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Music

From Caledonia to the Capital: Scottish Musicians, Music-Making and Culture in eighteenth-century London 1741-1815

by

Mary-Jannet Nancy Christina Leith

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ORCID iD: 0009-0000-3800-7644

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ABSTRACT

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During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the city of London was a magnet for many musical Scots, who were attracted by the combination of artistic and commercial opportunities unique to the metropolitan hub of Great Britain. However, while Scotland's musicians and music have received significant academic attention over the past few decades, the artistic lives of Scottish musicians outside Scotland, if addressed at all, often remain one-dimensional. Similarly, while scholarship has acknowledged the popularity of Scottish music in London during the period 1741-1815, there has been little sustained analysis of the complex network of actors which shaped Scottish musical culture across the capital during this period.

This thesis addresses these lacunae through a new focus on the lives of Scottish musicians and consumers of Scottish music, whose interactions and relationships shaped the performance, publication, and appreciation of Scottish music in London's creative space. Particular attention will be given to three musical Scots who made London their home during the period 1741-1815: James Oswald (1710-1769), Robert Bremner (c. 1713-1789) and John Gow (1764-1826). The role of music in Scottish diaspora space will also be addressed through case studies of two of London's many Scottish associations, which explore the musical entertainments of the Highland Society of London, and the rather more ordinary musical experience of London's Scottish Presbyterian congregations. Bringing together the consumers and musicians in elite space, this thesis also examines the origins of London's craze for Scottish dance music at the turn of the nineteenth century, with a particular focus on the role of gender in the expression of Scottishness at London's fashionable entertainments. The evaluation of this rich body of evidence is situated within the framework of migration theory, supporting the analysis of the complex relationship between music and national identity in diaspora space.

This study contributes to a growing body of research exploring Scottish music, its history and impact throughout the world. Above all, it argues that Scottish music as perceived by Londoners during the period 1741-1815 was subject to significant adaptation and interacted variously with stereotypes of Scottish culture already circulating in the capital. Crucially, it advances the thesis that the development of Scottish musical culture in London was shaped by commercial trends unique to the urban creative context of the city, which in turn influenced the musical life of Scotland well into the nineteenth century and beyond.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Mary-Jannet Nancy Christina Leith

Title of thesis: From Caledonia to the Capital: Scottish Musicians, Music-Making and Culture in eighteenth-century London 1741-1815

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. 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;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. 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;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. 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;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signature:

Date:

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This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Thomas Allery, whose unfailing love, support, encouragement, and incredible cooking have seen me through the highs and lows of the past few years.

Abbreviations and Definitions

ANT	Actor Network Theory
Caledonia	The Roman name for the part of Scotland that lies north of the River Forth, used both now and in the eighteenth century as a romantic or poetic name for Scotland as a whole.
CM	Caledonian Mercury
Canntaireachd	A traditional method of teaching, learning and memorising pìobaireachd.
DA	Daily Advertiser
EMS	Edinburgh Musical Society
Galant style	A compositional style fashionable in the classical Western musical tradition from the 1720s to the 1770s, marked by simple melodies and the absence of complex counterpoint.
GA	General Advertiser
HSL	Highland Society of London
HSS	Highland Society of Scotland
Journeyman	A worker, skilled in a given trade or craft, who has successfully completed an official apprenticeship qualification.
LC	London Chronicle
LMA	London Metropolitan Archive
MC	The Morning Chronicle
MP	The Morning Post
PA	Public Advertiser
Piobaireachd	An art music genre associated primarily with the Scottish Highlands characterised by extended compositions with a melodic theme and elaborate formal variations.
Precentor	A person who leads a congregation in its singing.
Quadrille	A square dance performed typically by four couples and containing five figures, each of which is a complete dance in itself.
Reel	A variety of country dance in which dancers perform travelling figures alternating with 'setting' steps danced in one place.
RHASS	Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland
Scots/Scotch Snap	A stressed back-dotted musical rhythm, in which a short, accented note is followed by a longer one, characteristic of the strathspey from the mid-eighteenth century.
Strathspey	Refers to both a dance form and a tune type. The dance was initially considered a type of reel, becoming distinct in the mid-eighteenth century. By the end of the century, strathspeys were usually played and danced more slowly than reels. The tunes featured dotted and back-dotted rhythms, in contrast to the straight quavers characteristic of a reel.

Introduction

0.1 Definition of Research Questions

For centuries, the city of London has held a strong pull for Scots. In the eighteenth century, many Scottish men and women relocated to London seeking opportunity, which they felt to be lacking in Scotland itself. In 1759, Scottish Enlightenment philosopher David Hume (1711-1776) wrote to his compatriot, Adam Smith (1723-1790), that 'Scotland is too narrow a place for me', and that he now considered London, rather than Edinburgh, to be 'capital of my own country'.[1] The architect Robert Adam (1728-1792) similarly felt Scotland to be 'a narrow place' and spent the majority of his career working in London, presumably viewing the city as a larger stage for his talents.[2] Often expressed was the sense that London exerted a magnetic pull across the entirety of Britain: the Scottish biographer and diarist James Boswell (1740-1795) wrote in 1779 that 'London is now the metropolis of the whole island, the grand emporium of everything valuable, the strong centre of attraction for all of us.[3] Shortly after arriving in London in 1762, he painted a lively picture of what the city had to offer:

> In reality, a person of small fortune who has only the common views of life and would just be as well as anybody else, cannot like London. But a person of imagination and feeling… can have the most lively enjoyment from the sight of external objects with no regard to property at all. London is undoubtedly a place where men and manners may be seen to the greatest advantage. The liberty and whim that reigns there occasions a variety of perfect and curious characters. Then the immense crowd and hurry and bustle of business and diversion, the great number of public places of entertainment, the noble churches and the superb buildings of different kinds agitate, amuse, and elevate the mind. Besides, the satisfaction of pursuing whatever plan is agreeable, without being known or looked at, is very great. Here a young man of curiosity and observation may have a sufficient fund of present entertainment, and may lay up ideas to employ his mind in age.[4]

I have now spent over a decade as a professional musician, and a Scot, in London, and much of Boswell's sentiment rings true to my own experience. When I arrived in 2011 to study at the Royal College of Music, London was to me an aspirational city, a place where I could indeed pursue whatever plan was most agreeable to me. Nonetheless, Scotland was, and always will be, my true home, and in my day-to-day life in London, I am therefore at once a Scot and Londoner.

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[1] David Hume, quoted in Janet Adam Smith, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Ideas of Scotland' in N.T. Phillipson & Rosalind Mitchison (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 108.

[2] Robert Adam, quoted in Smith, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Ideas of Scotland', 108.

[3] Andrew Noble, 'James Boswell: Scotland's Prodigal Son', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Improvement and Enlightenment: Scottish historical studies seminar: Papers* (Glasgow: John Donald, 1989), 31.

[4] Frederick A. Pottle (ed.), *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 68-69.

Over the past ten years, I have become involved in London's energetic Scottish associational life, which reflects a diverse range of cultural, social and economic interests across the city's Scottish community. In twenty-first-century London, it is possible to enjoy the company of other Scots at The Burns Club of London, The Caledonian Club, or the Caledonian Society of London.[5] There are also two Scottish churches in London, Crown Court Church in Covent Garden, and St Columba's in Knightsbridge, which offer Presbyterian worship within the tradition of the Church of Scotland to a broad social demographic.[6] Scottish martial tradition in London is represented by the London Scottish Regiment, founded in 1859, whose Pipes and Drums perform regularly for ceremonial events in the capital and beyond.[7] Scottish sport is represented by the long-established (est. 1878) London Scottish Football Club, a member of both the Rugby Football Union and the Scottish Rugby Union.[8] There are also many, more informal, branches of regional Scottish sporting teams, such as the London branch of the Aberdeen Football Supporters Club. Scottish dancing in London attracts a particularly wide demographic, and the Ceilidh Club at Cecil Sharp House holds several dances each week, hugely popular with Scots and non-Scots alike. The London branch of the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society also holds classes in Euston, Richmond, and Knightsbridge, and Highland dance classes are available for all ages.[9] Several organisations exist to promote Scottish economic interests in London: the Scottish Business Network, for example, exists to advance the fortunes of Scottish companies through London's business diaspora network.[10] Scotland House, the Scottish government's office in London, offers a co-working and event space for Scottish organisations in the city.[11] The charity Scotscare, formerly the Royal Scottish Corporation, has been supporting Scots in need in London since 1611.[12] Organisations such as the Highland Society of London (HSL) and the Gaelic Society, both active in London since the late eighteenth century, reflect regional diasporic preferences.[13] Many of these groups communicate with each other, for example through the recently established Scots in London forum, but there is no overarching structure that governs their interrelationships.[14] Indeed, the wider character of the Scottish community in London is always fluid, its shape and boundaries defined by the particular interests and energies of individuals and groups at any given time.

In my own Scottish diasporic experience, I am often struck by the centrality of Scottish music to the maintenance of Scottish culture in London today. Scottish musicians usually attend the many Burns

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[5] See www.burnscluboflondon.org.uk, www.caledonianclub.com, and www.calsoclondon.org.

[6] See www.crowncourtchurch.org.uk and www.stcolumbas.org.uk.

[7] See www.londonscottishhouse.org.

[8] See www.londonscottish.com.

[9] See www.rscdslondon.org.uk and www.tartanthistledancers.co.uk.

[10] See www.sbn.scot.

[11] See www.scotlandhouse.com.

[12] See www.scotscare.com.

[13] See www.highlandsocietyoflondon.org and www.comunnlunnainn.co.uk.

[14] See www.scotsinlondon.org.

Nights, ceilidhs, and other entertainments held by Scottish clubs and societies, and, while some travel from Scotland for such events, others, like me, are London-based. It will come as no surprise that, when performing Scottish music at a St Andrew's Day celebration or a Burns Night Supper, I feel a strong affinity with the many Scottish musicians who left Scotland to seek pastures new in London in the eighteenth century. Like them, I contribute through my musical activities to the cultural trajectory of Scottish musical culture in London, consciously adapting Scottish music for a diasporic environment. To date, however, scholarship lacks a detailed characterisation of the extensive network of actors who shaped Scottish expressive culture in eighteenth-century London. While the history of Scottish music has received significant academic attention over the past few decades, there remain gaps in our understanding when it comes to the artistic lives of Scottish musicians outside Scotland, which, if addressed at all, often remain vague or one-dimensional. This thesis seeks to address this lacuna through a detailed analysis of the lives of musical Scots who made London their home during the period 1741-1815, with particular focus on three individuals, James Oswald (1710-1769), Robert Bremner (1713-1789) and John Gow (1764-1826). The careers of these three men encompass the chronological extent of this study, and the starting date of 1741 marks Oswald's migration to London. The lives of Oswald, Bremner and Gow will be contextualised within a broader framework of migration and diasporic theory, through which I will explore the complex relationship between national and musical identity, and the thorny question of how Scottish musicians expressed (or alternatively) subverted their Scottishness in London itself.

While the appeal of Scottish music in London throughout the long eighteenth century has been widely acknowledged by scholars, the complex network of consumption underpinning it has been insufficiently characterised. Some attention has been given to the large number of Scottish musical works published in London, but these have often been addressed in isolation, or with primary reference to literary-philosophical trends in Scotland itself. Throughout this thesis, I will establish a new focus on the wide range of consumers, including individuals and groups of different classes, genders, and musical ability, who interacted enthusiastically with Scottish music in London. Scottish associational culture will provide an important context for this analysis, including the elite homosocial environment of the Highland Society of London, and the rather more ordinary devotional musical space of London's Scottish Presbyterian congregations. Yet the enjoyment of Scottish music was not by any means restricted to London's Scottish émigré community, and I will also explore the particular origins of London's craze for Scottish music at fashionable entertainments at the turn of the nineteenth century, with a particular focus on Scottish dance and its associated music and musicians. In addressing this question, my analysis will be couched within a theoretical understanding of the process of cultural transfer and exchange, recognising that Scottish music as perceived by Londoners was subject to significant adaptation and interacted variously with stereotypes of Scottish culture already circulating in the capital. Crucially, I will argue that the development of Scottish musical culture

in London was shaped by commercial trends unique to the urban creative context of the city, which in turn influenced the musical life of Scotland well into the nineteenth century and beyond.

0.2 Contextualisation of Previous Scholarship

In constructing the rich tapestry of actors underpinning the development of Scottish musical culture in eighteenth-century London, my research builds upon several bodies of scholarship across a number of disciplines. A strong literature in the field of Scottish musicology has explored the history of Scottish music alongside the rediscovery and publication of the works of Scottish composers and musicians. John Purser's seminal work, *Scotland's Music,* for example, presents a lively and comprehensive account of the entirety of Scotland's musical history.[15] Particular areas of Scotland's native musical tradition have also received detailed attention. The study of the transmission of Scots songs and tunes has supported the construction of numerous databases, such as the Historical Music of Scotland database, a searchable catalogue of printed and manuscript tunes for violin before 1850.[16] Karen McAulay's doctoral thesis, 'Our ancient national airs', explores the motivations behind Scottish song collecting after 1760, with reference to both Lowland and Highland musical traditions.[17] Scotland's native instruments, too, have been the focus of detailed studies: David Johnson's *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century*, for example, explores the performance practice of fiddle repertoire in vernacular and art contexts.[18] A recently edited volume, *The Highland Bagpipe: Music, History and Tradition*, summarises a wealth of scholarship in this area, examining the history and performance traditions of the Scottish bagpipe, including the development of *piobaireachd* notation in the late eighteenth century.[19]

A recurring theme in the study of musical culture in eighteenth-century Scotland is the apparent tension between Scotland's 'folk' or 'vernacular' music, and its 'art' or 'classical' music. While David Johnson has characterised the latter as a threat to the former, Gelbart, in *The Invention of Folk Music and Art Music*, has argued that this approach is, at best, anachronistic. In his view, Scottish composers, particularly before the 'folk-art divide' in the latter half of the eighteenth century, simply drew upon a wide palette of national musical styles, 'without conscious thought about folk or art music'.[20] Nonetheless, the introduction of European music and musicians to Edinburgh's musical scene from the

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[15] John Purser, *Scotland's music: a history of the traditional and classical music of Scotland from early time to the present da*y (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2007).
[16] David McGuinness, Karen E. McAulay, Aaron McGregor, 'The Historical Music of Scotland Database', updated January 2022, accessed 20 May 2020, https://hms.scot.
[17] Karen E. McAulay, 'Our ancient national airs: Scottish song collecting c. 1760-1888' (PhD: University of Glasgow, 2009).
[18] David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century: A Musical Collection and Historical Study* (Edinburgh: Hardie Press, 2005).
[19] J. Dickson (ed.), *The Highland Bagpipe, Music, History, Tradition* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).
[20] Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of Folk Music and Art Music: emerging categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 263.

1720s is highly significant to this study. Jennifer Macleod's doctoral thesis presents a detailed history of the Edinburgh Musical Society, with particular focus on the Society's membership and repertoire.[21] A significantly less studied area pertinent to this thesis is the performance of Scottish psalm-singing in the eighteenth century. Studies by Duguid and Hood, which explore the history and affective power of the metrical psalm tradition, draw largely upon material from the Early Modern period, and are focused on practices within Scotland itself.[22] Scholarship on English psalm singing, such as Nicholas Temperley's *Music of the English Parish Church,* tends to focus on practices in the Established Anglican church.[23] To date, there has been very little focus on the practice of Scottish psalmody in diasporic environments. Although Cameron has identified no fewer than eleven Scottish congregations in the capital during the eighteenth century, the role of music within these churches is an area as yet entirely unstudied.[24]

While many of the works above touch upon the activities of Scottish musicians and musical culture in eighteenth-century London, they rarely characterise the precise character of Scottish musical culture in London itself. Understandably, the fact that many Scottish musicians left Scotland to pursue a career in London is somewhat problematic for national musicological narratives. This, however, has led to an underappreciation of modes of transmission of Scottish musical culture beyond the borders of Scotland itself, and the role of Scottish musicians in this process of cultural transfer. Alburger's chapter in Nenadic's *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* provides a brief survey of prominent Scottish musicians in eighteenth-century London, but it focuses largely on the career of James Oswald and Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kellie (1732-1781).[25] Indeed, Oswald, whose work is now performed widely, has received the vast majority of scholarly attention. Bull, for example, has explored James Oswald's activities in London within a diasporic framework, arguing, like many others, for a Scottish diasporic outcome for Oswald's 'Society of the Temple of Apollo'.[26] The highly successful musician and publisher Robert Bremner, however, receives only a passing mention in Alburger's work, and his truly impressive career has attracted only two detailed analyses to date. These, however, focus on specific aspects of

[21] Jennifer Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society: its Membership and Repertoire 1728-1797' (PhD: University of Edinburgh, 2001).
[22] Timothy Duguid, 'Sing a new song: English and Scottish metrical psalmody from 1549-1640', Vol. 1 (PhD: University of Edinburgh, 2011); Nathan Hood, 'Metrical psalm-singing and emotion in Scottish Protestant affective piety, 1560-1650', *Reformation and Renaissance Review,* Vol. 23, No. 2 (2021), 1-19.
[23] Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
[24] Gordon G. Cameron, *The Scots Kirk in London* (Oxford: Becket Publications, 1979).
[25] Mary Anne Alburger, 'Musical Scots and Scottish Music Patrons in London and Edinburgh' in Stana Nenadic (ed.), *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 186-203.
[26] Andrew Bull, 'Diasporic music and musicians: Scottish national music in eighteenth-century London', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance,* No. 12, *Communities & Margins of Early Modern Scotland* (2021), accessed 20 October 2022. https://jnr2.hcommons.org/2020/6065.

Bremner's publishing output rather than characterising his career as a whole.[27] John Gow, one of the most successful Scottish musicians in eighteenth-century London, is omitted in Alburger's account in favour of his Edinburgh-based brother, Nathaniel. Indeed, apart from brief references, his fascinating performing career has received no scholarly attention whatsoever.

In order to situate the lives of Scottish musicians in London within the wider Scottish community, I have drawn upon a growing literature in the field of diaspora and migration theory. Historical Scottish diaspora communities have received recent scholarly attention, with particular focus on the activities of Scottish expats further afield, notably Murdoch's *Network North,* a wide-ranging and methodologically impressive exploration of Scottish associations in Early Modern Northern Europe.[28] Tanja Bueltmann's *Clubbing Together* offers a rigorous and theoretically driven analysis of Scottish diaspora communities, focusing on the 'near diaspora' in London alongside a number of global case studies.[29] The topic of Scottish assimilation in early Modern England has also attracted extensive attention from Brown and Kennedy of Manchester University, where an interdisciplinary Migration and Diaspora Cultural Studies Network was funded between 2006 and 2008.[30] Brown and Kennedy have explored the limits of Scottish assimilation in early modern London through a micro-historical analysis of Henry Clerk (1678-1715), a Scottish merchant whose refusal to dilute his Scottishness led to a failure to thrive in his host city.[31] Although much of Brown and Kennedy's work is focused on the Early Modern period, nonetheless the exploration and crystallisation of problems of cultural transfer and assimilation through the lens of the individual migrant is a fruitful approach. Overall, however, literature on the Scottish diasporic experience in London is relatively slim. A notable exception is Stana Nenadic's edited volume, *Scots in Eighteenth Century London*. This collection of interdisciplinary essays provides an excellent overview of the character of London's Scottish community across the century, with a particular focus on the flexibility of Scottish diasporic identity, and the phenomenon of 'Scotophobia' faced by diaspora Scots.[32] Tim Worth's PhD thesis, 'Transatlantic Scotophobia: Nation, Empire and Anti-Scottish Sentiment in England and America, 1760-1783' offers a further perspective on Scotophobia as faced by Scottish migrants during the premiership of the third Earl of Bute.[33]

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[27] David Wyn Jones, 'Robert Bremner and the *Periodical Overture*' in *Soundings,* no. 7, (1978), 63-84; Jane Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs:* Opera Publishing in Eighteenth-Century London' (PhD: Cardiff University, 2003).
[28] Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Leiden/Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006).
[29] Tanja Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014).
[30] Keith Brown & Allan Kennedy, 'Assimilation Aborted: Henry Clerk and the Limits of Anglo-Scottish Integration in the Age of Union', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies,* Vol 38, No. 22 (November, 2018), 199-218.
[31] Keith Brown & Allan Kennedy, 'Land of Opportunity? The Assimilation of Scottish Migrants in England, 1603–ca. 1762', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol. 57 (October 2018), 709-735.
[32] Stana Nenadic (ed.), *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 13.
[33] Tim Worth, 'Transatlantic Scotophobia: Nation, Empire and Anti-Scottish Sentiment in England and America, 1760-1783' (PhD, University of Southampton, 2016).

Strongly relevant to the discussion of Scottish musical identity in London is a body of literature focusing on the role of Scottish music in the development of an embryonic British culture throughout the eighteenth century.[34] Following Linda Colley's seminal work, *Britons: Forging the Nation,* scholars have identified a strong role for Scottish music in the creation of a British, as opposed to English, musical identity.[35] Mera-Nelson explores, in her doctoral thesis, the expression of a British musical identity amongst the Scottish musical literati, nobility and gentry in eighteenth-century London, with particular reference to the genre of the eighteenth-century accompanied sonata.[36] The figure of Scottish poet and playwright Allan Ramsay (1713-1784) has been the subject of much debate in this context. Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany,* published in Edinburgh but containing a mix of Scottish and English musical material, has often been employed in arguments for the adaptation of Scottish music in service of the creation of a broader British musical identity. Recent scholarly editions of Ramsay's work, edited by Murray Pittock at the University of Glasgow, have presented Ramsay's work in a more nuanced light.[37] McGuinness and McGregor, in their examination of Ramsay's musical sources, have highlighted his interactions with an established body of 'Scotch tunes' circulating in early eighteenth-century London.[38] Putigny, in his study of eighteenth-century song cultures and national identities, has similarly argued for an 'interconnected and shifting nature of cultural relations' between England and Scotland.[39] In the remainder of this thesis, I will argue that the development of London's Scottish musical culture was more complex than the straightforward expression of a British musical identity, and that the adaptation of Scottish music in London was characterised by significant variety.

The flexible development of Scottish musical identity in metropolitan London space was closely aligned with images of Scotland and Scottishness circulating in the capital during the period 1741-1815. There is a strong body of literature on the Romanticisation of Scottish culture, and the crystallisation of the 'Highland myth' in London and, indeed, in Scotland, during the second half of the eighteenth century. Womack charts the historical development of the myth itself, emphasising the conflation of Highland and Lowland cultures in its creation.[40] Leask explores the influence of the works of James Macpherson (1736-1796) in this area, with particular reference to the subsequent character of

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[34] Clare Mera-Nelson, 'Creating a notion of "Britishness"; the role of Scottish music in the negotiation of a common culture, with particular reference to the 18th century accompanied sonata' (PhD: Royal College of Music, 2003).
[35] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation* (London: Pimlico, 2003).
[36] Mera-Nelson, 'Creating a notion of "Britishness"', 108.
[37] Murray Pittock and Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Tea-Table Miscellany* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023); Steve Newman & David McGuinness (eds.), *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Gentle Shepherd* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022).
[38] David McGuinness & Aaron McGregor, 'Ramsay's Musical Sources: Reconstructing a Poet's Musical Memory', *Scottish Literary Review,* Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2018), 49-71.
[39] Stefan Putigny, 'Song Cultures and National Identities in Eighteenth-Century Britain, c.1707-c.1800' (PhD: Kings College London, 2012), 25.
[40] Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999).

domestic tourism in the Highlands.[41] Several studies explore the interaction of the vision of Romantic Scotland with a particular patriotic identity in the capital, that of 'North Britishness', which was often accompanied by a narrative of improvement in relation to the Highland region. Kidd, for example, has convincingly argued that North Britishness was usually orientated towards England, and primarily espoused by the Anglo-Scottish elite classes.[42] There were also commercial motivations for the swift Romanticisation of Scotland's landscape and culture. Indeed, by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Scottish culture had become incredibly popular in elite London society, a trend explored in Rosie Waine's wide-ranging historical survey of Highland dress.[43] Yet, despite widespread discussion in this area, the impact of the image of Romantic Scotland on London's Scottish musical culture still requires scholarly attention.

My analysis of Scottish music-making in London's elite metropolitan space explores several associational contexts, including that of the Highland Society of London (HSL), established in 1778. This homosocial club offered a context in which Scottish elite men could express a range of masculinities. Here, Abrams and Ewan's study of Scottish masculinities in historical space is helpful in exploring the variety of modes of expression open to Scottish men across nine centuries of Scottish history.[44] Carr's article, 'The Gentleman and the Soldier: Patriotic Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland' is particularly relevant to the specific context of the HSL, in which he proposes a Highland 'martial masculinity' primarily espoused by elite Highlanders.[45] It is the cultural activities of the HSL, however, which have attracted most scholarly attention. Janice May Fairney's doctoral thesis, 'Highlanders from Home', sheds light on the cultural priorities of the HSL, with particular emphasis on the Society's influence in Scotland.[46] Her subsequent article, 'The Cultivation and Preservation of the Martial Music of the Highlands by the Highland Society of London', elaborates upon the Society's musical achievements in Scotland, with particular focus on its Edinburgh-based Piping Competition.[47] MacInnes has similarly explored the influence of the HSL on the development of the Highland bagpipe in Scotland, and Sanger has examined the career of Neil MacLean, one of the Society's pipers.[48]

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[41] Nigel Leask, 'Fingalian Topographies: Ossian and the Highland Tour, 1760-1805', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies,* Vol. 39, No. 2 (2016), 183-196.
[42] Colin Kidd, 'North-Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-century British Patriotism', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (1996), 361-382.
[43] Rosie Waine, *Fashioning Highland Dress, Highland style, c. 1745-1845* (Edinburgh: NSME Publishing Ltd, 2022).
[44] Lynn Abrams & Elizabeth L. Ewan, *Nine Centuries of Man: Manhood and Masculinities in Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 8.
[45] Rosalind Carr, 'The Gentleman and the Soldier: Patriotic Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Journal of Historical Studies,* Vol 28, No. 2. (2008), 102-121.
[46] Janice May Fairney, 'Highlanders from Home: the Contribution of the Highland Society and the Gaelic Society of London to Gaelic Culture 1778-1914' (PhD: University of Edinburgh, 2005).
[47] Janice Fairney, 'The Cultivation and Preservation of the Martial Music of the Highlands by the Highland Society of London', *Scottish Studies,* Vol. 38 (2018), 55-71.
[48] Iain I. MacInnes, *The Highland Bagpipe: the Impact of the Highland Societies of London and Scotland, 1781-1844* (M. Litt. University of Edinburgh: 1988); Keith Sanger, 'One Piper or Two: Neil MacLean of the 84th Highlanders', in J. Dickson (ed.), *The Highland Bagpipe, Music, History, Tradition* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

However, the musical activities of the HSL in London remain largely unresearched, despite their excellent potential to contribute to a greater understanding of musical culture in elite Scottish associational space.

Perhaps the greatest lacuna in this research area relates to the influence of patterns of consumption on the shape of London's Scottish musical culture. While there is a substantial body of scholarship on London's eighteenth-century musical culture, this tends to focus on polite concert life, such as in Catherine Harbor's doctoral thesis exploring the development of commercial concerts in London 1660-1750.[49] London's music trade has been examined in Michael Kassler's excellent edited volume, *The Music Trade in Georgian England,* which features case studies of several music publishers.[50] However, none of the three Scottish music publishers at the heart of this study have received individual attention in the context of the British music trade. Several 'big data' projects have contributed to a greater awareness of the potential of bibliographical meta data for the illustration of musical consumption patterns.[51] Still, however, there are areas of consumption which are as yet entirely untapped, such as Scottish dance culture in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century London. The historical development of Highland dancing tradition has been examined by Catriona Scott, and Scotland's tradition of social dancing by George Emmerson.[52] A wealth of information can also be gleaned from online repositories in this area, including the Regency Dances site, which features extensive research by Paul Cooper.[53] The performance of dance in elite gendered space has been explored by Katrina Faulds, with particular reference to the English country house between 1770 and 1860.[54] However, although London's many Scottish dance musicians and dancing masters appear briefly in many of the works above, their activities and networks have received little attention. My analysis will combine gendered and diasporic approaches to construct a new, rich account of Scottish dance culture in London.

0.3 Sources and Methodologies

At the heart of this thesis is the concept of active engagement with Scottish music in a particular geographical space, encompassing both its performance and consumption, as well as detailed analyses of the activities and identities of Scottish musicians. However, while the terms 'Scotland' and 'Scottish' are used throughout this thesis to refer to the nation and the music associated with it, I recognise that

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[49] Catherine Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750' (PhD: Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012).
[50] Michael Kassler (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham: Routledge, 2011).
[51] Stephen Rose, Sandra Tuppen and Loukia Drosopoulou, 'Writing a Big Data History of Music' in *Early Music,* Vol. 43, No. 4 (2015), 649-660.
[52] Catriona Mairi Scott, 'The Scottish Highland Dancing Tradition' (PhD: University of Edinburgh, 2005); George S. Emmerson, *A Social History of Scottish Dance. Ane Celestial Recreation.* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972).
[53] Garth Notley (ed.), 'Regency Dances' (2024), accessed 20 October 2022, https://www.regencydances.org.
[54] Katrina Lee Faulds, '"Invitation pour la danse": Social dance, dance music and feminine identity in the English country house c.1770-1860' (PhD: University of Southampton, 2015).

a vast number of musical traditions and practices existed in eighteenth-century Scotland, pertaining not only to different geographical regions, but varying substantially across social classes. Scottish music was in no sense monolithic, and its many cultures, embedded in the diverse history of Scotland itself, have been outlined in great depth in existing scholarship. However, as I shall argue throughout this thesis, the characterisation and perception of Scottish music (and indeed Scottishness more generally) was significantly less nuanced in London, often relying on stereotypical or anecdotal depictions present in the city's metropolitan cultural and political space. Scottish music, as a powerful signifier of Scottish culture, was also drawn into the service of a Romantic vision of Scotland, itself shaped by those advocating an Anglo-British patriotic mindset. As a result, the context for the development of Scottish musical culture in London during this period was at once both real and imagined, and was subject to significant influence from external trends in the creative, social, economic, and even political context of London itself. In the following analysis, rather than focusing on the varied origins of Scottish music, I will seek to construct a vivid picture of Scottish musical culture as it was perceived and adapted in London between 1741 and 1815.

The selection of London as a geographical focus for this study was motivated by characteristics unique to the city itself. By 1741, London was a powerful metropolitan hub for British trade, politics, and culture, boasting the highest population of any city in Europe. For the purposes of this thesis, London will be defined as by the topographer John Noorthouck in his *A New History of London* (1773), encompassing the two central cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and forty-six surrounding villages that were gradually incorporated into the core.[55] The creative context of eighteenth-century London supports a rich analysis of Scottish musical culture, strongly informed by patterns of production and consumption. Indeed, for many of the city's Scottish musicians and publishers, such as James Oswald, Robert Bremner, and John Gow, London's distinctive demographic represented an opportunity for significant economic gain. In particular, the 'noble, bourgeois and professional population' who descended upon the city for the entertainment season represented a

[55] Noorthouck wrote: 'In strict language, London is still confined to its walls, and the limits of the corporate jurisdiction of the city; but as a contiguity of buildings has connected it with Westminster and all the neighbouring villages and hamlets, the name in common usage has extended over them all, and rendered their respective proper names no more than subdivisions of one great metropolis. In this general view therefore, London may now be said to include two cities, one borough and forty six antient villages: *viz*. the city of London properly so called, the city of Westminster, borough of Southwark, the villages of Mora, Finsbury Wenlaxbarn, Clerkenwell, Hoxton, Shoreditch, Nortonfalgate, the Spital, White-chapel, Mile-End New-Town, Mile-End Old-Town, Bethnal-Green Stepney, Poplar, Limehouse, Blackwall, Ratcliff, Shadwell, Wapping, Stepney, East Smithfield, the Hermitage, St. Catharine's, the Minories, St. Clements-Danes, the Strand, Charing-cross, St. James's, Knights-Bridge, Soho, St. Martin's in the fields, St. Giles's in the fields, Bloomsbury, Marybone, Portpool, Saffron-Hill, Holborn, Vaux-Hall, Lambeth, Lambeth-Marsh, Kennington, Newington-Butts, Bermondsey, the Grange, Horsleydown and Rotherhithe. Beside which the villages of Chelsea, Paddington, Islington, Hackney, Bow, and Deptford, are so near being united, that they might without any great impropriety have been added to the list, and considered as appendages to this immense capital' John Noorthouck, *A New History of London Including Westminster and Southwark,* Book 2 (London: R. Baldwin, 1773), Chapter 1: Situation and general view of the Metropolis.

significant consumer market for musical performances and associated products.[56] Those Scottish musicians who met with real success in London (at least, in financial terms) were typically 'musician-entrepreneurs', prepared to advance their careers through 'self-promotion and the manipulation of a market through social networks'.[57] Such individuals were characteristically flexible and creative in their approach to life in London, skilfully unleashing their energies and talents upon an ever-changing urban landscape.

Characterising the network of individuals, organisations, publications and performances which constituted Scottish musical culture in London 1741-1815 poses a significant challenge. In seeking to describe this network, I have drawn inspiration from Actor Network Theory (ANT), a methodological approach to social theory created by sociologist Bruno Latour.[58] Piekut has examined ANT's usefulness to music history, highlighting ways in which four methodological principles of ANT (human and non-human agency, action, ontology, and performance) may be applied in three areas relevant to music history: influence, genre, and context.[59] In contrast to classical social network theories, which tend to impose a pre-hierarchical structure into which 'actors' must fit, ANT focuses on 'how elements form and shape each other'.[60] As a result, ANT is capable of producing 'rich, realist descriptions of the world', in which the *relationships* between actors in a network shape the network as a whole.[61] ANT can therefore be employed to challenge persisting ideological hierarchies within musicology, supporting an ideological shift from the centrality of the musical work to those who produced it and engaged with it.[62] ANT, however, is often criticised for its equal recognition of human and non-human objects as 'actors' in the networks it seeks to describe. While the idea of *equality* may indeed be problematic, nonetheless I strongly value an approach that highlights the importance of non-human elements in shaping musical networks, as it recognises the influence of material objects and ideas – for example, printed music or a musical stereotype – in the network as a whole. Overall, while there are some limitations to the application of ANT in this study, nonetheless its central tenets support the restoration of creative agency to the many performers, publishers and consumers who comprised the Scottish musical culture of historical London.

The most significant limitation of ANT as a methodological approach is its failure to account for hierarchy in the network it describes, which is particularly problematic when examining a class-based

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[56] Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business', 15.
[57] Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business', 262.
[58] See Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press), 1987; Bruno Latour, 'On actor-network theory: A few clarifications', *Soziale Welt,* Vol. 47. No. 4 (1996), 369-381.
[59] Benjamin Piekut, 'Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques', *Twentieth Century Music,* Vol. 11, No. 2 (2014), 191.
[60] Lilla Vicseki, Gábor Király & Hanna Edit Konya, 'Networks in the Social Sciences: Comparing Actor-Network Theory and Social Network Analysis', *Corvinus Journal of Sociology and Social Policy,* Vol. 7, No. 2 (2016), 81.
[61] Piekut, 'Actor-Networks in Music History', 209.
[62] Ibid.

historical society. Class was strongly relevant in eighteenth-century London, and participation in culture varied across the social structure. In 1753, James Nelson, a London apothecary, recorded five classes of English society: 'the Nobility, the Gentry, the genteel Trades, the common Trades, and the Peasantry'. The last category he clarified as containing not merely the 'Rustics' but also 'the lowest Class of People, in London particularly'.[63] Scottish music was undoubtedly enjoyed in London during this period by the nobility and the gentry, in the many entertainment venues of the city, particularly in the assembly rooms and balls of the fashionable world, and in elite homosocial associational space. However, those of 'genteel Trades', or the 'middling sort', who grew in number during our period, would also have had access to musical entertainments, particularly in the theatre or London's many pleasure gardens, and many were able to afford the purchase of music books and instruments. While the musical experience of Nelson's two lowest classes is more difficult to access, the attachment of a congregation of 'common traders' to Scottish congregational music is visible in the archival records of London's Scottish churches. Despite the strong relevance of class to my analysis, I will also seek to examine the upward social mobility evident in the musical careers of many Scottish musicians in London, highlighting the fact that Scottish musical culture to some extent transcended class boundaries, and afforded musicians significant agency and influence in cosmopolitan elite space.

Within the network of actors underpinning Scottish creative culture in London, those of Scottish origin, unsurprisingly, feature prominently. The many Scottish musicians, publishers and music lovers who relocated either permanently or temporarily to London during the period 1741-1815 can be considered part of a wider community, or diaspora, of Scots in the city. Throughout this thesis, I will use the terms 'diaspora' and 'diaspora community' to refer collectively to London's Scots, while recognising the fact that such a label is necessarily inadequate to fully describe a fluid socio-cultural network which operated flexibly and often through informal mechanisms. Esman's definition of diaspora is helpful here, as it highlights both emotion and opportunity, two core concepts in my analysis of Scottish musical identity in London. A diaspora community, he argues, is 'any transnational migrant community that maintains material or sentimental attachments to its country of origin (its home country), while adapting to the limitations and opportunities in its country of settlement (its host country)'.[64] For Brah, when mapping diasporic communities in historical space, concepts of diaspora enable 'historicised analyses of contemporary transnational movements of people, information, cultures, commodities and capital'.[65] In this thesis, I will also use the term 'diaspora space', defined by Brah as 'the intersectionality of diaspora, border, and dislocation as a point of confluence of economic,

[63] James Nelson, *An Essay on the Government of Children under Three General Heads: Viz. Health, Manners, and Education* (London: 1756), 273, in Penelope J. Corfield, 'Class by Name and Number in Eighteenth-Century England', *History,* Vol. 72, No. 234 (February 1987), 38-39.
[64] Milton J. Esman, *Diasporas in the Contemporary World* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), 14.
[65] Avtar Brah (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London: Routledge, 1996), 208.

political, cultural, and psychic processes'.[66] This concept does not exclude the geographical space in which a diaspora community existed, but is much broader in scope, and allows for the characterisation of the liminal space in which the network underpinning the production of Scottish musical culture was created and reinforced.

London's Scottish diaspora community was, by nature, fluid, and increased ease of travel between Scotland and London, particularly towards 1800, enabled a constant flow of migrants. Within the body of migration and diaspora theory, assimilation theories can help us to conceptualise the ways in which individuals and groups maintained, adapted, or rejected their Scottish identity in their host society of London. Classic assimilation theory posits 'a straight-line process allowing migrant groups to proceed logically from outsider status to complete absorption into the host society'.[67] If there are few institutional structures or opportunities for association, individuals are likely to assimilate into their host environment rapidly, retaining fewer markers of their former national identity. This linear characterisation of assimilation, however, is not a suitable tool to describe the variety of lived experiences of Scottish musicians in eighteenth-century London, as it fails to account for the presence of multiple national identities in diaspora space. More relevant are segmented theories of assimilation in which cultural hybridity is emphasised, and which support a greater understanding of transnational and parallel identities within diaspora communities.[68] For example, theories such as Portes & Rumbat's 'selective acculturation', and Gibson's 'multilinear assimilation' acknowledge the diversity and complexity of individual migrant experiences, while still allowing a discussion of the assimilation process.[69] These more elastic models support my thesis that Scottish musical migrants may have adopted some cultural practices of the dominant culture in their new environment, while maintaining other practices from their home culture.

The movement of Scottish musicians between Scotland and London necessarily involved transfer of cultural capital. Such transfer could be intended or indeed unconscious, enacted through a variety of artistic and commercial activities. The field of intercultural transfer studies seeks to study the objects and ideas moving 'between ever-changing cultures' and 'the contribution of these transfer to the making and transformation of these cultures'.[70] Classic linear models of cultural transfer, however, are inadequate for this study, as they generally fail to allow for multiple interactions and positions of the

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[66] Ibid.
[67] Keith Brown & Allan Kennedy, 'Becoming English: The Monro Family and Scottish Assimilation in Early-Modern England', *Cultural and Social History,* Vol 16, No. 2 (March 2019), 126.
[68] Thomas Faist, 'Diaspora and transnationalism: What kind of dance partners?' in Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist (eds.), *Diaspora and Transnationalism Book Subtitle: Concepts, Theories and Methods* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 9-34.
[69] Portes A, Rumbaut R.G., *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001); M. Gibson, *Accommodation without assimilation: Sikh immigrants in an American high school* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), referenced in Brown and Kennedy, 'Becoming English', 127.
[70] Thomas Adam, *Approaches to the Study of Intercultural Transfer* (London: Anthem Press, 2020), 3.

agents of cultural transfer. Homi Bhabha famously addressed the need for a trans-spatial description of cultural transfer in his concept of a 'Third Space', which allows for the production of hybrid meaning in a 'passage', representing 'both the general conditions of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a performative and institutional strategy of which it cannot 'in itself' be conscious'.[71] Kim argues, however, that this concept 'barely accounts for the *real* integration and involvement of agents in social, cultural, and cognitive systems, which are anchored in complex society on local or regional levels'.[72] Indeed, when describing a historical network in temporal space, the integration of a trans-spatial aspect into the existing societal system is vital. Kim posits, instead, agents who are 'carriers of *plural* identities which simultaneously search for the array and disarray in themselves inside the trans-cultural room'.[73] The expression of plural cultural identities in liminal space is fundamental to my description of Scottish musical culture, through which I will embrace the essential messiness of cultural flow between Scotland and London.

This study has necessitated the consultation of a wide range of primary material, held in both London and Scottish archives. Archival records relating to several of London's Scottish associations offer a wealth of data through which it is possible to discern the nature of their engagement with Scottish music. In contrast to Bueltmann's approach, this study adopts a broad definition of Scottish associationalism, in which London's Scottish Presbyterian congregations are recognised as a vital node in the city's complex network of Scottish associations.[74] The extensive archive of Crown Court Church of Scotland, Covent Garden, held at the National Records of Scotland, is rich in quantity and quality, including minute books, accounts, baptism data, and membership records from 1711 to the present day.[75] Similar, though less extensive, archives are held for two further Scottish churches in London: Swallow Street Church, St James, and an older congregation which worshipped for most of our period at London Wall.[76] These records form the core material for my examination of Scottish congregational music in Chapter 3. The rich archive of another Scottish association, the Highland Society of London (HSL), is held at the National Library of Scotland, and allows for a detailed analysis of the musical activities of this elite diasporic club. Records pertinent to this study are minute books from 1783 to 1828, accounts and receipts from 1796 to 1808, the society's debit and credit book covering the period

[71] Homi Bhabha, *Locations of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 36.
[72] Jin-Ah Kim, 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research for Music Sociology and Music Anthropology', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music,* Vol. 46, No. 1 (June 2015), 46.
[73] Kim, 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research for Music Sociology and Music Anthropology', 48.
[74] Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together,* 14.
[75] CH2/852, Records of London, Crown Court Kirk Session, 1711-1972, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[76] Minute Book (1770-1801), LMA/4365/A/002, Swallow Street Church, London Metropolitan Archives; Session Minutes (1786-1815), CLC/182/MS04969/001; Cash book (1754-98), CLC/182/MS04964, Scots Church, London Wall, London Metropolitan Archives.

1783-1815, and miscellaneous correspondence and papers.[77] Together with the archive of the Highland Society of Scotland (HSS), now held by the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, it is possible to recreate in some detail the musical activities of the HSL in Scotland and in London.[78] Further archival records have proved invaluable in situating the lives of Scottish musicians in context; the Sederunt Books and accounts of the Edinburgh Musical Society, for example, reveal continuing relationships between the Society and Scottish musicians in London, and allow for a detailed examination of the character of musical flow between the two vibrant musical scenes of Edinburgh and London.[79]

I have consulted a wide range of musical publications throughout this study, focusing particularly on works composed or published by Scottish musicians in London. These can be found in collections across the United Kingdom, including the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the National Library of Scotland, and in private collections such as the Wighton Collection, Dundee. A large number of these publications are commercially printed compositions or tune collections, and examination of their musical content can indicate stylistic and commercial trends. Many such works feature subscription lists, which allow for an analysis of the author's social network, and/or prefaces, which can reveal cultural attitudes towards the music contained therein. In the case of Robert Bremner's *Rudiments of Music* (1756), for example, the lengthy preface material allows a close analysis of his didactic methods and his attitude to Scottish musical identity. Methods and theoretical treatises have also been valuable in my discussion of Scottish dance in elite fashionable space: London-printed dance manuals such as Giovanni-Andrea Gallini's *Treatise on the art of dancing* (1762) and Thomas Wilson's *Companion to the Ballroom* (1820) offer social commentaries on dance practices in the assembly rooms of London across our period.[80] In addition to printed music, my study has also necessitated the consultation of manuscript material, including a fascinating set of owner-bound volumes held at the Montagu Music collection.[81] Previously owned by the Scottish music collector William Stenhouse (1773-1827), these volumes contain raw material for tune collections. Some of these volumes can be linked to the Scottish music publisher, Robert Bremner, and greatly enrich our appreciation of his musical identity as expressed through a desire to preserve Scotland's native music.

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[77] Minute Books (Dep.268/21-27); Accounts and Receipts (Dep/268/34); Debit and Credit Book (Dep.268/16); Correspondence (Dep.268/1; 268/15); Extracts of the Proceedings of the Society from 1819 to 1824 (Dep 268/43), Records of the Highland Society of London, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[78] Sederunt Books, Records of the Highland Society of Scotland, Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[79] Edinburgh Musical Society Sederunt Books, Vol. 1: 1728-1747, Ref. qYML 28 MS, Edinburgh Public Libraries, Edinburgh.
[80] Giovanni-Andrea Gallini, *Treatise on the art of dancing* (London: printed for the author, 1762); Thomas Wilson, *Companion to the Ballroom* (London: D. Mackay, 1820).
[81] *Musical collections of William Stenhouse, accountant in Edinburgh,* Volumes 23-29, Montagu Music Collection, Boughton House.

I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to situate my analysis of Scottish musical publications in their specific commercial context, through the consultation of advertisements relating to each work. Such advertisements, most of which can be accessed digitally, appear in a variety of publications across the Great Britain and Ireland: in Scotland, the *Caledonian Mercury*, *Scots Magazine*, and *Edinburgh Advertiser,* and in London, several daily newspapers, including the *Daily Advertiser,* the *Public Advertiser,* and the *Morning Post,* alongside a number of British and American regional newspapers. Some advertisements for musical works are admittedly somewhat brief, and their content generic, but they are nonetheless valuable when attempting to establish secure dates for publications. In the construction of an updated catalogue of James Oswald's works, for example, it is possible to narrow the date window for certain works through close comparison of advertisements for works in newspapers and on the frontispieces of other works in his oeuvre. Performances of Scottish music are also identifiable in advertisements, in the form of concert announcements; for the period 1750-1800, these have been collated by Simon McVeigh in his *Calendar of London Concerts*.[82] Towards the end of the eighteenth century, elite entertainments are well represented in the fashionable columns of the press, and these often represent the only record of performances by a Scottish dance band such as that of London-based musician John Gow. Similarly, details of the musical entertainment accompanying dinners held by the Highland Society of London leave very little trace, except in newspaper reports. Newspaper content has therefore been critical in my vivid depiction of the network of actors underpinning Scottish musical culture.

It has been necessary to engage with a variety of primary material pertaining to particular individuals who form part of this study. Records of births, marriages, and deaths, accessed both digitally and in local and national archives, have provided important background to the careers of Scottish musicians in London. Legal records concerning the estates of James and Robert Bremner, held by the Library of Congress, offer a fascinating insight into the Bremner connection with Philadelphia.[83] Correspondence between music publisher Robert Bremner and the Philadelphian Francis Hopkinson, held by the Historical Society of Philadelphia, has transformed our understanding of Bremner's musical character and his transatlantic business interests.[84] Published membership lists of London clubs can also uncover associational loyalties: the musician James Oswald was, for example, a member of the 'Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce'.[85] Sun Insurance records for London musical businesses, as compiled by Lance Whitehead and Jenny Nex, are of huge importance in characterising

[82] Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800.* Goldsmiths, University of London, published 2014, https://doi.org/10.25602/GOLD.00010342.
[83] Edmund Physick Family Papers, 1759-1899, MSS36129, Library of Congress, Washington DC.
[84] Letters between Robert Bremner and Francis Hopkinson, 05-02-1785; Collection 1978, Vol, 2, 128 & 129, Hopkinson Family Papers: Letters, 1736-1800, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
[85] *A List of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce* (London: printed for the Society, July 1765).

the commercial activities of Scottish music publishers such as James Oswald and Robert Bremner.[86] Records of the House of Gordon, particularly accounts relating to expenditure in London, have highlighted the employment of Scottish musicians in London by Jane, Duchess of Gordon (c.1748-1812).[87] Finally, journals and memoirs of the period are invaluable in establishing a broad context for this study, particularly those of Scots such as James Boswell (1740-1795) and Alexander Carlyle (1722-1805), who were either resident in London or frequently visited the city.[88] In this category, Elizabeth Grant's *Memoirs of a Highland Lady* are remarkable for the wealth of detail regarding dance culture in both Scotland and London, as well as the character of travel between the Highlands and London at the turn of the nineteenth century.[89]

Finally, this study has been enhanced by the use of several online databases, many of which allow for a micro-historical analysis of eighteenth-century London. *London Lives,* for example, offers a searchable database of over 3.35 million non-elite individuals, drawing primarily upon records relating to crime, poverty, and social policy between 1690 and 1800.[90] A fully GIS compliant version of John Rocque's 1746 map of London, held at *Locating London's Past,* has allowed me to establish accurate coordinates for over 2,000 addresses pertaining to Scots worshippers at Crown Court Church, Covent Garden, as well as offering a window into the physical world of eighteenth-century London. The *London Stage Database* offers a wealth of data relating to the theatrical culture of London between 1660 and 1800, drawing upon playbills, newspaper notices, reviews, playhouse records, and diaries.[91] Simon Fleming and Martin Perkins have recently produced an exceptionally useful dataset of music subscribers to eighteenth-century musical publications across Great Britain.[92] This supports a variety of analytic approaches, including a focus on individual consumers whose names appear in multiple subscription lists, or, alternatively, the character of a particular composer's social network. Finally, the *Legacies of British Slavery* database, established by UCL with the support of the Hutchins Center at Harvard, has uncovered connections between the musical life of historical London and wealth derived from slavery, specifically James Oswald's part-ownership of a plantation, and its enslaved population, in Grenada.[93]

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[86] Lance Whitehead & Jenny Nex, 'The Insurance of Musical London and the Sun Fire Office 1710-1779', *The Galpin Society Journal,* Vol. 67 (March 2014, 181-216), Supplementary material.
[87] Papers of the Gordon Family, Dukes of Gordon, GD44/34/51, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[88] Frederick A. Pottle (ed.), *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004); Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, Containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1861).
[89] J. M. Strachey (ed.), *Memoirs of a Highland Lady: The Autobiography of Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus afterwards Mrs. Smith of Baltiboys* (London: John Murray, 1898).
[90] Tim Hitchcock, Robert Shoemaker, Sharon Howard and Jamie McLaughlin, et al., 'London Lives, 1690-1800', version 2.0, updated March 2018, https://www.londonlives.org.
[91] University of Oregon, 'London Stage Database', updated 2021, https://londonstagedatabase.uoregon.edu.
[92] Simon D. I. Fleming and Martin Perkins, *Dataset of Subscribers to Eighteenth-Century Music Publications in Britain and Ireland*, version 1.2, updated December 2022, https://musicsubscribers.co.uk.
[93] *Legacies of British Slavery Database*, Centre for the Study of Legacies of British Slavery, UCL Department of History, 2024, accessed 22 November 2023, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs.

0.4 Chapter Plan

Chapter 1 acts as an introduction to the five case studies that comprise the remaining chapters of the thesis, providing vital context in which to situate my portrayal of Scottish musical culture in London. I will first establish the historical trajectory of London's Scottish diaspora community before 1741, with particular focus on the development of Scottish associational networks in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. I will then explore the historical context of particular stereotypes of Scots and Scottishness in London, alongside the significant impact of political tensions on the growth of anti-Scottish prejudice in the capital. I will also consider the many possibilities for the expression of national identity open to émigré individuals and associations in Scottish diaspora space, with particular focus on parallel identities and patterns of assimilation. The established presence of Scottish associational culture in the capital from 1711 will be exemplified through a data-driven analysis of the character of a Scottish Presbyterian congregation, Crown Court Church, Covent Garden, whose musical life forms the focus of Chapter 3. I shall then outline the Romanticisation of Scottish culture, with particular emphasis on the role of diaspora Scots. In order to establish a secure chronology for this study, I will conduct a brief overview of trends in London's Scottish musical culture before 1741, with particular reference to the publications of William Thomson and Allan Ramsay. Finally, I will explore some of the key philosophical trends in Scottish musical circles in the second half of the eighteenth century, alongside a brief discussion of their relevance in London's musical space.

Chapter 2 presents a detailed analysis of the enacted experience of a Scottish musician in London's diaspora space through the career of James Oswald (1710-1769), active in the capital during the period 1741-1765. I will first outline Oswald's career in Scotland before 1741, highlighting areas of continuity with his later activities in London, and presenting a hypothesis as to the reasons for his permanent departure from Edinburgh. This is followed by a chronological analysis of Oswald's activities in London before he received a royal privilege to print music in 1747, focusing particularly on the relationships he forged on arrival. In this context, I will discuss the character of Oswald's Scottish musical publications and performances in the early part of his London career, underlining what these can reveal about his Scottish musical identity in diaspora space. The remaining two sections of this chapter map Oswald's varied social network across the geographical and musical space of London itself, challenging the assumption that he associated primarily with Scots. With this in mind, I will conduct a new analysis of Oswald's 'Society of the Temple of Apollo', employing a variety of evidence to argue that the various musical productions of this society were not diasporic in outcome, but instead represented a clever branding exercise on Oswald's part. Finally, this chapter will explore two aspects of Oswald's activities in London, which have to date received little scholarly attention. First, I will establish Oswald's close association with a group of (largely Scottish) Patriot artists surrounding Frederick, Prince of Wales, and his wife, Augusta, with reference to the broader discussion of Anglo-Scottish and British identities

expressed by diaspora Scots in London. Secondly, I will highlight Oswald's enthusiasm for scientific innovation as displayed in his reinvention of a fascinating musical instrument, the Æolian Harp.

Chapter 3 uncovers a significantly understudied aspect of Scottish musical experience in eighteenth-century London, that of worshippers in London's several Scottish churches. The social demographic of these congregations, which consisted primarily of members of the lower and middle classes, provides a counterbalance to my focus on individuals and associations of elite social status in Chapters 5 and 6. The rich archives of Crown Court Church, Covent Garden, Swallow Street, St. James, and the Scotch church, London Wall, permit a detailed analysis of the role of psalm-singing in the maintenance of associational diaspora culture, and the extent to which musical practices amongst London's worshipping Scots supported the expression of Scottish identity. I will introduce the historical trajectory of psalmody reform in mid eighteenth-century Scotland, with a particular focus on the attempts at 'improvement' of the same in Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Here, I will analyse a publication by musician Robert Bremner, which sought to raise the musical quality of psalm-singing amongst the Scottish population at large. In order to situate the Reformed practice of psalmody in London's Scottish churches, I will briefly outline the narrative of psalmody reform in London from the early seventeenth century, highlighting an earlier impetus for reform in this urban context. Finally, I will conduct an analysis of the importance of Scottish psalmody in three of London's Scottish churches, arguing for a strong, emotional attachment to this musical tradition in diaspora space.

Chapter 4 focuses on the London activities of Scottish musician Robert Bremner, who left his native Edinburgh for London around twenty years after his compatriot, James Oswald, and who pursued a highly successful career there between 1762 and 1789. At the heart of his chapter is a recognition of Bremner's strong contribution to the development and cross-fertilisation of Scottish musical tradition between Edinburgh and London during the late-eighteenth century. I will first analyse Bremner's expressed intentions in moving the majority of his business to London, with particular focus on his promise to continue to preserve Scottish music for posterity. I will then conduct a brief survey of Bremner's extensive catalogue of London musical publications, highlighting his talent for anticipating, and indeed shaping musical trends, as evidenced in his work for the King's Theatre. In this context, I will focus on the substantial network which Bremner formed to support his growing business, which extended across Europe, and as far as Philadelphia, through his brother James. Throughout this chapter, I will also explore Bremner's profound influence on the musical developments in Edinburgh in the form of his role as the Society's London agent. Finally, with reference to two personal letters between Bremner and Francis Hopkinson, I will discuss Bremner's enthusiastic engagement with the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment, underlining the strong link between his commercial success and his credentials as a thinking musician.

In Chapter 5, my focus shifts to the consumption of Scottish music in late eighteenth-century London, with particular attention on the role of dance in the craze for Scottish music in the last quarter of the century and beyond. Following a brief overview of Scottish dance forms in Scotland at this time, I will present an analysis of Scottish dance culture, and its accompanying music, in London's elite fashionable space, with reference to newspaper reports of events at which Scottish dancing featured. Here, I will explore language commonly used to describe Scottish dancing, in particular the Romantic imagery used to emphasise the physicality and energy attached to the performance of reeling. In this context, I will recognise the rarely unacknowledged contribution of Jane Maxwell, 4th Duchess of Gordon, to the development of Scottish dance, highlighting in particular her patriotic promotion of Scottish identity in diaspora space, which extended to patronage of Scottish musicians when residing in London. As a keen dancer, the Duchess attracted much contemporary comment, and sometimes criticism, for her 'masculine' dancing style, which was energetic rather than elegant or graceful. I will argue, however, that the performance of Scottish dance supported the expression of an alternative, more robust femininity in elite entertainment space. Finally, this chapter explores the careers of those musicians and dancing masters who enabled the development of London's Scottish dance culture, with particular focus on the activities of the London-based John Gow, and those of the many dancing masters who travelled between Scotland and London. In this context, I will explore the extent to which Scottish dance culture, and the music which supported it, was adapted for London's urban elite space.

My final chapter explores the significant role of music in the associational life of the elite Highland Society of London. In this homosocial club environment, Scottish music was drawn into service of a masculine martial identity, which sought to place Highland culture at the heart of a patriotic Scoto-British or 'North British' identity. First, I will outline the Society's broader cultural priorities, and its drive to revive the music of the Ancient Caledonians, with reference to an intriguing opportunity to repopulate Scotland with competent harpers through tuition from a Welsh master. The Society also devoted much energy to the preservation of the musical traditions of the Great Highland Bagpipe: in this context, I will discuss the Society's piping competition, and its unsuccessful attempts to establish a piping school in the Highlands. The remainder of this chapter will present an analysis of the HSL's London entertainments, and the musicians they employed, including the Society's pipers, alongside a number of Scottish, Welsh, and Irish musicians. Here, I will highlight the Society's connections with Scottish diasporic musicians already encountered in Chapter 5, most notably John Gow and George Jenkins. Finally, with reference to both newspaper reports, and the minute books of the Society, I will examine the character of the music performed at its London meetings and anniversary dinners, and the contribution of these musical entertainments to the collective expression of a particular brand of Scottish diasporic identity in elite homosocial space.

Chapter 1: Scottish Musical Culture in London

1.1 London's Scottish Diaspora Community

By 1741, large numbers of Scots had made the journey from Scotland to London. Brown and Kennedy have estimated that there were at least 35,000 Scots resident in London in 1700 and over 60,000 by 1750, representing around 6% of the city's population at that date.[94] Although the flow of Scots across the border increased after the Act of Union in 1707, these Scots were by no means the first to arrive in London. Upon accession to the throne in 1603, James VI/1 brought with him a number of Scottish courtiers, many of whom settled near Whitehall Palace in the area around Old Scotland Yard on the Strand.[95] Indeed, the area around the Strand, Covent Garden, and St Martins persisted as a centre of Scottish activity throughout the seventeenth century and beyond, though wealthier Scots later built and purchased property in the more fashionable areas of St James and Mayfair. Throughout the eighteenth century, elite Scots spent considerable time in London, endeavouring 'to project themselves to the centre of a London oriented culture'.[96] Scots of a middling sort, however, were also present in number, typically employed in professions such as medicine, the law, the armed forces, or the church. Skilled tradespersons also travelled from Scotland to London for economic opportunity. While some of these individuals relocated permanently, others were only present in the city for short periods of time. Others still, having travelled to London in search of a better life, were unable to find suitable work, and were rendered destitute, unable to afford to return to Scotland. London's Scottish diaspora community was therefore undoubtedly characterised by variety.

Despite the early presence of a Scottish diaspora community in London, it is often claimed that Scottish ethnic associational culture was not present there before the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when clubs such as the Highland Society of London were established. Yet there was a Scottish charitable network present in London from 1611 in the form of a 'Box Club' through which London Scots collected funds to be distributed to their less fortunate compatriots. The inscription on the surviving box (Figure 1), a verse of Psalm 133, reveals the spirit behind the enterprise: 'Behold how good a thing it is and how becoming well together such as brethren are in unitie [sic] to dwell'.[97] In 1665, this organisation received a royal charter to become the Royal Scottish Corporation, and in 1673, it opened a hospital and workhouse for poor Scots on a plot of land laid waste by the Great Fire of

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[94] Keith Brown & Allan Kennedy, 'Scots and Scabs from North-by-Tweed: Undesirable Scottish Migrants in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 10 (October 2019), 241.
[95] 'The great number of Scotch who came to London on the accession of James I settled chiefly along the Strand' (Anon, *A Trip from St James's to the Royal Exchange, With Remarks Serious and Diverting, on the Manners, Customs, and Amusements of the Inhabitants of London and Westminster* (London: Edward Withers, [1744]), 2.)
[96] Richard J. Finlay and Michael Lynch, 'Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the Eighteenth Century', in Dauvit Broun, Richard J. Finlay and Michael Lynch (eds.), *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), 148.
[97] Scotscare, 'Our History', *Scotscare*, updated 2024, https://scotscare.com/our-history-2.

London – the first such institution in London for a national immigrant population. It was described by visiting Scottish minister Reverend Robert Kirk in 1689: 'Amongst others in Blackfryers is the Scotish Hall…for maintaineing any poor Scotishmen recommended by the minister or churchwardens of the parish he lives in'.[98] Kirk noted that, in order to provide a portion of the income for the running of the hospital, 250 members ('almost all Scotishmen that frequent London') gave a penny a week to the Box, so that a poor Scotsman 'be troublesome to no Englishman in disparagement of his own nation'.[99] The Scottish Corporation also paid for the burials of Scots paupers and Scottish beggars in the cities of London and Westminster, saving English parishes from having to expend their resources.[100] The very existence of the Royal Scottish Corporation demonstrates that, even before the Act of Union, Scots in London formed a conscious network motivated by 'benevolence towards fellow Scots in need', involving the participation of a sizeable number of London-based Scots.[101]

Figure 1. 'The Scots Box' of the Royal Scottish Corporation, 1611. Source: Scotscare.[102]

The associational activities of the Royal Scottish Corporation, however, extended beyond its charitable aims. In the late seventeenth century, it held its meetings at taverns in Covent Garden and St Martins, and these doubled as social gatherings.[103] The group of Scottish men at the helm of the Corporation dined together quarterly, as well as organising an annual St Andrews Day dinner. The Corporation

[98] Justine Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness: The History of the Royal Scottish Corporation, a London Charity, 1603-2003* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), 63.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness*, 66.
[101] Tanja Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 36.
[102] Scotscare, 'Our History', *Scotscare*, updated 2024, https://scotscare.com/our-history-2.
[103] See Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness*, 30, for further discussion of these meetings.

therefore functioned not only as a means of distributing charitable funds, but also as a formal associational mechanism for Scots in London.[104] However, Clark argues that many of the mechanisms through which Scots met, particularly during the eighteenth century, were of the informal variety.[105] This can be evidenced by the presence of Scots coffee houses, where it was possible to obtain home-cooked Scottish fare, such as the British Coffee House on Cock Spur Lane. Both this, and Forrest's Coffee House near Charing Cross, hosted elite drinking and dining clubs such as that surrounding the first Marquess of Annandale.[106] Robert Kirk, in 1689, referenced a group of Scottish Presbyterian schoolmasters who discoursed in Latin every Saturday and provided funds to Scottish scholars.[107] The fact that these gatherings were informal, and in many cases, lost to the historical record, does not negate their significance. Indeed, it was in this kind of relaxed environment that Scots in London were able to 'tap into existing social networks to share information, exert influence, reinforce identity, and advance the individual's social credentials'.[108] Therefore, while formal associations offered one form of diasporic networking for Scots in London, informal opportunities for socialising along national lines were equally, if not more significant, especially when it came to providing support and opportunities for Scots newly arrived in London.

This 'clannish' behaviour on the part of the Scots community in London, defined by Nenadic as 'complex associational behaviour based on shared values and trust', is well evidenced during the second half of the eighteenth century.[109] In 1763, James Boswell complained that 'Scotch who come up to London are like galley-slaves chained together. They only coast it and never get into the main ocean'.[110] Similarly, in February that year, he was disappointed to be sitting next to Scots in the pit at the Drury Lane theatre:

> I could have wished my two companions absent from me, as they brought down my ideas and made me imagine myself just at Edinburgh, which, though a kind of comfortable idea, was not as high as what I was indulging. I find that I ought not to keep too much company with Scotch people, because I am kept from acquiring propriety of English speaking, and because they prevent my mind from being filled with London images, so that I might as well be in Scotland. For there is little or no difference between being with an entirely Scotch company in a room in London and a room in Edinburgh.[111]

Boswell's complaints reveal two realities regarding the associational behaviour of Scots in London at this date. First, that many men and women, particularly of Boswell's class, travelled between Scotland

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[104] Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness*, 66.
[105] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 297.
[106] Stana Nenadic (ed.), *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 26.
[107] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 296.
[108] Nenadic (ed.), *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century*, 26.
[109] Ibid.
[110] James Boswell, quoted in Clark, *British Clubs and Societies,* 297.
[111] Frederick A. Pottle (ed.), *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 177.

and London frequently, and second, that they often preferred to mix with other Scots when there rather than broadening their social circles. Indeed, perhaps the two elements were connected: the clannishness of the Scots reflected in part a need to reinforce a sense of national identity in a diaspora network characterised by fluidity and transience. Bueltmann argues that diaspora Scots were 'agents in the making of their own collective identity, utilizing and actively employing 'clannishness' in a broad sense'.[112] Fry highlights a similar response in the British colonial territories, where Scots 'seldom severed their connections with one another' and took every opportunity to reaffirm their Scottishness when away from their homeland.[113] In this context particularly, many Scots 'remained pre-occupied with the families, communities, and nation they had left behind'.[114] While at significantly less of a geographical remove, some London-based Scots evidently exhibited this kind of reflexive attitude, socialising primarily with their compatriots in both formal and informal contexts.

