was mentioned when he came and performed in Winchester and remembered by either Jane Austen or George Chard.

Finally, of the performers and composers who visited Hampshire and whose compositions are included in the Austen collection, Charles Dibdin the

⁹⁶ Betty Matthews, "J. C. Bach in the West Country," *The Musical Times*, no. 1494 (1967), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/952235>, 702-704. For bibliographic material see Christoph Wolff, et al., "Bach," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40023pg15>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

⁹⁷ Murray R. Charters and Stephen Roe, "Grassi, Cecilia," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11641>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

⁹⁸ See Book 2/7 No.2.

⁹⁹ Stephen Roe, "J.C.Bach's Vauxhall Songs: A New Discovery," *The Musical Times* (1983): 676.

¹⁰⁰ R.H. Legge, "Kiallmark, George (1781-1835)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15507>, (accessed July 4, 2009).

Hampshire composer, born in Southampton in 1745 and buried in Holyrood church in 1814, had a substantial compositional output.¹⁰¹ He falsely claimed that he went to Winchester College, although he had lessons from Peter Fussell when he was growing up.¹⁰² He was a prolific song-writer and entertainer, who eventually became a legendary one-man act performing all over the country with his amazing ability to mimic provincial accents. There are eleven songs by Dibdin in the Austen collection with different themes and theatrical tales. One called *The Soldier's Adieu* is carefully copied into manuscript but the copyist (who is presumed to be Jane) has carefully substituted the word 'soldier' with 'sailor' throughout the score, perhaps reflecting the family's nautical attachment. This alteration has been discussed at length by Patrick Piggott as he links the name change to Jane's attachment to her brothers and the nautical heroes in her novels.¹⁰³ One of the songs in the collection *Joys of the Country* (Book 1/3 No.5) perhaps refers to Dibdin's Hampshire upbringing when in the chorus the following words can be found:

Oh the mountains and vallies and bushes
 The Pigs and the screech owls and thrushes
 Let Bucks and let bloods to praise London agree
 Oh the joys of the country my Jewel for me

As Dibdin himself asserted 'it is certainly a healthy and most beautiful county and has the best character of what I called English views of any place that I know...and [the] hogs are supposed to excel all others.'¹⁰⁴ These descriptions echo the chorus of the song *Joys of the Country*. Jane Austen was certainly aware of his works and songs as she went to see *The Farmer's Wife* by Dibdin in March 1814.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Holyrood church was bombed in WWII and has since become a shrine to the Titanic and to mariners who lost their lives at sea.

¹⁰² Roger Fiske and Irena Cholij, "Dibdin, Charles," *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07733>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

¹⁰³ Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion: A Study of Music in the Life and Writings of Jane Austen*, 153-4.

¹⁰⁴ Charles Dibdin, *Observations on a Tour through Almost the Whole of England, and a Considerable Part of Scotland, in a Series of Letters, Addressed to a Large Number of Intelligent and Respectable Friends*, vol. II (London: G. Goulding, 1802), 367.

¹⁰⁵ Le Faye, *Letters*, 261.

Music not included in the collection

This *tour d'horizon* would be incomplete without a consideration of the music that existed then but is not to be found in the Austen collection. In terms of the then provincial music scene, the Austen collection is fairly representative of the differing types of music, with various transcriptions of overtures for keyboard, sonatas, songs and ensemble pieces. But there is a dearth of late seventeenth- and early English eighteenth-century repertoire; for example, there is only one small song by Purcell in the entire collection. Considering the various movements of 'Ancient music' that had already been established, this is surprising. Weber describes the beginnings of the study of ancient music from 'around 1700' when it became the 'first term employed anywhere in Europe to denote an actively performed repertory of old works.'¹⁰⁶ Although this new movement achieved many things, including regular performances of older pieces and the establishment of the Academy of Ancient Music in 1726, it 'failed to become a major institution within London musical life, but it began to bring ancient music out of the cathedral chapters and into public musical life.'¹⁰⁷ Not until the establishment of the Concert of Ancient Music in 1776 did the ancient music revival really take hold.¹⁰⁸ It was with the founding of the Concert of Ancient Music in mind that Chard attempted in 1798 and 1799 to introduce an 'Ancient music' component to the festival, and it is surprising that this is not reflected in the music enjoyed by the various generations of Austens. Perhaps one reason for this is that the 'Ancient music' was considered to be the norm for the aristocracy and upper classes, in whose circles the middling-income Austen family presumably did not move. Chard's move to include 'Ancient music' was not repeated, so perhaps the provincial audiences preferred to hear contemporary pieces (apart from Handel) rather than older works, which would certainly explain their absence from the collection.

¹⁰⁶ William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 23.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 56 and 73.

¹⁰⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 22.

Certain key figures are missing from the canonic repertoire contained in the Austen collection and from provincial performance. One example would be Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827), by whom there are no works in the collection, despite the fact that his compositions were beginning to be played at the end of this period. His dates virtually parallel that of Jane Austen (1770-1817) except that he lived a further decade after her comparatively early death. Beethoven's *Prometheus* was played in the Assembly Rooms at Portsmouth in February 1817 and then in November 1819, and his *Concertante* was performed in Winchester.¹⁰⁹

The scarcity of Mozart compositions has already been noted; the importance of his music had not been widely recognised in England in the eighteenth century. If a comparison is made between performances in London and Winchester, there were only five performances of Mozart's piano compositions in London between 1786 and 1800 whereas there were no known performances in Winchester.¹¹⁰ Information past this date has not been compiled as yet. However, as we well know, Mozart's fame was soon increased to the extent that Wilkie Collins's novel *The Woman in White*, written in 1859, contains numerous references to Mozart compositions.¹¹¹

One final point is the relative lack of Italian works and arias. The majority of the Italian arias in the collection belonged to Elizabeth Bridges (Edward's wife) whose background was distinctly wealthier than that of the Austens. As a result of this (as we have seen in the discussion of her education in Chapter 1) Elizabeth received a better musical education which included the study of Italian arias. Her manuscript book contains Italian operatic arias with up to four vocal parts, an ensemble arrangement to which the Austen household would never have done justice; it would have required great rehearsal and

¹⁰⁹ *HC*, February 24, 1817 and *HC*, November 8, 1819.

¹¹⁰ Mozart performances in London are listed as 13/2/1786, 6/4/1786, 5/5/1792, 30/5/1792 and 27/4/1798. See Nicholas Salwey and Simon McVeigh, "The Piano and Harpsichord in London's Concert Life. 1750-1800: A Calendar of Advertised Performances," in *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music VIII*, eds. Michael Burden and Irena Cholij (Oxford: Burden & Cholij, 1997), 27-72.

¹¹¹ For a discussion of Mozart reception in Wilkie Collins *The Woman in White* see Nicky Losseff "Absent Melody and 'the Woman in White,'" *Music & Letters* 81, no. 4 (2000): 539-542. See also Phyllis Weliver, "A Score of Change: Twenty Years of Critical Musicology and Victorian Literature," *Literature Compass* 8 (2011): 1-19.

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confident and established male and female singers to be able to sustain the individual parts. The Hampshire Music Meeting frequently advertised Italian arias and songs in the miscellaneous concerts throughout this period with 'Italian songs between the parts of the Oratorios' listed in the year Jane was born, through to a vocal concert including Italian arias organised by Chard just two days before her death.¹¹² However, as with 'Ancient music' perhaps the Italian arias were perceived to be in a different class from the music of Handel and theatrical music, and only the superior education of Elizabeth Bridges gave her access to the genre.

The connections between concert repertoire in the provinces and the different performers that came to Hampshire in this period confirm that the type of music played in these concerts affected the public's choices for their own domestic collections. In a period where movement around the country became easier through better roads and improved public transport, performer repertoire choice increasingly influenced domestic collections. Considering for a moment the logistical demands of bringing a harp to Hampshire from London, it is not surprising that Hampshire audiences had not heard many public concert performances of harp music before 1792.

The Music itself and the work of Habermas

The Austen collection as a whole represents a time capsule of musical taste and musical choice spanning over 100 years. Time stood still when the music books were bound, so more than two centuries later they reflect the types of compositions that were typical at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. As musicologists, we have been influenced by later generational canons but the works of, for example, the currently lesser known William Shield (1748-1829), in comparison to the works of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), remain an important, and not to be

¹¹² *HC*, August 28, 1775 and *HC*, July 14, 1817.

underestimated, addition to the progression of changing musical taste and criteria of value through the centuries.¹¹³

The one constant in all of these choices is the music itself: that is to say, in its material form. The printed score connected public repertoire to the domestic amateur and scores became part of the domestic environment when they were copied and brought home. The music was present in the cathedrals and concert venues for the professionals to read and to practise, and the way that sheet music was distributed became the musical network for new compositions and new composers.¹¹⁴ Circulating libraries were not only for novels, but also for new compositions which were discussed and shared, adding to this connection between the domestic and the public environment. Temperley notes how 'musical activity in the home in this period must have been very considerable, judging from the amount of music published, which increased rapidly throughout the nineteenth century'.¹¹⁵ Newspaper advertisement became an integral part of music distribution, as we have seen with the long lists of music that Wilkes sold in his shop alongside that which he could obtain with 'three days notice.' In addition to the physical notated score is the idea of a musical work as an increasingly powerful concept that means that even in arrangements, people think of a piece, for example *Messiah*, as the same work performed in a different context. Contemplating all of these elements leads us to the concept of the music providing the connection between the public and private spheres.

The concept of music transcending two different spheres is an area discussed by Thomas Christensen as he considers at length the role in that piano duet transcriptions played in the nineteenth century. He writes: 'Music intended for public spaces- the concert hall, opera house, and choral festival- was now heard in the intimacy of the home parlour. This dislocation of music was for

¹¹³ Linda Troost, "Shield, William," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25638>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

¹¹⁴ For a non-paginated description of printing techniques in Europe see A. Hyatt King, *Four Hundred Years of Music Printing* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1964).

¹¹⁵ Nicholas Temperley, "Domestic Music in England 1800-1860," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 85 (1958): 32.

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many a remarkable manifestation of the piano's democratic potential.¹¹⁶ He continues to argue that 'transcription contributed to this destabilization of the generic contract by introducing new kinds of music into domestic settings; it served, that is, to break down barriers of musical landscape and thus to act as a conduit of nineteenth-century aesthetic values.'¹¹⁷

Similar parallels can be drawn with the theories outlined by Habermas in 'The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere' written in 1962 and later translated into English in 1989.¹¹⁸ Habermas's argument was that the eighteenth century heralded a change in the way in which opinion was formed, thus creating a new public sphere. People were liberated from the constraints of the official wisdom of authority such as church or state, and discussion of art or literature broadened to include matters of political and economic movement. Central to Habermas's theory was the emergence of differing venues, for example the English coffee houses, where people met face-to-face and talked freely in discussion and debate. In Holub's critique of Habermas's work he describes how 'everyone has access to it, no one enters into discourse in the public sphere with an advantage over another.'¹¹⁹ His work describes how the public and private begin to merge in the eighteenth century as a result of architecture, where salon rooms were placed on the first floor so an admiring public were able to see events taking place through the window. These new 'salons' became more of a public space than a private family room in the eighteenth century and helped to form this merging of the two spheres. 'Festivities for the whole house gave way to social evenings; the family room became a reception room in which private people gather[ed] to form a public... The line between private and public sphere extended right through the home.'¹²⁰ This quote taken from Habermas's work is an extension of Riehl's ideas in *Die Familie*, which formed the foundation of some of the arguments in Habermas's 'Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere'.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Thomas Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52 no. 2 (1999), 280.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 288.

¹¹⁸ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

¹¹⁹ Robert C. Holub, *Jürgen Habermas: Critic in the Public Sphere* (London: Routledge, 1991), 3.

¹²⁰ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 45.

¹²¹ Wilhelm Heinrich von Riehl, *Die Familie ... Neunte Mit Vielen Zusa* (Stuttgart, 1882).

If we consider how Habermas's theories fit into the realm of music, the idea of 'festivities' and 'social gatherings' within the home certainly can easily encompass domestic music events. Performances of family music collections were in fact an embodiment of the type of 'gatherings' that Habermas describes in the eighteenth century. Mark Girouard illustrates how 'drawing rooms had now ceased almost entirely to be attached to individual bedrooms and people, or to be rooms used for comparatively short periods of time while dinner was being cleared. They were important rooms'.¹²² The bourgeoisie, as sophisticated people, visited a home to listen to a piece of music of which they formed opinions and then engaged in critical discussion. In a more public context, these same individuals would attend concerts together to listen to a piece of music and share their appreciation for it through applause and discussion later at the ball that followed every concert. Vickery describes how public venues were 'identified as the principal haunts of the people of fashion, the quality, the beau monde'.¹²³

However one of the main criticisms of Habermas's theories was the exclusion of women in the public sphere which has been discussed at length, particularly in *Feminists read Habermas* edited by Johanna Meehan.¹²⁴ This collection of essays essentially acknowledges Habermas's shortcomings to theorise gender but explores Habermas's discourse theory as a basis for various topics including, for example, politics, ethics and morals. Although the book does not discuss music in its critique of Habermas, the concept of applying his criteria of 'social gatherings' in a musical context would certainly fuse well with the extension of Habermas's theories seen in the book. These 'social gatherings' applied to women who formed part of the musical scene and rather than more general discourse encountered in places like coffee houses, the conversation at concerts probably focused on music, so in this context public-private and male-female spheres met as one.

¹²² Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale University Press, 1978), 205.

¹²³ Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 227.

¹²⁴ Johanna Meehan, *Feminists Read Habermas: Gendering the Subject of Discourse* (New York; London: Routledge, 1995).

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This concept of public meeting private has been discussed in great depth since Habermas's original work, the eighteenth-century angle particularly by John Brewer whose informative essay does much to examine Habermas's work in the field of eighteenth century literature.¹²⁵ One of the main reasons for the rise of the novel was the increase of literacy rates in women in the eighteenth century; as literacy improved, so did the new vogue for letter writing.¹²⁶ Brewer's work addresses the argument of letters explored by Habermas in *Structural Transformation*. Brewer extends Habermas's theory by describing how 'in the commercialized environment of eighteenth-century London publishing, booksellers advertised for the private letters of notables, and had no compunction about laying private letters, never intended to be seen publicly, before the reading public.'¹²⁷ He later describes how 'the growing realm of print and of the published word had an important effect on the way in which private communication was conducted and self-presented, a private world which was informed by a consciousness of its being observed or of having the potential to be observed in public.'¹²⁸ In view of this, it is little wonder that Cassandra burnt many of Jane's private letters after she died! However, although not argued by Brewer, with the growing availability of printed music, this powerful effect can be observed in the field of music.

In place of the written letter, let us consider copied manuscripts and what the music represented through its careful copying. These manuscript scores were taken from the home when travelling or were shared and swapped whilst visiting friends, and were viewed by a larger group of people; not necessarily immediate family or friends, but a larger group comprising secondary acquaintances. In effect, people unknown to the individual became a greater public who viewed the individual's private music copying and private musical choices. A personal music collection is precious and unique, and to share it

¹²⁵ John Brewer, "This, That and the Other: Public, Social and Private in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Dario Castiglione and Lesley Sharpe, eds., *Shifting the Boundaries: Transformation of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995).

¹²⁶ For a discussion of female literacy and its 'new readers' see J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: Norton, 1990), 69-75, and 142-47. For the rise of literacy rates in general see Ian Pierre Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1963), 35-59.

¹²⁷ Castiglione and Sharpe, *Shifting the Boundaries*, 14.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

with a larger audience outside the domestic environment is a significant step. In Book 2/3 No.8 a piece of Piccinni has been carefully copied out into the book belonging to Cassandra. This particular piece was evidently a favourite in the Austen household as the collection contains three versions of the overture. There are two solo keyboard versions, one of which is printed, the other in manuscript, and there is also a duet version. The manuscript copy is rather interesting as at the top left-hand side of the manuscript are the words 'To Austen'. The printed version belonged to Elizabeth Bridges, so perhaps she copied the music into the manuscript herself for either Cassandra or Jane. The circulation of music through print and manuscript within the extended family circle shows us how through copying and sharing music the public sphere percolated into the domestic world. Music, like news and letters that circulated in similar ways, was also one of the many topics that could be viewed more critically by a newly-educated public. Habermas's understanding of public and private spheres thus can be extended to encompass music through the idea of the private sphere extending out towards the public. However, his work has been criticized for its lack of attention to gender. The question of separate spheres has been a topic of interest to scholars of gender and consideration of music sharing and copying can shed further light on this question too, as well as providing a way to introduce considerations of gender into the discussion. The way in which the various spheres meet, for example, the domestic world of the female versus the political world of the public male extends Habermas's observations to include gender spheres whose dimensions were neglected in his original argument. It is interesting that by looking at music the concept of separate spheres becomes too simplistic, not only in the private and public but also in gender spheres. Through the act of taking a hand-copied manuscript out of the home to be viewed by a critical larger semi-public audience, the physical copy of music itself echoes the sentiments of Habermas's letters theory and the newly formed public sphere as well as encouraging the extension of his ideas to include women.

The professional musician provided a further example of the private sphere meeting the public; the musician practiced music at home in order to perform it later in public. The educated professional musician represents the new type of public which embodies the integration and transformation of the two

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spheres as Calhoun describes, when he states that 'a certain educated elite came to think of itself as constituting the public and thereby transformed the abstract notion of the *publicum* as counterpart to public authority into a much more concrete set of practices.'¹²⁹ As has been noted, Habermas has been criticised for describing purely male roles and the male world. He described families as a whole rather than mentioning the differing role of male and female. Just as coffee houses were male-dominated spaces, for the most part the role of the professional musician was also a job less fitting for a female unless she was born into a musical family and had its backing (this was certainly the case for Nancy Storace among others). However, the educated male musician played in both private salons and public venues and provided a connection between the two spheres.

The act of giving and receiving music has been explored by James Davies in 'Julia's Gift' where his idea of music occupying simultaneously the position of gift and commodity has some links to the concepts of public and private, although it is not identical. He describes the act of giving music as a way of 'bind[ing] people into commitments. Responsibility, moral duty and obligation characterize their tendering; recompense, gratitude and indebtedness their reception.'¹³⁰ Once the music was received, it allowed females to express themselves in a way that was not normally allowed.¹³¹ Lucy Green describes this idea of freedom of expression from behind a mask: 'on one hand, the display is in the active position, and has the power of the lure, of spectacularity, the possibility of playing with the mask from that point of view; whereas the onlooker is passively in danger of becoming seduced and ensnared by the mask.'¹³² Through their musical choices and the words expressed within a song, women could immerse themselves in the world of politics, marital affairs, compassion and free expression of emotion. The noticeable addition of French political songs like the *Marseillaise* evident in the Austen collection opened up an area to the Austen household which could only

¹²⁹ Craig J. Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 9.

¹³⁰ James Davies, "Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, C.1830," *Royal Musical Association* vol. 131 Part 2 (2006): 293.

¹³¹ For a detailed study of women's writing using music as a subject see: Carol Neuls-Bates, ed., *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996).

¹³² Lucy Green, *Music, Gender, Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 22.

be whispered about in tea-houses and over embroidery. Yet in public it was possible and considered perfectly natural to sing as in *No, my love no* about the husband's reasons for having an extra-marital affair.¹³³ The implication that domestic music collections were thus a secret way of sublimating female repression in a male-dominated society seemed to go unnoticed by the many husbands and fathers who listened to the songs sung by their loved ones.

To summarise, the interconnection of the two spheres was apparent not only in male musical circles, as for example that of the professional musician: it was also apparent in female circles as the spheres of private and public were linked together through the physical copy of the printed music, as it was present in both practice and subsequent performance. Manuscript scores were critically viewed in private houses, carefully copied out, with every quaver pored over, in the knowledge that neatness would be judged; these copies were then taken for the music to be performed in the newly emerging salons of the century. In considering the Austen music collection and the concept of separate spheres, we can extend Habermas's ideas in productive ways. Music generally tends to confirm Habermas's theories of the connection and later transformation of the private and public spheres, despite his lack of attention to gender. This chapter has explored Habermas's ideas further to include the effect of music in gender studies in addition to the public and private spheres. Consideration of domestic music-making broadens the ideas of Habermas into the field of female-dominated circles rather than purely male spheres, interpreting and extending his theory, as opposed to conflicting with it.

¹³³ See Book 2/5 No.25

CONCLUSION

My research for this thesis has enhanced what we already know about Jane Austen's musical life and extended knowledge of provincial music culture by cross-referencing domestic music making with public musical events. Study of the Austen books shows that domestic music-making occurred widely, and was not exclusively for the wealthy. It is evident that, despite being of middling income, the Austen family were able to afford musical training and sources, although their collection was not large and much may have been borrowed and copied rather than purchased. However, from the level of skill required to play the pieces, the Austen family certainly attained musical credibility in their performances; the ability needed to play the notes and achieve stylistic accuracy should not be underestimated. The vast quantity of information surrounding Hampshire music-making which emerged made the undertaking much larger than had been previously foreseen. Therefore, the thesis metamorphosed into three distinct chapters: a description of the music collection, an in-depth study of Hampshire-music making, and a consideration of how these two topics intertwine.

I investigated the music books as a whole in chapter one, describing their physical condition and the amount of research previously made. My exploration of the sources has included a more extensive study of the musical references in the letters where, as the seventeen music books are now available compared with the original eight, connections with the letter references and previously unseen repertoire have been made. There are also many examples of other Hampshire families' letters describing musical events in this period, which have formed a part of the arguments in this thesis. I have extended my research to include other domestic collections so that the Austen repertoire can be viewed laterally, in addition to being viewed at the point of an inverse pyramid out towards repertoire performed in public venues. As a result of viewing the collection from different angles, it has been possible to allocate some repertoire choices to a specific owner. The Handlist has enabled me to present a deeper statistical analysis concerning score types, scoring, and

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duplications within the collection. The scoring of the music is interesting, particularly as the songs are written in many different formats. Frequently in the Austen collection, the text of the song is written between the staves of the music, which made it easier for the performer to read the music and sing at the same time. The vogue for self-accompanying songs was very evident in this period and the scoring certainly reflected this. This type of scoring was evident in the song by Burns, which was described as one of Jane's favourites in Deirdre Le Faye's article the 'Three Missing Songs'. Using the song titles in the Handlist, it has been possible to attribute music to the first line of the songs remembered by Caroline Austen, Jane Austen's niece; in essence the music has been found.

Hampshire in the late eighteenth century supported three main centres of musical activity: Winchester, Southampton and Portsmouth. The focus of my research in the second chapter was the types of concerts available to audiences, the calibre of music and musicians playing in Hampshire and how these concerts reflected national trends. Through analysis of concert publicity and focussing on the key music organisers in Hampshire, it was possible to deduce that Hampshire attracted many fashionable performers and audiences alike. Musicians were drawn from the localities as promoters prided themselves on securing élite audiences and offering popular music choices, with a heavy reliance on *Messiah* and other Handel oratorios. We have seen that the price of concerts reflected the quality of the music and the calibre of player hired. George Chard was one of the key figures of Hampshire music promotion at this time and after taking over music promotion in 1798, he started to make changes to the festival format, so in 1800 Haydn's *Creation* took the place of *Messiah*. This thesis highlights the possibility that Jane Austen went to this concert, as she had been taught by Chard in her youth and the Chute family, her close friends, made an annual trip to attend the Hampshire Music Meeting. The 1800 festival is discussed in detail with previously unknown sources (both in the public forum of the newspaper and a private diary) exploring Haydn's music in the 1800 concert and his reception in England. This report was one of many viewed in the *Hampshire Chronicle* which showed that provincial newspapers reported keenly on concerts, as there were pre- and post-concert reports for most of them. It is evident from the list

of musicians and the regularity of concerts that, musically speaking, Winchester concert organisers were ambitious, aiming for levels of musical sophistication on a par with the capital. This study highlighted the fact that for a concert series to thrive, a good promoter's essential qualities were the possession of good contacts and a strong financial sense.

The study of the Austen music books followed by Hampshire music-making led to the fusion in the final chapter of my thesis of these two topics to see if they were linked in any way. As a result of this study, I concluded that there are many demonstrable links between repertoire performed in a public context and music in private collections owing to the influence of repertoire choices seen in concerts. There are also many examples of the music of performers seen at public concerts in these domestic collections; music choices in the Austen music collection reflected stylistic trends evident in public concerts. Further parallels were evident in some of the repertoire in the collection underpinning the concept of public music choices coming into the private home; these came in the form of the influence of teachers and environmental taste. This thesis also discusses some of the surprising music choices that are not in the collection in order to extrapolate whether in fact the two repertoires were linked and in what capacity. The final chapter concluded with a discussion on how the domestic music scene and public concerts matched up with Habermas's views of the eighteenth century and the rise of the public sphere. The conclusions drawn were that Habermas's views are reflected well in a musical context apart from the obvious criticism that he did not include women in his arguments. The domestic performance exemplifies his description of salon spaces when interpreted musicologically. This thesis has also linked Habermas's views to the area of music by substituting the skill of music copying in place of his theories on letter writing.

The appendix forms an important marker for further work on provincial music-making in Hampshire; it is a rare study that lists all the concerts and the repertoire from this period and it is hoped this study will be useful to future scholars working on this period. The information available in the Handlist will also be invaluable for future scholars to compare and contrast other domestic music collections from the period. Now that the listings are in composer order

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rather than book order, it is easier to search for specific pieces more efficiently. This makes the search for concert material, for performers wanting to explore and play the repertoire contained in the Austen music books, significantly more accessible.

After exploring two main areas of study, that of the Austen music books and Hampshire music, this project underlines the scope for further work to be done in both these areas; by no means has the possibility of scholarly input been exhausted. One area in need of clarification is the firm identification of all the hands in the books, which is particularly important to confirm hypotheses produced by this study. Of course, the signature at the front of a book would establish with certainty only that at some time the person who signed the book owned it, but identification would be strongly suggestive of the main owner of the book at the time. In addition, still more Austen music books are unaccounted for: one of these was lost shortly after donation to the Jane Austen Memorial Trust in 1952 and there are also two further volumes, which were sold by a dealer around 1998.

More detailed research is needed in order to date the music within the collection. Only a small proportion of items listed can currently be firmly dated and this would be a worthy addition to the Handlist. Still a surprising amount of compositions remain unattributed, some of which are found in the French music volumes belonging to Eliza de Feuillide. However, as recounted in Chapter 1, my research into the second and third sets of books made it possible for Jeanice Brooks to identify, from the first line of the song, the composers of two previously anonymous songs mentioned in Deirdre de Faye's 1999 article; given time, it may be possible to identify the composers of more of these French pieces. As to the unattributed manuscript pieces, when the manuscripts are digitised it will be easier for scholars to compare them to printed sources. This next stage of the digitisation process currently underway at the University of Southampton will include putting the sources online, where the work outlined in this thesis will become of more interest as it can be used in conjunction with images of the sources themselves.

There is still much scholarly research to be done concerning Hampshire music-making. The appendix would really benefit from cross-referencing the concert listings contained in Frank Warren's notes concerning the *Hampshire Telegraph* with all the events listed in the *Hampshire Chronicle*. This, in addition to information in the *Salisbury Journal*, would complete a more thorough study and form a comprehensive database connecting the musical events together. In its entirety, it would encompass many of the concert listings in the South of England and provide a formidable source to compare with the London concert listings. It could also form the basis of a further database recording the musicians touring in different areas. It is my belief that musicians toured together doing similar repertoire in different locations: for example, Winchester concerts connected to Salisbury, the Three Choirs festival and the festivals in Bath, Birmingham, Liverpool, Oxford and Reading, but only the compilation of further databases will enable this hypothesis to be tested. Ideally linking concert listings and musicians in the studies by McVeigh, Salwey, Burrows, Olleson and Crosby, to name a few, would be an invaluable way of showing musician networks and how the concert scene in Britain linked together in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹

As to the future of the project, I plan further performances of the Austen repertoire and there is a larger digitisation project underway at Southampton University where all the music will be digitised. I look forward to doing further work in the field of provincial music-making. Jeanice Brooks and I are also in the process of writing an article containing details of the songs which have been found pertaining to answers highlighted in Deirdre Le Faye's article 'Three Missing Songs'. However to conclude, it perhaps would be wise to choose the words of Austen herself in this study of music-making in her life and Hampshire surroundings, spoken by Mr Bennett in the novel *Pride and*

¹ Nicholas Salwey and Simon McVeigh, "The Piano and Harpsichord in London's Concert Life, 1750-1800: A Calendar of Advertised Performances," in *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music VIII*, eds. Michael Burden and Irena Cholij (Oxford: Burden & Cholij, 1997), 27-72. Simon McVeigh, "The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783-1793," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 22 (1989): 1-136. Donald Burrows, "Lists of Musicians for Performances of Handel's *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital, 1754-1777," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 43 (2010): 85-110; Philip Olleson, "Crotch, Moore, and the 1808 Birmingham Festival," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 29 (1996): 143-60; Brian Crosby, "Private Concerts on Land and Water: The Musical Activities of the Sharp Family, C.1750-C.1790," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 34 (2001): 1-119.

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Prejudice who verbalises many of the different angles existing in this study: 'That will do extremely well, child. You have delighted us long enough. Let the other young ladies have time to exhibit.'²

²Jane Austen, *Pride & Prejudice* (London: The Folio Society, 1975), 89.

Appendix I Guide

The first appendix is a catalogue of the musical events that took place in Hampshire from 1770-1820 according to the *Hampshire Chronicle* and is preceded by a guide to the information included in each column. It lists all the concerts including the date, venue, performers, music played, and whether or not the concert has been reported. All of these entries include the source reference for scholars to use for further study. This comprehensive list of concerts in Hampshire between 1770 and 1820 was compiled using information from the *Salisbury Journal* from 1770 to 1772 and the *Hampshire Chronicle* from 1772-1820. Concert information in the *Salisbury Journal* covered the whole county as well as Salisbury and its environs until the *Hampshire Chronicle* was founded in 1772. From that year on, the majority of the information is derived from the *Hampshire Chronicle*. The table sub-divides into eight columns:

Column One lists the date of the Hampshire concert followed by the source reference.

Column Two lists the organiser of the concert and/or the leader of the orchestra if the information is recorded.

Column Three names the type of concert, and if the concert is a benefit, the name of the beneficiary.

Column Four lists the venue and location for the concert.

Column Five lists repertoire played in the concerts. This information has been compiled from a variety of sources including newspaper advertisements, pre-

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and post-concert reports and handbills from the period. These combined sources do not always list all the repertoire played; sometimes just the major works are listed. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century there seems to be an increasing trend to advertise the repertoire in concerts more specifically. This change in advertisement also goes in conjunction with fewer advertisements for concerts and seemingly a slight decline in concert frequency. When a concert took place in the nineteenth century, more detail was given and time was taken to advertise in such a way that the audience knew exactly the type of programme being offered. This shift in concert advertising may indicate that an increasingly sophisticated audience required more detailed information about the works played to encourage concert attendance. Perhaps indicative of a shift in emphasis from being centered around the performer to being centered around the composer and the work played, since listing composer names and work titles seemed to aim at drawing audiences in.

Column Six describes the performers in the concert, using information taken from advertisements again. In the bigger festivals and concerts the players are listed as principal singers, principal instrumentalists followed by members playing in the band. In the smaller concerts, sometimes just some key performers are listed, to entice the audience members to see people that they know. The spellings of the performers are listed as they appear in the original source, so there may be some errors depending on the accuracy of the original report.

Column Seven lists the price of the concert. Sometimes this is not listed but for the majority of times, there is a set price listed. In the case of subscription concerts and festivals there is a set price for all concerts followed by a price for an individual concert. In this case, where the pricing has been a little more complicated, the reader should refer to the original advertisement, which can be found using the information contained in column one.

Column Eight is a list outlining where the review article can be found, if there is one. In the case of the bigger festivals, there are quite often pre- and post-

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concert reports, so these have been listed accordingly. Some of these reports contain fascinating musical reception history of this period, which have been too many and too long in number to list in this study.

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
5/9/1770- 7/9/1770 (SJ 3/9/1770)	Mr Malchier- Leader Mr Hayes- Conductor	Annual Musical Festival	St. John's House	5th Sep Handel- Messiah 6th Sep Handel- Joshua Macabreus A concerto played by Mr Hayes, Violin solo and a cello solo	Principal Singers- Mrs Weichsel, Senior Tenducci, Mr Hayes, Mr Matthews Instrumentalists- Messrs Richards, Malchiar, Reeves, Pasquali, Adeock, Foulis, Weichsel and Scovel and other performers from London and Bath	Not listed	SJ 17/9/1770
4/9/1771- 6/9/1771 (SJ 26/8/1771)	Mr Hayes- Conductor	Annual Musical Festival	St. John's House	4th Sep Handel- Messiah 5th Sep Handel- Deborah 6th Sep Handel- Samson	Principal Singers- Mrs Weichsel, Master Dale, Mr Hayes, Mr Matthews Instrumentalists- Messrs Richards, Lates, Reeves, Pasquali, Jenkins, Foster, Weichsel and other performers from London and Bath	Not listed	SJ 16/9/1771

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
2/9/1772- 4/9/1772 (HC 31/8/1772)	Mr Richards- Leader Mr Linley- Conductor	Annual Musical Festival	St. John's House	2nd Sep Handel- Messiah 3rd Sep Handel- Alexander's Feast 4th Sep Handel- Judas Maccabeus Between the parts of the Oratorio's will be introduced some Italian songs by the Miss Linleys	Principal Singers- Miss Linley, Miss M. Linley, Messrs Linley and Corfe &c.	Not listed	HC 7/9/1772
10/9/1772 (HC 7/9/1772)	Mr Barry- Organiser	Annual Concert	Lymington	Violin Solo Harpsichord Concerto Songs	Mr Bassett, Mr Combes	3s	HC 7/9/1772
17/9/1773 (HC 30/8/1773)	Mr Storace- Organiser	Annual Breakfast Benefit of Miss Storace	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music	Miss Storace, Mr Storace, Violin- Signor Ximenee	5s 3d	Not listed
13/9/1773 (HC 13/9/1773)	Nightingale Company	Concert	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music Mandolin Solo Tolima Song	Nightingale Company, Mandolin- Signor Roffignolo	2s 6d	Not listed
8/9/1773- 10/9/1773 (HC 6/9/1773)	Mr Richards- Leader Mr Ximenez- Band Leader	Winchester Music Meeting	St. John's House	8th Sep Handel- Messiah 9th Sep Handel- Acis and Galatea 10th Sep Handel- Judas Maccabeus Between the parts of the Oratorio's will be introduced some favourite Italian Songs	Principal singers- Signora Grassi, Mrs Weichsel, Mr Corfe, Mr Parry Approved performers from London and Bath	Not listed	HC 13/9/1773

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
7/9/1774- 9/9/1774 (HC 15/8/1774)	Mr Fussell- Organiser	Annual Musical Festival	St. John's House	7th Sep Handel- Jephtha 8th Sep Handel- L'Allegro ed il Penseroso 9th Sep Handel- Joshua	Vocal Performers- Miss Linley, Master Friend, Mr Hayes, Mr Bellamy Instrumentalists- Mr Linley Jnr, Mr Richards, Mr Parry, Mr Lates, Signor Pasquali Approved performers from London, Oxford and Bath	5s	HC 12/9/1774
19/8/1775	Mr Day- Organiser	Concert	Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music	Mr Mahon, Mr Bassett, Mr Day Mr Corfe	Not listed	HC 22/8/1775
6/9/1775- 9/9/1775 (HC 28/8/1775)	Mr Richards- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Annual Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	6th Sep Handel- Judas Maccabeus 7th Sep Handel- Messiah 8th Sep Handel- Samson Italian songs between the Parts of the Oratorios	Vocal Performers- Signora Galli, Miss Davies, Mr Corfe, Mr Matthews Instrumentalists- Mr Richards, Mr Cervetto, Foster, Mr Pasquali, Mr Lates, Mr Cantelo	5s	HC 4/9/1775 (Pre-concert) HC 11/9/1775
16/8/1776	Mr Day- Organiser	Concert	Long Rooms, Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music, catches and glees	Messrs Corfe, Gaudry, Goss, Basset, Cantelo, Day	3s	Not listed
23/8/1776 (HC 19/8/1776)	Mr Cantelo- Organiser	Breakfast Concert	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music Violin concerto, quartet, favourite air of Gramachree Molly	Vocal Performers- Mrs Raworth, Mr Gaudry Instrumentalists- Mr Bassett, Mr Cantelo	3s 6d	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
4/9/1776- 6/9/1776 (HC 26/8/1776)	Mr Fussell- Organiser	Annual Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	4th Sep Handel- Judas Maccabeus 5th Sep Handel Messiah Miscellaneous Concert 6th Sep Handel- Joshua	Vocal Performers- Signor Rauzzini, Miss Storace, Mr Corfe, Mr Gaudry Instrumentalists- Signior Cervetto, Messrs Lates, Foster, Simpson, Bassett, Pasquali	5s	HC 9/9/1776
13/8/1777- 15/8/1777 (HC 4/8/1777)	Mr Fussell- Organiser	Annual Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	13th Aug Rauzzini- 'Pyramis and Thisbe' an Italian Masque and miscellaneous Act Miscellaneous Concert 14th Aug Handel Messiah 15th Aug Handel- Esther	Vocal Performers- Signor Rauzzini, Signora Prudom, Mr Corfe, Mr Gaudry Instrumentalists- Messrs La Motte, Fischer, Cenetto, Pasquali	Not listed	HC 18/8/1777
5/9/1777 (HC 25/8/1777)	Mr Cantelo- Organiser	Benefit Concert for Mr Cantelo	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music, Concertos on the violin, clarinet and oboe	Miss Mahon, Mr Mahon, Mr Cantelo	5s	Not listed
29/6/1778 (HC 29/6/1778)	Mr Wise- Organiser	Concert	Sun Inn, Newport IOW	Vocal and Instrumental Music	Miss Cantelo	3s	Not listed
1/7/1778 (HC 29/6/1778)	Mr Fussell- Organiser	Subscription Concert	St. John's House	Vocal and Instrumental Music	Not listed	5s	Not listed
15/7/1778 (HC 13/7/1778)	Not listed	Concert	St. John's House	Handel- Acis and Calathea Purcell's 'Best of Bedlam'	Miss Mahon, Mr Corfe, Mr Gaudry	Not listed	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
21/8/1778 (HC 17/8/1778)	Mr Day- Organiser	Benefit of the Organist Mr Day	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Handel- Aci's and Galata Organ Concerto Elegy 'In a vale enclos'd with woodlands' Webbe glee 'Come live with me, and be my lover' Violin concerto Handel- Coronation Anthem	Vocal Performers- Master Capon, Mr Corfe, Mr Gaudy, Mr Goss Instrumentalists- Mr Day, Mr Jackson, Mr Blundell, Mr Webb, Mr Mahon	5s	HC 31/8/1778
9/9/1778- 11/9/1778 (HC 31/8/1778)	Mr Kemmel- Leader	Annual Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	9th Sep Mr Jackson of Exeter- Ode to Fancy 10th Sep Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert Handel- Judas Maccabeus	Vocal Performers- Miss Mahon, Miss Farrell, Mr Corfe, Mr Gaudy	Not listed	HC 7/9/1778 (Pre- Concert)
25/9/1778 (HC 14/9/1778)	Mr Cantelo- Organiser	Annual Concert	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music Gramachree Molly air	Miss Mahon, Miss Cantelo, Mr Brooks, Mr Waterhouse, Signior Gehot, Mr Mahon	5s	HC 21/9/1778 (Pre- Concert)
3/9/1779 (HC 23/8/1779)	Mr Day- Organiser	Musical Meeting, Southampton	Holy Rood Church, Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music Handel- Messiah	Vocal Performers- Mrs Booth, Miss Cantelo, Miss Corfe, Gaudy, Goss Instrumentalists- Mr Basset	Not listed	HC 6/9/1779

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
22/9/1779- 24/9/1779 (HC 6/9/1779)	Not listed	Annual Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	22nd Sep Daphnis and Amaryllis 23rd Sep Handel- Messiah Concert of Canzonets and Glees Miscellaneous Concert 24th Sep Handel- Judas Maccabeus Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Miss Harper, Miss Cantelo, Mr Gaudry, Mr Matthews, Mr Goss Approved performers from London, Bath and Oxford	Not listed	HC 20/9/1779 (Pre-Concert) HC 27/9/1779
15/9/1780 (HC 21/8/1780)	Not listed	Annual Music Meeting	Holy Rood Church, Southampton	Handel- Messiah Handel- Alexander Feast Miscellaneous Act	Vocal Performers- Miss Cantelo, Messrs Corfe, Goss Barrett Instrumentalists- Mr Bassett, Mr Gehot, performers from London, Bath, Salisbury, Winchester, Portsmouth	5s	Not listed
28/9/1780 (HC 25/9/1780)	Mr and Miss Cantelo- Organisers	Concert	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music Violin Concerto, Clarinet concerto, cello solo, favourite songs, duets, trios, elegys, glees	Miss Cantelo, Master Sibly, Mr Parry, Mr Mahon, Mr Lebewdowsky	Not listed	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
11/10/1780- 13/10/1780 (HC 2/10/1780)	Mr Bartholemow- Leader	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	11th Oct Handel- L'Allegro ed II Penseroso 12th Oct Handel- Messiah Concert of Canzonets and Glees 13th Oct Handel- Jephtha Grand Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Mrs Bartholemow, Miss Cantelo, Mr Gaudry, Mr Matthews	Not listed	Not listed
23/3/1781 (HC 19/3/1781)	Not listed	Southampton Concert Subscription Concert Series	Not listed	Vocal and Instrumental Music	Not listed	5s	Not listed
5/9/1781- 7/9/1781 (HC 20/8/1781)	Mr Salomon- Leader Mr Fussell- Organsier	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	5th Sep Handel- Acis and Galatea Miscellaneous Concert 6th Sep Handel- Messiah Grand Miscellaneous Concert 7th Sep Handel- Judas Maccabeus Grenne- Love's Revenge (A dramatic pastoral) with a miscellaneous act Concerto or Organ voluntary by John Stanley	Vocal Performers- Miss Draper, Signor Tenducci, Mr Parry, Mr Goss Instrumentalists- Mr Salomon, Mr Crossdill, Mr Fischer, Signor Pasquali, Messrs Rogers, Cantelo, Howard, Grant, John Stanley	Not listed	HC 3/9/1781 (Pre-Concert) HC 10/9/1781

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
26/9/1781 (HC 10/9/1781)	Mr Day- Organiser	The Organist's Annual Music Meeting at Southampton	Holy Rood Church, Southampton	Handel- Judas Maccabaeus Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music	Miss Webbes, Mr Dyne, Mr Webbe, Mr Corfe, Mr Mahon	5s	Not listed
15/9/1782 (HC 9/9/1782)	Not listed	At the opening of the New Organ at Romsey Church	Romsey Church, Romsey	Handel- Messiah Overture in the Occasional Oratorio Organ Concerto Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem	Mr Parry	3s	Not listed
25/9/1782- 27/9/1782 (HC 16/9/1782)	Mr Salomon- Leader Mr Russell- Conductor	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	25th Sep Handel- Alexander's Feast Miscellaneous Act 26th Sep Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert 27th Sep Handel- Esther Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Miss Storer, Signor Tenducci, Mr Harrison, Mr Parry Instrumentalists- Mr Solomon, Mr Fischer, Mr Crossdill	Not listed	HC 16/9/1782 (Pre- Concert) HC 30/9/1782 (Post-Concert)
29/8/1783 (HC 25/8/1783)	Mr Wellman- Organiser	Concert for the Benefit of the Organist	Romsey Church, Romsey	Handel- Messiah Organ Concerto	Vocal Performers- Master Goss, Mr Parry, Mr Goss, Mr Hill, Mr Barret	3s	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
1/10/1783- 3/10/1783 (HC 15/9/1783)	Mr Cramer- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	1st Oct Handel- L'Allegro ed II Pensero Miscellaneous Act 2nd Oct Handel-Joshua Miscellaneous Concert 3rd Oct Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Two Miss Abrams, Mr Corfe, Mr Parry Instrumentalists- Mr Cramer, Mr Fischer, Mr Crossdill, Mr Mahon	Not listed	HC 29/9/1783 (Pre-Concert) HC 6/10/1783
29/9/1784- 1/10/1784 (HC 16/9/1784)	Mr Cramer- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	29th Sep Handel- The Choice of Hercules Miscellaneous Act 30th Sep Handel-Judas Maccrebus Miscellaneous Concert 1/10/1785 Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Signor Bartolini, Miss Cantelo, Mr Corfe, Mr Parry Instrumentalists- Messrs Cramer, Crossdill, Fischer, Gariboldi, Mahon, Alexis, Rogers, Cantelo, Grant	Not listed	HC 4/10/1784
16/12/1784 (HC 3/12/1784)	Mr Jung- Organiser	Winchester Concert. Second Winter Concert	Burcher's Assembly Room	Not listed	Not listed	6 Concerts 7s 6d Subs 2s 6d Non- subs	Not listed
6/1/1785 (HC 3/1/1785)	Mr Jung- Organiser	Winchester Concert. Third Winter Concert	Not listed	Not listed	Not listed	2s 6d	Not listed
20/1/1785 (HC 17/1/1785)	Mr Jung- Organiser	Winchester Concert. Fourth Subscription Concert	Not listed	Not listed	Not listed	2s 6d	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	ARTICLE/ SOURCE
17/3/1785 (HC 14/2/1785)	Mr Jung- Organiser	Winchester Concert. Sixth and Last Subscription Concert	Burcher's Assembly Room	Not listed	Not listed	3s 6d	Not listed
20/3/1785 (HC 28/2/1785)	Mr Jung- Organiser	For the Benefit of Messrs Jungs	Burcher's Assembly Room	Not listed	Not listed	3s 6d	Not listed
7/9/1785 (HC 29/8/1785)	Mr Wellman- Organiser Mr Mahon- Leader	For the Benefit of the Organist	Romsey	Handel- Sampson Organ Concerto	Vocal Performers- Master Goss, Mr Parry, Mr Goss, Mr Hill Instrumentalists- Mr Parry	3s	Not listed
22/9/1785 (HC 5/9/1785)	Mr Cantelo- Organiser	Annual Concert	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music	Miss Cantelo, Mr Rauzzini	Not listed	Not listed
19/10/1785- 21/10/1785 (HC 3/10/1785)	Mr Salomon- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser + Conductor	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	19th Oct Handel- Acis and Galatea Miscellaneous Act and Songs 20th Oct Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert 21st Oct 'Concerto Spirituale': Part I 'Milton's Morning Hymn' set by Galliard; the Overture, Accompaniments and Choruses set by Dr Cooke Parts II & III: Selection from works of Handel	Vocal Performers- Madame Mara, Miss Cantelo, Mr Corfe, Mr Parry Instrumentalists- Mess Mara, Gariboldi, Ashley and Four Sons, Mahon, Rogers, Cantelo	5s	HC 10/10/1785 (Pre-Concert) + HC 17/10/1785, HC 24/10/1785 Post Concert

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
21/2/1786 (HC 13/2/1786)	Mr Jung- Organiser	Concert and Ball	Burcher's Assembly Room	Not listed	Not listed	3s	Not listed
19/5/1786 (HC 24/4/1786)	West, Dixon and Hoffmeister- Organisers	Messiah	Gosport Chapel	Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert	Messrs West, Dixon, Hoffmeister, Heyler, Alexis, Clark, Goss, Master Goss, Young gentleman from Salisbury, Frederico Rauri, Franz Zimmerman, Tellini	3s	Not listed
19/7/1786 (HC 17/7/1786)	Mr Ashley- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	A Miscellaneous Concert	St. John's House	Glees	Mr Ashley, Mr Wilson	5s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
21/9/1786 (HC 18/9/1786)	Mr Cantelo- Organiser	Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Act First Schwind'l- Overture Handel- Song Master Gray Daveaux- Concertante for two violins obligato Bianchi- Song Mr Cramer, Junr- Sonata Piano Forte Handel- Occasional Overture Act Second Schwind'l- New Overture Miss Cantelo- New English Song Composed by Mr Rauzzini Mr Brooks- Concerto Violin Duetto- Miss Cantelo and Master Gray Mr Cramer- Concerto Piano Forte Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem	Vocal Performers- Miss Cantelo, Master Gray Instrumentalists- Mr Brooks, Mr Cramer Jnr, Mr Lavenu. The rest of the performers from Bath, Salisbury, Winchester, Southampton	5s	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
27/9/1786- 29/9/1786 (HC 11/9/1786)	Mr Cramer- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	27th Sep Handel- Alexander's Feast Miscellaneous Act, in which Mrs Billington and Signior Rubinelli will sing some favourite Italian Airs and Duets 28th Sep-Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert 29th Sep Pergolesi- Stabat Mater with choruses added by Bach Selection of Handel's works	Vocal Performers- Mrs Billington, Signor Rubinelli, Mr Spence, Mr Parry, Mr Incledon Instrumentalists- Mr Cramer, Mr Crossdill, Mr Fischer, Mr Gariboldi, Mr Ashley	5s	HC 11/9/1786 (Pre-Concert) + 18/9/1786 + 25/9/1786 HC 2/10/1786 Post-Concert
5/1/1787 (HC 1/1/1787)	Direction of the Committee (R.V. Sadleir, Esq. Chairman)	New Musical Society	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Vocal and Instrumental Music Variety of Catches and Glees	Corfe, Parry, Goss, Hill, Master Goss	3s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	ARTICLE/ SOURCE
25/7/1787 (HC 23/7/1787)	Direction of the Committee (A.G. Haynes, M.C.)	New Musical Society	Martin's Rooms, Southampton	Act 1 Haydn- Overture Arne Song Haydn- Trio Geminiani- Violin Concerto Between the Acts, select Catches and Glees Act 2 Mahon- Clarinet Concerto Boyce- Song Mozart- Quartet Webbe- Song Haydn- Symphony	Master Goss, Messrs Ashley, Messrs Corfe, Parry, Mahon	3s 6d	Not listed
3/8/1787 (HC 30/7/1787)	Mr Cantelo- Organiser	Isle of Wight Grand Musical Festival	Newport, IOW	Grand Concerto Spirituale with works from Handel Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem Handel- Acis and Galatea Miscellaneous Act Cramer- Piano Concerto between the first and second act of the oratorio	Vocal Performers- Mrs Billington, Mr Hill, Mr Goss, Master Gray, Mr Russell Instrumentalists- Mr G Ashley, Mr C Ashley, Mr R Ashley, Mr Billington, Mr Ferrier, Mr J Ashley Approver performers from London, Bath, Salisbury, Winchester etc	4s	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
21/8/1787- 22/8/1787 (HC 6/8/1787)	Not listed	Gosport Musical Festival	Gosport Chapel	21st Aug Handel- Messiah Grand Miscellaneous Concert 22nd Aug Handel- Acis and Galatea Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem	Vocal Performers- Mrs Stuart, Mr Parry, Mr Goss, Mr Hill Instrumentalists- Mr G Ashley, Mr W. Mahon, Mr Smith, Mr W Bankes, Mr Frederico Performers from Bath, London, Salisbury and Winchester	4s	Not listed
26/9/1787- 28/9/1787 (HC 27/8/1787)	Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	26th Sep Handel- L'Allegro ed il Penseroso Miscellaneous Act 27th Sep Arnold- Redemption Miscellaneous Concert 28th Sep Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert, works from Handel, Bach, Corelli, Haydn, Geminiani, Raimondi, Sacchini, Martini	Vocal Performers- Mrs Billington, Mr Norris, Mr Matthews, Mr Chard Instrumentalists- Signor Raimondi, Mr Crossdill, Signor Garibaldi, Mr John Mahon, Mr Billington, Mr Suck, Mr James Mahon, Mr Attwood, Mr Ross Mahon, Mr Cantelo, Mr Inchbald, Mr Grant, Mr Ashley	Not listed	Pre Concert reports: 6/8/1787, 27/8/1787, 24/9/1787 Post-Concert 1/10/1787

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
8/7/1788 (HC 7/7/1788)	Mr Porter- Organiser	Isle of Wight Musical Festival	Newport Church	Morning Concert- A Grand Concerto Spiritual- Works from Handel's Messiah, Joshua, Sampson, Israel in Egypt Violin Concerto Organ Concerto Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem Evening concert- Vocal and Instrumental music, solo songs and glees Flute Concerto Mahon- Clarinet Concerto Handel- 'O Pleasure of the Plains' from Acis and Galatea	Vocal Performers- Miss Porter, Mr Goss Instrumentalists- Mr Mahon, Mr Porter and performers from Salisbury	Not listed	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
10/7/1788 (HC 7/7/1788)	Mr Porter- Organiser	Concert	Lymington Church	Morning Concert- A Grand Concerto Spirituale- Works from Handel's Messiah, Joshua, Sampson, Israel in Egypt Violin Concerto Organ Concerto Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem Evening concert- Vocal and Instrumental music, solo songs and glees Flute Concerto Mahon- Clarinet Concerto Handel- 'O Pleasure of the Plains' from Acis and Galatea	Vocal Performers- Miss Porter, Mr Goss Instrumentalists- Mr Mahon, Mr Porter and performers from Salisbury	Not listed	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
10/9/1788- 12/9/1788 (HC 8/9/1788)	Mr Salomon- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	10th Sep Handel- Acis and Galatea Extracts from Artaxerxes 11th Sep Handel- Redemption Miscellaneous Concert 12th Sep Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert- Works by Handel, Bach, Germani, Corelli, Haydn, Pergolesi, Sacchini, Martini, Raimondi Oboe Concerto 'O Nancy' 'Luci Belle' Reinagle- Cello Concerto	Vocal Performers- Mrs Billington, Mr Leoni, Master Braham, Mr Norris, Mr Parry Instrumentalists- Mr Fischer, Mr Reinagle, Mr Billingron, Mr W. Mahon, Rogers, Attwood, Mr J. Mahon, Cantelo, Banks, Goss, Inchbald, Grant, Smith, Christiana	Not listed	HC 8/9/1788 (Pre- Concert) HC 15/9/1788 (Post- Concert)
29/12/1788 (HC 29/12/1788)	Mr Alexis- Leader	Sacred Music	Portsmouth, St. John's Chapel	Ten pieces of sacred music Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem	Not listed	1s	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
8/4/1789- 9/4/1789 (HC 6/4/1789)	Mr Ashley- Leader	Portsea Musical	Portsmouth Common, St. John's Chapel	8th Apr Organ Concerto Handel- Messiah Handel- Acis and Galatea Miscellaneous Act- 'God Save the King' 9th Apr Handel- Coronation Anthem Part 1 Overture Occasional Song 'Shall I in Meamres' Chorus 'For all these Mercies' Song 'O! Had I Jubal's Lyre' Chorus 'Ye Sons of Israel'- Song 'Angels ever bright'- Song 'He gave them Halstones' Song Part 2 'Jehovah Crown'd' Air and Chorus 'He was Eyes unto the Blind' Oboe Concerto Praise the Lord' Song 'Gird on thy Sword' Song O Come let us worship him' Song 'The Lord shall reign'	Mrs Ambrose, Miss Mahon, Mr Wilson, Mr Norris, Mr Griffiths, Mr Ashley, Mr Ashley and Sons, Mr Sariant, Mr Boyce, Mr Bartleman, Mr Mahon, Mr Muno, Mr Marfaall, Mess. Dorrins Performers from Winchester, Salisbury, Chichester	5s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
				The Horse and Rider Part 3 'Overture and Dead March in Saul' 'Honour and Arms' 'Fallen is the Foe' 'O Liberty' 'When his Loud voice' 'Sweet Bird' 'Gloria Patri'			

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
17/4/1789 (HC 20/4/1789)	Mr Hill- Organiser	Mr Hill's Annual Concert	New Theatre, Winchester	A Miscellaneous Concert Act 1 Haydn- Overture Rauzzini- 'The Village Maid' Pleyl- String Quartet Sarti- 'Un amante' Hindmarsh- Violin Concerto Song Handel- 'Crown with festive Pomp of the Day' Callcott- 'Sleep soft fair form' Glee Callcott- 'You spotted snakes' Act 2 Mahon- Clarinet Concerto 'Sweet Bird' Song Handel- Occasional Overture 'God Save the King'	Mr Hill, Miss Mahon, Mr Goss, Mr Mahon	Not listed	Not listed

Appendix 1

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
7/10/1789- 9/10/1789 (HC 5/10/1789)	Mr Salomon- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	7th Oct Handel- Alexander's Feast Violin Concerto Songs Oboe Concerto Piano Sonatas 8th Oct Handel- Jephtha Haydn- Stabat Mater Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem 9th Oct Handel- Messiah	Vocal Performers- Mrs Billington, Miss Poole, Mr Norris, Instrumentalists- Mr Fischer, Mr Reinagle, Mr Billington, Messrs Mahon, Rogers, Sibyl, Lavenu, J. Mahon, Hardy, Attwood, Goss, Grant, Cantelo, Smith, Christiana	Not listed	HC 15/10/1789 (Pre Concert)
16/9/1790 (HC 13/9/1790)	Mr King- Organiser Mr Coss- Leader	Sacred Music	St. Peters Chapel Emsworth	Handel- Messiah Evening Concert- Songs from Jephtha, Theodore, Samson, Judas, Macabeus, Israel in Egypt Handel- Coronation Anthem	Performers from Salisbury, Chichester, Portsmouth, Gosport, Havant, Emsworth	3s & 2s 6d	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
13/10/1790- 15/10/1790 (HC 4/10/1790)	Mr Weichsel- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	13th Oct Handel- Acis and Galatea Violin Concerto Song Oboe Concerto 14th Oct Handel- Songs Pergolesi- Stabat Mater Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem Miscellaneous Concert 15th Oct Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Mrs Billington, Master Pring, Master Smith, Mr. T. Bellamy Instrumentalists- Mr Weichsel, Mr Fischer, Mr Reinagle, Mr Billington, Mr Mahon, Mr Napier, Mr Sibly, Mr Lavenu	Not listed	HC 20/9/1790+ 11/10/1790 (Pre-Concert) HC 18/10/1790
19/4/1791- 21/4/1791 (HC 11/4/1791)	Mr G Ashley- Leader Mr Sibly- Organiser	Portsmouth Musical Festival	St. John's Chapel, Portsmouth	19th Apr Handel- Redemption Handel- Acis and Galatea Overture Handel- 'Sweet Bird' Pleyel- Quartet Handel- 'O Liberty' 20th Apr Act 1 Overture Esther Handel- 'Wave for wave' Israel in Egypt Handel- 'No more Ammor's God' Jephtha Handel- 'The Smiling Dawn Jephtha Handel- 'Hear Jacob's God' Sampson Tyrants would' Athalia 'O Come let us worship'	Vocal Performers- Mr Harrison, Mr Griffiths, Mr Goss, Mr Barrett, Mrs Peile, Mrs Crouch Instrumentalists- Mr Sibly, Messrs Ashley and sons, Sargent, Cantelo, Foster, Boyce, Lavenu, McArthur, Peile, Clarke, Hyler, Kirkner, Inchbald, Everdell, Banks, Cramer, Smith, Downnam, Brich, Dix, Cher, Alexis, Mr J Ashley Performers from Salisbury and London cathedrals	5s/ 3s/ 2s	HC 1/5/1791

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
				Handel- 'From the censer' Solomon Act 2 Oboe Concerto Handel- 'Lord to thee' Theodora 'The mighty power' Athalia Handel- 'Teach round the world' Solomon Handel- 'May no rash intruder' Solomon Gentle Airs' Athalia 'Gird on they' Sword' Saul Act 3 Concerto Handel 'Shall I Mamre's' Joshua Handel 'For all these mercies' Joshua Handel 'Happy Iphis' Jephtha Handel 'Fix'd in his everlasting seat' Sampson Pleasure my former ways resigning' Handel 'Fallen is the Foe' Judas Maccabeus Ye Sacred Priests' Handel- Coronation Anthem 20th Apr Handel- Messiah			

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
				Evening Concert Act 1 Boyce 'Good Shepherd' Stevens 'Sign no more, Ladies' Purcell 'Mad Bass' Cello Concerto Webb 'The Mansion of Peace Act 2 Stevens 'O Mistress Mine' Boyce 'Balmy Sweetness' Violin Concerto Hock 'Hush every breeze' Grand March			
8/7/1791 (HIC 4/7/1791)	Mr Shaw- Leader	Havant Annual Musical Festival	Parish Church, Havant	Handel: Messiah Handel- works Organ Concerto Violin Concerto	Mr Printer, Mr Goss, Mr Mahon, Miss Payne, Hyher, Everdell, Cramer, Prince, Ford, French, Smith, Brooks, Hoffmeister, Banks, Kirkner, Downham, Slight, Mech, Toone, Rowley. Choristers from London, Canterbury, Salisbury, Chichester	4s/ 3s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
19/10/1791- 21/10/ 1791 (HC 17/10/1792)	Mr Weichsel- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	19th Oct Handel- Alexander's Feast Between the Acts 'Awake Aeolian Lyre' Danby Glee 20th Oct Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert 21st Oct Grand selection of sacred music- The Dead March in Saul, The Grand Choruses from Israel in Egypt Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem Miscellaneous Concert Horse and the Rider Sweet Bird What thought I trace each herb, each flower Small I in Mammre Total Eclipse	Vocal Performers- Mrs Billington, Miss Poole, Master Bring, Master Smith, Mr Bartleman, Mr Goss Instrumentalists- Mr C Ashley, Mr Billington, Mr Mahon, Mr Ashley, Mr Rogers, Mr Attwood, Mr R. Ashley, Mr Blake, Mr Cantelo, Mr Banks, Mr Inchbald, Mr Smith	Not listed	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
9/4/1792 (HC 2/4/1792)	Mr Sibly- Organiser	Benefit Concert	Not listed	Part I Pleyel- Symphony Handel- 'Let me wander not unseen' Pleyel- Quartet Sacchini- Song Janovichi- Violin Concerto Part II Haydn- Symphony Sacchini- Song Piano Concerto Clarinet Concerto Song Handel- Occasional Oratorio Overture	Vocal Performers- Miss Collins, Miss Davies Instrumentalists- Mr Sibly, Mr Hyler	Not listed	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
27/9/1792- 28/9/1792 (HC 24/9/1792)	Mr Ashley- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	27th Sep Act I Handel- 'Zaddok the Priest' Travers 'Haste me Nannette' Dussek- 'Piano Concerto' Handel- 'Softly Sweet' Handel- 'The many rend' Handel- 'What though I trace' Violin Concerto Sarti- 'Ah non fa' Handel- 'Oh! The pleasures' Act II Handel- Occasional Overture Boyce- 'Softly rise' Handel- 'Ye Men of Gaza' Dussek- 'Grand Duet for Pedal Harp and Piano' Handel 'Verdi prati' Handel 'Let the bright seraphim' Handel- 'Let the celestial concerts' 28th Oct Handel- Messiah Grand Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Madame Dussek, Mrs Corri, Master Pring, Master Burgess, Mr Bartleman, Mr Webbe Instrumentalists- Mr G Ashley, Mr Dussek, Mr C Ashley, Mr Boyce, Mr Hyde, Messrs W. Mahon, Rogers, R Ashley, Kirkner, Clarke, Grant, Inchbald, Ashley, Cantelo, Banks, Everdell, Wilson, Christiana, Young, Fox, Royal	5s	HC 17/9/1792 (Pre-Concert) HC 1/10/1792 (Post-Concert)

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
29/4/1793 (HC 22/4/1793)	Mr Sibyl- Organiser	Mr Sibyl's Benefit Concert	Not listed	Part I Pleyel- Grand Symphony Handel 'Honour and Arms' Pleyel- Quartet Sacchini- Song Jarnovick Violin Concerto Haydn Symphony Part II Pleyel- Symphony Shield- Song Clementi- Piano Concerto Handel 'Angels ever bright and fair' Martini- Overture to Henry the Fourth	Mr Mahon, Miss Davies, Mrs Kelly	4s	Not listed
29/8/1793 (HC 19/18/1793)	Mr Cantelo- Organiser Mr Brooks- Leader	Annual Concert	Long Rooms, Southampton	Act I Pleyel- Overture Song Handel- Berenice Overture Song Violin Concerto Act II Pleyel- Favourite Concertante Glee Piano Concerto Handel 'Sweet Bird' 'God Save great George our King'	Mrs Second, Mr Brooks, Miss Cantelo	5s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
18/9/1793- 20/9/1793 (HC 9/9/1793)	Mr Weichsel- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	18th Sep Handel- Alexander's Feast Miscellaneous Act 19th Sep Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert 20th Sep Grand Selection of Sacred Music from Joshua, Samson, Israel in Egypt, Judas Maccabeus, Athalia, Jephtha, Theodora, Redemption Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem 'Prael'	Vocal Performers- Mrs Billington, Miss Davies, Mr T. Belamy, Mr Chard, Mr Hill, Mr Goss Instrumentalists- Mr C Ashley, Mr Billington, Mr Brooks, Mr Rogers, Mr Hide, Mr Richards, Mr Clarke, Mr Cantelo, Mr Willson, Mr Grant, Mr Inchbald, Mr Everdell, Mr Christiana, Mr Valentine, Mr Frederic, Madame Krumpholtz	Not listed	HC 16/9/1793 (Pre-Concert) HC 23/9/1793