The clannishness of Scots in eighteenth-century London may have been a response to the undercurrents (and at times overt expressions) of anti-Scottish prejudice in the city. Characterised by Nenadic as 'a distinctly London-generated phenomenon', 'Scotophobia' had at its root an underlying current of anti-Scottish sentiment that had persisted since the early seventeenth century.[115] This was comprised two distinct, but interconnected, stereotypes, which still circulate, albeit less viscerally expressed, in England today. First, a 'resentment about over-achieving Scots', which dates back to the regal union of 1603, when Scots newly resident in London were immediately able to exploit the wealth and influence of the new crown'.[116] This caricature of the 'Scot on the make', an ambitious and cunning character grasping England's economic opportunities and taking them for himself, was immortalised in cartoons and satires of the day.[117] Second, perhaps as a reaction to Scottish success, a degree of hostility towards poorer Scots sprung up, resulting in the caricature of the 'beggar Scot' or 'Scotch pedlar'. Brown and Kennedy have highlighted significant prejudice against Scottish marginal migrants, particularly chapmen, vagrants and criminals, present in London since the 1600s.[118] Later, Scotch pedlars faced a politically motivated crackdown under Charles II, cementing this second stereotype in the popular imagination. Both stereotypes persisted throughout the eighteenth century, often embodied in the satirical figure of 'Sawney Scot', whose appearance was 'tall and scrawny, with long

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[112] Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together,* 4.
[113] Michael Fry, 'A Commercial Empire: Scotland and British Expansion in Eighteenth Century Scotland' in Thomas M. Devine & John R. Young, *Eighteenth Century Scotland*: *New Perspectives* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 63.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Nenadic, *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century,* 13.
[116] Brown & Kennedy, 'Scots and Scabs from North-by-Tweed', 2.
[117] For further discussion, see Paul Langford, 'South Britons' Reception of North Britons, 1707-1820' in T. Christopher Smout (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603 to 1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 143-169.
[118] In 1607/08, Sir Henry Spelman, English antiquary, blamed poorer Scots for overcrowding in the city. He wrote of the 'greate numbers of [Scots] poore and idle people, seeking places of aboad and service amongst us, to the greate hurte of our owne poore and increase of idlenesse' (Brown and Kennedy, 'Scots and Scabs', 3).

hair, long nose, building eyes and scowling face', dressed in Highland clothing.[119] At the root of these stereotypes, argues Worth, was a basic English belief about the Scots' nature: that they were 'not refined, cultivated or polite', and '[did] not confirm to the ideas of a modern age of enlightenment and reason'.[120] This, of course, did not truly reflect Scottish life in the mid-eighteenth century, and Worth argues that the development of Sawney stereotype was in fact 'an attempt to reassert an inferior, savage identity upon a people who were beginning to seem ever-more England's equals (or indeed superiors) in terms of intellectual life, trade and culture'.[121]

Unsurprisingly, anti-Scottish prejudice worsened at moments of political tension between Scotland and England. The Jacobite uprising of 1745 represented a tangible threat within 130 miles of London itself, and London newspapers of this period featured vicious representations of Bonnie Prince Charlie and his supporters, often in the guise of the Highlander. Indeed, Scots were tarnished with the same brush, regardless of political inclination or place of origin: 'the nuances of the Highland Lowland divide did not percolate down to the London mob, but the one which did was the savage Highlander who became representative of Scots as a whole.'[122] According to Scottish minister and diarist Alexander Carlyle, there was a significant level of anti-Scottish feeling in London upon the news of the Jacobite defeat at Culloden. When the news arrived, he was in the British Coffee House, with the poet Tobias Smollett:

> London all over was in a perfect uproar of joy… The mob were so riotous, and the squibs so numerous and incessant that we were glad to go into a narrow entry to put our wigs in our pockets, and to take our swords from our belts and walk with them in our hands, as everybody then wore swords; [Smollett] caution[ed] me against speaking a word, lest the mob should discover my country and become insolent.[123]

Smollett, who had by this point lived in London for several years, must have had good reason to believe that a Scottish accent might provoke violence in this moment of political volatility. Evidently there were particular historical moments at which members of the Scottish diaspora community were not necessarily physically safe in the city of London.

Worth identifies a 'sudden rise of rampant Scotophobia' during the premiership of John Stuart, the third Earl of Bute (1762-3).[124] Under George III, political representation of Scots in government was

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[119] See Tim Worth, 'Transatlantic Scotophobia: Nation, Empire and Anti-Scottish Sentiment in England and America, 1760-1783' (PhD, University of Southampton, 2016), 37-39, for further discussion of 'Sawney Scot'.
[120] Worth, 'Transatlantic Scotophobia', 43.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Finlay and Lynch, 'Caledonia or North Britain?' 148.
[123] Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, Containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1861), 190.
[124] Worth, 'Transatlantic Scotophobia', 92.

disproportionately high, and around one in seven offices of state was held by Scots.[125] Led by John Wilkes in his notorious *North Briton* newspaper, the London press portrayed Bute as presiding over a 'system of national blackmail' designed to benefit himself and his Scottish compatriots, and a significant threat to English liberty.[126] Many Wilkites saw Bute and the Scots around him as 'a clear indication of the return of the Jacobite menace', and 'a sign that Scots were conquering England through political scheming rather than force of arms'.[127] Ordinary Scots living in London at the time cannot have been unaware of this vicious satirical material directed against Bute, or the denigration of the Scottish national character across political satire, caricature, and in the theatre. Again, this anti-Scottish prejudice did affect individual Scots. On the 7th December 1762, James Boswell recorded a particular incident at a performance of *Love in a Village* at Covent Garden:

> Just before the overture began to be played, two Highland officers came in. The mob in the upper gallery roared out, 'No Scots! No Scots! Out with them!,' hissed and pelted them with apples. My heart warmed to my countrymen, my Scotch blood boiled with indignation. I jumped up on the benches, roared out, 'Damn you, you rascals!,' hissed and was in the greatest rage…. I hated the English; I wished from my soul that the Union was broke and that we might give them another battle of Bannockburn.[128]

The fact that even Highland officers, clearly in service of the British crown, were treated thus is evidence of the strength of feeling in London during this period. It is also an indicator of Boswell's strength of feeling that he was momentarily moved to resent the Union, of which he otherwise approved. In this moment, in the face of real prejudice against those with whom he shared 'Scotch blood', his instinct was to defend his diasporic compatriots without reservation.

Scots in eighteenth-century London may very well have been tempted to remove or reduce signifiers of their Scottish identity in order to avoid attracting such prejudice. Those with a strong Scottish accent, for example, might have Anglicised their speech when in London to avoid ridicule. Brown and Kennedy argue that London offered 'a remarkably benign environment in terms of assimilation theory, free from significant institutional or attitudinal barriers', and that, especially in the Early Modern period, success for Scots in the capital varied according to the degree of assimilation attempted.[129] Scots who settled successfully in London were therefore able to do so *because* they embraced a new identity, which involved significant Anglicisation of Scottish cultural and linguistic signifiers. In the eighteenth-century context, this new 'assimilationist' identity has often been termed 'North Britishness', which

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[125] Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), 18.
[126] John Wilkes, *The North Briton. Revised and corrected by the author* (London: J. Wilkes, 1766).
[127] Worth, 'Transatlantic Scotophobia', 58, 65.
[128] Frederick A. Pottle (ed.), *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 71-2.
[129] Keith Brown & Allan Kennedy, 'Becoming English: The Monro Family and Scottish Assimilation in Early Modern England', *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2019, 138-139.

involved, according to Kidd, a 'remarkable degree of identification with England'.[130] The concept of North Britishness aligns with Colley's thesis that Scottish identity was primarily shaped during this period within the embryonic formulation of a common British culture, and that Scotland's contribution to the British imperial project represented an attempt to assert its place within an unequal partnership forged at the Act of Union: 'A British imperium…enabled Scots to feel themselves peers of the English in a way still denied to them in an island kingdom.'[131] As a result, as Kidd argues, North Britishness was a product of a 'wider trend in Scottish political culture towards the adoption of English whig values', accompanied by a strong Enlightenment narrative of improvement and civilisation in the urban Lowland context.[132] According to this thesis, Scots were more likely to thrive in eighteenth-century London if they rejected their Scottish identity, and adopted a British one.

However, although many London Scots chose to take advantage of opportunities offered by the British project, it does not necessarily follow that their Scottishness was entirely lost to them, or indeed that assimilation was always necessary. As the eighteenth century progressed, and Scots became present in greater numbers in London, the need for any individual to abandon Scottish cultural signifiers may have reduced. Indeed, Bueltmann argues that Scots arriving in London in the 1760s 'could often draw on wider kinship and patronage networks to their benefit' and were 'generally adept at making a new life for themselves in near diaspora'.[133] Nenadic notes that, by the end of the century, Londoners may have been able to differentiate between different Scottish accents, and that 'the ability to command a politely modulated Scottish accent may have been an advantage in certain employments, such as medicine or the church, where a highly educated Scottish professional elite performed with distinction and success on the London stage.'[134] For some, the question of identity may simply have been irrelevant: Finlay posits that the concept of the British nation carried little symbolic meaning for many Scots, particularly those of lower social status.[135] Furthermore, even if a Scottish individual did embrace an Anglo-British identity, this did not necessitate the eradication of their Scottishness. Rather, dual, multiple, or even concentric loyalties could co-exist within a single individual. This, of course, required flexibility: 'the Scot could regard himself or herself as Scottish when it came to an identification with a particular locality and culture, yet could think of himself or herself as British when it came to issues concerning the empire, foreign policy or the Crown'.[136] Crucially, the expression of multiple national identities after this fashion was entirely normal for eighteenth-century London-based Scots, only rarely causing tension or discomfort for the individual.

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[130] Colin Kidd, 'North-Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-century British Patriotism', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (1996), 374.
[131] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 129.
[132] Kidd, 'North-Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-century British Patriotism', 376.
[133] Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together,* 33.
[134] Nenadic, *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century,* 22.
[135] Richard J. Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain?' 151.
[136] Richard J. Finlay, 'Keeping the Covenant: Scottish National Identity' in Thomas M. Devine & John R. Young (eds.), *Eighteenth Century Scotland*: *New Perspectives* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), 122.

Ultimately, a plethora of Scottish identities existed in the eighteenth century, and it was entirely possible for Scots in London to align themselves with more than one as circumstances required. The extent to which any one individual embraced or resisted assimilation (or indeed, adopted both strategies at different moments) depended on a number of factors, such as class, profession, temperament and length of stay in London. Importantly, the path of assimilation, when followed, was not always linear: a Scot in London might embrace certain aspects of their Scottish heritage but reject others. Even Boswell, for example, who was embarrassed upon hearing a coarse Scottish accent in London, intended to promote the Scots language through a new dictionary.[137] An individual may have attempted to mask or replace their Scottish accent, but at the same time have been comfortable expressing pride in core Scottish values, such as independence, love of liberty, or a Scots education. Another might associate entirely with other London-based Scots, thereby eschewing the need to adjust to cultural norms in the host environment. Realistically, however, many individuals may never have labelled themselves as Scottish or British, or indeed analysed their own national identity in any real depth. It seems particularly unlikely that diaspora Scots consciously weighed up the benefits and disadvantages of assimilation and behaved accordingly in their host environment; such processes must have been largely unconscious. Furthermore, national identity did not exist in a vacuum, and Scottish identity, for any given individual, competed with other identities relating to that person's social networks, religious affiliations and recreational interests. In the forthcoming chapters, this will become evident when exploring the variety of modes of identity inhabited both by Scottish musicians and those who enjoyed Scottish music in eighteenth-century London.

1.2 The Kirk in London: Crown Court Church of Scotland, Covent Garden

In addition to the Royal Scottish Corporation, a significant context for associational culture was that of London's many Scottish Presbyterian congregations, present in the city since the early seventeenth century.[138] By 1800, there were at least eleven active Presbyterian congregations with a Scottish connection in London, formed, in part at least, by 'those Scots who could no longer find a spiritual home in any Church of England place of worship and who banded themselves together to follow what had been the forms of their own national Church'.[139] To date, there has been very little academic recognition of the central role played by Scottish Presbyterian congregations in the maintenance of Scottish associational culture in London. Bueltmann excludes Presbyterian churches from her analysis of Scottish ethnic associational culture, arguing that their primary function in diaspora contexts 'was

[137] Janet Adam Smith, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Ideas of Scotland' in N.T. Phillipson & Rosalind Mitchison (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 113.
[138] Brown and Kennedy, 'Becoming English', 132.
[139] Gordon G. Cameron, *The Scots Kirk in London* (Oxford: Becket Publications, 1979), 11, 41.

neither the maintenance of ethnic identity nor continued orientation to the old homeland'.[140] However, Harper, in her study of Scottish diaspora communities in nineteenth-century Canada, has argued that 'pulpit and pew have consistently provided uprooted Scots with a crucial reminder of their collective identity' when living outside Scotland.[141] Indeed, for Harper, the Kirk emerges as a locus where Scottish identity could be preserved and shared between members of a diaspora community: 'for innumerable Scots the cultivation of religious roots was the crucial way to maintain memories of the old country, and until the end of the nineteenth century founding or joining a Scottish church was probably the major mechanism through which Scots throughout the world acknowledged themselves in a new community.'[142] The following case study will establish the associational credentials of the Scottish Presbyterian congregation at Crown Court Church, Covent Garden, at the same time laying the foundation for the later discussion of musical culture at the same church in Chapter 3.5.

Of the several Scottish congregations identified in London by Cameron, four were active for the entire period covered by this thesis and were officially affiliated to the Church of Scotland by 1834.[143] The oldest, the 'Founders Hall' congregation with a place of worship in Lothbury near the Bank of England, was formed before 1665, and worshipped in that location until around 1702, when it moved to a new building in London Wall, before finally becoming part of the Presbyterian Church in England following the Disruption in 1843. A second congregation, named 'St Andrews', was formed in Broad Street, St George in the East, in around 1660 by English Presbyterians, and became a Scottish congregation in 1741, by which point its members were largely Scottish seamen from the immediate area. A third, a congregation in Swallow Street, St James, appears to have originated in Glasshouse Street, Piccadilly, at some point before 1709. The make-up of this congregation appears to have included some wealthier Scots from the surrounding area: Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon, received the last rites from the minister of Swallow Street church shortly before she died.[144] The last, and largest church, perhaps reflecting the significant numbers of Scots living in Covent Garden, was Crown Court Church. This congregation started gathering at a small meeting house in Peters Court, St Martin's Lane, by 1711, and has worshipped on its present site in Russell Street, Covent Garden, since 1719. By 1772, a Scots Presbytery of London had been formed, though the degree of support it received from the Church of Scotland itself often left much to be desired. Nonetheless, the creation of this Presbytery underlines the fact that these congregations were demonstrably Scottish in character, and were seen as such by their parent church in Scotland.

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[140] Bueltmann, *Clubbing Together,* 14.
[141] Marjory Harper, 'Transplanted Identities: Remembering and Reinventing Scotland across the Diaspora' in Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson, & Graeme Morton (eds.), *Ties of bluid, kin and countrie* (Ontario: Stewart Publishing, 2009), 19.
[142] Marjory Harper, *Adventures and Exiles: the great Scottish exodus* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2003), 337.
[143] 'Tabular View of the Scottish Presbytery of London' in Cameron, *The Scots Kirk in London*, inside cover.
[144] Cameron, *The Scots Kirk in London,* 45.

Of these four congregations, the records of Crown Court Church are by far the most complete.[145] The location of this church is visible on the parish map below (Figure 2).

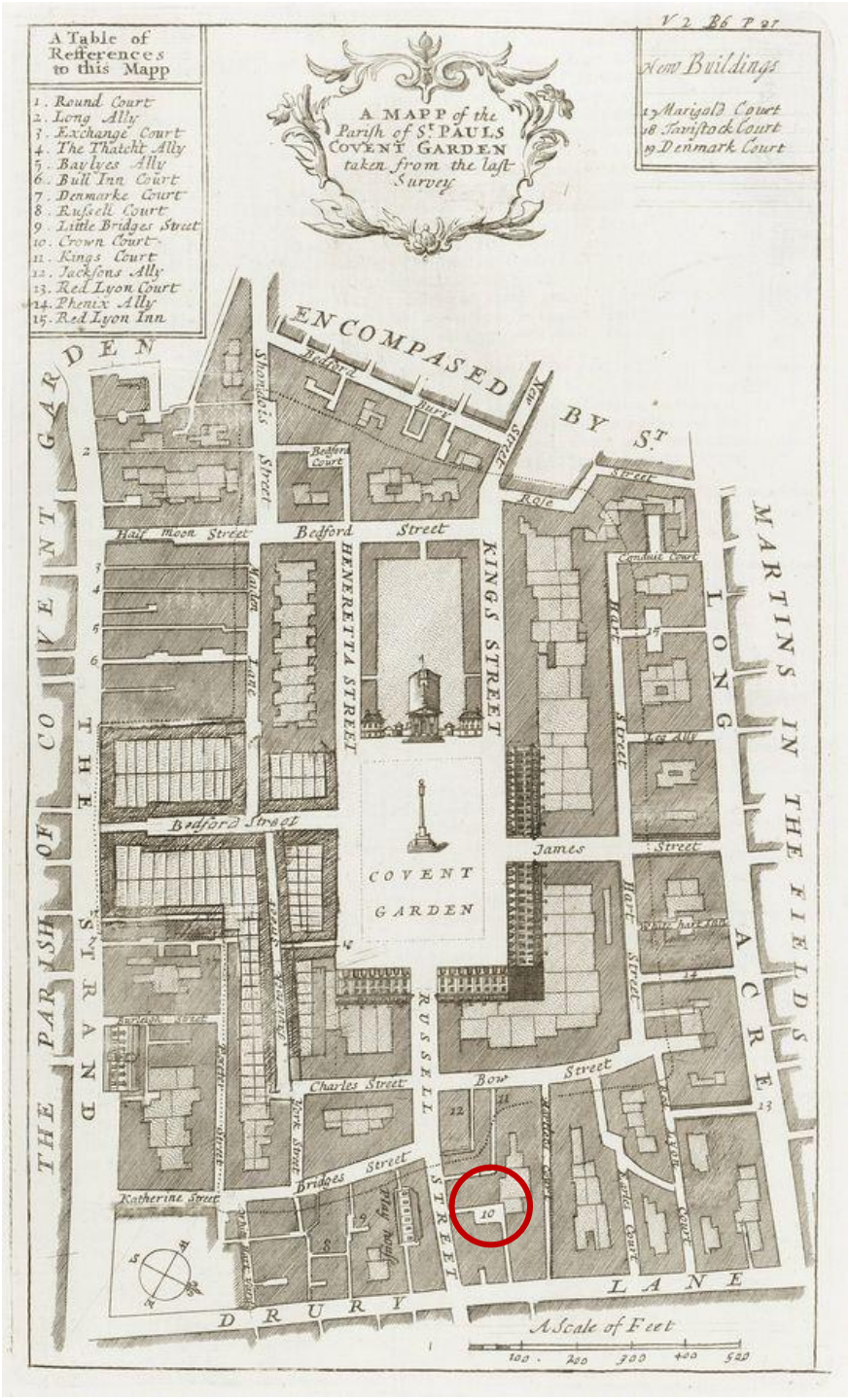

Figure 2. Location of Crown Court Church. *A Mapp of the Parish of St Pauls Covent Garden*. 1720.[146]

[145] CH2/852, Records of London, Crown Court Kirk Session, 1711-1972, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh. The earliest material in the church's archive takes the form of a small notebook known and labelled as 'The Book of the Congregation', which contains baptism records for the period 1711-1748, Kirk Session Minutes for the same period, as well as lists of seat accounts and poor distribution lists for shorter periods. Baptism data is also available in two further books for the period 1749-1797, and membership accession lists for shorter periods provide material for cross-referencing.

[146] Richard Blome, *A Mapp of the Parish of St Pauls Covent Garden* (London: John Strype, 1720).

It is interesting to consider how and in what manner individuals joined Crown Court Church. Appendix A, a list of accessions to the church membership, offers a fascinating, if patchy, snapshot into the character of the congregation during this period.[147] The list covers the period 1759-1773, detailing 168 accessions, with the date, address in London, place of origin, profession and certification variously recorded. The data reveals that a large number of members joining the church were from Scotland itself. A place of origin is listed for 36 of the 168 entries, and of these, 31 had previously attended a church in Scotland. While there were a certain number of individuals from the same church (West Kirk, Edinburgh, for example, features several times), generally new members hailed from a great variety of locations within Scotland. Links between Crown Court and the east coast of Scotland are particularly strong, a pattern still visible in the makeup of today's congregation.[148] There were, however, three individuals arriving from Ireland (two of whom were from Belfast and Dublin), one from Northumberland, and another from Amsterdam, reinforcing the idea that some members joined as dissenting worshippers, rather than simply as Scots. However, amongst the remainder, whose previous address was not listed, there are yet more Scots, judging by the presence of such distinctly Scottish surnames as Ogilvy, Wishart, Duff, Aberdeen, Reid, Fowler, Macpherson, McCurrie, Buchan, and Marno. Perhaps, however, these individuals had not arrived directly from Scotland, or, far more likely, the clerk recording these entries did not know their place of origin, or simply did not care to record it.

This body of data, though small in scale, demonstrates that the character of Crown Court's congregation was largely, though not exclusively, Scottish. Indeed, many of the men and women listed were recorded as recommended or 'certified' by a minister or other well-respected member of the church in their previous Scottish parish. This reveals a multiplicity of active networks between Scottish churches and Crown Court Church, in London, through which individuals could be guaranteed as suitable for church membership. To this day, a member of the Kirk migrating to London may arrive at one of the two active Church of Scotland congregations through personal (though rather more informal) recommendation from their previous church in Scotland.[149] In addition, the London addresses attached to many individuals reveals that new worshippers lodged, at least at first, at homes of existing members or other London Scots. In 1764, for example, a 'Herron Deitch (sic)' was lodging with a Mr Oliphant, whose likely Scottish family were associated with Crown Court for several generations. Members of the Crown Court congregation could therefore act as sponsors for other Scots wishing to relocate to London, offering them lodgings until they found more permanent accommodation. Last, while occupations are rarely recorded in this list, those that are often reveal a

[147] 'London, Crown Court Kirk Session - List of persons admitted to communion', 1759-1773, CH2/852/12, Records of London, Crown Court Kirk Session, 1711-1972, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.
[148] As a member of Crown Court Church of Scotland since 2011, and an elder since 2020, I am familiar with the character of the congregation.
[149] The process for transferring membership of one Church of Scotland to another still requires a 'certificate of transference', which must be requested from an individual's previous church.

Scottish connection. A Mr Douglas, for example, who arrived in London in 1763, was a Sergeant Major of the Old Highland Regiment. Overall, it is evident that the membership of Crown Court Church was composed primarily of Scots arriving in London directly from Scotland, and that the church itself was an active participant in the transfer of Scottish culture from Scotland to London.

The dataset of 2,146 baptisms recorded between 1711 and 1797 at Crown Court Church of Scotland offers several paths for analysis of the character of the membership of this Scottish diasporic congregation.[150] The majority of the men recorded (80%) can be associated with a named occupation, presented in Figure 3.[151] Of these, roughly 768 men (some listed with their wives in a single entry) are present in the data, representing around 2.8 baptisms each.[152] Overwhelmingly, the men who brought their children for baptism at Crown Court were skilled tradesmen and merchants, men of the 'middling sort' and the working classes.[153] Tailors and related occupations far outstrip any other single group,

[150] London, Crown Court Kirk Session - Minutes, list of members and subscriptions, list of collections for charitable causes, baptisms and accounts, CH2/852/1 1711-1746; London, Crown Court Kirk Session - Baptisms and alphabetical list of baptisms 1752-1780, CH2/852/15; London, Crown Court Kirk Session - Alphabetical list of baptisms 1780-1794; CH2/852/16, London, Crown Court Kirk Session - Baptisms and seat rent accounts 1773-1797, CH2/852/17; Records of London, Crown Court Kirk Session 1711-1972, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh. There are limitations in this data, as the type and extent of information varies across the period examined. For example, it is only later in the century that the mother of each child is listed alongside the father; before this, a mother's first name was only mentioned when the husband was deceased or away from home. As a result, there is much less data concerning the women of Crown Court's congregation, or indeed those male members who did not produce issue during this period.

[151] Each entry contains at least two categories of the following: date, name of father or parents, occupation, London address and/or parish, and first name of the registered child. The database has been extended through a process of extrapolation where it is certain that information omitted in one entry may be contained elsewhere within the data set. For part of the period, dates of birth and baptism were recorded, but the data features only the date of baptism, which is present in (almost) every entry. However, spellings of names vary from clerk to clerk, and, where there is any doubt, both spellings have been retained. Addresses, however, have not been extrapolated, except in circumstances where the detail of a partial entry can be bolstered by fuller descriptions pertaining to the same individual. However, there are a substantial number of entries without a profession, which present some difficulty. While some of these men may have been unemployed or casual workers, equally they may not have been asked their occupation by a less assiduous clerk, or declined to state it when asked. Others may have retired from work, and yet still were able to produce issue. Others still may have recently arrived in the capital, and not yet found appropriate work, but were not, strictly speaking, among the ranks of the unemployed. Some may even have been gentlemen, and therefore possessed no occupation, although, in general, the addresses pertaining to these entries do not support this conclusion.

[152] This figure is approximate. This is because it is not always fully clear in the data when two entries refer to the same individual. A man of the same name, occupation, and address has been assumed to be the same person, particularly if baptisms were recorded within years of each other. At the other end of the scale, baptisms associated with a particularly common name, different addresses, and further apart in time, have been counted as two individuals, even if they have the same occupation.

[153] For ease of analysis, spellings of occupations have been modernised and a small number of categories introduced (e.g. 'soldier'). It has also been assumed that each man retained the same occupation for life, and data has been extrapolated accordingly. Where two occupations have been listed, the first has been taken as the primary occupation for the purpose of data analysis. In the second half of the eighteenth century, 'journeyman' was frequently used as a descriptor. In this case, the occupation has been listed first for ease of analysis – e.g. 'carpenter, journeyman'. Terms for occupations varied, and some were interchangeable: e.g. 'cabinet maker', 'carpenter', and 'joiner'. Some men listed two occupations which were frequently held by a single person: e.g, cabinet maker and wood merchant, grocer and cheesemonger, gunmaker and watchmaker, hair cutter and hair merchant, wig maker and hair cutter, hatter and hosier, etc. However, there are also several examples in the data of an individual holding two, apparently unlinked, professions: e.g. baker and chandler, cabinet maker and pawn

representing 42% of the total. Of these, tailors (188), shoemakers (54), perewig makers (27) and linen drapers (26) represent the four largest groups. Men working in skilled manual trades (for example, smiths, masons, glaziers, turners, bricklayers, Japanners, farriers) form the next largest group at 24%. Of these, carpenters, joiners, and cabinet makers represent a majority (112), but there are several more unusual trades listed, including that of a harpsichord maker, David Nash.[154] Merchants form the third largest group at 21%. Within this category, sellers of food and drink are particularly well-represented (67), particularly bakers and grocers. Amongst other types of merchants, tobacconists (21)[155], book sellers and binders (16), chandlers (10) and hair merchants and dressers (13) are most numerous. Those working in the armed forces are a small (6%) but notable segment. Other trades represent 3% of the total, and encompass a wide range of occupations including gardener, labourer, musician, lighter man, cooker, porter, inspector of the highways, and silver polisher. Within this group are included pedlars (3). Those working in traditional professions (school master, lawyer, banker, minister of the church) are not at all well represented (under 3%). Eight of those listed were in service, often to named individuals, (8) but only one is described as a gentleman, reinforcing the conclusion that this congregation was composed largely of lower to middle class worshippers.

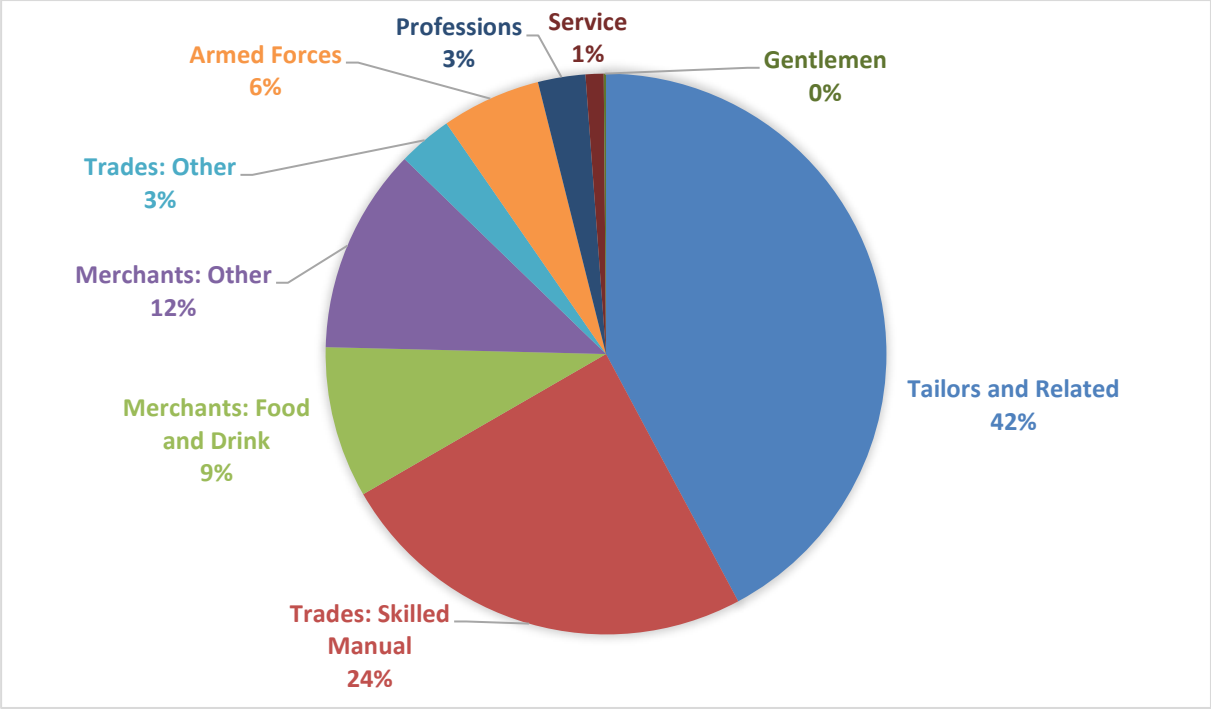

Figure 3. Occupations represented in Baptismal Data of Crown Court Church, 1711-1797.

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broker, joiner and pawnbroker, shoemaker and chandler, shoemaker and soldier, silver polisher and cheesemonger, soldier and tobacconist, and tailor and innholder, amongst others.

[154] Little is known about the harpsichord maker, David Nash, apart from the fact that he may have taken a short apprenticeship of 3 and a half years with the harpsichord marker Baker Harris from 26 April 1765. He held an insurance policy with the Sun Fire Office, which details several changes of address. In 1780, he moved to the house of 'Mr Longman, musical instrument maker', suggesting that he was employed by the firm of Longman & Broderip at this date. Lance Whitehead & Jenny Nex, 'The Insurance of Musical London and the Sun Fire Office 1710-1779', *The Galpin Society Journal,* Vol. 67 (March 2014, 181-216), Supplementary material, 230.

[155] Including a George Hall, Tobacconist to His Majesty.

In certain occupational categories, the raw data provides more detailed information regarding the careers of individuals. For example, although members of the armed forces make up a small percentage of the total, the majority of entries in this category contain additional detail. This data is replicated in appendices B and C. Further research reveals that many of the regiments named have Scottish connections. For example, the Horse Grenadier Guards, and particularly the second troop (to which a James Reid belonged in 1758), were historically a Scots troop. In 1763, A Walter Douglass, Sergeant Major in the Old Highland Regiment, had a child baptised; this regiment (the 42nd) was also Scottish, and had by this date been nicknamed the 'Black Watch', serving in America between 1758 and 1767. In 1753, a former soldier of the cavalry regiment, the Royal Scots Greys, is listed. Later in 1776, a Henry Grimes was serving under the celebrated Scottish Colonel George Eliott (1717-1790) in his regiment of 15th Light Dragons. Over half belonged to the third regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards, otherwise known as the Scots Guards. Records of sailors, too, contain additional information, often naming the ship on which they served, and their particular occupation in the navy.

Only a small number of the men presenting children for baptism at Crown Court belonged to the professional class. Two were lawyers, and another, John Harvie, a doctor or 'man midwife', who brought six children for baptism between 1756 and 1766. Several dissenting ministers also appear in the list. Two of these were ministers of Crown Court Church itself: Reverend Patrick Russell, and Reverend Thomas Oswald. Also bringing their children for baptism were the Reverend Robert Lawson and the Reverend Henry Gunter, both ministers of the Scotch congregation at Founders Hall, which later removed to London Wall.[156] There are a small number of school masters listed, alongside a handful of clerks, including, in 1720, a 'Clerk to the Justiciary in Scotland'. Only one banker is recorded, but a significant one: Edinburgh-born Thomas Coutts (1735-1822), co-founder, with his brother James, of the London branch of Coutts, now known as Coutts & Co. Having moved to London aged seventeen in 1752, Coutts presented three children for baptism, John, (1769) Susannah (1771) and Frances (1773). It is perhaps a little surprising that Coutts should have attended Crown Court Church, and indeed it seems that his third daughter, born in 1775, was baptised elsewhere, as were three further sons, who, like John, died in infancy. However, at this time, Coutts was living nearby the church, 'next door to Old Slaughter's Coffeehouse' in St Martins Lane, fifteen minutes' walk from his bank on the Strand. Presumably Coutts and his wife, Susannah Starkey, sought a Scottish Presbyterian church for the baptism of their children for doctrinal reasons.

[156] An assistant to a Revd Mr Chamberlayne, presumably a Scot, James McKenzie, was recorded in 1774. Crown Court Church, like many others, offered employment in the form of those opening pews for worshippers at services. A Joseph Thorley was both a carpenter and a 'pew opener to the meeting' in 1760.

Of the eight men described as servants, many were attached to the households of members of the Scottish nobility.[157] For example, in 1741, a Robert Gordon is described as a servant 'gone abroad' with Lord Cathcart. Charles Cathcart, the 9th Lord, was the chief of the Clan Cathcart, and also an aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland, twice wounded in battle against the Jacobites at the battles of Fontenay and Culloden in 1745. In 1756, James Cunningham, a servant to Sir Ludovick Grant, 7th Baronet, presented a son, James, for baptism.[158] The same Cunningham was described in 1759 as 'formerly servant to the Lord Aberdour'. During this period, the title of Lord Aberdour was a courtesy title for the heir to the Earldom of Morton, and it is therefore likely that Cunningham had been attached to the household of Sholto Charles Douglas, later 15th Earl of Morton.[159] In 1776, a John Leishman was described as a servant in the household of General Elliot, presumably the aforementioned Scottish Colonel George Eliott. Interestingly, both Leishman and Grimes, Quarter Master in Eliott's regiment, had their children baptised on the same day, 30th January 1776, suggesting that Elliott himself may have recommended Crown Court, or that men of Elliot's regiment tended to associate themselves with this church. Not all servants listed worked for Scottish employers. Between 1766 and 1768, George Walker, servant to the Earl of Powis, presented three children for baptism. This is likely to have been 1st Earl of Powis, Henry Arthur Herbert (1703-1772), who raised a somewhat ineffectual Shropshire regiment against Jacobite forces in 1745. Scottish or English, however, it does not appear that these men of elite status were members of the congregation at Crown Court Church.

As the majority of individual baptism entries contain some reference to an address, this data set also supports an analysis of the geographical makeup of the congregation across the period 1711-1797. In the following analysis, each baptism record has been treated as an instance of a separate address. While imprecise in terms of numbers of individual fathers, this method may better reflect the numbers of individuals (including both male and female children) living at each household, as well as allowing for changes of address during the period. Using the 1746 John Rocque map of London at *Locating London's Past,* which is layered with Google maps, a coordinate has been established for all addresses.[160] In each case, I have assigned as precise a coordinate as the data allows.[161] Naturally, some addresses are more detailed than others. In some instances, only a rough area or parish is recorded, but in most, a street name or even yard or alley name is present. In the second half of the

[157] It is also likely that some female members of the congregation were in service, but the data, which lists only the occupation of the father, does not capture this.
[158] Sir Ludovick Grant was Member of Parliament for Elginshire between 1741 and 1751.
[159] The 14th Earl of Morton, his father, was a known protester against the British government, and in 1746 was imprisoned in France, probably as a Jacobite. A keen patron of science, he also held the presidency of the Philosophical Society from 1764.
[160] Locating London's Past, published 2011, at https://www.locatinglondon.org.
[161] When a street number is provided, and the street is still in existence today, I have assigned a coordinate specific to the house number itself, although the accuracy of these may be affected by any changes in street numbers over time. For addresses for which only a parish area is available, I have assigned a coordinate close to the church of that parish.

eighteenth century, with the advent of street numbers, this level of detail is often present.[162] Furthermore, despite the fact that Crown Court Church was dissenting, nonetheless most entries reference an English parish. With reference to surviving parish maps of 1720, I have been able to establish a parish area for 1934 of a total of 2,148 baptisms.[163] Figure 4 below represents the entire data set in the form of a heat map, and Figure 5 presents similar data, but focused on the immediate area around the church. Figure 6 presents the numbers of baptisms recorded in each English parish during the entire period 1711-1797.

Unsurprisingly, the majority (69%) of children born to parents in the congregation of Crown Court Church lived in parishes surrounding the church, including St Martin-in-the-Fields (25%), St Giles-in-the Fields (13%), St Paul's, Covent Garden (13%), St Clement Danes (10%), and St Andrews, Holborn (8%). Particularly dense is the area along the Strand, towards Charing Cross and the southern end of St Martin's Lane, near the church itself. The areas of Bedfordbury and Leicester Fields, which offered more affordable accommodation, are highly represented in the data. Seven Dials, too, was a popular area, as well as the several small courts, yards, and alleys off Drury Lane and Long Acre. However, as is still the case today, this congregation was a 'gathered' one, and just over a third of the men presenting their children for baptism lived in parishes further away from the church itself. Some had addresses in the parishes of St Ann's Soho (5%) and St James's Westminster (now St James's Piccadilly) (8%), particularly near Carnaby Market, and in the parish of St George's Hanover Square (3%). A small number lived north of Oxford Street in St Marylebone Parish (2.5%), and a similar percentage (2.5%) in the parish of St Margaret's Westminster, adjacent to Parliament. One couple, Robert (a carpenter) and Margaret Moserip, lived in Scotland Yard itself.

A significant percentage of the congregation, however, lived in parishes east of Covent Garden, including the several wards of the City of London (5%), and in the more outlying eastern parishes of St Paul's Deptford, St Dunstan's in the East, St George's in the East, and even St Mary's, Leyton. A handful of members were located north of the city, in the parishes of St James Clerkenwell and St Pancras (particularly along the Tottenham Court Road). One of the ministers of another London Scottish congregation at Founders Hall, Robert Lawson, lived in Hackney, and brought his children to be baptised at his sister Scottish church. There are only a few entries in the data for men living south of the river, and in most cases, their addresses were directly related to their occupation. Those who lived in Wapping, Southwark and Shadwell, as might be expected, mainly worked in occupations related to seafaring, either as sailors, or in supporting trades such as sail making or shipbuilding. These men tended to live in the dockyards along the Thames, and most have recognisably Scottish surnames such as Robertson, Menzies and McLean, which explains their choice of Crown Court rather than a

[162] Street spellings have been standardised to those of the 1746 John Rocque map for the sake of uniformity.
[163] These parish maps accompanied John Strype's 1720 annotated edition of Stow's *Survey of England*.

dissenting church nearby. Overall, the data reveals that the congregation of Crown Court Church was 'gathered' in character: while around two thirds of its membership lived near the church, the other third was spread across a large number of London parishes, and many members presumably prioritised a Scottish worshipping community over geographical convenience.

The foregoing analysis of eighteenth-century accession and baptism records at Crown Court Church has revealed a sizeable congregation, whose demographic tended strongly towards the working population or 'middling sort'. According to Esman's tripartite typology of diaspora, these settlers fall into the categories of 'entrepreneurial' (those able to gain skilled or professional positions), or 'labour' (unskilled workers who migrated in search of improved livelihoods).[164] Furthermore, the members of this church were largely of Scottish extraction, and indeed the concerns recorded in the Kirk Session minutes confirm that this congregation had a strong link with Scotland.[165] Presumably, for many Scots in London, attending one of the city's several Scottish churches was a way of reinforcing their link with their homeland, and in doing so they exhibited a strongly associational Scottish spirit. Indeed, Crown Court Church offered a context in which Scottish identity could be securely expressed and reinforced through community-based worship. In Chapter 3, I will examine the crucial role of music in maintaining this strong sense of Scottish identity at Crown Court Church. However, this church formed part of a larger, more nebulous, Scottish network which transcended both geographical and class boundaries in London. While the regular members of Crown Court Church were by no means wealthy, the erection of a church building on the current site in 1719 was funded by Scots of high rank, resident both in London and Scotland. Indeed, its benefactors were similar to those of the Royal Scottish Corporation, including eleven of 'the most noble peers of North Britain', alongside members of the House of Commons, citizens of Edinburgh, and many others.[166] The widespread nature of support for Scottish structures in London underlines the presence of an active network of Scots, who prioritised Scottish causes, even across class boundaries, as a way of reinforcing their national identity in diaspora space.

[164] Milton J. Esman, *Diasporas in the Contemporary World* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), 15.
[165] Frequently, Scottish concerns and localities are referenced, alongside expenditure enabling poor Scots to return to Scotland, and charitable expenditure relating to Scottish individuals and organisations more generally.
[166] Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness*, 85.

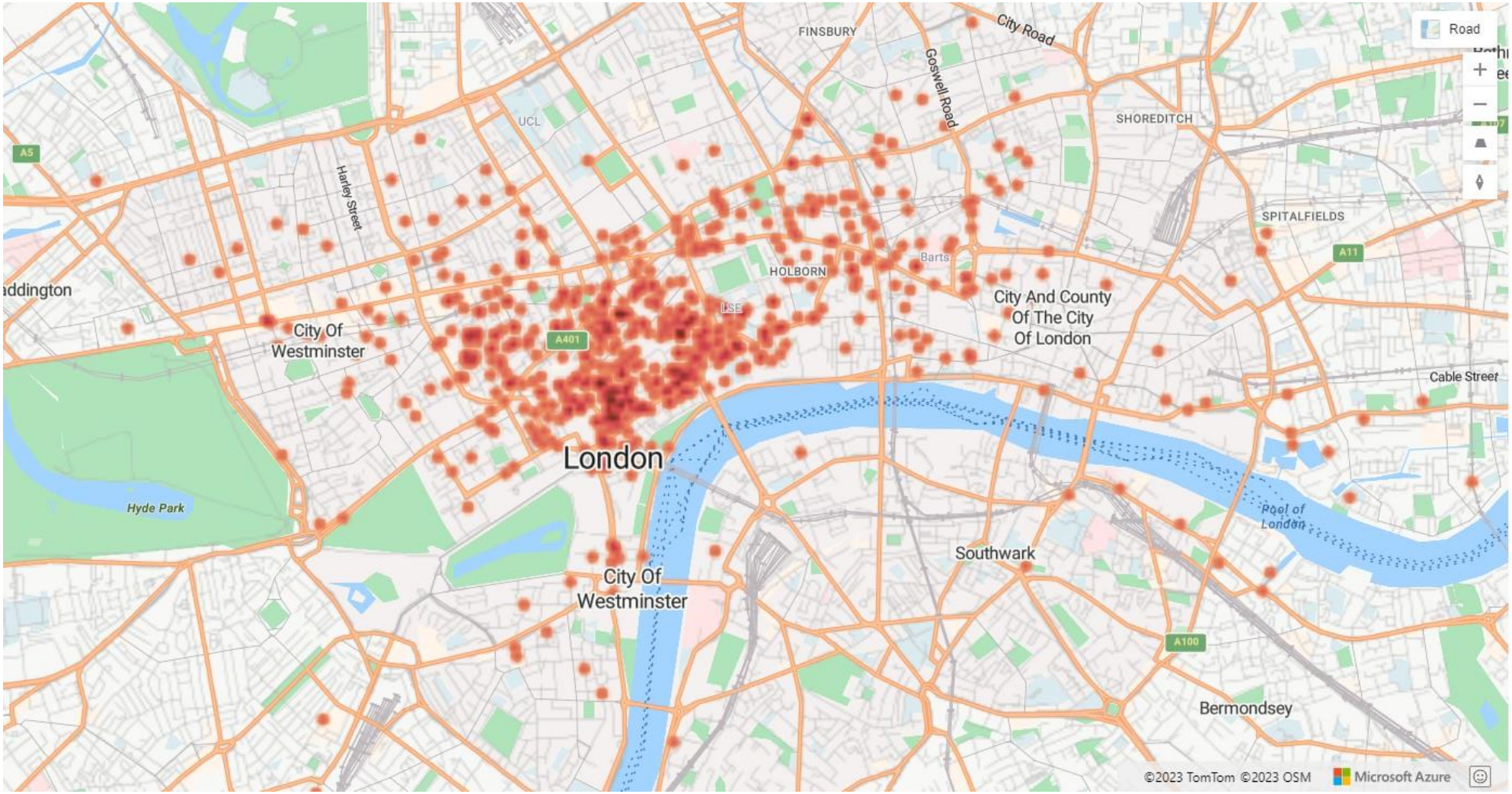

Figure 4. Heat Map representing addresses associated with Baptisms at Crown Court Church, 1711-1797.

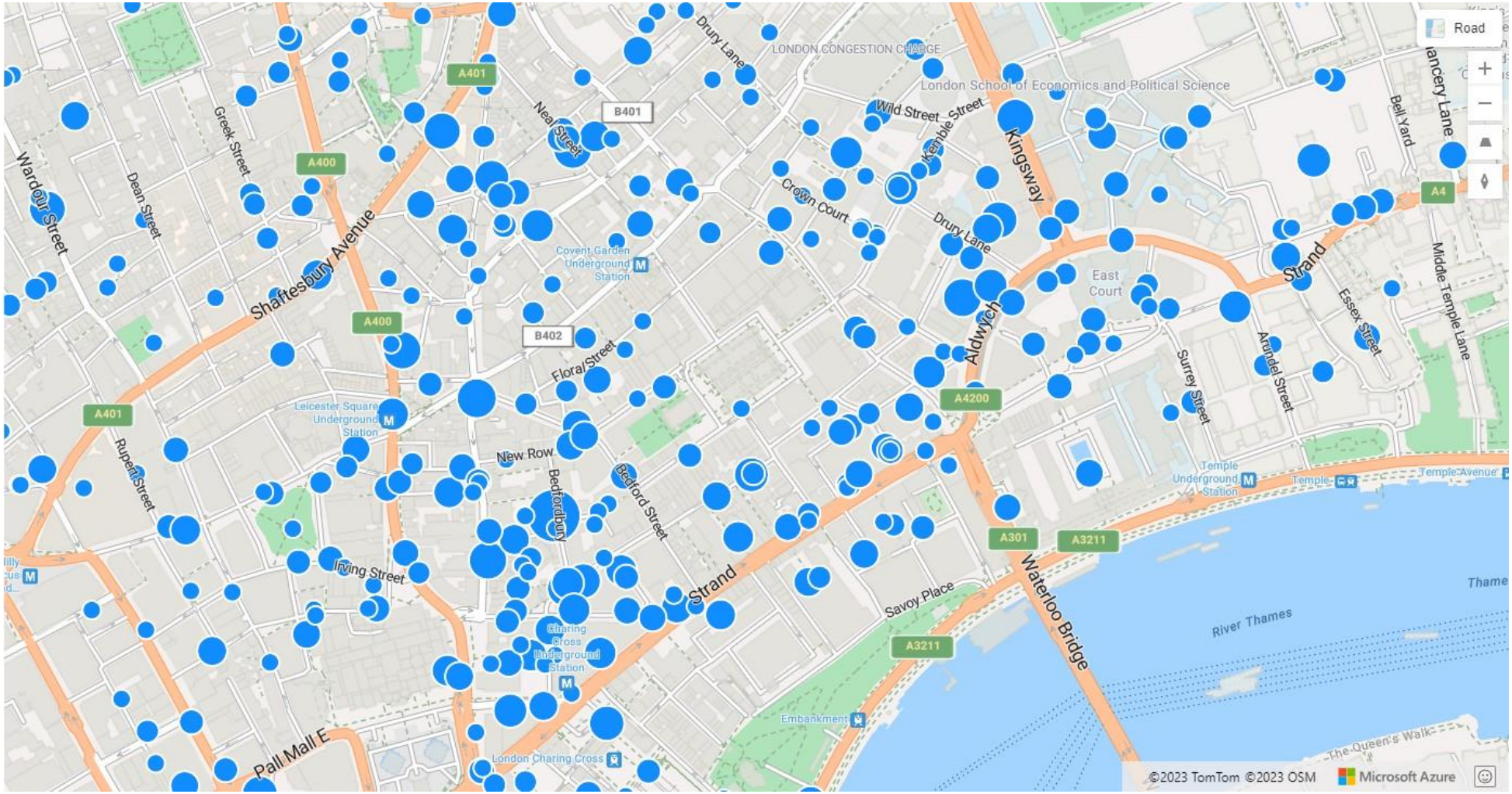

Figure 5. Addresses associated with Baptisms at Crown Court Church, 1711-1797, with a focus on Covent Garden.

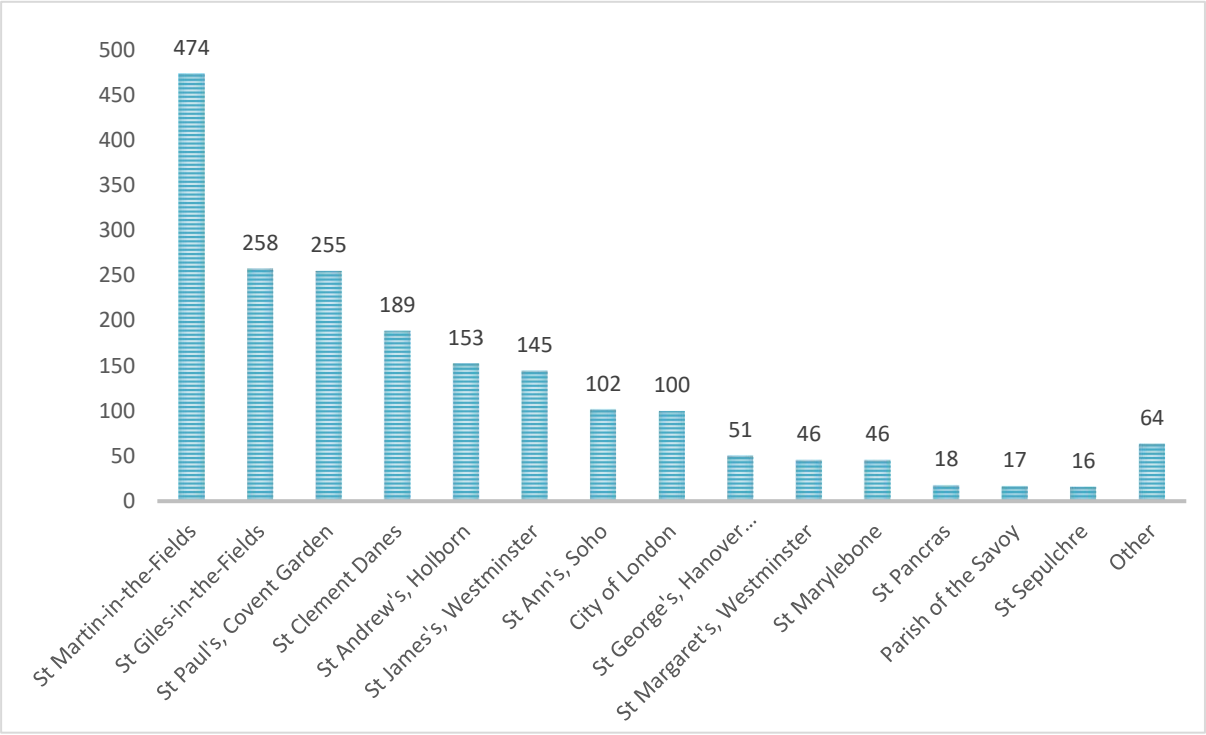

Figure 6. Parishes associated with Baptisms at Crown Court Church, 1711-1797.

1.3 Romantic Scotland: 'A Wild Happiness of Thought and Expression'

The second half of the eighteenth century saw a gradual increase in the flow of people, and thereby culture, between London and Scotland. In tandem with improvements in road maintenance and coach design, travel along the Great North Road became gradually quicker, cheaper, and less dangerous, particularly in the last decades of the eighteenth century. A journey by stagecoach from Edinburgh to London, which in the middle of the century would have taken weeks, was possible in only three or four days by 1800. Such changes were driven in turn by increased demand for travel, particularly that relating to leisure. Both the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars made the prospect of continental travel much less appealing to Britons, and for some periods travelling through France was entirely impossible. Therefore, although young men (and later women) of elite status still flocked to Europe for the Grand Tour when possible, a new market for domestic tourism developed, and Scotland, Ireland, and the Lake District began to feature on holiday itineraries. From the mid-1770s, travel narratives such as Thomas Pennant's *Tour of Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides in 1772* (1774), and Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775), inspired travellers to discover the Scottish landscape for themselves, and brought it more prominently into the consciousness of Londoners.[167]

[167] Both men and women undertook the 'long' and 'petit' tours of Scotland, increasingly writing publicly about their travels. Betty Hagglund records the existence of at least 55 manuscript tours written by women before 1830. One of these women was Elizabeth Diggle, who toured Scotland over fourteen weeks in 1788, and whose

Contributing significantly to the popularity of Scotland as a travel destination was the development of a new, imagined vision of a Romantic Scotland. At its core was the Highland region, usually depicted as a wild, untamed landscape where a fierce and uncivilised people lived according to the proud traditions of their illustrious ancestors. Womack dates the beginnings of this Highland myth to 1746, and regards it as completely formed by 1810-1811.[168] The crystallisation of Romantic Scotland in the eyes of Londoners, however, was bolstered significantly in 1760 by the publication of James Macpherson's controversial 'translations' of ancient Gaelic poetry by Ossian.[169] Pittock assigns patriotic intent to Macpherson, suggesting that he 'dress[ed] up' traditional and oral culture in order to forge new traditions, and to defend the Highlands from those 'improvers' who wished to impose economic industrialisation.[170] Leask, more cynically, argues that Macpherson 'sutured Highland and Lowland identity in creating an integrated national *mythe histoire* for Scotland within the Union that played well with its sponsors, the Enlightenment Edinburgh literati', and thereby created an 'ideologically as well as aesthetically doctored version of Gaelic tradition'.[171] More convincingly, Davis argues that Macpherson's poems 'present an account of British history which conflates the Lowland Scots and the English with the Highlanders', and, in doing so, 'reflected and reinforced the changing hegemonic relationship between England and Scotland'.[172] Regardless of Macpherson's intentions, however, the poetry of Ossian was commercially successful in London, and undoubtedly captured the imaginations of the city's elite and middling classes, inspiring visits to the Highlands to experience the topography associated with Scotland's ancient heroic kings and melancholy bards.

It is important to emphasise that Scots such as Macpherson played a significant role in the creation and dissemination of the image of Romantic Scotland and the associated Highland myth. Indeed, Womack presents the construction of Scotland's nostalgic, de-historicised, past as a natural accompaniment to the Scottish Enlightenment discourse of improvement, which targeted the Highlands as an economically backward region ripe for economic transformation.[173] Under this model, the Highlands were viewed as the periphery to the already developed urban core of the Lowlands. Highlandism therefore served as a reminder of the 'economic stagnation' which the Lowlands had left

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manuscript notebook is now held at the University of Glasgow. (Betty Hagglund, *Tourists and Travellers: Women's Non-Fictional Writing about Scotland, 1770-1830* (Bristol: Channel View, 2010), 18-19).

[168] Womack, *Improvement and Romance,* 2.

[169] There is significant scholarly disagreement as to Macpherson's intentions behind these epic poems, and the extent to which they were in fact based on original Gaelic poetry. For further discussion of the controversy surrounding Macpherson's works of Ossian, and their influence, see Howard Gaskill (ed.), *James Macpherson: The Poems of Ossian and related works* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), and Howard Gaskill (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004).

[170] Murray G. H. Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1997), 155.

[171] Nigel Leask, 'Fingalian Topographies: Ossian and the Highland Tour, 1760-1805', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies,* Vol. 39, No. 2 (2016), 186.

[172] Leith Davis, '"Origins of the Specious": James Macpherson's Ossian and the Forging of the British Empire', *The Eighteenth Century,* Vol. 34, No. 2 (Summer 1993), 139; 132.

[173] Womack, *Improvement and Romance,* 2-3.

behind, legitimising the need for a transition of the region from a feudal society to the agrarian capitalism which prevailed in the rest of British society.[174] At the same time, however, the Highland myth was also employed more positively in service of the patriotic claim that Gaeldom 'embodied antique and heroic virtue on a grand scale', and was therefore the source of the fiercest of warriors for the British army.[175] Indeed, by the 1770s, with Jacobitism and the threat of Scottish rebellion firmly in the past, the Highlands now became emblematic of the military strength of Scotland itself. The martial masculinity of the Highland myth therefore offered some Scots a convenient way to assert Scotland's place within the Union through an appeal to British patriotism. The vision of Romantic Scotland could evidently be employed flexibly by those who wished to promote narratives of improvement in Highlands, whilst also providing a framework which highlighted Scotland's distinctive contribution to the British imperialist project.

At the visual core of Romantic Scotland was Highland dress, which, like Macpherson's works of Ossian, was employed in 'a struggle…in Scottish creative consciousness to establish a specific, underlying myth which would render Scottish history an acceptable, intelligible story'.[176] With Highlanders consciously rehabilitated as a loyal people, Highland dress, and in particular tartan, became a mode of British patriotic expression. Fascinatingly, developments in this area were often driven by patterns of elite consumption in London rather than Scotland, and more particularly in diasporic space. For example, it was the Highland Society of London that was instrumental in procuring a repeal of the Disarming Act in 1782, thereby overturning the ban on Highland dress that had persisted since 1746.[177] From 1815, the HSL positioned itself as the final authority on the history of tartan, and its *Highland Society of London Certified Tartans*, complete with samples, is believed to be the earliest attempt of any institution to categorise tartan.[178] In 1804, John Sinclair (1754-1835), a leading member of the HSL, argued for a Highland dress uniform for the memberships of both the HSL and that of the Highland Society of Scotland. His *Observations on the Propriety of Preserving the Dress, the Language, the Poetry, the Music, and the Customs, of the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland* recommended that members adopt the 'ancient garb' of the Highlands, in order that they might feel proud of 'the high character, and renowned achievements of their ancestors'.[179] Tellingly, the dress finally adopted by the HSL aligned

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[174] Womack, *Improvement and Romance,* 148.
[175] T. C. Smout, 'Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in later Eighteenth-Century Scotland' in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Improvement and Enlightenment: Scottish historical studies seminar: Papers* (Glasgow: John Donald, 1989), 14.
[176] Andrew Noble, 'James Boswell: Scotland's Prodigal Son' in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Improvement and Enlightenment: Scottish historical studies seminar: Papers* (Glasgow: John Donald, 1989), 33.
[177] Tartan 'Great Coats' or 'Upper Coats', strongly associated with Jacobitism and rebellion, were banned for civilians under the Disarming Act of 1746, and permitted only as part of military dress until 1782. A tartan jacket in the Royal Stewart sett, now held by the National Museums Scotland, has buttons bearing the motto 'CLAN NA'N GAEL LUNNAIN', and likely belonged to a member of the Society (Waine, *Fashioning Highland Dress*, 65-9).
[178] Waine, *Fashioning Highland Dress*, 77.
[179] John Sinclair, *Observations on the Propriety of Preserving the Dress, the Language, the Poetry, the Music, and the Customs, of the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1804), 8.

more closely with Georgian fashions and typical associational wear of the period than historical Highland dress, underlining the tendency of urbane London Scots to adapt Scottish culture to the demands of the city's elite fashionable space.

Evidently, diasporic Scots played a crucial role in popularising and adapting Scottish culture in London. It is perhaps surprising that the Highlanders of the Highland Society of London embraced a myth that in many ways distorted the realities of their own native region. Indeed, the Romanticisation of Scottish culture involved the 'othering' of Scottish culture and landscape. Macpherson's poetry, as Davis argues, 'directed public interest away from the living traditions of the indigenous Gaelic culture and toward a fabricated ancient tradition' that was in a sense exotic and therefore more attractive to the English reader.[180] Scottish music, too, was often presented to London consumers as being in some way other to their everyday experience. Locke defines musical exoticism as 'the process of evoking a place (people, social milieu) that is *perceived* as different from home by the people making and receiving the exoticist cultural product'.[181] An 'Elsewhere' can be therefore evoked musically through 'a style widely understood as being typical or characteristic of that place or people'.[182] Scotland, of course, was not as geographically distant from London as many other countries exoticized through eighteenth-century musical culture. Nonetheless, despite the fact that Scots were present in London in large numbers throughout the eighteenth century, still the *idea* of Scotland retained a sense of mystery and foreignness for many Londoners. This is strongly visible in the Romantic imagery and language used to describe and advertise Scottish music to London audiences during our period. As explored in the remainder of this thesis, Scottish music, perhaps more than any other cultural signifier, became a vehicle for the expression of the Scottish imaginary in London.

Overall, the fact that Romantic Scotland was shaped in part in London's elite metropolitan space was undoubtedly a significant factor behind the economic success of Scottish culture in late eighteenth-century London. By the early nineteenth century, 'ersatz Scotland', as Noble characterises it, became 'a hugely marketable commodity for a cosmopolitan, middle-brow audience'.[183] By the turn of the nineteenth century, it had become fashionable for the Anglo-Scottish elite class to espouse Scottish identity through costume, regardless of whether they had Scottish heritage. In 1789, for example, the royal princes, George, Frederick, and William appeared regularly at balls and entertainments in Georgian adaptations of Highland dress, taking advantage of 'a world beyond the confines of the

[180] Davis, 'Origins of the Specious', 140.
[181] Ralph P. Locke, 'A Broader View of Musical Exoticism', *The Journal of Musicology,* Vol. 24, No. 4 (June 2007), 483-484.
[182] Ralph P. Locke, *Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 22.
[183] Andrew Noble, 'James Boswell: Scotland's Prodigal Son', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Improvement and Enlightenment: Scottish historical studies seminar: Papers* (Glasgow: John Donald, 1989), 37.

stage within which wearers could explore the imaginative potential of historical recreation'.[184] This is not to say, however, that all Londoners were caught up in the mythology surrounding the Highlands. Samuel Johnson cautioned his contemporaries, 'if we know little of the ancient Highlanders, let us not fill the vacuity with Ossian'.[185] Indeed, the crystallisation of the Scottish imaginary after 1760 co-existed with other, less flattering, stereotypes of Scotland and Scottish people, present in London since the early seventeenth century. However, the prevalence of a Romanticised vision of Scotland and its culture in late eighteenth-century London goes some way to explaining the popularity of Scottish music alongside persistent anti-Scottish prejudice. This monolithic presentation of Scottish culture, as espoused by the Romantic movement, promoted the refashioning of Scottish music in London's urban space, re-shaped by aesthetics and commerce alike.

1.4 Scottish Music in London before 1741

By the early eighteenth century, Scottish music was circulating freely in London. Yet, from a strictly national perspective, a significant percentage of these apparently Scottish musical works do not necessarily merit inclusion in the Scottish folk music canon, as they did not originate in Scotland. The genre of 'Scotch songs', for example, popularised in London by Thomas D'Urfey (1653-1723) from the late seventeenth century, have often, as McGuinness notes, been 'derided by scholars of Scottish music as inauthentic sources due to the nature of the song texts, which have been viewed as parodies of Scottish culture'.[186] Other collections, though described as Scottish, contain tunes present in Scottish manuscripts of the period alongside new compositions in a similar style. The earliest published collection of Scots tunes, *A Collection of Original Scotch Tunes (Full of the Highland Humours*), printed in 1700 by London-based publisher Henry Playford, contained a mix of musical material after this fashion.[187] Later instrumental and vocal arrangements of Scottish music that sought to refashion or reshape it could also, on a national view, represent a betrayal of Scotland's native musical tradition. Yet most London consumers presumably enjoyed that which they perceived to be Scottish music without consciously challenging its authenticity. From the consumer perspective, therefore, a 'Scotch song', though it contained little or no 'genuine' Scottish melodic material, may have been *popularly held* as Scottish by some Londoners, because it employed certain recognisable Scottish musical features.

What were these musical features, by which those with a musical ear could distinguish Scottish music from other national musical styles? Mera-Nelson has outlined several characteristics of the Scottish musical idiom 'as found by modern commentators in virtually every area of the music: melodic,

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[184] Waine, *Fashioning Highland Dress,* 177. This trend famously culminated in the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822, during which he appeared in a kilt, and more inappropriately, tights rather than bare legs.
[185] Samuel Johnson, quoted in Leask, 'Fingalian Topographies', 189.
[186] David McGuinness & Aaron McGregor, 'Ramsay's Musical Sources: Reconstructing a Poet's Musical Memory', *Scottish Literary Review,* Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2018), 63.
[187] *A Collection of Original Scotch Tunes (Full of the Highland Humours) for the Violin: Being the First of this Kind yet Printed* (London: William Pearson, for Henry Playford, 1700).

harmonic, formal, rhythmic, and ornamental'.[188] Present in much eighteenth-century Scottish music were such elements as the use of mixed modes and double tonics, non-tonal endings, the gapped (pentatonic or hexatonic) scale, and the 'Scotch Snap' rhythm amongst many others.[189] It was not necessary, however, for a certain number of Scottish musical features to be present for a song or tune to be identifiable as Scottish to those hearing it. Indeed, the Scotch Snap or 'Scots snap' rhythm, described by Mera-Nelson as 'the most recognisable and best-known feature of the "Scotch style" today', was rarely present in early eighteenth-century Scots tunes, and did not consistently appear in notated form until the 1760s.[190] Furthermore, a piece of music might also have sounded Scottish due to the presence of extra-musical features, such as a song text in the Scots language, or a semblance of it. Indeed, some examples of Scots tunes within the circulating repertoire do not exhibit many Scottish musical features, but nonetheless bear other extra-musical signifiers that could be perceived as pertaining to Scotland. Conversely, the 'Scotch song' genre often deliberately employed stock Scottish musical and extra-musical features, in order to advance a particular stereotype of Scottish culture. Such songs may not have been convincingly Scottish to a trained ear, but the musical elements featured were nonetheless still a signifier of Scottishness, providing consumers with an ideological link to Scotland itself.