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
14/4/1794 (HC 7/4/1794)	Mr. Sibly- Organiser Mr. Mountain- Leader	Annual Concert	Assembly Rooms Portsmouth	Part I Handel- Esther Overture Handel- 'Lord Remember David' Pleyel- Quartet Song Kozeluch- Piano Concerto Pleyel- Sinfonie Part II Haydn- Grand Symphony Song Violin Concerto Song	Mr Hill Mr Mountain Mrs Mountain	4s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
7/10/1794- 9/10/1794 (HC 29/9/1794)	Mr Fussell- Organiser Mr Salomon- Leader	Hampshire Music Meeting "Benefit of the Widows and Orphans of the brave Seamen who fell in Lord Howe's Engagement"	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	7th Oct 1st Part L'Allegro ed il Penseroso Selection from Acis and Galatea 8th Oct Handel-Messiah 9th Oct Selections from Joshua, Samson, Israel in Egypt, Judas Maccabaeus, Athalia, Theodora, Redemption Handel- Grand Coronation Anthem	Principal Vocal Performers: Miss Parke, Miss Bruman, Mr. Sale (from Windsor), Mr. Hill, Mr. Goss Principal Instrumentalists: Mr. Salomon (Leader), Mr. C. Ashley (principal Violoncello), Mr. Cramer, jun. Mr. Smart (principal double bass), Mr. R. Ashley, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Hyde (principal Trumpet), Mr. Richards, Mr. Archer, Mr. Cantelo, Mr. H. Smart, Mr. Purney, Mr. Grant, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Price, Mr. Inchbald, Mr. Smith, Mr Everdell, Mr. Christiana, the rest of the Band by approved Performers	6s	HC 13/10/1794

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
28/10/1795- 30/10/1795 (HC 24/10/1795)	Mr Fussell- Organiser Mr Cramer- Leader	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	28th Oct Favourite Italian and English Songs, with choruses from Alexander's Feast, Acis and Calathea and Boyce's Solomon 29th Oct Selected Music from Messiah, Esther, Joshua, Samson, Israel in Egypt, Judas Maccabaeus, Athalia, Theodora, Redemption Handel- Coronation Anthem 30th Oct Grand Miscellaneous Concert	Principal Singers: Madame Banti (From the King's Theatre) Miss Abree, Mr. Hill, Mr. Chard, Mr. Lacy, Mr. Goss Principal Violoncello: Mr. C. Ashley Principal Instrumentalists: Mr. Cramer (Leader of the Band), Mr. Cramer, jun. Mr. Smart (principal double bass), Mr. Archer, Mr. C. Smart, Mr. Hervey, Mr. Kaye, Mr. Richards, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Grant, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Guy, Mr. Inchbald, Mr. Smith, Mr. Wm Mahon, Mr Christiana, Mr Jackson, the rest of the band by approved performers.	6s	HC 31/10/1795

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	ARTICLE/ SOURCE
19/10/1796- 21/10/1796 (HC 8/10/1796)	Mr Cramer- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	19th Oct Handel- Alexander's Feast and Instrumental pieces Mahon Clarinet Concerto 20th Oct Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert 21st Oct Handel- Selection of Sacred Music taken from Joshua, Sampson, Athalia, Israel in Egypt, Judas Maccabaeus, Theodora, Redemption Handel- Coronation Anthem Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Mrs Second, Master Welsh, Mr Hill, Mr Chard, Mr James, Mr Mahon, Mr Goss Instrumentalists- Mr Cramer, Mr C Ashley, Mr J Mahon, Mr Cramer Jnr, Mr Stuart, Mr William Mahon, Mr H Stuart, Mr Lings, Mr Guy, Mr Inchbald, Mr Clark, Mr Smith	Not listed	HC 15/10/1796 (Pre-Concert) HC 22/10/1796 (Post-Concert)

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
6/9/1797- 8/9/1797 (HC 26/8/1797)	Mr John Mahon- Leader Mr Fussell- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House The New Theatre	6th Sep Miscellaneous Concert 7th Sep Handel- Messiah Handel- Acis and Galatea, English and Italian songs; choruses from Alexander's Feast and L'Allegro ed il Penseroso and Boyce's Solomon Mahon Clarinet Concerto 8th Sep Handel- Sacred Music Selection, Joshua, Samson, Athalia, Israel in Egypt, Judas Maccabeus, Theodora, Redemption Handel- Coronation Anthem	Vocal Performers- Madame Mara, Mr Hill, Mr Chard, Mr James, Mr Mahon, Mr Goss Instrumentalists- Mr C Ashley, Mr Smart, Mr Mahon, Mr Ashley, Mr Wilson, Mr H Smart, Mr Richards, Mr Ross, Mr Clarke, Mr Guy, Mr Christiana, Mr Lucas	5s/ 3s 6d/ 2s	HC 26/8/1797 (Pre-Concert) HC 9/9/1797 (Post Concert)

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
13/2/1798 (10/2/1798)	Not listed	The Second Concert	Crown Inn, Portsmouth	Part I Handel- Esther Overture Handel- Arm, arm ye brave! Pleyel- Quartet Hoek- Song Handel- 1st Grand Concerto Haydn- Song Pleyel- Sinfonie Part II Haydn- Grand Sinfonie Sacchini- Song Hartman- Clarinet Concerto Shields- Song Handel- Occasional Oratorio Overture	Mr Sheppard, Mrs Kelly, Mrs T Collins, Mr Sibly, Mr Hartman	3s	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
27/2/1798 (24/2/1798)	Mr Sibly- Leader	The Third Concert of Vocal & Instrumental Music	Crown Inn, Portsmouth	Act I Handel- Samson Overture Song Pleyel- Quartet Calcott- Glee 'It was a Friar of Order Grey' Gyrowetz- Sinfonie Act II Haydn- Grand Sinfonie Song Guilleimi- 'A comper gia vo l'impresa' with violin accompaniment Calcott- Glee 'Yet stay, fair Lady' Pleyel- 'Grand Sinfonie'	Mr Hill, Mrs Kelly, Mr Sibly	3s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
2/3/1798 (24/2/1798)	Mr Sibly- Organiser	A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music	Beneficial Society's Hall, Portsea	Act 1 Pleyel- Grand Sinfonie Handel- 'Arm, arm ye brave' Pleyel- Quartet Song Lord Mornington- 'Here is cool Grot and moffy Cell' Glee Haydn- Grand Sinfonie Act II Handel- Esther Overture Song Hartman- Clarinet Concerto Arne- 'The Soldier th'd of War's Alarm' Cooke- 'Hark the Lark at Heaven's Gate' Martin- Grand Overture to Henry IV	Mrs Kelly, Mrs T Collins, Mr Sheppard, Mr Hartman, Mr Hill	Not listed	Not listed
15/3/1798 (3/3/1798)	Mr Chard- Organiser Mr Taylor- Leader	Grand Concert and Ball	St. John's House	Not listed	Mr Taylor	5s	Not listed
24/10/1798- 26/10/1798 (HC 1/10/1798)	Mr Salomon- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	24th Oct A Grand Concert of Ancient Music, on the plan of His Majesty's Concert at the Opera House; in which Madame Mara will sing 'From Rosy Bowers' [Purcell] 25th Oct Handel- Messiah	Vocal Performers- Madame Mara, Master Suet, Mr Chard, Mr Hill, Mr Denman, Mr Burden, Mr Vickery Instrumentalists- Mr Salomon, Master Pino, Mr C Ashley, Mr Holmes, Messrs Mahon, Boyce, Ling, Dровер, R Ashley, Dickerson, Holmes jun, Clarke, Lucas, Munro, Guy, Gear, Goss,	6s	HC 29/10/1798

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
				Miscellaneous Concert 26th Oct Grand Selection from works of Handel Part I Redemption- 'When the Earth was with out form' Sampson- 'O first created' Redemption- 'Lord, what is man' Judas Mac- 'Disdainful of Danger' Joshua- 'Shall I in Mamres' Judas Mac- 'For all these mercies', 'Pious Orgies', 'O Father' Part II Concerto Saul- 'Fell Rage' Sampson- 'Then round about the Starry throne' Redemption- 'Speak ye who but' Joseph- 'O God, who in thy heav'ly hand' Sampson- 'Total Eclipse' Redemption- 'He layeth the beams' Jephtha- 'When his loud voice'	Reed, Lyon		

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE	
13/12/1798 (HC 10/12/1798)	Mr Chard- Organiser	Subscription Concert	George Inn, Winchester	Redemption- 'Holy, holy, Israel in Egypt- 'He gave them Hailstones' Part III Saul- 'Overture and Dead March' When the Ear heard him, 'He delivered the Poor' Occasional Oratorio- Jehovah to my word' Saul- 'In sweetest harmony', 'O fatal day' Redemption- 'He was Eyes', Esther- 'Jehovah crown'd', 'He comes, he comes' Redemption- 'Lord remember David' Israel in Egypt- 'The Horse and his Rider'	Not listed	Mr John Mahon, Mr Charles Ashley, Mr Chard	5s	Not listed
21/2/1799 (HC 18/2/1799)	Mr Chard- Organiser	Subscription Concert	George Inn, Winchester	Not listed	Mr Mahon, Mr C Ashley	Not listed	Not listed	

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
26/3/1799 (HC 25/3/1799)	Mr Siby- Leader Mr Hill- Organiser	Concert and Ball	George Inn, Winchester	Act I Handel- Esther Overture Pleyel- Quartet Rauzzini- 'Old Oliver, or The Dying Shepherd' French Horn Concerto Gyrowetz- Grand Overture Act II Pleyel- Grand Overture Song Song 'Vi credo Paisiello' Lodoiska- Overture Harp pieces	Mr Hill, Mr H Humphrys, Mr Jones	5s	Not listed
4/4/1799 (HC 1/4/1799)	Not listed	6th Subscription Concert	George Inn, Winchester	Not listed	Mr Mahon and Mrs Mahon	Not listed	Not listed
11/7/1799 (HC 24/6/1799)	Mr Chard- Organiser	Annual Benefit Concert and Ball	St. John's House	Not listed	Not listed	Not listed	Not listed
18/9/1799- 9/10/1799 (HC 9/9/1799)	Mr Salomon- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	18th Sep Concert of Ancient Music, including Handel- Ode to St. Cecilia 19th Sep Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert 20th Sep Grand Selection Concert from the works of Handel	Vocal Performers- Miss Parke, Mrs Mountain, Mr Denman, Mr Chard, Mr Hill Instrumentalists- Mr Salomon, Master Pinto, Mr C. Ashley, Mr Parkinson, Mr Ling, Mr Juove, Mr R. Ashley, Greisbach, Lyon, Guy, Holmes, Woodham, Dickenson, Lucas, Gear, Christiana, Goss, Grant	6s	HC 21/9/1799

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
				Part I Joshua- 'Shall I in manne's', 'For all these Mercies', 'Pious Orgies' Judas Maccabeus- 'Distainful of danger' 'Total Eclipse' Samson- 'O first Created Beam', Redemption- 'Holy, holy' Israel in Egypt- 'He gave them Hallstones' Part II Organ Concerto Athalia- 'Gentle Airs' Joshua- 'O had I Jubals Lyre' Athalia- 'Around let Acclamations ring', Redemption- 'He layeth the Beams' Jephtha- 'When his loud voice' 'Let the bright Seraphims' Samson- 'Let their Celestial Concerts' Part III Saul- Overture and Dead March Funeral Anthem- 'When the Ear heard him', 'He delivered the poor' Hasses Salve Regina	Chapman, Fox, Richards		

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
				'We call upon thee' 'In sweetest harmony' Saul- O fatal day' Redemption- 'He was eyes' Theodora- 'Angels ever bright' Israel in Egypt- 'The Horse and his Rider'			
3/2/1800 (3/2/1800)	Mr Hill- Organiser Mr Sibly- Leader	Concert and Ball	George Inn, Winchester	Not listed	Mr Sibly, Mr Reinagle	5s	Not listed
11/3/1800 (HC 10/3/1800)	Mr Chard- Organiser	Grand Concert and Ball	St. John's House	Hoek Glee 'Down the Bourn'	Vocal Performers- Mrs Mountain, Mr Chard, Mr Hill Instrumentalists- Mr Aiday, Mr Reinagle	Not listed	Not listed
7/10/1800- 9/10/1800 (HC 22/9/1800)	Mr Salomon- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Music Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	7th Oct Act I L'Allegro by Handel and miscellaneous works 'Sweet Bird' Act II Miscellaneous Concert 8th Oct Haydn- Creation A Grand Miscellaneous Concert 9th Oct Handel- Redemption Organ Concerto Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Madame Mara, Mrs Mountain, Mr Sedgewick, Mr Chard, Mr Burden, Mr Mahon, Mr Hill Instrumentalists- Mr Salomon, Mr Lindley, Mr W Mahon, Mr Holmes, Mr Ling, Mr Jackson, Mr Woodham, Mr Flack, Mr Lyon, Mr Juove, Cobham, Sturgess, Lindley, Grant, Dickinson, Moorhead, Collins, Cudmore, Target, Clarke, Guy, Lucas, Inchbald, Gear, Weaver, Richards, Shell, Rogers, Butler, Warren	6s	HC 29/9/1800 + 6/10/1800 (Pre-Concert) HC 13/10/1800 (Post-Concert)

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
19/3/1801 (HC 16/3/1801)	Mr Hill- Organiser Mr Sibly- Leader	Concert and Ball	George Inn, Winchester	Not listed	Mr Sibly, Mr Reinagle	5s	Not listed
23/9/1801- 25/9/1801	Mr Salomon- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Music Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	23rd Sep Handel- Alexander's Feast 24th Sep Handel- Judas Maccabaeus Miscellaneous Concert 25th Sep Handel- Messiah Organ Concerto Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Madame Mara, Miss Martyr, Mr Denman, Mr Hill, Mr Chard Principal Instrumentalists- Mr Lindley, Mr William Mahon, Mr Ling, Mr Smart and H. Smart, Mr Chard	Not listed	HC 28/9/1801
1/3/1802 (HC 1/3/1802)	Mr Smart- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Grand Concert and Ball	St. John's House	Favourite Glees and vocal and instrumental music	Mrs Mountain, Hill, Hayter, Strickland, Chard	Not listed	Not listed
6/10/1802- 8/10/1802 (HC 27/9/1802)	Mr Francois Cramer- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	6th Oct Miscellaneous Concert 7th Oct Redemption Miscellaneous Concert 8th Oct Handel- Messiah Organ Concerto Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Miss Tenant, Mrs Second, Mrs Mountain, Mr Denman, Mr Woodman Mr Chard, Mr Hill Instrumentalists- Mr W Mahon, Mr Ling, Mr Woodman, Mr Henry Smart, Mr Lindley, Mr Reinagle, Mr Smart, Cobham, Cramer, Wood, Philip Cramer, Dickinson, Guy, Gear, Chapman, Grove, Baker, Jones	6s	HC 4/10/1802 (Pre-Concert) HC 11/10/1802 (Post-Concert)

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
5/10/1803- 7/10/1803 (HC 26/9/1803)	Mr Weichsel- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	5th Oct Grand Miscellaneous Concert 6th Oct Handel- Messiah Grand Miscellaneous Concert 7th Oct Part I Act I Judas Maccabeus Act II Selection from different Italian Masters Act III Handel works Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Mrs Billington, Miss Tennant, Mr Chard, Mr Hill, Mr Denman, Mr Strickland Instrumentalists- Mr W Mahon, Mr Ling, Mr Smart Jun, Mr Lindley, Mr Hyde, Mr Smart, Cobham, Kiallmark, Wood, Close, Mulcaster, Baker, Dickenson, Collard, Clark, Gear, Grant, French, Simmonds, Brook	7s	HC 3/10/1803 (Pre-Concert) HC 10/10/1803 (Post-Concert)

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
19/9/1804- 21/9/1804 (HC 17/9/1804)	Mr Weichsel- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	19th Sep Act I Handel- 'L'Allegro ed il Penseroso 'Sweet Bird' Act II Miscellaneous Programme 20th Sep Miscellaneous concert with variety of glees Selection of Works from Handel, Croft, Pergolesi, Haydn, Jommelli, Hasse, Martini, Beretti, Feo etc to conclude with the chorus 'The Horse and the Rider' 'For joys so vast', 'Happy they, this vital breath', 'Why with sighs', 'Come hope thou queen', 'Nanny, wilt thou gang with me' 21st Sep Handel- Messiah Organ Concerto Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Mrs Billington, Miss Tenant, Mr Smith, Mr Dyne, Mr Chard, Mr Dorian, Mr Strickland, Mr Sale Jun, Mr Goss Choruses from London, Windsor, Winchester Instrumentalists- Mr W Mahon, Mr Ling, Mr Lavenu, Mr Lindley, Mr Boyce, Cobham, Kiallmark, Wood, Watts, Mapleston, Sexton, Dickenson, Baker, Guy, Foster, Gear, Wilson	7s	HC 24/9/1804 + 1/10/1804

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
16/10/1805- 18/10/1805 (HC 7/10/1805)	Mr Weichsel- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	16th Oct Miscellaneous Concert 17th Oct Selection from Redemption and 'He was despised' 'Lord to thee each Night and Day' 'Dove sei' Miscellaneous Concert 18th Oct Part 1 Act I of Handel Judas Maccabeus Part II Selection from Handel, Haydn, Jommelli, Pergolesi, Cochi, Hasse etc. 'Return, O God of Hosts' 'Then, long eternity', 'Verdi Prati' concluding with a Coronation Anthem by Handel. Grand Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Madame Grassini, Mrs Vaughan, Master Hayter, Mr Chard, Mr Vaughan, Mr Smith. Choruses supported by voices from London, Windsor, Winchester, Chichester and Portsmouth Instrumentalists- Mr Mahon, Mr Lindley, Mr Ling, Mr Smith, Mr Lavenu, Mr Boyce, Signor Mariotti, Cobham, Kiallmark, Mapleston, Dickenson, Wilson, Baker, Gear, Chapman, Clark, Sexton, Holloway, Guy, Grant, Redman	7s	HC 28/10/1805

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
1/10/1806- 3/10/1806 (HC 29/9/1806)	Mr Cramer- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	1st Oct Miscellaneous Concert (including Glees) 2nd Oct Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert 3rd Oct Sacred Selection Part I Handel works ending with Samson in the commemoration of the late Lord Nelson Part II from Haydn 'The Passion of Our Saviour' Part III Works by Pergolesi, Jommelli, Haydn, Hasse, Martini, Beretti etc	Vocal Performers- Miss Patke, Mrs Dussek, Mr Magrath, Mr Smith, Mr Chard, Mr Doyle Instrumentalists- Mr Cramer, Mr Cobham, Mr Ling, Mr Lavenu, Mr Powell, Mr Smith, Mr Addison, Kialmark, Mapleston, Dickenson, Wilson, Baker, Gear, Chapman, Cantelo, Grant, Endle, Kelly, Sexton, Redman	7s	HC 6/10/1806
9/7/1807 (HC 9/7/1807)	Mr Cobham- Leader	Musical Festival	Newport Church	A Sacred and Grand Selection of works by Handel Miscellaneous Concert Piano Concerto Violin Concerto Glees and Songs	Vocal Performers- Miss Feron, Mr Angel, Mr Strickland, Mr Juneux, Mr Hayter Instrumentalists- Mr Cobham, Mr Laney, Mr Smith, Mr Webb, Mr E Webb, Mr Gould, Mr Mills, Mr Charles Webb	5s/ 3s 6d	

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
16/9/1807- 18/9/1807 (HC 14/9/1807)	Mr Weichsel- Leader Mr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Musical Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	16th Sep Miscellaneous Concert 17th Sep Sacred Selection from Handel Miscellaneous Concert 18th Sep 1st Part of Handel- Judas Maccabeus followed by a selection of works by Pergolesi, Jommelli, Hasse, Martini, Beretti, Croft, Boyce Organ Concerto Grand Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Miss Parke, Miss Griglietti, Mr Nield, Mr Chard, Mr Thomas, Mr Smith, Mr Bellamy. Choruses supported by voices from the Chapel Royal, St Pauls, Windsor, Chichester, Portsmouth, Isle of Wight and the choir of Salisbury Instrumentalists- Mr Mahon, Mr Ling, Smart, Lavenu, Mr Holmes, Mr Lindley, Mr Boyce, Cobham, Kiallmark, Mapleson, Dickenson, Gear, Cantelo, Webb, Laney, Wallis, Lockwood, Neibour, Chapman, Binfield, Clarke, Budden, Redman, Watts, Brooks	7s	HC 21/9/1807
5/1/1808 (HC 4/1/1808)	Mr Randle and Mr Parry- Organisers	Miss Randle's Concert	White Hart Assembly Room, Winchester	Sonatas and Concertos on the Piano Pedal Harp Sonatas Dussek Piano Concerto 'I have a little heart' Parry- 'Ap Shenkin'	Miss Randle, Mr Randle, Mr Parry	4s/ 2s 6d	HC 4/1/1808 (Pre-Concert) HC 11/1/1808 (Post- Concert)
30/7/1811 (HC 22/7/1811)	Mr Gross, Mr Barrington, Mr Elliott- Organisers	Vocal Concert	Assembly Room, George Inn	Part I Glees by J.S. Smith, Horseley, Stevenson, Knyvett, Travers, Dr Clarke, Part II Glees by Handel, Horseley, Webb jun, Dr Arnold	Mr and Mrs Goss, Mr Harrington, Mr J Elliott, Mr Elliott	4s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
6/11/1811 (HC 4/11/1811)	Not listed	The Travellers; Consisting of Recitations, Songs &c	Winchester Theatre	Part I 'May the King live for ever' 'The Beggar Boy' 'The Mail Coach' 'Four and Twenty Lord Mayor's Shows' 'The Bay of Biscay' Part II 'The Last Whistle' 'Cobler a la Francois' 'Far at Sea' Manager Strutt was four feet high' 'Bartholomew Fair' Part III 'Black Eyed Susan' 'Rhymes in Plenty' 'Sally Roy' 'Prime, Bang Up'	Mr Incledon, Mr Matthews	3s/ 2s/ 1s	Not listed
19/8/1812- 21/8/1812 (HC 4/5/1812)	Mr Sibyl- Organiser Mr Weichsel- Leader	Hampshire, Portsmouth, and Portsea Grand Musical Festival	Portsmouth Theatre	Grand Selection of works by Handel, Haydn, Pergolesi, Graun Handel- Messiah	Madame Catalani, Mr Vaughan, Mr Goss, Mr Bartleman, Mr Lindley	Not listed	HC 24/8/1812
2/3/1813	Not listed	Three Subscription Concerts	Assembly Room, George Inn	Instrumental Concert	Mr Smith, Master Smith, Miss Smith, Miss Cartwright	9s/ 3s 6d	HC 20/9/1813 (Pre-Concert)
+4/3/1813 +6/3/1813 27/9/1813							

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
7/3/1814 (HC 28/2/1814)	Mr T Langstaff- Organiser	Annual Vocal Concert and Ball	Andover Town Hall	Glées, Duets, Songs etc.	Mrs Salmon, Mr Hawes, Mr Lacy, Mr Thatcher, Mr Langstaff	7s	Not listed
12/10/1814- 14/10/1814 (HC 10/10/1814)	Mr Weichsel- Leader Dr Chard- Organiser	Hampshire Music Festival	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	12th Oct Selection Concert from the works of Handel, Purcell, Haydn, Mozart, Pergolesi, Anne, Boyce, Luther, Graun, Croft. A Grand miscellaneous concert which includes Mr Locke's original music to MacBeth 13th Oct Handel- Messiah with Mozart's accompaniments Miscellaneous Concert 14th Oct Selection of Sacred music from works of Handel, Purcell, Haydn, Mozart, Boyce, Cherubini, Graun, Marcello etc. Miscellaneous Concert which includes Purcell's much admired Music from the Tempest Concertos on the Violin, Oboe, Bassoon, Trumpet and Violincello	Vocal Performers- Madame Catalani, Mrs Bianchi Lacy Mr Lacy, Mr Hill, Mr Goss Mr Lacy, Mr Tinney, Mr Graham Instrumentalists- Marshall, Sharp, Challoner, Simcork, Griesbach, Griesbach jun., Abbott, Calkin, Cole, Wm Fletcher, Kirchner, Baker, R Ashley, P Calkin, Howe, Smith, Lindley, C Ashley, Plele, Forster, Oliver, Burch, Holmes, Tully, Leanders, Boyce, T Fletcher, Schmidt, Bennewitz, Mahon, Keiehner, Behrens, Jenkinson, Chard, Sexton Chorus Singers from the Ancient Concert in London, London, Salisbury, Chichester, Portsmouth etc	10s 6d	HC 19/9/1814 + 10/10/1814 (Pre-Concert) HC 17/10/1814 + 24/10/1814 + 19/12/1814 (Post-Concert)

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
27/2/1815 (HC 20/2/1815)	Mr T Langstaff- Organiser	Annual Vocal Concert and Ball	Andover Town Hall	Glees, Duets, Songs etc. Piano Sonata	Mrs Salmon, Mr Bellamy, Mr Goss, Mr Cudmore, Mr Langstaff	7s	Not listed
12/7/1815 + 13/7/1815 + 14/7/1815 (HC 10/7/1815)	Sir Henry Rivers- Patron	Winchester and Southampton Vocal Concerts	St. John's House	Songs, Duets, Catches, Glees Act I Webbe- 'A Gentle Friendship' Danby- 'The Fairest Flowers' Stevenson- 'Tell me where fancy bred' Hawes- 'If this delicious grateful flower' Stevenson- 'Faithless Emma' Waibrant- 'O'er desert plains' Song Webbe- 'Would you know my céilidh chorus' Webbe- 'When winds breathe soft' Act II Will consist of Songs Glees &c perfectly corresponding with the national feeling at this period, and in honour of the successes of the Allied Armies Handel- 'Dissident Danger' Handel- 'Arm, arm, ye	Miss Williams, Mr Evans, Mr King, Mr Hawes, Mr Bellamy, Dr Chard, Mr B Sharp	7s	HC 17/7/1815

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
				brave' Calcott- 'Red Cross Knights' Attwood- 'The Soldier's Dream' Cooke- 'How Sleep the Brave' Handel- 'Come ever smiling liberty' Calcott- 'Peace to the souls of the heroes' Handel- 'See the conquering hero comes' Handel- 'God save the king'			

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
27/7/1815 (21/7/1815) (HC 3/7/1815)	Mr Goss and Mr Elliott- Organiser	Grand Vocal Concert	Winchester	Part I Locke- Macbeth Handel- 'O magnify', 'Then round about the Starry Throne', 'Love in her Eyes' Handel- 'What ruddier than the cherry', 'His hideous love', 'The flocks shall leave' from Acis and Galatea Part II Handel- 'Their sound is gone out' Calcott- 'Queen of the valley' Knyvett- 'My Laddie is gone far awa' Calcott- 'Angel of Life' Stevens- 'Prythee foolish Boy give o'er' Carnaby- 'Ballad Cherubini- 'Non me negate' Webbe- 'When winds breathe soft' Webbe- 'Would you know' Handel- Haste thee nymph'	Mr Goss, Mr Elliott, Mr Terrail, Master Turle, Mr C Taylor	5s	Not listed
11/12/1815 (HC 11/12 1815)	Mr Siby- Leader	Grand Oratorio	Star Inn, Gosport	Grand Selection of works by Handel	Mrs Purvis, Mr Harrington, Mr Ball, Mr Siby, Mr Edward Siby	Not listed	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE / BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
13/12/1815 (HC 11/12/1815)	Dr Chard and Mr Hawes- Organisers	Winchester Subscription Concert	St. John's House	Act I Webbe- 'Great Apollo' Purcell- 'Come unto these Yellow sands' Saville- 'The Wants' Purcell- 'Pull fathom five' Purcell- 'Sea Nymphs hourly ring his knell' Purcell- 'No stars again shall hurt you' J.S. Smith- 'As on a summer's day' Mozart- 'Crudel perchi finora' Cooke- 'Sweet warbling bird' Hawes- 'The Beacon' Stevenson- 'Come buy my cherries' Arne- 'Where the bee sucks' Act II Knyvett- 'Nannie O' Song Chard- 'Greenland Hunter' Arne- 'If e'er the cruel tyrant love Danby- 'When...' Hawes- 'Since then I'm doom'd' Callicott- 'Ah how Sophia' Webbe- 'When winds breathe soft'	Miss Williams, Mr Evans, Mr Hawes, Mr Clarke, Dr Chard See advert		HC 18/12/1815

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
15/1/1816 (HC 15/1/1816)	Dr Chard and Mr Hawes- Organisers	Winchester Subscription Concert	St. John's House	Act I Webbe- 'Since Harmony ... The Nightingale' Dr Cork Duet Hurnley- Song Whitaker- 'Thine am I' Horsley- 'See the Pharos at Hand' Handel- 'Let me wander' Dr Callicot- 'O snatch me swift' Act II Lord Mornington- 'Hail hallow'd fane' Arne- 'Soft pleasing...' Hawes- Henry cull'd the flow'ring bloom' Nathan- 'Jephtha's Daughter' Chard- 'The Greenland Hunter' Mozart- La ...dorabella' Webbe- 'Would you know my Celia's charms' Webbe- 'Thy voice, O harmony'	Miss Williams, Mr Terrall, Hawes, Clarke, Chard	Not listed	Not listed
15/2/1816 (HC 5/2/1816)	Mr T Langstaff- Organiser	Andover Concert and Ball	Andover Town Hall	Piano Concerto and Songs	Madame Sala, Signor Graam, Mr Cudmore	7s	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
5/3/1816 (HC 4/3/1816)	Dr Chard and Mr Hawes- Organisers	Winchester Subscription Vocal Concert and Ball	St. John's House	Act I Danby- 'Awake Aeolian Lyre' Webbe- 'The Spring' Handel- 'O sing unto the Lord' Stevens- 'From Oberon' Braham- 'The Willow tree' Chard- 'See the smoking bowl' Harrington- 'On hearing non nobus Domine sung' Caicott- 'Father of heroes' Stevens- 'Witches song' Act II Locke- Music in Macbeth Paxton- 'How sweet how fresh' Carnaby- 'Peace' Hawes- 'If this delicious' Webbe- 'The mighty conqueror' Jackson- 'Go feeble tyrant' Spofforth- 'Hail smiling morn' Attenbury- 'Joan said to John' Mornington- 'Come fairest nymph'	Miss Williams, Mr Hawes, Mr Terrail, Mr Clarke, Mr Leete, Mr Chard	Not listed	11/3/1816

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
18/7/1816 (HC 15/7/1816)	Mr Lightendale Mr Braham and Mr Sloman-Organisers Mr Binger-Leader	Grand Concert	Assembly Rooms Portsmouth	Part I Mozart- Overture to Clemenza di Tito Portogallo- 'And we will rejoice.' Pleyel- Cello Concerto Bishop- 'The Banks of Allen water' Pleyel- A Psalm of song for the sabbath' Pleyel- Concertante obligato Part II Mozart- Magic Flute Overture Sachini- 'Thy Kingdom thy children behold' Garneri- Violin Concerto Bishop- 'Love among the roses' Binger- Air with variations Cimatosa- 'Hebrew Prayer for the King and the Royal Family'	5s	Not listed	

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
7/8/1816 (HC 29/7/1816)	Mr Venua- Organiser and Leader	Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music	Basingstoke Town Hall	Haydn- Creation selection Violin Concerto with the theme 'Robin Adair' Miscellaneous Act including songs, glees duets and choruses 'The Wolf' 'The Soldier Tir'd'	Mr Venua, Mr C Packer	7s	HC 29/7/1816 + 12/8/1816
3/12/1816 (HC 2/12/1816)	Dr Chard and Mr Hawes- Organisers	Winchester Vocal Concerts	St. John's House	Act I Webbe- 'Great Apollo' Cooke- 'Hark! The lark' Danby- 'Awake, aeolian lyre awake' Attwood- 'The Curfew' Handel- 'Holy, holy' Attwood- 'In tatter'd Weed' Chard- 'The Greenland Hunter' Handel- 'Bacchus ever fair and young' Act II J.S.Smith- 'While fools their time in stormy strife employ' Attwood- 'The soldiers dream' Paisello- 'Virginie Bella e Pura' J.S.Smith- 'Hark! the hollow woods' Danby- 'The fairest flowers the vale'	Miss Gogoll, Clarke, Terrail, Hawes, Chard	See advert	HC 2/12/1816 (Pre-Concert) HC 9/12/1816 (Post-Concert)

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
				Prefers' Smith- 'Ol softly sleep, my Baby Boy' Boyce- 'Here shall soft charity repair' Cooke- 'In the merry month of May' Webbe- 'Mr , will you do us a favour' Webbe- 'The mighty conqueror'			

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
16/1/1817 (HC 13/1/1817)	Dr Chard and Mr Hawes- Organisers	Winchester Subscription Vocal Concert	St. John's House	Act I Lord Mornington- 'Come Fairest Nymph' Calcott- 'Go Idle Boy' Mozart- 'Cruel Perche' Knyvett- 'Oh! My Love's the red red rose' Stevenson- 'Faithless Emma' Callicott- 'Who comesso dark' Handel- 'What tho' I trace' Linley- 'Let me careless' Act II Attwood- 'Virtue, my Emma is a gem' Stevenson- 'Tell me where is fancy bred' Hawes- 'If this delicious' Hawes- 'The Beacon' Knyvett- 'The Bells of St. Michael's Tower' Mozart- 'Voi che sapete' Howley- 'Mine be a Cot' Webbe- 'Would you know' Callicott- 'O snatch me swift'	Miss Goodall, Mr Clark, Terrall, Hawes, Chard	7s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
4/2/1817 (HC 3/2/1817)	Dr Chard and Mr Hawes- Organisers	Winchester Subscription Vocal Concert	St. John's House	Part I Cooke- 'Sweet warbling bird' Sale- 'The Butterfly' Callcott- 'In the lonely Vale of Streams' Handel- 'Shall I in Namre's fertile plains' Cooke- 'No riches from his scanty store' Purcell- 'Hark, my Doridear' Handel- Song Webbe- 'Dear Father, the Girl' Webbe- 'Discard'	Miss Goddall, Mr Clark, Terrail, Hawes, Chard	7s	Not listed
				Part II Clarke- 'Is it the roar' Mollinex- 'And ye shall walk' Purcell- 'May the God of wit' Saville- 'The Waiter' Smith- 'When the sails were unfurld' Chard- 'The Swiss Cowherd' Callcott- 'Peace to the Souls' Smith- O softly sleep' Webbe- 'Tis. sure to call for the coffee'			

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
5/2/1817 (HC 3/2/1817)	Mr Sharp-Organiser	Annual Concert and Ball	Long Rooms, Southampton	Part I Danby- 'Awake Aeolian Lyre' Sale- 'The Butterfly' Knyvett- 'O my love's like the red red rose' Stevenson- 'Faithless Emma' Attwood- 'The Curfew' Handel- 'Holy, holy' Webbe- 'Mr-, will you do us the favour' Locke- 'Music in Macbeth' Part II Handel- 'When the elf heard him'	Mr Hawes, Terrall, Clarke, Miss Goodall, Mr Sharp	6s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
6/2/1817 (HC 3/2/1817)	Messrs Siby- Organisers	Grand Miscellaneous Concert	Assembly Rooms Fareham	Part I Gyoretz- Grand Sinfonie Danby- 'Awake Aeolian Lyre' Sale- 'The Butterfly' Paxton- 'How sweet, how fresh' Handel- 1st Grand Concerto Handel- 'What tho' I trace' Knyett- 'The Bells of St. Michael's Tower' Stevenson- 'See oars with feather'd spray' Cherubini- 'De La Prisonnier' Part II Winter- Grand Sinfonie 'Zaira' Purcell- 'May the god of wit' Boyce- 'Softly rise' Hawes- 'If this delicious' Weichsell- Violin Concerto Smith- 'Baby boy' Stephens- 'Hobby Horse' Webbe- 'Will you do us the favour' Handel- God Save the King	Messrs Siby, Messrs, Hawes, Terrail, Clarke, Miss Goodall	7s	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
27/2/1817 (HC 24/2/1817)	Messrs Sibyl- Organisers	Second Subscription Concert	Assembly Rooms Portsmouth	Part I Handel- Esther Overture Handel- 'Return, O God of Hosts' Handel- 2nd Oboe Concerto Bishop- 'And has she then failed in her truth' Puebla- 'La Vestale' Beethoven- Men of Prometheus Part II Cherubini- Grand Sinfonie Whitaker- 'O slumber, my darling' Miss Hughes- 'Yes, I can love' Arne- 'Soldier tir'd' Haydn- Finale	Miss Hughes, Mr Webber, Mr E Sibyl	6s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
10/4/1817 (HC 7/4/1817)	Messrs Sibly- Organisers	Third Concert	Assembly Rooms Portsmouth	Part I Handel- Samson Overture Emdiu- 'Ah why did I gather' Clark- 'Tell me where is fancy bred' Pleyel- String Quartet Moore's Irish Melodies- 'The Minstrel Boy' Coombs- 'We meet no more' Cherubini- 'La Prisonier' Sinfonie Part II Cherubini- 'To Anacreath' Bishop- 'Has she then failed in her truth' Sale- 'The Butterfly' Sibly- Introduction and Air Variations for violin Guillemi- 'A Compir'	Miss Coombs, Mr Webber, Mr Ball, Sibly, T Guy, Pindar	6s	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
24/4/1817 (HC 21/4/1817)	Messrs Siby- Organisers	Fourth and Last Concert	Assembly Rooms Portsmouth	Part I Handel- Berenice Overture Braham- 'The Wild Gazelle' Travers- 'Haste my Nannette' Bianchi- 'Tu che accendi' Handel- 5th Grand Concerto Bishop- 'Love has Eyes' Whitaker- 'Ballad Haydn- Grand Military Sinfonie Part II Cherubini- 'To Anacreon' Sinfonie Paer- 'See Griselda' Moore's Irish Melodies- 'The Minstrel Boy' Miss Hughes- 'O yes I can love' Double Violin Concerto Arne- 'The Soldier's Tir'd' Pucitta- 'Viva Enrion'	Mr Ball, Miss Hughes, Mr Webber, Mr E Siby	6s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
16/7/1817 (HC 14/7/1817)	Dr Chard and Mr Hawes- Organisers	Vocal Concert	St. John's House	Part I Linley- 'Let me careless' Stevenson- 'Tell me where is Fancy' Horsley- 'Forget me not' Stevens- 'Brugelo' Mayer- 'Chi dice mal d'amore' Webbe- 'Discord' Guglielmi- 'Vedete la vedete' Webbe- 'When winds breathe soft' Part II Harrison- 'O Nanny' Attwood- 'The Curfew' Haydn- 'On thee each living soul awaits' Hawes- 'My Ellen alas is no more' Harrison- 'The Deserter's Meditation' Bishop- 'Pity the Slave' Webbe- 'The Mighty Conqueror' God Save the King'	Mrs Bianchi Lacy, Miss Sharp, Mr Lacy, Mr Terrail, Mr Hawes, Mr Bellamy, Dr Chard	7s/12s/11s	HC 21/7/1817

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
16/9/1817- 18/9/1817 (HC 23/6/1817)	Mr Cramer- Leader Dr Chard- Organiser and Conductor	Hampshire Triennial Music Meeting	Winchester Cathedral St. John's House	16th Sep Selection of Sacred Music (Handel, Haydn, Boyce, Mozart, Pergolesi) Miscellaneous Concert including a selection from Handel's Acis and Galatea 17th Sep Handel- Messiah Miscellaneous Concert including selection from Handel's Alexander's Feast 18th Sep Selection from Handel's Israel in Egypt and Haydn Creation Miscellaneous Concert	Vocal Performers- Miss Stephens, Mrs Vaughan, Miss Williams, Mr Vaughan, Mr Bellamy, Mr W. Knyett, Mr Hawes, Mr Hobbs, Mr Bartleman Instrumentalists- Mr Sibly, Mr E Sibly, Nicks, Calkin, Wm Griesbach, Wagstaff, Hopkins, G Anderson, Mori, Calkin jun, Oliver, Griesbach, R Guy, Snape, Poole, Conner, Gallot, Thring, Mr R Ashley, F Ware, Guy, Lindley, C Lindley, Master Lindley, Dellacalls, T Guy, Boyce, Pindar, Harger, Frederic, F Griesbach, M Sharp, Ireland, Millar, Hopkins, Oliver, Holmes, Tully, Perrides, Schmidt, Chandler, Mariotti, Pounds, Roberts, Jenkinson Choruses supported by the young gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey and the cathedrals of St Pauls, Salisbury and Winchester, with the assistance of numerous efficient and experienced singers from London, Portsmouth & Portsea	10s 6d	HC 10/2/1817 + 5/5/1817 + 8/9/1817 + 15/9/1817 (Pre-Concert) HC 22/9/1817 + 26/4/1819 (Post-Concert)
13/10/1817 (HC 6/10/1817)	Mr Langstaff- Organiser	Andover Concert and Ball	Not listed	Gees, Duets, Songs etc.	Miss Hughes, Mr Solo, Mr Harrington, Mr Ball, Mr Foster	Not listed	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
23/10/1817 (HC 20/10/1817)	Mr Oxenham- Leader	Grand Oratorio	Beneficial Society's Hall, Portsea	Sacred Music including the works of Handel and Haydn	Mr Oxenham	3s	Not listed
16/12/1817 (HC 24/11/1817 +HC 15/12/1817)	Mr Sibly- Leader + Organiser	Portsmouth and Portsea Grand Music Meeting	St George's Chapel, Portsea	Part I Handel- Overture 'How excellent' 'An infant rais'd' 'Along the Monster' 'The youth inspired' 'Our fainting courage' 'How excellent' 'Hallelujah' 'Already See' 'Welcome, welcome mighty King' 'David his ten thousand s'ew' 'O worse than Death' 'Angels ever bright' 'Mourn Israel' 'In Sweet Harmony' 'O fatal day' 'Ye Men of Juda weep is more' 'Gird on thy sword' 'Thy right hand o lord' 'Hallelujah- Messiah Part II Occasional Overture Handel- 'Arm, arm ye Brave' 'We come, we come in bright array' 'Pious Orgies'	Vocal Performers- Miss Hughes, Mr Harrington, Mr Ball, Master Newman, Master Brown Instrumentalists- Mr Sibly, Mr E Sibly, Mr Bennett, Mr Guy, R Guy, Oxenham, Austin, Poole, Goliott, Gear, Lutman, Bell, Hunt, Chatterton, Comier, T Guy, Dillasale, Cox, Burt, Frederick, Harger, Miller, Marshall, Thompson, Bampton, Cownley, Saunders, Douglas, Hearle, Very, Chandler, Hiscock, Vincent, Wilkinson, Fisher, Roberts	5s /3s/ 4s	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
				'O Father whose a mighty pow'r' 'Lead on lead on' 'When the ear heard' 'He deliver'd the poor that cried' Boyce- 'Here shall soft charity repair' Handel- 'Holy, holy Lord almighty' 'Far behold darkness' 'The people that walketh in darkness' 'Lord almighty' 'For unto us a child is born' 'There were shepherds' 'And to the angel' 'And suddenly' 'Glory to god in the highest' 'He shall feed his flock' 'Hailstones' 'Lord what is man' 'The Lord shall reign. Evening Performance Part I Gyrowtz- Grand sinfonie Bishop- 'Blow gentle gales' Travers- 'I my dear' Handel- '2nd Oboe Concerto Stephenson- 'Faithless Emma'			

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
				Webbe- 'Swiftly from the Mountain's Brow' Cherubini- 'La Prisonier' Sinfonie Part II Winter- Grand Sinfonie Boyce- 'Together let us range the fields' Come shepherds well follow the hearse' Smith- 'When the sails are unfur'd' Bocchea- Clarinet Quartet Miss Hughes- 'O yes, I can love' Calcott- 'Friend of the Brave' Thompson- 'Now at Moonlight's Fairy hour' Arne- 'The Soldier tir'd' 'God save the King'			

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
23/12/1817 (HC 22/12/1817)	Dr Chard and Mr Hawes- Organisers	Winchester Subscription Vocal Concert	St John's House	Part I Hawes- 'On to the tomb' Danby- 'The fairest flowers' Haydn- 'In native worth' Handel- 'Angels ever bright' Beale- 'This pleasant month of may' Pergolesi- 'O lord have mercy' Handel- 'When the ear' Part II Bishop- 'The Chough & Crow' Hawes- 'My Ellen alas is no more' Jackson- 'Go feeble tyrant' Evans- 'As a rosy wreath I bound' Arne- 'If o'er the cruel' Chard- 'The Goldfinch' Knyvett- 'Rose of the valley'	Miss Williams, Mr Bellamy, Mr Terrail, Mr Hawes, Dr Chard	See advert	Not listed
13/1/1818 (HC 5/1/1818)	Mr Sharp-Organiser	Grand Miscellaneous Concert	Dolphin Assembly Rooms, Southampton	Not listed	Miss Bartlett, Master Turtell, Mr Foster, Mr Ball, Mr Harrington	7s	Not listed

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
22/1/1818 (HC 19/1/1818)	Dr Chard and Mr Hawes- Organisers	Winchester Subscription Vocal Concert	St. John's House	Act I Webe- 'When words breathe' Spofforth- 'Health to my door' Handle- 'The season for love is no more' Bishop- 'Hark! Apollo strikes the Lyre' Handel- 'In sweetest harmony' Hawes- 'Benedemer's stream' Mozart- Benedictus Knyvett- 'O my love's like the red red rose' Act II Callcott- 'With sighs, sweet rose' Mozart- 'Ah Perdona' Beale- 'What hal What Shepherds ho' Horsley- 'See the chariot at hand' Attwood- 'In tatter'd weed' Smith- 'The baby boy' Rock- 'Let the sparkling wine' Callcott- 'O snatch me swift'	Miss Goodall, Mr Hawes, Dr Chard	7s	HC 26/1/1818

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
10/2/1818 (HC 9/2/1818)	Dr Chard and Mr Hawes- Organisers	Winchester Subscription Vocal Concert	St. John's House	Act I Mornington- 'Here in cool Grot' Callcott- 'Red cross Knights' Sarti- 'Che vi par' Handel- 'He layeth the beams' Knyvett- 'The Maid of Martivale' Cooke- 'Now the bright Morning star' Pucitta- 'Crudo, Amor' Callcott- 'Chief of the windy morren' Act II Bishop- 'When the wind blows' Harrison- 'Oh Nanny' Cooke- 'Farewell to the Nymph' Horsley- 'Mine be a cot' Travers- 'Haste my nanette' Smart- 'Barchus and Apollo' Purcell- 'Mad Bess' Stevens- 'It was a lover and his lass'	Miss Goodall, Mr Bellamy, Mr Terrail, Mr Hawes, Dr Chard	7s	Not listed
5/3/1818 (HC 2/3/1818)	Dr Chard- Organiser	Winchester Vocal Concert	St. John's House	Songs, Duets, Trios and Glees	Miss Goodall, Mr Hawes, Mr Terrail, Mullineux and Dr Chard	See advert	HC 9/3/1818

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DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
26/3/1818 (HC 16/3/1818)	Mr Hawes- Organiser	Winchester Vocal Concert	Not listed	Act I Burrowes- La Clemenza di Tito Overture Webbe- 'A gen'rous friendship' Jackson- 'Time has not thinn'd' Walmesley- 'The fairy of the dale' Handel- 'He layeth the beams' Linley- 'Down in the gleamy vale' Webbe- 'Would you know my Celia's charms' Handel- 'Hush ye pretty warbling choir' Stevens- 'O thou that rellest above' Act II Cherubini- 'Anacoron' Overture Linley- 'Let me caress' Hawes- 'If this delicious grateful flow'r' Attwood- 'The Soldier's Dream' Welsh- 'Soft and sweet' Whitaker- 'O rest thee babe' Callcott- 'Farewell to Lochaber' Webbe- 'Thy voice, O harmony'	Miss Carew, Mr Bellamy, Mr Welsh, Mr Terrail, Mr Hawes, Dr Chard	See advert	HC 30/3/1818

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
12/10/1818 (HC 28/9/1818)	Mr Langstaff- Organiser	Andover Concert and Ball	Andover Town Hall	Glees, Duets, Songs etc.	Mrs Salmon, Mr Harrington, Mr Ball, Mr Foster, Mr Langstaff, Mr Goodall	7s	Not listed
28/12/1818 (HC 21/12/1818)	Mr Sharp-Organiser	Annual Concert	Southampton Theatre	Part I Haydn- Grand Symphony Handel- 'And the Glory', 'The flocks shall leave', 'Lord what is Man', 'in sweetest harmony', 'Sweet Bird', 'Hallelujah Chorus' Cello Concerto Part II Cherubini- Grand Overture Cooke- Duet Bishop- 'Sons of Freedom' Viotti- Concerto Irish Melodies Handel- 'The Lord shall reign'	Miss Goodall, Mr Lucas, Master Marshall	Not listed	Not listed

Appendix I

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
11/3/1819 (HC 11/3/1819)	Mrs J L Maud- Organiser	Vocal Concert	Andover Town Hall	Part I Webbe- 'Glorious Apollo' Bishop- 'The Soldier's Gratitude' Smith- 'Hard the hollow woods resounding' Irish Melodies- 'Tis the last rose of summer' Stevenson- 'Come buy my cherries' Percy- I climb'd the highest cliff' Bishop- 'In Joyful Peace' Bishop- 'Auld Lang Syne' Part II Bishop- 'Guy Manning' Atterbury- 'Crynthia' Horsley- 'Mine be a cot' Sale- 'The Butterfly' Whitaker- 'O rest thee, Babe' Bishop- 'When W... whistle cold'	Miss Bartlett, Mr Harrington, Mr Ball, Mr Foster, Mr A Loder	7s	
11/10/1819 (HC 27/9/1819)	Mr Langstaff- Organiser	Vocal Concert	Andover Town Hall	Not listed	Mr Goodall, Miss M Tree, Miss Povey, Mr T P Cooke, Mr Callaghan (Miss Johnson sang rather than the advertised Miss Tree)	8s	HC 18/10/1819

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
18/11/1819 (HC 15/11/1819)	Mr Sharp-Organiser	Musical Festival	Holy Rood Church, Southampton and the Long Rooms	Morning Concert- Handel Acis and Galatea Evening Concert- Messiah	Vocal Performers- Mrs Dickons, Miss Wood, Mr Harrington, Mr Foster, Mr Ball Instrumentalists- Mr Sharp, Mr Mahon, Mr Prangley, Mr Lucas, Mr Wellman	6s/ 5s	Not listed
26/11/1819 (HC 8/11/1819)	Mr Griesbach- Organiser and Leader	Concert	Winchester	Ye sacred priests' Piano Concerto Oboe Concerto Cello Concerto French Horn Concerto Chard- 'The swiss cowherd' Beethoven- Concertante	Vocal Performers- Mr Hill, Hayer, Smith, Forde and several junior performers from the choir of Winchester Cathedral Instrumentalists- Dr Chard, Mr Griesbach, Mr Wm Griesbach, Wagstaff, A Griesbach, F Griesbach, Niebour, CJ Griesbach, H Griesbach, Wm Griesbach Jn, Mr Pindar, Doring, G and J Kellner Orchestra will consist of several performers from the Ancient Concert and the Opera, who were also the private musicians of her late majesty	Half a guinea	HC 29/11/1819

Appendix I

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
30/11/1819 (HC 29/11/1819)	Messrs Sibyl- Organisers	Grand Miscellaneous Concert given by the Members of the Philomusical Society in aid of the Funds of the Portsmouth Institution for Educating Poor Children on the plan of the Rev Dr Bell	Portsmouth	Part I Haydn- Grand Symphony Boyce- 'Here shall soft charity' Horsley- 'Gentle Lyre' Handel- First Grand Concerto Dr Clarke- 'The Zephyr' Bishop- 'Tis when I Sleep' Cherubini- Grand Symphonie 'De La Prisonniere' Part II Cherubini- Grand Sinfonie 'Anacreon' Handel- 'Oh ruddier than the cherry' Violin and Viola Duet Bishop- 'The Soldier's Gratitude' Sale- 'The Butterfly' Grand Military piece Percy- 'I climb the highest cliff' Winter- Grand Sinfonie 'Zaira'	Mr Ball, Foster, Stears, Heather, Yeatman, Medhurst	5s	Not listed
19 + 20/1/1820 (HC 20/12/1819)	Mr Griesbach- Organiser and Leader	Concert	Winchester	Not listed	Miss Corri	See advert	Not listed

DATE/ SOURCE	ORGANISER/LEADER	NAME OF PERFORMANCE/ BENEFIT	VENUE	REPERTOIRE	PERFORMERS LISTED	PRICE	REVIEW ARTICLE/ SOURCE
3/10/1820 (HC 2/10/1820)	Mr Ashe- Organiser	Vocal and Instrumental Concert	Assembly Rooms Portsmouth	Airs, Duets etc and several solo and concerted pieces on the harp, piano and flute	Mr Ashe, Miss Ashe	Not listed	Not listed
25/10/1820 + 27/10/1820 (HC 23/10/1820) (Also performed in Southampton on the 26th)	Mr Griesbach- Organiser and Leader	Two Vocal and Instrumental Concerts	St. John's House	Act 1 Haydn- Sinfonia Song Winter- Oboe Concerto Kalkbrenner- Fantasia Rode- Violin variations Haydn- Concertante for French Horn Act 2 Mozart- Clementza di Tito Overture Romberg- Cello Trio Pleyel- Quintet Griffin- Concerto Song Haydn- Finale	Mr Griesbach, Mr T. A. Ireland, Mr A. Griesbach, Mr Nicks, Mr Crouch, Mr W Griesbach, Mr F Griesbach, Mr Domyer, G and J Kellner, Mr C J Griesbach, Mr Taylor	10s 6d	HC 13/10/1820

Appendix II Guide

This handlist is a complete list of all the music contained in the music books belonging to the Austen family presented in composer order. It is the first inventory of the extant Austen music collection to amalgamate previous scholarship in the form of Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch's *The Musical World of Jane Austen*, a study of the music contained in the first set of music books belonging to the Jane Austen Memorial Trust, with the unpublished Handlist written by Jon Gillaspie (later Nessa Glen), a study of the second set of music belonging to Richard Jenkyns and currently housed at Chawton House Library.¹ It also includes the two volumes, belonging to Richard Knight, which were discovered in 2009; they have been designated as the third set in this thesis and they are also housed at the Chawton House Library.

The Handlist has extended previous scholarship by including the different score types found in the music, listing the various key and time signatures used by composers and indicating the tempo marking on each piece of music. This information provides musicians and performers with a deeper understanding of the type of music, including the metre and the mood, which in turn means that it is now possible to locate concert material and programme different types of themed concerts with different ensemble combinations. Having amalgamated the three sets of music into the Handlist, I have managed to construct many different concerts over the last four years, and the music selection for the performance presentation in September 2012 was a direct result of using the Handlist to locate the composers and music necessary to create an interesting and informative programme. The concert comprised a representative sample of the different types of music in the collection: songs from theatricals, solo piano pieces, songs from Oratorios, pieces for Harpsichord, piano duets and favourite songs with which the Austens (in particular Jane) were familiar.

¹ Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music: The Musical World of Jane Austen*, (St Albans: Corda Music Publications, 1996); Jon A. Gillaspie, "Handlist of Austen Family Music (Manuscript and Printed) in the Possession of Mr. H.L. Jenkyns," 1987.

Appendix II

Forming a handlist of music, which brings together all three sets of the different music, in musical terms greatly facilitates the formulation of knowledge of composer trends, family preferences, genre choices and proportions of manuscript to printed music. It has assisted me greatly to assemble information and formulate arguments for this thesis, particularly in Chapter One, which explores the collection as a whole, listing duplications, music by foreign composers, theatrical songs and different types of key signatures common in this period. It will continue to be a useful resource for future scholars who wish to view a succinct list of privately owned music from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This Handlist may be used easily to compare music in other such collections; in particular when used in conjunction with the music listing of Hampshire music concerts from 1770-1820 in Appendix I, a detailed picture of the type of music being played in Hampshire can be seen.

The aim of the Handlist is not to provide source material and analysis of plate marks similar to the type of study found in a music catalogue, it is intended to be used as a guide alongside this thesis, in addition to the opportunities that it creates for performers to have a greater understanding of the music contained within the volumes.

In order to facilitate the understanding of this Handlist, I will describe how the individual pieces are labelled. Further information concerning the physical condition of the music books and provenance history can be found in the Introduction and Chapter One. Each piece has its own defining description depending on the location of the music. There are three sets of music as described above, so in keeping with previous scholarship the music labelling begins with the number from which the set comes from; hence either the first, second or third set (1,2 or 3). The second figure in the label refers to which book the music is located in. There are eight books in the first set, seven books in the second set and two books in the third set. The final number in the music label refers to the item number within the individual book. As all of the music books contain varying quantities of music this number differs greatly from book to book. Therefore, a description of the following label would be as follows:

Book 1/3 No.6 means that this piece of music is contained in the first set of music books belonging to the Jane Austen Memorial Trust (1) and it is the 3rd book in that collection (3) and the 6th item within the book (6).

The order of the contents of the scrapbook (Book 7) in the first set is different in my handlist from that in the Gammie and McCulloch publication. Book 7 has the least secure binding of all the music books in the first set, and it appears that at some time between 1996, when Gammie and McCulloch published *The Musical World of Jane Austen*, and 2009 when I first consulted it, the music has been re-bound in a different order.

For example, the listing in Gammie records the order in Book 7 as follows:

Bk 1/7 No. 8	anon- Ms in C maj for kbd
Bk 1/7 No. 9	[C.Dibdin?] [How imperfect is expression]
Bk 1/7 No.10	Oh Susan, Susan lovely dear

However, the order has now changed: 'Oh Susan' comes first, followed by the C major composition and then the Dibdin. This is also the case for the order of the John Watlen 'God save the King variations', which is listed as Bk 1/7 No. 38 in the Gammie publication but are now found at Bk 1/7 No.45 after the Samuel Arnold song 'Sure t'would make a dismal story'. They have been placed next to another Watlen composition, Bk 1/7 No. 46.

Appendix II

Handlist Columns and Labels

Column One- (Composer) lists the full name of the composer, with extra information, such as unlisted first names, added. At the end of the catalogue, there are 131 items listed as unattributed, which indicates that the composer is unknown. Further labels used in this column indicate that the composer attribution has not been my own. The two works I have consulted in compiling this catalogue are, Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch's *Jane Austen's Music*. *The Musical World of Jane Austen* (St Albans: Corda Music Publications, 1996) and Jon Gillaspie's "Handlist of Austen Family Music (Manuscript and Printed) in the Possession of Mr. H.L. Jenkyns." 1987. These two catalogues have begun to address the difficult job of allocating composers to anonymous works and in order to acknowledge their work, after some of the composer attributions I have written, e.g. attr. G/M, p.6. This means that the authors Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch found the composer, and it is listed on page 6 of their book *Jane Austen's Music*. I have also written the code: attr. JG, p.8., which identifies the work of Jon Gillaspie's Handlist written for the Jenkyns family. As this work is unpublished it is not paginated, so for the purposes of this study, I have labelled the pages serially, nominating as page 1 the 'Abbreviations' page which appears after the title page.

Column Two- (Location) is a description of the book reference number, and indicates for example, where the music is found within the books. Bk1/1 No.12 means that this piece is taken from the first set, the first book within that set and the twelfth piece within the book. This is as good a description as can be made at this stage, taking into consideration previous scholarship. For a more detailed description of this coding, please see the above Introduction.

Column Three- (Type) describes whether the music is originally in manuscript form (MS) or printed music (Pr.) in the Austen collection.

Column Four- (Title) simply describes the title of the piece and/or the first line of the song if a title is not listed. Sometimes this contains a question mark, where again a title is not listed or known. This column also contains information on the title page which sometimes includes dedications.

Column Five- (Tempo Marking & Description) is a crucial listing of the time signature of the song plus the tempo marking and the key signature and includes the number of verses in a song. With this information, performers can make quick judgements about the length, mood and key relationship of the piece.

Column Six- (Publisher) lists the publisher of the music, if known, which allows the reader to see which one was favoured.

Column Seven- (Scoring) lists the different types of scoring within the music and is particularly useful to assist the performer to plan programmes with different ensemble combinations or indeed merely to identify any solo compositions. There are three main categories of instruments in this column: piano, voice, and harp, and by basing the index below on them, the task of identifying one type from the many possible ensemble permutations has been made less complex.