For the purposes of my analysis, this material on the fringes of Scottish musical tradition is highly valuable as evidence of Scottish musical culture and stereotype as it was perceived in London during the period 1741-1815. Indeed, while Mera-Nelson suggests that there was a Britain-wide understanding of the difference between music composed in the 'Scotch style' and that of original Scottish music, I would argue that categorisation was likely not as convenient or as clear-cut.[191] Indeed, those who performed, sold and enjoyed Scottish music in London after 1741 did not typically adhere to ideological guidelines, but instead interacted with a variety of well-established Scottish cultural and musical stereotypes. Crucially, the modes of cultural transfer underpinning such interactions were inevitably messy in character, enabled at least in part by the movement of Scottish musicians between Scotland and London. In 1725, for example, a collection of Scots songs, *Orpheus Caledonius,* was

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[188] Clare Mera-Nelson, 'Creating a notion of "Britishness"; the role of Scottish music in the negotiation of a common culture, with particular reference to the 18th century accompanied sonata' (PhD: Royal College of Music, 2003), 173.

[189] See Chapter 4 of Mera-Nelson, 'Creating a notion of "Britishness"', 169-206.

[190] There is scholarly disagreement as to the origins of the 'Scotch snap' rhythm. While both Charles Burney and Johann Joachim Quantz associated this musical characteristic with Scotland by the mid-eighteenth century, no Scottish writers did so, and the rhythm seems to have been most prevalent in the 'Scotch song' genre, and in London's pleasure gardens (Mera-Nelson, 'Creating a notion of "Britishness"', 197-202). Johnson has suggested that the 'Scotch snap' was a fundamental attribute of pìobaireachd (David Johnson, 'Scotch Snap', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 21 July 2024). The 'Scotch snap' was also associated with the strathspey from c.1749, and it is possible that the rhythm developed in this context. See McGregor a full discussion of the origins of the strathspey (Aaron McGregor, 'Violinists and Violin Music in Scotland, 1550-1750' (PhD: University of Glasgow, 2019), 153-6.

[191] Mera-Nelson, 'Creating a notion of "Britishness"', 170.

published in London by émigré Scottish singer William Thomson (fl. 1695-1753).[192] Boasting a large and illustrious subscription list, Thomson's first volume of fifty songs was printed for him 'at his house in Leicester Fields', and he dedicated the volume to Princess Caroline, the Princess of Wales (1768-1821), a well-known lover of music, who purchased six copies for herself and her daughters.[193] The texts of the songs within the collection were taken directly from the Edinburgh-based poet and playwright Allan Ramsay's *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (Edinburgh, 1723).[194] While Ramsay did not include musical notation in his publication, Thomson, publishing for a London audience, presented melodies to accompany each song text, perhaps for the benefit of an audience less familiar with Scottish music.[195] *Orpheus Caledonius* was commercially successful in London, ensuring that musical consumers there now associated this particular set of 'popular airs' with Scotland.

Allan Ramsay was ostensibly indignant at Thomson's use of his texts without acknowledgement, particularly after 1733, when Thomson re-issued his *Orpheus Caledonius* with simpler arrangements and thereby wider appeal. He complained that Thomson 'ought to have acquainted his Illustrious List of Subscribers, that most of the Songs were mine, the Music abstracted'.[196] Ramsay's frustration has been sometimes interpreted as proof that, as 'an avatar of Scottish patriotism and anti-Unionism', he prevailed against a London-centric British song culture.[197] Yet the 'Scots Sangs' featured in Ramsay's *The Tea-Table Miscellany* were, according to Pittock, 'extensively culled from the London prints and stage'.[198] Similarly, the content of his *Scots Songs* (1718) was 'very heavily drawn from the collections and performances of the contemporary Anglo-British music market'.[199] Ramsay therefore drew upon what Gelbart has termed an 'Anglo- and Lowland-Scottish stock' of tunes, which eighteenth-century musicians and music publishers, Scottish and non-Scottish, exploited for profit.[200] Putigny, similarly,

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[192] For further discussion of *Orpheus Caledonius,* see McGuinness & McGregor, 'Ramsay's Musical Sources', 50-53.
[193] A richly-bound presentation copy of *Orpheus Caledonius* survives in the Royal Music Library, now held at the British Library, at R.M.14.a.19. Its binding style suggests that it is one of six copies purchased in 1720, possibly by Princess Caroline of Ansbach, later Queen consort to George II.
[194] Murray Pittock and Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Tea-Table Miscellany* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023).
[195] William Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius or a Collection of the best Scotch Songs set to Musick by William Thomson* (London: Printed for the author, 1725).
[196] Allan Ramsay, *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (London: A. Millar, 1733), Preface. Perhaps to gain the upper hand following Thomson's publication of *Orpheus Caledonius*, Ramsay published *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs* in around 1725, set by Edinburgh violinist Andrew Stuart. McGuinness and McGregor note, however, that many of Stuart's settings were virtually unsingable, and appear to have been aimed at instrumentalists rather than singers (McGuinness & McGregor, 'Ramsay's Musical Sources', 51).
[197] Leith Davis, 'At "sang about": Scottish song and the challenge to British culture', in Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen (eds.), *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (Cambridge: 2004), 189.
[198] Murray Pittock in Steve Newman & David McGuinness (eds.), *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Gentle Shepherd* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), xi.
[199] Murray Pittock & Craig Lamont, 'Introduction: Allan Ramsay's Future', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (2020), 4.
[200] Matthew Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay, the Idea of "Scottish Music" and the Beginnings of "National Music" in Europe', *Eighteenth-Century Music,* Vol. 9, No. 1, 93. The term 'common stock' was first used in reference to music in folk traditions by Gelbart in *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 31. The term was previously defined by Marie Slocombe in 'Some "English" Ballads and Folk Songs

has convincingly argued for extensive musical 'cross-pollination' between Scotland and England, particularly in the case of Scots songs, which 'circulated freely across borders', and thereby became 'known and performed in all corners of the 'multiple-kingdom' that was Britain'.[201] To participate in this process was not by any means unpatriotic for Ramsay and his Scottish contemporaries. Indeed, the fact that the Edinburgh Musical Society purchased ten copies of Thomson's revised *Orpheus Caledonius* demonstrates that elite Scots had no objection to London publications that re-worked this shared body of Anglo-Scottish musical material, and in fact actively supported their transfer and adaptation beyond Scottish borders.

Undoubtedly, Ramsay's cultural and commercial focus extended beyond Scotland itself to the cultural and political hub that was London. Later editions of *The Tea-Table Miscellany* were printed by Arthur Miller, a Scottish music publisher on the Strand, demonstrating that 'far from being dismissive or hostile towards the English, Ramsay was acutely concerned with his reputation in London'.[202] Gelbart suggests that Ramsay was significantly ahead of his time in seeking to 'tweak' the existing stereotype of the wild, unruly Highlander, transforming it into something more acceptable to the Anglo-British elite classes, while at the same time establishing a unified native musical culture.[203] From this perspective, Ramsay's much-quoted poem, *To the Musick Club* (1721), represented an encouragement to his fellow Edinburgh music-lovers to espouse, as Pittock argues, 'a hybrid or blended fusion music comprehending both Scots (including Gaelic) and Italian forms'.[204] Ramsay included in his *The Tea-Table Miscellany* a tune with a Gaelic title, 'Chami ma chattle, ne duce skar mi' (or 'Tha mi 'nam chadal; na duisgibh mi').[205] The tune is in fact likely of Irish Gaelic origin, appearing as 'Ta me ma Chulla's na doushe me' in John and William Neal's *Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes* of 1724, but it appears to have been circulating in lowland Scotland as early as 1710, where it appears in the Sinkler MS as 'Ane Irish Tune'.[206] Ramsay may have encountered the tune through Lorenzo Bocchi, who is named as having performed the music in Neal's collection in a subscription concert in Dublin, and is known to have returned to Edinburgh in 1725 after his visit to Ireland.[207] For Gelbart, the presence of

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Recorded in Ireland, 1952-1954', *Journal of English Folk Dance and Song Society,* Vol. 7 (1955), with reference to songs 'which from the evidence of the earlier published collections, or from our own collecting in other areas, have been widely current elsewhere' (239).

[201] Putigny, 'Song Cultures and National Identities', 27.

[202] Putigny, 'Song Cultures and National Identities', 38.

[203] Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay, the Idea of "Scottish Music" and the Beginnings of "National Music" in Europe', 89.

[204] Murray Pittock and Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Tea-Table Miscellany* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 7. See Putigny, 'Song Cultures and National Identities' (40) for discussion of Ramsay's portrait of 1721, in which he is depicted in seventeenth-century Highland dress, despite having no Highland heritage.

[205] Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay, the Idea of "Scottish Music" and the Beginnings of "National Music" in Europe', 96.

[206] John and William Neal, *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes: Proper for the Violin, German Flute, or Hautboy* (Dublin, 1724). An earlier version of 'Tha mi 'nam chadal; na duisgibh mi' appears in the 1710 Margaret Sinkler MS as 'An Irish Tune'. See Margaret Sinkler's music book, containing a collection of chiefly Scottish airs, 1710, MS 3296, Glen Collection, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

[207] Ibid.

this tune in Ramsay's *The Tea-Table Miscellany* represents his willingness to integrate all kinds of music already circulating in lowland Scotland, and to present it as 'Scottish', regardless of its origin.[208] Pittock argues that Ramsay was certainly 'collecting and republishing the acceptably cosmopolitan under the guise of its being an access point to the native autochthonous', benefiting both Scottish literature and musical culture in the process.[209] While, of course, Ramsay himself may not have viewed his cultural aims with such coherence, nonetheless it is evident that he was prepared to embrace, and indeed shape, a rapidly crystallising stereotype of Scottish music across Britain and beyond.

Alongside printed collections by Thomson, Ramsay and others, London theatre audiences were also regularly exposed to Scottish music on stage from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The publication of Ramsay's *Scots Songs* and *Tea-Table Miscellany,* and Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* coincided with a sizable increase in Scottish musical-dance entertainment on the London stage, totalled by Putigny as four-hundred and sixty-eight incidences over the period 1718-1738.[210] Londoners able to afford to go to the theatre would, for example, have enjoyed Scottish ballad operas, such as *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), which featured songs and instrumental music from the common stock of Anglo-Scottish musical material already in circulation by this date. Often, Scottish musical material was adapted for London audiences. Theophilus Cibber's *Patie and Peggy: or, the Fair Foundling: A Scotch Ballad Opera,* a close reworking of Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd* (1724), was first staged in April 1730 at Drury Lane. Cibber translated the play from Scots into English, and replaced many of Ramsay's songs 'with more familiar, putatively Scots songs printed or composed in London'.[211] Other theatrical representations were closer to caricature: In *Highland Fair: Union of the Clans* (1731), the increasingly popular stock Scotch song character 'Jockey' was presented to audiences as a sexually potent Highlander.[212] Indeed, the conflation of Highland and Lowland culture is also visible in the many entr'acte character dances performed in London theatres during this period, which boasted generic titles such as 'The Dance of the Bonny Highlander', 'Scotch Dance', 'Scotch Whim', or 'The Highland'.[213] By 1741, therefore, Londoners certainly had a variety of material on which to formulate their own understanding of what constituted Scottish music, though it was expressed to some extent through stereotype, and often re-fashioned or adapted for London's metropolitan space.

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[208] Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay, the Idea of "Scottish Music" and the Beginnings of "National Music" in Europe', 96.
[209] Pittock in *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Gentle Shepherd.* xi.
[210] Putigny, 'Song Cultures and National Identities', 34, 48.
[211] Berta Joncus, quoted in Steve Newman & David McGuinness (eds.), *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Gentle Shepherd* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 37.
[212] Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 7; Joseph Mitchell, *The Highland Fair, or, Union of the Clans* (London: Printed for J. Watts, 1731).
[213] George S. Emmerson, *A Social History of Scottish Dance. Ane Celestial Recreation.* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), 127.

1.5 'Equally interesting in England as in Scotland'

It is perhaps unsurprising that the period in which Romantic Scotland was popularised (1760-1820) also saw a substantial increase in publications of Scottish music throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Rose, Truppen and Drosopoulou have analysed musical publications held at the British Library with variations of the keyword 'Scottish' in the title between 1680 and 1899.[214] The data reveals a relatively stable number of publications until the 1760s, followed by a sharp increase of over tenfold to a peak in the 1820s.[215] Yet many eighteenth-century commentators perceived a steep decline in Scotland's musical fortunes during the same period, in which Scotland's 'true' music was hijacked by foreign, particularly Italian, composers. This was expressed in Robert Fergusson's *Elegy on the Death of Scots Music,* which first appeared in the *Edinburgh Magazine* in March 1772.[216] Fergusson laments the loss of 'harmony', which thrived 'in days of yore/when lads and lasses tartan wore'. Scottish music is strongly associated with the ancient pastoral landscape of Scotland, and its changing seasons: 'Nae lasses now, on summer days/Will lilt at bleachin' o' their claes'. The bagpipe, too, was apparently silent: 'At glomin' now the bagpipe's dumb… We never hear its warlike hum'. Even Scottish musicians were no longer up to scratch following the death of violinist William McGibbon (1690-1756), 'the man in Music maist expert'. Instead, Italian music held sway in Scotland: 'Now foreign sonnets bear the gree/An' crabbit queer variety/O' sounds fresh sprung frae Italy,/A bastard breed!/Unlike that saft-tongu'd Melody/Whilk now lies dead.' Though the *Elegy* may be to some extent satirical, nonetheless it draws attention to concerns for the health of the Scottish musical tradition, particularly widespread in Scottish Enlightenment circles.

At the root of this apparent conflict between the demonstrable commercial success of Scottish music and the narrative of its decline was a debate concerning the definition and extent of Scotland's native musical tradition. In 1763, John Gregory, a founder member of the Aberdeen Musical Society, presented a paper to the Edinburgh Philosophical Society in which, for the first time, folk and classical genres of music were differentiated, and a preference for 'indigenous folk music' expressed.[217] In the following decades, Scottish Enlightenment thought, following Rousseau's preference for primitivist and naturalistic musical expression, presented Scottish music as morally superior to other national musical traditions because of its artlessness and inherent melodic simplicity. The antiquarian William Tytler, for example, in his *Dissertation on the Scottish Musick,* expressed this kind of sentiment when he declared

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[214] Stephen Rose, Sandra Tuppen and Loukia Drosopoulou, 'Writing a Big Data History of Music' in *Early Music,* Vol. 43, No. 4 (2015), 659.

[215] Naturally, this 'big data' approach has its limitations: the dataset captured does not, for example, distinguish between publications printed in London and Edinburgh, or indeed elsewhere in Scotland. Furthermore, any publication with 'Highland' in the title rather than 'Scottish' would evade the search engine, as would single sheet songs categorised by a title that did not contain the term 'Scotch'.

[216] Robert Fergusson, 'Elegy on the Death of Scots Music' in *Poems by Robert Fergusson* (Edinburgh: Walter & Thomas Ruddiman, 1773), 113.

[217] Murray Pittock and Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Tea-Table Miscellany* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 18.

that 'the old Scottish songs have always been admired for the wild pathetic sweetness which distinguishes them from the music of every other country', and that they were 'flights of genius, devoid of art'.[218] The pastoral simplicity of Scottish folk musical style was often explicitly linked to the 'ancientness' of Scottish heritage as characterised in literary works such as Macpherson's works of Ossian, published in London only three years before Gregory's seminal paper. Mera-Nelson argues that the several references to music present in Macpherson's epic poems inspired Scottish philosophers such as James Beattie (1735-1803) to lay out a 'comprehensive, contemporary philosophy for Scottish music'.[219] Indeed, Scottish philosophers and literati such as Beattie and Tytler were highly influential in the widespread promotion of a vision of Scottish music that was simultaneously 'exotic' and familiar, and, above all, possessed the highest musical credentials.

The (often lengthy) prefaces to many late eighteenth-century Scots song collections, many of which were published in London, frequently attempt to crystallise the precise nature of Scottish music and the way in which it should be performed. William Tytler's dissertation, attached as a preface to the London-based Scottish publisher William Napier's first volume of Scots songs, was published in 1792, and his 'Proposals for Publishing by Subscription' of 1789 emphasised the 'simplicity' and 'artlessness' of Scottish melodies, which in turn proved 'that they derive their Origin from very remote antiquity'.[220] Perhaps in response to Napier's subsequent collaboration with Haydn, the Edinburgh-based music publisher George Thomson (1757-1851) published, first in Edinburgh and subsequently in London, his first volume of *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice* (1793), a series in which he collaborated with leading European musicians and Scottish poets such as Robert Burns to present 'a correct, select, and elegant Collection of the Airs, united with the most eligible harmony'.[221] The preface to the first volume similarly describes the national music of Scotland as 'universally admired for its originality, its simplicity, and pathos',[222] As the century wore on, compilers aimed to better their rivals. The antiquarian Joseph Ritson, who published his *Scottish Song in Two Volumes* in 1794, rubbished the efforts of every predecessor in his preface, and criticised Tytler's *Dissertation* at length, offering instead his own superior judgement as to which airs are 'the original or most ancient'.[223] Though he was himself English, Ritson proclaimed that he had overcome this handicap through 'repeated visits to *different* parts of Scotland', alongside 'diligent enquiry, extensive reading, and

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[218] William Tytler, 'A Dissertation on the Scottish Music', in *A Selection of the most Favourite Scots Songs* (London: William Napier, 1792), 1; 16.
[219] Claire Nelson, 'Tea-Table Miscellanies: The Development of Scotland's Song Culture, 1720-1800', *Early Music,* Vol. 28, No. 4, (November 2000), 601.
[220] William Napier, *Music, Proposals for Publishing by Subscription, a Complete Collection of the Pastoral Music of Scotland* (London: William Napier, 1789).
[221] George Thomson, *A Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs for the Voice* (London: T. Preston, 1793), iii. See Katherine Campbell & Emily Lyle, *Robert Burns and the Rediscovery and Recreation of Scots Song* (Glasgow: The Musica Scotica Trust, 2020) for further discussion of Robert Burns's relationship with George Thomson.
[222] Thomson, *A Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs for the Voice,* iii.
[223] Joseph Ritson, 'A History Essay on Scotish Song' in *Scottish Song in Two Volumes, Volume the First* (London: J. Johnson, 1794), lxxxiii.

unwearied assiduity'.[224] Somewhat unusually by this date, Ritson's collection features only melodies, and he recommends that Scottish vocal music should be performed with very little accompaniment, or indeed ornamentation.[225] Ritson also participated in the gatekeeping of the performance of Scottish music, arguing that, 'A Scots song can only be sung in taste by a Scottish voice'.[226] Nonetheless, Ritson too, by rarefying the tasteful performance of Scottish music, employed now-familiar language designed to appeal to an audience already captivated by Romantic Scotland.

This purist vision of Scottish music, however, was limited in its influence on the development of Scottish musical culture in London. William Tytler was firm in his view that 'fashion and novelty' had no place in the performance of Scottish music, but, as Scottish culture became increasingly popular in London's fashionable circles, consumer preference took precedence over ideological purity. Even the publications of Napier and Thomson were undoubtedly shaped to the demands of a non-Scottish audience. Napier's collections featured a glossary, and his second and third volumes substituted many of the original Scots words, which were 'unfit for a work of this nature'.[227] For every song he presented in the 'Scotch dialect', Thomson also provided 'a Song purely English', as he was aware that 'the Scotish words which occur in many of the Songs, are scarcely understood beyond the limits of the Country', and wished to render his collection 'equally interesting in England as in Scotland'.[228] Both men also acknowledged, as had countless of their predecessors, the difficulty of setting Scottish melodies to classical Western harmony, and outsourced this challenge by engaging the services of highly popular European composers. Thomson travelled to London in order to secure the involvement of Ignace Joseph Pleyel (1757-1831), and his songs appear with short 'Symphonies', which he describes as 'rendering the Airs more fit for Concerts than they have ever been'.[229] Napier's collaboration with Haydn also aimed to elevate his collection, and he 'trusts that they will be found worthy of the exalted patronage, and cultivated taste, to which they are respectfully presented'.[230] While continuing to assert the simplicity of Scottish melodies, and 'rejecting the affected graces and variations', compilers such as Napier and Thomson were evidently hyper-conscious of the adaptations necessary for commercial success in London.

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[224] Ritson, 'A History Essay on Scotish Song', ii; iv.
[225] Ritson, 'A History Essay on Scotish Song', vii.
[226] Ritson, 'A History Essay on Scotish Song', viii. The publisher of *The Caledonian Muse* (1789) agreed with Ritson, suggesting that 'to relish the beauties of this kind of Music, it is necessary to enter into the spirit of it, and nothing can more contribute to this than the hearing it performed by the natives, who are generally enthusiastically attached to it' (*The Caledonian Muse*, *a collection of scarce and favourite Scots tunes, both Highland and Lowland* (London: printed for the editors, 1789), 5).
[227] William Napier, *A Selection of Original Scots Songs in Three Parts, the Harmony by Haydn*, Vol. 2 (London: William Napier, [1792]), Preface.
[228] Thomson, *A Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs for the Voice*, v.
[229] Thomson, *A Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs for the Voice*, iv.
[230] Napier, *A Selection of Original Scots Songs in Three Parts, the Harmony by Haydn,* Preface.

Outwith the best-known collections of Scots song, London publishers produced a myriad of Scottish publications, which reworked Scottish music in a variety of different formats and styles. The rather fascinating genre of the Scotch glee, for example, combined the glee form, long-established in London's homosocial space, with the fashion for Scottish musical idiom. A set of glees by the harpsichordist and singing master Thomas Billington, brother-in-law of the celebrated singer Elizabeth Billington, were 'selected from the Scots songs and harmonized' and printed in 1785.[231] Joseph Corfe, a gentleman of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, and 'Organist of the Cathedral at Salisbury' from 1792, published a similar publication of twelve glees 'composed from Ancient Scotch Melodies'.[232] Later, William Hawes, also 'late of His Majesty's Chapel Royal', dedicated a short set of six Scotch Airs, 'harmonised as glees', to the five royal princesses around 1820.[233] The Scots tunes harmonised in all three collections were, as might be expected, the most recognisable of the circulating common stock of Anglo-Scottish airs. Beyond the adaptation of Scots tunes, entire works could be directly inspired by Romantic Scotland, and presented in London's elite space. The London-based Scottish music publisher William Napier, for example, published *Comala: A Dramatic Poem from Ossian* (1803), by Miss Harriet Wainewright, a singer and composer active between 1780 and 1840.[234] The music for *Comala* was performed in concert at the Hanover Rooms in January 1792, directed by the leader of the Opera, Wilhelm Cramer, and thereafter on a number of occasions in colonial India.[235] Unusual publications such as these are a reminder that Scottish musical culture in London was not restricted to the domain of Scottish performers, and that Scottish music was enjoyed in a wide variety of unlikely contexts.

The diversity of format and instrumentation of London-based publications of Scottish music increased significantly towards the turn of the nineteenth century. Consumers now wished to be able to play Scottish music on a wider range of fashionable instruments, arranged by celebrated composers in town. By the end of the eighteenth century, many Scots song collections, including those of Thomson and Napier, featured at least one instrumental part, usually playable on the flute or the violin.[236]

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[231] Thomas Billington, *A First set of glees for three and four voices, selected from the Scots songs and harmonized* (London: T. Skillern, n.d. [1785]).

[232] Joseph Corfe, *Twelve Glees for Three and Four Voices, dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Leeds, composed from Ancient Scotch Melodies* (London: Printed for the author, c. 1795).

[233] William Hawes, *A sett of six favorite Scotch airs harmonized as glees for 3 and 4 voices* (London: n.d.). The short subscription list for this work, aside from the royal princesses, features primarily Hawes's musical colleagues at the Chapel Royal, and several lay vicars of Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral.

[234] Harriet Wainewright, *Comala: A Dramatic Poem from Ossian, as Performed at the Hanover Square Rooms, set to Music by Miss Harriet Wainewright, Dedicated with Permission to the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley* (London: Printed for the Author by William Napier, 1803).

[235] Wainewright also published *Critical Remarks on the Art of Singing* (London: George Ellerton, 1836) In her autobiographical preface to this work, Wainewright describes the process of inspiration for *Comala,* including her first encounter with Macpherson's *Fingal* and the success of her opera in Calcutta, where her Scottish husband, Colonel John Stewart, of the Bengal Army, was stationed. The subscription list accompanying *Comala* features primarily Scottish names of military rank, presumably friends and colleagues of the author and her husband.

[236] The accompaniments in Thomson's collections of Scottish airs are straightforward and uncomplicated in style, but he felt the need to justify their presence: 'There are many persons, who, never having cultivated Music, have little relish for Accompaniments. It will not be denied, that, when a Scotish Song is sung by a fine voice, and the

However, Mera-Nelson draws attention to several collections featuring a larger instrumentation, and a much more florid ornamentation style than Beattie and Tytler would have allowed.[237] A prime example of this 'modern European arrangement' is Johann Christian Bach's arrangement of the popular Scots tune, 'The Braes of Ballenden', published in 1779 as performed by the celebrated castrato Giusto Fernando Tenducci, with Bach himself on the piano forte, Johann Christian Fischer on the oboe, Wilhelm Cramer on the violin, Felice Giardini on the tenor, and William Crosdill on the cello.[238] Most intriguingly, William Wilson's London collection of *Twelve Original Scots Songs,* funded largely by members of Aberdeen Musical Society, features moments at which violins, flutes, piccolas and clarinets were invited to perform.[239] Evidently, musical trends in London, themselves shaped by a multiplicity of musicians and consumers across the city, inspired the remodelling of Scottish musical material to better suit consumer preferences in London's metropolitan space.

Overall, the late eighteenth-century Romanticisation of Scottish culture, aided and abetted by the leading lights of the Scottish Enlightenment, certainly facilitated an ideological coherence regarding the value of Scottish music in London's urban space. It is easy, however, to overstate the influence of the Scottish literati on the multifarious development of Scottish musical culture within a market that was constantly embracing new musical fashions and trends. To situate the locus of control of London's Scottish musical culture within Enlightenment Scotland oversimplifies a rather messier reality. Indeed, those who believed that Scottish music should be performed in a simple, unadorned and barely accompanied manner, as by the ancients, were fighting a losing a battle when it came to the plethora of ways in which Scottish music was adapted and reworked for London audiences. As one of the centres of European musical fashion in the late eighteenth century, the metropolitan hub of London enabled a rapid process of cultural transfer and exchange, supported by a fluid network of actors

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words distinctly and feelingly expressed, it gives very great pleasure without any Accompaniment. But every one conversant with Music knows, that the voice needs the support and guidance of an Accompaniment, otherwise that it insensibly falls form the pitch in which it set out.' (George Thomson, '*Preface', A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice. With Introductory and Concluding Symphonies & Accompaniments for the Pianoforte, Violin & Violoncello by Pleyel, Kozeluch & Haydn* (London: T. Preston, 1805), 2n.)

[237] Nelson, 'Tea-Table Miscellanies', 609-616.

[238] Tenducci's interpretations of Scots songs were allowed to be excellent by George Thomson, who regularly heard him sing at the Edinburgh Musical Society (David Johnson, *Music and society in lowland Scotland in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2003),142). Both Tenducci and the accompanying instrumentalists were at the height of their professions at the time of this performance: Bach was Music Master to Queen Charlotte, and director of the Queen's band, of which Cramer and Fischer were also members. Like many publications of this period, Bach's arrangement no longer made use of figured bass, and instead provided realised continuo parts, accessible to a wider musical demographic.

[239] William Wilson, *Twelve Original Scotch Songs for the Voice and Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for the Violin or Flute, Op. III* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1792]). See Nelson, 'Tea-Table Miscellanies', 609, for further discussion of Wilson's collection. Edinburgh publications of the period, particularly those published by Italian musicians, also featured a variety of instrumentation. Domenico Corri's *A New & Complete Collection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs Including a few English & Irish with proper Graces and Ornaments peculiar to their Character, likewise the New Method of Accompanyment of Thorough Bass* (Edinburgh: Corri & Sutherland, 1788) featured parts for flute and guitar. Pietro Urbani's *A selection of Scots songs, harminized [sic] improved with simple, and adapted graces* (Edinburgh: printed for the author, 1792) was published with string parts.

whose priorities were anything but clearcut. Indeed, even for Scots publishing collections in London, some compromise was necessary to court popularity amongst those whose musical enthusiasm now tended towards the works of Mozart, Pleyel, and Haydn. In this context, Scottish musical culture was shaped simultaneously by the persistence of the Romantic stereotype highlighting the 'otherness' of Scotland, and by the ideological and commercial priorities of those who sold and performed Scottish music in London itself. The remainder of this thesis will bring to the fore the varied experiences and the agency of musicians, publishers and consumers in London, and the character of their interactions with Scottish music in the creative context of London itself.

Chapter 2: James Oswald, London's 'Scottish Orpheus' 1741-1769

2.1 Introduction

Among the many entrepreneurial Scots arriving in eighteenth-century London was the composer, cellist, and dancing master James Oswald (1710-1769), 'one of the most remarkable and unsung heroes of Scottish music'.[240] At the turn of the nineteenth century, Alexander Campbell, in his *Conversation on Scotish Song*, allowed just Oswald, of the many Scottish 'musical adventurers' in London, to have distinguished himself in the city.[241] Oswald arrived in London from Edinburgh in 1741, but he was by no means the first Scottish musician to make the journey south. We have already encountered the singer William Thomson, who established a patronage network in London in the 1720s, and it was not uncommon for Scottish musicians to visit London for short periods to study with famous musicians passing through the city. The violinist William McGibbon, for example, may have travelled there to take lessons from William Corbett.[242] Rohr's *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850* records 275 Scottish musicians active in London during that period.[243] Yet, fascinatingly, during the same period, over seventy percent of Scottish musicians remained working in Scotland, and Scotland itself imported far more musicians than it exported.[244] For Oswald to have relocated permanently from Scotland to London was therefore a significant choice, particularly in the early 1740s, when travel between the two cities was relatively hazardous, and took a matter of weeks rather than days. Oswald's undeniably successful London career is of great significance for the exploration of London's Scottish musical culture, and his story may shed light on the priorities and career trajectory of Scottish musicians outside Scotland.

Despite the fact that Oswald spent the vast majority of his working life in London, most detailed attention on his musical career has focused on his activities in Scotland, often viewed from a Scottish perspective. It is entirely understandable that Scottish scholarship has tended to lament Oswald's departure for London, and to view his energetic activities there as a loss, even a matter of national regret. However, this trend has informed a scholarly consensus that fails to recognise the complexity of his career and musical priorities in London. Over a period of twenty-five years, Oswald was able to establish an extensive social network in London, sufficiently elevated to ensure his appointment as

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[240] John Purser, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2007), 205.
[241] Alexander Campbell, *An introduction to the history of poetry in Scotland, from the beginning of the thirteenth century down to the present time; together with a conversation on Scotish song* (Edinburgh: sold by Andrew Foulis, 1798), 13.
[242] William Tytler, *On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the Last Century* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquarians of Scotland, 1792), 510.
[243] Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 39.
[244] Ibid.

Chamber Composer to King George III upon his accession to the throne in 1761. Oswald was active in London (1741-1765) during a somewhat turbulent period in relations between England and Scotland surrounding the Jacobite Rising of 1745. It is important to consider the Scottish musical publications published by Oswald in London in this political context, and to question the nature of his engagement with London's existing stereotypes of Scottish culture. There is a wealth of surviving primary material relating to Oswald's activities in London, but much of it has received limited attention, or has been employed selectively to bolster particular claims as to the Scottishness of his London network. Through a new analysis of Oswald's career in London, with equal focus on his musical publications and associated performance activities, this chapter will seek to establish his musical priorities during the quarter century he flourished in the English capital.

I will first outline Oswald's formative years in Scotland as a dancing master and composer (1734-1741), vital context for understanding Oswald's relatively smooth career transition to London. This was likely enabled, in part, by the useful connections he formed in Edinburgh amongst members of the Edinburgh Musical Society and the city's several Masonic Lodges. I will also explore in some detail the small number of works he published in Scotland before his departure, situating this discussion within the wider musical and cultural context of the genre of instrumental Scots tune collections of the 1730s and 1740s. The second part of this chapter will focus on Oswald's activities during the period 1741-1747, with a particular focus on his creation of a varied social network in London, and the publications and performances that arose from these. It is fascinating that Oswald sold Scottish-themed musical publications in a rather tense political climate, producing at least four volumes of his *Caledonian Pocket Companion* between 1745 and 1750. In order to explore this apparent conflict of loyalties, Oswald's political sympathies will also be considered, particularly as expressed in the form of artistic collaborations following the Jacobite defeat at Culloden. To support my renewed portrait of Oswald's London career, I have constructed an updated list of his known published works, dated through the consultation of advertisements for the same, which is set out in Appendix D.

By far the most debated aspect of Oswald's London career is his 'Society of the Temple of Apollo', upon which subject scholarship has been enthusiastically engaged for over a century.[245] I will present a new evaluation of the Society from first principles, including detailed analysis of a hitherto unknown song collection by the Society and published by Oswald: *The Temple of Apollo, or Theatre of the Muses*, published in April 1747. This publication can be linked through advertisements to a series of entertainments held at Ruckholt House, Essex, in which Oswald himself performed. Overall, I seek to argue that Oswald's 'Society of the Temple of Apollo' did not possess a membership as such, but instead represented a malleable brand name that Oswald employed for various commercial ends

[245] Frank Kidson, 'James Oswald, Dr. Burney, and 'The Temple of Apollo', *The Musical Antiquary,* No. 12 (1910), 34-41.

between April 1747 and the early 1760s. Focus upon the several musicians associated with the Society itself, however, necessarily leads to a wider discussion of the various strands of Oswald's London network. The final section of this chapter will explore his many social connections, with particular focus on his artistic collaborations with Scottish poets, and his development of the Æolian Harp with Dr Stephen Hales (1677-1761). Particular attention will also be given to Oswald's likely presence in the circle of Patriot artists favoured by Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-1751), and later by his widow, the Dowager Princess Augusta (1719-1772).

By the end of his life, it appears that Oswald had amassed some wealth, presumably due in part to his professional success, but also through his close association with the Robinson Lytton family. In 1766, Oswald, now a widower, married for a second time to Leonora Robinson Lytton (1726-1790), the widow of his patron and friend, John Robinson Lytton (1724-1762).[246] The couple married on May 17th, 1766, at St Mary, Church Street, Rotherhithe, and both Oswald and Leonora were described as being of that parish.[247] A few days later, Oswald became a mortgage holder, with four other merchants (three of them Glasgow-based traders), of a sugar or cocoa plantation in Grenada.[248] A deed for the Montreuil Estate, Grenada, dated 21st May, 1766, now held at Yale University, names Robert Bogle, John Cross, John Baird, Charlton Palmer, and James Oswald as mortgage holders of the estate and its enslaved people.[249] The primary owner of the estate appears to have been fellow Scot Robert Bogle, whom Oswald may have met the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, of which both men were members during the 1760s.[250] If Oswald had a property near London's Docklands by this date, as suggested by his connection with St Mary, Rotherhithe, he may also have associated with other merchants trading from this area, including Cross and Baird. The indenture for the mortgage describes Oswald as 'of the Parish of Saint Martin in the fields in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman', and the fact that he entered into such an arrangement just four days after his marriage suggests a symbolic attempt to cement his new-found social status. The deed lists Oswald's

[246] John Robinson Lytton (1724-1762) inherited Knebworth Castle from his father, William Robinson, in 1732, and was married, at the age of 19, to Leonora Brereton of Borras, Denbigh, on the 8 March 1743-4. At the time, his guardian was recorded as Sir Watkin Williams Wynn of Wynnstay, Denbigh, 3rd Baronet, who was a leading member of the Welsh Jacobite society, 'The White Rose'.

[247] Marriage Records, St Mary, Rotherhithe: Saint Mary Church Street, Southwark, *Church of England Marriages and Banns, 1754-1938,* London Metropolitan Archives, London.

[248] A record listed by the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery at UCL, listed at https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146665039 (accessed 11 January 2024) refers to the will of a James Oswald, proved in London on 31st January 1769, who was a joint mortgage holder of a plantation on Grenada to the value of £2,000. The record incorrectly identifies this as James Oswald, MP (1715-1769), but this man died in March 1769.

[249] Deed between John Cross, Robert Bogle, and John Baird, all of Glasgow, and Charlton Palmer, and James Oswald, of London, 03-09-1768, GEN MSS 1412, Box 1, Folder 14, British Caribbean Documents: Grenada Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Repository, Yale University, New Haven, accessed 6 May 2024, https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/11/archival_objects/2192368.

[250] *A List of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce* (London: printed for the Society, July 1765), 10. Bogle is described as a merchant living in Love Lane, East Cheap. He and his descendants were active for several decades in transatlantic trade between Glasgow and the Caribbean.

contribution of £2,000, roughly equivalent to £175,000 today.[251] The sum in question correlates with the first sentence of Oswald's will, in which he bequeathed his investment to his brother: 'I, James Oswald, do make this my last Will in manner following I give to my Brother Henry Oswald for this Life the Interest of two thousand pounds secured to me by Mortgage in the Granadoes [sic]'.[252] Oswald's will was proved on 31st January 1769, and it likely that he died shortly before this at Knebworth House, where his wife Leonora was later buried. The location of his grave is unknown.

2.2 James Oswald in Scotland

James Oswald was born in 1710 to a John Oswald and Elspit Horn in the small fishing village of Crail, Fife. For some time, his father was Crail's drummer and subsequently leader of the town waits at Berwick-upon-Tweed. His brother Henry was also a musician.[253] There is no early record of his musical learning, save for a manuscript notebook from 1731, by which point Oswald was working as a dancing master in Dunfermline.[254] This contains copies of Italian music and workings of Scots song arrangements, suggesting that Oswald was engaged in his early twenties in familiarising himself with the Italian style recently popularised in Britain and Ireland by Handel and countless Italian musical immigrants.[255] To our knowledge, Oswald published only three musical works in Scotland, of which just two survive. In August 1734, he announced his intention to publish, by subscription, a 'Collection of Minuets', alongside one of 'several Sonata's and Solo's' that he had up his sleeve. If well received, Oswald promised that 'the rest, with some other Pieces of Musick, may time be published'.[256] Here, Oswald was clearly testing the waters in order to see whether his Italian-style works could find an audience in Edinburgh, where a Mr Cooper, engraver, maintained his subscription list. Oswald's instrumentation was deliberately flexible, likely aimed at the well-to-do 'gentlemen', or amateur members, of the Edinburgh Musical Society.[257] The following year, Oswald moved to Edinburgh, and by early 1736 he was lodging near the castle in Skinner's Close, where he was now teaching dancing 'in

[251] Ibid.
[252] Will of James Oswald, musician, 31-01-1769, PROB 11/945/308, National Archives, London. Later in the text of the will, Oswald leaves his estate to Leonora Robinson Lytton.
[253] David Johnson and Heather Melvill, 'Oswald, James', in *Grove Music Online,* ed. Deane Root, accessed 20 October 2022, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.
[254] James Oswald, *James Oswald his Music Book* (Dunfermline: unpublished, 1731). This MS book is currently held in the private collection of the Lord Balfour of Burleigh.
[255] Purser, *Scotland's Music,* 205.
[256] *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 August 1734.
[257] *CM*, 6 January 1736. The melody line of most of Oswald's early publications was composed for the violin, but he often emphasised, as was customary at the time, that most tunes were also playable on the hautboy and the German Flute.

Company with Mr Jones'.[258] In January that year, Oswald's 'book of music' was finally published.[259] No copy of Oswald's *Minuets* survives, though the EMS purchased the collection for its library.[260]

In May 1740, five years after his move to Edinburgh, Oswald invited subscriptions for *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes,* again flexibly advertised for violin, bass viol, or German flute.[261] Interestingly, Oswald declared in his advertisement that he intended to publish the work 'before he sets out for Italy'.[262] Whether Oswald ever made his trip to Italy is unknown, but the fact that he intended to spend some time there is significant. It is possible, for example, that Oswald wished to study the Italian compositional style with a master in Italy, and indeed his motivations were surely artistic, for he linked them explicitly to his own musical publication. Regardless, *A Curious Collection* attracted the necessary subscribers, and even the briefest glance at the list reveals a number of the Scottish nobility and the otherwise well-to-do of Edinburgh and Fife. Most men listed were members of the traditional professions: surgeons, advocates, university professors, military men, and writers. Oswald's subscribers also appear to have been of a broad political spectrum: the collection is dedicated to James Drummond, the 3rd Duke of Perth (1713-1746), a leading Jacobite, but also featured George Drummond, one of the founding directors of the Royal Bank of Scotland, who had fought against Jacobite forces in 1715. George Drummond was one of many subscribers who belonged to the Edinburgh Musical Society.[263] Creative Edinburgh was also well-represented: of 351 subscribers, only ten were women, but one was the Lady Anne Dick of Prestonfield House, Edinburgh (d. 1741), a poet of some notoriety.[264] Several musicians were also present, including the violinist William MacGibbon (1690-1756), one of the longest-serving masters of the Edinburgh Musical Society, John and Henry Oswald (Oswald's father and brother, based respectively in Berwick and Lyne), Christian Rich, and 'Signior Pasquelino de Marzis', likely Niccolò Pasquali (c. 1718-1757), who later settled in Edinburgh.[265]

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[258] *CM*, 6 January 1736.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Jennifer Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society: its Membership and Repertoire 1728-1797' (PhD: University of Edinburgh, 2001), 100.
[261] James Oswald, *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: printed for James Oswald, 1740).
[262] *CM*, 8 May 1740.
[263] The membership lists of the Edinburgh Musical Society are extant for this period in the Society's minute books. They are presented by Jennifer Macleod in her PhD thesis on the Edinburgh Musical Society, allowing for cross-referencing with Oswald's subscription list. Several subscribers to Oswald's collection were former or future directors or governors of the Society, including Lord Elphinstone, Director in 1733; Charles Hope-Weir of Cragihall, Director several times between 1737 and 1744; George Drummond, Deputy Governor in 1756. Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 236-254.
[264] Lady Anne Dick, born Anne Mackenzie, and later Anne Cunyngham by marriage, was the granddaughter of the statesman George Mackenzie, 1st Earl of Cromartie (1630-1714), and the daughter of the Scottish judge, Lord Royston (1671-1744), and his wife Elizabeth Mackenzie. Her eccentric behaviour, including a habit of appearing in public dressed in boys' clothing, attracted comment, and three specimens of her notoriously coarse verses are reprinted in Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's *A Ballad Book* (Edinburgh: for the author, 1823). See Jennett Humphreys, 'Dick, Anne, Lady Dick', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, ed. David Cannadine, accessed 13 May 2022, https://www.oxforddnb.com.
[265] It is possible that this is the same Christian Rich, or possibly a relative, who insured his possessions, including printed and sheet music and musical instruments, when living temporarily with a grocer in Carnaby Street in 1779.

The character of Oswald's subscription list for his first *Curious Collection* confirms that his intended audience was the gentlemen amateurs of the Edinburgh Musical Society and men of elite or professional social status. Some of Oswald's subscribers may not have been attracted specifically by the music itself: as Perkins and Fleming note, this kind of subscription list was an opportunity for the 'middling sort' to indicate their rise in affluence and social status', and 'to provide them with a means by which their names might appear alongside members of the nobility'.[266] Nonetheless, the demographic of his extended supporter base list aligns Oswald with the many other Scottish and Italian musicians who embraced the so-called 'Scots Drawing Room' style, identified by David Johnson and subsequent scholarship as a style which 'incorporat[ed] various European elements, but without losing the music's national identity'.[267] In the spirit of Allan Ramsay's publications, several musicians presented new (largely instrumental) collections of Scots tunes to figured bass in the Italian style throughout the 1730s and 1740s, hoping to render them suitable for performance in Edinburgh's elite space.[268] Later in the century, as discussed in Chapter 1, there was a significant backlash against this perceived 'Italianisation' of Scots tunes, as expressed in Robert Fergusson's *Elegy on the Death of Scots Music* (1772).[269] By this time, the florid style of the earlier instrumental publications, informed by the culture of variation common to both fiddle and pipe music, had fallen firmly out of fashion. Many commentators hailed Scottish music as proof of Rousseau's argument that melody, not harmony, was the true root of music, and simplicity was increasingly preferred to variation.[270] Alexander Campbell, in his *Albyn's Anthology* of 1816, criticised William McGibbon's collections in this light: 'His sets of our native tunes, like everything of the same kind that comes through the hands of professed musicians, savour strongly of pedantic garnish.'[271]

It is important, however, to resist retrofitting the creative context of 1740s Edinburgh with the ideologies of later generations. Scottish composers like Oswald and McGibbon were operating in a culture in which musical borrowing and adaptation was commonplace and widely accepted.[272] As a result, they are unlikely to have been overly concerned with the purity or archaic features of the tunes with which they had grown up, but rather considered them to be 'shared common material' entirely

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Lance Whitehead & Jenny Nex, 'The Insurance of Musical London and the Sun Fire Office 1710-1779', *The Galpin Society Journal,* Vol. 67 (March 2014, 181-216), Supplementary material, 276.

[266] Simon D. I. Fleming and Martin Perkins (eds.), *Music by Subscription: Composers and their Networks in the British Music-Publishing Trade, 1676-1820* (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 4.

[267] David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century: A Musical Collection and Historical Study* (Edinburgh: Hardie Press, 2005), 4.

[268] Among these were: William McGibbon, *A Collection of Old Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: for the author, 1742-1746); Alexander Munro, *A Collection of the Best Scots Tunes* (Paris: for the author, c. 1723); Francesco Barsanti, *A Collection of Old Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: Alexander Baillie, 1742).

[269] Robert Fergusson, 'Elegy on the Death of Scots Music' in *Poems by Robert Fergusson* (Edinburgh: Walter & Thomas Ruddiman, 1773), 113.

[270] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique françoise* (Paris: [N.p.] 1753).

[271] Alexander Campbell, *Albyn's Anthology* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1816), vi.

[272] Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of Folk Music and Art Music: emerging categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 265.

suitable for reworking and refashioning.[273] At this time, there was some concern as to the long-term survival of Scotland's musical heritage, and these instrumental adaptations of Scots tunes, though later criticised for their elaborateness, represented a possible solution to the apparent threat. The intention of these composers was to render their native music more suitable for formal musical environments, whilst preserving its essence for posterity. This balance was also sought by Italian composers in their treatments of Scots tunes. Francesco Barsanti, for example, claimed that, though he had added a 'proper and natural Bass' to each tune, he had done so 'with the strictest regard to the Tune itself, and without any Alteration of the Tune to accommodate it to the Bass.'[274] Similarly, Francesco Geminiani, whose chamber arrangements and variation sonatas of Scots music are by far the most elaborate in this period, declared that, though he wished to make 'such Additions and Accompanyments to others should give them all the Variety and Fullness required in a Concert', he was careful 'not to destroy the Simplicity and Beauty' of the tunes themselves'.[275] Rather than an unpatriotic refashioning of Scots tunes in a foreign style, Oswald's *A Curious Collection* should instead be seen as an important contribution to the very survival of the Scots tune tradition.

Oswald's *A Curious Collection* undoubtedly reflects Oswald's exposure to the growing concert scene in eighteenth-century Edinburgh, but it does exhibit some unique features.[276] As was commonplace, the tunes Oswald chose to include betray a wide range of origins, but his collection was the first of its kind to present melodies with Gaelic titles together with Lowland tunes in a collection of this sort. Here, Oswald followed Allan Ramsay in promoting a shared Highland and Lowland musical heritage to his consumers. However, by including 'Failte na Mios' and 'More N'Inghean Ghiberlan' in an otherwise relatively standard line-up of tunes, Oswald is revealing an extensive working knowledge of music originating in the Highlands, later visible in his multi-volumed Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion.*[277] At the same time, Oswald's inclusion of a 'Sonata on Scots Tunes' in *A Curious Collection* is further proof of his desire to prove that he could rework his native music in the fashionable Italian style. Oswald was not the first composer to use a Scottish tune as inspiration for an Italian trio sonata, but he adapted the format to present several different tunes as the basis for each movement. The sonata itself is straightforward and uncomplicated, foreshadowing Oswald's mastery of

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[273] Gelbart, *The Invention of Folk Music and Art,* 263-264. Gelbart argues that, even in the later part of the eighteenth century, 'most composers who incorporated pre-existing popular melodies into their music did not see their melodic material as "folk nature"', including Haydn, who 'seems to have lived his whole life without ever treating "the folk" as an idealised natural'.
[274] Francesco Barsanti, *A Collection of Old Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: Alexander Baillie, 1742), Preface.
[275] Francesco Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (London: for the author, 1749), Preface.
[276] James Oswald, *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: for the author, 1740).
[277] See John Purser, 'James Oswald (1710-1769) and Highland Music: Context and legacy' (Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust, 2020), accessed 16 April 2020, https://pure.uhi.ac.uk/en/publications/james-oswald-1710-1769-and-highland-music-context-and-legacy, for further discussion of Highland provenance in Oswald's musical publications.

the *galant* style in his later collections of *Airs for the Seasons.*[278] The final variation set on 'Polwart on the Green' features a sparkling variation set for the bass line, which Oswald himself presumably performed on his instrument of choice, the cello.

It is significant that the musical material in Oswald's *A Curious Collection* closely reflected the direction of his performance career. Indeed, the success of his publication may very well have relied on the fact that many of his customers regularly enjoyed his performances of these very tunes at Edinburgh Musical Society concerts.[279] Ramsay's *An Epistle* to Oswald, penned upon his departure for London, mentions Oswald's performance of eight tunes by name, all of which feature in *A Curious Collection.*[280] It is, of course, possible that Ramsay referred to the published collection when writing his Epistle, but his descriptions of Oswald's playing do possess the ring of truth. He draws attention, for example, to the 'softness' of Oswald's 'new polish'd Danton Me', and laments the loss of his performances on the violoncello, or bass fiddle, in St Mary's Chapel later in the epistle: 'No more shall thy gay tunes delight/No more thy notes sadness or joy excite/No more thy solemn bass's awful sound/shall from the chapel's vaulted roof rebound'.[281] Later, in a much-circulated letter to his friend Lord Kames on the subject of Scottish music, Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) used Oswald's example to bolster his preference for its performance without accompaniment: 'This support, in my opinion, the old tunes do not need, and are rather confused than aided by it. Whoever has heard James Oswald play them on his violoncello, will be less inclined to dispute this with me.'[282] Franklin felt, in line with the fashion of the 1760s, that Oswald's tune interpretations would be even greater 'if he gave them less modern ornament' but he does not deny the emotional conviction of Oswald's performances: 'I have more than once seen tears of pleasure in the eyes of his auditors.'[283] Oswald's musical interpretations were evidently highly attractive to those attending Edinburgh Musical Society concerts, who might subsequently have purchased his *A Curious Collection*.

A final element of Oswald's career in Scotland is discernable in both *A Curious Collection* and his earlier *A Collection of Musick by several Hands both Vocal and Instrumental* (1736).[284] There is a significant

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[278] James Oswald, *The Airs for Spring, The Airs for Summer, The Airs for Autumn, The Airs for Winter* (London: James Oswald, 1755, second part 1756); James Oswald, *The Airs for Spring, The Airs for Summer, The Airs for Autumn, The Airs for Winter* (London: Straight & Skillern, c. 1770).

[279] The Edinburgh Musical Society, formally established in 1728, held weekly concerts at St Mary's Chapel, Niddry's Wynd, and later, after 1763, at the purpose-built St Cecilia's Hall, still in existence today. For a full treatment of the history of the Society, see Jennifer Macleod, op. cit.

[280] These are (using Oswald's titles): The Northern Lass, The lovely Lass of Inverness, Pinkie House, Alloway House, The cypress Grove, The Braes of Balendine, The Banks of Forth, To Dauntin me.

[281] *The Scots Magazine,* October 1741, 455.

[282] Benjamin Franklin to Lord Kames. Craven Street, London (2 June 1765), *Founders Online*, accessed 17 March 2023, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-12-02-0078.

[283] Ibid.

[284] James Oswald, *A Collection of Musick by several Hands both Vocal and Instrumental* (Edinburgh: for the author, 1736); *Caledonian Mercury,* 16 January 1736. See Aaron McGregor, 'Violinists and Violin Music in Scotland, 1550-1750' (PhD: University of Glasgow, 2019), 294-9 for further discussion of this collection.

overlap in content between these two collections, notably a selection of Masonic music, including a three-part piece entitled 'The Master Mason's Musick' and a new setting of 'The Free Masons Anthem'. The title page of *A Collection of Musick* declared it to be 'for the use of the Orpheus's clubs', and it is highly likely that Oswald curated the collection for Edinburgh's several Masonic Lodges. This is supported by the fact that Oswald himself was a Freemason, a member of the Canongate Kilwinning No. 2 lodge, where he became an Entered Apprentice on 23rd December 1735, and a Fellow Craft on 22nd June 1736.[285] Purser suggests that he may also have been involved in the short-lived 'Lodge Edinburgh from Dunfermline'.[286] Oswald published *A Collection of Musick* in January 1736, less than a month after he became an Apprentice, as he sought to establish himself in this new associational environment. His efforts in this direction were certainly rewarded, as many of his fellow Masons subscribed to his publication of *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes* a few years later. The Honourable Glasgow Kilwinning Lodge ordered six copies, and several individual subscribers were Masons, including several Grand Masters of Scotland: James Douglas, 14th Earl of Morton (1739-1740); Thomas Lyon, Earl of Strathmore (1740-41); Alexander Melville, 5th Earl of Leven (1741-1742); James Stuart, 8th Earl of Moray (1744-1745); and George Drummond (1752-1753). By 1740, Oswald evidently moved in Edinburgh's influential circles, organising musical performances and providing printed music for both the Edinburgh Musical Society, and the city's Masonic community.

2.3 James Oswald is 'come to Town'

Why, given his growing success in Edinburgh, did Oswald decide to leave for London? Several factors may have been at play in his decision, but one specific event may have prompted his departure at this particular moment. Oswald's last known address in Edinburgh was in Carrubber's Close, where he was living by May 1740, and perhaps for some years previously.[287] It seems unlikely to be a coincidence that Carrubber's Close was the very street on which Allan Ramsay, in 1736, attempted to establish a permanent theatre for Edinburgh.[288] Further research is required to establish Oswald's level of involvement in Ramsay's project, but it seems unlikely that Oswald, as a dancing master and excellent musical performer, would have allowed such an opportunity to pass him by. Indeed, the two men were well-acquainted, as implied when Ramsay lamented his departure in the *Scots Magazine* in October 1741, complaining that London, 'which ay has been our bane', would benefit from Oswald's talents.[289] Unfortunately, however, despite the success of Ramsay's theatrical enterprise, the Presbyterian

[285] Andrew Pink, 'The Musical Culture of Freemasonry in Early Eighteenth-Century London' (PhD: Goldsmiths, University of London, 2007), 143.
[286] John Purser, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion by James Oswald* (CD Roms: Nick Parkes & John Purser, 2007), Introduction, 15-16.
[287] *Caledonian Mercury*, 8 May 1740.
[288] Murray Pittock, in Steve Newman & David McGuinness (eds.), *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Gentle Shepherd* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), xii.
[289] Allan Ramsay, 'An Epistle' in *Scots Magazine,* October 1741, 455.

authorities in Edinburgh forced its closure by 1739, and it was clear that theatrical performances had no immediate future in the city. If Oswald had developed a taste for performing in, and perhaps even composing for, the theatre, disappointment at the closure of Ramsay's effort may very well have motivated his departure. The fact that he enthusiastically ingratiated himself in London's flourishing theatre scene from 1743 would certainly support this conclusion.

Regardless of his motivation, Oswald had undoubtedly arrived in London by 22nd April 1741, a visit which appears to have been a trial run. He advertised his services in the *London Daily Post*:

> Mr. Oswald, at the desire of his Subscribers, is now come to Town, in order to publish a second Collection of Scots Tunes; as he intends to make some stay here, he is willing to teach any Persons who desire to be instructed in the Scots Musick, and is to [be] heard of at J. Simpson's, and at the British Coffee-House near Charing Cross.[290]

It is unclear which of Oswald's many subscribers had encouraged him to try his luck in London. His network in Edinburgh would have afforded him connections with several Scottish peers, any of whom might have helped him to establish a living in London. Alternatively, Oswald's Masonic membership may hold the key to his smooth career transition. James Douglas, 14th Earl of Morton, who subscribed to no fewer than four copies of Oswald's *A Curious Collection,* became Grand Master Mason of the Grand Lodge of London and Westminster in 1741, the very year Oswald headed south. Evidently, London's Scottish diaspora network formed an active welcoming party, as suggested by the fact that Oswald could be found at the British Coffee House. Whether Oswald returned to Scotland after this visit is not known, but by early 1743, he had settled permanently in London with his partner Marion, or Mary Ann, Melvill. In February of that year, they presented two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, for baptism at the Established church of St James's, Westminster (now St James's Piccadilly), where they married a year later.[291] Evidently London swiftly proved to offer Oswald the financial and creative opportunities that he had lacked in Edinburgh.

Oswald's first London publication, a vocal collection entitled *Colin's Kisses*, was first published in 1742, but not widely advertised until January 1743.[292] This collection of 'twelve new songs design'd for musick' was attractively marked with each song named after a type of kiss, such as 'The Parting Kiss' and 'The Borrow'd Kiss'. The title of this publication attracted some attention: each of Oswald's

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[290] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser,* 22 April 1741.

[291] *London and Surrey, England, Marriage Bonds and Allegations, 1597-1921*, 1743/4, Jan-Mar, Marriage of James Oswald and Mary Ann Melvill, 12th February 1743 (London Metropolitan Archives). Oswald's choice of St James's Westminster is interesting: a more natural choice might have been the Scottish congregation at Crown Court Church in Covent Garden, a short distance from his lodgings on the Strand. Even if he had wished to worship at an Established Anglican church, St. Martin-in-the-Fields might have been the most natural choice, and indeed Oswald's marriage certificate confirms that he lived in that parish. It seems reasonable therefore to conclude that Oswald had a particular connection with St James's Westminster.

[292] James Oswald, *Colin's* Kisses [words by R. Dodsley,] set to Musick by Mr. Oswald (London: R. Dodsley & T. Cooper, 1743).

advertisements emphasised that 'the report, so industriously spread, that these Songs are not proper for the Ladies to sing, is as false as it is scandalous; there being nothing in the Words or Sentiments that can offend the most delicate'.[293] It is quite possible that this scandal may have been partially fabricated to promote intrigue in his potential consumers; certainly the publication did not suffer, and continued to be re-printed for some decades.[294] This collection appears to have been a collaborative effort between Oswald and the bookseller and printer Robert Dodsley (1703-1764). Dodsley, also a playwright and poet, ran a business in Pall Mall, where at the time Oswald was teaching 'Scotch musick' at the Scotch Holland Warehouse.[295] Consequently, it may have been Dodsley who arranged for *Colin's Kisses* to be published by Thomas Cooper, an influential publisher based in the heart of the bookselling trade community in Paternoster Row. As a trade publisher, Cooper worked primarily with self-financing authors and printers who required access to a strong distribution network, and Dodsley regularly used Cooper to publish his own works. On the other hand, it may have been Cooper, rather than Dodsley, with whom Oswald had a prior connection. There may, for example, have been a familial connection between Thomas Cooper and the Edinburgh-based Richard Cooper, engraver, who had maintained Oswald's subscription list for his collection of *Minuets* for him in 1734. Regardless, the network enabling the publication of *Colin's Kisses* underlines the fact that Oswald was quick to establish relationships with those in the book and publishing trade upon his arrival in London.

In 1741, Oswald was to be found at John Simpson's music shop, the 'Bass Viol and Flute', which flourished at the Royal Exchange between 1733 and 1748.[296] In late 1742 or early 1743, Simpson finally published Oswald's *A Second Collection of Curious Scots Tunes,* heralded in the *Scots Magazine* in November of 1742.[297] This second collection was dedicated to Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-1751),

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[293] *Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1743.
[294] James Oswald, *Collins Kisses* (London: Henry Thorowgood, 1777).
[295] Purser, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, Introduction, 20.
[296] Kidson, 116-117.
[297] *The Scots Magazine,* November 1742, 526; James Oswald, *A Second Collection of Curious Scots Tunes* (London: John Simpson, 1743). It has been widely assumed (e.g. Newman & McGuinness (eds.), *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Gentle Shepherd,* 410) that Simpson reprinted Oswald's *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes* (1740) in London in 1742 or 1743 alongside the new second volume, *A Second Collection of Curious Scots Tunes*. While Simpson certainly sold the first volume alongside the second (See *DA,* 19 February 1743), there are no newspaper advertisements pertaining to a new edition by Simpson before May 1745. There are two extant copies of this revised edition, held at the British Library (g.265.b) and at the Wighton Collection (21262). The former is dated to 1742, and the latter to [1743]. However, I believe both dates to be incorrect. On the frontispiece of both copies, several works are listed as 'just published', including *Six Sonatas for a German Flute a Violin and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello* by Wenceslaus Spourni (1700-1754), *Six Sonatas for two German Flutes* by Johannes Albertus Groneman (1711-1778), and *Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Through Bass* by Giovanni Battista Lampugnani (1706-c. 1786). All three of these works are dated 1744 or 1745 by the British Library, and therefore it is highly unlikely that a *A Collection of Curious Scots Tunes* was published before late 1744. If these two copies are dated to 1745, there remains no physical evidence of a previous earlier edition by Simpson. This narrative also fits the facts surrounding publication. When Simpson advertised the revised first collection in May 1745, his wording implies that that he has not published any version of the first Collection at that point: 'the first Collection, new engrav'd, the Size of the second, with the Addition of several new Scotch Tunes, never before publish'd' (*DA,* 3 May 1745). This would also tally with the tone of Oswald's advertisement of 1741, in which he announces that the purpose of his visit was specifically to publish the second collection, rather than both books:

whose patronage Oswald appears to have enjoyed almost immediately on arrival in London.[298] Oswald may have encountered Frederick through Masonic circles: he was the first member of the Royal family to become a Freemason, initiated at an occasional lodge in Kew on 5th November 1737. The frontispiece of Oswald's *Twelve Songs Compos'd in the Scotch Taste* (1743) described the two volumes of Curious Scots Tunes as containing 'all the favourite new and old Scotch Tunes… several of them with Divisions entirely in the Scotch Taste'.[299] As with his first volume, Oswald featured a variety of styles under the banner of Scottishness in his second collection. He includes more arrangements of common stock Scots tunes with variation sets, but also several original works, some in the Scots style - often titled 'A Scots Measure' or similar - and others in the Italian Baroque style, such as the mournful 'The Solitude by Mr Oswald' or the 'Division on an old Ground Bass for 2 Violins'. Intriguingly, Oswald labels six arrangements, 'The Cock Laird', 'The Black Eagle', 'Peggy, I must love thee', 'The low lands of Holand', 'William's Ghost', and 'The last time I came o'er the Moor' as having been composed by a 'David Rizo'. This nom-de-plume, referencing an Italian courtier and musician in the court of Mary Queen of Scots (1542-1587), was frequently adopted by Oswald throughout his career, perhaps for his own amusement, or to give an archaic Italian authenticity to his own compositions.[300] This underlines the fact that this tune collection was a vehicle for Oswald to demonstrate his talent for composition in a variety of musical styles in his new musical environment of the city of London.

'Mr. Oswald, at the desire of his Subscribers, is now come to Town, in order to publish a second Collection of Scots Tunes' (*London Daily Post and General Advertiser,* 22 April 1741). In addition, the content of Simpson's 1745 edition of the first volume is substantially different from that of Oswald's Edinburgh 1740 collection (see further discussion, 77). Based upon this evidence, I have dated *A Second Collection of Curious Scots Tunes* to late 1742/early 1743, and *A Collection of Curious Scots Tunes* to early-mid 1745.

[298] Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-1751), was an amateur cellist, and it is widely assumed that Oswald was later his teacher. He is depicted playing the cello in the famous portrait *A Musical Party* (1733) alongside his musical sisters, and was in the habit of accompanying himself singing French and Italian songs on summer nights at Carlton House. See Vanessa Berridge, *The Princess's Garden: Royal Intrigue and the Untold Story of Kew* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2017), 68.

[299] James Oswald, *Twelve Songs Compos'd in the Scotch Taste* (London: J. Simpson, 1743); *DA,* 4 April 1743.

[300] 'David Rizzio' was one of several nom-de-plumes adopted by Oswald throughout his career. The original David Rizzio (1533-1566) had travelled to Scotland from Italy to work as a courtier for Mary Queen of Scots, and McAulay notes that it was the London-based William Thomson who first attributed some of the music in his *Orpheus Caledonius* to Rizzio, though these attributions were dropped in the second edition (Karen McAulay, 'Our Ancient National Airs: Scottish Song Collecting, c. 1760-1888' (PhD: University of Glasgow, 2009), 163). Later, a historiographical tradition developed in which he was responsible for the rebirth of Scottish music: Francesco Geminiani, for example, whose *Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* praises Scottish music, claims that before Rizzio arrived on the scene, 'Melody was intirely rude and barbarous', and that 'he found Means at once to civilize and inspire it with all the native Gallantry of the Scotish Nation' (Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste*, Preface). Not everyone was taken in by Oswald's use of Rizzio as a pseudonym: on Oswald's departure, Ramsay regretted that he would never 'some tender tune compose again, and cheat the town wi' David Rizzio's name' (Ramsay, 'An Epistle'). William Stenhouse (1773-1827) recorded an MS note inserted in a copy of *A Second Collection of curious Scots Tunes,* which read: 'The airs in this volume, with the name of David Rizo affixed, are all Oswald's. I state this on the authority of Mrs Alexander Cumming and my mother – his daughter and sister. (signed) H.O. Weatherley'. 'Died at Chester le Street, in the country of Durham, in her 80th year, Nov. 13, 1821, Mrs Weatherley, relict of the late Mr Edward Weatherley of Garden House in the same country, and sister of the late James Oswald, Esq'. (William Stenhouse, *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry of Scotland*, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1853), li.)