Piano

PF	Piano score only
PFB	Piano with figured bass
PD	Piano Duet
PVO	Piano with Violin obligato written above the stave
PFO	Piano with Flute obligato written above the stave
PFL	Piano with Flute score at the back
PHC	Piano with scoring for Horns and Clarinets
POS	Piano with Orchestral scoring
PSQ	Piano with String Quartet parts
PT	Piano and Tambourine

Appendix II

Voice

VLO	Vocal Line only
VBS	Voice between treble and bass clef
VLBS	Vocal line written on a separate line between the treble and bass clef.
PFBVB	Figured bass with voice written between the staves
FBVBA	Figured Bass with Vocal line written above on separate stave
VAS	Vocal line separately written above the score
PVEB	Piano, voice line and an extra bass part written out separately
VDO	Vocal Duet Only
VDFB	Vocal duet in the treble clef with figured bass
VDAS	Vocal Duet written with a separate line for each voice above the score
VDBS	Vocal Duet written between staves
VDB	Vocal Duet with bass line written below. Each voice has its own stave
VDFBO	Vocal duet with bass line only with figured bass
PVV	Piano with voice between staves and violin part above the piano score
VTO	Vocal Trio only
VTPT	Vocal Trio with the piano part written doubling the bass part, just the treble clef written in the score above the bass line
PVDV	Piano with vocal duet written between the stave with a further violin obligato part written above the stave
PV2V	Piano with 2 violin parts and voice written between the stave
PDVT	Piano Duet and Vocal Trio
SQV	String Quartet and Voice
SQVD	String Quartet and Voice Duet
STVT	String Trio and Vocal Trio
STVD	String Trio and Vocal Duet
VQO	Vocal Quartet Only
VTB	Vocal Trio and Bass line
OVQ	Organ and Vocal Quartet

Harp

HP	Harp only
HVAS	Harp and voice part above the score
HPD	Harp and Piano Duet

APPENDIX II

HANDLIST

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Abrams, Harriett	Bk 2/2 No.17 p.47	MS	Crazy Jane a Favorite Song the words by M: Lewis Esqr. 'Why fair Maid in ev'ry feature are such signs of fear expressed'	Andante 3/4 Bb maj	VAS	
Abrams, Harriett	Bk 2/2 No.23 p.67	MS	A Smile & a Tear. By Miss Abrams 'You own I'm complacent'	2/4 F maj 2 verses	VAS	
Abrams, Harriett	Bk 2/5 No.52 p.165-168	Pr.	Crazy Jane 'Why fair Maid in ev'ry feature'	Andante 3/4 Bb maj	Signed by 'L. Lavenu'	VAS
Adam, Jean Louis	Bk 2/7 No.38 p.397-399	Pr.	Sonate avec Violin Obligé Année 3ème No.12/ No.42	Allegro 4/4 D min	Les Srs Cousineau Pere et Fils	PF
Antfossi, Pasquale	Bk 1/5 No.7	Pr.	Opera Overtures adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin	Overture III: Il Trionso 1. 4/4 D maj 2. Andante grazioso 3/8 Bb 3. Allegro moderato 2/4 D maj	R. Bremner	PVO
Antfossi, Pasquale [attr. G/M, p.22]	Bk 1/5 No.8	Pr.	Opera Overtures adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin	Overture IV: Viaggiatori Felici 1. 4/4 Bbmaj 2. Andante Grazioso 3/8 Eb maj 3. Allegro moderato 2/4 Bbmaj	R. Bremner	PVO

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Anfossi, Pasquali	Bk 2/2 No.3 p.5	MS	Duetto 'Si ti credo amato bene'	Andantino Espressivo 3/4 Amaj -Allegro Commodo	VDAS	
Arne, Thomas Augustine	Bk 1/1 No.9 p.14	MS	Lothereo set by Mr Arne	3/8 G maj	PF	
Arne, Thomas Augustine	Bk 1/2 No.37 p.82-87	MS	Overture to Araxerxes Poco piu che	Andante 4/4 D maj Larghetto 3/4 Gavotta 4/4	PFB	
Arne, Thomas Augustine	Bk 2/3 No.17 p.57-58	MS	How gentle was my Damon's air	1. Largo 3/4 D maj 2. Amoroso 3/4 A min	PFBVB	
Arne, Thomas Augustine	Bk 2/3 No.18 p.59-61	MS	Sweet Echo sweetest Nymph	1. Allegro 3/4 D maj 2. Allegro 4/4 D maj	PFBVB	
Arne, Thomas Augustine	Bk 1/7 No.6 p.6	Pr.	Cymon and Iphigenia Sung by Mr Lowe at Vauxhall Gardens 'Near a thick grove whose deep embow'ring shade'	Recit 4/4 D maj- Air Andante Moderato 4/4 Recit- Air- Andante 3/4	PFBVB	
Arne, Thomas Augustine	Bk 1/7 No.49 p.120	Pr.	Nymphs and Shepherds Sung by Miss Brent, at Ranelagh and by Mrs Vincent, at Vauxhall Gardens 'Nymphs and Shepherds come away'	Moderato 3/4 C maj	VBS	
Arne, Thomas Augustine	Bk 1/7 No.51 p.26	Pr.	The Scotch Air in the Overture to Thomas & Sally sung by Mr Tenducci and Miss Brent at Vauxhall and Ranelagh 'To ease his heart and own his flame'	Affettuoso 4/4 D maj	PFBVB	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Arne, Thomas Augustine [attr. JG, p.6]	Bk 2/3 No.19 p.61	MS	'By the gaily circling Glass'	Tempo di Gavotta 4/4 D maj		PFBVB
Arnold, Samuel	Bk 1/3 No.23	MS	From the Mountaineers 'Think your tawny moor is true pretty Agnes'	4/4 Bb maj- 6/8 Bb maj 3 verses		PFBVB
Arnold, Samuel	Bk 1/3 No.31 p.61	MS	The poor little Gypsy 'A poor little Gypsy I wander forlorn, my fortune was told long before I was born'	Andante 3/8 F maj 2 verses		
Arnold, Samuel	Bk 1/3 No.32 p.62-65	MS	From the Mountaineers 'When the hollow drum has beat to bed'	Vivace 4/4 F maj		VBS
Arnold, Samuel	Bk 1/3 No.33 p.66-69	MS	Duet from the Mountaineers 'Faint and weary the way-worn traveller plods uncheerily'	Allegro Moderato 2/4 C maj		PVDV
Arnold, Samuel	Bk 2/5 No.41 p.125-128	Pr.	Poor Rosa. Sung by Mrs Bland at Vauxhall 'Rosa sat sighing beside the clear brook'	Grazioso 6/8 A maj	Clementi & Co	VBS
Arnold, Samuel	Bk 2/7 No.12 p.197-200	Pr.	Ally Croaker with Variations. Organist and Composer to his Majesty	Time of a March 4/4 G maj- Var 1- Var 2- Var 3- Dolce Var 4- Var 5- Var 6 Duo Slow- Var 7 Presto	Printed for the Author	PF
Arnold, Samuel	Bk 2/2 No.34 p.114	MS	Oh happy Tawny Moor sung by Mrs Bland & Mr Bannister Junr in the Mountaineers	2/4 G maj 2 verses		VBS
Arnold, Samuel [attr. G/M, p.29]	Bk 1/7 No.44	MS	'Sure t'would make a dismal story'	4/4 A maj		VBS

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Attwood, Thomas	Bk 2/5 No.34 p.102-104	Pr.	The Convent Bell. Sung by Mrs Harrison at the Vocal Concerts, Willis's Rooms 'When waken'd by the Convent Bell'	Larghetto 4/4 A maj	G. Gouding	VAS
Aubert	K2 No.13 p.49 (No.23)	Pr.	Air par Mr Aubert. 'J'allais chercher au boisage, un tribut'	Allegretto 2/4 C maj 3 verses		VAS
Aubert (accompaniment)	K2 No.23 p.46-47 7me Année No.19	Pr.	Air 'Ruisseau qui baignes cette plaine'	Adoroso 2/2 E♭ maj 4 verses		VAS
Bach, John Christian	Bk 2/7 No.2 p.33-71	Pr.	Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin. Humble Dedicated to the Right Hon. Lady Selbourne	Sonata 1. 1. Allegro 4/4 B♭ maj 2. Allegro assai 3/8 B♭ maj Sonata 2. 1. Allegro 4/4 C maj 2. Tempo di Menuetto 3/4 C maj Sonata 3. 1. Allegro 4/4 G maj 2. Rondeaux 2/4 G maj Sonata 4. 1. Allegretto 4/4 A maj 2. Allegro moderato 2/4 A maj Sonata 5. 1. Allegro 4/4 F maj 2. Rondeau. Allegro 6/8 F maj Sonata 6. 1. Allegro con Spirto 4/4 D maj 2. Tempo di Menuetto 3/4 D maj	A. Ganley	PVO

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Baldon, Joseph [attr. G/M, p.10]	Bk 1/1 No.8 p.13	MS	Jockey and Jenny sung by Miss Low and Miss Falke 'Stern winter has left us ye trees are in bloom'	3/4 G maj	PFBVB	
Baldon, Joseph [attr. JC, p.11]	Bk 2/5 No.7 p.19-20	Pr.	Adieu to the Village Delights	Andante 3/4 D maj Glee version for 3 voices follows the first version	W. Gawler	VBS
Barthelemon, François Hippolyte	Bk 2/2 No.30 p.102	MS	Durandarte & Belerma- A Scotch Ballad by F.H.Barthelemon 'Sad & fearful is the story of the Roncervalles'	Slow 3/4 Bb maj - Coda-Allegro	VAS	
Barthelemon, François Hippolyte	Bk 2/5 No.33 p.100-101	Pr.	An old French Air. On which the 'Vaudville of Rousseau's Le Devin Du Village' is partly founded with a Bass in the Musette Style 'Allons danser sur la fougeré'	1. Lively 6/8 G maj 2. Andantino 6/8 G maj 3. Lively 6/8 G maj	Printed for the Author	VBS
Baudron, Antoine Laurent [attr. G/M, p.28]	Bk 1/7 No.39 p.101	MS	Song 'Since then I'm doom'd this sad reverse to prove'	D maj 2/4 2 verses	VBS	
Bertoni, Ferdinando	K2 No.28 p.9-10 8me Année No.4	Pr.	Aria del Sigr Bertoni nelle Gelosie villane 'La virginella comme la rosa'	Moderato 4/4 G maj	VAS	
Bertoni, Ferdinando	Bk 1/5 No.5 & No.6 p.1-33	Pr.	Opera Overtures adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin	Overture I: Medonte 1. Allegro 4/4 Bb maj 2. Andante Espressivo 2/4 Eb maj Overture II: Il Convito (The Banquet) 1. Allegro 4/4 Dmaj 2. Andante 4/4 G maj	R. Bremer	PVO
Biggs, Edward Smith [attr. JC, p.5]	Bk 2/2 No.41 p.121	MS	Come my bonny Love let us gang away	4/4 G maj 3 verses	VTO	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Biggs, Edward Smith [att. JG, p. 8]	Bk 2/3 No.54 p.132	MS	Hindoo Girl's Song 'British fair shall charm they... thee don't forget thy poor Hindoo'	6/8 G maj 4 verses	VAS	
Bishop, Sir Henry Rowley	Bk 2/3 No.67	MS	The Slave	Moderato 2/4 C maj	PF	
Bishop, Sir Henry Rowley	Bk 2/7 No.33 p.335-338	Pr.	The Favorite Pas Seul danced by Miss Gayton, in the Grand Ballet of Caractacus	1. Andantino Grazioso 4/4 Bb maj 2. Allegretto 2/4 Bb maj	Printed & Sold by L. Lawton at his Musical Circulating Library	PF
Blattman (accompainment)	Bk 2/4 No.33 p.75 6e Année No.20	Pr.	Le Pauvre Jacques. Chanson Accompt. By M. Blattman 'Pauvre Jacques, quand j'étois près de toi'	Andante 2/4 G maj	HVAS	
Blattman (arranger)	Bk 2/4 No.26 p.20-21 6e Année No.5	Pr.	Ouverture du Philosophe imaginaire. Arranged by Blattman	Allegro 4/4 Bb maj	HP	
Blin	K2 No.27 p.50-51 7me Année No.21	Pr.	'Le sentiment est au plaisir ce qu'est le feu'	Andante 2/4 Eb maj 3 verses	VAS	
Boily (accompaniment)	Bk 2/4 No.28 p.43 6e Année No.12	Pr.	Romance de Raoul de Créqui. Accompt by M. Boily 'De vos bontés, de son amour'	Andantino 3/4 G min	HVAS	
Boyce, William	Bk 1/1 No.5 p.8	MS	The Ass, a New Song sung by Mr Beard. Set by Dr Boyce 'Push about the brisk bowl'	6/4 G maj	VBS	
Boyce, William	Bk 1/1 No.12 p.23-24	MS	Taken out of the Chaplet. Composed by Dr Boyce	4/4 A min	PF	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Boyce, William [attr. G/M, p.10]	Bk 1/1 No.4 p.6-7	MS	Sung by Mr Beard and Miss Norris In the Chaplet 'Contented all day I will sit at your side'	3/4 C maj 5 verses		PFBVB
Braham, John	Bk 2/5 No.26 p.76-79	Pr.	The Beautiful Maid. A favorite Ballad as Sung by Mr. Braham at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden in the comic opera of the Cabinet 'When absent from her my soul holds most dear'	Andantino 2/4 Bb maj	J. Dale	VLBS
Braham, John	Bk 2/7 No.16 p.221-227	Pr.	Public Singer The Celebrated Pollacca from the comic opera of the Cabinet, composed by Mr Braham, arranged as a Rondo by D Stelbelt	Allegretto 3/4 C maj	J. Dale	PF
Burbidge, R.	Bk 2/7 No.23 p.291-295	Pr.	A Favourite Melody by Mozart Adapted with Variations for the Piano Forte by R. Burbidge. Most Respectfully Dedicated to Mrs Corybere	Andante F maj 2/4- Var 1- Var 2- Var 3- Var 4- Var 5	Printed & Sold by Rt. Birchall	PF
Burckhoffer (accompaniment)	K2 No.12 p.48 (No.22)	Pr.	Vaudeville de Figaro. 'Coeurs sensibles, coeurs fidèles'	Rittournelle 2/4 F maj 2 verses		VAS
Burckhoffer (accompaniment)	K2 No.4 p.6-7	Pr.	Air de la Kermesse. 'On ne fait aucune alliance'	Moderato 3/4 C maj		VAS
Burckhoffer (accompaniment)	K2 No.7 p.35-37 (No.17)	Pr.	Air de Théodore et Paulin. 'Bon dieu com' hier à fte fête'	Allegro 4/4 Eb maj 3 verses		VAS
Burckhoffer (accompaniment)	K2 No.41 p.42-43 9me Année No.15	Pr.	Air de l'Hostesse dans les deux Pages 'Aimerai qui voudra les hommes'	Allegro 4/4 G maj		VAS

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Burckhoffer, (accompaniment)	Bk 2/4 No. 11 4e Année No. 36	Pr.	Air de l'Auteur à la mode accompagnement by M. Burckhoffer 'Depuis deux ans, dans ma retraite'	Allegretto 6/8 F maj		HVAS
Butler, Thomas Hamley	Bk 2/5 No.48 p.151-154	Pr.	A Slow Movement to which is added the beautiful Scots Air of the Mill, Mill oh!	1. Slow and Expressive 3/8 A maj 2. Rondo Lively 2/4 A maj	Goulding & Co.	PF
Butler, Thomas Hamley	Bk 2/7 No.14 p.211-214	Pr.	Lewie Gordon A favorite rondo for the piano forte	Andantino Expressivo 2/4 D maj	Goulding & Co.	PF
Callicott, John Wall	Bk 2/3 No.20 p.62	MS	Epitaph 'Forgive blest shade the tributary tear'	D maj 2/4	VBS	
Callicott, John Wall	Bk 1/3 No.34 p.70-76	MS	Collin's Ode on the death of Thompson	Legati sempre 1. Adagio- 'In yonder grave a Druid lies' 6/8 Eb maj 2. Andantino- 'Remembrance oft' 2/4 Eb maj 3. Larghetto- 'But thou who owns't that earthy bed' 3/4 Bb maj 4. Duet: Largo Andante- 'But thou lorn stream whose sullen tide' 4/4 F maj 5. Allegretto- 'The genial meads assigned to bliss' 2/4 Bb maj 6. Tempo Primo- 'Long long thy stone appointed' 6/8 Eb maj	VDBS	
Callicott, John Wall	Bk 2/2 No.21 p.62	MS	The Friar of Orders Gray	4/4 Eb maj	VTO	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Callicott, John Wall	Bk 2/5 No.2 p.5-10	Pr.	I heard a Voice from Heaven	4/2 Bb maj	Rt. Birchall	OVQ
Callicott, John Wall	Bk 2/5 No.28b p.85	Pr.	Epitaph. In the Church of Brading, in the Isle of Wight 'Forgive blest shade the tributary teat'	2/4 D maj		VBS
Callicott, John Wall	Bk 2/5 No.28a p.84-85	Pr.	The Friar of Orders Gray. A Glee for two Trebles and a Bass 'It was a friar of orders gray'	Moderato 4/4 Eb maj	Lavenu & Mitchell	VBS
Callicott, John Wall	Bk 2/5 No.44 p.137-139	Pr.	Harold the Valiant. The Words from Masons Poems Vol III p.138 'My ships to fair Sicilia's coast'	Allegro 4/4 A maj- Larghetto 4 verses	Printed for the Author	VBS
Cambini, Giuseppe Maria	Bk 2/4 No.10 p.145 4e Année No.36	Pr.	Air de la Croisée (from an Opera) accompt. Par M. Blattman 'Le sommeil fuyoit de nos yeux'	Andantino 6/8 Bb maj		HV/AS
Cambini, Giuseppe Maria	Bk 2/4 No.24 p.11 6e Année No.3	Pr.	Air du Bon Pere 'C'qu'est l'plus nécessaire en ménage'	2/4 Eb maj		HV/AS
Carnaby, William	Bk 2/5 No.49 p.155-156	Pr.	Song on Peace 'Tell me, on what holy ground may domestic peace be found'	Recit 4/4 Eb maj Air 4/4 Eb maj 2 verses	R. Birchall	VBS
Carter, Thomas	Bk 2/5 No.11 p.31-33	Pr.	O Nanny wil thou gang with me. The Celebrated song sung at the Kings Concerts by Mrs Billington at the Harmonic club	Andantino Affettuoso 4/4 Eb maj 4 verses		VDFB

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Carter, Thomas [attr. G/M, p.16]	Bk 1/3 No.3 p.7-9	MS	O Nancy 'O Nancy wilt thou fly with me'	Andante Espressivo 4/4 Eb maj 4 verses	PVV	
Cavendish, Georgiana—Duchess of Devonshire	Bk 1/7 No.13 p.25	MS	Song from The Stranger The words by R.B. Sheridan Esqr The air by the Duchess of Devonshire 'I have a silent sorrow here'	Plaintive 2/4 F maj 3 verses	VBS	
Chapelle, Pierre-David-Augustin	Bk 2/4 No.6 p.208	Pr.	Romance. Accompt par B.M. Ô volupté! Loi que j'encence'	Amoroso 4/4 C min	HVAS	
Chardin, Louis-Claude-Armand	Bk 2/4 No.9 p.126-127 4e Année no.31	Pr.	Ouverture de Clitandre et Céphise arrangée par M Blattman	Allegro maestoso 4/4 C min	HP	
Ciampi, Vicenzo	Bk 2/1 No.21 p.62-64	MS	Aria - nell' Adriano in Siria 'Infelice in Van mi Lagno'	Allegro 6/8 D maj	VBS	
Cimador, Giambattista [?][attr. G/M, p.18]	Bk 1/3 No.26 p.54	MS	Arietta Veniziano 'La Biondina in Gondoletta'	6/8 F maj 2 verses	VLC	
Clementi, Muzio	Bk 2/3 No.2 p.11-13	MS	Waltz 1st	3/8 F maj	PT	
Clementi, Muzio	Bk 2/3 No.3 p.14-15	MS	Waltz 5th	Presto 3/8 Eb maj	PT	
Clementi, Muzio	Bk 2/3 No.4 p.16-19	MS	Waltz 2	Allegro Presto 3/8 Bb maj	PT	
Clementi, Muzio	Bk 2/3 No.1 p.2-8	Pr.	Sonata for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord Op. XXVI F maj	1. Allegro 4/4 F maj 2. Rondeau Allegretto 2/4 F maj	Preston & Sons	PF

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Coke, Thomas Simpson	Bk 2/5 No.10 p.29-30	Pr.	Nobody coming to Marry me. A favorite Air sung by Mrs. Jordan with unbounded applause at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane 'Last night the dogs did bark'	Andante 6/8 Bb maj 4 verses	G. Walker	VAS
Corri, Domenico	Bk 1/2 No.33 p.68-70	MS	My ain kind Dearie, with variations	Moderato Andante 4/4 A maj- 7 variations	PF	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Corri, Domenico	Bk 2/5 No.53 p.169-184	Pr.	A Collection of Marches and Quick Steps. Composed and Adapted for the Harpsichord or Pianoforte	1. March Maestoso 4/4 G maj- Quick Step Allegro 2/4 2. March Andante 4/4 G maj Quick Step Allegro 2/4 3. March Allegretto 4/4 D maj Quick Step Presto 2/4 4. March Andante 4/4 Bb maj QS Allegro 6/8 5. March Andante 4/4 D maj QS Presto 6/8 6. March Largo 4/4 Eb maj QS Allegro 6/8 7. March Andante 4/4 Bb maj QS Allegretto 6/8 8. March Andante 4/4 C maj QS Presto 6/8 9. March Andantino 4/4 G maj QS Allegro 2/4 10. March Andante C maj 4/4 QS Presto 6/8 11. March Andante 4/4 C maj QS Allegretto 12. March Andantino 4/4 D maj QS Allegro 2/4 13. March Largo 4/4 Eb maj QS Allegro 6/8 Bb maj 14. March Allegretto 4/4 D maj QS Allegretto 15. March Andante 4/4 Bb maj QS Allegro 2/4 16. March Allegretto 6/8 A maj QS Andantino 17. March Andante 4/4 C maj QS Allegro 2/4 18. March Andante 4/4 Bb maj QS Allegro 2/4	Corri & Co: Edinburgh PF	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Corri, Philip Antony	Bk 2/6 No.13 p.1-14	Pr.	L'Augurio Felice. Sonata for the Piano Forte composed and Dedicated to Miss Dering	Sonata 1. Allegro Grazioso 4/4 Bbmaj 2. Affettuoso con molto. Espressione e poco Adagio 3/4 Eb maj 3. Polonoise Allegretto 3/4 Bb maj 4. Martiale 4/4 Eb maj	Wilkinson & Compy	PF
Couarde	K2 No.21 p.60-61 7me Année No.26	Pr.	Romance par Mr. Couarde 'Ce lieu n'est-il donc plus le même'	Larghetto 2/4 F maj 4 verses	VAS	
Cramer, Johann Baptist	Bk 2/6 No.12 p.1-10	Pr.	Les Petits Riens. A Divertimento dedicated to Miss Heathcote	1. Andantino con moto 2/4 Bb maj- Brillante 2. Waltz 3/8 Bb maj 3. French Air. La Belle Francaise 3/8 Bb maj	Wilkinson & Co.	PF
Cramer, Johann Baptist	Bk 2/7 No.6 p.141-157	Pr.	Sonata for the Piano Forte. In which is introduced God Save The King and an original Waltz. Composed and Dedicated to the Right Honble The Viscountess Mahon	Sonata 1. Allegro Spiritoso Eb maj 4/4 2. Allegro non tanto 2/4 Bb maj 3. Waltz. Moderato 3/8 Ebmaj	Rt. Birchall Publisher	PF
Crotch, William	Bk 1/7 No.33 p.82	MS	Air Russe arrangée par Crotch	2/4 E maj		PF
Dalayrac, Nicholas	App 2 No.2	MS	Commencement d'Escoute d'jeanetto	3/4 C maj		PF
Dalayrac, Nicholas	App 2 No.4	MS	Duo des Deux Savoyards 'e votre Or, que pourrais-je faire'	2/4 G maj		VLO

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Dalayrac, Nicholas	Bk 2/4 No.20 p.119-120 4 ^e Année No.29	Pr.	Ouverture de Renaud d'Ast. Arrangée par M. Blattman	Larghetto 6/8 C min-Allegro assai C maj	HP	
Dalayrac, Nicholas [attr. G/M, p.14]	Bk 1/2 No.3 p.6-9	MS	Ouverture de Renaud d'Ast	Larghetto 6/8 C min- Allegro assai 2/4 C maj	PF	
Dalayrac, Nicholas [attr. G/M, p.28]	Bk 1/7 No.36 p.78	MS	Air de Phillippe et Georgette	4/4 F maj	PF	
Dale, James	Bk 2/7 No.41 p.405-407	Pr.	A Rondo of the favorite Dance, Off She Goes	6/8 D maj Comodo	Printed by Joseph Dale & Son	PF
Dale, Joseph [attr. JG, p.19]	Bk 2/7 No.42 p.409-412	Pr.	Dale's Collection of Reel's and Dances	1. Paddy O Carroll 6/8 D maj 2. La Fille de Brussel 6/8 A maj 3. The Maltese 6/8 D maj 4. Up & war them a' Willie 4/4 A maj 5. La Romanella 6/8 Bb maj 6. Nothing 2/4 C maj 7. Takeli 6/8 C maj 8. Donala O Cready, or Murdoch O Rouck 6/8 F maj 9. The New Waltz 3/8 Bb maj 10. La Ridicule 6/8 F maj 11. She's over young to Marry yet 4/4 C maj 12. Greigs Pipes 4/4 A maj	Dale & Son	PF

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Davaux, Jean-Baptiste	Bk 1/5 No.2 p.1-33	Pr.	Six Favourite Quartetto's adapted for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin and Tenor	Quartetto I in F maj 1. Allegro Moderato 4/4 2. Tempo di Minuetto: Grazioso 3/4 Minore DC Quartetto II in C maj 1. 4/4 2. Presto assai 2/4 Quartetto III in F maj 1. Andante 4/4 2. Tempo di Minuetto: Grazioso e piano 3/4 Quartetto IV in D maj 1. 4/4 2. Presto Assai 2/4 Minore DC Quartetto V in A maj 1. 4/4 2. Presto 2/4 DC Quartetto VI in Eb maj 1. Adagio 3/4 2. Allegro 4/4	William Napier	PF
David, Thomas [attr. J.G. p.2]	Bk 2/1 No 2 p.7-11	MS	The Indulgent Shepherd 'Weep not my lovely Celia fair'	4/4 A maj 5 verses	PFBVB	
Davy, John	Bk 2/5 No.51 p.159-164	Pr.	May we ne'er want a Friend nor a Bottle to give him as sung by Mr Incledon, in Family Quarrels 'Since the first dawn of reason'	Andante Espressivo 4/4 E maj	Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis	VAS

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
De Mereaux, Nicholas- Jean Le Froid	K2 No.20 p.47-48 6me Année No.23	Pr.	Romance de Charlotte au Tombeau de Werther. Paroles de Mr. Arnault 'Ombre sensible ombre plaintive errante'	Doloroso 4/4 C min 5 verses	VAS	
De R, Madame	Bk 2/4 No.30 p.47 6e Année No.13	Pr.	Romance. 'Cruelle! Ô toi qui ne veut pas m'entendre'	2/4 C maj 4 verses	HVAS	
Delepanque (accompagnement)	K2 No.11 p.44-47 (No.21)	Pr.	Ariette Italienne 'Hélas! Si j'étois jolie folle coquette étourdie'	4/4 C maj	VAS	
Delepanque (accompagnement)	K2 No.18 p.40-41 (No.19)	Pr.	Air de Richard 'Ô Richard! Ô mon Roi!'	4/4 C maj	VAS	
Delepanque (accompagnement)	K2 No.29 p.20-21 8me Année No.9	Pr.	Aria de gli Schiavi per amore de Paisiello Felice pastorella al mio pastore allato'	Andante 6/8 C maj	VAS	
Delepanque (accompagnement)	K2 No.32 p.76-77 8me Année No.33	Pr.	Air de Colette et Colas 'Regne dans le cœur le plus tendre'	Andante 3/8 Bb maj	VAS	
Devienne, François	Bk 2/4 No.13 p.83 5e Année No.21	Pr.	Romance. Accompaniment by M. Blattman 'Que j'aime à voir les hirondelles'	Amoroso 6/8 F maj	HVAS	
Dézede, Nicholas	Bk 2/4 No.14 p.84-85	Pr.	Air des deux Pages. Accompt. By M. Blattman 'Aimerai qui voudra les hommes'	Allegro 4/4 C maj	HVAS	
Dízede, Nicholas	Bk 2/4 No.15 p.91 5e Année No.23	Pr.	Romance de Mme. L.M. De R. 'Ô toi qui fuis ton amie'	Affetuoso è poco lento 3/8 G maj	HVAS	
Dibden, Charles	Bk 1/7 No.50 p.124	Pr.	Poor Orra tink of Yanko dear A Favourite Song sung by Mrs Kennedy in the Islanders	Andante 4/4 A maj 3 verses	VBS	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Dibdin, Charles	Bk 1/3 No.12 p.25-27	MS	The Soldier's Adieu 'Adieu, adieu my only life my honour calls from thee'	Andante 4/4 Eb maj 3 verses		PVV
Dibdin, Charles	Bk 1/7 No.20 p.52	Pr.	The Lamplighter Written and composed by Mr Dibdin for his entertainment The Oddities 'I'm jolly Dick, the Lamplighter'	6/8 A maj 4 verses	No. 411 Strand	VBS
Dibdin, Charles	Bk 1/7 No.22 p.58	Pr.	Sound Argument Written and composed by Mr Dibdin for his entertainment called The Wags, or The Camp of Pleasure 'We bipeds made up of frail clay'	Allegretto 6/8 F maj 4 verses		PVV
Dibdin, Charles	Bk 1/7 No.47 p.22	Pr.	The Bachelor's Hall written and composed by Mr Dibdin for his entertainment called The Oddities 'To Bachelor's hall we good fellow's invite'	Allegretto 6/8 C maj 5 verses	Printed & Sold by the Author	VBS
Dibdin, Charles	Bk 2/5 No.14 p.40-42	Pr.	Yo heave ho. 'Sung by him in his New Land's End' 'My name d'ye fee's Tom Tough'	Andantino A maj 4 verses		PVV
Dibdin, Charles	Bk 2/5 No.24 p.70-73	Pr.	True Courage. 'Sung by him in his New Land's End' 'Why what's that to you if my eyes I'm a wiping'	Allegretto 3/4 F maj 4 verses	Printed & Sold by the Author	PVV

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Dibdin, Charles	Bk 1/3 No.5 p.12-14	MS	The Joys of the Country 'Let Bucks and let Bloods to praise London agree'	6/8 F maj 3 verses	PVV	
Dibdin, Charles [?] [attr. G/M, p.17]	Bk 1/3 No.6 p.15-16	MS	In Lionel and Clarissa 'Go and on my truth relying comfort to your cares'	Andante 2/4 F maj	VBS	
Dibdin, Charles [?] [attr. G/M, p.26]	Bk 1/7 No.10 p.18	MS	How imperfect is expression	2/4 F maj 1 verse only	VBS	
Dibdin, Charles [attr. G/M, p.18]	Bk 1/3 No.22 p.46-47	MS	'I that once was a ploughman a sailor now am'	Allegretto 4/4 F maj 4 verses	VBS	
Dignum, Charles	Bk 2/5 No.38 p.116-118	Pr.	The Fight off Camperdown 'Enroll'd in our bright Annals'	Andante 6/8 C maj 7 verses	Longman & Broderip	PVV
Dufeuille	Bk 2/3 No.13 p.50-53	MS	Air Varié	Andante 4/4 Bb maj with 5 variations	PF	
Dufeuille	Bk 2/4 No.2 p.150-151 3 ^e Année No.36	Pr.	Charlotte au Tombeau de Werther 'En proie aux noirs chagrin'	Andantino-Recitativo-Andantino 4/4 C min 5 verses	HVAS	
Dufeuille	Bk 2/4 No.4 p.168-171 3 ^e Année No.40	Pr.	Pot Pourri	Andante-Maj-Mineur-Majeur-Mineur Poco grave-Majeur 2/4 C min	HP	
Dufeuille	Bk 2/4 No.5 p.206-207 3 ^e Année No.49	Pr.	Air du Roi Théodore à Venise	Allegro Moderato 4/4 Eb maj	HP	
Dufeuille	Bk 2/4 No.8 p.41-43	Pr.	Regrets de Pétrarque 'Séparé pour toujours de celle qu'il aimoit'	Andantino-Recit-Andantino Eb maj 4 verses	HVAS	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Dussek, Jan Ladislav	Bk 2/7 No.17 p.229-237	Pr.	To, To, Carabo' or Il etait un petit homme, arranged as a rondo for the Piano Forte with Imitations by J.L. Dussek	Allegretto Scherzo 2/4 G maj	Cianchettini & Sperati	PF
Dussek, Jan Ladislav	Bk 2/6 No.1 p.1-15	Pr.	Grand Duet for the Harp and Piano Forte Op.72	1. Allegro maestoso 4/4 Eb maj 2. Larghetto Affettuoso 2/4 G maj 'Les Souvenirs' 3. Rondo con brio 2/4 Eb maj	Printed by Clementi, Banger, Collard, Davis & Collard	HPD
Dussek, Jan Ladislav	Bk 2/6 No.14 p.146-151	Pr.	Within a Mile of Edinburgh as a Rondo for the Piano Forte.	1. Andante Sostenuto 4/4 Bb maj (+ cadenza) Var 1 Var 2 Var 3 Con Espressione (+ cadenza) Allegretto 2/4 - Tempo Primo- Allegro	Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard and Davis	PF

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Eichner, Ernesto	Bk 1/6 No.6 p.1-38	Pr.	Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Forte Piano with Accompaniments for a Violin and Bass ad Libitum	Sonata I in A maj 1. Andantino molto 3/8 2. Allegro 4/4 Sonata II in Bb maj 1. Allegro moderato 4/4 2. Tempo di Menuetto 3/4 Sonata III in Eb maj 1. Andantino Poco Adagio 2/4 2. Allegro 4/4 Sonata IV in D maj 1. Allegro 2/4 2. Minuetto & Trio D min 3/4 Sonata V in C maj 1. Allegro 4/4 2. Minuet & Trio G maj / G min 3/4 Sonata VI in F min 1. Andante poco Adagio 2/4 2. Allegro 2/4	Preston & Son	PF
Eloïus, J (accompaniment)	K2 No.22 p.10-11 6me Année No.5	Pr.	Romance de Richard cœur de lion 'Une fièvre brûlante un jour meterassait'	3/4 C maj 2 verses	VAS	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Evance, William	Bk 1/4 No.3 p.1-9	Pr.	A favorite Concerto for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with Accompaniments Dedicated to Mrs Davison	Concerto 1. Allegro 4/4 Eb maj 2. Largo Affettuoso: Minuetto 3/4 Eb maj 3. Allegro con brio: Rondo 2/4 Eb maj	Longman & Broderip	PSQ
Federici, Vincenzo [attr. G, p.4]	Bk 2/2 No.29 p.87	MS	Recit- 'E per me tu ti perdi' Duet- 'La destra ti chiedo mio dolce'	Recit- Andante Maestoso 4/4 D maj Duet- Larghetto 3/4 G maj	SQVD	
Felton, William	Bk 1/1 No.7 p.10-12 & p.18	MS	Air with variations by Mr Felton	2/4 A maj 8 variations	PF	
Felton, William	Bk 1/1 No.13 p.25-28	MS	Composed by Mr Felton	3/4 C maj	PF	
Ferrari, Giocomo Gotifredo	Bk 2/2 No.38 p.118	MS	Song from Mr Park's Travels. The words by the Duchess of Devonshire. The loud wind roar'd the rain fell fast'	Adagio 4/4 C maj 2 verses	VAS	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Fiorillo, Federigo	Bk 2/6 No.3 p.1-17	Pr.	Serenata for the Piano Forte & Harp, Op 50. With an accompaniment for the Flute or Violin, & Violincello (ad libitum)	Introduzione- Larghetto 3/4 F maj 1. Allegro non troppo 4/4 F maj 2. Andantino Con Grazia E' Semplicita 3/4 A maj 3. Scherzo Allegro 3/8 Bb maj 4. Alternativo 3/8 C min 5. Larghetto un Poco Adagio 3/4 F maj 6. Finale: Vivace 2/4 F maj	HPD	
Fiorillo, Federigo	Bk 2/7 No.35 No.343-353	Pr.	Pas de Cinque, and Pas de Deux, Danced by Mon. Deshayes & Mad. Monterey, in the Ballet of Le Mariage Secrèt	Pas de Cinque. 1. Allemande Andantino 4/4 C maj 2. Waltz Vivace 3/8 G maj Pas de Deux 1. Rondo Allegretto 2/4 C maj	Printed & Sold by Rt. Birchall	PF
Fischer, Johann Christian	Bk 2/7 No.7 p.159-162	Pr.	An Old Favorite Air Dulce Domum with the Variations as Composed & Performed by J.C.Fischer Adapted for the Harpichord or Piano Forte by J.B.Cramer	Moderato 4/4 Bb maj	Printed & Sold by Mr. Fischer	PF
Froment	K2 No.35 p.120-121 8me Année No.48	Pr.	Romance par Mr Froment 'Laissez moi folates amies la tristesse'	C maj 6/8 3 verses	VAS	
Gautherot	Bk 2/4 No.3 p.152	Pr.	Romance, Air par Madame Gautherot. Accompt. 'Lise se voudroit se rendre'	C min 6/8 3 verses	HVAS	
Gautherot [inr] (accompainment)	K2 No.25 p.70-72 7me Année No.31	Pr.	Duo du Roi Théodore 'Filles charmantes, jeunes amantes'	Andantino 3/8 G maj	VDAS	
Gazzaniga, Giuseppe	Bk 2/2 No.20 p.61	MS	'Spera quest' anima mio bene in te Spera'	Andante 2/4 Eb maj	VBS	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Giordani, Tommaso	Bk 1/8 No.4 p.1-9	Pr.	Colin and Lucy, a favorite English Ballad by Mr Tickell	Colin and Lucy 1. 'Of Leinster, famed for Maidens' Larghetto 4/4 Eb maj 2. 'By Luch warned, of flatt'ring Swains take heed' Anciante 4/4 C maj 3. 'I hear a voice you cannot hear' Largo 6/8 Eb maj 4. 'Tomorrow, in the Church to wed' poco Anciante 3/4 Ab maj 5. 'She spoke, she died' Largo 2/4 F min 6. 'Then, what were perjur'd Colin's thoughts' Anciante 2/4 Bb maj 7. 'From the vain bride, Ah! Bride no more' Largo 3/4 Eb maj	PFBVB	
Giordani, Tommaso	Bk 2/5 No.59 p.197	Pr.	Damon's Bow'r 'How blithly pass'd the summer's day'	Larghetto 4/4 Eb maj	J. Bland	VDFB
Giordani, Tommaso	Bk 1/5 No.12 p.1-11	Pr.	A Duetto for Two Performers on One Piano Forte or Harpsichord	1. Allegro 2/4 C maj 2. Minuetto con Variazione 3/4 (3 Vars)	John Preston	PD
Giordani, Tommaso [?] [attr. G/M, p.16]	Bk 1/3 No.1 p.1-3	MS	'Tis in Vain Alcanzor's spies surround me'	Larghetto 3/4 Eb maj -Vivace 4/4		VBS
Giordani, Tommaso [?] [attr. G/M, p.18]	Bk 1/3 No.30 p.60	MS	Queen Mary's Lamentation 'I sigh and lament me in vain, these walls can but echo my woes'	3/4 G maj 3 verses		VBS
Gluck, Christoph Willibald Ritter von	Bk 1/7 No.48 p.115	Pr.	A Favourite Song Sung by Mr Tenducci at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden 'Che farò senza Euridice'	Andante 4/4 D maj	Welcker	SQV