Less than two months later, in early April 1743, Simpson published Oswald's *Twelve Songs Compos'd in the Scotch Taste*, for a 'person of Distinction', dedicated to Anne, Duchess of Hamilton (1720-1771). Both James, the 5th Duke (1703-1743), and his wife Anne had actively supported the publication of Oswald's music in Edinburgh, each purchasing two copies of his *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes*, and it is possible that the Hamiltons supported Oswald's introduction to London society. Oswald's dedication to the Duchess may have been a kind gesture following the death of her husband only a month before, on 2nd March 1743. Interestingly, though the *Twelve Songs* were advertised as being 'compos'd in the Scotch Taste', they exhibit very few Scottish musical features apart from the occasional use of a gapped scale, and their texts and themes are largely English. Among the twelve are settings of: 'Aminta's Tears for the Loss of Damon' and 'False Philander' (both texts by Dryden); 'An Ode of Sappho, translated by Mr Philips'; 'The Lukewarm Lover' (text from Allan Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*), 'The happy lover' (text by Sir Charles Sedley) and 'On Cloris unkindness', a seventeenth-century broadside ballad. Most of these texts had been in circulation in London for some decades, and many belonged to the literary-musical pastoral genre, complete with its stock shepherds, shepherdesses and nymphs. However, while Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd* was conceived with the intention of verisimilitude, Oswald's London works were more generic in their treatment of pastoral tradition, harking back to an imagined Golden Age, albeit linked superficially to the landscape and culture of Scotland.[301] Ultimately, Oswald and Simpson's 'Scotch Taste' was largely a marketing device which neatly categorised these new works for London's musical consumers.

Evidence abounds as to Oswald's marketing acumen during his early years in London. In order to boost sales of his *Second Collection of Curious Scots Tunes*, Oswald performed Scots tunes on stage entr'acte at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane: on 1st December 1743, he presented 'a piece of Musick…on the Violoncello', and on the 3rd December 'a piece of Scotch music'.[302] Shortly afterwards, on the 9th December, a new advertisement for the *Second Collection* appeared, highlighting Scotch Tunes 'as perform'd by him at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane', underlining the power of live music to influence sales.[303] It is unsurprising that Oswald, with a young family to feed, became involved with London's theatres, where he no doubt found work in the bass section as a cellist. In 1745, Oswald worked once again with Simpson to revise *A Collection of Curious Scots Tunes* (1740), and the new edition was entitled, somewhat confusingly, *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes*.[304] There was overlap in the musical content of the 1740 publication, but also some important differences. A small number of tunes were added, including 'Hamilton House', presumably in deference to Oswald's patroness. The revised

[301] Berta Joncus, quoted in Steve Newman & David McGuinness (eds.), *The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay: The Gentle Shepherd* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 13.
[302] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 3 December 1743.
[303] *DA,* 9 December 1743.
[304] James Oswald, *A Collection of Curious Scots Tunes* (London: John Simpson, 1745). See note xxx above for discussion of the dating of this collection.

edition also omitted the Masonic material of the 1740 publication, and in its place featured a new set of tunes, 'compos'd for the Tragedy of Macbeth'.[305] It is unclear if these were composed for a specific theatrical production. David Garrick's *Macbeth* played at Drury Lane from January 1744, and, while there is no evidence of Oswald's musical involvement, it is not impossible given his relationship with Garrick as documented by Charles Burney, and his performances entr'acte at Drury Lane in December 1743.[306] Alternatively, Oswald may have been inspired by a performance at Covent Garden in February 1743, commanded by his patrons, Frederick Prince of Wales and Princess Augusta.[307] Still, the content of this revised collection demonstrates that Oswald was continuing to establish a Scottish musical niche for himself in 1745, while also carefully positioning himself for work in London's many theatres.

Around 1745, Oswald began work on his first volume of *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, a project commenced with Simpson, and one which he continued until around 1760. Taken as a whole, the collection, which featured over 550 tunes, was by far the largest of Scots (and some English and Irish) tunes printed at this date in Britain. Purser's comprehensive electronic edition of all twelve books, complete with commentary for each tune, is an invaluable resource for the musical content of *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*.[308] Priced rather more affordably than most of his collections, these small pocket-sized books appear to have been very successful, rarely requiring advertisement. This, unfortunately, has led to uncertain dates for the publication of individual volumes. Based on the works advertised alongside each book, and their content, I would argue for the publication of Books 1 and 2 in 1745, 3 and 4 in 1750, 5 and 6 in late 1754 or early 1755, 7 in either 1758 or 1759, and 8 by 1760.[309] Volumes 9 to 12 may not have been printed in Oswald's lifetime, though Campbell, in 1798, declared

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[305] *DA,* 3 May 1745.
[306] George Winchester Stone, Jr. 'Garrick's Handling of "Macbeth"', *Studies in Philology,* Vol 38, No. 4 (October 1941), 609. See 89 for discussion of Oswald's arrangement with Garrick relating to the 'Society of the Temple of Apollo'.
[307] University of Oregon, 'London Stage Database', updated 2021, https://londonstagedatabase.uoregon.edu.
[308] John Purser, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion by James Oswald* (Electronic Publication: Nick Parkes & John Purser, 2007).
[309] The exact dates of publication for the twelve books of the *Caledonian Pocket Companion* are largely uncertain, and the situation is complicated by the fact that there were several editions, with a varying number of volumes. Purser has dated the publication of the first volume (books 1-6) by 1755, and Volume II (books 7-12) by 1760 (Purser, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, Introduction, 4). The first two books were undoubtedly published by Simpson, presumably before Oswald received his own licence to print in 1747. *The Delightful Pocket Companion for the German Flute,* advertised alongside Book 1, was published in 1745, prompting a dating of 1745 for Book 1. Book 2 contains Oswald's tunes composed for *Macbeth,* published in 1744, and so again a date of 1745 or 1746 seems likely. Book 3 was published by Oswald himself, and it advertises several works composed for the Temple of Apollo, most likely published in 1750, and is mentioned in an advertisement that year for the comic tunes in *Queen Mab*. Book 4 appears to have been published around the same time, as the advertised works are the same. Books 5 and 6 appeared within close proximity, as demonstrated by Oswald's advertisement of January 1755, and again both books advertise the same works, and also Oswald's invention, the Harp of Æolus, advertised after July 1754. The edition of seven volumes appeared after the publication of Oswald's *40 Marches, Tattoos and Night Pieces for two German flutes* in 1758, and the eighth book advertised *Marches for the Militia,* which was published in 1759. The only surviving editions of books 9-12 are reprints by Robert Bremner and by Straight & Skillern, who purchased Oswald's stock upon his death. Both are printed in two volumes of six books, with new indexes.

that all twelve volumes appeared in 1759.[310] The success of the first six books led to a collected edition in 1756, and a new edition of the first seven books in around 1758/9. Oswald recognised the didactic value in his pocket collections, and in an advertisement for the fifth and sixth books, he explicitly recommends their use in learning, emphasising that they featured 'a correct scale for the German Flute, with an easy Method of learning the Shakes to all the different Notes'.[311] Teaching Scottish music had furnished Oswald with a reliable source of income from the moment of his arrival in 1741, and his music shop now offered lessons on the Violin, German Flute, Violoncello, and Harpsichord, 'by Mr. Oswald, and other Masters'.[312] Therefore, while the Scottish character of *The Caledonian Pocket Companion* is significant, it also underlines the fact that Oswald's business success was strongly linked to his own teaching practice.

It is perhaps surprising that Oswald was so intent upon exploiting his Scottish musical heritage at a time of political tension surrounding the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. We cannot know for certain how Oswald felt about the rebellion itself. In December 1746, a publication was advertised entitled 'The Land of Cakes', which contains several songs later printed by Oswald himself.[313] Highlighted in this collection was 'The Tears of Scotland', a emotive lament with text by the Scottish novelist Tobias Smollett (1721-1771), penned in the British Coffee House upon the announcement of defeat at Culloden.[314] The fact that Oswald set this text might suggest that he was a Jacobite, yet Alexander Carlyle recorded that even 'Smollett, though a Tory, was not a Jacobite, but he had the feelings of a Scotch gentleman on the reported cruelties that were said to be exercised after the battle of Culloden.'[315] Oswald may very well have fallen into the same camp, as it was not at all necessary to be a Jacobite to disapprove of the Duke of Cumberland's treatment of the Scots. It has been suggested that Oswald may have contributed to the first setting of 'God save the King', published by John Simpson in *Harmonia Anglicana* in 1744.[316] In the final analysis, it is impossible to establish where Oswald's political loyalties lay, partly because he was situated in London, where it would have been

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[310] Alexander Campbell, *An introduction to the history of poetry in Scotland, from the beginning of the thirteenth century down to the present time; together with a conversation on Scotish song* (Edinburgh: Sold by Andrew Foulis, 1798), 13. It seems likely that books 9-12 remained unpublished during the 1760s, alongside Oswald's second set of *Airs for the Seasons.* This is further supported by the fact that the frontispiece of Straight & Skillern's *Caledonian Pocket Companion* also advertises eight books of Oswald's *Airs for the Seasons,* i.e. including his second set. The surviving edition by Straight & Skillern re-used the frontispieces to Oswald's first season, simply adding '2nd book' in pen and replacing the name of the publisher, again suggesting that the second set was never sold by Oswald in his lifetime.

[311] *Public Advertiser,* 20 January 1755.

[312] Ibid.

[313] *General Advertiser,* 3 December 1746.

[314] *The Land of Cakes, Containing six songs set to musick in the true Scots taste. to which is added, the Tears of Scotland*, (London: R. Williams, 1746).

[315] Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, Containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1861), 191.

[316] *Harmonia Anglicana* (London: John Simpson, c. 1742).

unwise to express support for the Jacobite cause outright.[317] Alternatively, Oswald may have been ambivalent on the matter. Today, Scots are similarly divided on the matter of Scottish Independence, but a love of Scottish culture transcends the issue; perhaps this was also the case for Oswald.

Oswald's first years in London were characterised, above all, by creative and commercial ambition. Between 1741 and 1747, he undoubtedly took advantage of existing Scottish connections, but also appears to have secured the patronage of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who at that time was determined to project an image of himself as the first significant Hanoverian patron of the arts. In terms of musical output, Oswald's first London publications with John Simpson reveal a happy readiness to exploit the well-established London craze for Scottish music. Oswald worked hard to establish this musical niche for himself across his many musical activities, as visible in his teaching of Scottish music from 1741, and his solo performances at Drury Lane theatre. Nonetheless, although Oswald's publications from his early London period were broadly 'in the Scotch taste', this imprecise epithet allowed him a certain freedom of stylistic expression, and an opportunity to demonstrate his talent for composition in a variety of musical styles. Two of Oswald's early London publications, *Colin's Kisses* and *Twelve Songs Compos'd in the Scotch Taste,* embraced the popular pastoral genre, which by this date presented an idealised and imagined landscape featuring both Scottish and English musical elements. His ever-popular *Caledonian Pocket Companion* contained tunes of both Scottish and non-Scottish lineage, alongside his own original compositions. Oswald's career in London as characterised thus far therefore illustrates the significant opportunity for artistic and commercial success available to enterprising Scottish musicians in mid eighteenth-century London.

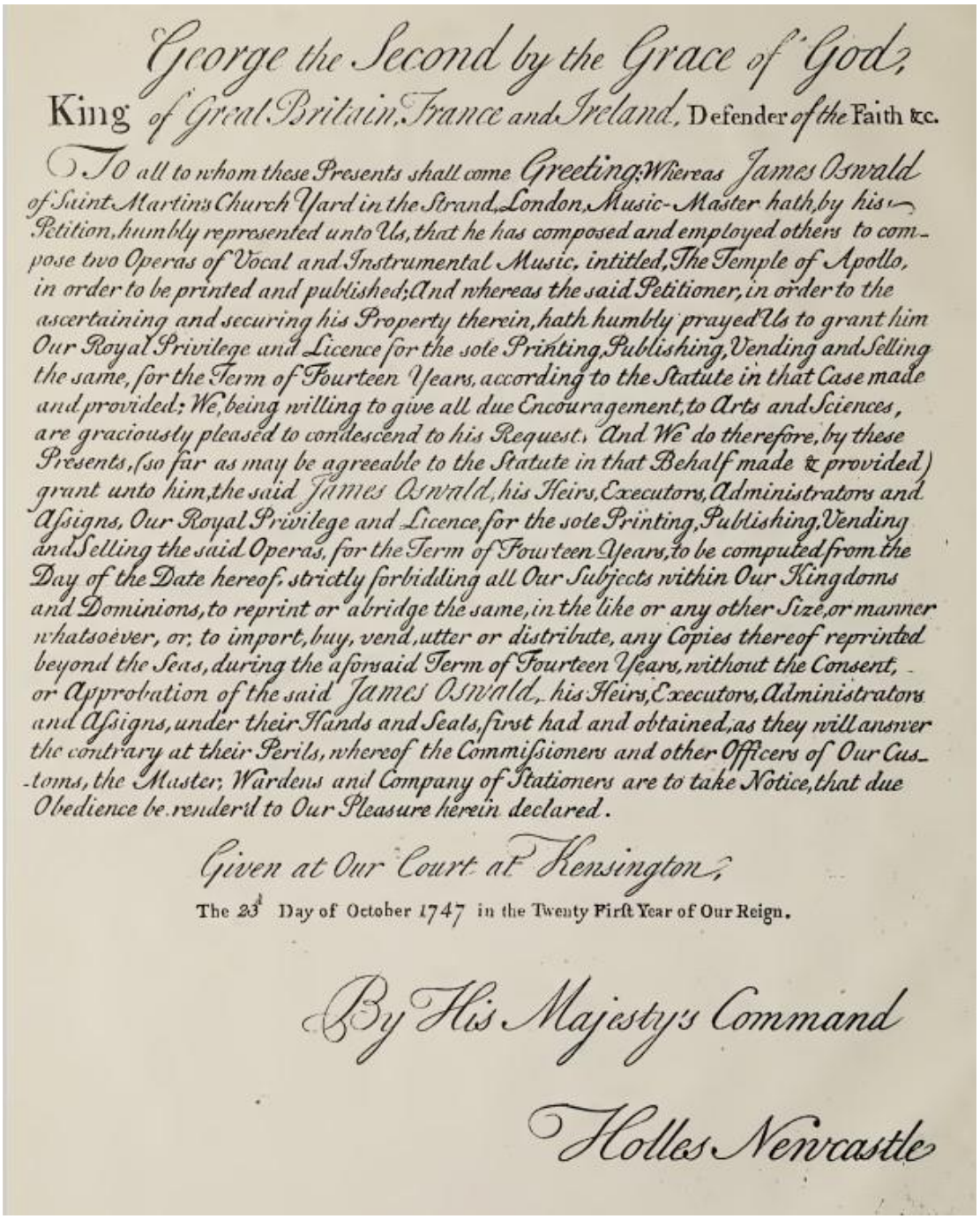
2.4 The Society of the Temple of Apollo

On the 29th September 1746, Oswald took out an insurance policy for new premises on the Strand, 'in St Martins Church Yard near St Martins Lane', in which he is described as 'Master of Musick, Musical Books & Instrument Seller'.[318] A year later, in October 1747, Oswald petitioned George II for a royal privilege to print, explaining that he had 'composed and employed others to compose two Operas of Vocal and Instrumental Music, intitled, The Temple of Apollo, in order to be printed and published'.

[317] Scots in London tended to be loyalists during Jacobite uprisings, presumably partly out of necessity, but also because a successful rebellion was not in their diasporic interest. In January 1716, the minister of Crown Court Church, a Scottish congregation in Covent Garden, declared 'that Thursday, ye 26 of January instant, be kept as a day of humiliation and prayers for the suppression of the rebellion that is on foot in Scotland against the King and government' (*London, Crown Court Kirk Session, Minutes, list of members and subscriptions, list of collections for charitable causes (1711-1746),* CH2/852/1).

[318] Lance Whitehead & Jenny Nex, 'The Insurance of Musical London and the Sun Fire Office 1710-1779', *The Galpin Society Journal,* Vol. 67 (March 2014, 181-216), Supplementary material, 240.

Oswald was granted a privilege 'for the sole Printing, Publishing, Vending and Selling the said Operas, for the Term of Fourteen Years'.[319]



George the Second by the Grace of God,
King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c.

To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting: Whereas James Oswald of Saint Martin's Church Yard in the Strand, London, Music-Master hath, by his Petition, humbly represented unto Us, that he has composed and employed others to compose two Operas of Vocal and Instrumental Music, intitled, The Temple of Apollo, in order to be printed and published; And whereas the said Petitioner, in order to the ascertaining and securing his Property therein, hath humbly prayed Us to grant him Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the sole Printing, Publishing, Vending and Selling the same, for the Term of Fourteen Years, according to the Statute in that Case made and provided: We, being willing to give all due Encouragement to Arts and Sciences, are graciously pleased to condescend to his Request: And We do therefore, by these Presents, (so far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Behalf made & provided) grant unto him, the said James Oswald, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the sole Printing, Publishing, Vending and Selling the said Operas, for the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Day of the Date hereof: strictly forbidding all Our Subjects within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, to reprint or abridge the same, in the like or any other Size, or manner whatsoever, or, to import, buy, vend, utter or distribute, any Copies thereof reprinted beyond the Seas, during the aforsaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Consent, or Approbation of the said James Oswald, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, under their Hands and Seals, first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their Perils, whereof the Commissioners and other Officers of Our Customs, the Master, Wardens and Company of Stationers are to take Notice, that due Obedience be rendered to Our Pleasure herein declared.

Given at Our Court at Kensington,
The 23d Day of October 1747 in the Twenty First Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command

Holles Newcastle

Figure 7. James Oswald's Royal Privilege and Licence, in 'Six Songs composed…' 1747. Source: ISMLP.[320]

After October 1747, Oswald chose to diversify his musical output. Building upon the short solos in his *Curious Collection*, he published several vocal and instrumental collections in the Italian style, including songs for London's several pleasure gardens and a number of other short works for treble

[319] James Oswald, *Six Songs composed for the Temple of Apollo, to which is added a Favourite Cantata, set to music by Mr Charles Burney* (London: James Oswald, 1747).
[320] Ibid.

instruments.[321] Always quick to embrace musical trends, Oswald wrote for the newly fashionable 'English guitar' in the late 1750s, first publishing a tutor book, then *The Pocket Companion for the Guitar* in six volumes (1759-1760).[322] This instrument was widely played in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century, and differed significantly from the Spanish guitar in several ways, most notably in its tuning. The English guitar was tuned in a repetitive open C tuning, which rendered it a particularly accessible instrument for the upper-class women with whom it was so popular.[323] Alongside instrumental works, Oswald also briefly established a periodical, *The Musical Magazine or Monthly Orpheus*, published by bookseller John Coote between February 1760 and September 1761.[324] Aimed at amateur musicians, the magazine featured primarily small-scale chamber music and didactic material.[325] The first fourteen issues contained three or four original songs and a serenata for harpsichord, alongside four pages of an essay or poem. Thereafter, Oswald also featured a divertimento for two German flutes or violins, a duet for the violoncello, and a lesson for the guitar.[326] This publication can be situated within a growing trade in monthly periodicals in the second half of the eighteenth century, many of which hoped to imitate the success of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, first published in 1731. Magazines of this period reflected, as Tierny argues, an 'emerging need to have the *vox populi* represented in the press', and often invited submissions of material from its readers.[327] Oswald, too, featured song texts 'by Gentlemen whose Talents in Lyric Poetry have receiv'd the Public Approbation', recognising the efforts of amateurs who wished to see their literary efforts in print.

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[321] James Oswald, *A Collection of Songs sung at the Publick Gardens,* 3 volumes (London: James Oswald, 1751-1752); James Oswald, *Ten Favourite Songs sung by Miss Fortmantel at Ranelagh* (London: James Oswald, 1758); James Oswald, *Airs for the Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter* (London: James Oswald, 1755-1756); James Oswald, *Six Pastoral Solos* (London: James Oswald, 1761); James Oswald, *Twelve Serenatas* (London: James Oswald, 1762).

[322] James Oswald, *Compleat Tutor for the Guittar* (1759) and *The Pocket Companion for the Guitar* in six volumes (1759-1760).

[323] There is a strong literature on Oswald's contribution to the repertoire for English guitar/guittar. See Rob MacKillop, 'The Scottish Contribution to the 18th-century Wire Strung Guitar', and 'The Guittar Music of James Oswald (1710-1769)', accessed 21 October 2022, http://www.rmguitar.info; Rob MacKillop, 'The Guitar, Cittern and Guittar in Scotland–an historical introduction up to 1800', in Monika Lustig (ed.), *Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte Band 66: Gitarre und Zister-Bauweise, Spieltechnik und Geschichte bis 1800* (Michaelstein: Stifung Kloster Michaelstein und Verlag Janos Stekovics, 2004), 121-48; Panagiotis Poulopoulos, 'The Guitar in the British Isles: 1750-1810' (PhD: University of Edinburgh, 2011).

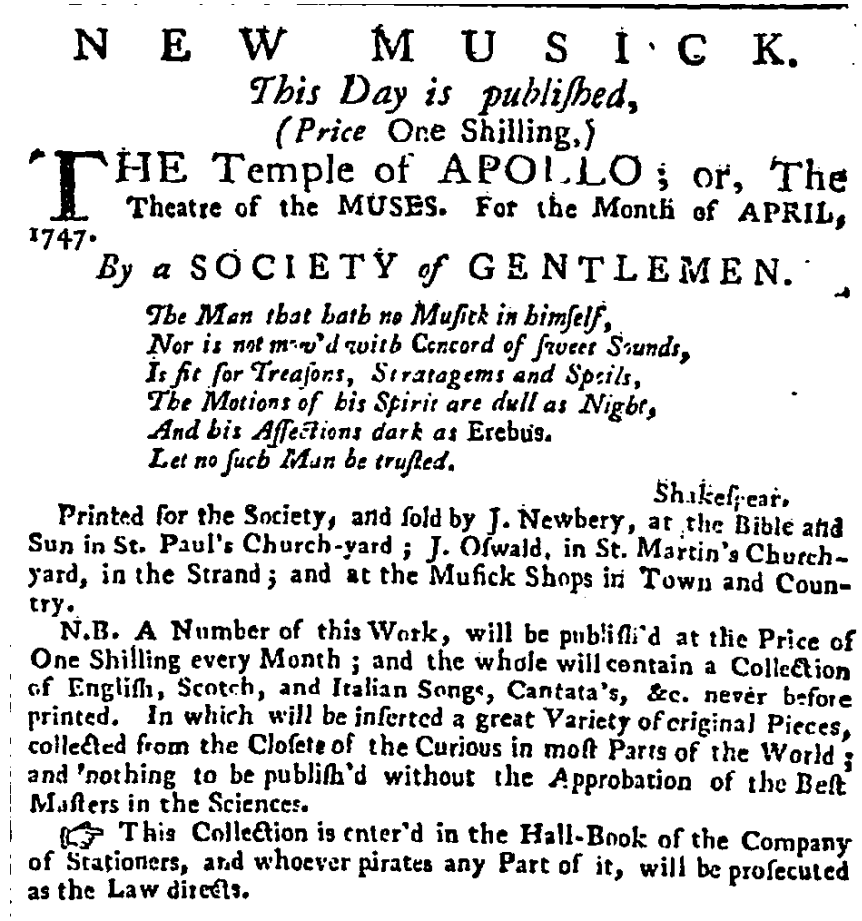
[324] *Public Advertiser,* 2 April 1760.

[325] Twenty issues of *The Musical Magazine* are held at the Bodleian Library, bound together in a single volume, previously owned by the composer Sir John Stainer. While pagination is somewhat erratic in the first two issues, it is possible to establish the content of each issue, in tandem with newspaper advertisements.

[326] James Oswald, *The Musical Magazine, or Monthly Orpheus,* Issue XIII (London: John Coote, February 1761); Issue XVI (London: John Coote, May 1761); *PA,* 1 April 1761. The first essay featured in the *Musical Magazine* was An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of Musick' (possibly by Charles Burney), followed by 'Some Account on the Rise and Progress of the Science, Essays on Musical Expression, &c'. After this, in Oswald's customary fashion, poems by gentlemen amateurs were featured, with such titles as The Bee, the Ant, and the Sparrow, A Fable, by Nathaniel Cotton, M.D. of St Albans, 'Address'd to his daughters Phoebe and Kitty Cotton, at Stoney Stratford boarding-school, in Buckinghamshire, 1754'.

[327] James Tierney, 'Periodicals and the trade, 1695-1780' in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, *Volume V: 1695-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 489.

It is, however, the ornate title page of Oswald's *Musical Magazine* that most draws the reader's attention. It depicts Orpheus, son of Apollo, playing his lyre surrounded by smiling cherubs industriously penning music. The Classical association of Orpheus and Apollo with music was commonplace in eighteenth-century Britain, yet it is particularly notable in Oswald's oeuvre. Indeed, scholars have tended to focus on Oswald's 'Society of the Temple of Apollo' to the exclusion of the rest of his London career.[328] It is high time for an *a priori* re-examination of evidence regarding Oswald's use of this name, alongside a detailed consideration of other musicians and patrons associated with it. It has been widely assumed that the first reference to 'The Temple of Apollo' in Oswald's output appears as quoted above on his royal licence of October 1747, but this is incorrect. Several months earlier, on 2nd June 1747, an advertisement appeared for a song collection publishing in monthly instalments, entitled *The Temple of Apollo, or Theatre of the Muses* for the month of April, published 'by a society of gentlemen':



NEW MUSICK.

This Day is publiſhed,

(*Price* One Shilling,)

THE Temple of APOLLO; or, The Theatre of the MUSES. For the Month of APRIL, 1747.

By a SOCIETY *of* GENTLEMEN.

The Man that hath no Muſick in himſelf,
Nor is not mov'd with Concord of ſweet Sounds,
Is fit for Treaſons, Stratagems and Spoils,
The Motions of his Spirit are dull as Night,
And his Affections dark as Erebus.
Let no ſuch Man be truſted.

Shakeſpear.

Printed for the Society, and ſold by J. Newbery, at the Bible and Sun in St. Paul's Church-yard; J. Oſwald, in St. Martin's Church-yard, in the Strand; and at the Muſick Shops in Town and Country.

N.B. A Number of this Work, will be publiſh'd at the Price of One Shilling every Month; and the whole will contain a Collection of Engliſh, Scotch, and Italian Songs, Cantata's, &c. never before printed. In which will be inſerted a great Variety of original Pieces, collected from the Cloſets of the Curious in moſt Parts of the World; and nothing to be publiſh'd without the Approbation of the Beſt Maſters in the Sciences.

☞ This Collection is enter'd in the Hall-Book of the Company of Stationers, and whoever pirates any Part of it, will be proſecuted as the Law directs.

Figure 8. Advertisement for *The Temple of Apollo, Theatre of the Muses*. *General Advertiser,* 2 June 1747.[329]

In his advertisement, Oswald declares that the work 'will contain a Collection of English, Scotch and Italian Songs, Cantata's, etc. never before printed. In which will be inserted a great Variety of original

[328] Frank Kidson, 'James Oswald, Dr. Burney, and "The Temple of Apollo"', *The Musical Antiquary,* No. 12, (1910)
[329] *GA*, 2 June 1747. Source: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection, accessed 10 February 2020, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000416751/BBCN?u=blibrary&sid=BBCN&xid=7469c8ed.

Pieces, collected from the Closets of the Curious in most Parts of the World; and nothing to be publish'd without the Approbation of the Best Masters in the Sciences'. Both on the publication itself and in the advertisement, Oswald includes a passage from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice:*

> The Man that hath no Musick in himself,
> Nor is mov'd with Concord of sweet sounds
> Is fit for Treasons, Strategems, and Spoils:
> The Motions of his Spirits are dull as Night.
> And his Affections dark as Erebus
> Let no such Man be trusted.

Thematically, Oswald promoted his musical publications through a combined appeal to English literary and classical traditions, as he had done with *Colin's Kisses*. The association of Apollo with music was commonplace during the eighteenth century, and frontispieces of Oswald's publications frequently depict Apollo, or Orpheus with his lyre, etc – for example, on the title page of his *Eighteen Divertimento's*, on which Apollo the 'sun-king' appears, surrounded by musical instruments.[330] This first work, however, was 'Printed for the Society' rather than Oswald himself (though this may have been in effect the case), and evidently represented a collaboration between Oswald and the printer John Newbery (1713-1767). In 1745, Oswald had contributed heavily to the latter part of Newbery's *Universal Harmony: or the Gentlemen and Ladies' Social Companion*, 'consisting of a Great Variety of the Best and most Favourite English and Scots Songs, cantatas, etc.[331] Most of his contributions to this generic collection were in the pastoral style, including several reprints from *Colin's Kisses* and *Twelve Songs Compos'd in the Scotch Taste.*[332] However, Oswald also produced two new original songs for the collection, one of which was described as a 'Scots song', featuring the customary gapped scale and Scotch snaps, though set to an English text. This first 'Temple of Apollo' publication was therefore conceived firmly within the tradition of musical collections with several contributors, in which Oswald and Newbery were actively engaged.

Around the same time as the publication of *Temple of Apollo: Theatre of the Muses*, Oswald was referenced in several advertisements for a series of fashionable breakfast entertainments at Ruckholt House, Essex.[333] An advertisement ahead of the opening event of the season on Monday 27th April 1747 featured a 'band of musick', with Carlo Tessarini leading the first violins, and Oswald leading the

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[330] James Oswald, *Eighteen Divertimento's for Two Guitars or Two Mandelins* (London: James Oswald, 1758).
[331] James Oswald, et al. *Universal Harmony, or the Gentleman & Ladies Social Companion* (London: John Newbery, 1745).
[332] Oswald contributed the following songs to Newbery's *Universal Harmony*: 'A New Song set by Mr Oswald, the words by Mr Smollett' (86); 'On a bank beside a willow' (95); 'The Borrow'd Kiss' (103); 'A New Scots Song, set by Mr Oswald' (106); 'Vainly now ye strive to charm me' (110); 'The Wit & Beau' (111); 'The Rapture' (114) 'The Parting Kiss' (115); 'A New Song, the words by a Lady of Quality' (116); 'The Kiss Repaid' (118); 'Phebe, a Pastoral' (119); 'The Cypress' (122) 'False Philander' (123) 'The Weeping Fair' (125); 'The Meeting Kiss' (128).
[333] Guests at Ruckholt House were tempted by a huge breakfast, with special cooks brought in for the occasion, featuring 'plenty of carp, tench, &c'. Alongside these culinary delights, guests could enjoy a concert at ten o' clock, followed by country dancing at noon, accompanied by a different dance band (*General Advertiser,* 23 April 1747).

cello section, and 'singing by a young lady, who never perform'd in public'.[334] A further advertisement in May highlighted 'some Curious Pieces of New Musick brought from Italy by Signor Carlo Tessarini, which will not be play'd at any other time, there being new Pieces of Italian Musick provided for every publick Day during the Season'.[335] This concert would end with the March in *Judas Maccabeus,* 'the Side Drum by the Person who perform'd Originally in Mr. Handel's Oratorio.[336] On the 6th June, four days after that for the *Temple of Apollo: Theatre of the Muses,* a further advertisement for the series introduced the popular Miss Faulkner, who would now regularly sing 'a new Song…out of a Collection of Original Songs, now publishing in Numbers, entitled The Temple of Apollo.'[337] It is possible that the series was always intended to be published alongside the performances at Ruckholt House, reinforcing once again the crucial link between performance and publishing in Oswald's career. Evidently, Oswald had been engaged, with Tessarini, to provide the music for the entire season at Ruckholt House and used his involvement as a marketing opportunity. It is unclear whether the series was continued after the issue for April 1747, for I can find no references to any further monthly issues, yet it represents the very beginning of Oswald's *Temple of Apollo* brand in Spring 1747.

Table 1. Titles and Composers in The Temple of Apollo, Theatre of the Muses, April 1747.

Title	**Composer**
The self banish'd (It is not that I love you less)	Comte. de St. Germain
Sylvia's charms ('Tis not the liquid brightness)	James Oswald
A new song (Adieu ye streams that smoothly flow)	Philippo/Filippo Palma
The retirement (Sylvia, in these sequester'd scenes)	James Oswald
Celia to Colin (Cease lovely shepherd, cease to mourn)	Henry Burgess
Constancy (I cannot change as others do)	Charles Burney
(Delia would you fix the heart)	Joseph Jackson
A new song (Gentle love, this hour befriend me), set to music in ye Scots taste	Comte de St. Germain

[334] *GA,* 23 April 1747
[335] *GA,* 18 May 1747
[336] *GA*, 6 June 1747. The first performance of Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* had taken place only weeks earlier, at the Royal Opera House on 1st April 1747. It is unlikely that either Tessarini or Oswald had played for Handel, as they are not mentioned alongside the celebrity side drummer.
[337] *GA*, 6 June 1747. 'Miss Faulkner' was Anna Maria Falkner, whose career was launched in November 1745 in Covent Garden as Eurydice in the pantomime *Orpheus and Eurydice.* She was advertised as a young gentlewoman who 'never appear'd on any Stage before', and after the production ended, she appears not to have sung at Covent Garden again for some time, instead singing at Marylebone Gardens between 1747 and 1752, where she may very well have met Oswald. She married in 1748, and as 'Mrs Donaldson', she sang in the 1752 and 1753 seasons in Dublin at the Smock Alley Theatre. Her final appearance in London was in April 1755. (Andreas van der Myn, 'Falkner, Anna Maria', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, ed. David Cannadine, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.oxforddnb.com).

The only surviving full copy of the *Temple of Apollo* for April 1747 is held in the Bodleian Library, and it contains eight original songs by five musicians.[338] Generally speaking, the texts set in the *Temple of Apollo* for April 1747 are unusual or obscure, and Oswald does seem to have gone to some lengths to ensure that these songs would be genuinely new to audiences. Two items were contributed by the Comte de St Germain (c.1711/1712-1784), a notable eccentric, whose nationality and life story was a mystery to everyone he met. Walpole wrote late in 1745 that 'he is called an Italian, a Spaniard, a Pole; somebody that married a great fortune in Mexico, and ran away with her jewels to Constantinople; a priest, a fiddler, a vast nobleman'.[339] Walpole particularly highlights St Germain's musicality: 'He sings, plays on the violin wonderfully, composes, is mad, and not very sensible.'[340] St Germain was certainly in London in the 1740s, as he composed some of the songs to *L'incostanza delusa*, performed at Haymarket Theatre in April 1745.[341] It is interesting that Walpole states that 'The Prince of Wales has had an unsatiated curiosity about him, but in vain'; his acquaintance with Frederick, Prince of Wales, might explain his connection with Oswald.[342] The text for his first song, 'The self banish'd', is by the seventeenth-century poet Edmund Waller (1606-1687), and was set by Oswald only two years previously for the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June 1745.[343] St Germain's setting, however, is original, and does not appear elsewhere, but may have been later re-printed and sold as a single sheet.[344] His second contribution, 'A New Song, set to music in ye Scots Taste' was a setting of a text by the dramatist Aaron Hill (1684-1749), which appears to have attracted only one musical setting before this date.[345] Although the song set an English text, St Germain's tune does feature several Scottish musical signifiers, including a gapped scale, and a number of Scotch snaps. However, subsequent reprints of the song, both as a single sheet, and another version 'address'd to the Subscribers of the Lady's Magazine', omit the reference to 'ye Scots taste' entirely.[346]

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[338] James Oswald, *The Temple of Apollo, or the Theatre of the Muses For the Month of April, By a Society of Gentlemen* (London: Printed for the Society, 1747). Interestingly, another surviving copy of the title page of this work, held in my private collection, is bound erroneously to various pages of the Universal Harmony. Presumably a later owner or binder was confused by the fact that both collections were productions of both Newbery and Oswald.

[339] Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, Arlington Street, London (9 December 1745)*, Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (Yale University), accessed 14 March 2023, https://libsvcs-1.its.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence.

[340] Ibid.

[341] J.H. Calmeyer, 'Saint Germain, Count of' in *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed 21 December 2023, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. Over his lifetime, St Germain had published a collection of 42 Italian arias (*Musique raisonnée)*, a handful of English songs, as well as six sonatas for two violins and bass, and seven solos for solo violin.

[342] Walpole to Mann, 9 December 1745.

[343] James Oswald, 'The Self-banished; from Waller. Set by Mr. Oswald', *Gentleman's Magazine* (London: John Nicols, June 1745) 329.

[344] St Germain, Comte de, *The self banish'd* (London: [James Oswald], [1760]. This single sheet, which is an identical print to that of the Temple of Apollo collection, can be found in the British Library, at I.530.(136).

[345] *Gentle Love this hour befriend me* (London: n.p. [1725]). This single sheet setting of the text is entitled 'A Song the Words by a Gentleman', and can be found in the British Library at C.116.i.4.(64.)

[346] A single sheet version of the *Gentle Love this hour befriend me,* omitting the description 'in ye Scots taste', can be found in the British Library, at G. 308.(2.). St Germain, Comte de, *Gentle love this hour befriend me. A New Song.*

A second contributor, the Neapolitan tenor Philip Palma, first appeared in London in April 1736; in November 1741, he was engaged by the Edinburgh Musical Society, on which matter the Society wrote to Oswald in March 1743.[347] Palma was certainly known to Oswald personally, as they performed together at a benefit concert for Oswald and the oboeist John Hebden at the Castle Tavern in March 1745.[348] Though he may have had a poor voice, Palma sang with excellent taste, and his performance of the Scots song 'The Lass of Paties Mill', with embellishments, received praise from Charles Burney, who clearly had heard him sing in person.[349] The author of the text of 'A New Song' was the London-based Scottish poet Tobias Smollett, who was well-known to Oswald, and Palma's setting appears to have been the first of this text.[350] Of Joseph Jackson, there is no trace, and the text of 'Delia, would you Fix the heart' appears to be unique to this setting. Charles Burney's setting of 'Constancy', the text by John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1647-1680), also does not appear in any other eighteenth-century collections.[351] The text for 'Celia to Colin' or 'Cease lovely Shepherd cease to mourn', set by the organist Henry Burgess (1718-1786), was employed in one previous setting by Charles Dieupart (1676-1740) in Watts's *Musical Miscellany* of 1729.[352] The text of the second of Oswald's own contributions, 'The Retirement', also appeared in the aforementioned *Musical Miscellany,* and it is therefore likely that Oswald used the volume to identify suitable texts for this collection.[353] It is the first of Oswald's songs, however, which may hold the key to the impetus behind this collection, and also informs our understanding of Society of the Temple of Apollo itself. The text of 'Sylvia's charms' has been identified as a love poem composed by Oswald's patron, Frederick, Prince of Wales, addressed to his wife, Princess Augusta.[354] As this setting by Oswald is the earliest musical use of the text, it is quite possible that Frederick personally provided him with the poem. This increases the likelihood that this 'Society of

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[Words by A. Hill.] (London: n.p. [1745]. A version of the same 'address'd to the subscribers of the Lady's Magazine' can be found in the British Library, at H.1653.jj.(44.) St Germain, Comte de, *Gentle love this hour befriend me. A new song… Address'd to the subscribers of the Lady's Magazine.* (London: n.p. [1747]). Both prints are identical to Oswald's original print, with only the title altered. Around the same time, 'A Song set to Musick by Mr. Oswald' advertised as appearing in the *Lady's Weekly Magazine* of *The Temple of Apollo, or the Theatre of the Muses* (*GA,* 19 March 1747), and it appears therefore that Oswald was able to sell single songs (both his own, and those of others such as St Germain) to the publishers of this and other magazines.

[347] Edinburgh Musical Society Sederunt Books, Vol. 1: 1728-1747, Ref. qYML 28 MS, Edinburgh Public Libraries, Edinburgh, 96.

[348] Sonia Tinagli Baxter, *Italian Music and Musicians in Edinburgh c. 1720-1800. A Historical and Critical Study* (PhD: University of Glasgow, 1999) 93, 94; *Daily Advertiser,* 11 March 1745.

[349] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present*, Vol. 4 (London: Printed for the author, 1789), n. 451.

[350] See section 2.5 for further discussion of Oswald's relationship with Tobias Smollett.

[351] 'Constancy' is available in single sheet format at the British Library, I.530.(22.) Charles Burney, *Constancy* (London: n.p. c. 1760).

[352] Henry Burgess was described later in 1763 as 'one of His Majesty's Band'. 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians', *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol 2 (March 1949), 27; *Musical Miscellany, (The), being a collection of choice songs and lyrick poems, with the basses to each tune, and transpos'd for the flute by the most eminent masters*. (London: John Watts, 1729), 31.

[353] *Musical Miscellany, (The), being a collection of choice songs and lyrick poems*, 130.

[354] Henry Curties, *A Forgotten Prince of Wales* (London: Everett & Co, 1912), 296-7.

Gentlemen', at least the form associated with this first publication of the 'Temple of Apollo', were a group of musical acquaintances surrounding Frederick, a barely disguised Apollo.

Charles Burney (1726-1814) is, of course, the most recognisable name in this group of musical men, and his role in the Society of the Temple of Apollo bears further discussion, as he referenced the society extensively in his memoirs. In an autograph fragment written between Winter 1747 and Spring 1748, Burney recorded, 'I became intimately acquainted with Oswald the Scotish Orpheus, the celebrated performer of Scots tunes on the Violoncello, and maker of many more, which, by his manner of playing them and keeping a Music-shop… turned to good account'.[355] He proceeded to describe his business relationship with Oswald:

> I assisted him [Oswald] in the accompaniments to his melodies; afterwards I had a pleasure in working for him, by the sheet, as it amused me more than teaching. He obtained a patent for the sole publication of all Music composed, or pretended to be composed, by the dilittanti members of the Society of the Temple of Apollo. Under this patent he published his own compositions, a Cantata and six songs of mine, as well as whatever I afterwards composed for the Playhouse. He persuaded Mr Garrick that the members of this Society were gentlemen of taste and talents, who met to shew each other their compositions, and have them tried under the direction of two or three Masters to point out to them their mistakes in counterpoint. That some of the members had much original genius, and would compose for the stage any pantomime entertainment, musical farce, or even incidental songs in serious dramas: for which they would want no money for themselves, all the remuneration they should require would be some moderate gratuity for the Masters.[356]

Later, in his entry for December 1750, Burney adds:

> In December this year, Oswald reminded me of the Society of the Temple of Apollo; and said, that Mr Garrick had sent him word that he should give the dilettanti members something on which to exercise their fancy very soon; a promise which he fulfilled.
>
> The first employment that was assigned to this pretended Society, was the pantomime entertainment of Queen Mab, planned by Woodward, who delivered to Oswald, in writing, subjects for the tunes that were to paint the several scenes and events of the piece; in which Puck the Fairy had several Songs that were written by Garrick, and sent to Oswald for the Society to set, who delivered them to me.[357]

There is no reason not to take Burney at his word regarding Oswald's business relationship with David Garrick (1717-1779). Burney appears to have been happy with the arrangement, in which he composed on a freelance basis for Oswald, and Oswald presumably billed Garrick at a small profit for the 'moderate gratuity' requested by the members of the Society. As Burney claims, Oswald published some of his music in *Six Songs composed for the Temple of Apollo, to which is added a Favourite*

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[355] Slava Klima, Garry Bowers & Kerry Scott Grant (eds.), *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726-1769* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 86.
[356] Klima, Bowers & Grant (eds.), *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney,* 88.
[357] Klima, Bowers & Grant (eds.), *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney*, 97.

Cantata, set to music by Mr Charles Burney.[358] Burney may be exaggerating his authorship in this collection, however, as two of the songs were set by Oswald and Rameau. However, it is likely that Burney was the author of *The Comic Tunes in Queen Mab* and *Robin Hood, A New Musical Entertainment*, published under the banner of the Society of the Temple of Apollo.[359] Burney's testimony regarding his involvement with the Society, however, does not necessarily mean that the other three composers represented in the April 1747 *Theatre of the Muses* were never involved. It is quite possible that they had, after an initial burst of enthusiasm, lost interest in the project. Alternatively, Oswald may have invited their contributions initially, but later decided that only Burney's work was of suitable quality. Either way, Oswald and Burney do appear to have represented the active 'members' of the Society of the Temple of Apollo between late 1747 and 1750, though Burney's narrative underlines the fact that Oswald was very much in executive control.

Burney's business relationship with Oswald ended when he left London in 1751 for King's Lynn, and he is unlikely to have followed Oswald's later development of the brand during his absence over the following nine years. This would explain Burney's later letter to his daughter Madam d'Arblay, in which he called himself 'the WHOLE Society of the Temple of Apollo', for this may have been essentially true until 1751, especially when it came to the composition of theatre music.[360] It should be emphasised, however, that after 1751 Oswald took on the composition of stage music himself, contributing to numerous productions at Drury Lane, Haymarket Theatre, and Covent Garden during the 1750s.[361] His compositional versatility in setting texts, both serious and comic, must have been attractive to the theatre owners of mid eighteenth-century London. Purser points to Oswald's particular talent in the line of parody arias, such as *The Dust Cart Cantata,* composed in the Italian style 'in the manner of the moderns', whilst poking fun through the use of ridiculous English text.[362] Oswald published most of his theatre music himself, printing collections of the entire music of single productions, as well as the most popular songs by the sheet. Later in his career, he also turned his hand to producing, regulating a performance of Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* with Stephen Storace at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket in Spring 1759. As in his first years in London, he treated the audience to a 'solo on the violoncello' between the first two acts.[363] Therefore, while Burney had certainly contributed to earlier

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[358] James Oswald, *Six Songs composed for the Temple of Apollo, to which is added a Favourite Cantata, set to music by Mr Charles Burney* (London: James Oswald, 1747).
[359] *The Comic Tunes in Queen Mab* (London: Society of the Temple of Apollo, 1750)*; Robin Hood, A New Musical Entertainment* (London: Society of the Temple of Apollo, 1750).
[360] Klima, Bowers & Grant (eds.), *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney*, 89, n. 2.
[361] Andrew Bull, 'Diasporic music and musicians: Scottish national music in eighteenth-century London', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance,* No. 12, *Communities & Margins of Early Modern Scotland* (2021), accessed 20 October 2022, https://jnr2.hcommons.org/2020/6065, 13, for a full list of the productions to which Oswald contributed music.
[362] Purser, *Scotland's Music,* 214.
[363] *Public Advertiser,* 4 April 1759.

'Temple of Apollo' works for the London theatre, Oswald's later compositions in this genre were entirely his own.

Theatrical works represented only one strand of works published under the name of the Society of the Temple of Apollo before 1752. Shortly before the publication of the *Six Songs composed for the Temple of Apollo,* St Martini's [Sammartini's] Op. 1, *Six Sonatas or Duets for two German flutes* was also 'compos'd for the Temple of Apollo'.[364] Soon afterwards, in 1750, Oswald published *The Apollo's Collection,* a book of duets by himself, Francesco Geminiani, Giuseppe St. Martini, Nicolo Jommelli, Jean-Philippe Rameau, and Michel Blavet, which was 'corrected and approv'd of by the society'.[365] The second volume, likely printed the following year, featured the same composers, with Tartini replacing Geminiani.[366] All these men were Freemasons, raising the much debated question of whether a Masonic purpose may underpin the Society of the Temple of Apollo.[367] Pink argues, however, that the Society at this stage represented an artistic group surrounding Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Patriot Opposition.[368] Certainly, the Society collaborated with 'Patriot poets' James Thomson (1700-1748) and David Mallet (c. 1705-1765) to produce music for the revived Patriot stage work *Alfred*, for which 'Rule, Britannia' had first been written by Thomas Arne in 1740.[369] It is entirely possible that Oswald was part of the group of 'talented and vigorous musicians, writers, painters and actors' associated with opposition politics.[370] Although these artists could not hope for material patronage at this time from a relatively impoverished Frederick, Prince of Wales, they might reasonably hope that they would later be rewarded upon his accession to the throne, when the 'slighted arts' could flourish once more.[371] In 1743, Frederick and Augusta had purchased Leicester House, five minutes from Oswald's residence on the pavement of St Martin in the Fields, where they maintained an openly opposition court from 1747 onwards. Both Oswald and St. Martini were music masters to the royal couple's children, and Oswald's setting of Frederick's 'Sylvia's Charms' in the very first publication of the Temple of Apollo in April 1747 reinforces the likelihood of a significant link between the Society and Frederick, Prince of Wales.

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[364] Giuseppe Sammartini, *Six Sonatas or Duets for two German flutes* (London: James Oswald, 1750).
[365] *Apollo's Collection being XII Duettos for Two German Flutes or two Violins,* Book 1st (London: James Oswald, c.1750)
[366] *Apollo's Collection being XII Duettos for Two German Flutes or two Violins,* Book 2nd (London: James Oswald, c.1752)
[367] Andrew Pink, 'The Musical Culture of Freemasonry in Early Eighteenth-Century London' (PhD: Goldsmiths, University of London, 2007), 148
[368] Pink, 'The Musical Culture of Freemasonry', 147.
[369] Pink, 'The Musical Culture of Freemasonry', 139. The music for the first production of *Alfred,* as performed for the Prince and Princess of Wales at Cliveden in 1740, was composed by Thomas Arne (1710-1778). However, the revised production of 1751 at Drury Lane, with David Garrick in the title role, appears to have required some additional music. Oswald published a collection of songs around 1751 'composed by the Society of the Temple of Apollo' that featured music from *Alfred*.
[370] Pink, 'The Musical Culture of Freemasonry', 186.
[371] Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725-1742* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 66.

While this characterisation of the Society of the Temple of Apollo is compelling, we should not forget that musicians such as Sammartini were producing music *for* the Society, rather than claiming membership of it. The Society, such as it was, was still exclusively Oswald's concern. From 1751, which saw both the sudden death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Burney's departure from London, Oswald appears to have hibernated the Society of the Temple of Apollo until around 1755, when it once again 'corrected & approv'd of' a set of *Six Sonatas for Two Violins or German Flutes* by a 'Dottel Figlio'.[372] Purser has argued that this publication may be the work of Oswald's exceptionally gifted cello student, Benjamin Hallett.[373] This is supported by the fact that another publication by 'Dottel Figlio', *Six Divertimentis, or Solos, for a German Flute* (1754), was advertised alongside Oswald's teaching practice, otherwise rarely mentioned in the press.[374] As before, Oswald employed the Temple of Apollo brand during this period of the Society's existence as a guarantee of compositional quality. As Bull argues, the Society was 'an authorising force for new composers, providing an air of respectability to a new composer's work'.[375] This was also the case in *A Collection of Songs for the Publick Gardens* (1751), which featured anonymous texts by 'a gentleman' and 'a person of quality', and was 'corrected & approv'd by the Society of the Temple of Apollo'. The third volume, similarly, was entirely 'compos'd by the Temple of Apollo'.[376] Along the same lines, the Society 'corrected' two sets of solos by the Scottish military general John Reid (1722-1807) in 1756, and 1762.[377] On the frontispieces of both sets, Reid is described as 'A member of the Temple of Apollo', yet Oswald reinforced his influence through the ornate illustration, in which a copy of 'Oswald's Airs' casually rests upon the harpsichord.[378] Here, then,

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[372] Dottel Figlio, *Six Sonatas for two Violins or German Flutes* (London: James Oswald, 1755).

[373] Purser, *Scotland's Music,* 214. A mezzotint by James McArdell, after Thomas Jenkins, depicted 'Benjamin Hallett, a child not five years old, who under the tuition of Mr. Oswald, performed on the flute at Drury Lane theatre, Ano 1748 for 50 nights with extraordinary skill and applause, and in the following year was able to play his part in any concert on the Violincello', accessed 10 February 2021, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1871-1209-2691.

[374] *London Evening Post,* 17 October 1754. These divertimentis were later reprinted by Straight and Skillern as Oswald's own work and described as 'first publish'd with the Title of Six Divertimentis or Solos by Dottel Figlio, Op. 2', so it is possible that 'Dottel Figlio' was another of Oswald's nom de plumes. However, the fact that John Walsh also printed a set of *Six Sonatas in Three Parts* by a 'Sigr. Nicholas Dothel le Fils' complicates matters, The real French musician Nicholas Dôthel (1721-1810) had a musical father, also Nicolas, and 'figlio' or 'le fils' would have been an accurate method of differentiating him as the younger member of the family. It is therefore possible that Straight and Skillern were misinformed as to Oswald's authorship of the 'Dottel' sonatas.

[375] Bull, "Diasporic music and musicians", 18.

[376] James Oswald, *A Collection of Songs sung at the Publick Gardens composed for the Society of the Temple of Apollo*, Vol. II (London: James Oswald, 1752); James Oswald, *A Collection of Songs sung at the Publick Gardens composed for the Society of the Temple of Apollo*, Vol. III (London: James Oswald, 1752).

[377] There has been some debate as to whether Oswald 'corrected', or even invented, the bass line of Reid's solos. Ford notes that this idea originated with the sixth Reid Professor of Music, Frederick Niecks (1845-1924), but that there is no specific evidence to support this. She argues that 'Reid's own manuscript compositions, and his other published music, for military band, does not suggest he required assistance', and that therefore 'there is no reason to suspect he was unable to compose his own basslines'. Elizabeth Ford, *The Flute in Scotland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2020), 31, n. 59; 120.

[378] John Reid, *Six solos for a German flute or violin, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord* (London: James Oswald, 1756); John Reid, *A Second Sett of Six solos for a German flute or violin, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord* (London: James Oswald, 1762).

we see again Oswald's playful employment of the 'Society of the Temple of Apollo', allowing him to publish works by amateurs and perhaps his own students that might not otherwise have seen print.

There is one remaining element of Oswald's Temple of Apollo brand: from October 1755 until the season beginning in November 1761, he organised a concert series entitled 'The Temple of Apollo' at the house of John Robinson Lytton in Queens Square, Holborn.[379] Oswald was close friends with Lytton: in 1751, Lytton was the dedicatee of *A Collection of Songs, as performed in the Publick Gardens*, and later Oswald married his widow, Leonora.[380] Oswald's concert series has often been used as a rod with which to beat Burney's account of the Society of the Temple of Apollo, and to establish that it was in fact real – i.e, that it had a membership in the traditional sense from the very outset. I would argue, however, that this series was not a manifestation of the earlier 'Society of the Temple of Apollo' but rather a natural nomenclature for another, later, arm of Oswald's personal brand. Oswald undoubtedly controlled the series, as tickets were available only at his music shop.[381] Unfortunately, we know nothing certain of the performers or repertoire for these concerts, save that the inventory of Lytton's house upon his death in 1762 listed twelve music desks.[382] It is possible that the concerts were given by both professionals and gentlemen, after the fashion of provincial musical societies, and that musical amateurs such as Lytton and General Reid may have indeed been playing 'members'. In that sense, the musical gentlemen of the Society of Temple of Apollo, though perhaps somewhat imaginary in earlier years, may have later come to represent an identifiable, if fluid, group of musicians.

In the final analysis, James Oswald's 'Society of the Temple of Apollo' is not by any means as mysterious a phenomenon as it first appears. It was, in essence, a brand name invented by Oswald in early 1747, which afforded him artistic and commercial flexibility, particularly when he sought to elevate his own works, or those of his colleagues, to a certain grandeur in pursuit of profit. Though many have wished it so, the Society was not a diasporic group of Scottish musicians, and it certainly did not exist to promote Scottish music, for the character of the music published under the Temple of Apollo brand was entirely European in style. The original group of musicians whom Oswald assembled in April 1747 to contribute to *The Temple of Apollo, or Theatre of the Muses* were largely connected with the composition of theatre music, and this was indeed one of the early focal points of the Society's compositional output. By 1750, many of the musicians Oswald invited to write for the 'Society' were musicians around Frederick, Prince of Wales, and it is entirely possible that Oswald also employed the brand in service of the political opposition. At other times, the Society was a convenient way of bolstering the publications of gentlemen composers, some of whom may have been involved

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[379] *PA,* 8 October 1755; 23 August 1759; 27 October 1760; 2 January 1761; 19 October 1761.
[380] The two men may also have had shared political sympathies: Lytton, an MP for the borough of Bishops's Castle, was classed for the 1747 Parliament as a member of the Prince's opposition.
[381] *PA,* 23 August 1759.
[382] Purser, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, Introduction, 19.

with the 'Temple of Apollo' concert series before 1762. In other words, Oswald's Society of the Temple of Apollo was a marketing tool, deployed to create a sense of uniformity across his many musical activities. It was, in essence, a reflection of the playful artistic personality of the 'Scottish Orpheus', James Oswald himself.

2.5 Oswald the Romantic Patriot

It would be easy to assume that Oswald, with so many promising avenues of profitable activity in his new city, left Scotland well and truly behind him.[383] Yet Oswald had no shortage of Scottish friends in London's existing diaspora community. Burney implies that Oswald's house was a hub for artistic Scots when he recorded that 'I had so long admired Dr Armstrong's poetry, and liked him as a man whom I had frequently seen at Oswalds'.[384] John Armstrong (1709-1779) became acquainted in London with several other well-known London-based Scots including Thomas Smollett (1721-1771), David Mallett (c.1705-1765), and James Thomson (1700-1748).[385] Oswald clearly acquainted himself with this group of gifted Scotsmen, setting several of their texts to music for theatre productions and the pleasure gardens. Later, Oswald may have met James Macpherson when he visited London in 1761 to publish his works of Ossian. The sixth volume of *The Pocket Companion for the Guittar* (c. 1764) features nine airs 'handed down from since the time of OSSIAN', and most intriguingly, 'The Musick taken from Mr. McPherson's singing by Mr. Oswald'.[386] Porter suggests that Oswald may have been present on an occasion during Macpherson's visit in 1761, when Burney appears to have persuaded him to sing several songs taught to him by his mother, though there is no firm evidence of this.[387] A musical collaboration between Oswald and the much younger Macpherson may have been motivated partly by the exotic pull of burgeoning Scottish Romanticism, but perhaps also a genuine interest on Oswald's part in Macpherson's material. Alternatively, and perhaps more cynically, these nine Ossianic songs may represent a move by Oswald to exploit the success of Macpherson's works in London, representing therefore a product of both men's 'hybrid identity as both Scots and Britons'.[388] Oswald in

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[383] While Oswald does not appear to have returned regularly to Scotland during his lifetime, he did maintain a business relationship with the Edinburgh Musical Society, who purchased a few of his works, and on one occasion, asked him to advertise in the London newspapers for a 'right Bread Chorister' to sing in their oratorios. (Letter from William Douglas to James Oswald, 22 February 1759 in *Edinburgh Musical Society Sederunt Books,* Vol. 2: 1747-1767). The EMS purchased Handel's 10th collection of *Overtures* in 1749 (Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 268).

[384] Klima, Bowers & Grant (eds.), *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney,* 88.

[385] Lewis M. Knapp, 'Dr. John Armstrong, Littérateur, and Associate of Smollett, Thomson, Wilkes, and Other Celebrities', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (December 1944), 1024.

[386] James Oswald*, The Pocket Companion for the Guittar,* Vol. VI (London: James Oswald, c. 1764), 135.

[387] James Porter, 'Transcribing Voices, Fashioning a Genre: Orality, Hybridity, and Inventiveness in James Oswald's Songs from Ossian', *Journal of Folklore Research,* Vol. 59, No. 1 (January 2022), 33-4. Porter notes that Burney features three songs of 'Original Melodies to the Hymn of Ossian in Temora' in his *Cyclopedia,* and that they are near exact reproductions of their counterparts in the *The Pocket Companion for the Guittar*, suggesting that, even if he had transcribed the songs from Macpherson himself, he later used Oswald's transcriptions in his own volume (Porter, 'Transcribing Voices', 35).

[388] James Porter, 'Transcribing Voices', 43.

particular may have been hoping to create a musical product that would appeal to his London audience, already captivated by Scotland's ancient past.

This, however, was not Oswald's first foray into the world of Romanticism. In October 1751, he placed an advertisement for an unusual stringed musical instrument, the Æolian Harp, or Harp of Æolus.[389] Already known in the ancient world, and popular in the homes of Europe from the late eighteenth until the mid-nineteenth centuries, this unusual instrument was operated not by a musician but by the wind itself. Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), who first described and depicted the instrument in his *Musurgia Universalis* of 1750 (Figure 9), explained that it should be placed in an open window, but that the wind must be carefully channelled across the instrument to produce the desired harmonic frequencies (Figure 10).[390] If the correct conditions are achieved, Kircher promised an incomparable experience for the listener:

> Nam juxta venti lenitatem aut vehementiam miram harmonium intra cubiculum percipies, subinde omnes chordae tremulum quondam sonum, interdum avium cantus, aut organum hydraulicum, nonnunquam concentum fistularum, aliosque peregrinos sonos exprimet, nemine vel suspicante quondam insturmenti genus id sit, aut qua manu, quo folle, quo artificio harmoniam efficiat.
>
> For, near a gentle or a strong wind, you will perceive a glorious harmony inside the chamber; suddenly all the strings will produce a trembling sound at once, imitating sometimes singing birds, or a hydraulic organ, sometimes a concord of pipes, and other exotic sounds, so that no-one will suspect what kind of instrument it is, or by which hand, by which bellows, by which artifice, it creates harmony.[391]

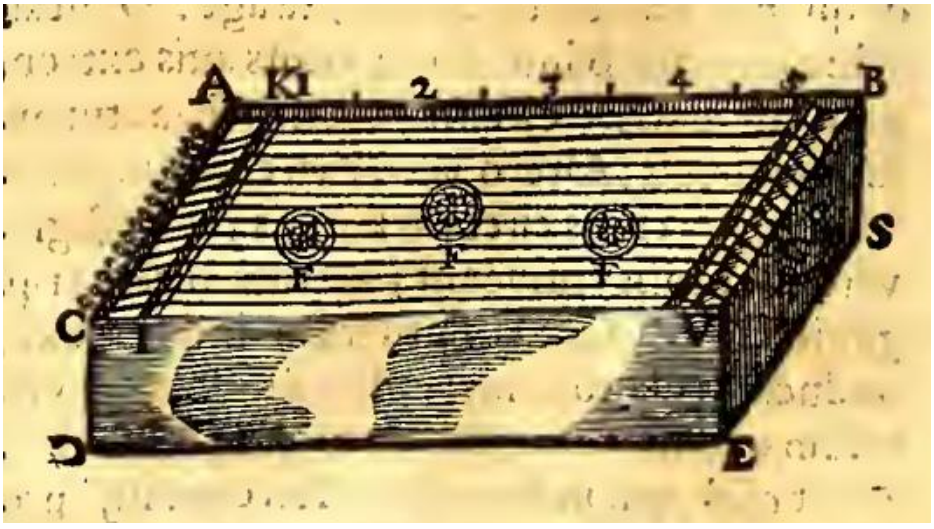

Figure 9. Harp of Æolus. Extract from Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis,* 1650. Source: IMSLP.[392]

[389] *General Advertiser,* October 1751.
[390] Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis, sive Ars Magna Consoni et Dissoni* (Rome: Ludovico Grignani, 1650), Second Tome, Book 10, 352-4.
[391] Ibid. Translation by the author.
[392] Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis,* 392.

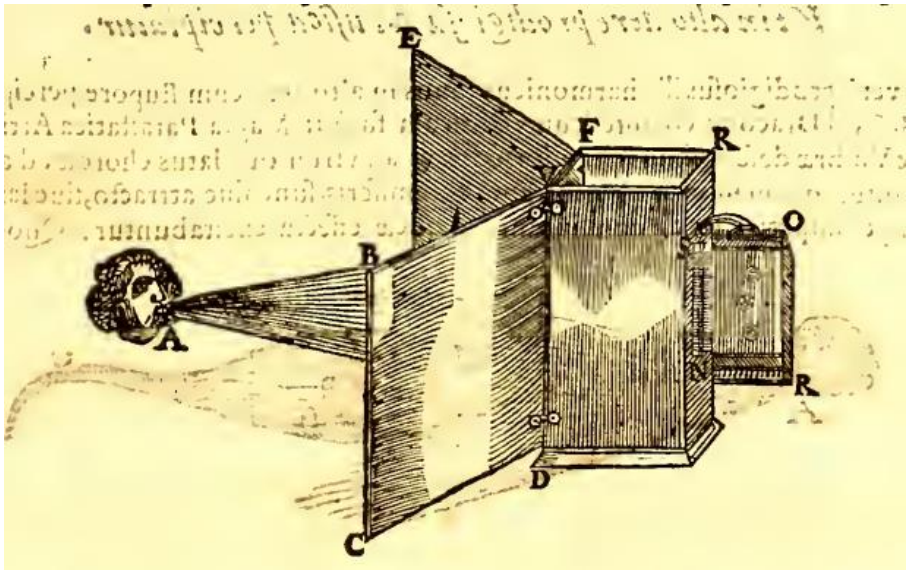

Figure 10. Harp of Æolus; wind channel detail. Extract from Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis,* 1650.[393]

There are no surviving Æolian Harps contemporary to Kircher, and indeed there appear to have been no prototypes before the mid-eighteenth century, when Oswald reinvented the instrument. Indeed, all available evidence points to Oswald as the (re)inventor of the *Æolian Harp*. Oswald appears to have taken inspiration from his friend and colleague James Thomson, who, according to Charles Burney, provided him with a translation of Kircher's Latin description.[394] Thomson characterised the Harp of Æolus in the first stanza of his *Castle of Indolence,* first published in 1748, and in his *Ode on Æolus's Harp,* which appeared in the second edition of Dodsley's *Collection of Poems* in June of the same year.[395] In the latter publication, a note describes the harp as 'a musical instrument, which plays with the wind, invented by Mr. Oswald'.[396] Later, William Jones (1726-1800), a former student of Oswald, published an account of its discovery in his *Physiological Disquisitions; or Discourses on the Natural Philosophy of the Elements* (1781). His version of events suggests that Oswald was inspired by a suggestion by Alexander Pope, rather than a translation of Kircher's description:

> When Mr. Pope was translating Homer, he had frequent occasion to consult the Greek commentary of Eustathius; where he met with a passage, in which it was suggested, that the blowing of the wind against musical strings would produce harmonious sounds. This was communicated to Mr. Oswald, a master of the violoncello from North Britain, and an ingenious composer in the Scotch style, who himself gave the following account many years ago, when I was under him as a practitioner in music. When he had received the hint of Mr. Pope's discovery in Eustathius, he determined to try whether he could reduce it to practice. Accordingly he took an old lute, and having put strings upon it, he exposed it to the wind in every manner he could think of but all without effect. When he was about to give the matter up as a mystery or fable,

[393] Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis,* 393.
[394] James Porter, 'Transcribing Voices', 40.
[395] James Sambrook, *James Thomson 1700-1748: A Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 275.
[396] James Thomson, 'Castle of Indolence' and 'Ode on Æolus's Harp' in Robert Dodsley, (ed.), *A Collection of Poems by several hands* (London: Robert Dodesley, 1748).

> he received some encouragement to a farther trial from an accident which happened to an harper on the Thames; who having his instrument with him in a house-boat, perceived that a favourable stroke of the wind brought some momentary sounds from the strings, as if he had been suddenly touched after that manner, which from the genius of this instrument, is called *arpeggio*. The man was alarmed with the incident, and made many trials to procure a repetition of the same sounds from a like turn of the wind, but could never succeed: the music was vanished like an apparition. Upon this ground, however, Mr. Oswald persevered; and it came at last in his mind, that perhaps the strings ought to be exposed to a more confined current of air. With this view he drew up the sash of his chamber-window, so as to let in a shallow stream of air, and exposed his lute to it. In the middle of the night the wind rose and the instrument sounded; which being heard by the artist, he sprang out of bed to examine all the circumstances of its situation, and noted down every thing with the most scrupulous precision; after which, as the principle was now ascertained, he never failed of the effect.[397]

While the narrative may have been exaggerated for effect, this was presumably the story Oswald told of his discovery of the instrument's workings. Henry Thorowgood, who sold *Æolian Harps* in London in the 1770s, also attributed the invention to Oswald, and he appears to have been selling either Oswald's remaining stock, or instruments according to his design.[398] In *A Description of the Æolian Harp*, he describes an instrument with twelve strings, all of which must be tuned at the same pitch, the ideal pitch depending on the strength of the wind. The harp had, for him, 'an admirable kind of Sound, that by the sole Operation of Nature', 'not much unlike the Ringing of Bells at a distance', or 'the Sound preceding from the Pipes of an Organ, or the Musical Melody of some skilful Piper or Harper'.[399] Evidently, Oswald's design had achieved the kind of sounds Kircher had envisaged. It is intriguing that that two Scots, Oswald, and Thompson, took a particular interest in the Æolian Harp in the 1740s. This may be no coincidence: Ford argues that the 'melancholic wailings and shrieks' of the Æolian Harp tinged its music with 'echoes of national loss and mourning', perhaps representing 'a post-Culloden aural emblem of Scotland's political, social and economic integration with England'.[400] Pittock points to the 'Aeolian qualities of the Ossianic music' as portrayed by Macpherson in his works of Ossian, and argues that 'here, in Macpherson, lay the root of the great Romantic Aeolian harp metaphor'.[401] Even if Oswald's interest in the instrument was not driven by his ethnicity, nonetheless he appears to have joined the ranks of those Romantically inclined, for whom the Æolian Harp offered a unique opportunity to experience nature's own music without human interference.

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[397] William Jones, F.R.S. 'On the Æolian Harp' in *Physiological Disquisitions; or, Discourses On The Natural Philosophy Of The Elements, Part VI: On Sound And Music* (London: Rivington, 1781) 338-345.
[398] Henry Thorowgood, *A Description of the Æolian Harp or Harp of* Æolus (London: Henry Thorowgood, c. 1770), 2. Thorowgood was one of several music publishers to sell Oswald's works shortly after his death, including the *Overture to Queen Mab* (*Gazeteer and New Daily Advertiser,* 14 September 1770) and *Colin's Kisses* (*Public Advertiser,* 21 January 1777).
[399] Ibid.
[400] Thomas H. Ford, *Wordsworth and the Poets of Air* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 30.
[401] Murray Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 79-80.

Figure 11. Henry Thorowgood's *A Description of the Æolian Harp*, c.1770. Source: ECCO.[402]

There is one further element of interest in Oswald's development of the Æolian Harp, specifically his collaboration with the celebrated scientist Dr Stephen Hales, who constructed a new case for the Æolian Harp so that it could be played outdoors. The case is mentioned by Thorowgood and depicted in his illustration of the instrument (Figure 11). Oswald advertised the collaboration in January 1755:

[402] Henry Thorowgood, *A Description of the Æolian Harp or Harp of* Æolus (London: Henry Thorowgood, c. 1770), Eighteenth Century Collections Online, accessed 5 December 2019, http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/CS79Y3.

> Mr. Oswald in St. Martin's Church-Yard, begs Leave to assure his Friends, and the Publick in general, that the Musical Instrument, call'd Æolus's Harp, was invented, or at least revived by him, from a Hint given him out of an Ancient Author by the late celebrated Mr. Pope; since which the learned and ingenious Dr. Stephen Hales hath done him the Honour to contrive a Case for it, with which the said Instrument will play in a Garden or open Air, as well as at a Window. But as several People in the trade have caused Harps to be made Imitation of his, in order to deprive him of the Benefit of his Invention he intreats the Favour of those Ladies and Gentlemen who may have Occasion for the said Instrument, to observe that a printed Paper be pasted on it, having these Words, By Authority, and sign'd By their most obedient humble Servant, James Oswald.[403]

As well as confirming that a 'hint' from Pope's work was Oswald's inspiration, this advertisement also reveals that Oswald was struggling to sell his product in a market full of counterfeits. His collaboration with Dr Hales to create a special case for his harp may have therefore been intended to differentiate his product from others, which had much more limited use. How did Oswald convince Hales, then nearly 80 years old, to design a case for his instrument? Hales, like Oswald, was well-known to the Dowager Princess Augusta, who appointed him her Clerk of the Closet upon Frederick's death in 1751, and frequently sought his botanical advice in the development of her gardens at Kew.[404] Again, Oswald's royal connections, particularly Augusta's continuing patronage, are crucial in understanding the development of his expansive London social network.

Oswald and Hales evidently shared a common zeal for invention, and both men were involved with the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, established in 1754.[405] Hales was one of the Society's first Vice-Presidents, and Oswald had joined by 1760, and was still a member upon his death in 1769.[406] Oswald certainly took his membership seriously: one of only a handful of musicians in the society's membership, he was nonetheless proposed on 7th July 1762 for the Society's mechanics committee by none other than Benjamin Franklin.[407] It was also likely that it was through the Society that Oswald encountered the West India merchant Robert Bogle, who invited him to join him as mortgagee of a sugar plantation in Grenada in late 1768. The primary purpose of the Society, however, was to encourage inventions, and it is possible that Oswald and Hales hoped to win one of

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[403] *Public Advertiser,* 30 January 1755.
[404] Vanessa Berridge, *The Princess's Garden: Royal Intrigue and the Untold Story of Kew* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2017), 170.
[405] The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, now known as the Royal Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, had its beginnings in a drawing school established in the early 1750s by William Shipley, at the east end of the Strand. Membership lists from the early 1760s reveal a significant expansion by 1765, and the Society also had corresponding members in Scotland, Europe, America and the British colonial territories. Though a handful of gentry belonged to the Society, the vast majority of the membership comprised well-to-do merchants, artisan traders, artists, and a very small number of musicians, including Charles Burney and Thomas Arne. Book sellers feature prominently in the list, including three known to Oswald: Robert Dodsley, John Newbery, and John Coote.
[406] *A List of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce* (London: printed for the Society, 5 June 1760), 33.
[407] D.G.C. Allan, '"Dear and Serviceable to Each Other": Benjamin Franklin and the Royal Society of Arts', *American Philosophical Society,* Vol. 144, No. 3 (September 2000), 256.

its many premiums with their improved harp. Oswald's interest and connections in the field of scientific invention, and his involvement with the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce is a reminder that mid eighteenth-century intellectuals did not set arts and science in opposition, particularly when profit was to be gained. Oswald's interest in this area may also have been connected to his ongoing connection with the Dowager Princess Augusta. In 1757, Shipley recommended to Irish Patriot Samuel Madden that if he wished to set up a similar society in Ireland, he should seek patronage from Augusta.[408] During his lifetime, Frederick selected artists such as James Thomson, David Mallet, and James Hammond for positions in his entourage, and Augusta continued this enthusiastic support of those seeking to restore the fortunes of the arts in Britain.[409] If Oswald was indeed a Patriot musician, it seems likely that he shared the outlook of those who saw artistic excellence as a foundation for British success on the global stage.

Oswald's most substantial original composition, his two collections of 48 *Airs for the Seasons*, can be understood in this particular socio-political context. The collection demonstrates Oswald's talent for the miniature musical form: each of the 96 airs is printed on just one page of music.[410] Oswald's inspiration for the first collection, published in four sets throughout 1755, may have been his friend James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1730), though Thomson had depicted each season as a whole rather than individual plants.[411] More likely, Oswald had become familiar with the growing collection of exotic plants at Kew, begun under his former patron, Frederick, Prince of Wales, and expanded significantly by the Dowager Princess Augusta in the 1750s and 1760s.[412] In developing the collection that would later form the basis for Kew Gardens, Augusta enlisted the help of two leading botanists of her day. The first was her close friend and political confidant, John Stuart, Earl of Bute (1713-1792), to whom Oswald dedicated *A Collection of Scots Tunes with Variations* in around 1758, and the second, Dr Stephen Hales, who had designed Oswald's new Æolian Harp case some time before 1755.[413] The Dowager Princess herself probably orchestrated Oswald's appointment as Chamber Composer to her son, George III, within weeks of his accession to the throne, and a few months later in 1761, Oswald dedicated *A Collection of The Best Old Scotch and English Songs* to Augusta.[414] Given Oswald's connections with this horticultural circle, It seems very likely that he visited Augusta's garden at Kew,

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[408] Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole,* 57.
[409] Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole,* 63.
[410] See Purser, *Scotland's Music,* 212-213 for a brief musical analysis of the *Airs for the Seasons.* Purser suggests that Oswald may have intended the individual airs to depict the appearance or medicinal characteristics of his chosen plants through musical idiom and style.
[411] James Thomson, *The Seasons* (London: J. Millan & A. Millar, 1730).
[412] Berridge, *The Princess's Garden*, 11. Augusta conceived of a physic garden that would 'contain all the plants known on Earth', though her achievements in developing the collection that was to form the foundation of present-day Kew Gardens were obscured during her own lifetime by political unpopularity.
[413] James Oswald, *A Collection of Scots Tunes with Variations* (London: James Oswald, c. 1758). This was later reprinted by Bland, with a slightly altered title, *A Collection of 43 Scots Tunes with Variations.*
[414] An advert for the thirteenth issue of Oswald's *Musical Magazine* is the first to reference him as 'Chamber Composer to his Majesty' (*Public Advertiser,* 2 Feb 1761); James Oswald, *A Collection of the Best Old Scotch and English Songs* (London: James Oswald, 1761).

and quite possible that his *Airs* reflected actual specimens in the Dowager Princess's collection.[415] As Berridge argues, Augusta employed her garden at Kew as 'the embodiment at home of British power overseas and an instrument of economic power'.[416] Notably, the plants included in his first 'Spring' and 'Summer' sets are largely native to Britain and Europe, but a few more unusual examples feature in 'Autumn' and 'Winter', and the second set features much rarer plants native to South Africa, East Asia, and the Americas. It is therefore quite possible that Oswald also intended his *Airs for the Seasons* to reflect Britain's growing imperial power and reach, but in musical form.

Through the above analysis, Oswald's London network appears endlessly varied, presumably formed and maintained through a magnetic personality and a tireless energy for forming new acquaintances. To some extent, Oswald's upward social mobility was an inherent possibility of his profession, particularly in London, where talented musicians were routinely able to access both formal and informal elite spaces. Nonetheless, Oswald pushed the boundaries of occupational fluidity further than most, and his social circle included fellow musicians, men of literature, science and commerce. There is a strong Scottish diasporic element in his London artistic network, but Oswald and his compatriots appear to have leant towards a British, rather than a Scottish, patriotic identity in their collaborative activities. He may have shared a particular vision of British artistic and aesthetic life as articulated in the 1740s by his patron, Frederick, Prince of Wales, and manifested later at Kew by Frederick's widow, the Dowager Princess Augusta, and her chief botanical adviser, the Earl of Bute. Later, through the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, Oswald became involved with patriotic innovation and scientific invention, emblematic of the spirit of rapid social and imperial expansion of Britain in the 1750s and 1760s. In this respect, Oswald's entrepreneurial nature was highly suited to London, and it appears to have known no limits: even his reinvention of the Æolian Harp was an opportunity for profit. At the last, Oswald was energetic musician and businessman, firmly embedded in the cultural context of London itself.

2.6 Conclusion

The London life of James Oswald provides us with a fascinating case study of how a Scottish musician might develop a flexible identity in diaspora space, inhabiting his 'Scottishness' when it suited him to do so, but at other times embracing a broader British, or indeed, European musical identity. Oswald did not abandon his native culture on arrival in London in 1741; indeed, he immediately advertised his

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[415] The collection at Kew was already extensive by the early 1750s, and substantially developed throughout the following decade. Before his death, Frederick had intended to build a 300ft greenhouse to house his collection of exotic plants, and Augusta subsequently did so in the late 1750s, though on a somewhat smaller scale. Dr Stephen Hales wrote to Carl Linnaeus: 'The Princess will build a hot greenhouse 120 feet long next Kew with a view to have exotics of the hottest climates in which my pipes to convey incessantly warm air will probably be very serviceable… the rooms will be covered with shutters in the winter to keep the cold out which will make a perpetual spring and summer. (Berridge, *The Princess's Garden,* 170).

[416] Berridge, *The Princess's Garden*, 178.

services as a teacher of Scots music and associated with other artistic Scots through the city's active diaspora network. Throughout his entire London career, he also continued to perform Scottish music on the violoncello at a variety of entertainments, as he had done in Edinburgh, using such opportunities to market his own Scottish musical publications. Evidently, particularly during his first years in London, Oswald was able to establish a niche for himself through his specialism in Scottish music and its performance, and indeed Charles Burney and William Jones would remember him primarily for this. It would be stretching credulity somewhat, however, to suggest that Oswald's career in London was characterised by a single-minded mission to promote Scottish music. Instead, with his first publisher, John Simpson, he found a way to exploit London's decades-old fascination with Scottishness, marketing some of his works 'in the Scotch taste' rather than presenting existing Scottish music to a new audience. After a short time in the capital, Oswald must have become quickly aware of persisting Scottish stereotypes, and, as both an artist and a man of commerce, decided to exploit them for his own gain. Certainly, his later collaboration with James Macpherson, if accurate to fact, underlines Oswald's willingness to embrace the rapidly crystallising Romantic vision of Scotland.

In 1741, however, Oswald did leave Scotland for good, quite possibly disillusioned by the narrowing of opportunity for theatrical work in Edinburgh after the forced closure of Ramsay's theatre in 1739. Yet Oswald's desire to widen his musical horizons is evident from the musical content of his earliest publications, in which he demonstrates mastery of a variety of musical idioms, most notably the Italian style. Like many other musicians in Edinburgh, he also experimented with adaptations of Scots tunes for performance in fashionable drawing rooms, concerts and taverns. Later, in London, after he was granted a royal privilege to print, Oswald turned his hand to the publication of a wide range of musical genres and formats, presumably in order to capture a wider consumer base. Even before 1747, several of Oswald's collections such as *Colin's Kisses* were rooted firmly in the popular pastoral genre, and he continued to compile collections in this style for the rest of his career, often under the guise of the 'Society of the Temple of Apollo' or, later, through his *Musical Magazine*. As for his original compositions, the flexible musical identity adopted by Oswald throughout his London career, perhaps expressed most clearly in his *Airs for the Seasons*, was a sure route to success in a city where musical fashion changed rapidly. Oswald's membership of the nascent Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce strongly suggests that his success was ultimately rooted in an instinct for innovation. Certainly, if we can believe Jones's compelling tale of Oswald's discovery of the mechanics of the Æolian Harp, Oswald was motivated not only by profit, but also by the hope that his musical inventions were worthy of wider scientific recognition.

Oswald's artistic and commercial success cannot be divorced from the fact that he rarely missed an opportunity to extend his social network. This was the case even in his Edinburgh days, when he energetically amassed an impressive subscription list for his 1740 *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes*. The class of Anglo-Scottish elites present amongst his subscribers, such as the Duchess of Hamilton,

may very well have smoothed his transition to London, but he may equally have been supported upon arrival by Scottish friends and fellow Freemasons. Oswald did socialise with Scots in London, but he did not do so out of a sense of clannishness. Instead, Oswald and several of his compatriots, including James Thomson, Tobias Smollett, and David Mallet, appear to have embraced an Anglo-Scottish identity in order to integrate more smoothly into metropolitan culture. Mallet, in particular, had deliberately changed his surname from 'Malloch', and, if we are to believe Samuel Johnson, spoke without a Scottish accent, deliberately avoiding Scotticisms.[417] Ultimately, although there was a strong Scottish contingent in this artistic grouping, these men primarily represented a group of Patriot artists surrounding Frederick, Prince of Wales, and subsequently favoured by the Dowager Princess Augusta. I would therefore argue that Oswald's social network in London was not shaped along national lines, but rather by his immediate environment. Those with whom he interacted most, including his royal patrons, lived in close proximity to his shop on the pavement of St Martin-in-the-Fields. In essence, his network reflected the rhythm of his daily encounters around the busy streets of London as he knew it.

James Oswald's social network reveals him to have been the epitome of the Scot on the make as stereotyped by the satirical magazines of eighteenth-century London. Indeed, his success in London was born of an energy and ambition visible in the careers of many eighteenth-century expat Scots, and the fact that he thrived in such a challenging environment may be in part due to the support of his London's Scottish diaspora community. However, the longevity of Oswald's London career did not depend entirely on his Scottishness. Indeed, his distance from Scotland arguably enabled him to adapt both his compositional output and his performance activities to suit fast-changing musical fashions in London. In this context, Oswald's presentation of his native Scottish music to London consumers could be seen as a patriotic contribution to the development of a new British musical style, and Oswald himself an enthusiastic participant in the formation of British cultural identity. Yet this, perhaps, is rather too neat a characterisation. Oswald may not have constructed his own musical identity in such precise national terms or have felt the need to adjudicate between different musical labels. Indeed, for Oswald, whose success derived from an inherent variety and flexibility of approach, being a Scot in London, even at a political challenging time, was not necessarily uncomfortable or problematic. It is somewhat unlikely that he felt that he had to maintain 'parallel' or contradictory national identities. Rather, it is more helpful to view Oswald's Scottishness as one of many strands of his social network, which in turn is strongly reflective of his urban London context and the nature of his business. Oswald, the 'Scots Orpheus', brought much of his native heritage to London, but his extended success there rested on his energetic engagement with those he encountered in the city's unique creative context.

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[417] Sandro Jung, '"Staging" an Anglo-Scottish Identity: The Early Career of David Mallet, Poet and Playwright in London' in Stana Nenadic (ed.), *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 79, 86.

Chapter 3: Music in London's Scottish churches, 1741-1815

3.1 Introduction

While the case study of James Oswald demonstrates how a Scottish musician might develop a flexible identity in London's diaspora space, the inherent social mobility of his career path renders him atypical when it comes to the musical experience of the average member of London's Scottish diaspora population. As yet, however, music's contribution to the global development of Scottish associational culture is an area largely unexplored in the field of diaspora studies. This may be partly because it remains difficult to access the individual musical experiences of Scots in eighteenth-century London, particularly those of working-class women and men, which are largely undocumented. Music was presumably present in the homes of London's Scottish families: many individuals must have carried their musical heritage with them to the capital, which, by this date, may have encompassed not only melodies local to their hometown in Scotland, but also a wider shared tradition of Scottish music. We can, however, access the collective musical experience of a particular group of Scots in London, specifically those who worshipped at London's Scottish Presbyterian churches. These churches acted as important locations of associational culture throughout the entire eighteenth century, yet the congregational culture of London's Scottish churches, and the role of music within it, remain entirely unexplored. This chapter explores the diverse ways in which London's Scottish Presbyterian congregations positioned themselves in their host environment, and uncovers a hitherto neglected strand of Scottish musical experience in the capital.

In order to understand the role which music played in London's Scottish congregations during the eighteenth century, I will first examine important developments in psalm-singing within Scotland during this period. In particular, the tension between the 'old style' of psalm-singing and the efforts of reformers to 'improve the psalmody' will be explored. In this context, I will highlight the important role of the Scottish musician and publisher Robert Bremner (c.1713-1789), with specific reference to his Edinburgh publication, *The Rudiments of Music,* which attempted to improve the quality of Scottish psalmody through widespread musical education. Moving the focus of analysis to London itself, I will establish the broader context of psalm-singing in London. Churches in both Westminster and the City of London had been at the forefront of reform in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and dissatisfaction with the 'old style' of psalm-singing was common, especially in churches with wealthy patrons. In this context, I will explore the position of dissenting churches, alongside the variable reputation of Scottish psalm-singing amongst English commentators in London. Finally, I will conduct a study of the archives of three of London's Scottish churches - Swallow Street, St James, London Wall, and Crown Court Church - in order to assess changing musical trends during the period in question.

3.2 Psalm-Singing in Eighteenth-Century Scotland

By the early 1700s, many people believed that Scottish psalmody was in steep decline. Before the Scottish Reformation of 1560, the revered 'Sang Schule' tradition had established a strong tradition of musical activity within Scottish cathedrals and churches. In the early sixteenth century, these substantial musical establishments employed several vicars choral, alongside boy choristers and a Sang Schule Master, who was responsible for the choristers' education and for the production of music for Catholic worship. Following the Scottish Reformation, musical instruments were generally frowned upon as a vehicle for religious worship, and the singing of metrical psalms formed the core musical repertory in the Scottish Church. Some Sang Schules were reopened as burgh music schools, with a recognised connection between school and church, and, in the early part of the seventeenth century, these schools enabled the enlargement of Scottish psalmody, culminating in the 1635 edition of the Scottish Psalter.[418] This psalter contained over 200 psalm settings in simple four-part harmony; over fifty of these are estimated to be Scottish in origin, alongside English and French melodies, and tunes from the Geneva Psalter.[419] Yet 1635 appears to have represented the high point in terms of musical breadth of Scottish psalmody, after which the repertoire appears to have narrowed. The 1650 Scottish psalter contained no music whatsoever, and John Forbes's 'Aberdeen psalter' of 1666 featured only twelve common-metre metrical psalm tunes and one piece of polyphony, 'Bon Accord in reports'. By the end of the century, as Patrick notes, 'these twelve were canonized as embodying the accepted and inexpansible musical tradition of the Church of Scotland'.[420] It is evident that, by the turn of the eighteenth century, Scottish psalm-singing had developed a fixed, and relatively narrow, repertoire.

Many commentators also identified a decline in the execution of psalm-singing during the first half of the eighteenth century, culminating in a movement towards reform after 1740. To the leading lights of the Scottish Enlightenment, Scottish psalm-singing of this period sounded 'discordant', emanating from a different tonal world to the 'polished' Scottish melodies heard in Edinburgh drawing rooms in the first few decades of the eighteenth century. In 1740, an anonymous 'Philomusus' in the *Aberdeen Intelligencer* expressed surprise as to the 'low and dull manner in which the musical part of your worship is performed'.[421] The writer made several suggestions as to the improvement of the singing, including greater care in the choice of precentor and the discontinuation of the process of 'lining out', or the reading of each line by a precentor before it was begun, a practice commonplace in Scotland at this time. Criticisms of the practice of lining out had been expressed in England half a century earlier,

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[418] David Johnson, *Music and society in lowland Scotland in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2003), 165.
[419] Johnson, *Music and society in lowland Scotland,* 164. This psalter assumed a certain standard of musical literacy, presenting psalm tunes in several parts using imitative counterpoint, alongside five anthems for use in public worship.
[420] Millar Patrick, *Four centuries of Scottish psalmody* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 111.
[421] Patrick, *Four centuries of Scottish psalmody,* 124.

but, even by 1750, the practice was still widespread in Scotland, due primarily to the significant lack of organs in Scottish churches. In the absence of accompaniment, the role of precentor was vital. As Purser notes, 'Embellishment was natural to people unable to read music and singing very slowly, and precentors were essential throughout the country to help congregations remember the words and the tune, and to set a pitch.' [422] Musically competent precentors, however, were increasingly hard to come by. Although they had only, at most, twelve psalm tunes to learn, this was still beyond the musical educational level of many precentors, many of whom were not selected for their musical skill. Many precentors may have only been able to lead the congregation securely in two or three tunes, leading inevitably to a further narrowing of psalm repertoire in many churches.

Without a musically competent precentor, the practice of lining out often appears to have been unable to prevent singers continuing to add additional grace notes, and to sing according to their own sense of musical time. This practice was considered particularly heinous in the face of musical fashion, and the several reformers of the 1750s sought to deal with this issue in a variety of different ways. Early calls for change began in Monymusk, Aberdeenshire, where amateur musician Sir Archibald Grant appointed Thomas Channon, an English soldier stationed nearby following the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, to form a choir to act as a model for a new or 'improved' method of church singing. Little is known of Channon himself, but he was presumably steeped in a similar reform movement which had taken hold in the established church in England around the turn of the eighteenth century. Sir Archibald initially instructed Channon to hold choir practices on his own estate, and to focus particularly in training his singers to observe tempo, and to sing the tune without any grace notes or affectations.[423] Grant also encouraged Channon's new choral compositions alongside the twelve familiar psalm-tunes in the existing repertory. Channon, however, soon expanded his choral direction into adjacent parishes, and from there to Aberdeen City. The *Aberdeen Intelligencer* of 26 November 1754 reported positively upon Channon's efforts: 'a method of singing the church tunes has lately been introduced . . . into several churches in this neighbourhood. The person who teaches it goes from one parish to another, and carries some of the best singers with him . . . By his skill in vocal music, and the use of a small instrument called a pitch-pipe, he has made great reform.'[424]

While it appears that Channon's 'new method' was generally received positively, he encountered strong opposition among members of the Kirk Session at St Nicholas Church in Aberdeen, who passed an edict in 1755 that their precentors were to sing 'only, in all time coming, the twelve church tunes commonly sung in churches of Scotland, and printed in parts, and recommend to the precentors to

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[422] John Purser, *Scotland's Music: a history of the traditional and classical music of Scotland from early time to the present day* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2007), 168.
[423] Sir Archibald Grant, Day Book, in David Johnson, *Music and society in lowland Scotland in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2003), 176.
[424] *Aberdeen Intelligencer*, 26 November 1754 in David Welch, 'Church Music in NE Scotland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', accessed 6 September 2021, https://wgma.org.uk/Articles/NEScotland/article.htm.

sing the same in proper time'.[425] Interestingly, there were also objections from congregation members, who felt that the new style produced more confusion than the old, and was inaccessible to ordinary worshippers. In January 1755, the *Scots Magazine* reported upon the case of Gideon Duncan, a member of the congregation at St Machar's Cathedral, Old Aberdeen, who had witnessed the introduction of the new method of singing and protested against it in public. As background to the case, the magazine reported:

> Of late, certain ladies and gentlemen in Old Aberdeen, and with them the masters of the college, having taken up a conceit that that part of worship [singing] was protracted to too great a length, and that the church tunes were not compositions of a fashionable taste, and were not sung with all the musical art, attempted to introduce a new method of singing, greatly quicker than the former, and to bring in new tunes, consisting of three parts, tenor, treble, and bass, altogether unknown to the congregation, excepting a few who were purposely instructed, the consequence of which was no small confusion, as the audience consisted mostly of farmers and mechanics, who had neither time nor ability to learn this new method, yet could not think of being debarred from praising God, a privilege which they had ever enjoyed.[426]

Duncan's opposition to the new method, it seems, was founded on the fact that it required musical ability and education, and that it therefore 'must of necessity have the effect to restrain every Christian from joining in the praises of God unless he can bear a part in the new method of singing'.[427] Indeed, in general, those who voiced their opposition to Channon's innovations argued that, while the new method may have been musically attractive, it went against the spirit of the Reformed religious tradition in that it effectively erected a barrier to universal participation in public worship.

Despite this opposition, however, Channon's new method of singing continued to spread, alongside the establishment of trained choirs in many churches throughout Aberdeen and the north-east, quickly reaching Edinburgh, where a 'Committee for improving Church-Music' was established in 1755. The committee consisted of 'a Number of the Ministers, Lords of Session, Barons of Exchequer, Musical Society, and the whole Town Council'. [428] The impetus for reform, therefore, came primarily from those in power, in collaboration with those who were musically literate. The committee appointed Robert Bremner, an influential musician and music publisher in the city, to produce a small publication, which would provide basic musical instruction for the uninitiated, thereby allowing them to access the new style of worship. Bremner's *Rudiments of Music,* published in 1756, was designed, in essence, to bring the two sides of the conversation together, and to provide a practical and affordable method for learning music, while still prioritising the musical improvement of Scottish psalmody. A similar book,

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[425] Kirk Session minutes, St Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, 20 January, 1755, in Millar Patrick, *Four centuries of Scottish psalmody* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 153.
[426] *The Scots Magazine,* 24 July 1755.
[427] Ibid.
[428] Robert Bremner, *Rudiments of Music… The Second Edition. With considerable Additions, etc* (Edinburgh: Robert Bremner, 1762), xiii.

The Psalm-Singer's Pocket Companion, appeared in Glasgow in 1756, published by Thomas Moore.[429] Earlier in his career, Moore had worked in Manchester, where he had published a similar volume - *The Psalm-Singer's compleat Tutor and Divine Companion* - and went on to establish himself as Glasgow's most celebrated 'Teacher of Church Music'.[430] Men like Bremner and Moore soon exerted significant influence in their respective cities, their aim being to involve the entire population in the effort to improve the musical quality of psalm-singing, and to bridge the troublesome gap between musical accomplishment and universal participation in the musical act of worship.

Did the reform of Scottish psalmody in the eighteenth century truly represent an 'improvement'? Scholarship is divided on this matter. Before the revived interest in Scottish national music in the second half of the twentieth century, commentators such as Gibson, in his short work, *The Old Scottish Precentor,* believed Thomas Channon to have restored a former 'life and vitality' to the musical tradition in Aberdeen: 'Thanks to Thomas [Sh]annon, Aberdeen was the first city in Scotland to banish the old, slow, quavering style of singing previously used, and to introduce a comparatively plain song by means of single syllabic notes'.[431] More recently, however, there has been a tendency to view the reformers' efforts in the 'improvement of psalmody' as a betrayal of the ancient vocal traditions of Scotland, and particularly of the communal Gaelic song tradition of the Western Isles and Highlands. Johnson, drawing attention to the presence of heterophony in the 'old style' of psalm-singing, assigns it a place within Scottish musical folk tradition, and labels it 'a weird and complex type of *folk* music'.[432] According to this view, the movement in favour of psalmody reform, particularly in the hands of Englishmen like Moore and Channon, represented a foreign incursion upon a native musical tradition and therefore 'a victory for classical music over folk music'.[433] Johnson's folk/classical division is somewhat anachronistic in this context, and his characterisation of 'foreign' and 'native' musical tradition rather troublesome. Nonetheless, the profound emotional attachment of eighteenth-century Scots to the old-style tradition of psalm-singing, and their reluctance to see it 'improved', is strongly visible here.[434]

There were a variety of forces driving the strong attachment of Scottish worshippers to their particular mode of psalm singing. Purser argues that, 'the sincerity of worship, and indeed the power of the

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[429] Thomas Moore, *The Psalm-Singer's Pocket Companion* (Glasgow: Thomas Moore, 1756).
[430] Thomas Moore, *Psalm-Singer's compleat Tutor and Divine Companion* (Manchester: Thomas Moore, 1750).
[431] W. Milne Gibson, *The Old Scottish precentor: hist. biog., anecdotal and reminiscent* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Daily Journal, 1907), 26. Gibson heavily criticised additional 'grace notes', added in improvisatory fashion by individual members of the congregation: 'These did more, perhaps, than anything else to destroy the grandeur and simplicity of the melodies. Tunes were so overladen and elaborated by grace notes that in certain cases they were altogether beyond recognition' (Gibson, 38).
[432] David Johnson, *Music and society in lowland Scotland in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2003), 173. Johnson argues that the style bore many characteristics of folk music, being monodic (often using only one melody line), orally transmitted and static in repertory.
[433] Johnson, *Music and society in lowland Scotland,* 180.
[434] This older style of psalm singing still survives today in the West of Scotland, particularly in Gaelic congregations of the Free Church of Scotland, where musical instruments are often still eschewed.

metrical psalms and their tunes, should not be underestimated'.[435] Hood, in his exploration of the relationship between psalm-singing and emotion in the Early Modern period, argues that the singing of metrical psalms in Scotland 'had the power to both evoke and express emotions', and was 'integrated into the fundamental emotional processes which constituted Scottish Protestant introspective piety'.[436] For Scottish protestants, the act of singing psalms was an important mode of approaching God directly through prayer, and was valued by many believers as a particularly intimate form of religious devotion. Metrical psalm singing therefore represented a 'musically augmented' spiritual practice rather than simply a way to set biblical text to music.[437] Crucially, in Scotland, this practice was open to all: Duguid argues that 'metrical psalms became the religious songs of Scotland for both literate and non-literate people'.[438] The devotional value of this musical tradition was expressed even by elite Scots: Lady Anne Barnard, daughter of the Earl of Lindsay (1750-1825), reminisced in 1805 with great fondness upon the 'horrid discords with which a Presbyterian congregation assails the ears – a discord to me now more pious in its sounds of willing praise than all the organs or hired choir-singers in the world'.[439] By the eighteenth century, this musical tradition undoubtedly held national meaning, becoming an expression not only of religious devotion, but also of Scottish identity. It is hardly surprising that the improvement of Scottish psalmody, however well-intended, often met with opposition when it threatened such a fundamental mode of faith expression for Scots themselves.

3.3 Robert Bremner's 'Improvement of the Psalmody'

After an initial burst of energy in the North-East of Scotland, the reform movement in Scottish church music was swiftly taken up in Edinburgh, aided by Robert Bremner. Bremner himself appears to have had an existing interest in musical education, and likely worked as a music teacher around Leith in the early part of his career, before he established his music publishing business in around 1754.[440] Given Bremner's educational expertise and commercial bent, he was well-placed to write a small volume which would help to cement the ideals of the reform movement in Scotland's many churches. His 1756 publication, *The Rudiments of Music,* was ambitious, containing twenty-two new psalm tunes in addition to the standard twelve, as well as several chants, canons, and anthems. For Johnson, though, Bremner's selection is problematic: 'The last section shows strong English influence, as though Bremner had raked through English publications in search of easy choir pieces, irrespective of their un-

[435] Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 167.
[436] Nathan Hood, 'Metrical psalm-singing and emotion in Scottish Protestant affective piety, 1560-1650', *Reformation and Renaissance Review,* Vol. 23, No. 2 (2021), 16.
[437] Hood, 'Metrical psalm-singing and emotion', 3.
[438] Timothy Duguid, 'Sing a new song: English and Scottish metrical psalmody from 1549-1640', Vol. 1 (PhD: University of Edinburgh, 2011), 292.
[439] Patrick, *Four centuries of Scottish psalmody,* 143.
[440] *Caledonian Mercury,* 6 December 1753.

Presbyterian tendencies'.[441] Yet, if we examine *The Rudiments* more closely, we encounter not a 'classical' musician keen to eradicate Scottish musical tradition, but instead a man with a genuine respect for Scottish psalmody. Bremner believed that, in the years following the Scottish Reformation, 'Church-music appears to have been more regularly performed than it has among us for many years past'.[442] For him, badly sung psalmody was an offence to God, but when well-sung, it had significant power: 'The Harmony of united Parts, when performed regularly by a numerous Congregation, strikes the Soul with Awe and Reverence, and greatly heightens Devotion. The Grandeur of the Music alone might induce some to go to Church, who are otherwise indifferent about it.'[443] At the heart of Bremner's musical manual, therefore, is a heartfelt belief that well-performed Scottish psalmody could attract new members to the church and thereby further the church's evangelistic purpose.

Throughout the lengthy introduction to Bremner's *Rudiments* (expanded in the second edition of 1762), it is apparent that he was acutely aware of the opinions of those who wished the psalmody to remain unchanged. He actively responds to these concerns, explicitly recognising that the most common challenge to the reform of Scottish psalmody is the much repeated maxim, 'that every Man ought to praise God in his own Way'.[444] Importantly, many reformers admitted that an increase in musical quality (at least as defined by the reform movement) in Scottish churches had the undesirable effect of excluding those who were not musically trained from taking part in this important aspect of public worship. Rather than working to restrict access to musical participation in religious worship, then, Bremner's small and inexpensive pocket book was intended to solve this problem, through the provision of basic musical instruction which could be understood 'even by People of the lowest Rank and Education'.[445] Bremner hoped that the general populace could be taught to sight-read music, for, while many people were taught psalm-tunes 'in a most regular Manner', they received no subsequent musical instruction in later life, and were rendered 'incapable of joining in any new Compositions without going to School again, which cannot be expected'.[446] In other words, the limited musical education of the average Scottish worshipper restricted them to a limited number of psalm tunes they had learned in their youth. Bremner's longed-for outcome was for each and every church member to become musically literate enough that 'harmonious Praise would prevail everywhere', through his 'simple Method laid down for reviving and conducting [the Psalmody] properly'.[447] His mission to implement universal musical education in the service of God was nothing if not ambitious.

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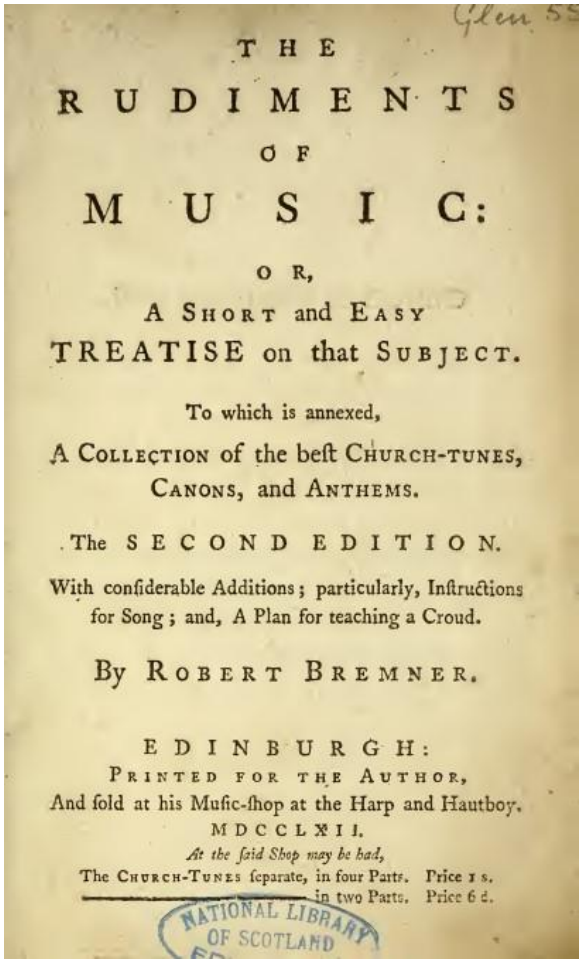
[441] Johnson, *Music and society in lowland Scotland*, 178.
[442] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music,* v.
[443] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music*, ix.
[444] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music,* viii.
[445] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music*, iv.
[446] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music*, vi.
[447] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music*, v.



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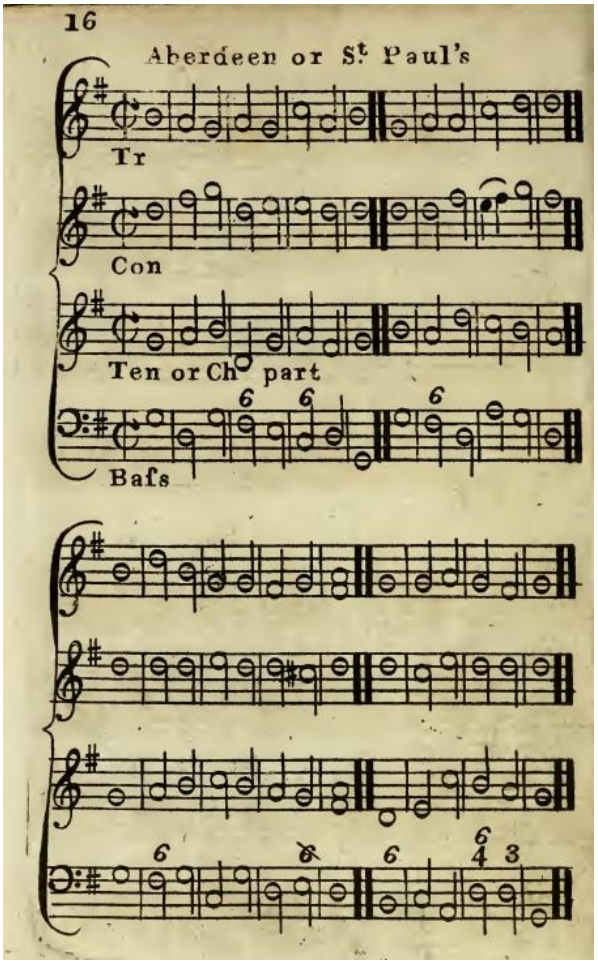

Figure 12. Robert Bremner, *Rudiments of Music… The Second Edition,* 1762. Source: ISMLP.[448]

By the second edition of the *Rudiments* in 1762, however, Bremner had adopted a slightly different approach. Aimed less at worshippers themselves, and more at those who might be in charge of the musical instruction of congregations, this new edition contains both 'Instructions for Song' and 'A Plan for Teaching a Croud'. Perhaps Bremner had discovered that those working-class individuals at whom the 1756 edition was aimed had no spare time to devote to acquiring musical skills, or did not have sufficient literacy to follow the instructions contained therein. 'A Plan for Teaching a Croud' now laid down rules for those 'who are Teachers of this essential Piece of Education', who 'are called, or go to a Town or Village to teach Church-music.'[449] Bremner provided a precentor with tools to acquaint his congregation with basic musical skills, and methods for transferring these skills directly into the church context. To achieve this, he suggests that all singers rehearse together in a large room, and proceed with basic musical theory as laid out in the *Rudiments.* A teacher must encourage the attendance of the 'better sort' of individual, whose superior skill in musical performance will provide an Example for 'the Vulgar'.[450] Bremner's detailed instructions reveal his own experience in education and in church

[448] Robert Bremner, *Rudiments of Music… The Second Edition. With considerable Additions, etc* (Edinburgh: Robert Bremner, 1762), Frontispiece, 16.
[449] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music*, 44.
[450] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music*, 45.

music: his 'Plan' provides advice for addressing common problems, such as the singer who appears at first tone-deaf.[451] Importantly, these instructions were intended to avoid the necessity of hiring paid singers, or purchasing an organ, neither of which are recommended anywhere in the *Rudiments.* In fact, Bremner firmly argued against instrumental accompaniment to psalmody, declaring that the number of voices 'gave Life and Strength… enable[ing] them to perform more justly in Tune than any Organ is capable of.'[452] Choirs and organs were not, in his opinion, superior to the unaccompanied voices of ordinary worshippers.

In his *Rudiments,* Bremner is revealed to be a committed educationalist, whose musical skill, combined with religious fervour, motivated him to improve the musical experience of Scottish worshippers through a specific mode of learning. Admittedly, Bremner's attitude to musical quality was that of a trained, professional musician who moved in circles primarily consisting of, in his own words, 'the better sort'. By 1755, he was heavily involved in the activities of the Edinburgh Musical Society, whose membership comprised a number of gentlemen amateurs who enjoyed the latest Italian musical fashions and encouraged the import of foreign music. Just as Scottish composers of the 1740s sought to elevate Scots tunes by adding basses so that they could be performed in Edinburgh's fashionable concerts, so too did Bremner seek to render Scottish psalmody more acceptable to the ears of those who had the power to champion it. Bremner may very well have been inspired by the choral singing he heard on business trips to London, perhaps at Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, or many of the larger churches, where professional choirs were well-established by the 1750s. Nonetheless, there was true religious zeal behind Bremner's actions: his 'Plan for Teaching a Croud' ends with a moving description of the emotional power of a simple Church-tune sung by a large congregation: 'Those who have not heard a hundred and sixty Voices or upward perform a Church-tune…in all its Parts, with proper Pauses, and fine Swells, can be no Judges of this Matter'.[453] Bremner's defence also extends to the repertoire of Scottish psalmody: rather than suggesting the addition of hymns and anthems, he states that twelve psalms, sung well, are sufficient for any Congregation.[454] In his reforming zeal, therefore, Bremner did not seek to replace entirely the old style of Scottish psalm-singing, but to restore it to what he considered to be its former glory, through the medium of high-quality music education for all Scottish Presbyterian worshippers.

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[451] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music*, 49. Bremner's solutions are often amusingly pragmatic: in the case of the talentless singer, he recommends encouraging patience and perseverance until they either improve or finally 'declare themselves incapable, and from that Moment cease to open their Mouths'.
[452] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music*, 59.
[453] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music*, 16.
[454] Bremner, *Rudiments of Music*, 16.

3.4 Psalmody Reform in early eighteenth-century London

One of the central criticisms of Scottish reformers was that their ideas did not emanate from within Scotland itself. Although Bremner believed that he was remaining true to the traditional character of Scottish psalmody, the reforming tradition he espoused had its origins in England fifty years before. Around the turn of the eighteenth century, many commentators on English church music, particularly in London, identified a decline in the popularity of psalmody as a musical genre. This was a concern because, just as in Scotland, psalmody was considered to be a unifying feature of worship for all Christians. As John Chetham declared in in 1718, 'Singing of Psalms is so fit a part of Divine Service, so natural an Expression of our Joy, and serves to so many noble Ends, that it comes recommended to us by the Practice of all Nations, seems to be as ancient as publick Worship, and has had the good Fortune to be approv'd of by all Parties of what Denomination soever'.[455] By the turn of the eighteenth century, however, many complained, as in Scotland half a century later, that factionalism and theological concerns regarding the appropriateness of music in church had led to a 'paucity of Persons educated or taught to Sing'.[456] At this time, English congregational psalm-singing was often described using similar language to that used by later Scottish reformers, claiming that worshippers made 'harsh and disagreeing Sounds', and that they performed psalms 'poorly and awkwardly', without adequate musical leaders.[457] The problem was often characterised in class terms: a sermon preached by Luke Milbourne in 1713 to the Company of Parish-Clerks emphasised widespread concern that the 'better sort…are willing to gratify an Eunuch singing in an Opera, in a much more liberal Manner than a Teacher of Psalmody'.[458] The upper classes in early eighteenth-century England, more likely to be musically literate, were unwilling to devote their energies to the 'mending' of parish psalmody, preferring instead secular art music at the theatre.

The wider problem of the decline of psalmody, then, was framed in terms of a perceived drop in musical quality, itself a product of a decline in musical education, which in turn affected the cultural reputation of the very act of psalm-singing and diminished its value as a devotional act. The 'discordant' sound made by congregations was generally held to be an embarrassment, and to cause 'this part of God's Worship to be even nauseated and ridicul'd to the great Dishonour of God, and Scandal of Religion'.[459] For two reasons, however, this problem was perhaps more pronounced, and arose earlier, in England than in the Scottish Presbyterian context. First, musical standards at leading

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[455] John Chetham, *A Book of Psalmody, containing Variety of Tunes for all the Common Metres of the Psalms*, 5th edition (London: W. Pearson, 1736), Preface.
[456] B.P, parish-clerk, *The Parish-Clerk's Guide: or, the Singing Psalms used in the Parish Churches suited to the Feasts and Fasts of the Church of England* (London: Company of Parish-Clerks, 1709), 5.
[457] John Barrow, *The Psalm-Singer's Choice Companion, or an Imitation of Heaven on Earth; and the Beauty of Holiness* (London: printed for the author, c. 1740), Preface; James Leman, *A New Method of Learning Psalm-Tunes, with an Instrument of Musick call'd the Psalterer* (London: printed for the author by G. Smith, 1729), iii.
[458] Luke Milbourne, *Psalmody, recommended in a Sermon Preach'd to the Company of Parish-Clerks, at St Alban's Woodstreet, November 17, at St Giles's in the Fields, November 22, 1712* (London: J. Downing, 1713), 26.
[459] B.P, *The Parish-Clerk's Guide,* 5.

English religious establishments had dramatically improved by the turn of the eighteenth century. Milbourne drew attention to the fact that 'our Cathedrals, and Royal, and College-Chappels have been wonderfully advanced both in Vocal and Instrumental Harmony', and that, set against such splendour, the musical 'failings' of ordinary worshippers were heightened.[460] Musical establishments such as the Chapel Royal had been actively expanded significantly from the Restoration onwards in order to rival the musical excellence of its equivalent in France, both in terms of repertoire and the level of training provided to church musicians. Particularly in London, accompanying instruments (most commonly organs, viols and lutes) were gradually introduced in order to support more lengthy and complex anthems in traditional Anglican liturgy. At the same time, those musicians in charge of musical establishments at cathedrals and significant London churches recruited highly trained singers in an increasingly professionalised context, again alienating the ordinary worshipper further from musical participation in worship. Overall, there was a widening, and audible, gap between musical standards at the best (and often the wealthiest) religious establishments, and that encountered in the average parish church, particularly in rural areas.

Second, there was a perception, particularly in London, that close neighbours at dissenting Protestant churches had been able to maintain a far higher quality of psalm-singing than congregations in the established English church. James Leman, in his tutor for the psalterer, complained that London's French and Dutch congregations were far more competent at psalm-singing than the English:

> The French and Dutch Protestants here with us, sing their Psalms much better than we, though their Tunes are more difficult than ours, as well as more in Number; whereas we, for the most part (excepting those Churches where they have Organs) sing our Psalms, as if it were a new or Strange Exercise, that we were not yet used or accustomed to.[461]

The efforts of the French and the Dutch were also admired by Milbourne, who attributed their success in this area to vocal education at an early age:

> …the High and the Low Dutch, and French, have taken more Care of their ordinary Psalmody than we have done. Among them you may hear crouded Congregations singing really with all their Might, and singing skilfully too with a loud Noise, without one discordant Voice in the whole Consort. Among them we may hear little Children in their Schools, whither they are sent very early, such as can scarce speak plain, yet singing Psalms under the Direction of their School-Mistress; and well-grown Lads under that of their School-Masters; by which they are all fitted to sing Psalms to their Organs, on Sundays especially, with so agreeable an Harmony, as cannot but take much with those, who come thither with a Design to Do Honour to their Maker.[462]

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[460] Milbourne, *Psalmody, recommended in a Sermon*, 25.
[461] James Leman, *A New Method of Learning Psalm-Tunes, with an Instrument of Musick call'd the Psalterer* (London: printed for the author, 1729), iii-iv.
[462] Milbourne, *Psalmody, recommended in a Sermon,* 25.

In London, then, it was possible to experience both a wider range of musical styles (some home-grown, others imported), and to compare the state of psalmody in England (usually unfavourably) both to the increasingly high musical standards achieved in professional Anglican music establishments, and to the long-standing excellence of psalm-singing in diasporic congregations in the Continental Reformed tradition.

It is not surprising, therefore, that it was from London that reforming zeal largely emanated, and that the vast majority of publications designed to encourage the improvement of the psalmody were published there. In London, far more than in rural parishes, significant change had occurred by 1741. Many of the larger churches in Westminster, as Temperley argues, 'led the way to an "improved" kind of town psalmody, which was respectable or even elegant by educated standards and in fairly close touch with the developments of cathedral music and of secular art music'.[463] Broadly speaking, the presence or absence of an organ was key to the fate of psalm-singing within any particular parish. While an organ could in theory continue to support congregational psalm-singing, its presence also paved the way to a greater variety and complexity of church music, sung increasingly by paid musicians external to the congregation itself. Temperley's comprehensive statistical analysis of the presence of organs in London parish churches reveals a distinct trend in favour of organs from 1660 onwards.[464] Organs were purchased for many churches from the late seventeenth century onwards, often by wealthier donors associated with the church, who cemented their social status through the provision of organs, choirs, and associated charity schools. By 1741, organs were commonplace in in the established churches of City of London and Westminster, and by the end of the century, almost universal. As organs increased in number, unaccompanied psalm-singing in the old style became rarer. Often, organs were purchased against the will of ordinary congregation members, and congregational singing discouraged in favour of paid singers performing newly written hymns and anthems 'after the Italian manner', the improvement of psalm-singing forgotten.

3.5 Music in London's Scottish Presbyterian Churches

This background of musical change in London's established churches in the first half of the eighteenth century brings into sharper focus developments in musical worship style at the several Scottish Presbyterian congregations in London after 1741. These dissenting churches inhabited the same geographical space as the Anglican churches nearby, but nonetheless were theologically at a significant remove. Because of this, it is quite possible that dissenting congregations sitting outwith

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[463] Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 113.

[464] Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church,* 112. By 1700, 19% of City of London churches had organs, 42.8% in the Out-parishes, and 83.3% in Westminster. By 1750, 88.9% of Westminster churches had organs, but the percentage of organs in City parishes had reached 48.4%, and Out-parishes stood at 59%. By 1800, 72.1% of City churches had installed an organ, alongside 94.9% of Out-parishes, and all functioning churches in Westminster.

the Anglican parish system were to some extent immune to the influence of those who sought to improve psalmody in the established Church of England. Similarly, they were geographically distant from those attempting to do so in Scotland. Certainly, there is evidence to suggest that Scots were particularly well-known in London for espousing the old-style of psalm-singing, and particularly for their practice of lining out, which had attracted so much criticism from both English and Scottish reformers. Milbourne, preaching in 1712, wrote that lining out was 'a Practice therefore admitted of in no well-order'd Church, that of North-Britain only excepted, and it was brought first into England by them in the Head of those Rebellious Arms, which they rais'd against the best of Churches, and the best of Kings.'[465] Milbourne's angle here is interesting: not only does he assign national character to this particular musical practice, but he simultaneously accuses the Scots of introducing lining out into England in the context of a broader attack on England and its religious customs. Evidently, music could be used as political weapon in a still tense relationship between Scotland and England following the Act of Union five years earlier. Such rhetoric, however, does support the idea that unaccompanied psalm-singing was seen by Londoners as central to Reformed, and particularly, Scottish worship.

Several Scottish Presbyterian congregations flourished in London between 1741 and 1815. Archival records survive for three of these congregations: Crown Court Church of Scotland in Covent Garden, and Swallow Street, St. James, both in Westminster, and the London Wall Scotch Congregation in the City of London. The minute books of the Kirk Session for each church during our period are an excellent source of material concerning musical developments in each congregation, though the level of detail recorded varies significantly. Apart from the Bible itself, the psalm-book in a Presbyterian church was the 'chief book of devotion', held 'peculiarly sacred' by Scottish congregations for centuries.[466] Psalm-singing was a central part of weekly services on the Sabbath, and also played a structural role at special services, such as the ordination of a new minister at Swallow Street church:

> The which day the Presbytery met in the Vestry of Swallow Street about after 10 and having previously concerted the plans of the proceedings, in the Ordination of Mr. Nicol, and the Congregation being assembled… the Rev. Mr. Arnish of Camberwell began the service by giving out a Psalm and after singing, Prayed. A few Verses of a Psalm were then sung, and the Revd. Mr. Love … succeeded a number of suitable Passages of Scripture both in the Old and New Testament. After singing after, the Revd.d. Mr Heven of Crown Court Preached the Ordination Sermon from 2 Corinthians: 2 and 15-16. After singing again a few verses, the Revd Mr Love appeared in the Pulpit a second time, when he gave the narrative and propounded to Mr Nicol the usual Questions…'After Prayer, Dr Trotter, in the presence of the Congregation, gave Mr Nicol the Right Hand of Fellowships and the other Minister did the same. Three verses more were sung and the Revd. Dr. Hunter of London Wall gave the Charges and the Revd. Mr. Rullidge of Wapping prayed and concluded the Solemn Work of the Day.[467]

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[465] Milbourne, *Psalmody, recommended in a Sermon,* 33.
[466] Patrick, *Four centuries of Scottish psalmody,* 164.
[467] Minute Book (1770-1801), LMA/4365/A/002, Swallow Street Church, London Metropolitan Archives, 1796.

Psalms were also sung routinely at meetings of the Kirk Session, the committee of ruling elders. At Crown Court Church, for example, each Kirk Session minute noted that meetings 'opened with singing' of a psalm, and 'closed with singing and Prayer by the Minister', a practice that persists today.[468] Psalm-singing was therefore undoubtedly fundamental to the congregational musical experience of worshippers in London's eighteenth-century Scottish churches.

One source of potential influence on psalm-singing in this context was Robert Bremner himself, who was involved with at least two Scottish congregations after his move to London in late 1762. On arrival, he and his wife, Margaret, joined the congregation of Crown Court Church, Covent Garden, no doubt because it was the closest to their business and residence on the Strand. Their names appear in the church's membership rolls for January 1763, and their third child, Helen (or Ellen) was baptised there on the 26th June 1763.[469] In 1772, Bremner also established a connection with the Scottish congregation in Swallow Street, St James, publishing a new manual, *Church Harmony: or Psalm-Tunes in Four Parts,* 'compiled and adapted for the Use of the Meeting House in Swallow-Street.'[470] This publication contains the basic musical instruction as previously published in his *Rudiments* of 1756 and 1762, alongside a new, very brief, preface, addressed to 'those who have not the Opportunity of being taught to Sing'. The Minutes of the Kirk Session of Swallow Street church contain no references to Bremner's *Church Harmony,* and the church's accounts survive only from the period 1737-1770, so we cannot know whether the Kirk Session itself had expressly requested the publication, as Bremner's frontispiece implies. However, the date of publication, 1772, may be linked to an increase in salary of the Clerk's position in the early 1770s, to £6 6s, with an addition fee of £2 2s for a weekly 'Lecture'.[471] Still, it is quite possible that Bremner was responding to a genuine desire among this congregation, located in relatively affluent St James and presumably numbering more of 'the better sort', to improve their psalmody. Yet we should not assume that the impetus necessarily came from within Swallow Street itself: Bremner may simply have spotted an opportunity simultaneously to reprint his *Rudiments* under a new title and dedication, and to encourage a London congregation singing in the old style to learn the new method. We cannot therefore be certain whether *Church Harmony* had any specific effect on the practice of psalm-singing at Swallow Street.

The records of London Wall church, the oldest Scottish congregation in London at this date, present a certain uneasiness regarding the development of psalmody, particularly at the turn of the nineteenth century. In the church's cash books for the period 1754-1836, payments to a Clerk are present from at

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[468] Minute Book (1794-1828), CH2/852/3, London, Crown Court Kirk Session Records, National Records of Scotland, 27.
[469] List of persons admitted to communion (1759-1773); CH2/852/12, Baptisms and Alphabetical list of Baptisms (1752-1780), CH2/852/15, London, Crown Court Kirk Session, National Records of Scotland.
[470] Robert Bremner, *Church Harmony: or, Psalm-Tunes, in Four Parts ... Compiled ... for the Use of the Meeting in Swallow-Street. To which are prefixed Instructions for Singing them* (London: Robert Bremner, 1772).
[471] Minute Book (1770-1801), LMA/4365/A/002, Swallow Street Church, London Metropolitan Archives, 8 October 1771. It is unclear whether the 'Lecture', led by the Clerk, had any didactic musical content.

least 1754, and these chart a gradual increase in salary for the position over this period.[472] In 1755, the clerk was paid £8 per annum, with a slight increase to 9 guineas in the 1770s. Over this period 1755-1789, four men held the office, with a fifth, a Mr Binley, appointed in 1789. In 1796, the Kirk Session increased Mr Binley's salary to twelve Guineas in consideration of his 'singing twice every Lord's day oftener than formerly'.[473] It would appear that, for whatever reason, the services of a Precentor were now required both at the morning and evening services from this date. The next clerk, Mr Samuel Major, who had served before Mr Binley, returned to the role in 1800, but with a significantly higher annual salary of £21. It appears, therefore, that the role of clerk or precentor was increasingly valued at London Wall Scotch church during the second half of the eighteenth century. Crucially, the congregation at London Wall may not have been musically literate. Dr Robert Young wrote in his 'Record of London Wall' that the character of the congregation, from the late seventeenth century, did not consist of elites or even the middling classes: 'there were some Respectable Gentlemen & Merchants who were Members of the Congregation, but, comparatively speaking there were very few persons of this rank & Character.' Instead, worshippers at London Wall were largely 'Young Persons, beginning the World, and families in the lower and more servile stations of life.'[474] If this was still the case in the early 1800s, a larger, unwieldy congregation may have required vocal instruction from a precentor at every service.

The regular services of a precentor, however, did not necessarily guarantee a high quality of psalm-singing. In January 1807, the Kirk Session Minutes at London Wall record that some in the congregation had 'expressed a Wish, that the Singing in the Church were improved and more attended to.'[475] The Kirk Session came up with a plan, the details of which are tantalisingly entirely unrecorded:

> It was unanimously Resolved, that Measures be as soon as convenient taken for carrying this plan with effect. Meanwhile, the Vestry recommend to each other that in their Respective Circles of acquaintance they frequently mention the Matter in order to Prepare the Minds of the Congregation for receiving, and patronising the plan.[476]

Importantly, this mysterious change was not to take place without the congregation's approval. Members of the Kirk Session were expected to test the waters over the coming weeks in informal conversations to prepare the congregation, and to gain their 'patronage' of the plan. Perhaps it was in these conversations that it became evident that the proposed change was unpopular; in any event, at

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[472] Cash book (1754-98), CLC/182/MS04964, Scots Church, London Wall, London Metropolitan Archives. Earlier payments in the cash book often recorded only a name, making it difficult to establish whether the payment was for a clerk or another employee of the church.
[473] Session Minutes (1786-1815), CLC/182/MS04969/001, Scots Church, London Wall, London Metropolitan Archives, 33 (30 June 1796).
[474] 'Record of London Wall' in the handwriting of Dr Robert Young, containing materials for a history of the church and congregation down to 1716, CLC/182/MS04973, Scots Church, London Wall, London Metropolitan Archives.
[475] Session Minutes (1786-1815), Scots Church, London Wall, 155 (8 January 1807).
[476] Ibid.

this point, there is no evidence that any change was implemented. Nearly two years later, however, in December 1808, after a period in which it appears to have been difficult to fill the role, the Session persuaded a Mr Peck, stationer, to agree to be Clerk, on the condition that 'he be allowed the use of the Church One Evening in the Month, for the teaching the Singing of Psalms, Hymns, etc'.[477] Whether this had been part of the Clerk's job description before this date is unclear, but it does seem that by this point, willing members of the congregation were receiving musical instruction outside the hours of formal worship. In 1834 the church purchased twelve psalm books for 'strangers', suggesting that, by this point, regular members of the congregation sang from their own books.[478] The 'plan' of the Kirk Session, then, may have been the encouragement of the congregation in their musical education, presumably accompanied by the expansion of the psalmody and in particular the inclusion of hymns. Nonetheless, the London Wall congregation did not purchase an organ during this period, continuing to employ a Precentor until 1836 and beyond. Improvements in psalm-singing did not, under the Scottish model, require instrumental accompaniment.

At Crown Court Church, Covent Garden, records concerning musical development are more frequent, reflecting significantly more detailed Kirk Session minutes. From the early 1790s, the Kirk Session's records consistently recognise a need for improvement of the psalmody at Crown Court, but efforts to achieve this were frequently thwarted by the lack of a musically competent Clerk. Indeed, Crown Court often seems to have struggled to find suitable candidates for the role, leading to more frequent complaints concerning the quality of psalm-singing. Many clerks appear to have been unwilling to take the educational element of their role seriously: in 1794, the then Clerk, Mr. Redford, recently 'engaged to attend a society in the Meeting [House] for the Improvement of the Psalmody' on Wednesday evenings, had 'gross[ly] neglect[ed]' his duties', and his salary was immediately withheld.[479] These musical training sessions for the improvement of the psalmody were, it seems, established by the 1790s, but the tone of the entry implies that these were of relatively recent introduction. Three years later, the Session appointed another Clerk, Mr Brown, who, again, was paid two guineas on top of his annual salary 'for attending one Evening in the week to give Instruction in Psalmody to those of the Congregation who attended for that purpose'.[480] Yet in 1798, Mr Brown ceased to become Clerk, and the office became vacant once more. The Kirk Session resolved:

> That the Young Men be requested to officiate in turn, and further enquiries made after a suitable person to fill the Office of Clerk and that some of the Elders do attend on the Wednesday evenings when the Young Men usually meet that they may judge of the abilities of

[477] Session Minutes (1786-1815), Scots Church, London Wall, 164 (28 December 1808)
[478] Treasurers' Cash Book, (1786-1815), CLC/182/MS04967/001, Scots Church, London Wall, LMA, 1834.
[479] Session Minutes (1794-1828), CH2/852/3: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 11.
[480] Session Minutes (1794-1828), CH2/852/3: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 29.

> those who are associated for the improvement of Psalmody in our own Church or such other persons who may attend as Candidates.[481]

Efforts at Crown Court to find a musically trained individual for the role of Precentor or Clerk were certainly patchy. On this occasion, the Session does intimate that 'other persons' may attend as Candidates, and it seems that there may have been attempts to advertise the role beyond the church's immediate congregation. Yet in general, Crown Court largely recruited from a relatively small pool of 'Young Men' of the congregation, perhaps prioritising younger, stronger voices.

The extent to which the congregation received musical instruction at all depended primarily upon the enthusiasm and character of each Clerk. In March 1811, a particularly effective Clerk, Mr Parish, was given an additional salary 'having of late been much engaged improving the Psalmody by instructing the young people in the Congregation'.[482] Yet, despite the best of intentions, evening sessions devoted to the improvement of the psalmody were held irregularly, and were often paused in the Summer season.[483] In the early nineteenth century, unsuccessful appointments became a familiar pattern. In 1831, the aforementioned Mr Parish, now aged, was no longer able to fulfil his duties as Clerk due to 'weakness of nerves and a consequent failure of voice', but was unwilling to give up the role. The situation was so serious that his lack of facility was actually causing a decline in the congregation numbers:

> There had long been reason to know that the want of an efficient leader of the Psalmody had offended many persons who were accustomed to worship with us at Crown Court and had also prevented others from attending the Ministers who occasionally Preached, likewise remarking upon the very indifferent and lifeless manner in which that part of the service was conducted.[484]

Faced with the likelihood of Mr Parish causing further offence, The Kirk Session swiftly resolved to remove him from his position 'for the satisfaction of the Congregation', replacing him with a younger model on trial.[485] Unfortunately, the new Clerk was also ill-suited to the role (lacking 'power of voice' and 'liveliness of manner') and, for the next decade, various men were appointed without success or longevity. It was only in 1840, with complaints regarding the quality of psalmody again mounting, that the Session finally resolved 'to procure a Precentor thoroughly acquainted with Music, and well able to form a Choir from among the Members of this Church'.[486] The church therefore, while evidently recognising the importance of high quality psalmody, failed, during the period in question, to appoint a Clerk competent to lead the congregation in that endeavour.