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Grétry, André Ernest Modeste	Bk 2/4 No.12 p.184-185 4 ^e Année No.46	Pr.	Ouverture du Rival Confidant avec accompt. De Violin. Arranged by M. Blattman	Allegretto 6/8 C maj	HP	
Grétry, André Ernest Modeste	Bk 2/7 No 40 p.402-303	Pr.	Richard Cœur de Lion Varié par Mr Couperin Pere Organiste de la Chapelle du Roi	4/4 A min with 2 Variations	Les Srs Cousineau Pere et Fils	PF
Grétry, André Ernest Modeste [?] [attr. G./M., p.17]	Bk 1/3 No.14 p.31	MS	'Sous un berceau de Jasmin trouver une belle endormi'	2/4 F maj 2 verses	VAS	
Grétry, André Ernest Modeste [?] [attr. G./M., p.17]	Bk 1/3 No.18 p.39	MS	'La danse n'est pas ce que j'aime mais c'est la fille'	6/8 G maj	VBS	
Grétry, André Ernest Modeste [?] [attr. G./M., p.17]	Bk 1/3 No.10 p.21	MS	Air des Ballets de la Caravane	Allegro 2/4 C maj	PF	
Griffin, George Eugene	Bk 2/6 No.15 p.1-9	Pr.	The Subject of the favorite Cavatina, Non vi Fidate. Sung by Madame Catalini in the Opera La Frascatana, Arranged as a Rondo Respectfully Dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Maitland Campbell	Rondo Allegretto scherzo 6/8 F maj- Minore-Majore	Printed for the Author	PF
Griffin, George Eugene	Bk 2/6 No.16 p.1-21	Pr.	Sonata, for the Piano Forte Op.7. Composed and Respectfully Dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Maitland Campbell	1. Allegro 4/4 E maj 2. Adagio Non Troppo 3/4 B maj 3. Finale Allegretto 2/4 E maj- Poco piu Allegro	Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co.	
Guglielmi, Pietro Carlo	Bk 2/4 No.34 p.76-78	Pr.	Air de la Pastorella Nobile Accompt. By M. D.G. D.V. 'Ce jour heureux ce moment si prospère'	Allegretto 2/4 C maj	HVAS	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Guglielmi, Pietro Carlo	Bk 2/7 No.34 p.339-342	Pr.	Pas de Trois, Danced by Mr Vestris, Madille Angioline & Madille Mori, in the Ballet of L'Esposse Persane	Allegro Maestoso 4/4 D maj- Andantino Amoroso 2/4- Allegretto	Printed & Sold by Rt. Birchall	PF
Guglielmi, Pietro Carlo [attr. JC, p.13]	Bk 2/5 No.37 p.112-115	Pr.	Why with sighs my Heart is swelling sung by Mrs Billington at the vocal concerts	2/4 Amaj	Printed (with Mrs Billington's Permission) by Rt. Birchall	VAS
Gyrowetz, Adalbert	Bk 1/6 No.5 p.1-49	Pr.	Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for the Violin and Violoncello Composed and dedicated to Miss Townsend	Sonata I in A maj 1. Allegro Moderato 4/4 2. Larghetto Con Expressione 3/4 D maj 3. Rondo Moderato 6/8 A maj -Minor Andante- Tempo primo Sonata II Bb maj 1. Allegro con spirto 4/4 2. Larghetto 6/8 Eb maj 3. Rondo Non Troppo. Presto 2/4 Bb maj Sonata III Eb maj 1. Allegro Moderato 6/8 2. Adagio 2/4 Ab maj 3. Rondo Allegretto 2/4 Eb maj	Longman & Broderip	PF
Haigh, Thomas	Bk 2/2 No.22 p.65	MS	Leila, A Ballad 'Come Leila, Leila, Leila fill the Goblet up'	Allegretto 2/4 Bb maj 2 verses		VAS

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Haigh, Thomas	Bk 2/7 No.4 p.89-99	Pr.	Two Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin (ad Libitum). In which are introduced Favorite Scotch Airs. Composed & Dedicated to Miss Dering	Sonata 1 1. Non troppo Allegro 3/4 Bb maj 2. Andante. Scotch Air 4/4 Bb maj Sonata 2 1. Polonoise 3/4 A maj 2. Moderato. Scotch Air A maj 4/4	Printed for Rt. Birchall	PF
Handel, George Frideric	Bk 1/1 No.1 p.3	MS	March in Judas Maccabeus	4/4 G maj		PF
Handel, George Frideric	Bk 1/1 No.3 p.4-5	MS	Minuet in Ariadne	3/4 D maj		PF
Handel, George Frideric	Bk 1/1 No.10 p.17	MS	Susana sung by Sigr: Sibilia. Composed by Mr. Handell 'Ask if yon damask rose be sweet'	4/4 G min		VBS
Handel, George Frideric	Bk 1/1 No.15 p.31-33	MS	Water Piece Composed by Mr Handell	4/4 D maj		PF
Handel, George Frideric	Bk 1/1 No.30 p.74-75	MS	In Samson Composed by Mr Handell	3/8 G maj		PF
Handel, George Frideric	Bk 1/1 No.31 p.76-90	MS	Concerto 2 Mr Handell	1. A tempo ordinario 4/4 Bb maj- Adagio 2. Allegro 4/4 Bb maj 3. Adagio 4/4 G min ending in D maj 4. [Allegro ma non presto attr. G/M p.12] 3/8 Bb maj		PF
Handel, George Frideric [attr. G/M, p.11]	Bk 1/1 No.25 p.60-63	MS	Sung by a Boy in Susanna 'Chastity thou Cherub bright'	Andante Larghetto 4/4 F maj		VBS

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Handel, George Friderich, arr. John Marsh	Bk 1/5 No.13 p.1-16	Pr.	Handel's Hallelujah in the Messiah and Grand Coronation Anthem To which are prefix'd Two New Fugues; The whole adapted & composed for 2 Performers on one Organ or Harpsichord	1. Preludio: Largo 4/4 C maj Fuga: Allegro 2. Prelude: Largo Fuga: Allegro non troppo-Adagio 3. The Grand Hallelujah in the Messiah 4/4 D maj 4. Preludio: Largo e Staccato 4/4 D maj 5. Handel's Grand Coronation Anthem 4/4 D maj	R. Bremner	PD
Handel, George Friderich	Bk 2/1 No.1 p.1-6	MS	No title	1. Andante 4/4 C min 2. Allegro 3/8 G min		PF
Handel, George Friderich	Bk 2/2 No.2 p.3-5	MS	O death O death where is thy Sting	Andante 4/4 G min		VDFB
Handel, George Friderich	Bk 2/5 No.3 p.12	Pr.	Comfort Ye my People From the Messiah	Larghetto 4/4 E maj	W. Boag	PFBVB
Handel, George Friderich	Bk 2/5 No.4 p.13	Pr.	Total Eclipse. A Song in the Oratorio of Samson by Handel 'Total Eclipse, no sun no moon'	4/4 G maj		VBS
Handel, George Friderich	Bk 2/5 No.6 p.16-18	Pr.	Happy happy we. From Acis & Galatea	Presto 12/8 C maj	G. Walker	VDFB
Handel, George Friderich	Bk 2/5 No.12 p.34-35	Pr.	He was despised, from the Messiah	Largo 4/4 Eb maj	George Walker	PFBVB
Handel, George Friderich	Bk 2/5 No.17 p.51-52	Pr.	Come ever smiling Liberty, from Judas Maccabeus	Andante 6/8 A maj	C. Walker	PFBVB
Handel, George Friderich	Bk 2/5 No.18 p.53-54	Pr.	Consider fond Shepherd, from Acis and Galatea	Larghetto 3/4 C maj	C. Walker	PFBVB

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Handel, George Friderich	Bk 2/5 No.5 p.14-15	Pr.	'Angels ever bright 'O worse than death lead me ye Guards'	Larghetto 4/4 C maj- F maj	H. Andrews	PF/BVB
Handel, George Friderich [attr. JC, p.2]	Bk 2/1 No.4 p.15-20	MS	Overture in Rodelinda	C maj 4/4 then moves to 3/4 on P16 then 4/4 on P19		PF
Handel, George Friderich [attr. JC, p.2]	Bk 2/1 No.6 p.24-25	MS	Recit 'Israel attend to what your King'	4/4 C maj		PF/BVB
Handel, George Friderich [attr. JC, p.2]	Bk 2/1 No.7 p.26-30	MS	Overture in Esther	1. 4/4 Bbmaj 2. Adagio 3/4 G min		PF
Harington, Henry	Bk 1/7 No.39a p.77	Pr.	How sweet in the Woodlands	Moderato 3/4 G maj	Longman & Broderip	VDO
Harington, Henry	Bk 1/7 No.39b p.77	Pr.	How sweet in the Woodlands	Moderato 3/4 G maj		VBS
Harington, Henry [?] [attr. G/M, p.28]	Bk 1/7 No.31 p.81	MS	'The Egyptian Love Song 'Sweet doth blush the rosy morning'	4/4 F maj		VBS
Hasse, Johann Adolph	Bk 1/1 No.23 p.57-58	MS		3/8 F maj		PF
Hasse, Johann Adolph	Bk 1/1 No.28 p.70-72	MS		Allegro 4/4 F maj		PF
Haydn, Joseph	Bk 2/2 No.36 p.115	MS	'She never told her Love' The words by Shakespeare	Canzonetta- Largo assai e con espressione 4/4 Ab maj		VAS
Haydn, Joseph	Bk 2/3 No.7 p.27-32	MS	Sonata in C maj Hob XV/35 [G]	1. Allegro con Brio-Adagio-Tempo primo 4/4 C maj 2. Adagio 4/4 F maj 3. Finale- Allegro 3/4 C maj		PT

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Haydn, Joseph	Bk 2/3 No.24 p.72-74	MS	The Mermaids Song 'Now the dancing sunbeams play'	C maj 2/4 2 verses		VAS
Haydn, Joseph	Bk 2/3 No.25 p.75-77	MS	Recollection 'The season comes when first we met'	Adagio 3/4 F maj 2 verses		VAS
Haydn, Joseph	Bk 2/3 No.26 p.78-79	MS	A Pastoral Song 'My mother bids me bind my hair'	Allegretto 6/8 A maj 2 verses		VAS
Haydn, Joseph [attr. G/M, p.16]	Bk 1/3 No.2 p.4-6	MS	William 'The cliffs I from you airy step'	Allegretto 4/4 F maj		VBS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.35 p.1-3	Pr.	D'Airs non Connus avec Accompagnement de Harpe Dédiés à Madame De St. CY par M.Hinner. Romance. 'Astre charmant ami des belles tu semble fait pour les plaisirs'	C min 4/4- Majore DS		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.36 p.4-6	Pr.	Romance 'Cherchez au loin de faux plaisirs'	2/4 G maj		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.37 p.7-9	Pr.	Romance 'D'une cruelle indifférence, tu me reproche la froideur'	2/4 F maj 3 verses		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.38 p.10-11	Pr.	'Amour, amour, tu te fais bien connaître'	Andante Con Espressione 4/4 F maj 4 verses		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.39 p.11-12	Pr.	Air 'Si la Vénus qu'on adorait en Grèce'	Gracieux 2/4 Bb maj 3 verses		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.40 p.14-15	Pr.	Air Gai 'Que chacun boive à ce qu'il aime'	Gai 2/4 Eb maj 3 verses		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.41 p.16-17	Pr.	Air 'Folatret, cruelle et volage'	Très simple 6/8 A maj 3 verses		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.42 p.18-19	Pr.	Allegro 'Quand je vais au bois seullette'	2/4 C min 3 verses		HVAS

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.43 p.20-21	Pr.	Air simple 'Dans ces beaux lieux avant l'aurore'	Chanté très simplement 2/4 G maj 6 verses		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.44 p.22-23	Pr.	Air simple 'Ce lieu n'est il donc plus le même'	6/8 G maj 6 verses		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.45 p.24-25	Pr.	Romance très simple. La Rose Enlevée 'Hier asis, près d'un ormeau'	6/8 Bb maj 9 verses		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.46 p.26-29	Pr.	Air tendre 'Dors mon enfant clos ta paupière'	4/4 C min-6/8 C maj		HVAS
Hinner, Philipp Joseph	Bk 2/4 No.47 p.30-31	Pr.	Sonata	1. 2/2 G min 2. Rondo: Gai 2/2 G maj		PF
Holist, Matthias von	Bk 2/3 No.59 p.140-142	MS	On ne Sauroit trop embellir	Thema-Allegro 2/4 Bb maj then 5 variations		PF
Holist, Matthias von	Bk 2/7 No.27 p.309-311	Pr.	The Celebrated Fairy Dance (As danced in the first Circles of Fashion) arranged for the pianoforte	Allegro 2/4 Eb maj	Printed and Published by W.Thomas	PF
Hook, James	Bk 2/7 No.32 p.331-333	Pr.	The Celebrated Dance in Tekeli	Allegretto 6/8 F maj	Published at No.182 Sloane St.	PF
Hook, James	Bk 2/2 No.10 p.40	MS	Composed by Mr Hook Arranged as a Rondo for the Pianoforte by Louis Jansen	Andantino 4/4 C maj 3 verses		VBS
Hook, James	Bk 2/2 No.12 p.42	MS	The Cottagers Daughter 'Ah! Tell me ye Swain have you seen my Pastora'	Trio Vivace 2/4 G maj		VTPT

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Hook, James	Bk 2/2 No.13 p.43	MS	'Little Jack Horner 'Little Jack Horner sat in a corner'	Duo Andantino 6/8 D maj	VTPT	
Hook, James	Bk 2/2 No.14 p.43	MS	Hot Cross Buns 'One a penny two a penny, hot cross buns'	Trio allegro 2/4 A maj	VTPT	
Hook, James	Bk 2/2 No.15 p.44	MS	'Who comes there, who comes there'	Trio moderato 4/4 G maj	VTPT	
Hook, James	Bk 2/3 No.14 p.53-54	MS	'Little Jack Horner sat in a corner'	3/8 F maj	VDAS	
Hook, James	Bk 2/3 No.15 p.55	MS	'Who comes there, a Grenadier'	Pomposo 2/4 Bb maj	VDAS	
Hook, James	Bk 2/3 No.16 p.56-57	MS	'I'll sing a song of sixpence'	Moderato 4/4 F maj	VDAS	
Hook, James	Bk 2/3 No.34 p.97-98	MS	Dickory Dickory Dock	9/8 F maj	VDAS	
Hook, James	Bk 2/3 No.35 p.99	MS	See Saw Saccadown	6/8 Bb maj	VDAS	
Hook, James	Bk 2/3 No.36 p.100-101	MS	'The Death of poor Cock Robin 'Here, here his Cock Robin died'	Larghetto 3/4 F maj	VBS	
Hook, James	Bk 2/3 No.37 p.101-102	MS	Hushaby Baby	Andante 3/4 G maj	VDAS	
Hook, James	Bk 2/3 No.38 p.103	MS	Cock a Doodle Doo	Bb maj 2/4	VTPT	
Hook, James	Bk 2/3 No.38 p.104	MS	Tell tale tit	Moderato 6/8 F maj-Faster 2/4	VDAS	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Hook, James	Bk 2/5 No.21 p.61-63	Pr.	One half of the World don't know how t'other lives. A favorite song sung at Vauxhall Gardens. Sung by Mr Dignum 'Come round me good people'	Allegro non troppo 6/8 D maj 3 verses	Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis	VBS
Hook, James	Bk 2/5 No.27 p.80-83	Pr.	The Whim of the Day. A favorite Song sung by Mr. Dignum with the most unbounded applause at Vauxhall 'My Mother good woman'	Moderato 9/4 G maj - Un poco Allegro 6/8 3 verses	Clementi & Compy	VBS
Hook, James	Bk 2/5 No.31 p.94-96	Pr.	The Model. Sung at Vauxhall Gardens 'My friend is the Man'	Allegretto 2/4 A maj 3 verses	A. Bland & Weller's	P/V
Hook, James	Bk 2/5 No.50 p.157-158	Pr.	The Wedding Day 'What virgin, or shepherd'	Moderato 4/4 F maj 3 verses	W. Gawler	VBS
Hook, James	Bk 1/7 No.1 p.1-4	Pr.	Ma Chère Amie Written by a Lady	Andantino 2/4 Bb maj	Longman and Broderip	POS
Hook, James	Bk 1/7 No.21 p.55	MS	'Goosey Goosey Gander, where shall I wander'	4/4 F maj		VDB
Hook, James	Bk 1/7 No.23 p.62	Pr.	Donna Della Sung by Mr Bland in the Opera of Jack of Newbury 'When cupid first his trade began'	Allegretto 2/4 A maj 3 verses	A. Bland & Weller's	VBS
Hook, James [attr. G/M, p.18]	Bk 1/3 No.24 p.50-51	MS	The Wedding Day 'What Virgin or Shepherd in Valley or Grove'	Moderato 4/4 F maj 2 verses		VBS
Hook, James [attr. JG, p.3]	Bk 2/2 No.16 p.46	MS	Make a Cake Bakers Man	Duo vivace 6/8 G maj		VDAS

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Howard, Samuel	Bk 1/1 No.6 p.9	MS	The Faithfull Shepherdess by Mr Howard 'At setting day and rising morn'	2/2 F maj 2 verses	VBS	
Howard, Samuel	Bk 1/1 No.21 p.47-53	MS	Sung by Mr Beard. Set by Mr Howard 'The Chace is o'er and on the plain'	Recitativo 4/4 C maj- 4/4 F maj	VBS	
Howard, Samuel [attr. G/M, p.11]	Bk 1/1 No.24 p.59	MS	The Lass of St Osynh 'At St Osynh by the Mill'	4/4 G maj	VBS	
Jackson, William	Bk 2/5 No.55 p.189-190	Pr.	The Ladies Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons, Canzonets, Madrigals, &c. 'Sad is My Day and Lingering Night'	Adagio 6/8 Bb maj	F. Linley	VDFB
Jackson, William	Bk 1/7 No.5 p.5	Pr.	A favourite Song sung by Mr Bannister in the Lord of the Manor 'When first this humble roof I knew'	Pastorale Andante 6/8 F maj	John Preston	VBS

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Jackson, William	Bk 1/8 No.1 p.1-27	Pr.	Twelve Canzonets for Two Voices	1. 'Time has not thin'd my flowing hair' Allegro 4/4 A maj 2. 'The day that saw thy beauty rise' Andante 4/4 D maj 3. 'From the plains from the Woodlands and Groves' Andante affettuoso 4/4 Bb maj 4. 'Now I know what it is to have strove' Affettuoso 3/4 E maj 5. 'Ah. Where does my Phillida stray' Allegro 4/4 G min 6. 'The Pilgrim that journeys all Day' Andante 4/4 C maj 7. 'Take, oh take those lips away' Allegro molto 4/4 Eb maj 8. 'O Venus, hear, O hear my ardent Pray'r' Allegro con affetto 6/8 C min 9. 'Do not unbind two gentle hearts' Allegro 3/8 D maj 10. 'Sad is my day and ling'ring night' Adagio 6/8 Bb maj 11. 'Ah, what avails thy Lover's Pray'r' Allegro affettuoso 3/8 D maj 12. 'Alas from the Day that we meet' Largo 3/4 F# min	Longman & Broderip VDFBO	
Jommelli, Nicolo	Bk 2/3 No.30 p.87-88	MS	Music from the Oratory while the Ghost appears	3/4 Eb maj		PHC

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Jones, W	Bk 2/3 No.9 p.38-39	MS	'Lesson by W Jones'	1. 4/4 C maj 2. Minuetto 3/4 C maj	PF	
Jordan, Dorothea	Bk 2/2 No.19 p.60	MS	The Blue Bells of Scotland	Moderato 4/4 Eb maj	VAS	
Jousse, Jean	Bk 2/7 No.1 p.1-32	Pr.	The Piano Forte made easy to every Capacity and the Art of Fingering clearly explained in a series of Instructions and Examples. To which is added 40 lessons composed & selected from the best Classical Author, arranged in the principal keys with the fingering marked where necessary	1. Of Notes 2. Of Clefs 3. Names of the Notes 4. Of the different sorts of Notes 5. Of the Dot 6. Of the Rests 7. Of the Scale or Gamut 8. Of Sharps, Flats and Naturals 9. Of Keys or Moods 10. Of Time 11. Of Counting and beating Time 12. Of beating Time 13. Of Graces 14. Explanation of various Characters To which is added 40 lessons	Printed for the Author	PF
Kelly, Michael	Bk 2/5 No.16 p.47-50	Pr.	In the rough blast heaves the Billow. Sung at Theatre Royal Drury Lane in the Comedy of Fashionable Friends	Andante 2/4 Eb maj 3 verses	M. Kelly	VAS
Kelly, Michael	Bk 2/5 No.20 p.57-60	Pr.	Go and Sin no More. A Sacred Song sung by Mrs Crouch 'O woman if by sinful wile'	Larghetto 3/4 F maj- Allegro 4/4 C maj	VAS	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Kelly, Michael	Bk 2/5 No.25 p.74-75	Pr.	The Husband's Return, or the Answer to No My Love No 'I own I was captur'd by Emmily's beauty'	6/8 F maj 2 verses	Printed for the Author	VBS
Kelly, Michael [attr. G/M, p.14]	Bk 1/2 No.19 p.36-37	MS	March in Blue Beard	Maestoso 2/4 Bb maj	PF	
Kelly, Michael [attr. JG, p.13]	Bk 2/5 No.35 p.105-107	Pr.	The Wife's Farewell, or No My Love No. In the much admired Farce of Age To- Morrow 'While I hang on your bosom distracted'	Espressivo 2/4 C maj 2 verses	Engrav'd & Printed for the Author (by R. Branston)	VAS
Kelly, Michael [attr. JG, p.6]	Bk 2/3 No.22 p.65-68	MS	'Twilight glimmers o'er the Steep Fatima, fatima'	3/8 A maj	VDAS	
Kelly, Michael [attr. JG, p.7]	Bk 2/3 No.28 p.81-86	MS	Megan oh oh Megan 'Sleep you on wake you lady'	Andante 3/8 C maj 3 verses	VTO	
Kelly, Michael [attr. JG, p.7]	Bk 2/3 No.29 p.86	MS	The Spectre Song 'Lullaby, lullaby hush the me Dear'	3/4 A maj	VBS	
Kelly, Michael [attr. JG, p.7]	Bk 2/3 No.31 p.88	MS	Jubilate on the Ghosts retiring	4/4 G maj	VQO	
Kelly, Thomas [attr. JG, p.9]	Bk 2/3 No.71	MS	An Evening Hymn	4/4 Eb maj	VBS	
Kiallmark, George	Bk 2/7 No 13 p.201-209	Pr.	Robin Adair A Favorite Irish melody, with variations for the piano forte	Andante Semplice 3/4 A maj- Var 1 Gayment- Var 2 Siciliano- Var 3 Marchia Risoluto- Var 4 Brillante- Var 5 A Tempo	Mitchell's Musical Library	PF
King, Matthew Peter	Bk 2/7 No.29 p.317-321	Pr.	Sir David Hunter Blair's Reel. Arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte	Molto vivace 4/4 F maj	Rt. Birchall	PF

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Knapton, Philip	Bk 2/6 No.2 p.1-5	Pr.	Caller Herring, A Favorite Scotch Air. Arranged with Variations as a Duet for the Harp & Piano Forte	1. Maestoso 4/4 Eb maj 2. Var 1 3. Var 2 4. Var 3 Un piu Andante a tempo questo 5. Var 4 et Coda Allegretto Scherzando	Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co	HPD
Kotzwara, Frantisek [attr. G/M, p.20]	Bk 1/4 No.4 p.1-8	Pr.	The Battle of Prague. A Sonata for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniment for a Violin, Bass &c.	1. F maj 4/4 Slow March 2. 'Word of Command' Largo 4/4 First signal Canon, The bugle horn for the Cavalry, Answer to the first signal Cannon, The Trumpet Call 3. The Attack-Prussians, Imperialists F maj 4/4 Canon, Flying Bullets, Attack with Swords, Horses Galloping, Light Dragoons advancing, heavy cannonade, Trumpet of recall 4. 'Cries of the Wounded' Grave F min 4/4 leading to the 'Trumpet of Victory' 5. God Save the King 3/4 F maj 6. 'Turkish Music' Quick Step 2/4 C maj 7. Finale Allegro 2/4 F maj 8. 'Go to bed home' Andante 3/4-Tempo Primo 2/4	Longman and Broderip PF	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Kotzwara, Frantisek [attr. G/M, p.23]	Bk 1/6 No.4 p.1-8	Pr.	The Battle of Prague A Sonata for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin, Bass &c.	1. F maj 4/4 Slow March 2. 'Word of Command' Largo 4/4 First signal Canon, The bugle horn for the Cavalry, Answer to the first signal Cannon, The Trumpet Call 3. The Attack- Prussians, Imperialists F maj 4/4 Canon, Flying Bullets, Attack with Swords, Horses Galloping, Light Dragoons advancing, heavy cannonade, Trumpet of recall 4. 'Cries of the Wounded' Grave F min 4/4 leading to the 'Trumpet of Victory' 5. God Save the King 3/4 F maj 6. 'Turkish Music' Quick Step 2/4 C maj 7. Finale Allegro 2/4 F maj 8. 'Go to bed home' Andante 3/4- Tempo Primo	Longman and Broderip	PF
Krumpoltz, Jean- Baptiste	Bk 1/7 No.25 p.67	MS	Hither love thy beauties bring 'Come in all thy bloom of charms'	Andante con expressione 2/4 Eb maj 4 verses	VBS	
Krumpoltz, Jean- Baptiste	Bk 2/4 No.22 p.112-113 No.38	Pr.	Romance de Concerto. Accompt de M.T. 'Calme les maux que j'endure'	Amoroso 2/4 A min-Majeur A maj	VAS	
L'abbé Roze (accompagniment)	K2 No.15 p.54 (No.25)	Pr.	Romance de la Galatee 'J'aimois une jeune Bergere, fon amour'	4/4 G min	VAS	
La Maniere	K2 No.1 p.1 4me Année No.1	Pr.	Journal D'Airs Choisis avec Accompagnement de Harpe. Prelude	Andante 4/4 C min	PF	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
La Maniere (accompaniment)	K2 No.2 p.2-3	Pr.	'J'ai perdu ma douce amie l'idole de mon cœur'	Larghetto 3/4 C maj		VAS
La Maniere (accompaniment)	K2 No.8 p.38-40 (No.18)	Pr.	Air du droit du Seigneur. 'Ah! Fi par fois J'ai d'la tris tesse'	Allegro Moderato 2/4 Bb maj		VAS
La Maniere (accompaniment)	K2 No.19 p.118-119 (No.52)	Pr.	Air de la Dot 'Dans le bosquet l'autre matin'	Allegretto 2/4 G maj 3 verses		VAS
La Maniere (accompaniment)	K2 No.24 p.43-44 6me Année No.21	Pr.	Romance de Nina 'Quand le bien aimé reviendra près de sa languissante amie'	Andante 6/8 Eb maj 3 verses		VAS
Latour, Francis Tatton	Bk 2/5 No.13 p.36-39	Pr.	The Chanteuse. Arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte by Mr Latour	Allegretto 6/8 G maj 3 verses	Bland & Weller's PF	
Latour, Francis Tatton	Bk 2/7 No.18 p.240-257	Pr.	The Nightingale, a favorite Military Rondo, with Twelve Variations for the Forte Piano with an accompaniment for Flute ad libitum. Composed and Dedicated to the Viccountess Hamilton	Allegretto 2/4 C maj- Var 1- Var 2- Var 3- Var 4 (Flute part above) Andante- Var 5 Allegretto- Var 6 Andante Con espressione (flute interjections) Var 7 Allegretto- Var 8 (flute solo)- Var 9 Brilliant Allegretto Var 10- Var 11 Adagio Molto Espressivo- Var 12- Allegretto	Rt. Birchall	PFO