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[481] Ibid.
[481] Session Minutes (1794-1828), CH2/852/3: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 37.
[482] Session Minutes (1794-1828), CH2/852/3: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 107.
[483] Session Minutes (1794-1828), CH2/852/3: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 33.
[484] Session Minutes (1794-1828), CH2/852/3: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 39.
[485] Ibid.
[486] Session Minutes (1829-1848), CH2/852/4: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 101.

The fact that these musical matters were frequently discussed by the Kirk Session at Crown Court Church does demonstrate that both the ruling elders and members of the congregation cared enough about 'that most important part of Divine Worship' to attempt to improve it, though success was limited.[487] Yet, even with limited material available for comparison pertaining to the Swallow Street and London Wall congregations, it appears that Crown Court was particularly resistant to change. In 1797, when members of the congregation requested that the practice of lining out by the Clerk be discontinued, the matter was deferred indefinitely.[488] Suggestions of expansion of the psalmody were similarly resisted: when consideration of the Scots Paraphrases was raised in February 1797, it was recorded that 'after mature deliberation the Session are unanimously of opinion that no innovation or alteration in the Psalmody used in the Church of Crown Court ought to be attempted without perfect unanimity of the Members'.[489] It is striking that this suggestion was rejected, as the publication in question, containing 67 metrical paraphrases, had been expressly approved for use in 1781 by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.[490] Nonetheless, the matter was buried for another decade and a half, until another conversation, in 1813, 'respecting the propriety of an enlargement of the Psalmody in Crown Court after various observations upon the subject'.[491] Finally, it was resolved that the church should use an additional Psalmody 'in conjunction with the Scots Psalms', specifically 'the version of Dr Watts with the Hymns of that Author'.[492] For decades, the congregation and Kirk Session at Crown Court deliberately chose to resist calls for an enlarged psalmody; a small choir was introduced as late as 1852, and an organ only in the 1880s.[493] This diaspora community, then, was reluctant to adopt musical change that would represent a break from long-held Scottish tradition.

3.5 Conclusion

In Scotland, when Scottish reformers such as Channon, Moore and even Bremner attempted to improve the quality of psalm-singing in church, they met with opposition in certain quarters. The fact that several of the reformers were English, emanating from a similar, though not identical, reform movement which had sprung up in London half a century earlier, may have rankled. Class issues may also have been at play: though anachronistic to describe eighteenth-century Scottish psalmody as 'folk music', nonetheless it was a humbler expression of Scottish musical tradition, associated with a broader demographic including labourers, servants and others who had little if any education or social capital. Art music, which exhibited the sort of musical 'quality' the reformers desired, was in practice

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[487] Ibid.
[488] Session Minutes (1794-1828), CH2/852/3: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 33.
[489] Session Minutes (1794-1828), CH2/852/3: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 31.
[490] Church of Scotland, *Translations and paraphrases, in verse, of several passages of sacred scripture. Collected and prepared by a committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in order to be sung in churches* (Edinburgh: J. Dickson, 1781).
[491] Session Minutes (1794-1828), CH2/852/3: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 117.
[492] Ibid.
[493] Session Minutes (1829-1848), CH2/852/4: London, Crown Court Kirk Session, LMA, 47.

socially exclusive. The kind of music performed at the Edinburgh Musical Society, by whom Bremner was employed, did emanate largely from 'foreign parts' and was performed by trained musicians and gentlemen amateurs who hungered for the latest Italian fashions. As a result, and as Bremner himself admitted, opposition to reform was usually couched in the language of democratisation of worship. Specifically, people complained that the new method, which required literacy (both written and musical) acted as a bar to universal participation, and prevented the ordinary worshipper praising God 'in his own way'. Bremner himself tackled this concern head on, employing both educational experience and religious zeal to outline, in his *Rudiments,* a method of musical instruction which would restore Scottish psalmody to its (possibly imagined) former glory. His advice was aimed at precentors, who were in a position to steer congregations to a more 'musical' result, through a basic education in singing and sight-reading. In doing so, Bremner believed that he was strengthening Scottish psalmody, rather than replacing it.

In the London context, old-style psalmody, as led by a precentor, and unaccompanied by an organ, was recognised during this period by Scots and non-Scots alike as a Scottish cultural tradition. And, though some piecemeal changes were made at the turn of the nineteenth century, the members and Kirk Sessions of Swallow Street, London Wall, and Crown Court strongly maintained the tradition of Scottish psalmody. They were, however, by no means entirely immune to reforming zeal. Indeed, the degree of enthusiasm for departing from the 'old style' of psalm-singing seems to have depended to a large extent on the character of each congregation. Bremner's *Church Harmony* might point to some enthusiasm for the reformers' ideals at Swallow Street, the Scottish congregation with the wealthiest locale and demographic. Removed from parent church and nation, the musical practice of a Scottish congregation in affluent Piccadilly might have been more likely to move towards musical reform, encouraged by trends in nearby fashionable churches and in Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Kirk Sessions at London Wall and Crown Court, however, exhibit a greater reluctance to make changes to the musical traditions of their churches. Particularly at Crown Court, despite consistent needling from those who favoured 'improvement', the strong attachment of Crown Court's Kirk Session to older traditions of lining out and a minimal psalmody is marked. Perhaps tellingly, the congregations at both Crown Court and London Wall consisted largely of members of the working classes, and, under a Presbyterian model, the views of the congregation mattered. At London Wall, the 'plan' for improvement had to be presented carefully to the congregation for approval; at Crown Court, change was ruled out unless there was 'perfect unanimity' of all members. Reform was therefore always constrained to certain parameters.

The foregoing analysis has shed light upon a hitherto unexamined aspect of the musical experience of ordinary Scots in mid to late eighteenth-century London. While 'the better sort' may have experienced Scottish music through published sheet music, on the stage, or in the home, Scotsmen and women of a much wider social demographic participated in the tradition of Scottish psalmody at London's

Scottish churches. Viewed in this light, Scottish congregational music-making in London becomes a vehicle for expression of a diasporic identity through participation in a communal cultural act. Particularly before the development of a more formal Scottish associational culture in London, the city's Scottish Presbyterian churches may have been one of few contexts in which émigrés felt no or little pressure to assimilate or adapt their identity in order to thrive. When singing familiar psalms in a distinctly Scottish social environment, Scots in eighteenth-century London (at least those who chose to worship with their compatriots) may also have been able to access an emotional connection with their native country, without having to assert it expressly. In other words, regular worshippers at London Wall, Swallow Street, and Crown Court churches were able to express their Scottish musical and religious identities concomitantly, reinforcing both real and imagined connections with their place of origin. This may very well have represented a nostalgic attachment of a diaspora community to a practice associated with its homeland, perhaps an expression of responsibility to its cultural origins in the face of the potential identity loss in a (sometimes hostile) host environment. Though attitudes no doubt varied from individual to individual, there is no question that Scottish psalm-singing was, for many religiously minded London-based Scots, a collective expression of shared cultural identity in the capital during the entirety of the eighteenth century and beyond.

Chapter 4: Robert Bremner in London, 1763-1789

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, we examined Robert Bremner's role in the 'improvement' of Scottish psalmody.[494] Like James Oswald, Bremner spent a substantial part of his career in London, leaving Edinburgh in winter 1762, just over twenty years after Oswald had done the same. Oswald, by this date, was in his fifties, and a few years later effectively retired upon his second marriage, to Leonora Robinson Lytton in 1766. Like Oswald, Bremner established a publishing business and music shop near the Strand, and in a sense, he took over from his compatriot the mantle of leading Scottish music publisher in London for the following quarter century. In other ways, however, the two men followed diverging paths. Oswald sought artistic freedom and success in London in his early thirties, and performance and publishing were equally important strands of his career. Bremner, probably somewhat older by the time he moved south, had already been running a music shop in Edinburgh for at least seven years before his departure, and was already established as a music publisher. Whereas Oswald appears not to have maintained a particularly close relationship with Scotland during his years in London, Bremner kept up an active connection with the musical life of Edinburgh well into the 1770s. The two men, then, appear to have had different approaches to expat lifestyle, which is unsurprising given the endless variety of options open to a Scottish individual in London's diaspora space. In Robert Bremner, we find an instructive example of an émigré Scotsman who not only maintained a close relationship with Scotland, but also pursued business interests which necessitated an active presence in the urban centres of both Edinburgh and London.

To date, Robert Bremner has received somewhat piecemeal scholarly treatment. While the basic details of his life are recorded (not always correctly) in literature relating to the history of the eighteenth-

[494] The birth date of Robert Bremner is uncertain. It is well-known that Robert had a brother, James, as two Bremners, Robert and James, were associated with the Edinburgh Musical Society in the 1750s and are referred to as brothers in the Society's records. The fact that Robert and James were brothers is also confirmed by the established connection between Robert and James during James's time in Philadelphia. It is also known that Robert's surname had several alternative spellings. For example, the record of his marriage to Margaret Bruce on 17 May 1756 uses the spelling 'Brymer', the baptism of their son Charles on 22 February 1759, 'Bremner', and that of their son James, on 20 August 1760, 'Bremer'. The only pair of brothers named Robert and James in Edinburgh's Old Parish Registers were born to a John Brymer and Margaret Urie: James, on 15 August 1712, and Robert, on 9 September 1713. This identification, however, is at odds with a description in the Edinburgh Musical Society's *Sederunt* book in 1759 referring to 'young Bremner' in terms which suggest James, who would have been the elder brother. In addition, if the identification is correct, and Robert Bremner were born in 1713, he would have been twenty-five years older than his wife, who was born in 1738, and died in 1780 at the age of 42. While this is not at all impossible, further research may reveal another birth date. Robert and his wife Margaret were buried at St Mary-le-Strand churchyard, and, as wealthy members of the church, are likely to be buried in the vault. This will be excavated in 2025, and it is possible that, at this stage, Robert's birth date may emerge. Papers relating to the estates of both Robert and James, held at the Library of Congress, may also shed light on the matter (Edmund Physick Family Papers, 1759-1899, MSS36129, Library of Congress, Washington DC).

century music trade, his career has not attracted detailed attention, even in Scottish musicological circles. This, we might speculate, is partly because his career flies in the face of a musical canon which has, until comparatively recently, highlighted national composers and great works. Viewed from this perspective, Bremner is an insignificant figure: an agent rather than an artist, a tradesman rather than a true exponent of Scottish music. In other words, he has fallen on the wrong side of the fence dividing art and commerce, a dichotomy which is arguably anachronistic to late eighteenth-century musical life. For some, the fact that Bremner devoted his energies to commerce erases his credentials as a Scottish musical artist entirely. Referring to both Oswald and Bremner, Johnson writes, 'It must be admitted that the outstandingly successful native Scots of the period were all music publishers – that is, they were artists in big business and legal intrigue with music as a sideline.' [495] It is perhaps this opposition of art and commerce, in which musical aesthetics trump the messier business of making money, that has unfairly consigned figures like Bremner to the sidelines of Scotland's musical history.

Through a detailed analysis of Bremner's London career, this chapter will challenge this implicit hierarchy, seeking instead to construct a richer cultural history which acknowledges his profound role in the development of musical taste in eighteenth-century Britain. First, I will address Bremner's motivations for moving to London, employing a detailed analysis of his valedictory advertisement to understand both his musical priorities and the nature of his relationship with Scottish music. I will then explore Bremner's role as both publisher and preserver of musical styles through a selective analysis of his own London catalogue, which he described towards the end of his life as 'the most substantial one in the world'.[496] This chapter will outline several areas of his output, including his Scottish works, *Favourite Songs,* music for English guitar, and *Periodical Overtures* series. Moving beyond his musical publications, I will explore Bremner's business networks in Europe and America, with particular focus on his exports from London to Philadelphia, whither his brother James had emigrated in 1763. Bremner formed relationships with figures such as the jurist, revolutionary politician, and amateur musician Francis Hopkinson (1737-1791), with whom he maintained a close correspondence. Bremner's residence in London, where he was able to source the musical goods desired in Enlightened cities such as Philadelphia, was crucial to his business success in North America.

In addition to his energies abroad, Bremner maintained, from London, a strong relationship with the Edinburgh Musical Society, and he continued to contribute to the musical ambitions of the Scottish capital through the regular supply of music and musicians from London and Europe. In this context, Bremner emerges as a highly dynamic figure, exploiting and enabling the flow of cultural capital

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[495] David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2003), 59.

[496] Letter from Robert Bremner to Francis Hopkinson, 05-02-1785; Collection 1978, Vol. 2, No. 128, Hopkinson Family Papers: Letters, 1736-1800, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

between two commercial cities, Edinburgh and London, in an ever-more connected age. Finally, I will explore a rarely examined area of Bremner's life, his intellectual interest in the theory of music as expressed in his short treatise, *Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music* (1777). This sincere interest in the science of music, particularly in relation to the definition of music and sound, will be evidenced in his fascinating letters to Francis Hopkinson, which have received no scholarly attention to date.[497] The epistolary relationship between Bremner and Hopkinson is also invaluable in establishing Bremner's deep concern for the success of his business, even in his later years. For, though Bremner felt world-weary towards the end of his long career in London, there was no question for him of returning to Scotland. He owed the success of his businesses in Edinburgh and London to his presence in the latter, the city itself fostering his global network of commercial and artistic relationships in pursuit of both musical gain and financial profit.

4.2 'At the Fountain-Head'

Robert Bremner's music publishing business at 'The Golden Harp' was thriving in Edinburgh's Old Town from mid-1754.[498] Prior to this, he appears to have worked as a teacher (presumably of music), possibly at the High School of Leith. On 6th December 1753, Bremner likely presided over a concert at the High School, employing 'the best masters in Edinburgh', including his close friend and violinist Nicolò Pasquali, who performed variations on the Scots tune 'Tweedside'.[499] Around the same time, Robert and his brother James became involved in the Edinburgh Musical Society, whose concerts took place just a street away at St Mary's Chapel in Niddry's Wynd. Robert is recorded in the Society's list of musicians as performing on both the violin and guitar, and in October 1756, he and his brother were formally hired, judged as being 'of considerable use to the Society by performing in the Concerts'.[500] Bremner's students were also useful to the Society: John Smeiton, described as 'Bremner's boy', sang in a couple of the Society's larger concerts in the 1755-1756 season, and was salaried by the Society as a

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[497] Letters between Robert Bremner and Francis Hopkinson, 05-02-1785; Collection 1978, Vol, 2, 128 & 129, Hopkinson Family Papers: Letters, 1736-1800, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[498] Lance Whitehead & Jenny Nex, 'The Insurance of Musical London and the Sun Fire Office 1710-1779', *The Galpin Society Journal,* Vol. 67 (March 2014, 181-216), Supplementary material, 39. The records of the Sun Fire Office reveal that Bremner first insured his house and business stock for the sum of £200 in 1757. By 1761, his business activities had expanded to such an extent that he took out a new insurance policy for the sum of £1,100, which now covered stock in several warehouses around Edinburgh.

[499] *Caledonian Mercury*, 6 December 1753. The content of the advertisement does not reveal whether students at the school performed; only the star acts are mentioned. Thereafter, the two brothers held concerts mainly at St Mary's Chapel in Niddry's Wynd, also the venue for Edinburgh Musical Society concerts. The Bremners gave at least three concerts in Edinburgh in the mid-1750s. The first, on 13 December 1753, was described as 'Mr Bremner's concert', as was a similar occasion on 17 January 1758. Tickets to both of these concerts were sold at 'R. Bremner's musick shop', and 'Mr Bremner' could refer to either Robert or James. A more intriguing concert was held on 16 December 1755, hosted by 'Mr Bremner Junior', and advertised as 'the first he ever had' (*CM,* 11 December 1755). The tone here refers to a performance given by a young musician, and both Robert and James (if their identification is correct) were in their forties at this date. It does not appear that Robert had any children until 1756, or that James married at all, so the identity of 'Bremner Junior' remains uncertain.

[500] *EMS Sederunt Books,* Vol. 2: 1747-1767, 18 October 1756.

violinist until 1778.[501] At this early stage of his career, Bremner appears to have been making a living both as a music teacher and a performer, moving, like Oswald, in artistic circles surrounding the Edinburgh Musical Society.

Given Bremner's didactic bent, it is unsurprising that many of his early publications appear to have been a conscious response to the growing fashion in Edinburgh amongst elites and the 'middling sort' for learning a musical instrument. Many of his early publications were tutor books, aimed at the beginner: alongside his prints of Niccolò Pasquali's *Art of Fingering the Harpsichord* (1759) and his own *Harpsichord Miscellany* (c. 1760), Bremner published several books relating to the newly fashionable wire-strung 'English guitar'. MacKillop awards Bremner the honour of producing 'the first serious and substantial tutor' for the instrument, *Instructions for the Guitar* (1758), which remained extremely popular for the following decade.[502] Bremner also published other works for guitar, including *Twelve Scots Songs* (c.1761) *The Songs in the Gentle Shepherd* (c.1765), and his colleague Francesco Geminiani's *The Art of Playing the Guitar or Cittra* (1760).[503] In the late 1750s, however, Bremner's business interests started to extend beyond Scotland. Like other Edinburgh music sellers of the period, he often employed the familiar sales tactic of promising his customers the best musical instruments and latest sheet music from London at reasonable rates. His first advert in the *Caledonian Mercury* in July 1754 advertised that he would 'serve Gentlemen and Ladies with every Thing at the London Price', and that 'Whatever Music is wanted that he has not, shall be immediately sent for'.[504] Bremner evidently already had sufficient links with London suppliers to be able to import goods at cost, and to procure new stock in person, as is implied in subsequent advertisements. Regular travel between Edinburgh and London was therefore of utmost importance to the success of Bremner's publishing business from the start.

As early as 1757, Bremner started to sell his publications in London through third parties, presumably testing the waters to see whether they might find favour with London consumers. The frontispiece of his popular publication of Pasquali's *Thorough-Bass Made Easy,* though published in Edinburgh, stated

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[501] *EMS Sederunt Books,* Vol. 2: 1747-1767, Accounts for the year 1755-1756.
[502] Rob MacKillop, 'The Scottish Contribution to the 18th-century Wire Strung Guitar', 38.
[503] Various commentators suggest that Robert Bremner studied the violin or the guitar with Francesco Geminiani at some point before the publication of Geminiani's *The Art of Playing the Guitar* in 1760. Bremner himself mentions in the Preface to his publication of Schetky's *Six Quartettos* that he had once been a pupil of Geminiani. Certainly the two men would have met when Geminiani visited Edinburgh in August 1760. There, Geminiani met with the Masters of the Edinburgh Musical Society, where they 'tryed over' his latest concertos, which he had brought with him for the purpose, in the local tavern (*EMS Sederunt Book*, Vol. 2, Accounts for the year 1760-1761). It is very likely that Geminiani also brought the manuscript of his guitar tutor with him at this stage, for Bremner published it only months later in November 1760. Bremner may have had lessons (on guitar, violin, or both) with Geminiani, either while the latter was visiting Edinburgh or at a separate time in London. There is no truth in the suggestions, born of confusion, that Robert Bremner had a son who studied in London with Geminiani, or that James Bremner was the only guitar player of the two. It is highly likely that both men would have deliberately acquainted themselves with the most fashionable instrument of the day The first advertisement for Geminiani's *Art of Playing the Guitar* can be found in *The Scots Magazine,* November 1760, 54.
[504] *Caledonian Mercury*, 25 July 1754.

that it was available at two music shops in London, Johnson's and Walsh's.[505] In 1759, an advert in the *Public Advertiser* reveals an arrangement with the Cheapside music publisher John Johnson, in which Pasquali's harpsichord manual was highlighted, alongside several other publications.[506] Bremner appears to have made a similar arrangement in December 1761 with the music publisher David Rutherford, a fellow Scot with a shop in St Martin's Court; he, like Bremner, supplied the Edinburgh Musical Society with scores in the 1750s.[507] In this advertisement, which appeared in London's *Public Advertiser,* Bremner listed several publications under the title 'Music from Scotland'. Having established a secure market for his business, Bremner moved to London with his wife Margaret and their two young sons (Charles, 3, and James, 2) in late 1762. Their third child, Helen, was born in London less than nine months later, and Bremner's expansion must have been motivated, at least in part, by the need to support his growing family. By November 1762, he had acquired new premises on the Strand, opposite Somerset House, where he opened a music shop, the 'Harp and Hautboy'.[508]

Upon arrival, Bremner took out a lengthy advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury*, designed to encourage his existing Scottish customers to tell their friends of his presence in London. The advert highlighted a recent publication, the Earl of Kellie's *Six Overtures*, and listed the vast majority of his own publications to that date. Unusually, Bremner explained his motivations for the expansion of his business, and for his departure from Scotland:

> Mr. Bremner begs leave to acquaint the public, that he has now opened a music shop in London, where such of his friends, whose occasions call them there, may depend upon being served with every article in his business in the neatest manner, and on the most reasonable terms.
>
> His encouragement in Scotland always has been, and at present is such, as to lay him under very great obligations to the nobility and gentry of that kingdom; and a sensibility of their favours has been one cause of his removal, as by his being now at the fountain-head, he has

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[505] Niccolò Pasquali, *Thorough-Bass Made Easy* (Edinburgh: Robert Bremner, 1757). Bremner and Pasquali were evidently close friends and colleagues; the latter performed for the former on numerous occasions. Bremner purchased Pasquali's musical effects upon his death in 1757, publishing his *Art of Fingering the Harpsichord* posthumously. The manuscript for another treatise entitled 'The Theory', unfortunately, was 'not thoroughly digested', and Bremner did not publish it alongside the rest of Pasquali's works (Niccolò Pasquali, *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord,* (Edinburgh: Robert Bremner, 1760), Preface.

[506] *Public Advertiser*, 7 February 1759.

[507] Jennifer Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society: its Membership and Repertoire 1728-1797' (PhD: University of Edinburgh, 2001), Appendix G.2f.

[508] Lance Whitehead & Jenny Nex, 'The Insurance of Musical London and the Sun Fire Office 1710-1779', *The Galpin Society Journal,* Vol. 67 (March 2014, 181-216), Supplementary material, 39. The records of the Sun Fire Office show that Bremner insured his London premises from 6 March 1767. It is interesting to note that, upon arrival in London, Bremner appears to have taken in lodgers for several years, perhaps in order to fund the expansion of his business while providing at the same time for his wife and three young children. The insurance records show a policy taken out by Bremner on the 24 June 1763, covering the possessions of Hannah and Susanna Seaman, who are described as 'spinsters'. These two women lived with Bremner and his family until May 1770, when they removed to another lodging above a shop, that of Thomas Jones, Linen Draper, also on the Strand.

> the opportunity of supplying his shop at Edinburgh, with such choice of instruments and new music, as he hopes may deserve the notice of the public.
>
> Such as may have occasion for any of the more costly instruments, as organ, harpsichord, etc, may depend on being served well, to the best of his judgment, and that as cheap as if they themselves had made the purchase: the difference betwixt the maker's fix'd price to a gentleman, and one in the trade, being sufficient for his trouble.
>
> His little abilities in collecting and putting in a proper dress the peculiar music of his country, having always met with encouragement; he intends to continue publishing in that way, and has brought materials with him for that purpose; yet, shall as formerly, be extremely obliged to such gentlemen, as please to favour him with any good originals, whether ancient or modern, which is likewise a favour done the public, many excellent old tunes being liable to be lost by not being recorded in some collection: but depending entirely on the use and memory of ignorant people, through whose hands they are transmitted from unknown antiquity.
>
> Commissions directed to him, at his music-shop in Edinburgh, or opposite to Somerset-house, in the Strand, London, shall be thankfully received and carefully executed.[509]

Bremner's advertisement reveals a specific motivation for removing his business to London: his London shop was to be the 'fountain-head' from which he could serve his primary business interests in Edinburgh better. As he stated himself, his move was partly motivated by a gap in the market; a commercial vacuum which, due to his expertise and established reputation, he could exploit to his financial advantage. By inviting friends to drop by his new London shop, he underlined the fact that many of his customers were of 'the nobility and gentry', many of whom had residences in Scotland and London, and presumably required music and instruments for both. His example of a purchase of an organ or harpsichord further serves to motivate the consumer to buy his instruments at cost. Bremner's primary motivation here, therefore, was avowedly commercial: he hoped to widen the geographical extent of his consumer profile, and to encourage musical trade between Edinburgh and London to expand his own business prospects.

The second part of his advert, however, is more unexpected. Bremner seeks to convey that he would continue, in London, what we might now call tune-collecting, or to 'put in proper dress the peculiar music' of Scotland. His reason for doing so, if we take him at his word, was that he wished to preserve the 'most excellent old tunes', which may otherwise have failed to be transmitted orally in the future. His method was essentially crowdsourcing: he hoped that, in this enterprise, 'gentlemen' would supply him with 'good originals, ancient or modern' for future publications. Here, Bremner is deliberately situating his collecting activity within an already established shared cultural enterprise of discovering and preserving ancient Scottish cultural material. His reference to music from 'unknown antiquity' aligns in tone with that used to describe the work of James Macpherson, whose works of Ossian had

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[509] *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 December 1762.

only two years earlier led to a flood of interest in Scottish culture in London and further afield. It is quite possible that Bremner harboured hopes of leaping on this bandwagon and publishing a universal Scottish tune collection along the lines of Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion* (1745-1760) or later publications such as Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* (1787-1797).[510] Certainly, it would have been typical of his quick response time to new cultural trends if the recent craze for Scottish culture had, at least in part, informed Bremner's decision to move to London.

Bremner's intimation that he had 'brought materials with him' for the purpose of collecting and publishing more Scots tunes is intriguing. He was willing to receive originals both 'ancient' and 'modern', so it is possible that he was open to publishing recently or indeed newly composed tunes in a Scottish style. Intriguingly, these materials are referred to by William Stenhouse in his 1839 illustrations to the *Scots Musical Museum*. He describes the tune 'The Lowlands of Holland', for example, as having been 'inserted… in an old MSS. Music-book which belonged to Mr. Bremner, formerly music-seller in Edinburgh.'[511] He also believed the melody 'Sandie o'er the Lee' to have been taken 'from one of the manuscript books which belonged to the late Mr Bremner, and after his decease, to his successor in business, Mr Brysson'.[512] It seems likely that Stenhouse, at the point of writing, possessed several manuscript books which he believed Brysson to have inherited from Bremner, and this is confirmed by the presence of a number of Stenhouse's manuscript volumes in the Montagu Music Collection, two of which contain the tunes above.[513] Whether Bremner ever published the material he collected is unknown: his Scottish music publications in London after 1762 were largely reprints of collections he had printed in Edinburgh between 1757 and 1761. Probably fifty when he moved to London, his energies may not have extended to this pipe-dream project. Nonetheless, the fact that Bremner advertised his intention at this particular moment here situates him in a new role as both collector and creator of Scottish musical taste. Bremner was evidently knowledgeable about the

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[510] *CM*, 19 May 1787. Bremner took subscriptions for the *Scots Musical Museum* at his Edinburgh branch, but there is no evidence that he had any further role in this publication.

[511] William Stenhouse, *Illustrations of the lyric poetry and music of Scotland* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1853) Part II, 115.

[512] Stenhouse, *Illustrations*, Part III, 257.

[513] *Musical collections of William Stenhouse, accountant in Edinburgh,* Volumes 23-29, Montagu Music Collection, Boughton House. The volumes in question were probably acquired by Stenhouse in the 1820s. The numbering of the volumes is somewhat complicated. Stenhouse renumbered, likely rebound, and indexed several of the MSS books he had acquired according to his own system, and the eight volumes 23-29 are, for him, volumes 2 to 9 of his own collection. The rebinding of 28 (Stenhouse's volume 8) retains the original paper cover, on which is written, 'Place Book, No. 1, belonging to John Brysson, Music Seller' with a date of 1815/1816, and other volumes in the series may also have belonged to Brysson. Unfortunately, despite the close connection, it is not certain that any of the volumes now present in the Montagu Collection actually belonged to Bremner himself, as the volumes themselves seem to pertain mainly to the period after Bremner's death. Volume 25 (volume 4) contains 'Sandie o'er the Lee' and volume 28 (belonging to Brysson) contains 'The Lowlands of Holland', but the latter book was started in 1815, and the former is in multiple hands, none of which are similar to that of Bremner himself. It is quite possible that Stenhouse, notorious amongst Scottish musicologists for his errors, may have assumed that these manuscripts had belonged to Bremner before Brysson, without sufficient evidence. Alternatively, the missing first volume in Stenhouse's numbering could represent Bremner's own manuscript book; this would be apt if Stenhouse had made any attempt at chronology. If so, the whereabouts of this volume are unknown.

music he printed, and his publications can be seen as active engagement in the creative process of heritage preservation. Implied in his advertisement was a message: while he might have been leaving Scotland, he would continue to take care of Scotland's musical heritage. It is, in effect, a rare expression of a soon-to-be diasporic eighteenth-century musician, promising his compatriots that he would not abandon his responsibility towards the music of his homeland.

4.3 The Most Substantial Catalogue in the World

On arrival in London in late 1762, Bremner situated himself in the Strand. His choice of location opposite Somerset House was likely informed by the presence of several other music shops in the immediate area, including that of John Walsh, though Walsh's career was by this date nearing its end.[514] From his new premises, Bremner presided over one of the most extensive and successful music businesses in late eighteenth-century London. In a letter to Francis Hopkinson, his pride in the breadth and quality of his music catalogue is evident: 'That my catalogue is the most substantial one in the world cannot be denied.'[515] The firm Preston & Son, who bought his stock upon his death in 1789, agreed, describing his oeuvre as 'not only the most extensive, but also the most valuable list of works ever exhibited in this kingdom'.[516] Part of Bremner's success was undoubtedly due to his sustained effort in acquiring the plates and stock of other publishers upon their deaths: Cox and Simpson in around 1777, John Johnston, also in 1777, and in 1779, the extensive catalogue of Peter Welcker.[517] In August 1779, he marketed the stock of Johnson and Welcker, formerly owned by their widows, at discounted prices:

> …the plates and remaining copies of many valuable and classical works by Corelli, Gemeniani [sic], Bach, Giardini, St. Martini, Avison, Ciampi, Scarlatti, Palma, and other excellent composers, both of this and other countries; which plates and works were the property of the late Mrs. Johnston of Cheapside, Mrs. Welcker of Gerard Street, Soho, and others. Of these works there is now a catalogue printed, in which the original prices are, in general, considerably reduced: this reduction will continue till the remaining copies are sold, and no longer.[518]

Clearly, acquiring stock in such a way upon the death of colleagues represented a good business opportunity, and owning the plates to these works enabled Bremner to be able to republish them at a later date without being accused of piracy. The scale of Bremner's financial success is underlined by

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[514] Kidson notes that the sign of the 'Harp and Hautboy' had been used over a century earlier by a violin maker, John Shaw, at the same location, and it is possible that Bremner took over a going concern (Frank Kidson, *British Music Publishers*, *Printers and Engravers* (London: W.E. Hill & Sons, 190), 16).
[515] Letter from Robert Bremner to Francis Hopkinson, 05-02-1785; Collection 1978, Vol. 2, No. 128, Hopkinson Family Papers: Letters, 1736-1800, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
[516] David Johnson, 'Bremner, Robert', *Grove Music Online,* ed. Deane Root, accessed 20 October 2019, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.
[517] Jane Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs:* Opera Publishing in Eighteenth-Century London' (PhD: Cardiff University, 2003), 26.
[518] *Edinburgh Advertiser,* 3 August 1779.

the fact that the insurance policy he took out in 1767 was for premises and stock worth £2,000, equalled in this period only by John Welcker.[519]

Bremner released at least eleven different sales catalogues between 1764 and 1786, each 'engraved throughout and presented with meticulous care and precision', and offering several genres of music.[520] As was evident in his valedictory advertisement, Bremner did intend to continue publishing Scottish music in London, and each catalogue had a 'Scottish Music' section, which appeared separately, and usually last.[521] In Edinburgh, Bremner had published several collections of Scots tunes, including two books of *Thirty Scots Songs* (1757/1761), a collection in twelve numbers, *A Collection of Scots Reels or Country Dances* (from 1757), *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes with Variations for Violin and Bass* (1760), and *Twelve Scots Songs for Voice and Guitar* (1760). Many of his didactic publications such as his *Instructions for the Guitar* (1760), and the *Harpsichord Miscellany* (1760) also contained Scottish material. Alongside these, he sold collections compiled by others, the plates of which he had presumably acquired, including Craig's *Choicest Scots Tunes* (1730), and William McGibbon's Scots tunes in three books (1740s). Upon arrival in London, he reprinted the vast majority of his Scottish titles in new editions. Significantly, in his advertisements, Bremner typically treated his Scottish publications separately to the rest of his catalogue, marketing only other Scottish music alongside these titles. Bremner evidently viewed Scottish music as a genre fundamentally different to the rest of his output, requiring special treatment and promotion in the London context.

Bremner's catalogue, like Oswald's, diversified upon his move to London, and his production of Scottish works slowed. Two exceptions are additional numbers of his *Scots Reels* collection, and a fourth book of William McGibbon's Scots Tunes, 'with some additions by the publisher', both in December 1767. However, while most of Bremner's advertisements after 1762 appeared in the *Public Advertiser,* these two Scottish works were advertised only in the *Caledonian Mercury*. This may suggest that Bremner did not find the market for Scottish music in London quite as buoyant as he had hoped, or, alternatively, that he identified new opportunities upon his arrival there. Indeed, Bremner's main musical energies during his London period appear to have been directed towards an expansion of his catalogue to include music from continental Europe. His adverts frequently stated that he sold a 'Variety of Foreign Musick', and in March 1766, he had 'just imported' over two hundred works.[522] At this time, the demand for Continental works was high, with the advent of a lighter, melody-driven *galant* style, introduced to London by German musicians such as Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782)

[519] Whitehead & Nex, 'The Insurance of Musical London', 189.
[520] Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs*', 27, 29.
[521] Preston and Sons, who purchased Bremner's entire stock upon his death, retained a Scottish music section in their own catalogue in the same format for some years.
[522] *Public Advertiser*, 26 March 1766.

and Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787).[523] Queen Charlotte (1744-1818), formerly a princess of Mecklenberg-Strelitz, personally chose Bach as her music master following her marriage to George III in 1761. In striking contrast to her husband's taste for 'ancient musick', Charlotte embraced the latest musical fashions, and contributed to the shaping of British musical taste with a band of largely German musicians, known in her lifetime as 'The Queen's Band'. Arriving in London in 1763, then, Bremner was able to exploit this particular musical trend, and to participate in the thriving market for printed scores of foreign music for performance in concerts and in the home.

Throughout Bremner's career, this consumer demand for European music was driven not only by royal emulation but by the popularity of the Grand Tour in the late eighteenth century amongst young men (and later some women). Publishers targeted those who were keen to collect musical works they had heard on their travels, as well as those who could not afford to go on Grand Tour themselves, but who nonetheless wanted to enjoy the delights of this musical world. Bremner had his own direct access to the European market through a fellow Scot whose Grand Tour had taken on a distinctly musical character. In Edinburgh, he had become acquainted with Thomas Erskine, the 6th Earl of Kellie (1732-1781), a young aristocrat who had been a member of the Edinburgh Musical Society since 1750, and who had studied composition in Mannheim from 1753-1756. Mannheim itself, under an Enlightened sovereign, Karl Theodor, had, by the time of Kellie's arrival, developed a reputation as one of the most illustrious musical centres in Europe, with an unrivalled orchestra, directed, from 1750, by Johann Stamitz (1717-1757). Erskine, a talented young musician, spent perhaps rather more time in Mannheim than his fellow young men on the Grand Tour. During his stay, he studied with Stamitz, who was 'at the cutting edge of orchestral composition in the new "galant" style', and presumably established a network of musical contacts in that city and further afield.[524] Upon his return to Scotland, Erskine continued to compose in the new style he had learned, and over the next ten years introduced it to the aspirational members of the Edinburgh Musical Society. Indeed, it is well established that Erskine's Mannheim training had a significant influence on the music performed at the Edinburgh Musical Society, particularly during his tenure as Director between 1757 and 1766.[525]

Erskine, however, would not have been able to achieve this without the support of Robert Bremner, who published the music of Mannheim composers as early as 1763.[526] Indeed, it was Bremner who

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[523] Originating in Neapolitan opera buffa of the 1720s and 1730s, this style prioritised straightforward melodies, formed in regular phrases, accompanied lightly using simple harmony and counterpoint.
[524] Matthew McAllister, 'The Transfer of the Mannheim Orchestral Style to the British Isles: A Commentary and Critical Edition of *Six Overtures*, Op. 1, Nos. 1, 3, and 4 by Thomas Alexander Erskine, Sixth Earl of Kelly' (MA thesis: West Chester University of Pennsylvania, 2004), 7.
[525] See Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 55-6, for discussion of the musical influence of Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kellie, on the repertoire of the EMS.
[526] The works of Johann Stamitz had not been published in London prior to Bremner's *Periodical Overture* series from 1763. Stamitz had self-published in Paris from around 1755, and through the publisher de La Chevardière, with whom Bremner later formed a working relationship.

tested the waters in 1761 by publishing Erskine's *Six Overtures* in Edinburgh. Bremner reprinted these when he arrived in London in November 1762, and it is interesting that this collection featured as the highlighted work in his valedictory advertisement, priced at 15 shillings, three times that he usually charged for a set of six sonatas or overtures.[527] It is significant that Bremner should choose to highlight Erskine's works at this precise moment. Erskine, a well-known and popular Scottish aristocrat, was truly emblematic of the artistically minded, cosmopolitan elite Scotsman of his day. As such, he could represent, for Bremner and his customers, a tangible link between the urban hubs of Edinburgh and London. Presumably encouraged by the success of this work, Bremner commenced upon his 'Periodical Overtures', a set of sixty short orchestral symphonies, published in ten sets of six between 1763 and 1783. Each overture was issued as a single work, written in eight parts for the standard orchestral instrumentation of the period: two oboes (sometimes flutes or clarinets), two horns, two violins, viola and continuo (consisting of cello, double bass and possibly bassoon).[528] Works by Erskine featured regularly in the series, alongside several overtures by Stamitz himself, and other Mannheim composers such as Franz Richter, Anton Filtz, Franz Beck, Ignaz Fränzl, Christian Cannabich, and Ignaz Holzbauer. Through his connection with Erskine, Bremner was therefore able to establish a network through which he could exploit British interest in new Continental music.

The *Periodical Overtures* can tell us a great deal about the connections Bremner made in London and further afield from 1763. In the advertisement for the first issue, he explained how he came by the works in the series: 'The Publisher having Correspondents abroad who supply him with the new Musical Compositions of the most celebrated Authors for Concerts'.[529] He also guaranteed that 'No Piece that may have formerly been printed in Britain, shall appear in the Course of this Undertaking'.[530] Indeed, while some of the works featured in the *Periodical Overtures* series had been printed in Paris and other European centres, Bremner himself was always the first to publish them in London. Across the two decades covered by the series, Bremner responded to changes in musical taste: Mannheim composers were later supplanted by works by Austrian and French composers such as François Gossec, and Michael and Joseph Haydn.[531] Indeed, Holland views the introduction of Joseph Haydn's music to London as 'one of the greatest achievements of Bremner's firm'.[532] However, many composers featured earlier in the series were resident in London: J.C. Bach's friend and colleague, Carl Friedrich Abel, Thomas Arne, William Herschel, alongside visiting Italian musicians such as Pietro Guglielmi, Gaetano Pugnani, Francesco Pasquale Ricci, and Antonio Sacchini. Some of these men were only in London for a brief period of time, but nonetheless Bremner was able to exploit (and perhaps in some cases

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[527] *Public Advertiser*, 24 November 1762.
[528] David Wyn Jones, 'Robert Bremner and the *Periodical Overture*' in *Soundings,* no. 7, (1978), 63-84.
[529] *Public Advertiser,* 30 June 1763. In the early 1770s, Bremner embarked on a 'spinoff' series, 'The Periodical Trios', but this appears not to have published beyond issues 1 and 2, two sets of trios by Pergolesi.
[530] *PA*, 30 June 1763.
[531] McAllister, 'The Transfer of the Mannheim Orchestral Style', 16.
[532] Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs*', 32.

influence) their popularity with the London public.[533] David Wyn Jones argues that Bremner's choice of J.C. Bach as composer of the first issue of the *Periodical Overtures* highlights his talent for artistic recognition: Bach, known at this point primarily as an opera composer, had arrived in London only the previous season, and Bremner's publication was the first of Bach's music in Britain.[534] In his choice of works for the *Periodical Overtures* series, Bremner became an arbiter of musical taste, as McAllister has suggested, 'not only able to predict what the public wanted, but also…influential in determining it'.[535]

The *Periodical Overtures* is just one of several series published by Bremner 'in numbers', i.e. in a format of short issues, released at regular intervals, designed to be bound in one volume after all issues had been collected. Bremner was one of the early adopters of this format, and evidently was determined to take advantage of the flourishing market for magazines and periodicals in mid eighteenth-century Britain. In Edinburgh, from 1756, he had published individual airs, marches, minuets, Scots reels and country dances, roughly on a monthly basis, which were later reprinted in collections shortly after he arrived in London.[536] Here, in addition to the *Periodical Overtures,* he also published, from 1767, the *Vocal Harmonist's Magazine*, which captured the fast-growing trend for catches and glees.[537] As Oswald had done for his *Musical Magazine,* Bremner crowdsourced for this series, inviting gentlemen amateurs to submit their own compositions, which would be inspected by 'a few candid and Judicious Friends' before publication. Shy contributors could send in their efforts anonymously, for Bremner guaranteed that 'those who are pleased to indulge the Publisher with their own Productions shall, if so required, remain an inviolable Secret with him alone.'[538] Later, following the completion of the

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[533] Between 1770 and 1778, Bremner printed a number of Italian works with frontispieces in Italian, by composers whose music contributed to operas at the King's Theatre. These include *Mattutino de' Morti* by David Perez (1711-1788), *Salve Regine* and *La Serva Padrona* by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736), two sets of *Six trios* by Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786), *Sei Quintetti* by Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805) and *La Passione Sacro Oratorio* by Jomelli. The Italian frontispieces to these works may have been designed so as to appeal to keen consumers of Italian opera in London: the instrumental works in particular emphasise that Bremner also sells 'le Megliore Opere da Maestri piu celebri.'

[534] Wyn Jones, 'Robert Bremner and the *Periodical Overture*', 66.

[535] McAllister, 'The Transfer of the Mannheim Orchestral Style', 17. It is unclear whether Bremner had permission for the reproduction of the works in the Periodical Overtures from the composers. There are hints in contemporary sources that his methods were not always deemed acceptable, even within the parameters of eighteenth-century musical 'borrowing' practice. Indeed, composers were not always aware that their work was about to be published. This appears to have been the case with J.C. Bach's overture to La Giulia, printed as Bremner's Periodical Overture XV in July 1766. Just a month later, another advertisement appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, placed by Bach himself, which declared that Bremner's edition was 'not correct' (*PA,* 1 July 1766). Bremner also published Bach's op. 1 *Six Concerti pour Le Clavecin, Deux Violons & une Violoncello,* in 1765, after the composer had self-published the same work, and this too may have been an unauthorised printing. Van Allen-Russell notes that the editions are near-identical, and suggests that Bach was probably more concerned with Bremner's piracy and the resulting loss of income than with the accuracy of the edition (Ann van Allen-Russell, 'Stop Copying My Music', at *The Avid Listener*, published 28 July 2020, https://theavidlistenerblogcom.wordpress.com/2020/07/28/stop-copying-my-music-the-emergence-of-musical-copyright-in-england.)

[536] Robert Bremner, *A Collection of Airs and Marches* (London: Robert Bremner, c. 1765); *A Collection of the Best Minuets* (London: Robert Bremner, c. 1765); *A Collection of Scots Reels or Country Dances* (London: Robert Bremner, 1768).

[537] Robert Bremner, *The Vocal Harmonist's Magazine,* No. 1 (London: Robert Bremner, 1766).

[538] Ibid.

Periodical Overtures in 1783, Bremner embarked upon yet another series, *Select Concert Pieces,* which featured his own arrangements of popular chamber works by composers such as Corelli, Geminiani, and Haydn.[539] Embracing the popular periodical format was, of course, a good business decision on Bremner's part. Buying single numbers on a monthly basis was much more affordable than purchasing an entire collection, enabling Bremner to broaden his consumer base to include the growing ranks of the 'middling sort'.

This appeal to a 'wide spectrum of the market in terms of both interest and musical ability' is also evident in Bremner's *Favourite Song* series.[540] Jane Holland has conducted an impressive analysis of Bremner's contribution to the *Favourite Songs* genre; sixty-four sets of songs from Italian operas published between 1763 and 1784. Holland's focus on the relationship between performances of Italian opera at the King's Theatre, and Bremner's subsequent publications of music from the same, leads her to posit 'a lucrative contract' between Robert Bremner and the managers of the theatre.'[541] She suggests that Bremner inherited an arrangement with John Walsh (junior), as confirmed by Charles Burney, who, referring to the publication of music from *Cleonice,* noted*:* 'this was the first opera printed by Bremner, who superseded Walsh, and continued opera publisher for more than twenty years'.[542] The relationship between musical performances and the activities of music publishers benefited both parties: Bremner's publications may have 'attracted an additional following to the bi-weekly performances of opera… at the King's Theatre', but might also have reinforced the reputation of the composer, who in some cases published other instrumental works with Bremner, increasing profits for both.[543] Notably, however, Bremner did not publish operas which were not successful, implying that his series may have influenced the ultimate success of London operas between 1764 and 1784.[544] Bremner's *Favourite Songs* are another example, therefore, of his considerable talent for discerning and manipulating musical taste to his commercial advantage, and the profound influence of his publishing business on the musical life of late eighteenth-century London.

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[539] Robert Bremner, *Select Concert Pieces* (London: Robert Bremner, 1785-7). While copyright does not appear to have caused Bremner significant difficulty in his career, nonetheless, the frontispiece to his *Select Concert Pieces* reveals that he was conscious of the issue: 'N.B. That the Publisher may not interfere with others, nor others inadvertantly [sic] with him, he thinks it necessary to declare, that in the prosecution of this work he means only to select from his own publications, of which there is a printed catalogue.'

[540] Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs*', 31.

[541] Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs*', 191. Holland notes that the average period between first performance and Bremner's advertisement was between a month and six weeks. Nineteen items appeared only three weeks after the opening night at the King's Theatre; Bremner and his staff must often have worked at considerable speed. (Holland, 99). Holland's evidence in support for an arrangement between Bremner and the King's Theatre is exceptionally strong. In particular, the fact that a selection of the libretti, printed for the King's Theatre, feature 'New Music published in the course of last Winter by R. Bremner', clinches the argument (Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs*', 186-7).

[542] Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs*', 164; Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, Vol. 4, 464.

[543] Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs*', 141.

[544] Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs*', 144.

4.4 'Bremner We See Often'

To maintain such an impressive catalogue, Bremner must have established networks beyond London. In order to maintain relationships with music publishers in Amsterdam, Paris, Vienna, and Venice, he took frequent business trips in person.[545] The records of the Edinburgh Musical Society detail one such visit in 1773: 'Mr Bremner had while in France & Holland made a collection of Overtures which he had imagined would be proper for the Society to have in their library & which were now lying at London.'[546] Charles Burney, himself a good friend of Bremner, records that Bremner's contact in Paris was the publisher Louis-Balthazar La Chevardière (1730-1812): 'I called at de la Chevardieres, [sic] a great music seller here in correspondence with Bremner, to get a copy of my sonatas'.[547] Bremner may have gained access to contacts on the Continent through Burney, who was artistic adviser to the King's Theatre during this period. Indeed, it is likely that the two men worked together in sourcing musicians and works from the Continent for the London stage, as suggested by Susan Burney's entry in her diary for 19 April 1767: 'Mr Bremner we see often'.[548] Bremner's relationship with La Chevardière, however, was not maintained through Burney's influence: there are multiple examples of Bremner re-printing material previously published by the Paris-based publisher, suggesting a more complex business arrangement between the two men. Bremner, for instance, was the first to publish Haydn's music in Britain, his Op. 1: *Six quatuor à deux violons, taille, et basse obliges* (1772), but it was first printed in Paris by La Chevardière in 1765. Bremner almost certainly took inspiration for his *Periodical Overtures* from La Chevardière's *Recueil périodique en simphonies,* printed in numbers from 1760.[549] An extensive comparison of the prints of Bremner's works with earlier prints such as those of La Chevardière, while outside the remit of this study, would illuminate the full extent of the trade networks between Bremner and other music publishers in Europe.

Bremner always had his eye on trends in musical fashion in Europe's great cultural cities, particularly those which Londoners visited on the ever-popular Grand Tour. The continuing demand for Italian

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[545] Bremner told Francis Hopkinson in 1785 that work had recently taken him away from home for four months. Robert Bremner to Francis Hopkinson, 5 February 1785.
[546] *EMS Sederunt Books,* Vol. 3: 1767-1782, 15 February 1773.
[547] H. Edmund Poole (ed.), *Music, men and manners in France and Italy, 1770, Being the Journal written by Charles Burney* (London: Folio Society, 1969), 21.
[548] Holland, 'Robert Bremner's *Favourite Songs*', 193. Bremner was the sole publisher of Burney's music from at least 1766 until around 1780. His first publication was a musical entertainment, The Cunning Man, which ran at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in November 1766. [548] This adaption of Rousseau's *Devin du Village* was set to original music by Burney. It is interesting to note that the second edition of *The Cunning Man,* published only weeks later by T. Becket and P.A. de Hondt, notes in the Advertisement that the editor had omitted certain airs in his edition to reflect the performance in its final form. He notes that these airs, however, were included in Bremner's previous edition, proving that Bremner prepared theatre works for publication before they had had their first rehearsals. Alongside this, Bremner also printed Burney's *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (c. 1766), *Two Sonatas for the Harpsichord and Pianoforte* (1772), two sets of keyboard duets (1777 and 1778), and a *Sonate à trois mains* (c. 1780).
[549] Wyn Jones, 'Robert Bremner and the *Periodical Overture*', 66. Wyn Jones records that Eugene K. Wolf drew attention to the fact that two of the Stamitz symphonies featured in Bremner's *Periodical Overture* series, no. 41 and 43, were based on a J. and J. Hummel print from 1763.

music in London during this period was driven partly by this increase in international tourism, and Bremner produced a line of special Italian works between 1770 and 1778, reproducing music performed at Grand Tour centres. Much expense and effort went into these publications, which possess ornately engraved frontispieces in the Italian language, even to the extent of changing Bremner's name to 'Roberto Bremner'. Several of these works were printed by subscription, including a print of Jomelli's *La Passione di Nostro Signore Gieusu Cristo* (1770) and David Perez's *Mattutino de Morti* (1774).[550] The latter publication celebrated a particular moment in time; the granting of an honorary membership of the Academy of Ancient Music to David Perez himself earlier that year. The subscription list of Perez's work is wide in scope, featuring several members of both Portuguese and British aristocracy, members of the Portuguese Military Order of Christ, as well as numerous musicians working at British cathedrals. It is quite possible that it was Bremner, perhaps together with his friend Charles Burney, who encouraged these subscribers through their personal networks. Certainly, the influence of Burney in this kind of endeavour is supported by one of Bremner's early Italian publications, *La Musica Che Si Canta Annualmente nelle Funzioni della Settimana Santa, nella Cappella Pontificia* (1771) (Figure 13).[551] The mass settings included were selected by Burney himself, and his preface conveys a strong sense of the performance style customary at St Peter's, Rome. Bremner, with the help of the well-travelled Burney, was able to exploit personal and professional networks to bring musical Italy of the Grand Tour to London consumers.

[550] Niccolò Jomelli, *La Passione di Nostro Signore Gieusu* (London: Robert Bremner, 1770); David Perez, *Mattutino de Morti* (London: Robert Bremner, 1774).
[551] Charles Burney (ed.), Gregorio Allegri, Tommaso Bai, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *La Musica Che Si Canta Annualmente nelle Funzioni della Settimana Santa, nella Cappella Pontificia* (London: Roberto Bremner, 1771).

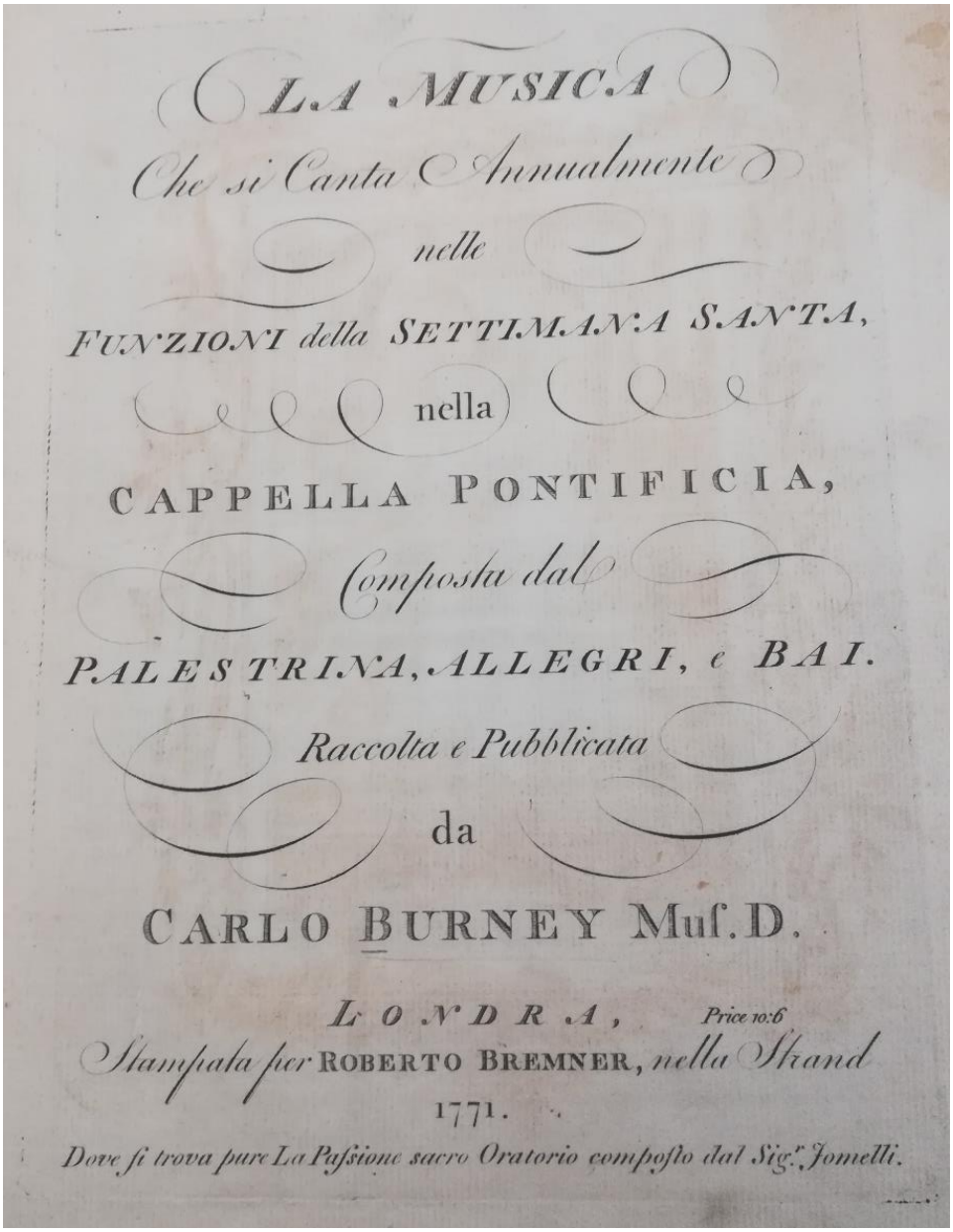


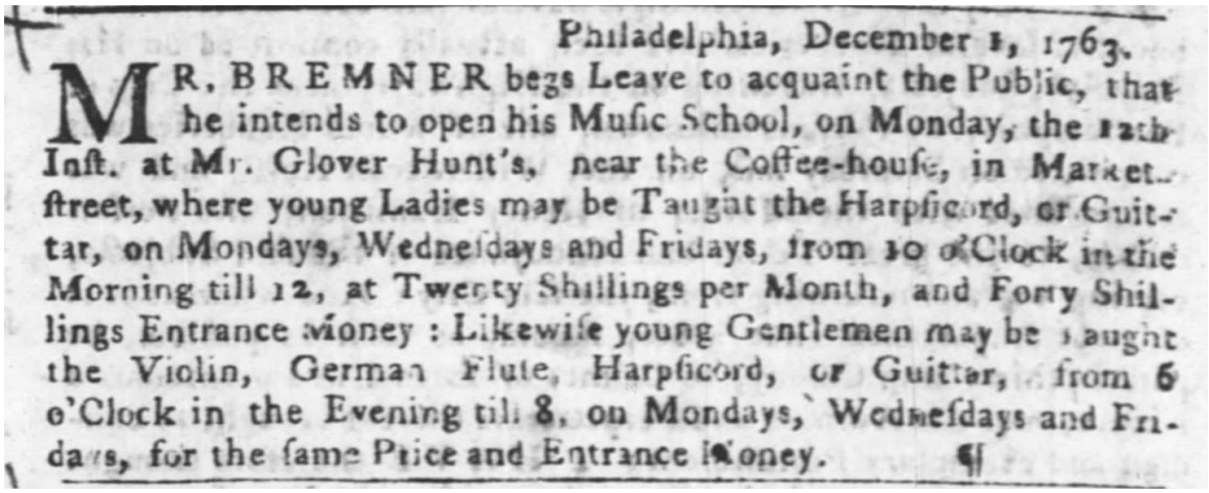
Figure 13. Frontispiece, *La Musica Che Si Canta Annualmente*… 1771. Source: British Library.[552]

Robert Bremner's network, however, extended far beyond the European Grand Tour circuit, and Burney's connections. Robert's brother, James Bremner (c.1712-1780), emigrated to Philadelphia at around the same time that he (Robert) moved to London. James, like Robert, had performed with the Edinburgh Musical Society, as a violinist, and is likely also to have taught guitar in the city.[553] After a

[552] Charles Burney (ed.), Gregorio Allegri, Tommaso Bai, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *La Musica Che Si Canta Annualmente nelle Funzioni della Settimana Santa, nella Cappella Pontificia* (London: Roberto Bremner, 1771). This print is held at the British Library, Hirsch IV.727.

[553] In a letter preserved in the Edinburgh Musical Society Sederunt books, the treasurer writes that 'young Bremner has given up everything Else to teach that Instrument & had not an hour to spare this twelve months & people wanting Masters and could not get them'. EMS *Sederunt Book*s, Vol. 2, 19 July 1759. The natural identification of this 'young Bremner' would be James Bremner, but, as already discussed, if the birth date commonly assumed for the Bremners is accurate, this is a strange description for an older brother of forty-seven. Nonetheless, it seems unlikely that Robert, running a successful music business, and about to move to London, was in the position to drop everything in order to teach the guitar for a year in 1759. It is possible that 'young Bremner' here refers to a

sojourn in Naples, he arrived in Philadelphia in 1763, where we find him advertising his services teaching harpsichord, violin, guitar, and flute, and subsequently opening a music school.



Philadelphia, December 1, 1763.

MR. BREMNER begs Leave to acquaint the Public, that he intends to open his Muſic School, on Monday, the 12th Inſt. at Mr. Glover Hunt's, near the Coffee-houſe, in Market-ſtreet, where young Ladies may be Taught the Harpſicord, or Guittar, on Mondays, Wedneſdays and Fridays, from 10 o'Clock in the Morning till 12, at Twenty Shillings per Month, and Forty Shillings Entrance Money: Likewiſe young Gentlemen may be taught the Violin, German Flute, Harpſicord, or Guittar, from 6 o'Clock in the Evening till 8, on Mondays, Wedneſdays and Fridays, for the ſame Price and Entrance Money. ¶

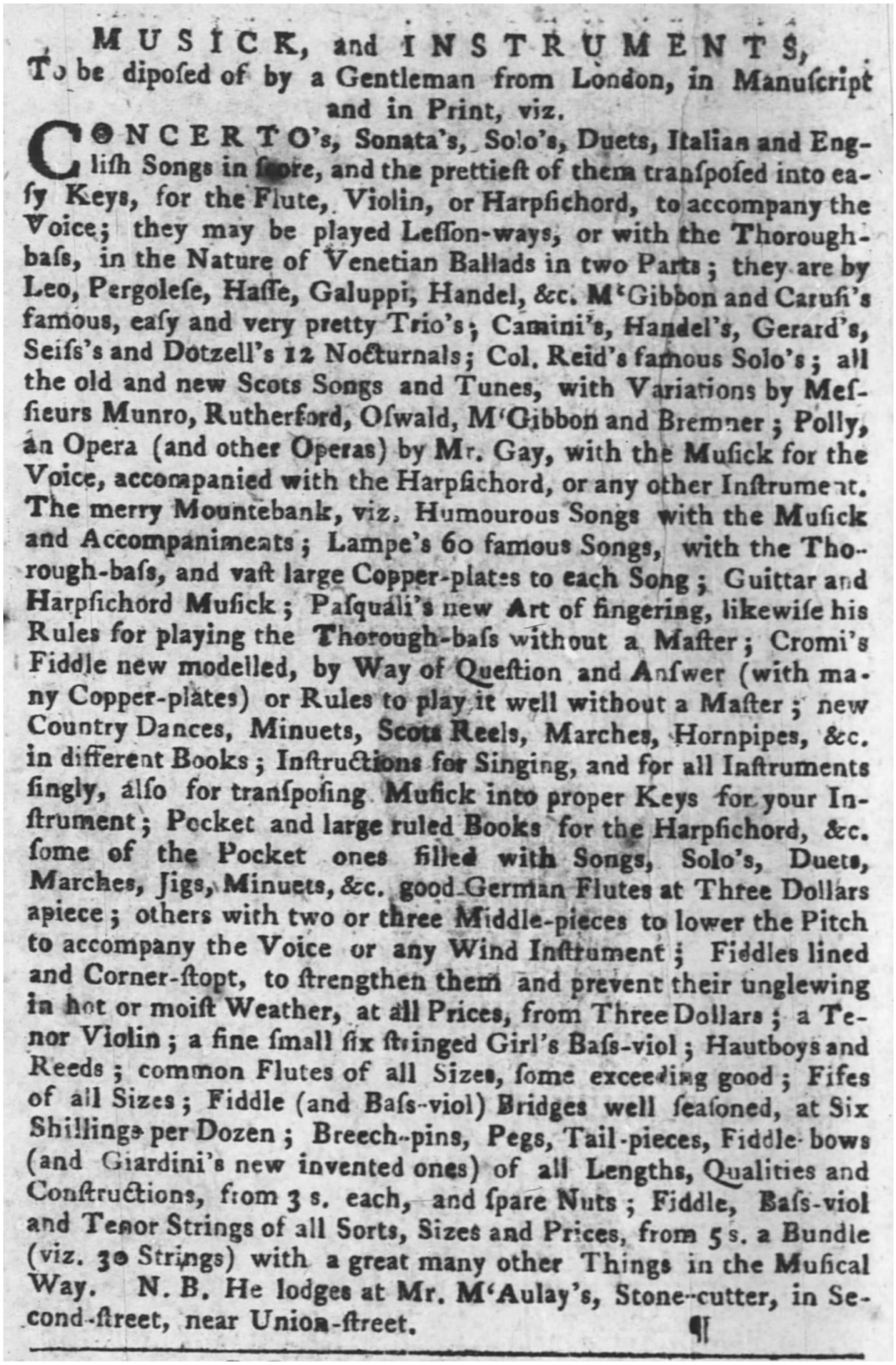
Figure 14. James Bremner opens a Music School, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1 December 1763.[554]

James's impact on the musical scene of this city has attracted some scholarly attention from McLenny Krauss, but no attention has been given to the character of the network that Robert, through his brother, established between London and Philadelphia.[555] Four months earlier, another advertisement had announced the arrival of a 'gentleman from London', who had brought with him a significant number of printed and manuscript musical works, alongside various musical instruments and accessories (Figure 15).

third Bremner, either a son (as yet unidentified) of either brother, or another relative; this could be the 'Mr Bremner Junior' who gave his first concert in 1755. Alternatively, 'young Bremner' could simply refer affectionately to either Robert or James, both energetic musicians.

[554] *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* 1 December 1763, 8 December 1763, accessed 3 December 2020, https://www.newspapers.com/image/39395100. It is not clear why James Bremner travelled to Naples, though it was probably sufficient impetus that it was one of the most significant musical centres in Europe in the late eighteenth century, as well as being a city particularly receptive to the principles of the Enlightenment.

[555] Ann McLenny Krauss, 'James Bremner, Alexander Reinagle and the Influence of the Edinburgh Musical Society on Philadelphia' in Richard. B. Sher & Jeffrey R. Smitten (eds.), *Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990).



MUSICK, and INSTRUMENTS,
To be dipoſed of by a Gentleman from London, in Manuſcript and in Print, viz.

CONCERTO's, Sonata's, Solo's, Duets, Italian and Engliſh Songs in ſcore, and the prettieſt of them tranſpoſed into eaſy Keys, for the Flute, Violin, or Harpſichord, to accompany the Voice; they may be played Leſſon-ways, or with the Thorough-baſs, in the Nature of Venetian Ballads in two Parts; they are by Leo, Pergoleſe, Haſſe, Galuppi, Handel, &c. M'Gibbon and Caruſi's famous, eaſy and very pretty Trio's; Camini's, Handel's, Gerard's, Seiſs's and Dotzell's 12 Nocturnals; Col. Reid's famous Solo's; all the old and new Scots Songs and Tunes, with Variations by Meſſieurs Munro, Rutherford, Oſwald, M'Gibbon and Bremner; Polly, an Opera (and other Operas) by Mr. Gay, with the Muſick for the Voice, accompanied with the Harpſichord, or any other Inſtrument. The merry Mountebank, viz. Humourous Songs with the Muſick and Accompaniments; Lampe's 60 famous Songs, with the Thorough-baſs, and vaſt large Copper-plates to each Song; Guittar and Harpſichord Muſick; Paſquali's new Art of fingering, likewiſe his Rules for playing the Thorough-baſs without a Maſter; Cromi's Fiddle new modelled, by Way of Queſtion and Anſwer (with many Copper-plates) or Rules to play it well without a Maſter; new Country Dances, Minuets, Scots Reels, Marches, Hornpipes, &c. in different Books; Inſtructions for Singing, and for all Inſtruments ſingly, alſo for tranſpoſing Muſick into proper Keys for your Inſtrument; Pocket and large ruled Books for the Harpſichord, &c. ſome of the Pocket ones filled with Songs, Solo's, Duets, Marches, Jigs, Minuets, &c. good German Flutes at Three Dollars apiece; others with two or three Middle-pieces to lower the Pitch to accompany the Voice or any Wind Inſtrument; Fiddles lined and Corner-ſtopt, to ſtrengthen them and prevent their unglewing in hot or moiſt Weather, at all Prices, from Three Dollars; a Tenor Violin; a fine ſmall ſix ſtringed Girl's Baſs-viol; Hautboys and Reeds; common Flutes of all Sizes, ſome exceeding good; Fifes of all Sizes; Fiddle (and Baſs-viol) Bridges well ſeaſoned, at Six Shillings per Dozen; Breech-pins, Pegs, Tail-pieces, Fiddle-bows (and Giardini's new invented ones) of all Lengths, Qualities and Conſtructions, from 3 s. each, and ſpare Nuts; Fiddle, Baſs-viol and Tenor Strings of all Sorts, Sizes and Prices, from 5 s. a Bundle (viz. 30 Strings) with a great many other Things in the Muſical Way. N. B. He lodges at Mr. M'Aulay's, Stone-cutter, in Second-ſtreet, near Union-ſtreet. ¶

Figure 15. James Bremner arrives in Philadelphia, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 4 August 1763.[556]

The list of works strongly suggests that this gentleman was either James or Robert Bremner: included were several volumes of Scots Songs, some with variations by Robert Bremner, and Pasquali's two

[556] *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* 4 August 1763, accessed 3 December 2020, https://www.newspapers.com/image/39392895.

tutors for the harpsichord, one of which *(The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord)* had been recently reprinted in London by Robert Bremner, as well as Bremner's *Country Dances, Minuets,* and *Scots Reels*. This gentleman was advertised as lodging at the house of Mr McAulay, stone-cutter, perhaps a Scottish contact of the Bremners already settled in Philadelphia. Unless Robert Bremner himself also made the journey to Philadelphia within a few months of his brother, this must have been James, furnished by his brother Robert with a substantial amount of stock to sell in Philadelphia on his behalf. Presumably James's visit was arranged in order to establish whether the market for musical goods there was lucrative enough to justify trade on a long-term basis. Evidently, it was so, as James settled in Philadelphia for at least the next seven years, and died there in 1780. It is quite possible, therefore, that James Bremner's emigration was a deliberate business venture with his brother, who had, after all, positioned himself at the 'fountain-head' in London less than a year before, and was now perfectly placed to supply the New World with musical goods.

The fact that the Bremners hailed from Edinburgh is significant. Hook argues for significant parallels between Philadelphia and the Scottish capital, in that both were provincial cities with 'a complex sense of intellectual and cultural inferiority'.[557] In this context, Robert and James Bremner represent just one element of a broader Scottish influence on cultural life in Philadelphia. This link, as Hook argues, was facilitated by existing economic ties, which 'provided an accessible route whereby Scottish ideas could be exported across the Atlantic'.[558] Benjamin Franklin, for example, who visited Edinburgh in 1759 and 1771, was influential in bringing Scottish expertise to Philadelphia in the fields of education and medicine, as well as effecting the spread of the principles and ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment in America.[559] The creation of a musical scene, on the model of that established for decades in Edinburgh, was in this context vital for Philadelphia to become a modern, progressive society. The Bremners, with their Scottish heritage, and access to the best music and instruments available in London and beyond, were ideally placed to facilitate and exploit this drive for musical activity in a city whose intellectual elite sought to emulate the achievements of the Scottish Enlightenment. Such an endeavour relied on increasingly well-worn travel routes between Philadelphia, London, and Edinburgh, which represented a triangle of destinations in the search for cultural excellence. James and Robert, situated on either side of the Atlantic, both with diasporic links to Edinburgh, enthusiastically contributed to the flow of Scottish cultural capital between these three cities.

Though he operated at a geographical remove, Robert Bremner does appear to have exercised some degree of influence in the lives of Philadelphia's musical consumers through the provision of music and materials for the city's growing musical culture. An owner-bound volume of harpsichord music,

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[557] Andrew Hook, 'Philadelphia, Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment', in Richard. B. Sher & Jeffrey R. Smitten (eds.), *Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 232.
[558] Ibid.
[559] Hook, 'Philadelphia, Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment', 235.

compiled by Francis Hopkinson, one of James Bremner's best-known students, contains a keyboard arrangement of one of the Earl of Kellie's overtures, echoing the musical life of eighteenth-century Edinburgh.[560] This echo was also present in James Bremner's most significant contribution to Philadelphian polite concert life, that of a formal concert series, similar in format to that of the eighteenth-century Edinburgh Musical Society.[561] James regularly programmed overtures by Stamitz and the Earl of Kellie, whose music was otherwise rarely performed in America, and it seems highly likely that the scores for these performances were sent from London by Robert Bremner.[562] Musical trade links between Philadelphia and London were reinforced by the frequent visits of Philadelphia's literati to the English capital. Benjamin Franklin, a frequent visitor to Britain, may have known both Bremners, for he recommended James as a teacher for his daughter, Sally, during his visit to London in 1765.[563] When Francis Hopkinson visited London in 1766, he hoped to see Robert Bremner, but recorded that 'Mrs Bremner had treated him with great civility but he had not been able to see Mr. Bremner, who had gone on a trip to Scotland.'[564] This did not prevent him, however, from later ordering a harpsichord for one of Thomas Jefferson's daughters from Bremner, and there must have been many more examples of such purchases.[565] The strong transatlantic network underpinning Philadelphia's concert scene in the 1760s can therefore be ascribed to both Bremner brothers, but fundamentally was enabled by Robert's presence in the commercial and musical hub of London.

The character of Robert Bremner's business relationship with the Americas is further hinted at in two letters surviving in the correspondence of Francis Hopkinson.[566] Amongst other topics, the letters discuss an aborted business transaction between the two men. Bremner had sent a substantial amount of stock to Hopkinson, allowing a potential Philadelphian bookseller or stationer a third profit on what was sold.[567] On this occasion, however, Hopkinson returned the shipment, as he felt that Bremner's music selection contained too much 'expensive Concert music and unknown authors'.[568] Indignant, Bremner argued that the contents of his catalogue 'ought to be seen in your new world', and that he

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[560] Francis Hopkinson, 'Ms. collection of keyboard music, containing compositions by James Bremner, Handel, Scarlatti, Stamitz, Geminiani, Corelli, Vivaldi and Galuppi. In Hopkinson's hand', [1760] Rare Book Collection Folio M1, A11.H6, v. 12, Hopkinson Collection of Music, Penn Libraries, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, accessed 20 May 2023, https://colenda.library.upenn.edu/catalog/81431-p3zk56079.
[561] *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* 4 April 1765. One of James Bremner's musical roles in Philadelphia was as organist of the city's Anglican churches, Christ Church and St Peter's Church, until at least 1770.
[562] McLenny Krauss, 'James Bremner, Alexander Reinagle and the Influence of the Edinburgh Musical Society on Philadelphia', 265.
[563] Carl & Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942).
[564] George Everett Hastings, *The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1926), 132.
[565] Everett Hastings, *The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson*, 342.
[566] Letters between Robert Bremner and Francis Hopkinson, 05-02-1785; Collection 1978, Vol, 2, 128 & 129, Hopkinson Family Papers: Letters, 1736-1800, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
[567] Letter from Robert Bremner to Francis Hopkinson, 05-02-1785; Collection 1978, Vol, 2, 128.
[568] Ibid.

believed his 'good works' should be 'seen there as well as the rubbish of others'.[569] Bremner told Hopkinson that the returned stock was still sitting unopened on his shop floor: 'The fact is that I hate to see any goods entering my shop that has once gone out of it'. His next letter reveals that, having finally opened the crates, much of the stock had been damaged. He urged Hopkinson to make a new order from his catalogue 'that you think you can dispose of amongst your friends there or to your music shopkeeper' to the value of the loss sustained.[570] Given Bremner's anger, and the fact that he had apparently sent this shipment without prior consultation, it appears that this was a betrayal of a long-standing business arrangement, and that he would ordinarily expect Hopkinson to act as his intermediary. Though on this occasion his shipment was ill met, it seems likely that it was through this kind of personal relationship that Bremner, from his London base, was able to develop his flourishing business around the globe.

4.5 Bremner and the Edinburgh Musical Society

Given Robert Bremner's extensive personal and commercial networks, it is not surprising that he maintained a strong connection with the musical life of Edinburgh from London through a continuing involvement with the Edinburgh Musical Society (EMS). Johnson argues that Bremner's presence in London was a significant factor behind the success of the EMS, and that he and Thomas Erskine, as the Society's London agents, 'were the most eminent and successful musicians that Scotland produced in the whole century – thoroughly European in outlook, at home in London, with no traces of provinciality in their dealings with the outside musical world'.[571] Bremner's accounts with the EMS between 1754 and 1780 allow analysis of thematic patterns in the music which he supplied from London to Edinburgh across a period of around two decades. Jennifer Macleod notes that the 1760s saw the highest bills from Bremner, when the expansion of his business coincided with the opening of the Edinburgh Musical Society's own purpose-built concert hall in 1763.[572] Of the 232 works purchased by the Edinburgh Music Society during the period 1750 to 1780, 174 of them (almost exactly three-quarters) were supplied by Bremner. Between 1755 and 1765, all but seven scores were purchased from him, either in Edinburgh or London. From London, Bremner supplied the EMS with numbers of the *Periodical Overtures* series, and these were often performed shortly after their publication by the Society's orchestra. Bremner therefore had a profound influence on the type and amount of music imported to Scotland and performed there by the orchestra of the EMS and others.

However, Bremner's relationship with the Scottish musical scene from London was far more significant than simply that of a music supplier. As early as 1759, Bremner acted as an agent for the Edinburgh

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[569] Ibid.
[570] Letter from Robert Bremner to Francis Hopkinson, n.d.; Collection 1978, Vol, 2, 129.
[571] Johnson *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland*, 39.
[572] Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 79.

Musical Society: the Society's *Sederunt* books contain several letters in which Bremner is mentioned by name as the representative of the Society responsible for sourcing and negotiating with new musicians.[573] At first, he is seen recommending musicians through correspondence, and costs associated with recruitment are frequently charged to his account with the Society. For example, in February 1759, the Society's treasurer William Douglas wrote to a Mr Manwaring 'upon Mr Bremners recommendation' to ask for his assistance finding a 'Right Chorister' for the Musical Society, asking him to place an advertisement in his local newspaper, with any charge 'sent to Mr Bremners Account and I shall settle it with him.'[574] From 1762, Bremner had even greater access to newly-arrived talent from the Continent in London, and continued to procure musicians for the EMS, also lending a hand when issues arose necessitating the intervention of a representative in London. He was able, only a month after his move south, to assist when a singer, Clementina Cremonini, broke her contractual obligation to the Edinburgh Musical Society by travelling to London, presumably hoping to find more lucrative work there. Douglas 'wrote to Bremner to wait on her and know if she intended to return or not'.[575] After making enquiries, Bremner reported to the Society that he had found that she did wish to return but needed travel expenses for her and her mother, which he appears to have paid, initially at least, from his own pocket.[576] Upon his removal south, Bremner prioritised his work as an agent for the Edinburgh Musical Society, thereby contributing to Scottish musical culture from afar.

As Bremner became further established in London society, his connections were increasingly useful to the EMS. Between 1768 and 1773, he consulted with the London-based Swiss organ builder Snetzler to build a new organ for the EMS.[577] Reading between the lines, Bremner had asked Snetzler to commence the build without having fully established a cost, and the project was slow-moving. Nonetheless, Bremner's presence in London was necessary to its final success: he was asked by the society to negotiate both the final cost of the organ, and the technical details of its specification, with Snetzler in person.[578] In 1770, the society still expected Bremner to send new sheet music to Edinburgh, for Douglas complained that the society had not received any for some time: 'I see you have given us quite up now & dont [sic] think it worth your [while] to send us any new productions Either in the Overture or Concerto way or there is nothing new coming out that would answer our

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[573] EMS *Sederunt Books*, Vol. 2, William Douglas to James Oswald, 22 February 1759; William Douglas to Mr Manwaring, 27 February 1759; William Douglas to Mr Joseph Mahoon, 5 April 1759.
[574] EMS *Sederunt Books*, Vol. 2, William Douglas to Mr Manwaring, 27 February 1759.
[575] EMS *Sederunt Books*, Vol. 2, 16 November 1762.
[576] EMS *Sederunt Books*, Vol. 3, William Douglas to Robert Bremner: 22 December 1768. The independence afforded to Bremner in representing the interests of the EMS in London is also evident in February 1770, when the Society was attempting to engage the services of the Italian singer Domenico Luciani. The treasurer, William Douglas, asked Bremner to arrange for the contract to be signed and witnessed in person before Luciani departed London (EMS *Sederunt Books*, Vol. 3, 12 March 1773).
[577] Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 46.
[578] EMS *Sederunt Books*, Vol. 3, William Douglas to Robert Bremner, 22 December 1768; 12 March 1773.

refined taste'.[579] In the same letter, Douglas told Bremner that the society required 'first fidle' and a 'good Violincello', and asked Bremner that 'if you have in your eye any good master… be good as write one and learn something of their terms'.[580] By February 1771, Bremner, who had evidently not given the society up, had recommended a 'Mr Franzell' as a first violinist, and the following year, wrote to the society recommending the cellist and composer Johann Georg Schetky (1737-1824):

> Being wrote to by Mr Douglas last Summer to Engage when opportunity offer'd A Violoncello Performer for the Concert. I beg leave to inform you… that I had by the advice of Mr Abel engaged one Mr Schetky at Fifty Guineas a year and a Concert for one year only he not choosing to have it for more, but he now insists on his traveling charges together with that of a Brother of his who always goes with him and is a German-flute player, which [will] be at least be 15 Guineas. I offered to pay their charges by Sea but he would not agree to go by water. You will therefore please on receipt of this to consult with the Directors and acquaint Mr Abel or me in course of Post how to behave in the affair. If you do not agree to the Terms he is to sett off for Hamburg. He came over here about a fortnight ago in hopes of doing great things, but we are for this season overstocked with first rate Violoncello Performers.[581]

Bremner's musical judgement was evidently trusted by the committee of the EMS, and he was able to establish initial contracts without express approval; on this occasion, it was only the sudden appearance of Schetky's flautist brother which prompted him to contact the committee. More significantly, this anecdote underlines the fact that Bremner, at any one time, had an overview of the many musicians in London, and frequently exploited his connections with musical colleagues to find work in Edinburgh for those who were struggling to make ends meet in London.

Overall, I would argue that Bremner's continued relationship with the EMS was characterised by more than a desire for profit. Though some elements of the society preferred to stick with the ever-popular music of Handel and Geminiani, the 1760s and 1770s were a period of significant stylistic musical development and changing tastes for the society's members, and many were determined to 'collect' the very latest music and musicians from London and European centres beyond. Bremner himself, frequently travelling between Edinburgh and London, played a significant role in the cultural transfer of music and musicians between the two cities. If we take seriously Bremner's declaration that living in London, the 'fountain-head', would enable him to benefit consumers in Scotland, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the development of Edinburgh's musical scene remained a significant musical priority for him during his London period. Indeed, his energetic work on behalf of the Edinburgh Musical Society points to a certain reflexive quality to his 'Scottishness'. Like many entrepreneurial Scots in diaspora space, Bremner employed the networks he had established in London to benefit Scotland both culturally and economically through his business activities. His presence in Edinburgh, though less frequent after 1762, was felt even from London, and upon his

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[579] EMS *Sederunt Books*, Vol. 3, William Douglas to Robert Bremner, 13 December 1770.
[580] Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 144.
[581] EMS *Sederunt Books*, Vol. 3, Robert Bremner to William Douglas, 7 February 1772.

death, and that of his Scottish wife Margaret, brief death notices appeared in the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, underlining the continuing strength of their connections with Scotland.[582] Therefore, while his Scottish identity was not central to his success in London, nonetheless Bremner's native land demanded his attention and loyalty well beyond his point of departure.

4.6 The Enlightened Bremner

In the foregoing, Robert Bremner becomes a three-dimensional character, with a strong musical personality and an impressive network of contacts throughout Britain and continental Europe. An apparently endlessly energetic businessman, his keen eye for musical excellence enabled him to achieve significant financial success. Yet Bremner would not have achieved such prosperity without musical knowledge and skill. Indeed, recognition of his artistic talent should not be incompatible with his success as a man of commerce. It might be assumed that Robert's brother James was the more serious instrumentalist, as he spent some time in Naples studying the violin.[583] Yet Bremner too performed with the Edinburgh Musical Society, both on violin and guitar, and, in his lengthy preface to the *Six Quartettos* by Johann Schetky, recalls his lessons with the celebrated Francesco Geminiani:

> By tremolo is meant that quivering sound made by the trembling of the instrument-hand, the finger at the same time not departing from the string. The once eminent Geminiani, whose pupil I had the honour to be, has, in his instructions for the violin, called it the close shake; which name I should not have presumed to have altered for that given by the Italians, had I not found it impossible to make mention of more shakes than one, without embarrassing myself and misleading the reader.[584]

Bremner's musical expertise is thoroughly evident throughout this 1777 preface, which he entitled *Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music,* also published separately in Edinburgh's *Weekly Magazine* in August 1777.[585] Here, Bremner provides detailed advice concerning basic violin technique, presumably with reference to Geminiani's advice, but also referring to Tartini's treatise, *The Art of the Bow.*[586] He makes recommendations particularly for improving tuning, and producing effective graces or ornamentation. Bremner was no blind follower of his teacher's instructions: Hickman has drawn attention to his strong disapproval of the frequent use of vibrato, which Geminiani favoured.[587] In his reprint of Geminiani's *Art of Playing the Violin,* he deleted three paragraphs, one of which included the

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[582] *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 25 Jan 1780; *Edinburgh Advertiser,* 9 May 1789.
[583] Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 164.
[584] Johann Schetky, *Six Quartettos for two Violins, a Tenor & Violoncello*, Op. VI, *To which are Prefixed Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert-Music*, by the Publisher (London: Robert Bremner, 1777).
[585] Robert Bremner, 'Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music', *The weekly magazine, or Edinburgh amusement* (Edinburgh: W. Ruddiman, 7 Aug 1777), 128-131.
[586] Schetky, *Six Quartettos for two Violins*, vii.
[587] Roger Hickman, 'The censored publications of *The Art of Playing on the Violin,* or Geminiani unshaken', *Early Music,* Vol. 11, No. 1 (Jan. 1983), 73.

advice to employ vibrato, or the close shake, 'as often as possible', on both long and short notes.[588] Setting aside the complex debate over eighteenth-century vibrato, this editorial decision reveals that Bremner exercised significant musical judgement in his publications, and was keen to influence his consumers towards his preferred playing style.

In his *Thoughts*, Bremner also reveals himself to be a practical musician intimately acquainted with the playing styles of his time, drawn in turn from his personal performance experience in orchestral contexts. Often, he not only has a precise musical sound in mind, but strong opinions on how players might achieve it. He draws attention, for example, to the differing demands of a musician in solo and orchestral contexts. The solo player, he explains, 'may crowd the melody with additional notes, or… reject the original, and to substitute his own immediate fancy in its stead, provided such fancy suits his base. In short, he is at full liberty to make use of all the powers and embellishments of which he is master, and justly; for, whether he rises or falls in the estimation of the public, he does so alone.'[589] When playing in an orchestra, however, a player is 'only a member of that whole by which a united effect is produced… therefore his performance, with that of those who play the same part, must, like the unisons of an organ or harpsichord, coincide so as to pass for one entire sound.'[590] Bremner also has opinions on instrument choice, suggesting that violinists playing on the same part 'should endeavour to have instruments of the same kind, something similar in tone'.[591] In his 1785 preface to his *Select Concert Pieces*, Bremner was ambitious for the standards of domestic music-making, hoping to render large-scale instrumental works 'fit entertainment for every family possessed of a Harpsichord or a Piano Forte', so that they could be enjoyed 'with the same pleasure as when performed by a band'.[592] As with his *Rudiments,* Bremner was optimistic about the musical development of those who purchased his music, keen to encourage even those who typically rarely heard professional concerts to follow his practical recommendations for achieving their own performances in the best taste.

Bremner embarked on his last collection in numbers, *Select Concert Pieces,* in 1785, at which point he had entered a reflective stage of life.[593] He references this series in a letter to Hopkinson in February 1785, and it is evident that this enterprise represents a late burst of creative energy when forced to 'sleep out of town' for the sake of his health:

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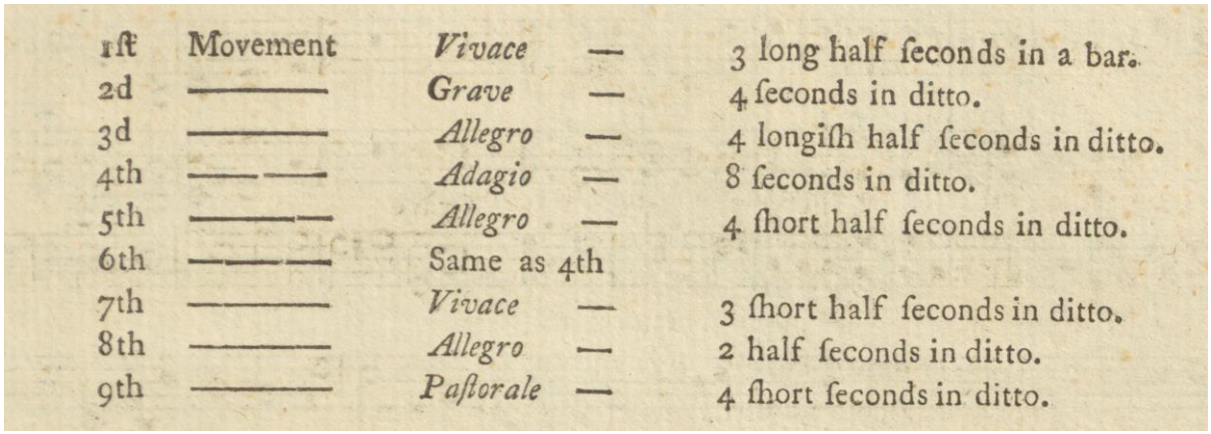
[588] Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (London: Robert Bremner, 1777). Bremner had acquired the plates to this work from his purchase of the stock of the publisher Johnson earlier this year.
[589] Schetky, *Six Quartettos for two Violins*, i.
[590] Schetky, *Six Quartettos for two Violins,* ii.
[591] Schetky, *Six Quartettos for two Violins*, iii.
[592] Robert Bremner, *Select Concert Pieces* (London: Robert Bremner, 1785), Piece I, Preface.
[593] Bremner arranged his *Select Concert Pieces* for harpsichord or fortepiano, with an accompaniment for the violin. In choosing this combination of instruments, Bremner was following a trend established in the 1760s. The young Mozart dedicated his Op.3 sonatas with this instrumentation to Queen Charlotte in 1764, and countless other composers, including J.C. Bach and Jane Mary Guest, followed suit. Bremner's eight pieces featured works by Geminani, Haydn, Boccherini, and Corelli.

> As I have only a lodging the long evenings lay heavy on my spirits 'till at last it came into my [mind] to resume a pursuit of three years standing and of which I had dropt all thoughts long ago. It has made me exceedingly happy and I hope will you provided that the finest Harpsichord music that ever was can give you pleasure. There is none of it out yet but will be next ship when I shall send Mrs. Pen and yourself a specimen of it.[594]

Two of the numbers in the *Select Concert Pieces* have prefaces attached, and in his introduction to the third issue (an arrangement of Corelli's 'Christmas' Concerto, Op. 6, no. 8), Bremner approaches tempo from a theoretical standpoint in relation to the performance of 'ancient musick'. He is frustrated by the fact that, when performing music by ancient composers, specifically the English virginalists, there is 'a want of knowing the true time in which the different pieces should move', and 'the best masters are now at a loss how to execute them with propriety'.[595] In order to avoid such a situation arising with his edition of Corelli, Bremner attached a table, in which he provides (relatively) precise tempi for each movement.



1ſt	Movement	*Vivace*	—	3 long half ſeconds in a bar.
2d	———	*Grave*	—	4 ſeconds in ditto.
3d	———	*Allegro*	—	4 longiſh half ſeconds in ditto.
4th	—— ——	*Adagio*	—	8 ſeconds in ditto.
5th	——— —	*Allegro*	—	4 ſhort half ſeconds in ditto.
6th	—— ——	Same as 4th		
7th	———	*Vivace*	—	3 ſhort half ſeconds in ditto.
8th	———	*Allegro*	—	2 half ſeconds in ditto.
9th	———	*Paſtorale*	—	4 ſhort ſeconds in ditto.

Figure 16. Bremner's tempo indications for Corelli's 'Christmas Concerto'. Source: British Library.[596]

Bremner explained that his tempo indications were expressed using 'seconds of time, marked by a clock, they being universally the same'. Conveying nuance, however, was more challenging, and Bremner's solution was to add qualifying descriptions to the unit of a second in order to convey a greater range of tempi: 'it is to be observed, that where lesser proportions than seconds, half seconds, or quarter seconds, are wanted, they are called short and where greater, they are termed long'.[597] In the table below, I have translated Bremner's tempo indications into the equivalent modern system, which expresses the number of beats in the bar per minute. Some of the tempi can be expressed precisely according to Bremner's wishes. The second movement, for example, *Grave,* is in 4 minims (half notes) in a bar, and each of these is to last a second. There are sixty seconds in a minute, and

[594] Letter from Robert Bremner to Francis Hopkinson, 05-02-1785; Collection 1978, Vol, 2, 128.
[595] Robert Bremner, *Select Concert Pieces* (London: Robert Bremner, 1785), Piece III, Preface.
[596] Robert Bremner, *Select Concert Pieces* (London: Robert Bremner, 1785), Piece III, Preface. This print is held by the British Library at h.64.(2.).
[597] Ibid.

therefore this movement should be played at 60 BPM for the minim beat. Other movements, however, are more difficult to express precisely, as the interpretation of a 'longish second', or a 'short half second', for example, can only ever be subjective. In these cases, I have estimated tempi, informed by Bremner's expression and my own prior performing knowledge of the piece in question.[598] In general, Bremner's tempo suggestions are similar to those chosen by historically informed performers today.

Table 2. Metronome Equivalents of Bremner's Tempo Indications for Corelli's 'Christmas Concerto'.

Movement	**Bremner's tempo indication**	**Metronome Equivalent**
Vivace	3 long half seconds in a bar	♩ = c. 108-112
Grave	4 seconds in a bar	𝅗𝅥 = 60
Allegro	4 longish half seconds in a bar	♩ = c.112-116
Adagio	8 seconds in a bar	♪= 60
Allegro	4 short half seconds in a bar	♩ = c. 132-138
Adagio	8 seconds in a bar	♪= 60
Vivace	3 short half seconds in a bar	♩ = c. 132-144
Allegro	2 half seconds in a bar	𝅗𝅥 = 120
Pastorale	4 short seconds in a bar	♩.= c. 70-78

Though still a relatively imprecise method, Bremner's attempt to communicate his desired tempo markings three decades before the invention of the metronome demonstrates that he was concerned that musical works should be performed at consistent speeds by those interpreting them. More importantly, the speeds Bremner chose to record are those at which he remembered Niccolò Pasquali performing the piece, holding that Pasquali 'entered into the true spirit of Corelli's music'.[599] Bremner therefore aimed not only to establish tempi for accuracy for the sake of effective performance, but also was concerned to ensure that composers' intentions were respected.

Bremner's interest in the historically informed performance of musical works situates him firmly within the trend of 'Ancient Musick', which grew in popularity in London in the last quarter of the eighteenth

[598] Corelli, Archangelo. *Concerti Grossi Conduoi Violini e Violoncello di Concertino obligati e duoi altri Violini, Viola e Basso di Concerto Grosso ad arbitrio, che si potranno radoppiare*. (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, [1714]).
[599] Pasquali was a personal friend of Bremner's, and despite thirty years having passed, Bremner's recollections of his chosen tempi may very well have been accurate.

century. This antiquarian endeavour supported the study and performance of music composed in the near or distant past. The 'Concerts of Antient Music', for example, active from 1776, permitted only the performance of music composed over two decades previously.[600] In order to perform such music, however, it was necessary to source scores, often in the form of manuscript copies.[601] Bremner appears to have been in the habit of acquiring such musical material. In the preface to the third issue of his *Select Pieces,* he writes, 'the Editor being in the year 1762 at a sale of music, which belonged to the late Dr. Pepusch, purchased Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book'.[602] Bremner notes that, at the time of writing his preface, that the volume was 'in the ingenious hands of Dr. Burney, for his inspection', but could nonetheless be viewed in person should 'the curious' wish to see it.[603] It is not known what Bremner did with the volume; presumably he, or Charles Burney, subsequently sold or presented it to Lord Fitzwilliam or an intermediary.[604] Bremner is also known to have acquired a significant manuscript copy of Thomas Tallis's forty-part work, *Spem in Alium,* now known as the Egerton MS 3512, and an eighteenth-century copy of the same in the Royal Music Library at the British Library bears his name.[605] In his *General History of Music,* Burney refers to this copy of Tallis's 'song in forty parts' as having been 'attracted into the vortex of Dr. Pepusch', and this was, at the time of writing, 'in the possession of Mr. Bremner in the Strand'.[606] Bremner may very well have purchased this manuscript from the library of Johann Christian Pepusch (1667-1752) alongside the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, and it is quite possible that other significant manuscripts passed through his hands. Possessed of the ready money and ideally located to bid in such sales, Bremner was able to play an active role in the preservation of significant musical works for posterity.

While Bremner's keen interest in the theory and preservation of music is perhaps unsurprising, there is evidence that his intellectual drive extended, like James Oswald's, to the philosophical and scientific. Bremner frequently corresponded with his friend Francis Hopkinson on subjects such as the true nature of sound. In February 1785, he wrote to his friend:

> As I know your person is fond of investigating nature especially where music is concerned, I wish for your opinion about sound, not about its effects but what it really is in itself. I have discoursed many of our Philosophers about it and they lead me I think astray as may be seen in a note on page 2 of the thoughts on the performance of Concert-music by then calling it the agitations of the air which I now think must be nonsense, for air seems only a vehicle to every sound; and fish

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[600] This series was enthusiastically supported by George III and Queen Charlotte, and the concerts were also known as 'The King's Concerts'. Draft concert programmes in George III's hand can be found at the British Library, at MS Mus. 1780.
[601] The Concerts of Antient Music Library is now held at the Royal College of Music, London.
[602] Bremner, *Select Concert Pieces,* Pieces III, Preface.
[603] Ibid.
[604] Ibid.
[605] Bertram Schofield, 'The Manuscripts of Tallis's Forty-Part Motet', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (April 1951), 178. The copy bearing Bremner's name is held at the British Library, R.M.4.g.1.
[606] Burney, *A General History of Music,* Vol. 3, 74.

> may as well be said to be only water and Birds air, because they float in those elements as suppose sound to be air because it floats in air.[607]

In his subsequent letter, it is evident that Hopkinson did not reply to Bremner's questions, but instead sent him some philosophical musings of his own. Bremner chided him: 'It is cruel in you to be so heavy on me. You write me from time to time a parcel of undigested thoughts and want my opinion of them. You must suppose me a very clever fellow indeed if you think my brain is capable of investigating and finding out the beauties and defects of all your musical speculations.'[608] Despite a lack of response, Bremner asks Hopkinson another philosophical question, this time unrelated to music: 'Let me in return to your abuse of my indolence, take you to task for taking no notice of my question about sound. I should like to put another which is this. How it comes to pass that man is the only creature that has a thirst of knowledge?'[609] We do not know whether Hopkinson replied to Bremner's second question. Still, the nature of Bremner's questions reveal him to be participating quite deliberately in Enlightenment discourse. Indeed, his attitude strongly reflects the values of the Scottish Enlightenment, demonstrating a commitment to self-improvement and empiricism.

This exchange reveals Bremner to be an aspiring member of the Scottish mercantile class, who, through economic success, was able to mix freely in elite society. In Bremner's case, like Oswald, his musical background afforded him an even greater social mobility. There was a significant overlap between the membership of the EMS and that of Edinburgh's intellectual debating club, the 'Select Society', and Bremner may very well have performed with those figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, playing alongside the 'masters' at EMS concerts.[610] Certainly, in 1785, aged at least sixty, Bremner was still fascinated by intellectual questions, consulting 'our philosophers' (by which he presumably means Scottish philosophers) on subjects of interest. This may seem energetic, but Bremner tells Hopkinson that he was previously even more engaged in such matters: 'Twenty years ago my head was as full of reveries as an egg is full of meat. I saw ten thousand defects that wanted remedying; sat up late and rose early writing to individuals and for newspapers, and wondered that all the world was not as much interested in those matters as I was.'[611] This concern, however, was still present in 1785: at the end of the same letter, Bremner recommends two sermons by Dr. Cudworth, 'printed at the end of his Intellectual System', and recently reprinted in New York. He wishes Hopkinson to read them, as Cudworth 'points out every deviation from truth in the clearest manner, which he could not do but by seeing and knowing the truth.'[612] Whatever other values he held, it appears that truth and accuracy in public and private life mattered a great deal to Bremner.

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[607] Letter from Robert Bremner to Francis Hopkinson, 5 February 1785.
[608] Letter from Robert Bremner to Francis Hopkinson, n.d.
[609] Ibid.
[610] Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 236-237.
[611] Letter from Robert Bremner to Francis Hopkinson, n.d.
[612] Ibid.

After 1785, however, Bremner's publishing slowed, as he himself declined in health and energy. Alongside philosophical musings, Bremner also admits his world-weariness to Hopkinson in their exchange, complaining that business had taken him away from home for the previous four months, and that health issues now necessitated him living apart from his family. He had dreams of slowing down: 'I have some thoughts of getting out of shopkeeping. Not that I mean to drop all business; My friends will not hear of that… my intended plan is to drop the shop and take a house some where about the skirts of town and to execute in the best manner I can such orders as my friends may choose to intrust me with.'[613] Evidently, Bremner's once tireless energy for his business had dissipated, and he no longer sought public approbation:

> But experience has taught me that the world has a way of its own which it will not be put out of, and therefore it shall take its own way for me. Perhaps experience will in time show you the fruitliness of your labours as it has done me. I am however very happy when I can be of any service to an individual, but nothing shall induce me to search for public praise.[614]

Bremner's decline may have been hastened by the deaths of both his brother James and his wife Margaret five years earlier in 1780. Margaret, like other wives of eighteenth-century music publishers, may very well have played a significant part in running Robert's publishing business, and losing her may have hit him hard. In any case, by the 1780s, the twilight years of his life, Bremner was wealthy, and no longer needed to work to maintain his financial stability. Interestingly, by the 1780s, he had left the Church of Scotland behind, and had become a church warden of an Anglican church, St Mary-le-Strand.[615] Upon his death, an auction of his estate included the lease of his house on the Strand, 'two substantial modern-built brick Dwelling Houses', with stabling and land, at Battersea Rise, and a seaside estate 'situated in the pleasantest part of Brighthelmstone' (modern-day Brighton), again consisting of two modern houses and extensive land.[616] Though he may have felt differently, Robert Bremner's labours had not been fruitless.

4.7 Conclusion

In the creative context of London, both entrepreneurial and musical talent were prerequisites for success. Bremner's drive and ambition are evidenced by the breadth and variety of music listed in his sale catalogues, and indeed by his energies in purchasing the remaining plates and stock of other London-based musicians and publishing firms. This undeniable excellent business acumen, however, was underpinned by a profound understanding of musical education and performance practice. At heart, Bremner was a serious musician: his *Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music* reveals a strong working knowledge of music, forged in his performing years at the Edinburgh Musical Society.

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[613] Ibid.
[614] Ibid.
[615] Vestry Minutes (1782-3), SML/G/1/1003, St Mary-le-Strand Parish Records, Westminster City Archive, London.
[616] *The Morning Post,* 25 July 1789.

In his correspondence with Francis Hopkinson, we encounter, in a more intimate setting, Bremner the thinking musician, musing on subjects such as the nature of musical sound and the uniqueness of the human capacity for knowledge. Bremner, after all, had presumably been exposed to Scottish Enlightenment discourse in Edinburgh, through which he developed an intellectual curiosity that was to be fundamental to his later commercial success. Crucially, though profit was clearly a strong motivator throughout his career, Bremner remained an educator, keen to improve the musical literacy of his consumers and encourage high standards of performance. As demonstrated by his enthusiastic adoption of the fashionable periodical format, his intended consumer market was increasingly the 'middling sort', who represented a growing market in eighteenth-century London.

Robert Bremner's mid-career relocation to London supported the creation of an extensive social network, which in turn enabled him to influence profoundly the development of musical taste in Britain. In London, Bremner moved in influential circles, and his friendship with Charles Burney may very well have led to his position as publisher of music from productions at the King's Theatre for over two decades. In collaboration with Burney, he also took advantage of the keen impulse for collecting Continental cultural goods among those who aspired to replicate the musical experiences of the Grand Tour. Always quick to identify a new musical trend, Bremner also exploited his contacts to introduce new music to London, to his native town of Edinburgh, and even to North America. Maintaining relationships across this network necessitated frequent, and often lengthy, business travel between London and Scotland, and also to the music publishing cities of Europe. Bremner was even able to extend his business interests across the Atlantic through his brother James's presence in Philadelphia. Robert, situated in London's diaspora space, was able to support his brother at a distance through the supply of musical materials for his teaching practice amongst musical consumers of this aspiring Enlightenment city. Given this influence, it is unsurprising that Philadelphia's concert life closely resembled that of Edinburgh, and indeed the Bremners owed their influence there partly to their Scottish heritage. Yet the shape of Robert Bremner's network relied, above all, on his presence in London, where his diasporic initiative could reap the most tangible rewards.

Like so many émigré Scots, Bremner participated fully in the British cultural project, exploiting the many opportunities available to him in his host city. And, despite initial connections with Scottish churches in London, he was buried, finally, in the Church of England.[617] It is possible that, as Bremner became wealthier, and moved in ever more elevated social circles, his Scottishness was abandoned in favour of a broader cosmopolitan identity. I would argue, however, that Bremner's relationship with

[617] Burial Record of Margaret Bremner (1780) & Burial Record of Robert Bremner (1789) in Burials 2 Jan 1724-Dec 1812, SML/PR/4/5, St Mary-le-Strand Parish Records, Westminster City Archive, London. Both Robert and his wife Margaret were buried in the churchyard at St Mary-le-Strand, a privilege afforded only to its wealthiest worshippers. While most of the graves at the church have since been relocated, the coffins of those buried in the churchyard at this time may be still present in the vaults of the church. In 2025, excavation and reconstruction of the vaults may reveal the coffins of both Robert and Margaret Bremner.

Scotland was more complex than a linear process of assimilation. Indeed, his relocation to the musical 'fountain-head' of Britain was motivated partly by a desire to cement an already strong cultural flow between Edinburgh and London. His valedictory advertisement upon departure for London appears to have been designed to reassure his compatriots that he was not abandoning Scotland altogether, and that Scottish music was at the core of his musical identity. Certainly, through his facilitation of the movement of music and musicians for the Edinburgh Musical Society from London, Bremner played a significant role in the wider drive to uplift Edinburgh as one of the leading cultural centres in Great Britain. In the final analysis, Bremner's Scottish musical identity, though rarely expressed through the promotion of its national music, is nonetheless demonstrated by his participation, from London, in Scotland's global cultural diasporic network.

Chapter 5: Scottish Dance Music in London, 1760-1815

5.1 Introduction

By the end of Robert Bremner's career in the late 1780s, many enterprising Scots had travelled south to take part in British military, political, and cultural projects, resulting in a significant increase in the size of London's Scottish diaspora community. As memories of the Jacobite threat faded, a new generation of Scots took up political positions in London, many in the Earl of Bute's government. Both Lowlanders and Highlanders were increasingly represented in public office and commerce, and many Scottish noblemen present in London were intent upon improving the lot of Scottish men and women through legislation in Westminster. In particular, the efforts of the Highland Society of London led to the much-publicised repeal of the 1746 Highland Dress Proscription Act. As discussed in Chapter 1, the increase in domestic tourism to Scotland, fuelled partly by the publication of James Macpherson's works of Ossian*,* informed the development of a Romantic Scottish imaginary, at the heart of which lay the wild, untamed landscape of the Highlands. Music was a fundamental element of this vision, but so was Dance, and indeed a variety of Scottish dances were presented on the London stage throughout the eighteenth century. However, while scholarship has acknowledged to some extent the explosion in Scottish dance in fashionable London space after 1780, the musical culture accompanying this phenomenon has received no detailed analysis to date. To address this lacuna, this chapter will explore the trajectory of Scottish dance music in London, acknowledging the many actors who enabled its popularity through a complex socio-cultural network.

First, I will establish a brief context for Scottish dance culture, outlining the characteristics of the Highland Reel, or Scotch Reel, as it was encountered by dancers and emulated in London. Through detailed analysis of newspaper reports, I will then demonstrate the popularity of Scottish dance at fashionable London entertainments, with particular focus on the language used to describe the character and execution of reels. While Scottish dancing was a recreation enjoyed in London by both sexes, attention will be given to the fact that the private and public entertainments in which it featured were often hosted by elite women of great social influence. In this context, I will examine the popularisation of Scottish dance (and with it, dance music) in London through the person of Jane, 4th Duchess of Gordon (1748-1812), whose patriotic patronage of London-based Scottish dancing masters and musicians strongly influenced fashionable taste. After establishing an understanding of the Duchess's personality and societal influence, I will focus on contemporary descriptions of her dancing body in order to explore the tension between femininity and Scottishness in the assembly room. I will also explore the question as to whether the energetic and unrestrained style of Scottish dancing offered access to an alternative performative mode of femininity and physicality otherwise unacceptable for women in London's polite space.

The craze for Scottish dancing in London in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was enabled by the increased presence of skilled Scottish musicians and Scottish dancing masters in London itself. In this chapter, I will explore the movement of dance musicians between Scotland and London, focusing particularly on John Gow (1764-1826), brother of the better-known Nathaniel Gow (1763-1831). Like Oswald and Bremner, John Gow's London base renders him problematic for the construction of national musical narratives, yet he, like Bremner, was active as a music publisher in London. He was also well known, however, for his much sought-after band of Scottish musicians, which performed from the 1790s for a plethora of fashionable entertainments held by London's Scottish organisations and many others besides. Finally, I will introduce the London-based Scottish dancing master, George Jenkins, with particular focus on the character of his patronage network and his membership of John Gow's dance band. Throughout the following analysis, I will seek to elucidate the character of cultural exchange between Scotland and London, questioning whether dance styles and the music which accompanied them were adapted in diaspora space.

5.2 'Ready to dance a reel, morning, noon or night'

In order to understand the movement of Scottish dance, and dance music, between Scotland and London, it is important to outline the landscape of Scottish dancing as it was understood across Scotland towards the end of the eighteenth century. Of course, dance forms, like musical melodies, are subject to a variety of different influences when moving from place to place, and the multitude of different regional dance traditions across Scotland defy any attempt at a homogeneous description of Scottish dance as experienced by any particular Scot of the time. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasise that, during this period, the two separate traditions of Scottish dance we know today – Highland dancing (a largely solo dance practice) and Scottish country dancing - had not as yet been established. In addition, many of the current names for solo Highland dance styles were introduced in the mid-twentieth century, accompanying the advent of dance competitions. The waters are further muddied by the fact that many specific dances, particularly in Highland dance tradition, are popularly linked through myth to historical narratives, but are in fact of significantly later origin. It is, however, possible to identify, by the end of the eighteenth century, certain Scottish dances that formed the backbone of assembly room dance culture in Scotland and London. These dances were enjoyed in London fashionable society, and British elite space more generally, towards 1800, embraced by Scots and non-Scots alike.

Crucially, Scottish dancing as performed in London was very likely qualitatively different to its Scottish counterpart(s), changed and adapted to Scottish cultural stereotypes already circulating in the capital. London theatregoers had been exposed to the visual representation of Scottish dance on stage since the beginning of the eighteenth century, but there is no guarantee that these dances were accurate in terms of the steps danced or the style presented. Indeed, while some of the performers of such dances

may have been Scottish, it is equally likely that many 'Scotch' dances were devised by Englishmen and women in imitation of the style. There is some evidence that Scottish dance, particularly in the context of more substantial entertainments, functioned as a signifier for Scotland itself, contributing to a 'montage' depicting Romantic Scotland. Antiquarian and cheesemaker Ralph Bigland described a visit to the theatre in March 1749:

> I have since I came here [London] been lately two or three times at the play and what invited me most was to see a new dance called the Scots Dance consisting of about 20 lads and lasses dress'd after the Highland fashion. The scene represents a very romantic, rocky, or mountainous country, seemingly, at the most distant view you behold a glorious pair (which far surpass all the other actors) sitting among the rocks, while the rest are dancing below among groves of trees. Some also are representing with their wheels a spinning; all the while the music plays either Prince Charlies' minuet or the Auld Stewarts Back Again…Then in a moment the spinning wheels are thrown aside and every lad and lass join in the dance and jerk it away as quick as possible while the music briskly plays – Over the Water to Charlie, a bagpipe being in the band.[618]

In this example, dance is just one of many visual and sonic elements designed to evoke a Romantic landscape of Scotland, complete with Jacobite musical references. Therefore, just as the circulating repertoire of early eighteenth-century 'Scotch songs' often relied on a stereotype of Scottish musical identity, so too Scottish dance was often employed to convey a particular vision of Scottishness for London audiences. By the end of our period, however, London audiences at a 'Caledonian Exhibition', held to open the season at the English Opera House, were able to call out a mere stage imitation of Scottish dancing. The *St James's Chronicle* reported that '[Reels and Strathspeys] were characteristically danced by real Highlanders; but a reel, attempted by two couple of stage figurants, male and female, was so totally unlike Scots reality as to offend the taste of the spectators.'[619] The perception of what constituted Scottish dancing was not therefore static for London audiences across our period.

Did these theatrical representations of Scottish dancing inspire Londoners to try the dances for themselves? Somewhat later, in 1769, Alexander Carlyle referred in his diary to a 'Scotch dancing assembly, which then met in the King's Arms Tavern, Cheapside, where we met many of our acquaintance, and were introduced to several others with whom we were not before acquainted'.[620] Of this assembly, no further detail is known, but it would appear that perhaps the demographic of those attending was somewhat wider than the Scottish diaspora. It is likely, however, that these dancers were dancing the 'Scotch Reel', or 'Highland Reel'.[621] Forms and styles of the reel varied significantly, but by the late eighteenth century, threesome and foursome reels were danced, the true reel step consisting

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[618] Letter from Ralph Bigland to Alexander Macmorland, March 3, 1749, in Mats Melin, *A Story to Every Dance: The Role of Lore in enhancing the Scottish solo dance tradition* (Lorg Press, 2018), 87-8.
[619] *St James's Chronicle,* 10 February 1818.
[620] Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, Containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1861), 499.
[621] See Catriona Mairi Scott, 'The Scottish Highland Dancing Tradition' (PhD: University of Edinburgh, 2005), 139-167, for an extended discussion of the origins of the Scottish reel.

of setting steps danced on the spot, alternated with a travelling figure.[622] An early reference by a London-based dancing master, Giovanni Gallini, from 1765, reveals that he was not entirely familiar with the dance: 'It is to the Highlanders of North Britain, that I am told we are indebted for a dance in the comic vein, called the *Scotch Reel,* executed generally, and I believe always in *trio*, or by three. When well danced, it has a very pleasing effect, and indeed nothing can be imagined more lively and brilliant than the steps in many of the Scotch dances.'[623] In fact, by the time that reeling reached fashionable society in the 1780s, the threesome reel had largely died out, and it was the foursome reel, most suited to dancing in couples, which took the assembly rooms by storm. Notably, the reel itself was constantly innovating: the Reel of Tulloch, particularly popular in Britain's assembly rooms, emerged in the central Highlands as late as the 1800s.[624] By the turn of the nineteenth century, Scottish reeling was *de rigeur* at the private entertainments of London's fashionables, often led by members of London's Scottish diaspora community. Such was its popularity by the 1820s, that Yates, an English dancing master, complained that, at Almack's, 'The Scotch are ready to dance a reel morning, noon or night, and they never seem to know when to leave off.'[625]

In the myriad reports of balls and routs in the society columns of the daily London newspapers, Scottish reels were usually referenced in general terms such as 'Highland Reel', 'Scotch Reel', 'reeling' or 'reels and strathspeys'. Reeling was often recorded as the last activity of private and public entertainments, often employed to rally the spirits of the assembled company in the small hours of the morning. For example, at the Duchess of Devonshire's ball in July 1803, *The Morning Post* reported that it was 'near seven before the ball concluded, with reels and strathspeys'.[626]At the Countess of Powis's ball in June 1807, 'it was not until six o'clock that the whole concluded with reels.'[627] Later, in June 1822, at the Countess of Wemyss and Charteris's Ball, 'it was six o'clock ere the last Highland reel was flung'.[628] The reel was also an opportunity for members of the Scottish diaspora to display their prowess and even to compete with each other in their execution. As McGregor notes, 'reels, strathspeys, and even country dances allowed upper-class Scots to "perform" elements of regional or national identity within the norms of genteel society'.[629] Indeed, London reports acknowledged that Scots, and particularly Highlanders, were particularly talented at reeling. In 1805, 'the Duchess of Gordon and her elegant daughters, their Graces of Manchester and Bedford danced a Highland reel

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[622] Joan F. and Tom M. Flett, 'The History of the Scottish Reel as a Dance-Form', part I, *Scottish Studies,* Vol. 16*,* 1972), 91.
[623] Giovanni-Andrea Gallini, *Treatise on the art of dancing* (London: printed for the author, 1762), 184.
[624] Joan F. and Tom M. Flett, 'The History of the Scottish Reel as a Dance-Form', part II, *Scottish Studies,* Vol. 17, (1973), 91.
[625] G. Yates, *The Ball; Or, A Glance at Almack's in 1829* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 177.
[626] *The Morning Post,* 9 July 1803.
[627] *MP,* 19 June 1807.
[628] *MP,* 20 June 1822.
[629] Aaron McGregor, 'Violinists and Violin Music in Scotland, 1550-1750' (PhD: University of Glasgow, 2019), 156.

with peculiar spirit.'[630] Good execution of the intricate footwork demanded by the reel also could draw particular mention: 'The Duchess of Manchester, in winding the nimble mazes of the Highland reel, charmed every one by the lovliness [sic] of its fascinations.'[631] Exhibiting skill in the reel, however, could extend beyond the Scottish diaspora. At Mrs Thellusson's Masquerade in 1806, 'Several Highland Reels were danced by different characters, among those who excelled were Lord Charles Bentick, Lord Morpeth, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Sloane, and Mr. T. Sheridan.'[632] Nonetheless, though reeling was an activity enjoyed by all in fashionable London society, performing a Scottish reel to a high standard appears to have been largely confined to the members of the Scottish diaspora.

The language used by non-Scots to describe reeling is fascinating in that it often emphasises energy, physicality and excess. Edward Topham, for example, when watching reels in Edinburgh for the first time in 1774-5, observed that the Scottish danced with a sense of abandon, and apparently for the sheer love of the activity, rather than for the sole purpose of social mixing:

> The perseverance which the Scotch Ladies discover in these Reels is not less surprising, than their attachment to them in preference to all others. They will sit totally unmoved at the most sprightly airs of an English Country Dance; but the moment one of these tunes is played… up they start, animated with new life, and you would imagine they had received an electrical shock, or been bit by a tarantula… The young people in England… only consider Dancing as an agreeable means of bringing them together… But the Scotch admire the Reel for its own merit alone, and may truly be said to dance for the sake of Dancing…. A Scotchman comes into an Assembly-room as he would into a field of exercise, dances till he is literally tired, possibly without ever looking at his partner, or almost knowing who he dances with.[633]

Topham's account reinforces the idea that Scottish dance was physically exhausting, but also that it was wild and somewhat indecorous in style. According to the London-based dancing master Thomas Wilson, Scottish dancers would accompany their reel steps with the snapping of fingers, and 'the sudden howl or yell', though he disapproved of this 'barbarous' practice in the ballroom.[634] This non-musical sonic feature of Scottish dance is also referenced in the description of a ball given by the Duchess of Gordon in 1792, at which it was reported that 'the Marquis of Huntly, and the Earl of Elgin, and two Ladies, had a Reel, the Marquis snapping his fingers at intervals with the true Caledonian fervour'.[635] Later, when George IV visited Dalkeith Palace during his historic visit to Scotland, he stood watching the reeling for upwards of half an hour, during which he, too, reportedly snapped his

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[630] *London Courier and Evening Gazette*, 7 June 1805.
[631] *MP,* 29 September 1809.
[632] *MP,* 2 June 1806.
[633] Edward Topham, Letter XXXII: 'Of the Scotch Dances' in *Letters from Edinburgh: Written in the Years 1774 and 1775* (London: J. Dodesley, 1776), 263.
[634] Thomas Wilson, *Companion to the Ballroom* (London: D. Mackay, 1820), 244.
[635] *Kentish Gazette,* 8 May 1792.

fingers.[636] It is evident, therefore, that the manner in which Scottish dances were performed in London's fashionable space, in particular the exuberant sense of physicality permitted by the style, captured the public imagination, though it also challenged the boundary between barbarity and civilisation. Like many other aspects of Scottish culture, dancing was associated with the Scottish national character as depicted through Romantic stereotype. Through the medium of the reel, London's dancers could inhabit the role of the untamed Highlander, if only on the dancefloor.

5.3 'A Tartan Belle': Jane, Duchess of Gordon

While both sexes enjoyed Scottish dancing at society entertainments in and around London, it is important to acknowledge that a significant proportion of these events were hosted by women. Entry to Almack's assembly rooms was famously controlled by an exclusive committee of elite women, who permitted only those of whom they personally approved to obtain annual vouchers. According to Faulds, 'Female agency was pivotal to the cultivation of Almack's as an exclusive venue, for its management under a coterie of lady patronesses governed collective bodily expression and exchange'.[637] Women possessing sufficient wealth to host entertainments for their peers were therefore able to shape the atmosphere of such spaces, as part of a wider negotiation of elite culture. Following Butler's performative concept of gender, in which gender is not innate but instead represents 'the repeated stylization of the body', the women dancing in this kind of polite space were performing their femininity through the public or semi-public display of social dance.[638] Maripuu assigns particular significance to the physicality of the dancing body: 'while dancing, the dancing body performs gender'.[639] A social space in which women danced was therefore inherently also a space that 'facilitated the performance of different feminine roles' through the dancing body.[640] Crucially, however, as Faulds argues, 'different modes of dancing were stipulated as apposite or objectionable to the expression of feminine decorum'.[641] When considering the dissemination of Scottish dance in historical polite space, it is therefore important to question whether this particular dance style, and the Scottish music that accompanied it, aligned with, or challenged, expectations of gender performativity in late eighteenth-century London.

Best known for her persuasive method of raising the Gordon Highlanders, Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon played a significant role in the introduction of Scottish fashion and dance into elite London

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[636] Robert Mudie, *A Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1822), 223-224.
[637] Katrina Lee Faulds, '"Invitation pour la danse": Social dance, dance music and feminine identity in the English country house c.1770-1860' (PhD: University of Southampton, 2015), 228.
[638] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999), 25.
[639] Anne-Liis Maripuu, 'Performativity of Gender by Early Modern Dancers on and off Stage. The Case of Elmerice Parts and Gerd Neggo', *Studia humaniora Estonica*, no 27/28, (2021), 225.
[640] Faulds, 'Invitation pour la danse', 226.
[641] Faulds, 'Invitation pour la danse', 89.

society.[642] Born in Edinburgh, Jane Maxwell married Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon, in 1767, though the marriage was by all accounts turbulent. Much of the Duchess's time, particularly after 1787, was spent in London, where she became a leading light of the 'fashionable world'. Her short biography in *Public Characters* (1807) exalted the Duchess's virtues as a leader of public taste:

> In every rank of society, many are the creatures of imitation; they think and act less from their own judgment and choice than from the examples of those whom they propose to themselves as models. It is, therefore, of the highest importance in any circle of society, that the person who gives the tone to its opinions, manners, and pursuits, should be such as are best calculated to promote its most beneficial and agreeable purposes. Fashion is closely interwoven with morals and with politics. The pursuits and manners which she prescribes, powerfully influence private integrity, public patriotism, and general loyalty. In no circle does that imitation…operate more powerfully than in high life, and by none are people of that condition more directed than by the Duchess of Gordon.[643]

Several accounts attest to the fact that the Duchess enthusiastically embraced the fusion of fashionable society and politics, often more overtly than many of her contemporaries. Her frequent dinners, hosted at the several London properties she leased over the years, were well-known hubs of political conversation and even intrigue. Such occasions were attended regularly by Pitt the Younger (1759-1806) as Prime Minister, for whom she lobbied passionately, and by members of his Tory administration, including the Scot Henry Dundas (1742-1811). During the Regency crisis of 1788, her manservant Matthias D'Amour recorded her canvassing 'in the most active manner for votes on the side of the Ministers', and that 'her influence was so well known, and her zeal so effectual, that… on the King's subsequent recovery, she received his Majesty's *personal thanks*'.[644] She is also credited with resolving a dispute upon the matter of debts between King George III and the Prince of Wales (later George IV), 'whom she was accustomed in conversation to treat with the utmost freedom, even upon points of great delicacy'.[645]

Outside politics, the Duchess took an active part in the management of her husband's estate in Scotland, and advocated energetically for agricultural reform, often in discussion with her personal friend, Henry Home, Lord Kames. She was also instrumental in introducing new crops, encouraging flax-growing to the area in order to provide increased employment opportunities for local men and women. In a letter to F. Farquharson, Jan 13th, 1804, she wrote: 'You know how much I am interested in introducing industry into that country, where the bravest people in the world are idle and often

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[642] It is well recorded that the Duchess played a prominent role in the raising of the Gordon Highlanders regiment in 1794. The legend goes that she and her daughters toured marketplaces to encourage recruitment, offering a kiss (as well as a coin) to those who joined the regiment.
[643] *Public Characters of 1799-1800* (London: Richard Philipps, 1807), 524.
[644] Matthias D'Amour, *Memoirs of Mr. Matthias D'Amour* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1836), 156.
[645] Nathaniel Wraxall, *The Historical and Posthumous Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall*: 1772-1784 (London: Bickers & Son, 1884), Vol. 4, 459.

deprived of even the common comforts of life'.[646] In later life, the Duchess spent many months of the year at a small cottage called Kinrara in the Highland district of Badenoch, from which she hosted 'half the London world of fashion… all the north country, all the neighbourhood from far and near, without regard to wealth or station'.[647] From here, she instituted the Badenoch and Strathspey Farming Society in 1803, appointing its first committee.[648] The Duchess was also a significant force behind the establishment of the Northern Meeting, a social gathering based in Inverness that still continues today. Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus (1797-1885) recorded in her *Memoirs of a Highland Lady* that the Duchess instigated the Meeting, and always took a large party of friends, with 'stray English being particularly acceptable'.[649] Modern historians of the Meeting attribute less responsibility to the Duchess, but Fairrie acknowledges that its initial format (centred around several balls) was of her design, and that the programme, until the 1820s, remained 'predominantly reels and country dances', 'suited to the good traditional fiddle music of 18th Century Scotland'.[650] Evidently, the Duchess's energetic love of Scottish music and dance contributed significantly to the character of fashionable space in both Scotland and London in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

In character, Jane, Duchess of Gordon, was judged by contemporaries to be vivacious, forthright, and witty, possessing an impressive physical bearing. In 1864, *An Autobiographical chapter in the life of Jane, Duchess of Gordon* described her as a young girl as possessing a 'wild and boisterous character'.[651] As an adult, contemporaries drew attention to her 'contempt for the settled rules of etiquette' and her directness of speech: 'ready in her wit, although free in her speech – frank and easy of access'.[652] Matthias D'Amour, her valet, recorded in his memoirs his first impressions of her: 'she was an uncommonly fine looking woman, and as I entered the apartment she was walking backward and forward with, as I thought, all the dignity of an eastern queen.'[653] Her close friend, the philosopher

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[646] *An autobiographical chapter in the life of Jane, Duchess of Gordon* (Glasgow: Privately Printed, 1864), 1-2.
[647] The London press was intrigued by the Duchess's decision to purchase a 'romantic seat in the Highlands' (*The Morning Post,* 2 October 1801). The *London Chronicle* published a full description for its readers, contrasting the 'soft and tranquil shade of a Highland cottage' with the Duchess's 'spirit and animation' in the circles of fashion, and using her example to prove the 'ultimate prevalence of natural simplicity', and even that 'Nature is the primary standard of true taste'. The author also notes that she was 'universally beloved' by the poor in her immediate neighbourhood, whom she visited regularly, and 'prevailed on a great number to have their children inoculated.' (*LC,* 10 October 1801)
[648] Christine Lodge, 'Gordon, Jane, duchess of Gordon', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, ed. David Cannadine, accessed 20 October 2022, https://www.oxforddnb.com.
[649] J. M. Strachey (ed.), *Memoirs of a Highland Lady: The Autobiography of Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus afterwards Mrs. Smith of Baltiboys* (London: John Murray, 1898), 251.
[650] Angus Fairrie, *The Northern Meeting 1788-1988* (Edinburgh: Pentland Press, 1988), 131. It is generally agreed that the music at the Northern Meeting was, at least after 1799, of a high standard. Fairrie argues that the 'Band of Music from Perth' employed after this date was that of Nathaniel Gow himself, and that many tunes in the collections published by the Gows during this period reflect the membership of the Northern Meeting (Fairrie, 130).
[651] *An autobiographical chapter in the life of Jane, Duchess of Gordon*, v. Several contemporary sources refer to an episode in Jane's childhood in which she and her sister rode bareback down the street on pigs.
[652] *An autobiographical chapter in the life of Jane, Duchess of Gordon,* vii.
[653] D'Amour, *Memoirs of Mr. Matthias D'Amour*, 144.

James Beattie is reported to have described her as: 'feelingly alive to every fine impulse; demonstrative herself, detesting coldness in others; the life of every party; the consoling friend of every scene of sorrow; a compound of sensibility and vivacity, of strength and softness.[654] Some of the Duchess's character traits were judged by her contemporaries as 'masculine', though this was not always intended as a slight. Many accounts have relied on that of Nathaniel Wraxall, who lamented that she 'always wanted one essential component part of beauty', declaring that 'neither in her person, manners or mind was there any feminine expression'.[655] Drawing a contrast with the Duchess of Devonshire, he described Jane, Duchess of Gordon, as 'far inferior to her rival in feminine graces'.[656] Yet Wraxall himself admitted that the Duchess was 'exempted by her sex, rank and beauty from those restraints imposed on woman by the generally recognised usages of society', and that she possessed several admirable qualities, among which he listed 'pertinacity which no obstacle could shake' and 'masculine importunity'.[657]

It is interesting to consider the relationship of this 'masculine' vision of the Duchess of Gordon to broader stereotypes of Scottish femininity. It is well-recorded that the Duchess never modified her strong Scottish accent, lending weight to accusations of an 'uncouth' or 'coarse' deportment. The *Female Jockey Club* for 1794 described her with a somewhat unkind couplet: 'The Duchess triumphs in a manly mien/Loud is her accent and her phrase obscene'.[658] Wraxall described another Scottish noblewoman, Lady Hamilton, in similar terms, claiming that 'there was nothing feminine' about her, and that she too was 'not moulded with grace and delicacy'. For him, this judgement was strongly linked to the fact that 'her conversation was coarse, with a strong provincial accent, which no polishing could eradicate'.[659] A Scottish accent, then, was incompatible with femininity as understood by men of Wraxall's class, and perhaps by London society in general. Such judgements, however, had no impact on the Duchess of Gordon's countenance, and it appears that she was entirely unembarrassed to be Scottish. In 1792, D'Amour describes her as being inspired by the full Highland costume of her son, the Marquis of Huntly, and immediately ordering the same tartan to be woven in China. Having received the sample, she announced her intention to wear a tartan dress at court, and ordered a large amount of cloth from Spitalfields.[660] Her daring sartorial statement did not pass unnoticed: The Duchess's example immediately influenced the fashion of the day, and soon 'scarce a respectable female but wore a tartan waist to her gown at least, and there was hardly a waiter at any Inn in London, but

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[654] Grace and Phillip Wharton, 'Jane, Duchess of Gordon' in Mary Robinson, *Beaux and Belles of England* (London: The Grolier Society n.d.), 268.
[655] Wraxall, *Historical and Posthumous Memoirs,* Vol. 4, 457.
[656] Wraxall, *Historical and Posthumous Memoirs,* Vol. 5, 258.
[657] Wraxall, *Historical and Posthumous Memoirs*, Vol. 4, 458.
[658] Charles Piggott, *The Female Jockey Club*; *or, A Sketch of the Manners of the Age* (London: D.I. Eaton, 1794), 88.
[659] Wraxall, *Historical and Posthumous Memoirs*, Vol. 2, 383.
[660] See Rosie Waine, *Fashioning Highland Dress, c. 1745-1845* (Edinburgh: NSME Publishing Ltd, 2022), 26, for an interesting discussion of the firm of William Wilson & Sons, a major supplier of tartan in the Georgian period, and the 'transformation of the cloth into a desirable fashion fabric'.

appeared in his tartan waistcoat'.[661] A caricature entitled 'A Tartan Belle' was also published following her court appearance:

Figure 17. Isaac Cruikshank. *A Tartan Belle*, 1792. Source: British Museum.[662]

Alongside her enthusiastic introduction of tartan dress, the Duchess performed her Scottish identity in London through the deliberate inclusion of Scottish music and dancing at her many entertainments. A piper was often employed, such as at her Grand Rout in February 1806: 'The company were greeted on their entrance into the great Hall by the most delightful Scotch tunes, executed on the pipes, by an

[661] D'Amour, *Memoirs of Mr. Matthias D'Amour*, 158
[662] Isaac Cruikshank, *A Tartan Belle of 1792* (London: S.W. Fores, 21 June 1792), licensed by the Trustees of the British Museum under a Creative Commons (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license.

eminent Performer, dressed in the Highland plaid'.[663] However, it was dancing, and particularly reeling, that the Duchess favoured. Wraxall recorded that 'she first introduced the custom of dancing at routs… moreover, with patriotic zeal, she introduced Scotch dancing, till then unheard of in the fashionable world.'[664] The author of her entry in *Public Characters* (1807) supports Wraxall's claim that the Duchess introduced the practice, further stating that the Duchess laid great stress on dancing as 'contributing to health, agility and grace'.[665] He also suggests that her introduction of dancing at routs 'entrenched on the hostile provinces of gaming'.[666] Certainly, the Duchess continued to include Scottish dancing at her own entertainments: typically, the dancing commenced towards midnight, and 'continued during the greater part of the night concluding with waltzes, reels and strathspeys'.[667] The Duchess introduced a new (and rather raucous) 'Scotch dance' at one of her balls in 1801, which involved forming a circle by 'laying hold of coats and tails' rather than by hands. The dance was widely reported in the press: 'many scenes, highly comic, took place, which threw the company into such universal good humour, that they kept it up till six in the morning.'[668] The Duchess also frequently called for Scottish dances at entertainments hosted by other members of London's high society: for example, at Sir Windsor and Miss Hunloke's Ball in March 1806, two new Scotch dances were introduced, 'called for by desire of the bonny Duchess of Gordon', and at the Hon. Mrs Fox's Grand Ball in May that year, a Mr Fergusson declined with difficulty 'the pressing intreaties of the Duchess of Gordon to dance a favourite reel'.[669]

The Duchess's reputation for enjoying and encouraging Scottish dancing in London society is therefore well-evidenced, but how did she herself dance? Several reports emphasise the physicality of her dancing style in order to underline its Scottishness. For example, at Mrs Du Pre's Grand Ball in June 1805, 'the Duchess of Gordon and her elegant daughters…danced a Highland reel with peculiar spirit'.[670] Her dancing body is not usually described as graceful or poised; rather, it is her energy that is emphasised: for example, *The Morning Post* reported that the 'bonny Duchess of Gordon' was the 'life of the scene' at Mrs Stuart Wortley's Ball in 1803.[671] Similarly, after dinner in May 1789, she danced a

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[663] *British Press,* 22 February 1806.
[664] Nathaniel Wraxall, quoted in J.M. Bulloch (ed.), *The Gordon Book, published for the Bazaar of the Fochabers Reading Room* (Aberdeen: Rosemount Press, 1902), 22.
[665] *Public Characters of 1799-1800,* 532.
[666] Ibid. It is nowhere else suggested that the Duchess intended to replace opportunities for gambling with dancing from a moral standpoint. This more likely reflects the views of the author himself, who goes on to declare that 'dancing is superior to gaming' and that 'by diminishing the time and attention bestowed upon gaming, [the Duchess of Gordon] has immediately benefited fashionable life'. The general tone of the Duchess's entertainments would suggest that eschewing all gambling was not always the order of the day, but it is possible that the Duchess's Scottish Presbyterian background contributed to her encouragement of dancing as a healthier pursuit for the upper classes.
[667] *Pilot,* 4 April 1811.
[668] *The Morning Post,* 22 July 1801.
[669] *MP,* 21 May 1806.
[670] *London Courier and Evening Gazette,* 7 June 1805.
[671] *MP,* 30 May 1803.