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Latour, Francis Tatton	Bk 2/7 No.19 p.259-266	Pr.	Lieber Augustine A favorite Suabian Air with Variations for the Piano Forte Composed and Dedicated to Madame C. Dubost	Antendantino 3/8 C maj -Var 1- Var 2- Var 3 Alla Pollacca- Var 4- Var 5- Var 6 Minore- Var 7 Maggiore- Var 8- Var 9- Var 10- Var 11 Minore alla Pollacca- Var 12 Maggiore Martiale	Rt. Birchall	PF
Latour, Francis Tatton	Bk 2/7 No.20 p.267-270	Pr.	Cory Owen A favorite Dance Performed by Mr Weppert at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane in the Pantomime of Harlequin Amulet, arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte or Harp by Mr Latour	Allegro Moderato 6/8 Bbmaj	Printed & Sold at Bland & Weller's	PF
Latour, Francis Tatton	Bk 2/6 No.6 p.1-11	Pr.	Le Retour de Windsor a New Sonata with or Without Additional Keys, With an Accompaniment for a Violin (Ad libitum). Composed and Dedicated to Miss Olympia Cazalet Op.9	Le Retour de Windsor. Sonata 1. Adagio non troppo 4/4 D min- Allegro Moderato 3/4 D maj 2. Windsor Park. Rondo Allegretto 2/4 D maj	Printed & Sold at Bland & Weller	PF
Latour, Francis Tatton [?] [attr. G/M, p.15]	Bk 1/2 No.34 p.71	MS	The Nightingale	Allegro 2/4 C maj		
Laurent (accompagnement)	K2 No.34 p.90-91 8me Année No.39	Pr.	Romance de Laval et Viviane 'Souvent une erreur passagere nous fais' 3 verses	Andantino 6/8 F maj	VAS	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Le Moyne, Jean	Bk 2/4 No.21 p.146-147 5 ^e Année No.37	Pr.	Ouverture des Pretendus. Arrangée par M. Blattman	Allegro 2/4 Bb maj		HP
Le Moyne, Jean Baptiste [attr. G/M, p.13]	Bk 1/2 No.1 p.1-3	MS	Ouverture des Pretendus	Allegro 2/4 Bb maj		PF
Lee, Lady Caroline	Bk 1/2 No.25 p.48	MS	The Gloucester Waltz	Lady Caroline Lee's Waltz 3/8 Eb maj		PF
Leveridge, Richard and Yoslington [attr. G/M, p.27]	Bk 1/7 No.29 p.73	Pr.	The Tippling Philosophers 'Diogenes surly and proud'	4/4 Bmin 6 verses	Longman & Broderip	VBS
Leveridge, Richard	Bk 2/1 No.3 p.12-14	MS	In Macbeth 'Let's have a Dance upon the heath'	6/4 F maj		VBS
Linley, Thomas [attr. G/M, p.26]	Bk 1/7 No.17 p.38	Pr.	The Woodman Words by William Pearce 'Stay Traveller, tarry here tonight'	Moderato 4/4 C maj - Vivace 3/8	Preston & Son	VBS
Linley, Thomas [senior, attr. JG, p.14]	Bk 2/5 No.47 p.148-150	Pr.	The Woodman 'Stay Traveller tarry here to Night'	Moderato 4/4 C maj - Vivace 3/8 C maj	Preston & Son	VBS
Linley, William	Bk 2/5 No.45 p.140-144	Pr.	Why Busy Boys. Sung at the Dillertante Concerts 'Most humbly inscribed (by Permission) to Mrs. Henry Jackson of Beckenham, Kent	Recit- Affettuoso 3/4 Eb maj 3 verses		VLBS

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
M.D.G.D.V. (accompagniment)	K2 No.17 p.18-19 (No.10)	Pr.	Air de Panurge dans l'isle des Lanternes 'Les voyages font à la mode'	Allegretto 2/4 G maj	VAS	
M.D.G.D.V. (accompagniment)	Bk 2/4 No.17 p.143-145 5e Année No.36	Pr.	Air de l'Impresario in Augustine. Accompt by M.D.G.D.V. 'Je sens mon cœur, près d'hilas'	Allegretto 2/4 G maj	HVAS	
M.D.G.D.V. (accompagniment)	Bk 2/4 No.23 p.7-9 6e Année No.2	Pr.	Air de la Villanella Rapita. Accompt. By M.D.G.D.V. 'Belle rose d'amourette, viens'	Andantino Gracioso 2/4 Bb maj	HVAS	
Major, Joseph	Bk 2/5 No.40 p.121-124	Pr.	A Farewell. 'Oncemore enchanting girl, adieu' Composed and Respectfully Inscribed to Mrs Wm Sharp	Tenderly 2/4 Eb maj	Printed for the Author.	VBS
Major, Joseph	Bk 2/5 No.43 p.134-136	Pr.	Far o'er the Western Ocean. Composed and Respectfully Inscribed to Mrs Hall	Moderato 4/4 Eb maj 3 verses	Printed & Sold for the Author	P/V
Martini	K2 No.39 p.35-37 9me Année No.14	Pr.	Romance de Mr Martini. 'j'ai perdu le bien enchanteur'	Lento Eb maj 5 verses	VAS	
Mazzinghi, Joseph	Bk 2/5 No.36 p.108-111	Pr.	A Soldier to his own Fireside. Sung by Miss De Camp at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane	Andante 3/4 G maj	Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine	VBS
Mazzinghi, Joseph	Bk 2/7 No.24 p.297-299	Pr.	A Medley Divertimento for the piano forte	Larghetto 6/8 A maj- Vivace 2/4 A maj	Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co.	PF

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Mazzinghi, Joseph	Bk 2/7 No.25 p.301-303	Pr.	Air Grotesque for the pianoforte	Brillante 4/4 C maj	Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co.	PF
Mazzinghi, Joseph	Bk 2/7 No.26 p.305-307	Pr.	A Second Air Grotesque for the pianoforte	Vivace 3/8 C maj	Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co.	PF
Mazzinghi, Joseph [?] [attr. G/M, p.14]	Bk 1/2 No.13 p.22	MS	?	Allegretto 2/4 A maj		PF
Mazzinghi, Joseph [?] [attr. G/M, p.14]	Bk 1/2 No.14 p.24	MS	?	2/4 D maj		PF
Mazzinghi, Joseph [attr. G/M, p.14]	Bk 1/2 No.12 p.22	MS	Les Trois Sultanes	Allegretto 4/4 C maj		PF
Mazzinghi, Joseph [attr. G/M, p.14]	Bk 1/2 No.15 p.25-33	MS	Sonata	1. Spiritoso 3/4 G maj 2. Larghetto 6/8 C maj 3. Vivace 2/4 G maj		PF
Mazzinghi, Joseph [attr. JC, p.3]	Bk 2/2 No.6 p.35	MS	Song in Ramah Droog. Sung by Miss Waters 'Happy were the Days'	Larghetto 2/4 C maj 2 verses	VBS	
Mellish	Bk 1/3 No.19 p.40-41	MS	My Phillida- a favourite Arietta 'My Phillida Adieu Love'	4/4 G maj 2 verses	VAS	
Mellish	Bk 2/2 No.31 p.103	MS	Catch 'Never from thee will I part'	2/4 Eb maj	VTO	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Meyer, J	K2 No.5 p.8	Pr.	Romance	Minore 4/4 G maj		VAS
Monro, John	Bk 2/6 No.7 p.1-12	Pr.	Le Retour de l'Été. A favourite Divertimento for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment (ad libitum) for the German Flute or Violin.	1. Divertimento Lento 6/8 D min- Con Spirito 4/4 D maj 2. Larghetto 3/4 G maj 3. March Maestoso 4/4 D maj- Trio 4. Rondo Allegro Moderato 2/4 D maj- Mineur-Majeur	Printed by Button & Whittaker	PF
Moore, Thomas	Bk 2/5 No.1 p.1-4	Pr.	When Time who steals our years away Dedicated to Mrs Henry Tighe of Rosanna	6/8 A maj	Signed by the publisher	VAS
Moore, Thomas [attr. JG, p.8]	Bk 2/3 No.47 p.120-122	MS	Here's the Bower	With expression 2/4 C maj		
Moore, Thomas [attr. JG, p.8]	Bk 2/3 No.50 p.126-127	MS	Fly not yet	6/8 D maj 2 verses		VAS
Moore, Thomas [attr. JG, p.8]	Bk 2/3 No.53 p.130-131	MS	Eveleen's Bow'r- Irish Melody 'Oh! Weep for the hour when to Eveleen's Bow'r'	Plantively 4/4 A maj 3 verses		VAS
Moreau, Jean Baptiste	K2 No.26 p.19-20 7me Année No.9	Pr.	J'ai cru l'Amour un Enfant plein de charmes'	Andante 2/2 G maj 3 verses		VAS
Mornington, Lord	App 1 No.1	MS	Glee Robinhood	4/4 F maj - 6/8		VQO
Moulds, J	Bk 2/5 No.56 p.191-192	Pr.	Fair Maria of the Dale 'Tis not the tint of Ruby hue'	Amoroso 2/4 F maj 2 verses	J. Bland	VDB

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	Bk 2/2 No.40 p.120	MS	Away with melancholy	Andante 4/4 G maj		VDAS
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	Bk 2/5 No.42 p.129-133	Pr.	The Manly Heart. A favorite duett for two voices with an accompaniment for the piano forte 'The manly heart with love o'er flowing'	Andantino 6/8 Eb maj	Longman and Broderip	VDAS
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus [attr. G/M, p.14]	Bk 1/2 No.18 p.35	MS	The Duke of York's New March performed by the Coldstream Regiment	4/4 C maj	PF	
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus [attr. JG, p.7]	Bk 2/3 No. 27 p.80	MS	'Deh prendi un dolce amplexo amico'	6/8 C maj		VDAS
Mr D +++ (accompaniment)	K2 No.10 p.41-43 (No.20)	Pr.	Air de la Caravanne 'Vainement Almida encore veut m'enflammer par ses attrait's'	Allegretto 2/4 C maj		VAS
Mr R	K2 No.3 p.4-5	Pr.	Air de Didon. 'Un noir chagrin qui me devore'	Largo 4/4 C min		VAS
Mr. +++	K2 No.30 p.62-63 8me Année No.27	Pr.	'Faut-il donc que tous les hommes obéissent'	Andante 2/4 Eb maj		VAS

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Musigny	K2 No.42 p.10-19	Pr.	2e Recueil de Six Romances d'Estelle avec Accompagnement de Harpe ou Piano Forte dédiées à son Altesse Serenissime Monsieur Le Prince de Condé par Made. De Musigny, élève de M. Krumpoltz	(No.7) Page 10-11 'Gaston le sort de la patrie est remis' Maestoso 2/2 Eb maj 3 verses (No.8) Page 12 'Airbre charmante qui me rappel' Andante poco Larghetto 2/4 Eb maj 3 verses (No.9) Page 13 'Vous qui loin d'une amante complez Larghetto amoro 6/8 Bb maj 3 verses (No.10) Page 14-15 'Voici venir le doux printemps' Allegretto 6/8 F maj 4 verses (No.11) Page 16-17 'Du soleil qui te suit trop lente Andante con Expressione 6/8 C min 3 verses (No.12) Page 18-19 'Beau nardise qu'une Berger' Andante amoro 4/4 G min- C maj 2 verse	Signed by the publisher 'De Rouille'	VAS
Naumann, Johann Gottlieb	Bk 2/2 No.8 p.37	MS	Vino Vecchio. Canzonetta Aria & Coro	2/4 Bb maj Da Capo		VBS
Naumann, Johann Gottlieb	Bk 1/7 No.7 p.7	Pr.	Vino Vecchio Canzonetta Aria e Coro 'Vino Vecchio donne giovanini'	2/4 Bb maj	Preston and Son	VBS

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Niccolai, Valentino	K1 No.1 p.1-57	Pr.	Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord With an Accompaniment for a Violin. Op. III. Composed and humbly Dedicated to Miss Matthews	Sonata 1 P2-13 1. Allegro 4/4 C maj 2. Rondo Poco Presto 6/8 C maj-Mineur- Majeur Sonata 2 P14-21 1. Allegro- Adagio-Primo Tempo 4/4 Eb maj 2. Rondo Allegretto 2/4 Eb maj Sonata 3 P22-29 1. Allegro assai 4/4 G min 2. Andante poco Allegretto Sempre piano e staccato 4/4 C maj 3. Presto 6/8 G min Sonata 4 P30-37 1. Allegro assai 2/4 Eb maj 2. Polonaise 3/4 Eb maj 3. Menuetto 3/4 Eb maj- Trio 3/4 C min- DC Sonata 5 P38-45 1. Allegro assai 3/4 G maj 2. Rondo Allegro 2/4 G maj-2/4 C maj- G maj Sonata 6 P46-57 1. Allegro Maestoso 4/4 F maj 2. Andante Poco Allegretto 4/4 C maj	Printed & Sold by J.Dale	PVO
Nicks, George	Bk 2/5 No.46 p.145-147	Pr.	Little Fanny, Sung by Mr Bland at Vauxhall Gardens 'Last night, as thro' the Vale I stray'd'	Allegretto 2/4 G maj 3 verses	Printed by Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis	VBS

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Paisiello, Giovanni	Bk 2/4 No.16 p.92-93	Pr.	Air du Bon Pere. Accompt. Par M. Blattman 'Non, Jeanette plus déspoir'	Andante 6/8 G maj	HVAS	
Paisiello, Giovanni	Bk 2/4 No.27 p.28 6e Année no.8	Pr.	Ouverture d'Orgon dans la lune. Arranged by M. Blattman	Allegro 4/4 C maj	HP	
Paisiello, Giovanni	Bk 2/2 No.4 p.11	MS	Recitative e Duetto del Sig'r Paesiello	Recit- 'La zingara mi guarda' 4/4 Duetto- 'Vedetela guardando oravi sta' Andante 4/4 A maj	Recit-VBSDuet-SQVD	
Paisiello, Giovanni [attr. G/M, p.17]	Bk 1/3 No.16 p.34-38	MS	Duo du Roi Theodore 'Filles charmantes, jeunes amantes daignez m'apprendre'	Andantino 3/8 G maj- 3/8 G min- C maj	VAS	
Paisiello, Giovanni [attr. JC, p.5]	Bk 2/2 No.43 Final page	MS	Vous l'ordonnez	2/4 F maj with no Bb in key sig 3 verses	VBS	
Paisiello, Giovanni, arr. Thomas Linley	Bk 1/7 No.52 p.27	Pr.	A favourite song in the New Comedy of the Heiress, as performed with universal applause at Drury Lane Theatre. Sung by Mrs Crouch 'For tenderness form'd in Life's early day'	2/4 Bbmaj	VAS	
Parsons, Sir William	Bk 2/2 No.39 p.119	MS	The mad Song sung by Mrs Jordan in 'The last of the family' 'Blest were the hours in which I stay'd'	6/8 F maj 2 verses	VAS	
Percy, John	Bk 2/5 No.39 p.119-120	Pr.	Sweet smells the brier. Ancient Sonnet by Spencer Most respectfully inscribed to the Right Honorable Lady Carberry	4/4 F maj	Printed for the Author	VAS

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Petillot (accompaniment)	K2 No.14 p.50 (No.24)	Pr.	Air de la Caravanne 'Tu me condamnes donc, ô fortune cruelle'	Larghetto 4/4 Bb maj	VAS	
Petrini, Francesco (accompaniment)	K2 No.36 p.122-124 8me Année No.49	Pr.	Air des trois Déesses Rivaux 'Je la tiens je la tiens encore'	Allegro 6/8 Bb maj	VAS	
Petrini, Francesco [accompaniment]	K2 No.37 p.126-127 8me Année No.50	Pr.	Air des trois Déesses Rivaux 'Sur les mortels, et sur les Dieux'	Andante 2/4 A maj	VDO	
Phillidor, François André [?][attr. G/M, p.26]	Bk 1/7 No.14 p.27	MS	Song in La Fée Urgele-Phillidor 'Ah, que l'amour est chose jolie'	4/4 Eb maj	VBS	
Piccinni, Niccolo	Bk 1/6 No.2 p.1-5	Pr.	Overture: La Buona Figliuola	1. Spiritoso 4/4 D maj 2. Presto 3/8	R. Bremner PF	
Piccinni, Niccolo	Bk 2/4 No.19 p.112-113	Pr.	Pastorale de Roland. Arrangée par M. Blattman	Moderato 2/4 Bb maj	HP	
Piccinni, Niccolo, arr. Thomas Carter [attr. G/M, p.21]	Bk 1/5 No.4 p.1-11	Pr.	The favorite Overture to La Buona Figliuola adapted for Two Performers on One Harpsichord or Piano Forte	1. Spiritoso D maj 4/4 2. Andante e mezza voce 3/8 F maj 3. Presto D maj 3/8	J. Preston PD	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Piccinni, Niccolo	Bk 2/3 No.8 p.33-37	MS	Overture to La Buona Figliuola	1. Spiritoso 4/4 D maj 2. Andante: a mezza voce 3/8 D min 3. Presto 3/8 D maj	PF	
Piercy, H	Bk 2/5 No.32 p.97-98	Pr.	The Beggar Girl, a Fashionable Ballad 'Over the Mountain and over the Moor'	Andante 6/8 F maj 3 verses	Henry Thompson	VBS
Pleyel, Ignaz	Bk 2/7 No.5 p.101-140	Pr.	Three Grand Sonatas for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord. In which are introduced for the Subjects of the Adagios & Last Movements select Scotish Airs with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violincello	Sonata 1- 1. Allegro Vivace C maj 4/4 2. Chanson Ecossaise Con Variazioni. Allegro moderato 4/4 C maj Sonata 2- 1. Allegro F maj 4/4 2. Air Ecossais. Adagio non troppo 3/4 Bb maj 3. Rondo Danse Ecossaise. Allegro 3/4 F maj Sonata 3- 1. Allegro 3/4 D maj 2. Air Ecossais. Adagio espressivo 3/4 D min 3. Rondo Danse Ecossaise. Allegro 4/4 D maj	Preston & Son	PF

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Pleyel, Ignaz	Bk 1/4 No.1 p.1-29	Pr.	Fourteen Favorite Sonatinas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin ad libitum Composed and Humbly dedicated to Her Highness the Dutchess of Wirtemberg	<p>Sonatina I in C maj</p> <p>1. Menuetto moderato 3/4</p> <p>2. Allegro 2/4</p> <p>Sonatina II in D maj</p> <p>1. Allegretto & Variazione 2/4</p> <p>2. Allegro 2/4</p> <p>Sonatina III in F maj</p> <p>1. Moderato 6/8</p> <p>2. Var 1- Var 2 6/8</p> <p>Sonatina IV in A maj</p> <p>1. Andante ma non troppo 2/4</p> <p>2. Minor-Major 2/4</p> <p>Sonatina V in G maj</p> <p>1. Adagio non troppo- Un poco piu moto 6/8</p> <p>2. Rondo Allegro 2/4</p> <p>Sonatina VI in A maj</p> <p>1. Andante Arioso 3/8</p> <p>2. Cantabile- Menuetto & Trio 3/4</p> <p>Sonatina VII in G maj</p> <p>1. Grazioso 3/4</p> <p>2. Allegro 2/4</p> <p>Sonatina VIII in A min</p> <p>1. Siciliano 6/8</p> <p>2. Allegro 2/4 A maj</p> <p>Sonatina IX in D maj</p> <p>1. Rondo Moderato 4/4</p> <p>2. Menuetto Allegretto & Trio 3/4</p> <p>Sonatina X in Bb maj</p> <p>1. Andante Grazioso 6/8</p> <p>2. Menuetto Allegretto & Trio 3/4</p> <p>Sonatina XI in F maj</p> <p>1. Menuetto Allegretto & Trio 3/4</p> <p>2. Rondo 2/4</p> <p>Sonatina XII in Eb maj</p> <p>1. Andante cantabile 3/4</p> <p>2. Menuetto Allegretto & Trio 3/4</p> <p>Sonatina XIII in C maj</p> <p>1. Andantino 2/4</p> <p>2. Menuetto & Trio 3/4</p> <p>Sonatina XIV in G maj</p> <p>1. Andante 2/4</p> <p>2. 5 Variations Presto 2/4</p>	Robert Birchall	PF

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Pleyel, Ignaz	Bk 1/4 No.2 p.1-12	Pr.	Pleyel's celebrated Overture performed with the utmost applause at the Hanover Square Concerts adapted for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord	Overture 1. Adagio maestoso 4/4 Eb maj-Allegro molto 3/4 2. Adagio ma non troppo 2/4 Bb maj 3. Minuetto Allegretto & Trio 3/4 Eb maj 4. Rondo Moderato 4/4 Eb maj	Preston & Son	PF
Pleyel, Ignaz	Bk 1/6 No.8 p.2-9	Pr.	Pleyel's celebrated Concertante adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin	1. Allegro assai Eb maj 4/4 2. Andante Grazioso 3. Menuetto Allegretto & Trio 3/4 4. Adagio Espressivo 2/4 5. Rondo Allegro 6/8 containing 4 Variations.	Preston & Son	PF

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Pleyel, Ignaz	Bk 1/6 No.9 p.1-101	Pr.	Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin, and Violoncello Composed and Dedicated (by Permission) to Her Majesty The Queen of Great Britain	Sonata I in C maj 1. Allegro Vivace 4/4 2. Rondo Moderato 4/4 3. Presto 6/8 Sonata II in C maj 1. Allegro 4/4 2. Adagio 3/8 G min 3. Rondeau Allegro molto 2/4 G maj Sonata III in Bb maj 1. Allegro molto 4/4 2. Andante Variazioni 2/4 (6 Vars) Sonata IV in A maj 1. 2/4 2. Andante 3/4 D maj 3. Rondeau Allegro Assai 2/4 A maj Sonata V in E min 1. 4/4 2. Andantino 3/4 C maj 3. Rondeau Allegretto 2/4 E min Sonata VI in D maj 1. Allegro 4/4 2. Rondeau Allegro molto 6/8	Longman & Broderip	PFO
Pope, Alexander	Bk 1/7 No.16 p.33	Pr.	The Dying Christian to his Soul A celebrated Ode by Mr Pope 'Vital spark of heav'ly flame'	Slow 4/4 Ab maj- Tenderly 2/4 F maj 'With Spirit F maj 4/4 O Death where is thy sting'	Longman and Broderip	VTO

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Powell, Thomas	Bk 1/2 No.32 p.64-67	MS	My Love she's but a Lassie yet, with Variations	Vivace 2/4 C maj with 7 variations.		PF
Powell, Thomas	Bk 2/6 No.5 p.1-10	Pr.	Kenloch of Kenloch. A Favorite Air, arranged for the Piano Forte, composed & Dedicated to Miss Burridge	1. Introduzione- Andante Largo 2/4 Bb maj (with cadenza at end) 2. Aria con Variazione Andante 6/8 Bb maj 3. Var 1- Var 2- Var 3- Var 4- Var 5- Var 6 Allegro 2/4 Var 7-Var 8 Allegro con moto 3/4- Lento at end	Messrs Phipps & Co	PF
Pring, I.C	Bk 2/5 No.54 p.185-188	Pr.	Bland's Collection Continued by Rt. Birchall of Duets for two performers on one Harpsichord or Piano Forte No.12 The Coronation Anthem	4/4 D maj	Robert Birchall	PD
Purcell, Henry	Bk 2/5 No.8 p.21-24	Pr.	Come if you dare. Sung by Mr. Ingleton in the Oratorios at the Theatre Covent Garden	March 3/4 C maj	G. Walker	PFBV/B
Rauzzini, Venanzio	Bk 2/2 No.33 p.111	MS	Duetto- Vive Alina sol perte sung by Sigr. Rauzzini & Sigr. Cernovale in the Opera of La Regina di Golconda	1. Duetto 4/4 A maj 2. Allegretto 6/8 A maj		STVD
Reading, John	Bk 2/2 No.37 p.116	MS	A Portugese Hymn on the Nativit Adeste Fideles'	A maj 2/4 4 verses		VAS

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Reading, John [attr. G/M, p.26]	Bk 1/7 No.19 p.45	Pr.	Domum 'Concinamus O Sodales!'	4/4 G maj 6 verses	VBS	
Reeve, William [attr.]G, p.3]	Bk 2/2 No.11 p.41	MS	The Galley Slave 'O think on my fate, once I freedom enjoy'd'	Andante affettuoso 2/4 Bb maj 2 verses	VLBS	
Relfe, John [attr. G/M, p.25]	Bk 1/7 No.4 p.4	Pr.	Mary's Dream or Sandy's Ghost, sung by Miss Chanu at Hanover Square Concerts and at the Pantheon. 'The Moon had climb'd the highest hill'	4/4 Eb maj 4 verses	Longman and Broderip	Pv/2V

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Reynolds, Maria Hester	Bk 1/6 No. 1 p.1-49	Pr.	6 Accompanied sonatas for kbd & violin ad lib To the Countess of Uxbridge	Sonata I in C maj 1. Allegro 3/4 2. Rondo Pastorale. Allegretto. Minore 6/8 Sonata II in Bb maj 1. Allegro Moderato 4/4 2. Presto 6/8 Sonata III in Eb maj 1. Allegro Assai 4/4 2. Rondo. Allegretto 6/8 Sonata IV in C maj 1. Allegro Moderato 4/4 2. Rondo Allegretto: Minore 2/4 Sonata V in D maj 1. Allegro Maestoso 4/4 2. Allegro: Minore 2/4 Sonata VI in E maj 1. Allegretto 4/4 2. Presto 3/8	PVO	
Rimbault, Stephen Francis	Bk 2/7 No.11 p.193-196	Pr.	Away with Melancholy. Varied for the piano by S.F.Rimbault A Favorite Duet, by Mozart	Andante 4/4-Var 1.Var 2.Var 3 Minor-Var 4.Var 5- Allegro 6/8 G maj	Printed & Sold by Rt. Birchall London	PF
Sacchini, Antonio	Bk 2/4 No.7 p.40-41 4e Année No.10	Pr.	Air d'Oedipe à Colonne arranged by M Blattman Dufetille	Allegro Spiritoso 4/4 Eb maj		HP

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Sacchini, Antonio	Bk 2/4 No.18 p.111 4e Année No.27	Pr.	Air d'Arvire et Évelina. Accompt par M. Blattman 'Du plus Jeune des deux'	Larghetto 2/4/ G maj		HVAS
Sacchini, Antonio	Bk 1/5 No.9	Pr.	Opera Overtures adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin	Overture V. Enea e Lavinia 1. Allegro Spiritoso 4/4 D maj 2. Andantino 2/4 D maj 3. Allegro moderato 2/4 D maj	R. Bremner	PVO
Sacchini, Antonio arr. M. Blattman	Bk 2/4 No.1 p.2-3 5e Année No.1	Pr.	Ouverture d' Évelina avec accompt. de Violin	Allegro 4/4 F maj		HP
Sampieri, Nicola	Bk 1/6 No.3 p.1-3	Pr.	Mr Sampieri's Fuga for the Organ or Piano Forte	Allegro ma non tanto 4/4 Bb maj		PF
Sanderson, James	Bk 2/7 No.28 p.313-315	Pr.	Rondo in the Rival Statues. Danced by Miss Adams performed at the Royal Circus	Allegretto-Allegro 2/4 Bb maj	E. Riley	PF
Sarti, Giuseppe	Bk 2/2 No.1 p.1	MS	Aria Del Sir Giuseppe Sarti, coll accompagnamento d'Arpa del Sigr Luigi Marechesi	2/4 G maj		VLBS

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Schobert, Johann	Bk 1/6 No.7 p.1-21	Pr.	Trois Sinfonies pour le Clavecin avec L'Accompagnement d'un Violon & deux Cornes de Chasse ad Libitum	Sonata I in D maj 1. Allegro Assai 2/4 2. Andante 4/4 A maj 3. Tempo di Minuetto & Trio 3/4 D maj Sonata II in A maj 1. Allegro Assai 4/4 2. Andante Siciliano 6/8 A min 3. Minuetto & Trio 3/4 A maj Sonata III F maj 1. Allegro Molto 2/4 2. Andante 2/4 D min 3. Presto 6/8 F maj	Preston & Son	PF
Schobert, Johann	Bk 1/5 No.3 p.1-12	Pr.	Deux Sonates Pour le Clavecin avec l'accompagnement de Violin ad libitum	Sonata I D maj 1. Allegro 4/4 2. Andante assai G maj 3/4 3. Allegro assai D maj 2/4 Menuet Sonata II (Pastorale) in G maj 1. Allegro assai 2/4 2. Andante C maj 2/4 3. Allegro assai G maj 2/4	R Bremner	PF

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Schober, Johann	Bk 1/5 No.10 p.1-21	Pr.	Trois Sinfonies Pour le Clavecin Avec L'Accompagnement d'un Violin & deux Cornes de Chasse ad Libitum	Sonata I in D maj 1. Allegro assai 2/4 2. Andante A maj 4/4 3. Tempo di Minuetto D maj 3/4 Sonata II in A maj 1. Allegro Assai 4/4 2. Andante Siciliano 6/8 A min 3. Minuetto & Trio 3/4 A maj Sonata III in F maj 1. Allegro molto 2/4 2. Andante 2/4 D min 3. Presto 6/8 F maj	R. Bremner	PF
Sharp, Benjamin	Bk 2/7 No.15 p.215-219	Pr.	A Divertimento for the Piano Forte	Andante Maestoso- Divertimento 3/4 F maj- Allegro Moderato 2/4- Andante Tempo Primo 3/4	Skilern & Co.	PF
Shell, Thomas	Bk 2/3 No.42 p.110-113	MS	Morning Hymn 'Awake my soul and with the sun'	A maj 4/4 2 verses	V/DAS	
Shield, John [attr. G/M, p.11]	Bk 1/1 No.22 p.54-55	MS	Cross Purposes by Mr Beard 'Tom loves Mary passing well, but Mary she loves Harry'	6/8 F maj 4 verses	VBS	
Shield, William	Bk 1/3 No.8 p.18	MS	Sung by Mr Johnstone 'Her hair is like a golden clue'	Siciliano 6/8 A maj	VBS	
Shield, William	Bk 1/3 No.9 p.19-20	MS	Sung by Mrs Billington 'Sweet transports gentle wishes go in vain, his charms have gained my heart'	Tenderly 4/4 E maj	VBS	
Shield, William	Bk 1/3 No.15 p.32-33	MS	From night till morn I take my glass	Andante 4/4 Bb maj 2 verses	V/DAS	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Shield, William	App 1 No.2	MS	Siciliano. Sung by Mr Johnstone 'Her hair is like a Golden Clue'	Siciliano 6/8 A maj		VBS
Shield, William	Bk 2/5 No.9 p.25-28	Pr.	The Thorn. Sung by Mr. Incledon at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden. Words by Robt. Burns 'From the white blossom'd Sloe'	Andante C maj 4/4	Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine	VBS
Shield, William	Bk 2/5 No.15 p.43-46	Pr.	The Post Captain. Sung by Mr. Incledon at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden. Words by Mr. Rannie 'When Steerwell heard me first impart'	Con spirto ma non troppo presto 4/4 A maj 3 verses	Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine	VBS
Shield, William	Bk 2/5 No.19 p.55-56	Pr.	Maid of Lodi, a Favorite Ballad with an Accompaniment for the Harp or Piano Forte. The Music collected by Mr Shield When in Italy 'I sing a Maid of Lodi'	Andante Moderato 6/8 G maj 4 verses	H Andrews	VAS
Shield, William	Bk 1/7 No.11 p.9	Pr.	The Plough Boy Sung by Mr Blanchard in the Farmer 'A flaxen headed Cow Boy'	4/4 Bb maj 2 verses	Longman and Broderip	VBS
Shield, William [attr. G/M, p. 18]	Bk 1/3 No.28 p.56-57	MS	The Heaving of the Lead [For England when with favoring gale our gallant ship up Channel steer'd]	4/4 F maj		VAS
Shield, William [attr. JG, p.3]	Bk 2/2 No.9 p.39	MS	The Billet Doux 'The Billet doux oh didst thou bear to my Lounza'	Affettuoso 2/4 Eb maj 2 verses		VAS
Smith, John Christopher [attr. JG, p.2]	Bk 2/1 No.5 p.21-23	MS	Minuet in the Fairies	1. Andantino e Piano 3/4 D maj 2. March 4/4		PF

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Spencer, John	Bk 2/5 No.29 p.86-91	Pr.	Again the balmy Zephr blows. A Glee in Imitation of The Friar of Orders Gray	Moderato 4/4 Eb maj		VTO
Spofforth, Reginald	Bk 1/7 No.26 p.69	MS	Ellen, the Richmond Primrose Girl 'Near bow'ry Richmond, Thames's pride'	Affettuoso 2/4 D maj 3 verses		VBS
Spofforth, Reginald	Bk 2/5 No.22 p.64-66	Pr.	Ellen, The Richmond Primrose Girl. As sung by Mr. Incledon at the Public Readings Free Mason's Hall 'Near bow'ry Richmond Thames's pride'	Affettuoso 2/4 D maj 3 verses	Francis Linné	VBS
Spofforth, Reginald	Bk 2/5 No.57 p.193-195	Pr.	Hark! The Goddess Diana	Moderato 3/4 G maj	J. Bland	VDB
Stamitz, Karl, arr. T. Billington	Bk 1/5 No.11 p.28-31	Pr.	A Duet for Two Performers on One Harpsichord or Piano Forte	Shepherds I have lost my love 1. Affettuoso 4/4 A maj 2. Rondo Allegretto 2/4		PD
Stanley, John	Bk 2/1 No.13 p.42-43	MS	Concerto 4th	Adagio 4/4 D min		PF
Steibelt, Daniel	Bk 1/2 No.36 p.74-81	MS	Steibelt's 10th Pot Pourri with variations Air of Guardamì un poco	Allegro Brillante 3/4 C maj with cadenza then Plus lent-Moderato 2/4 - Andante- Var 1-Var 2- Var 3-Var 4-Var 5 Allegro 3/8-Moderato 3/4		PF
Steibelt, Daniel	Bk 2/6 No.4 p.1-18	Pr.	Grand Duet for the Harp and Piano Forte or Two Piano Fortes Op.49 Composed and Dedicated to Madame Moreau	1. Adagio 2/4 Eb- Allegro 3/4 Eb maj 2. Rondo Allegretto 2/4 Eb maj	Printed by Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis	HPD

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Steibelt, Daniel	Bk 2/6 No.8 p.1-21	Pr.	Two Sonatas for the Piano Forte with the following airs introduced. If a body meet a body, Sir David Hunter Blair's reel, Jesse McPharlane, and the Chantreuse. Op.62	Sonata 1 1. Allegro resoluto 4/4 F maj 2. Andante Con Espressione 4/4 Bb maj (If a body meet a body) 3. Rondo Allegretto 2/4 F maj (Sir David Hunter Blair's reel) Sonata 2 1. Allegro Moderato 4/4 D maj 2. Andante Con Espressione 2/4 (Jesse Mac Pharlane) F maj 3. Rondo Presto 6/8 D maj (La Chantreuse) Minor- Major	Joseph Dale & Son	PF
Steibelt, Daniel	Bk 2/6 No.10 p.1-25	Pr.	Twelve Waltzes for the Piano Forte, or Harp, with an Accompaniment for a Flute, Tambourine and Triangle. Op.34	Waltz 1 Presto 3/8 D maj Waltz 2 Allegro con Spirito 3/8 Bb maj Waltz 3 Allegro Moderato 3/8 G maj Waltz 4 Presto Con Spirito 3/8 Eb maj Waltz 5 Allegro Moderato 3/8 C maj Waltz 6 Presto 3/8 F maj Waltz 7 Allegro 3/8 A maj Waltz 8 Presto 3/8 Bb maj Waltz 9 Presto 3/8 G maj Waltz 10 Allegro Resoluto 3/8 Eb maj Waltz 11 Allegro Con Spirito 3/8 F maj Waltz 12 Allegro 3/8 D maj	J. Dale	PT

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Steibelt, Daniel	Bk 2/6 No.11 p.26-47	Pr.	2nd Set Twelve Waltzes Op.34	Waltz 13 Presto 3/8 D maj Waltz 14 Allegro 3/8 C maj Waltz 15 Allegro Moderato 3/8 Bb maj Waltz 16 Allegro 3/8 G maj Waltz 17 Allegro 3/8 A maj Waltz 18 Allegro 3/8 Bb maj Waltz 19 Allegro Moderato 3/8 Eb maj Waltz 20 Allegro 3/8 G maj Waltz 21 Pastorale Moderato 3/8 A maj Waltz 22 Allegro Resoluto 3/8 C maj Waltz 23 Presto 3/8 F maj Waltz 24 Allegro Resoluto 3/8 Eb maj	J. Dale	PT
Steibelt, Daniel	Bk 2/7 No.36 p.355-385	Pr.	A Grand Concerto for the Piano Forte as performed by the Author with the utmost applause at the Opera Concert Op.33. Composed and Dedicated to Miss Frances Fitz Gerato	1. Allegro Brillante 4/4 E maj 2. Scotch Air. Adagio non troppo 3/4 A maj 3. A Rondo Pastoral in which is introduced as an Imitation of a Storm 6/8 E maj 4. Allegro Moderato 4/4 C maj cadenzas	Printed by Muzio Clementi	PF

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Sterkel, Johann Franz Xaver	Bk 1/5 No.1 p.1-29	Pr.	Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment [sic] for a Violin	Sonata I in C maj 1. Allegro 4/4 2. Menuetto Grazioso & Trio in C min 3/4 Sonata II in G maj 1. Allegro con brio 4/4 2. Rondo Andante- Mineur DC 2/4 Sonata III in F maj 1. Allegro 4/4 2. Rondo Un Poco presto- Mineur DC 6/8 Sonata IV in A maj 1. Andante e piu Cantabile 2/4 2. Rondo-Mineur Tempo 1 6/8 Sonata V in Bb maj 1. Allegro molto 4/4 2. Rondo Andantino 6/8-Allegretto 2/4-Mineur Allegro 2/4 Sonata VI in D maj 1. Allegro con brio 4/4 2. Rondo Andantino 6/8-Allegretto-Tempo primo	Longman & Broderip	PF
Sterkel, Johann Franz Xaver	Bk 1/2 No.24 p.42-47	MS	Sonata by Sterkel	1. Andante Grazioso 6/8 F maj 2. Minuetto 3/4 F maj 3. Rondo Presto 2/4 F maj	PF	
Stevens, Richard John Samuel	Bk 2/2 No.42 p.121	MS	Trio for 2 Soprano's & a Bass with an Accompaniment for 2 Performers on the Piano Forte. The Poetry from Ossian 'Oh Strike the Harp in praise of my love'	Allegro Moderato 4/4 G maj	PDVT	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Stevenson, Sir John Andrew [attr. JG, p.8]	Bk 2/7 No.37 p.387-395	Pr.	The favorite overture to the Bedouins or Arabs of the Desert. Performed with great Applause at the Theatre Royal Dublin, composed by Sir J.A. Stevenson Mus Doc	1. Andante Maestoso Staccato 4/4 C min 2. Presto Scherzando 2/4 C maj (attack of the Caravan Guns Fire)	Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co.	PF
Stevenson, Sir John Andrew [attr. JG, p.8]	Bk 2/3 No.46 p.117-119	MS	Love my Mary dwells with thee	Moderato 2/4 F maj		VDAS
Storage, Stephen	Bk 2/5 No.23 p.67-69	Pr.	The Jealous Don taken from 'The Pirates'	Andante Grazioso 3/8 A maj	J. Dale	VDB
Storage, Stephen [attr. G/M, p.17]	Bk 1/3 No.11 p.22-24	MS	Of plighted faith- a Duett 'Of plighted faith so truly kept'	Andantino Grazioso 6/8 A maj		VDFA
Storage, Stephen [attr. G/M, p.18]	Bk 1/3 No.29 p.58-59	MS	Captivity 'My foes prevail my friends are fled'	4/4 Eb maj 4 verses		PVN
Storage, Stephen [attr. G/M, p.28]	Bk 1/7 No.34 p.84	MS	Duet in the Siege of Belgrade Sung by Mr Banister Jun and Signora Storage 'Tho you think by this to vex me'	Allegretto 2/4 F maj		PFBVB

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Storage, Stephen [attr. G/M, p.28]	Bk 1/7 No.37 p.89	MS	A song from the Siege of Belgrade 'How provoking your doubts'	Andante con moto 6/8 E maj 3 verses	PFBVB	
Storage, Stephen [attr. G/M, p.28]	Bk 1/7 No.38 p.97	MS	Song in the Siege of Belgrade 'The sapling Oak lost in the dell'	Andantino/ Piu Allegro 4/4 Eb maj	PFBVB	
Tarchi, Angelo [attr. JG, p.4]	Bk 2/2 No.32 p.103	MS	Non Lagrimar Ben Mio- Sung by Mara & Rubinelli In the Opera of Virginia	Largo affettuoso A maj 3/4-2/4- Allegro 4/4	SQVD	
Traetta, Tommaso	Bk 2/2 No.28 p.79	MS	Duetto Del Sig'r Traetta 'Nella mi dolce fiamma caro felice io seno'	Andantino 4/4 A maj- Allegretto 3/8 Tempo di Prima 4/4 Allegretto 3/8 A maj	STVD	
Tulipiano, Marquis de	Bk 1/3 No.13 p.28-30	MS	Air. Accompt par Mr Hausman Air du Marquis de Tulipiano 'Je croyais ma belle'	Andantino 6/8 A min 2 verses	VAS	
Vento, Mattia	Bk 2/2 No.26 p.74	MS	'Caro Bosco O paca Valle'	Larghetto 3/4 F maj	VTO	
Vernier, Jean Aimé(accompaniment)	K2 No.16 p.55-56 (No.26)	Pr.	Air des Danaïdes 'Rends moi ton coeur, ta confiance'	Andante 4/4 C maj	VAS	
Vernier, Jean Aimé(accompaniment)	K2 No.31 p.68-69 8me Année No.30	Pr.	Air du Barbier de Seville. Chanté par Melle Contat (Vernier accompagnement) 'Quand dans la plaine l'Amour ramené'	Legerement 6/8 C maj	VAS	
Viotti, Giovanni Battista	Bk 2/2 No.27 p.75	MS	Mio Dolce Tesoro The Favorite Pollacca Sung by Viganoni in the Opera of Due Gobbi	Allegretto 3/4 A maj	PVEB	
Vogel, Johann Heinrich	Bk 2/4 No.25 p.12-13	Pr.	Air de Dénophon. Accomp. Par M.D.G.D.V. 'Ah! Que sa tendresse m'est chère!'	Andante 2/4 Bb maj	HVAS	

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Vogel, Johann Heinrich	Bk 2/4 No.29 p.44-45	Pr.	Air de Démophon. Accompt. Par M.D.G.D.V. 'Hélas! Hélas! Que ne puis je vous dire'	Andante 3/8 G min	HVAS	
Vogel, Johann Heinrich	Bk 2/4 No.32 p.59-61 6e Année No.16	Pr.	Air de Démophon. Accompt. Par M.D.G.D.V 'Doux sentiment de la nature'	Allegro Moderato 4/4 Eb maj	HVAS	
Vogler, Gerard [attr. JG, p.6]	Bk 2/3 No.21 p.63	MS	The Request 'Tell me Babbling echo'	Bb maj 2/4	VBS	
Von Esch, Louis	Bk 2/3 No.57 p.134-139	MS	Musette Variée	1. Quasi Allegretto 6/8 C maj- Andante 2. Vivace 6/8	PF	
Von Esch, Louis	Bk 2/7 No.8 p.163-173	Pr.	II Passo Tempo consisting of various elegant & interesting pieces for the pianoforte No.7 Containing Air de Ballet et Rondo	1. Andantino 4/4 A maj 2. Rondo. Vivace 6/8 A maj- minor- major	PF	
Von Esch, Louis	Bk 2/7 No.9 p.175-182	Pr.	Pastorale et Gigue Angloise pour le piano-forte	1. Andante. Pastorale 6/8 Bb maj 2. Gigue Angloise 6/8 Bb maj- mineur-maj	Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co	
Von Esch, Louis	Bk 2/7 No.10 p.183-185	Pr.	La Columbe Retrouvée. An Air for the Piano Forte with or without Additional Keys. Composed and Dedicated to Miss C.H.	Andante con Expressione 6/8 G maj	Broderip & Wilkinson	PF
Watlen, John	Bk 1/7 No.45 p.20	Pr.	God save the King With New Variations Dedicated to Miss Pigou	Andante 3/4 D maj 6 variations	Cobb & Watlen	PF

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Watlen, John	Bk 1/7 No.46 p.21	Pr.	My Mother- A Song 'Who feed me from her gentle breast' Respectfully inscribed to his Pupils Miss Conell and Miss Augusta Conell	Andante 4/4 G maj	Printed for the Composer	VBS
Watlen, John	Bk 2/7 No.30 p.323-325	Pr.	Up and War them A'Willie with Variations Dedicated to Miss Gordon of Whitehill	Allegro Moderato 4/4 A maj with 8 Variations	Printed by M.P.Corri & Co	PF
Watlen, John	Bk 2/7 No.31 p.327-329	Pr.	Garnovich's Reel with variations for the Piano-forte Respectfully Dedicated to Miss Margt. Grierson, Leith	Allegro Staccato F maj 2/4 with 7 variations	M.P. Corri & Co.	PF
Webbe, Samuel	Bk 1/3 No.36 p.80-81	MS	The Mansion of Peace 'Soft Zephyr on thy balmy wing'	Andante 4/4 F maj	PFBV&B	
Woelfi, Joseph	Bk 2/7 No.21 p.271-275	Pr.	Augustine A favorite German Waltz arranged as a Capriccio for the Piano Forte	Allegro 3/4 G maj		PF
Woelfi, Joseph	Bk 2/7 No.22 p.277-289	Pr.	Bouquet de Flore No.3 Composed & Dedicated to his Pupils by J.Woelfi	Allegretto 3/4 G maj	Sold by the Author	PFL
Zwingmann, J. N.	Bk 2/3 No.66	MS	?	Andante 2/4 F maj with 1 variation		PF
Zwingmann, J.N.	Bk 2/7 No.3 p.73-87	Pr.	A Favorite Sonata Dedicated to the Rt. Hon. Lady Frances Somerset.	Sonata 1. Allegro 4/4 C maj 2. Andante 2/4 Fmaj 3. Rondo. Allegretto 2/4 C maj	Printed & Sold for the Author	PVO

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COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.2 p.4	MS	Minuett	3/4 C maj		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.11 p.20	MS	Jockey sung by Miss Stevenson 'I'll sing to my lover all night and all day'	3/4 D maj	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.14 p.29-30	MS	Song 'Love never more shall give me pain'	2/4 D maj 3 verses	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.16 p.34-35	MS	Song 'On ye Tay's verdant banks a fair maid lay reclined'	3/4 C maj	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.17 p.36	MS	'When you ask me to sing'	3/4 F maj	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.18 p.37	MS	'When Apollo shall tune ye lyre'	4/4 F maj	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.19 p.42-43	MS	'Viens que j'examine cette mine'	3/4 F maj	VBS	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.20 p.44-46	MS	'Jessy or The Happy Pair 'How blest my time has been'	3/4 F maj 4 verses	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.26 p.64	MS	'The Soger Laddie 'My Soger Laddie is over the seas and he will bring gold and money to me'	Siciliana 6/8 E maj 4 verses	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.27 p.69 on far page	MS	The Young Gentleman's Retreat	6/8 D maj- 2/4 D maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.29 p.73	MS	Marshal Sax's Minuet	3/4 G maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.32 p.91	MS	?	2/4 F maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.33 No Page number	MS	Minuett	3/4 D maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/1 No.34	MS	?	3/4 G maj	PF	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.2 p.4-5	MS	Fandango É los Gigangas from Thickness's tour	Pomposo Moderato 6/8 G min		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.4 p.10-14	MS	Nos Galen	4/4 F maj 10 variations		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.5 p.15	MS	Mrs Hamilton of Pincaitland's Strathspey	Slow 4/4 C maj		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.6 p.16	MS	The Austrian Grenadier's quick March	2/4 Bb maj		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.7 p.16-17	MS	Troop of the Coldstream Regiment of Guards	Adagio 4/4- Allegro - Allegretto 3/8		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.8 p.18	MS	The London March	4/4 D maj		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.9 p.18-19	MS	March by Mr Niger	4/4 C maj - gigue Andantino 6/8		PF

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.10 p.20	MS	Scotch Air	Andante 4/4 Bb maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.11 p.21	MS	The Austrian Retreat	Andante 4/4 C maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.16 p.34	MS	Waltz	3/8 F maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.17 p.34	MS	Waltz	3/8 F maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.20 p.38	MS	German Waltz	3/8 Eb maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.21 p.38	MS	German Waltz	3/8 F maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.22 p.39-40	MS	Coolun with Variations	Andante 3/4 G maj with 3 variations	PF	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.23 p.41-42	MS	Duke of York's March	4/4 D maj		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.26 p.48	MS	La Rose - Cotillion	2/4 Bb maj		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.27 p.49	MS	The Perigodine	2/4 Bb maj		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.28 p.50-53	MS	To Fair Fidele's Grassy Tomb with variations	4/4 D maj with 5 variations		PD
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.29 p.54-59	MS	Old Robin Gray with variations	4/4 D maj		PD
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.30 p.58-59	MS	March	Andante 4/4 D maj		PD
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.31 p.60-63	MS	My Lodging is on the cold ground	Very Slow 6/8 F maj 2 variations		PD

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/2 No.35 p.72-73	MS	Polonese Russe	3/4 D maj- Trio DC	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/3 No.4 p.10-11	MS	The Irishman 'The Turband Turk who scorns the world'	Allegretto Scherzando 4/4 B min 3 verses	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/3 No.7 p.16-17	MS	Air 'plus ne veux jamais m'engager'	D maj 3/4 3 verses	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/3 No.17 p.38	MS	Catch 'Joan said to John'	4/4 A maj	VTO	
Unattributed	Bk 1/3 No.20 p.42-43	MS	Chanson Béarnaise 'Un troubadour béarnois les yeux inondés de larmes'	Amoroso 4/4 G maj 9 verses	VLO	
Unattributed	Bk 1/3 No.21 p.44-45	MS	Thy fatal shafts unerring move	4/4 C maj 4 verses	PVN	
Unattributed	Bk 1/3 No.25 p.52-53	MS	The Marseilles March 'Allons enfants de la Patrie'	4/4 G maj 5 verses altogether	VBS	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/3 No.27 p.55	MS	Somebody 'Were I obliged to beg my bread and had not where to lay my head'	6/8 G maj 4 verses altogether		VBS
Unattributed	Bk 1/3 No.35 p.77-79	MS	Begone Dull Care 'Begone dull care I prithee begone from me'	Allegretto 6/8 A maj		VDRO
Unattributed	Bk 1/3 No.37 p.80-81	MS	A Rose a rose from her Bosom has strayed	Affettuoso 3/4 F maj 2 verses altogether		VBS
Unattributed	Bk 1/3 No.37 p.82	MS	The match girl 'Come buy of poor May good matches'	Andante Affettuoso 3/8 G maj		VBS
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.2a p.2	MS	I ha'e laid a herring in Salt	6/8 A maj 3 verses		VBS
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.2b	MS	?	6/8 D maj		PF
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.3a p.3	Pr.	In airy dreams soft fancy flies Adapted for the Harpsichord, Cet Flute/ Violin & Guitar	Affettuoso 2/4 F maj	J Preston Publisher Written in 1785	VBS

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.3b p.3	Pr.	In airy dreams soft fancy flies	Affettuoso 2/4 F maj	VDB	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.8 p.18	MS	Susan 'Oh Susan, Susan lovely dear'	4/4 G maj 3 verses	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.9 p.8	MS	?	4/4 C major	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.12 p.23	MS	Song 'Why taries my love? Ah, where does he rove'	3/4 A maj 4 verses altogether	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.15a p.30	Pr.	Juvenile Amusement 'There was a man in Sicily'	2/4 G maj	VDAS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.15b p.31	Pr.	Juvenile Amusement 'There was an old woman'	2/4 A maj	VDAS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.18 p.42	MS	'Laisse là sur l'herbette ton chien'	2/4 D maj 3 verses	VBS	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.24 p.65	MS	?	'Symphonie' 4/4 A maj	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.27 p.70	MS	Glensiddich	4/4 A maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.28 p.70	MS	The Chosen Few	4/4 A maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.32 p.82	MS	The Prayer of the Sicilian Mariners 'O sanctissima, O piissima dulcis Virgo'	Largo 2/4 F maj	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.35 p.78	MS	Romance du Major André	2/4 F maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.40 p.102	MS	Cossak Dance	2/4 G maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.41 p.103	MS	Song: 'As I was walking by yon burns'ide'	4/4 F maj	VBS	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.42 p.103	MS	'Oh Susan Susan lovely dear'	4/4 G maj	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/7 No.43 p.104	MS	'Pauvre Jacques 'Quand j'étais pres de toi'	2/4 F maj 2 verses	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 1/8 No.2a p.1-31	Pr.	Thirty Scots Songs for a Voice & Harpsichord. The words from Allan Ramsay Nos 1-10	1. Katharine Ogle- 'As walking forth to view the plain' 4/4 G min 6 verses 2. Blathrie o't- 'When I think on this world's pelf' 4/4 D maj 4 verses 3. The Birks of Endermay- 'The smiling morn, the breathing spring' 4/4 G maj 4 verses 4. Bessy Bell & Mary Gray- 'O Bessy Bell' 6/8 C maj 4 verses 5. Peaties Mill- 'The lass of Peatys mill' 4/4 C maj 4 verses 6. Fee him Father- 'Saw ye Johnie cummin' 4/4 F maj 4 verses 7. Low down in the Broom- 'My daddy is a canker'd carle' 4/4 C maj 4 verses 8. The last time I came o'er the Moor 4/4 D maj 5 verses 9. Gilderoy- 'Ahi Cloris cou'd I now but fit' 4/4 G min 3 verses 10. Hooly and fairly- 'Ohi What had I ado for to marry' 6/4 F maj 7 verses	R. Bremner	FB/A with Flute part at back

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/8 No.2b p.1-31	Pr.	Thirty Scots Songs for a Voice & Harpsichord. The words from Allan Ramsay Nos 11-20	11. She rose and loot me in- 'The night her silent sable wore' 4/4 D min 4 verses 12. Ann thou were my ain thing 4/4 A maj 6 verses 13. Take your auld cloâk about ye- 'In winter when the rain rain'd cauld' 3/4 G min 7 verses 14. Boatman- 'Ye gales that gently wave the sea' 4/4 C maj 3 verses 15. Nancy's to the green Wood gane 4/4 Bb maj 7 verses 16. Tweedside- 'What beauties does Flora disclose' 3/4 G maj 4 verses 17. For laik of Gold- 'Lake of gold she left me' 4/4 A maj 2 verses 18. The Bush aboon Traquair- 'Hear me, ye nymphs and ev'ry swain' 4/4 Bb maj 4 verses 19. Corn Riggs- 'My Patie is a lover gay' 4/4 A maj 3 verses 20. The Broom of the Cowdenknows- 'How blyth was I each morn to see' 4/4 D maj 6 verses	R. Bremner	FBVA with Flute part at back
Unattributed	Bk 1/8 No.2c p.1-31	Pr.	Thirty Scots Songs for a Voice & Harpsichord. The words from Allan Ramsay Nos 21-30	21. Amynta- 'My sheep I've forsaken' 3/4 A maj 3 verses 22. There's my thumb- 'Betty early gone a- maying' 4/4 D maj 3 verses 23. The yellow hair'd laddie- 'In April, when primroses paint' 3/4 D maj 5 verses 24. Hey, Jenny, come to Jock- 'Jockey he came here to woo' 6/8 D maj 6 verses 25. Down the Burn Davie- 'When trees did bud' 4/4 F maj 4 verses 26. I'll never leave thee- 'One day I heard Mary say' 3/4 D maj 4 verses 27. Peggy I must love thee- 'As from a rock, past all relief' 4/4 G maj 4 verses 28. Woe's my heart- 'With broken words & downcast eyes' 4/4 D maj 3 verses 29. Fanny Fair- 'To Fanny fair' 4/4 A maj 3 verses 30. Gill Morice was an erle's son 3/4 F maj 8 verses	R. Bremner	FBVA with Flute part at back

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/8 No.3a p.1-29	Pr.	A Second Set of Scots Songs for a Voice & Harpsichord Nos 1-10	1. Gallow Shells- 'Ah the poor Shepherd'd mournful fate' 4/4 D maj 2 verses 2. Polwart on the Green 4/4 C maj 3 verses 3. The Banks of Forth- 'Ye Sylvan powers' 4/4 C maj 4 verses 4. I wish my love were in a Mire- 'Blest as the immortal gods is he' 4/4 G min 4 verses 5. Dumbarton's Drums 4/4 G maj 3 verses 6. Erick Banks- 4/4 D maj 3 verses 7. Love is the cause of my mourning By a murmuring stream 3/4 D maj 4 verses 8. Here awa there awa 3/4 D min 3 verses 9. Sae merry as we ha'e been- 'A lass that was leaden'd with care' 3/4 C maj 3 verses 10. Waly waly 3/4 D maj 5 verses	R. Bremner	FBVA with German Flute part at back
Unattributed	Bk 1/8 No.3b p.1-29	Pr.	A Second Set of Scots Songs for a Voice & Harpsichord Nos 11-20	11. My deary, if thou die- 'Love never more shall give me pain' 4/4 E min 4 verses 12. Lochaber- 'Farewell to Lochaber' 3/4 F maj 3 verses 13. Thro' the Wood laddie- 'O Sandy, why leaves thou my Nellie' 3/4 D maj 4 verses 14. My Nanny-O- 'While some for pleasure pawn their health' 4/4 C min 3 verses 15. Young Philander 4/4 G maj 6 verses 16. Mary Scot- 'Happy's the love' 3/4 D maj 3 verses 17. The Highland Laddie- 'The Lowland lads' 2/2 C maj 7 verses 18. Busk ye, busk ye, my bonny Bridie 4/4 A maj 3 verses 19. John Hay's bonny Lassie- 'By smooth winding Tay' 3/4 D maj 5 verses 20. The bonniest Lass in a' the Wairld- 'Look where my dear Hamillia' 4/4 D maj 2 verses	R. Bremner	FBVA with German Flute part at back

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 1/8 No.3c p.1-29	Pr.	A Second Set of Scots Songs for a Voice & Harpsichord Nos 21-26	21. Saw ye nae my Peggy 6/4 B min 3 verses 22. Bonny Jean- 'Love's goddess in a myrtle grove' 4/4 D maj 3 verses 23. Rosline Castle- 'Twas in that season of the year' 4/4 C min 4 verses 24. Pinky House 4/4 D maj 4 verses 25. Alloa House 'The spring time returns' 3/4 E min 4 verses 26. Chevy Chase 'God prosper long our noble King' 3/4 G maj 11 verses 2/4 D maj	R. Bremner	FBVA with German Flute part at back
Unattributed	App 2 No.1	MS	Savage Dance		PF	
Unattributed	App 2 No.3	MS	Suite de l'Air 'When with smiles the fairs complying'	4/4 G maj	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.8 p.31	MS	?	3/8 F maj?	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.9 p.32-33	MS	'Pastorella io Cuor'ra occhi a vampto manca poco'	Andante 3/8 D maj	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.10 p.36	MS	Colin and Jenny	3/4 G maj	PF	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.11 p.37	MS	?	12/8 D maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.12 p.38-40	MS	'Sio bramo mio tesoro amor ben teco losai'	Allegro moderato 4/4 A maj Andante 3/4 A min DC	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.14 p.44-46	MS	?	Allegro 3/4 D min	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.15 p.47	MS	?	?	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.16 p.48	MS	?	1. 3/8 D maj 2 bars 2. Affetuoso 4/4 Eb maj 6 bars	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.17 p.50-51	MS	Minuet with Variation	1. Andante 3/4 D maj 2. Variations 3/4 D maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.18 p.54	MS	Gavot	Allegro 4/4 C maj	PF	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.19 p.56-59	MS	Rondo	Allegro 6/8 G maj		PF
Unattributed	Bk 2/1 No.20 p.60	MS	?	Andante 6/8 Bb maj?		PF
Unattributed	Bk 2/2 No.5 p.23	MS	'Al suon soave e placido dell' Organetto armonica'	1. Andantino marking 3/4 C maj 2. Allegro 3/8 C maj 3. Spiritoso 4/4 C maj	STVT	
Unattributed	Bk 2/2 No.7 p.36	MS	Rosa & Henry in the Comedy of the Secret. Sung by Mrs. Jordan 'Majestic rose the God of day'	4/4 Eb maj	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/2 No.18 p.49	MS	Terzetto 'Ah che morir mi sento amato Genitor'	Allegro assai 4/4 Bb maj	STVT	
Unattributed	Bk 2/2 No.24 p.68	MS	'Dear is my little native Vale'	Allegretto Innocente 2/4 F maj	VLBS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/2 No.25 p.70	MS	Duetto 'Questa tua gentil'	1. Larghetto 2/4 A maj 2. Andante con moto 2/4 3. Allegro 3/8	VDB	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 2/2 No.35 p.114	MS	'Cease pretty Agnes cease'	2/4 time implied and G maj	VDB	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.5 p.20	MS	Unmarked [God Save the King theme and 1 variation]	3/4 D maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.6 p.21-26	MS	Lesson for the Harpsichord	1. Allegro 4/4 F maj 2. Minuet 3/8 F maj 3. Minuet 3/8 D maj and 1 Variation	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.10 p.40	MS	Tambourin	2/4 G maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No. 11 p.40-41	MS	Rondeau	2/4 G maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.12 p.42-49	MS	Sonata	1. Allegro 4/4 Eb maj 2. Andante 2/4 C min 3. Allegretto 6/8 Eb maj- Minore- Da Capo al prima	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.23 p.68-68	MS	Song from Burns 'Their groves of sweet myrtle let foreign lands reckon'	D maj 6/8 3 verses	VBS	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.32 p.89-95	MS	For three voices 'Ne vous repentez par mon Pere'	1. Moderato 4/4 D maj 2. Affettuoso 3/4 D maj	VTB	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.33 p.96-97	MS	The Babes in the Wood	Andantino 6/8 A maj 4 verses	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.39 p.105	MS	Irish Air 'Lost, lost, lost is my quiet forever'	Andante con espressione 6/8 Bb maj	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.40 p.106-107	MS	Seaton Cliffs 'To thy cliffs rocky Seaton'	Bb maj 3/4 [ts omitted]	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.41 p.108-109	MS	Address to Sleep 'Sleep, this death thou dost resemble still'	Andante 2/4 F maj	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.43 p.114	MS	Freemason's Song 'Come Brothers sing with me'	Andantino 3/8 A maj 7 verses	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.44 p.115	MS	Love and Wine 'Robb'd of love and genrous wine'	Solemn 2/4 A maj 2 verses	VBS	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.45 p.116	MS	Rhenish Wine 'With Ivy crowned behold'	Con spirto 2/4 Bb maj 3 verses	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.48 p.122-123	MS	Oh Giovinetti	Un poco presto 4/4 F maj 2 verses	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.49 p.124-125	MS	The Wreath you wove	Andante 3/4 G maj	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.51 p.128	MS	Venetian Ballad 'Spazza camin che va criando'	6/8 G maj	VAS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.52 p.129	MS	In the Dead of the Night	4/4 G maj 6 verses	VBS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.55 p.133	MS	Rob Roy Macgregor	Moderato 2/4 G maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.56 p.133	MS	Meg Mervilles	Allegro 4/4 D maj	PF	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.58 p.139	MS	The Sicilian Dance	6/8 F maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.60	MS	The Queen of Prussia's Waltz	3/4 D maj DC	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.61	MS	'The Campbells are Coming' Air'	6/8 D maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.63	MS	The Young May Moon	6/8 C maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.64	MS	Drops of Brandy	9/8 G maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.65	MS	Cawdor Fair	4/4 C maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.68	MS	The Black Dwarf	2/4 G maj	PF	

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.69	MS	Nicol Jarvie	2/4 G maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/3 No.70	MS	The Waterloo	6/8 G maj	PF	
Unattributed	Bk 2/4 No.31 p.48-49	Pr.	Air de Raoul de Créqui 'Je brûle de voir ce château, dont parle notre père'	Allegretto 2/4 Eb maj	HVAS	
Unattributed	Bk 2/5 No.30 p.92-93	Pr.	Two of the Most Admired Russian Airs performed by the Russian Band in George St Assembly Rooms	1. Andante 2/4 D maj 2. Andante con moto 2/4 G maj 3. Russian Polonaise: Allegro 3/4 D maj	Corri, Dussek & C.	PF
Unattributed	Bk 2/5 No.58 p.197	Pr.	Jess Macpharlane. A favorite Duet sung at the Dilettanti Concerts 'When first she came to town'	Tenderly 4/4 F maj 4 verses	J. Bland	VDO
Unattributed	Bk 2/5 No.60 p.198	Pr.	Oh! My Love Lov'st Thou Me	Andante 4/4 F maj- Allegretto 6/8 F maj	VDB	
Unattributed	Bk 2/6 No.9 p.1-3	Pr.	The Celebrated One Fingered Waltz for the Piano Forte	Waltz 3/8 C maj	Goulding, Phipps, DALmaine & Co	PF

Appendix II

COMPOSER	LOCATION	TYPE	TITLE	TEMPO MARKING & DESCRIPTION	PUBLISHER	SCORING
Unattributed	Bk 2/7 No.39 p.400-401	Pr.	Rondo Année 3eme No.12/ No.42	Allegro 6/8 D min	Les Srs Cousineau Pere et Fils	PF
Unattributed	K2 No.6 p.33-35 4me Année No.5 (No.16)	Pr.	Air de la Caravane du Caire. 'Nous sommes nés pour l'esclavage'	Allegretto 2/4 D maj		VAS
Unattributed	K2 No.9 p.40 (No.19)	Pr.	Menuet de la Caravane	3/4 D maj- Minore		PF
Unattributed	K2 No.33 p.78-79 8me Année No.34	Pr.	Air de Genevieve dans Sargines 'Voyez une fille à quinzeans de quoi'	Allegretto 2/4 F maj 2 verses		VAS
Unattributed	K2 No.38 p.132-133 8me Année No.52	Pr.	Romance d'Estelle 'A Toulouse il fut une belle, Clémence'	6/8 Bb maj 13 verses		VAS
Unattributed	K2 No.40 p.30-31 9me Année No.12	Pr.	Air du Marquis de Tulipano 'Pauvre datours, riche d'âtrairs avec la'	Andantino 6/8 F maj		VAS

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