Strathspey with 'uncommon agility'.[672] In 1785, Lady Louisa Stuart recorded that, at a ball in London, 'the Duchess bounced away according to custom'.[673] In 1789, the Duchess's energetic dancing attracted three stanzas in the *Star*:

She kiltit up her kirtle weel	*She rolled up her skirts like a kilt,*
To show her bonie cutes sae sma',	*To show off her small, pretty ankles*
And walloped about the reel,	*And galloped her way through the reel,*
The lightest louper o' them a'!	*The lightest dancer of them all!*
While some, like slav'ring doited stots	*While some, like dribbling foolish bullocks*
Strouit' out thro' the midden dub,	*Strutted out through a muddy heap of dung,*
Fankit their heels amang their coats	*Clicking their heels among their coats*
And gart the floor their backsides rub;	*And rubbed their backsides on the floor;*
Gordon, the great, the gay, the gallant,	*Gordon, the great, the gay, the gallant,*
Skip't like a maukin owre a dyke:	*Skipped like a hare over a wall:*
Deil tak me, since I was a callant,	*The devil take me, since I was a young man,*
Gif e'er my een beheld the like!	*If ever my eyes beheld the like!* [674]

These stanzas on the Duchess of Gordon tap, perhaps, into a certain perception of reeling as an unladylike pursuit. Indeed, her 'barbarous' physicality on the dance floor is diametrically opposed to contemporary ideals of grace, elegance and beauty. As Faulds notes, women at this time 'were advised to employ smooth, soft, neat and modest motions that stressed proportion and balance, eschewing brilliance, excessive movement and vulgarity'.[675] Interestingly, however, although this depiction of the Duchess's dancing reveals a style entirely opposite to such norms, nonetheless the language employed is otherwise not entirely uncomplimentary, and her dancing body remains attractive to the author. If, as we might surmise, the Duchess's dancing body expressed her Scottishness, it could be argued that the prevailing Scottish Romantic discourse in London during this period allowed the reinterpretation of her energetic dance style as an attractively robust form of femininity.

The Duchess of Gordon played a significant role in legitimising Scottish culture and fashion in the highest ranks of London society, and specifically to lead the city into a craze for Scottish dance which lasted well into the nineteenth century. Expression of patriotism came naturally to the Duchess, who, unlike many other elite Scotswomen, did not drop her Scottish accent for the benefit of London society. A regular attender of the Church of Scotland in London, she received the Last Rites on her

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[672] George Gordon, *The Last Dukes of Gordon and their Consorts, 1743-1864, a Revealing Study* (Aberdeen: G. Gordon, 1980), 65.
[673] R. Brimley Johnson (ed.), *The Letters of Lady Louisa Stuart* (London: John Lane, 1926), 76.
[674] Interlinear gloss provided by the author. *Star*, 27 March 1789. Burns vehemently denied that the lines were his. On 13 April 1789, his official denial was printed by the *Star*: 'I never composed a line on the Duchess of Gordon in my life. I have such a sense of what I personally owe to her Graces's benevolent patronage, and such a respect for her exalted character, that I have never yet dared to mention her name in any composition of mine, from a despair of doing justice to my own feelings.' (*Star,* 13 April 1789).
[675] Faulds, 'Invitation pour la danse', 312.

death bed from the minister of the Scots Church in Swallow Street.[676] However, her enthusiasm for Scottish dancing and its music must be interpreted in the context of her own performative gender. The Duchess's character - straightforward, vivacious and energetic – translated directly into the way she was seen by her contemporaries. For some of her male contemporaries, both her Scottish accent and her overt political behaviour trespassed on 'masculine' ideological space, colouring descriptions of her movement as 'unfeminine'. Yet for others, her robust and energetic dance style remained attractive because it was, at heart, an expression of her Scottishness. If true, it could be argued that the activity of Scottish dancing in London's elite space offered women (both Scottish and non-Scottish) access to an alternative, even if temporary, expression of femininity. If this was this case, it is hardly surprising that Scottish dancing, as the acceptable face of indecorum, became so popular in late eighteenth-century London.

5.4 The Gows in London

In his *Dissertation on the Present State of the English Ball Room* (1820), dancing master Thomas Wilson acknowledged that musicians were 'a useful class of persons' and that 'there is one thing certain, that there is no Dancing without them, as the Music must always guide the Dancer.'[677] In order to bring Scottish dance to London in style, the Duchess of Gordon and the rest of the fashionable world required musicians to provide appropriate music for their entertainments. As Scottish dancing became increasingly popular in elite circles towards the end of the eighteenth century, it became necessary for those hosting fashionable events to secure a band capable of leading the reeling in an authentic manner. Within Scotland, and particularly in Edinburgh, the musical Gow family dominated the market for dance music. While Nathaniel Gow (1763-1831), the youngest of four sons of the celebrated fiddler Niel Gow (1727-1807), remained in Edinburgh, his younger brother, John Gow (1764-1826), established a career in the English capital, mirroring his brother's activities there.[678] For the Gows, splitting familial talent between Scotland and London was a sensible commercial decision, and indeed a familiar entrepreneurial business model by this date. Various members of the Corri family, for example, split their performance, teaching and publishing activities across both cities.[679] In practice, despite their separate residences in Edinburgh and London, the Gow brothers may very well have shared a patronage network. The Duke and Duchess of Gordon, for example, employed Nathaniel when at

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[676] Gordon, *The Last Dukes of Gordon and their Consorts*, 146.
[677] Wilson, *Companion to the Ballroom*, 232.
[678] See Paul Cooper, 'Nathaniel Gow (1763-1831) & John Gow (1764-1826), Band Leaders & Publishers', *Regency Dances*, at https://www.regencydances.org/paper022.php for a thorough survey of the activities of both Nathaniel and John Gow, and the symbiotic careers between the two brothers.
[679] Peter Ward Jones, revised Rachel E. Cowgill, J Bunker Clark and Nathan Buckner, 'Corri family', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, ed. David Cannadine, accessed 8 January 2023, https://www.oxforddnb.com.

Gordon Castle, and John when in residence in London.[680] In London, however, most references to 'Gow's Band' or 'Mr. Gow' refer to John, who could offer the musical cachet of the Gow name without the expense and difficulty of bringing Nathaniel and his musicians from Scotland.

When John and his brother Andrew arrived in London in around 1788, they initially did not print music at their small music shop at 60, King Street, Golden Square. Instead, early publications such as John Gow's *12 Favorite Country Dances* (1788) were printed by another Scottish publisher, William Campbell, who operated out of various addresses in Covent Garden and Soho.[681] Unlike the output of his father and brother, John's first collection, like many of his subsequent publications, was not Scottish in theme, containing instead the country dances popular at Almack's and Willis's Rooms that year. However, from his London base, John Gow was able to widen the consumer base for the huge number of musical collections published by his brother Nathaniel in Edinburgh, as evidenced by the fact that many such works were advertised as being simultaneously available at John's shop in London. After Andrew's death in 1803, John obtained a new premises in Carnaby Street. Later, he moved to Great Marlborough Street and subsequently Regent Street, where he ran the business with his son, John H. Gow. As early as 1817, John's son published a fascinating series of 'Scotch' or 'Caledonian' Quadrilles, which became incredibly popular in the ballrooms of both Scottish and English capitals.[682] There was, as far as can be ascertained, nothing particularly Scottish about the actual dance figures, which were familiar French quadrilles, but they were set to popular Scottish tunes in an attempt at fusing the two most beloved national dance styles in early nineteenth-century ballrooms.[683] There may have been an element of patriotic zeal behind this decision, or at least an element of problem-solving: at the time, Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus recorded some resistance in Edinburgh from older dancers, who

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[680] A bill for June 1801 of £12,12,0, records a payment in London from the Duchess of Gordon to John Gow (John Gow – Musician, Accounts, household and personal, paid mainly by Coutts in London for Jane, duchess of Gordon, and her younger children, 1801-1805, GD44/34/51, Papers of the Gordon Family, Dukes of Gordon, National Records of Scotland.) Further payments were made to John Gow in 1802, 1803, and also to William Kyvett, a highly popular singer of the period, for an Evening Concert in 1802 (GD44/34/51).

[681] William Campbell printed John's 1788 dance collection from his premises at No. 11, New Street, Covent Garden. (John Gow, *12 Favorite Country Dances, & 4 Cotilions, for the Violin, Harpsichord, or Harp, with their proper Figures, as perform'd at Willis's, late Almack's, &c, &c*, (London: William Campbell, 1788)). He also printed at least four collections of *Slow Airs Strathspeys and Reels* (c.1795-1800) for the London Gow brothers, dedicated to the Highland Society of London, from later premises at No. 8, Dean Street, Soho. John was the musician of the HSL from 1783 at the latest, and his brother Andrew joined him as a second violin between 1792 and 1795.

[682] John H. Gow, *A Favorite Set of Quadrilles, Composed of Admired Scotch Airs, and peculiarly Well adapted for the French Figures* (London: J.H. Gow, c.1817-1820).

[683] Further research on the phenomenon of Caledonian Quadrilles is required to establish the nature of the 'Caledonian Quadrille'. The genre was not homogenous: Thomas Wilson, in his *Danciad* of 1824, complained that the sets of 'Scotch Quadrilles' were 'the sorriest rubbish', and that 'the name is all that's national, the rest is but mere imitation at the best'. Profoundly irritated by the commercial success of the genre, he accused other publishers of proving the nationality of Scotch Quadrilles with nothing else but 'the print of a Scotch bagpiper in the title page' (Thomas Wilson, *Danciad; or, Dancer's Monitor* (London: printed for the author, 1824), 189-190). Be that as it may, it remains unclear whether there was anything Scottish in the way that a Scotch Quadrille was danced, and whether either the Scottish tune, or the French quadrille steps, required any adaption to suit the other in practice.

bemoaned the new popularity of the French Quadrille in place of traditional reeling.[684] A 'Scotch Quadrille' perhaps represented an attempt to satisfy both camps. Certainly, John H. Gow, like his father, was adept at exploiting the consumer market for Scottish culture in London, inspiring fellow publishers to follow suit with similar publications.[685]

Alongside his publishing business, John Gow senior regularly performed in London and the South of England (see Appendix E). By the mid-1790s, he had formed a Scottish band of musicians, presumably in response to the explosion of Scottish dance in the capital. In 1802, he and a fellow band leader, Mackintosh, were engaged to lead the Band alternately at the Westminster and City Assemblies, described as 'two of the best Performers of Ball Music in this country.[686] During the 1800s, Gow's band appeared at a ball hosted by the Duchess of Devonshire, a Masquerade given by Mrs Thellusson at Foley House in Hampstead, summer fetes at Stoke Park and Stowe House, Buckinghamshire, and at Oatlands, Surrey, hosted by the Duchess of York, a Grand Ball at Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire, a Fête Champêtre for Lord Clarendon, and several appearances in High Wycombe, amongst many other examples.[687] Gow was also frequently engaged for entertainments in central London, both at grand houses in the fashionable West End, and for the Prince and Princess of Wales at Kensington Palace, Carlton House, and at Brighton.[688] On one occasion, he led a band of 30 Scottish musicians at Cumberland House.[689] Later, John took advantage of the addition of a summer season in Ramsgate and Margate: a regular steamboat service from London to Margate after 1816 enabled the wealthy to enjoy entertainments there between August and October. Gow's band (though not necessarily Gow himself) also performed at the Dandelion, Margate, in 1810, and at the Margate Assembly Rooms and numerous other venues in Ramsgate in 1817 and 1818.[690] Gow even ventured as far as Devon, where he was regularly engaged to lead the band at entertainments at Powderham Castle, held by the

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[684] J. M. Strachey (ed.), *Memoirs of a Highland Lady: The Autobiography of Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus afterwards Mrs. Smith of Baltiboys* (London: John Murray, 1898), 287.
[685] Joseph Binns Hart, *Hart's much admired Scotch Quadrilles* (London: Mayhew & Co, 1821); G.M.S. Chivers, *The Original Caledonians, an admired Highland Set of Quadrilles* (London: Beford Musical Repository, 1821).
[686] *The Morning Post,* 30 January 1802; 12 June 1802. The Scottish violinist, Robert 'Red Rob' MacKintosh, was present in London from around 1802 until his death in 1807.
[687] *MP,* 9 July 1803; 2 June 1804; 27 July 1805; 20 August 1805; 9 December 1805; 1 September 1808; 8 October 1808; 15 November 1808.
[688] *MP,* 20 May 1809; 22 June 1811, *Morning Herald,* 12 August 1807.
[689] *MP,* 2 June 1802.
[690] *MP,* 22 September 1810; 13 October 1810; 27 September 1814; 2 October 1817; 11 October 1817; 16 September 1818; 6 October 1818; 24 October 1818. It is not clear whether John Gow himself performed during the summer season in Kent, though members of his band certainly did. In 1810, an advertisement for a ball held in Broadstairs proudly stated that the music, to be led by a Mr Fleming, was 'a proportion of the inimitable Gow's band' or 'part of the celebrated Gows' (*The Morning Post,* 1 September, 1810, 22 September 1810). Mr Fleming is also to be found 'assisting' 'the regular Gow's band' later at a Fête Champêtre later that year in Margate (*MP,* 13 October 1810), and is described as 'Mr. Gow's double' in 1814 (*MP,* 27 September 1814). Fleming presumably was a local dance band leader, who either replaced or played alongside John Gow as leader of Gow's band during the summer season.

musical William, 3rd Viscount Courtney.[691] Evidently, Gow's skill demanded significant remuneration, and such opportunities were lucrative enough for Gow to justify the travel to and from London.

Alongside fashionable entertainments hosted by wealthy individuals, John and his band performed regularly at popular assembly venues such as the Pantheon on Oxford Street, and between 1811 and 1815 for Grand Masquerades at the Argyll Rooms. Later, it appears that he performed at Almack's, though this was usually the domain of his rival James Paine.[692] Gronow later recalled that 'In 1814, the dances at Almack's were Scotch reels and the old English country-dance; and the orchestra, being from Edinburgh, was conducted by the then celebrated Neil Gow.'[693] As Niel Gow had died seven years previously, this must have been either Nathaniel Gow with his Edinburgh band, John Gow with his London band, or even both brothers performing together. By the early 1820s, John Gow was performing at the annual balls of the Caledonian Asylum, at which the musical entertainment was always 'chiefly Scotch'.[694] In 1822, John's was the first band of three at the 'Great Caledonian Ball', at which he was presented with a long service medal by the Highland Society of London.[695] In August 1810, Gow played at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand for a benefit concert for George Clarke, Piper to the 71st Highland Regiment, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Vimiera.[696] As the nineteenth century wore on, events with a Scottish theme, such as the 'Caledonian Fete' held at Vauxhall Gardens in 1825, also required the services of the Gows, probably John H. Gow at this date. Newspaper reports following the event gushed over the atmosphere, declaring that 'the vocal and instrumental national music of Caledonia diffused a charm which cannot be described.'[697] Undoubtedly, Scottish entertainments, both those organised by Scottish diaspora, and others, offered up in a Romantic spirit, provided lucrative work for John Gow and his band.

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[691] I am indebted to Jeanice Brooks and the AHRC-funded research project 'Music, Home, and Heritage: Sounding the Domestic in Georgian Britain' for this primary data concerning Gow's activities at Powderham Castle. William, 3rd Viscount Courteney, was an enthusiastic amateur musician, adding a Music Room at Powderham Castle sometime after 1788. In 1792, Courteney purchased 4 sets of 'Scotch Music', recently published by John Gow and one of his brothers (Payment for Music from Gow, 1792-08-11, 1508M/O/E/Accounts/V15 (1781-1795), Devon Heritage Centre, Exeter). This may have been the first collection of John and Andrew Gow's *Slow Airs, Strathspeys and Reels* (London: William Campbell, c. 1795).

[692] There was a certain competition between these two dance band leaders. In 1817, The *Morning Post* reported that Gow's Band had performed at a ball held at Princess Elizabeth's Cottage, Windsor (*MP,* 7 August 1817). A letter from James Paine was printed on the following day in *The Morning Chronicle,* in which he corrected this error, stating that 'her Royal Highness was pleased to honour me with her commands to attend with my band, which I am proud to say gave the utmost satisfaction to her Royal Highness and the company present, as it has done upon all similar occasions'. (*MC,* 8 August 1817).

[693] Rees Howell Gronow, *Reminiscences of Captain Gronow* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1862), 'Society in London in 1814'.

[694] *MP*, 27 May 1820.

[695] *MP,* 15 May 1822. While the 'veteran Gow' appears in newspaper reports leading his band until at least May 1823, it appears that his son was gradually transitioned into the role in mid-1822. *The Morning Post* for 20 June 1822 highlights that the reels and strathspeys were 'led by Mr. Gow. Jun.' By 1824, the transition seems to have been complete: John H. Gow had become 'Mr. Gow', and his band was playing his Scotch quadrilles at Almack's.

[696] *MP,* 30 August 1810.

[697] *MP,* 7 July 1825.

The musicians in John Gow's band, discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, did not necessarily form a fixed ensemble, and some may have been itinerant. In practice, despite the presence of two Scottish dance bands in Scottish and English capitals, some musicians may have travelled for work along the Great North Road, performing both in Edinburgh and London. Musicians may also have been rather more plentiful during the London season, travelling with their employers for the entire period. The Duchess of Gordon, for example, brought her own violinist and composer, William Marshall, with her, from Scotland. Certain occasions may have been worth a special trip: Nathaniel joined his brother John for particularly high-profile events. Sometimes, newspaper reports refer to the 'Messrs Gow' performing at a particular entertainment, or to 'the celebrated Gows', which could refer to both John and Nathaniel, and even Andrew (until his death in 1803) performing together. In June 1807, it was reported that, at the Countess of Powis's Ball in Berkeley Square, 'Mr. Gow, and Mr Nathaniel Gow, from Edinburgh, were present'.[698] Intriguingly, at the turn of the nineteenth century, a 'Mrs. Gow' is also referenced on two occasions in advertisements. In 1801, at a Dance Academy 'for young Ladies of distinction' at Willis's Rooms, St James's Square, French, Scotch and Irish dancing was taught, with 'the music under the direction of Mrs. Gow'.[699] A further reference mentions a 'Mrs Gow' engaged to attend the St Anne's Corps Military Ball, also held at the Willis's Rooms.[700] Later, Nathaniel Gow's daughter, Augusta Gow (1815-1893), a pianist and composer, studied at the Royal Academy of Music in London between 1828 and 1832, suggesting that female members of the Gow family were encouraged to pursue their musical talent.[701] Even if the earlier references to a 'Mrs. Gow' are print errors, there is no doubt that the Gow family, and particularly John, maintained a firm musical presence in London from the 1780s well into the nineteenth century.

What kind of music did John Gow and his band play in his London performances? While John appears occasionally as a performer of art music (for example, when performing excerpts from Handel's *Messiah* and *Creation* at a 'Grand Selection of Sacred Music' at the Margate Assembly Rooms), newspaper reports consistently draw attention to his reputation for Scottish dance music.[702] Naturally, Gow's band was able to play for country dances and, later, quadrilles, but he was most commonly associated with reels and strathspeys. Occasionally, the dances played by his band were named: in 1803, *The Morning Post* reported that Gow's band was 'about to strike up *Sir Charles Douglas,* when

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[698] *MP,* 19 June 1802.
[699] *MP,* 16 February 1801.
[700] *MP,* 20 February 1802.
[701] After completing her studies in London, Augusta Gow returned to Edinburgh in 1832, where she established herself as a teacher of singing and pianoforte. With her husband, Frederick Packer, she later emigrated to Australia in 1852. Her friendship album, containing sketches, engravings, manuscript verse and music, has survived to the present day. See Augusta Gow's friendship album: [1829-1835], CSL & RC MSS 2019/2, Caroline Simpson Collection, Museums of History, New South Wales, https://first.mhnsw.au/fullRecord.jsp?recnoListAttr=recnoList&recno=55599.
[702] *MP,* 16 September 1818.

Lady Sarah Fane called for the lively dance of *O'er Bogie wi' my Love*.[703] This brings to mind the somewhat depressing testimony of the dancing master Thomas Wilson, who lamented the fact that those who called dances often made obscure choices without being able to name the appropriate tune.[704] Indeed, playing for public dance entertainments must have required an astonishing level of musical flexibility for bands like the Gows', and their repertoire of tunes must have been extensive. It would not be accurate, however, to portray dance musicians as entirely in thrall to the whims of the hosts and their guests. Both Nathaniel and John Gow introduced new dances of their own composition at balls, such as John Gow's *Young Roscius's Strathspey,* performed first at Miss Jordan's Fête Champêtre in the summer of 1806.[705] Even though such compositions were often commissioned, still John and Nathaniel were able to influence musical taste in both Edinburgh and London through the sharing of their compositional efforts. In 1807, for example, at a ball in Grosvenor Square, John Gow started the dancing with the 'Largos Fairy Dance', 'composed by Mr. Nathaniel Gow, of Edinburgh'.[706]

Overall, the activities of John Gow, and, until his death in 1803, his brother Andrew, reveal a now-familiar approach to the commercialisation of Scottish culture in London towards the end of the eighteenth century. Just as Bremner was economically motivated to open his London premises alongside his Edinburgh branch, it may have been a deliberate business decision on the part of the several sons of Niel Gow to split their energies equally between London and Edinburgh. As the Romanticisation of Scottish culture pervaded the English capital, John Gow and his son were able to exploit the craze for Scottish dancing to the full. As hinted by the author of *Public Characters,* both Nathaniel and John knew exactly how to package Scottish music for the ballroom: 'to the natural genius of their father, [they] superadded taste and science, and softened the wild vivacity of highland music, without materially deviating from its character'.[707] In other words, John Gow carefully packaged his native dance music to London audiences, the majority of whom were non-Scottish, for significant commercial benefit. His earning power was clearly substantial, with two linked income streams of musical performances with his band and music publishing business. Continuously employed until the last years of his life, it is unsurprising that *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal* reported in 1834 that John Gow died 'after acquiring a large fortune'.[708] It is important, however, to acknowledge that John's success was in a sense reflexive. His reputation, at least at first, stemmed from the enduring fame of his father, Niel Gow, through whom he could boast an 'authentic' connection to the world of traditional Scottish dance music. As a result, the imagined locus of his musical activity, including for those in London who enjoyed his performances, was undoubtedly Scotland itself.

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[703] *MP,* 9 July 1803.
[704] Wilson, *Companion to the Ballroom,* 234-235.
[705] *MP,* 16 July 1806.
[706] *MP,* 11 July 1807.
[707] *Public Characters of 1799-1800*, 532.
[708] William & Robert Chambers (eds.), *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal* (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1834), 358.

5.5 Scottish Dancing Masters in London

To complete the picture of the cultural transfer of Scottish dance music between Scotland and London, it is vital to recognise the contribution of dancing masters, who, alongside musicians like the Gows, enabled Scottish dance to flourish in the capital. Dancing masters practised their trade widely across Scotland, but it was necessary for them to travel regularly to London, and even further afield, in order to update their repertoire of steps as fashions changed. Just as music shop owners like Bremner boasted that they were able to source the latest printed music and instruments from London, dancing masters too advertised recent travels to London and to Paris. Cooper has created a comprehensive list of Scottish newspaper advertisements which record this practice.[709] As early as 1764, the notable Edinburgh dancing master David Strange declared that he had 'studied dancing under the celebrated Signor Gallini at London', while William Ritchie, also practising in Edinburgh, advertised in 1802 that 'he is now returned from Paris and London, where he has been these some months in the way of his profession, studying under the most approved Masters.'[710] The Aberdeen-based Francis Peacock (1723-1807), in his *Sketches Relative to the History, Theory and Practice of Dancing* (1805) was also proud to acknowledge the friendship 'and polite attention' of Gallini, whom he visited regularly in London. Sometimes, trips were made to learn specific dances: Alexander Strathy of Perth returned from London, 'where he has acquired a variety of beautiful Spanish, German, and French Dances'.[711] Edinburgh dancing master Barclay Dun arrived back in Scotland from London in October 1810 after a period of study, and started teaching the newly fashionable German waltz the following season.[712] Though many visited only for a short periods, the frequent travel of dancing masters ensured a constant flow of material and skill between London and Scotland.

Although the primary purpose of travel in these instances was to import new dance steps and their accompanying music from London to Scotland, there was necessarily a secondary channel of cultural transfer enabled by those Scottish dancing masters who spent extended periods of time in London. While in the capital, many masters were able to capitalise commercially on their knowledge of fashionable Scottish dance styles, teaching Highland reels, for example, to London society. The celebrated dancing master George Jenkins, who spent a substantial portion of his career in London until his death in 1798, became widely known as the best teacher of the Scotch dancing style in Britain. Though it cannot be proved that he was born in Scotland, the likelihood of a long period of residence there seems extremely likely given his acknowledged professional expertise. In London, he and two of his sons, George and William Kinnaird, achieved such a reputation that Scottish dancing masters such as James Douglas (assistant to Francis Peacock in Aberdeen) and the aforementioned William Ritchie,

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[709] Paul Cooper, 'Nathaniel Gow (1763-1831) & John Gow (1764-1826), Band Leaders & Publishers', *Regency Dances*, accessed 20 October 2022, https://www.regencydances.org/paper022.php.
[710] *Caledonian Mercury,* 1 December 1764; *CM,* 9 October 1802.
[711] *Perthshire Courier,* 1 October 1812.
[712] *CM,* 19 October 1811.

visited him in London to perfect their technique. William Kinnaird later taught young members of the royal family to dance, as reported by the *Morning Chronicle* on 27th August 1801: 'His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has appointed Mr. Jenkins to instruct the Princess Charlotte in dancing.'[713] This is verified by William Ritchie, who advertised in 1802 in the *Caledonian Mercury* 'that he had been favoured by Mr Jenkins, Teacher to the Royal Family with a great variety of New Steps for Scotch Reels and Country Dances now danced at Court.'[714] Both of George Jenkins's sons appear to have had success as teachers in their own right, with George opening his own dance academy in April 1825, swiftly followed by his brother William Kinnaird in late 1826.[715] The Jenkins family therefore had significant influence, from London, on the development of Scottish dance throughout Britain.

Dance masters such as George Jenkins and his sons were, of course, also musicians, for dance classes required music, either played by the dance master, or another musician present. This was true of dancing masters in London: George Jenkins senior, alongside his professional activities as a dancing master, was the bass to John Gow's fiddle at London Highland Society meetings from 1791 until his death in 1798. In 1799, his son William Kinnaird Jenkins took his late father's place in Gow's band at the HSL until 1803, and may very well have performed with Gow for the varied entertainments which required a Scottish dance band in the capital beyond this. The sons of both men continued to work together in London: John H. Gow's publication of Scotch Quadrilles in around 1817 featured 'French, & entirely new Figures in English by Mr. G. Jenkins'.[716] Gow's second violin between 1795 and 1798 was Duncan Macintyre, yet another Scottish dancing master operating in London in the 1790s. Particularly in London, perhaps, Scottish dancing masters and instrumentalists were often one and the same, and even emanated from the same families. This is evident in the case of the youngest son of George Jenkins senior, who, in 1820, married Mary Gow, the third daughter of Nathaniel Gow, at Marylebone Church in London.[717] The closeness of dancing and instrumental families is hardly surprising, given that they relied largely upon the same patron base.[718] The Duchess of Gordon, champion of the Gows, also supported George Jenkins, employing him to direct the dancing at her London balls.[719] This intricate

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[713] *Morning Chronicle,* 27 August 1801.
[714] *CM,* 9 October 1802.
[715] *Morning Herald,* 12 April 1825; *New Times,* 6 October 1826.
[716] John H. Gow, *A Favorite Set of Quadrilles, Composed of Admired Scotch Airs, and peculiarly Well adapted for the French Figures* (London: J.H. Gow, c.1817-1820).
[717] *Evening Mail,* 24 August 1820.
[718] In Scotland, too, the occupations of dancing master and musician often overlapped. We have seen James Oswald simultaneously inhabiting both roles, working as a dancing master in Dunfermline and Edinburgh as he developed his musical reputation. Somewhat later, in Aberdeen, the celebrated dancing master Francis Peacock (1723-1807) also co-founded and performed for the Aberdeen Musical Society, and composed several works, including an anthem played during the coronation of George III in 1761, and a collection of *Fifty Favourite Airs for the Violin* (1762). Like the Gow family, Peacock benefited from the patronage of the Duchess of Gordon, to whom he dedicated his *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory*, *but more Especially to the Practice of Dancing* (Aberdeen: J. Chalmers & Co., 1805).
[719] *CM,* 16 February 1799.

network of dancing masters, musicians, and patrons, strengthened by familial ties as new generations emerged, enabled a constant flow of Scottish cultural capital between Scotland and London.

Jenkins's network, or rather one momentary expression of it, is crystallised in the subscription list to his London publication, *New Scotch Music*, published between 1793 and 1797. This collection of Slow Airs, Strathspeys, Quick Reels and Country Dances was dedicated to the Prince of Wales, and members of the Anglo-Scottish nobility make up a considerable percentage of subscribers. Families known to patronise Scottish dance music are present, including the Duke and Duchess of Gordon, their two daughters Louisa and Georgiana, and the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch. Residents of Scotland such as 'Rev. Mr. Baird, Principal of the University of Edinburgh', take their place in the list alongside Scots prominent in Westminster politics, including Sir Thomas Dundas. Several Scottish music publishers took multiple copies, including Mr. Napier (probably the Scottish music publisher resident in London), Niel Gow, Nathaniel Gow, and John and Andrew Gow. Musical organisations such as the Sunderland Musical Society also subscribed, alongside individual musicians: a 'Mr. Marshall' listed was probably William Marshall, household musician to the Duchess of Gordon, and 'Mr. Gwynne' may have been a Welsh harper who was in correspondence with the Highland Society of London in the 1780s.[720] Of the 372 subscribers to Jenkins's collection, 177 (48%) were women. Many of these may have been students at his London dancing school. However, given the increasing autonomy of women in the patronage of musical works during this period, this does not necessarily account for all the women listed.[721] The majority of the tunes in the collection match the individual names of subscribers, demonstrating that Jenkins must have promised this recognition well in advance of publication. As McAulay argues, this tactic appealed to the dedicatee's vanity and desire to see their name in print.[722] Occasionally, tune titles, such as 'Miss Mackenzies Reel of Portland Place' or 'Mr. Steuart's Junior. Strathspey of Devonshire Street' reinforce the impression that many subscribers were London-based Scots. This, then, was the network of friends, colleagues, and patrons, which George Jenkins had established by the early 1790s, which reflects both his musical connections in London and Scotland, and his strong relationships with other Scots in London's diaspora space.

One tune in the collection has attracted particular attention for its title, 'The Marquis of Huntly's Highland Fling', which remains a popular tune for the solo Highland Fling dance today. It is possible, but by no means certain, that this tune was intended to accompany one of the first instances of a particular set of Highland Fling dance steps, for the solo fling dance as we recognise it today did not develop until well into the nineteenth century. In January 1786, *The Morning Post* linked the

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[720] For discussion of Mr Gwynne's relationship with the Highland Society of London, see 186-7.
[721] Simon D. I. Fleming and Martin Perkins (eds.), *Music by Subscription: Composers and their Networks in the British Music-Publishing Trade, 1676-1820*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 13.
[722] Karen McAulay, 'Strathspeys, reels and instrumental airs: A national product', in Simon D. I. Fleming and Martin Perkins (eds.), *Music by Subscription: Composers and their Networks in the British Music-Publishing Trade, 1676-1820* (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 182.

performance of the Highland Fling to the Prince of Wales, reporting that 'The Caledonian Reel still continues to be the fashionable country dance in all assemblies which the Prince honours with his presence. He calls it the Bonny Duchess, in honour of her Grace of G[ordon], who first gave him an idea of the Royal Highland Fling, which he now performs with all the activity and spirit of a Strathspey-man.'[723] The young Prince of Wales, aged 24 at the time, was a leader of fashion, and in devising his own steps for the fling, the Marquis of Huntly may have been aiming to emulate the Prince's example, or more likely intent upon establishing a superior combination of steps. After all, the Marquis was the eldest son of the Duke and Duchess of Gordon, and his knowledge of Highland reel steps would have far surpassed that of the Prince of Wales. Cooper highlights an advert of January 1796 in which another London-based Scottish dancing master, Alexander Wills, is identified as having taught 'the original highland fling steps' to a colleague, Mr Cotgrave, suggesting that the dance may have originated in London.[724] Wills was also London-based, and, together with Jenkins, specialised in the teaching of Scottish dancing in the capital: either man, or indeed both, may have deliberately encouraged the development of particular Highland flings, with tunes to match.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the muddied origins of the Highland Fling highlight the fact that certain Scottish dances and steps may have been shaped, or even created, in London. This would be unsurprising, given that followers of fashion flocked from all corners of Britain to learn Scottish dancing with Jenkins and Wills. It would be unwise, however, to view such developments as less 'Scottish'; rather, they are rendered more complex and interesting in that they were influenced by trends in Scottish diaspora space as well as those in Scotland itself. Differences in Scottish dancing styles between Scotland and London are hinted at by Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, when she describes attending a ball in London in 1809 with her Irish dancing master, Mr Blake: 'I so far forgot the orthodox English style of regular four in a bar style of evenly goosestepping the scotch reel, as in our happy excitement to revert to good Mr Grant's Strathspey fashion, of springing through in time to the music.'[725] While it is tempting to draw from this that English (or in this case, Irish) dancing masters lacked knowledge of the correct Scottish style, another inference would be to recognise the existence of an 'English', or even a 'London' style of Scottish dance, which differed from the style customary in Scotland at that time. Whether the many Scottish dancing masters active in London taught in the 'orthodox English style' or the 'Strathspey fashion' no doubt varied, according to the demands of their clients. In the end, Scottish dancing masters in London were influenced by a multiplicity of factors necessarily different to those in Scotland itself, and adapted their teaching style to attract wide commercial appeal and the greatest number of students.

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[723] *The Morning Post,* 18 January 1786.
[724] *The Chester Courant,* 19 January 1796.
[725] J. M. Strachey (ed.), *Memoirs of a Highland Lady: The Autobiography of Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus afterwards Mrs. Smith of Baltiboys* (London: John Murray, 1898), 107.

5.6. Conclusion

The popularity of Scottish dance and dance music in London during the period 1770-1820 was ultimately the product of a wide variety of musical, social, political, and economic influences in the capital. First, in metropolitan polite space, it was often elite women who were responsible for the fashionable events at which Scottish dancing took place, and it was they who were the regular patrons of Scottish instrumental musicians and dance bands in London. Indeed, dance could be seen as one of the few contexts in which Scottish (elite) women like the Duchess of Gordon were able to express a sense of national identity in their host city. One could even argue further that the women dancing Scottish reels in entertainment space were able to inhabit, albeit temporarily, a different mode of femininity. The Duchess of Gordon, who played a leading role in the introduction and dissemination of Scottish fashion and dancing in London, attracted opprobrium in some quarters for a perceived lack of grace in her dancing body. Indeed, while Highland or Scotch reels were near-universally enjoyed and admired by Scots and non-Scots alike, some English commentators perceived the Scottish style as uncouth and unsuited to the ballroom. Yet the Duchess's energetic Scottish dancing, and her expert execution of difficult reels, were also praised, and indeed the language used in society columns to describe Scottish dancing and dancers at entertainments was rarely negative. Instead, such reports usually highlight the energy required for this style of dance, and the wild abandon with which enthusiastic revellers reeled into the small hours, to the excellent music of Gow's band. It is an apt reminder that Scottish dancing owed its popularity in part to a broader Romantic cultural context. Scottish dance, enacted in gendered space, may very well have offered access to a different strand of femininity, through which a female dancer might match, through the energy of her dancing body, the archetypically masculine image of the martial Highlander.

Many of the musicians, dancing masters, and patrons in the complex network enabling the spread of Scottish dance in London embraced the Romantic vision of Scotland, though their reasons for doing so varied. For some, a desire to bring London's Scottish community itself to greater cultural prominence was a conscious priority. Itinerant individuals such as the Duchess of Gordon, who spent high season in London, but much of the rest of their time in Scotland, were reluctant to lose elements of their Scottish identity when living away from home. The Duchess therefore used her position in society to encourage others to participate in her love of Scottish fashion and dance, doing so with explicit patriotism. Scottish musicians and dancing masters, however, while they may also have been motivated by love of Scottish dance and music, nonetheless also exploited both in pursuit of profit. It can be no accident that the sons of Niel Gow split their presence between Edinburgh and London, ensuring significant commercial success for John Gow and his son, and a constant flow of dance publications and musicians between the two cities. For John Gow, the continuing popularity of Scottish dance music in London represented his bread and butter, and he marketed his services accordingly. Jenkins's subscription list demonstrates that, while Scottish musicians and dancing masters were certainly

employed by London's Scottish diaspora community, they depended on a broad patronage in their working lives, and were prepared to perform in a wide variety of contexts. In order to achieve success in such a competitive metropolitan market, artists like John Gow and Jenkins could ill afford to be too rigid in the way they characterised and marketed their Scottish identities.

The fact that a sizeable number of leading Scottish musicians and dancing masters operated their businesses from London naturally influenced developments within the shared tradition of Scottish dance and dance music. The origins of the Highland Fling are a case in point: it is entirely possible that the formalisation of this term as referring to specific combinations of reel steps, rather than a single step, began in London, inspired by the enthusiasm of the Prince of Wales, and taken up by London-based Scottish dancing masters. Though the story is probably not quite so straightforward, nonetheless it demonstrates a significant contribution from diaspora space to the development of one of Scotland's most recognisable cultural exports. Later, John H. Gow, whose entire career was London-based, appears to have invented the Scotch Quadrille, a fusion of French dance figures and Scottish dance tunes which saw great popularity in ballrooms across England and Scotland. It is likely that this creativity was driven partly by patriotism, but also by the threat to his own performing career from the increasing popularity of quadrille dancing in the ballroom. It is possible therefore to identify new trends in both Scottish dance and music, the existence of which depended entirely on cultural developments in London's diaspora space, and which, in turn, had significant impact in Scotland itself. Indeed, we cannot assume that the style (or styles) of Scottish dance popular in London at the turn of the nineteenth century were similar to that in Scotland, or in different regions of Scotland, at the same date. Londoners could recognise a dance style, visible in the dancing body, as the physical essence of Scottishness, often described in vague terms as a 'Caledonian spirit'. Yet some dancing masters considered the full exuberance of Scottish dancing, particularly the snapping of the fingers and the rhythmic cries, to be unsuitable for the ballroom, and they may have often been omitted by London dancers. Like so many Scottish artists and entrepreneurs in the creative context of London, Scottish dancing masters and dance musicians required flexibility and sensitivity to exploit and influence fashions across the capital to their advantage.

Chapter 6: Music and the Highland Society of London, 1778-1815

6.1 Introduction

Through the lens of Scottish dance, it has been possible to establish some of the key players in the busy network of musicians, dancing masters and dance-lovers who contributed to the popularity of Scottish music in late eighteenth-century London. Yet Scottish music was enjoyed not only in London's many entertainment venues, but also at the events of formal Scottish organisations and associations, particularly in the last two decades of the century and beyond. For example, the Royal Scottish Corporation, the oldest formal Scottish institution in London, held numerous celebratory events, at which Scottish music formed part of the entertainment on offer.[726] On 19th June 1814, the Corporation held its Spring Festival at the Free Masons' Tavern on Great Queen Street. Alongside the band of the Duke of Kent and glee-singers, 'Mr. Gow's celebrated band of Scotch instrumental performers' were present, as well as MacGregor, 'the celebrated Scotch bagpiper, who was conspicuously sonorous as usual'.[727] From 1815, Caledonian balls were held to fundraise for the Caledonian Asylum, and there were many other events which often centred around St Andrew's Day. Some rather more esoteric Scottish associational events were held towards the 1820s, including a dinner for the 'True Highlanders', which featured 'wild and martial music of the Highland bagpipe' alongside Gow's band.[728] A festival was also organised in 1819 for the erection of the National Monument of Scotland, for which, once again, Gow's band played airs, Scots songs were sung by a Mr Broadhurst, and the Highland Society of London's piper, John MacGregor, attended.[729] Evidently, a broad offering of Scottish musical entertainment was available in London for the diaspora organisations seeking to bring Scots together in a familiar cultural context.

While the historical archive of the Royal Scottish Corporation has unfortunately been lost to fire, that of the Highland Society of London (HSL), still active today under the same name, has survived to the present day. The society was established on 28th May 1778 by twenty-five Highland gentlemen at the Spring Garden Coffee House, London, so that it 'might prove beneficial to that part of the Kingdom'.[730] Membership of the HSL was both 'an instrument of integration and exclusion', restricted primarily to the aristocratic and military classes, and to those with a demonstrable connection with the Highlands

[726] The Royal Scottish Corporation still flourishes as a charity under the name Scotscare.
[727] *The Morning Post,* 19 June 1814.
[728] *British Neptune,* 18 May 1818.
[729] *Commercial Chronicle,* 25 May 1819.
[730] During the late eighteenth century, the HSL was variously referred to as the 'Gaelic Society', 'Gaelic Club', 'Highland Club' or 'Highland Society'.

of Scotland.[731] The HSL can therefore be situated in a broader culture of sociability in late eighteenth-century London, one of numerous clubs, described by Baird as 'overwhelmingly male, meant to promote homosocial bonds while also serving as arenas of educational, political, scientific, or philanthropic initiatives.'[732] The HSL's patriotic purpose was to benefit the Highland region and its people through the social capital it was able to gain in London, the nexus of British political power. Fairney argues that expatriate London Gaels 'provided leadership for addressing deficiencies and key issues in the homeland' through effective networking in the English capital, and that 'they had the ability, authority and opportunity to tap into the energy centre that was London'.[733] In 1782, for example, the society played a key role in procuring the repeal of the Disarming Act, which had been enacted after the Jacobite Rising of 1745, and, amongst other restrictions, had banned the wearing of Highland dress.[734] It was also determined in the pursuit of its cultural aims, most famously in the publication of James Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian*: the Gaelic originals of Ossian (as far as these existed) were finally published under the patronage of the Society in 1807.[735] In London, the HSL worked towards the provision of facilities for Highlanders in the city, spearheading the erection of a small London Gaelic Chapel in 1809, and, in 1815, a Royal Caledonian Asylum to educate needy children of Highland descent.

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to detail the achievements of the HSL in full, these brief examples demonstrate that the extent of its influence in Scotland and London should not be underestimated. In order to achieve their aims, the HSL espoused an identity characterised by McCullough as 'Scoto-Britishness', 'a patriotic identity that highlighted the importance of the Highlands and Islands to the wider British economy'.[736] Through this strategy of 'Highlandism', the HSL was able to highlight the agency and difference of the Highlands, while simultaneously asserting its potential to contribute to British imperial economy. McCullough argues that the HSL's institutional framework enabled 'a British imperial identity that placed Highland Scottishness at the centre of its expression', and indeed the Society formed the centre of a network of like-minded organisations across the British Empire.[737] The Minute books of the HSL record the establishment of several new

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[731] Valérie Capdeville, 'The Ambivalent Identity of Eighteenth-Century London Clubs as a Prelude to Victorian Clublife', *Colloque de la SFEVE Bordeaux,* Vol 81: Clubs and Dissidence (Spring 2015), accessed 6 April 2023, https://journals.openedition.org/cve/1976, 6.
[732] Ileana Baird (ed.), *Social Networks in the Long Eighteenth Century: Clubs, Literary Salons, Textual Coteries* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 18.
[733] J.M. Fairney, 'Highlanders from Home: the Contribution of the Highland Society and the Gaelic Society of London to Gaelic Culture 1778-1914' (PhD: University of Edinburgh, 2005), 21; xiii.
[734] 'History', *Highland Society of London*, accessed 17 March 2019, http://highlandsocietyoflondon.org.
[735] Scholarship in this area is abundant, and unresolved debates continue, specifically concerning the extent to which (if at all) Macpherson deceived both the HSL and the public. The matter is outwith the scope of this thesis, but, nonetheless, it is important to recognise the extraordinary lengths to which the Society went to attempt to source the original manuscript, not to mention its patronage of other Gaelic works over the period in question.
[736] Katie Louise McCullough, 'Building the Highland Empire: The Highland Society of London and the Formation of Charitable Networks in Great Britain and Canada, 1778-1857' (PhD: University of Guelph, 2014), 31.
[737] McCullough, 'Building the Highland Empire', 3.

'branch' Highland Societies in locations where the British Army had a significant presence, including Cape Town (1798), Madras (1814), Upper Canada (1818), Bombay (1822), Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island (1838) and New Brunswick (1842).[738] Communication between branches was efficient, and by 1868, joining a branch Society anywhere in the world automatically also conferred membership of the Highland Society of London. At this date, a list of members of the HSL, and the branch societies, was published, in order 'to cultivate social intercourse among themselves, and to strengthen their attachment to their Native Land, wherever they may happen to reside'.[739] This 'Highland Empire', operating across huge distances, was exceptionally powerful, and offered a multiplicity of social connections of benefit to individual Highlanders around the globe.

It is worth considering how the members of the HSL performed their gender through the Society's activities. As Goldsmith argues in relation to the Grand Tour, elite men in the eighteenth century 'continually moved between multiple masculine identities and behaviours', which included 'the polite, refined man of taste', but also 'the hardy, stoic man', or 'the sensitive man of feeling, the enlightened man of science, the patriotic military leader, the convivial man of homosocial cheer, the libertine and others'.[740] Abrams and Ewan argue that Scottish men have historically inhabited a wide range of masculinities, and that Scottish masculinity, like all masculinities, is 'a contingent construct' that must be considered in relation to the social world.[741] In particular, they highlight 'the importance of place and landscape in the shaping of the Scottish man'.[742] In the context of the diasporic Scottish associational culture of the HSL, several masculinities are evident, but Carr highlights a 'Highland martial masculinity', a patriotic masculinity that was 'defined by strength, loyalty and courage', and drew strongly upon the Highlanders' contribution to British military success.[743] This strand of masculinity, she argues, emerged 'out of an elite discourse, primarily that of high-ranking army officers and British politicians', and served to underline Scotland's contribution to the British nation, rather than asserting difference.[744] When analysing the musical activities of the HSL, it is therefore crucial to

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[738] McCullough (2014) 134. The Rules of the Highland Society of Madras were recorded in detail in the minute-book of the HSL, and, like the Highland societies based in Britain, it existed 'for preserving the martial spirit, language, dress, music, and antiquities of the ancient Caledonians', as well as 'rescuing from oblivion the valuable remains of Celtic literature', establishing Gaelic schools throughout the Highlands and 'in other parts of the British Empire', 'relieving distressed Highlanders at a distance from their native homes', and 'promoting the improvement and general welfare of the Northern parts of the Kingdom'. Cultural priorities, however, were still listed first and foremost. See Minute Book, 10-12-1814 to 18-05-1816, Dep 268/26, Records of the Highland Society of London, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 41.

[739] Highland Society of London, *The Highland Society of London and Branch Societies; with List of the Members* (London: Hall and Foster, 1868), 21-22.

[740] Sarah Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour* (London: University of London Press, 2020), 213.

[741] Lynn Abrams & Elizabeth L. Ewan, *Nine Centuries of Man: Manhood and Masculinities in Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 8.

[742] Abrams & Ewan, *Nine Centuries of Man,* 7.

[743] Rosalind Carr, 'The Gentleman and the Soldier: Patriotic Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Journal of Historical Studies,* Vol 28, No. 2 (2008), 117.

[744] Carr, 'The Gentleman and the Soldier', 103.

consider whether these expressions of Scottish culture drew upon a nationally specific performance of masculinity. Indeed, it is possible that Scottish expressive culture offered possibilities for a nationally inflected femininity in the context of dance, and thereby engendered a distinctively Scottish masculinity, or masculinities, in associational space.

The musical activities of the Highland Society of London, particularly those that took place in London itself, have received little scholarly attention, and none within the broader framework of diasporic Scottish musical culture. In order to address this lacuna, I will first explore the cultural priorities of the Highland Society of London, outlining what the Society considered to be the 'Ancient Music of the Highlands', and the initiatives taken by the Society to preserve it. While the pìobaireachd, the traditional repertoire of the Highland bagpipe, was a significant focus of the Society's efforts, nonetheless attention and encouragement were given to ancient Celtic music more generally, with particular focus on the harp. A fascinating example of this ideological breadth will be demonstrated through a scheme considered by the Society in the 1780s, which attempted to repopulate Scotland with harpers by sending a young Scotsman to Wales to study the instrument under a leading exponent of the Welsh harp. The Society's contribution to the preservation of the Highland bagpipe will then be considered, with focus on its annual piping competition, the musical publications it sponsored, and its unrealised ambition to open a Piping Academy in the Highlands. I will then conduct a detailed analysis of the HSL's London entertainments, with a particular focus on the individual pipers and instrumentalists who performed for the Society, including members of the Gow and Jenkins families. Finally, I will explore the music performed for the Society, and characterise the role it played in the construction of a Scoto-British identity for elite Highlanders in London's diaspora space.

6.2 The Music of the Ancient Caledonians

For the late eighteenth-century Highland Society of London, the preservation of the Highlands and its future success depended first and foremost on the preservation of its culture. In his 1813 *History,* John Sinclair recorded five objectives of the Society, the first of which was 'for preserving the Martial Spirit, Language, Dress, Music, and Antiquities of the Ancient Caledonians'.[745] Indeed, throughout his *History,* 'The Preservation of the Ancient Music of the Highlands' is given significant priority, defended from the outset by the antiquity of the fact that 'instruction of youth in music' had been enforced by James VI in October 1579.[746] Scottish music, he argues, could be divided into three parts, that of 'the Song', of 'the Dance', and 'of War'. For Sinclair, Scottish song 'does not seem to require any encouragement from public institutions', as it was so generally known and 'stands unrivalled for the happiest combination of

[745] John Sinclair, *An Account of the Highland Society of London, from its Establishment in May 1778, to the commencement of the year 1813* (London, B. McMillan, 1813) 4.
[746] Sinclair, *An Account of the Highland Society of London*, 11.

pleasing melody'.[747] The dancing music of Scotland he describes as 'universally preferred, *for quick steps,* in almost every part of the world', but complains that 'the true style of playing is not generally practised', and recommends the establishment of an Academy to teach this kind of music, 'in the same perfection in which it is now executed by the celebrated Gow'.[748] Third, Sinclair talks of the 'Music of War', which he portrays as a specifically Highland phenomenon, in contrast to song and dance, which he depicts as more broadly 'Scottish'. This is perhaps because it is this genre of Scottish music, represented by the Highland bagpipe, that was best able to express the identity of the people of the Highland region in particular, rather than of Scotland in general. Certainly, the distinctiveness of Highland and Lowland cultures had started to blur by the 1740s, even within Scotland, and the Society's drive to preserve the musical tradition of the Highland bagpipe can also be seen as a wider strategy on the part of the HSL against the loss of regional markers of Highland identity and culture.

Aside from the preservation of the Highland bagpipe, outlined in more detail below, the HSL also supported a wide range of musical works, which featured music considered to have emanated from Ancient Caledonia. Authenticity was important: in 1795, the committee refused to support James Macpherson's *A Collection of Ancient Music* on the basis that 'they do not consider this Music as ancient'.[749] Yet they were happy, in 1807, to grant Alexander Stewart £100 to tour the Highlands, with part of his purpose being to collect 'ancient music hitherto unpublished, especially those Airs to which the Poems of Ossian and other ancient Bards are reported to have been sung'.[750] This underlines a Romantic tendency on the part of the HSL to fund searches for the mythologised culture of ancient Scotland, rather than to support music compiled or composed by living Scottish musicians.[751] Often, however, barriers to support were financial; after a large profit at the piping competition of 1815, the HSL generously supported two publications in quick succession in April 1816: Alexander Campbell's *Albyn Anthology,* a collection of 'Scotch music', to feature 'many original Highland Airs', and 'a collection of Airs and Melodies peculiar to the Highlands' by Captain Simon Fraser.[752] Underlying the Society's financial support of such endeavours was a widespread concern that the music of the

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[747] Sinclair, *An Account of the Highland Society of London*, 12.
[748] Ibid.
[749] Committee Book, 04-01-1793 to 17-02-1802, Dep 268/22, Records of the Highland Society of London, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 7 March 1795.
[750] Minute Book, 15-03-1802 to 25-03-1808, Dep 268/24, Records of the Highland Society of London, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 12 April 1807.
[751] It is interesting to note that there were similar efforts in late eighteenth-century Ireland to translate and disseminate early Irish literary manuscripts, and to preserve both the Irish language and the country's ancient musical heritage. In 1792, a Harp Festival was held in Belfast, the intention of which was 'to preserve from oblivion the few fragments which have been permitted to remain, as monuments of the refined taste and genius of their ancestors'. Attempts were also made by the Royal Irish Academy to produce translations of surviving manuscripts, though these were largely unsuccessful before 1800. Clare O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c. 1750-1800* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004), 122-3, 174.
[752] Minute Book, 05-04-1816, Dep 268/26, Records of the Highland Society of London, 200. The secretary incorrectly records the author of *Airs and Melodies peculiar to the Highlands* as 'Captain Thomas Fraser', but the correct musician is Captain Simon Fraser (1773-1852), a fiddler from Ardachie, Inverness-shire, and a student of Nathaniel Gow.

Highlands was in danger of disappearing, and that its audience was ever-shrinking. In the records of the Highland Society of Scotland, John Sinclair (a leading member of both societies) headed a subcommittee in 1806 whose purpose was to explore the adaption of Highland music for other instruments, specifically 'the Harpsicord Violin and other Instruments'.[753] In doing so, the Highland Societies were evidently keen to increase access to such music through arrangement for those instruments most fashionable amongst consumers of the time.

Interestingly, the Society encouraged the music of Ireland and Wales alongside that of the Highlands, informed by a strong view of a Celtic music as a shared tradition. In 1806, for example, both the HSL and the HSS were involved in a project aiming to reconstruct two historical Scots harps, owned by Brigadier General Robertson of Lude, one of which was purported to be a present from Mary Queen of Scots. The Scottish musician and antiquarian, John Gunn, based in London from around 1790, was employed to write a description of these harps, and 'to investigate the evidence of its being once the favourite musical instrument of our ancestors', alongside 'the use of the Harp among the Celtic nations in general'.[754] The ensuing publication, *An Historical Enquiry respecting the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands*, was published in Edinburgh, and focused, as promised, on the shared history of the harp across the Highlands, Ireland, and Wales.[755] In 1808, the Society enthusiastically heard a presentation from a scholarly representative of the Dublin Gaelic Society, who had discovered a 'war trumpet' of great antiquity 'buried deep under ground in one of the Scenes of Actions accorded in Ossians Poems', used by Fingal 'to call his heroes together'.[756] This Irish Gaelic scholar declared that the trumpet precisely matched 'the description given in the historical and poetical Manuscripts of very ancient date preserved in Ireland'.[757] According to O'Halloran, many Irish intellectuals disputed Macpherson's narrative of Scottish and Irish history, in which he presented Fingal, King of Morvern, as a Scottish rather than Irish chief.[758] It is possible, therefore, that this visiting scholar was determined to produce for the HSL evidence to the contrary. Even if this was the case, however, the HSL was evidently keen to enter into conversation on such topics, demonstrating that it strongly believed that the music of the Highlands, Ireland and Wales shared a common history, and an essential Celtic spirit.

In November 1783, a master harper resident in Wales, Mr Gwynne of Glenbrain, wrote to the HSL, offering to 'instruct any Young Highlander of the Recommendation of the Society in his Welsh or

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[753] Sederunt Books, Vol. III, Part 1: 1796-1808, Records of the Highland Society of Scotland, Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, Edinburgh, 28 November 1806.
[754] Sederunt Books, Vol. III, Part 2: 1809-1814, Records of the Highland Society of Scotland, Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, Edinburgh, 14 January 1806.
[755] John Gunn, *An Historical Enquiry respecting the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands; from the earliest times, until it was discontinued about the year 1734* (Edinburgh: for Archibald Constable and Company, 1807).
[756] Minute Book, 07-05-1808 to 10-12-1814, Dep 268/25, Records of the Highland Society of London, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 21 February 1809.
[757] Ibid.
[758] O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations,* 101. See O'Halloran, 97-121 for further discussion of the response of Irish antiquaries to Macpherson's poems of Ossian.

Triple Harp'.[759] Mr Gwynne was no doubt aware of the value of his musical tradition to the Scots, as the harp had rarely been played in Scotland since 1734, when the last professional harper of Scottish birth, Murdoch MacDonald, known as 'Murdchadh Clarsair', retired from service with MacLean of Coll.[760] Presented with a real opportunity to revive an extinct Scottish instrument, the Society immediately accepted Mr Gwynne's offer, resolving that he be thanked 'for his liberal offer and laudable endeavour to re-unite all the Branches of the Celtic Race, and recover the pristine purity of their Ancient Music.'[761] The committee sourced a young piper from Kintail, Ross-shire, Ensign Christopher MacRae of the 42nd regiment, both a Highlander and a Gaelic-speaker.[762] It was envisaged that MacRae should learn the harp in Wales for a period of five years, after which he, and any of his students, would be required to return to Scotland for a further two years. However, in December 1784, Mr Gwynne had a change of heart: nearly a year after his initial offer, he 'proposed sending a Young Welch Man, thoroughly instructed in the Harp, instead of receiving the Young Man MacRae to be perfected in that Instrument'.[763] Unfortunately, by this point, MacRae had already been brought to London, and was lodging at the Society's expense while waiting to commence his tuition. Having expended such effort in bringing MacRae to London, the committee resolved to explore the cheapest way of 'accomplishing their Intention of getting MacRae properly instructed.'[764] Entirely unaware of the cost of harp lessons, they sought advice, and, by January 1785, had learnt that the 'smallest charge ever made by any good Master' for harp lessons was two guineas for entrance, and two guineas for twelve lessons.[765] This proved too expensive, and MacRae's parents were offered two options: either, he would be sent home at the Society's expense, or he could be recommended 'to some Station in the West Indies'.[766] Later that year, however, MacRae was sent to Wales after all, to 'learn the Ancient Instrument the Harp' with another teacher, the private harper of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn (1749-1789), fourth Baronet, at his seat, Wynnstay.[767] Only a month later, however, the members of the HSL committee realised that the

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[759] Minute Book, 08-02-1783 to 17-12-1793, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 19 November 1783.
[760] Iain I. MacInnes, *The Highland Bagpipe: the Impact of the Highland Societies of London and Scotland, 1781-1844* (M. Litt. University of Edinburgh: 1988), 3.
[761] Ibid.
[762] Minute Book, 08-02-1783 to 17-12-1793, Dep 268/21, Records of the HSL, 16 January 1784.
[763] Minute Book, 08-02-1783 to 17-12-1793, Dep 268/21, Records of the HSL, 30 December 1784.
[764] Ibid.
[765] Minute Book, 08-02-1783 to 17-12-1793, Dep 268/21, Records of the HSL, 30 December 1784.
[766] Minute Book, 08-02-1783 to 17-12-1793, Dep 268/21, Records of the HSL, 5 March 1785.
[767] Ibid. This Welsh family had established connections with Scotland. Sir Watkin's father, the third baronet, had been a notable Tory Jacobite sympathiser during the 1715 and 1745 rebellions, and also led the Cycle of the White Rose, a Welsh Jacobite Society. His son, the fourth baronet spent less time in politics, instead devoting his time and considerable wealth to the patronage of the arts, particularly the encouragement of Welsh landscape painting. Sir Watkin commissioned a London residence, at 20-21 St James's Square, from leading Scottish architect Robert Adam. He also followed the Welsh noble tradition of employing a hereditary harper, who, presumably, would have been the young MacRae's teacher. In 1785, Sir Watkin's harper was an Evan Evans, of whom very little is known, but any harper employed by the fourth baronet would undoubtedly have been of the highest quality.

Society could no longer afford to devote funds to the project.[768] In January 1786, MacRae was torn from his tuition in Wales, and sent to Jamaica at the expense of the Society, who resolved 'that the Members of this Committee will recommend him to the Protection of their Friends in that Island under whose Patronage there is no doubt of Success fully proportioned to his own deserving'.[769]

This rather sorry tale is crucial to understanding the musical priorities and wider cultural networks of the Highland Society. First, the fact that the HSL was well-known to a Welsh harper only seven years after its establishment reveals the presence of a wider London-based Celtic network, through which influential individuals were able to effect cultural developments and shared resources. Second, it is clear that the committee members of the HSL considered the ancient origins of Scottish and Welsh musical traditions to be one and the same, so much so that a Welsh master harper would have been able to restore the *Scottish* ancient harp tradition and repopulate Scotland with competent harpers. Yet the failure of this scheme also highlights a certain naivety in the HSL's approach. The committee appeared to be unaware of the potential cost of this type of musical outlay, and were unable or reluctant to devote core resources to the project. This was not atypical: as explored below, the HSL received many opportunities to sponsor collections of pìobaireachd in the late eighteenth-century, few of which came to fruition. Overall, while the HSL attached great store to preserving the ancient music of the Highlands, a lack of musical expertise within the committee, frequently combined with a lack of funds, often prevented the Society from implementing their ambitious cultural schemes. In this case, even the opportunity to resurrect the Scottish harp was not sufficient impetus for the HSL's committee to overcome these operational issues.

6.3 Preserving the Pipes

Despite mixed success in restoring the fortunes of Ancient Caledonian Music, the HSL is generally recognised with genuine achievement in the preservation of the tradition of the Highland bagpipe. By the outbreak of the Jacobite risings, the bagpipe was already, as Williams argues, the 'instrument of Scotland'.[770] As a flexible cultural signifier, it was employed during this period of political tension as a symbol of national pride in Scotland, yet construed as 'the instrument of the enemy' in England.[771] After 1745, however, the bagpipe was gradually seen in a more positive light, and co-opted into the service of the concept of the European 'Romantic North'.[772] Still, it was the instrument most expressly associated with Scotland during this period, consistently evoking 'Romantic feelings of martial valour,

[768] Minute Book, 08-02-1783 to 17-12-1793, Dep 268/21, Records of the HSL, 5 December 1785.
[769] Minute Book, 08-02-1783 to 17-12-1793, Dep 268/21, Records of the HSL, 15 January 1786.
[770] Vivien Estelle Williams, 'The Bagpipe and Romanticism: Perceptions of Ossianic "Northernness"', *European Romantic Review*, Vol. 27, No. 4, (2016), 461.
[771] Ibid.
[772] Ibid.

of nationhood and pride' for Scots throughout Britain and further afield.[773] By the late eighteenth century, the bagpipe was consistently presented to Londoners as a Romantic cultural signifier of Scotland. The instrument appeared, for example, in William Reeve's *The Grand Pantomime Ballet of Oscar and Malvina* (1791), where it was extensively employed to engender the Ossian-inspired narrative with 'unionist stage Scottishness' for a Covent Garden audience.[774] As the instrument most associated with the geographical region of the Highlands, the bagpipe also came to express the virile masculinity of those Highland soldiers praised for their military prowess during the Seven Years' War.[775] When the HSL sought to protect the musical heritage of the Scottish bagpipe, it was therefore not merely addressing practical concerns regarding its possible demise, but also engaging with long-standing Romantic cultural narratives of the bagpipe, shaped in London's diaspora space.

The HSL's avowed motivation for preserving the piping tradition was strongly linked to the use of the bagpipe in British military life, and the perceived lack of pipers to fill the ranks in the British army. Indeed, John Sinclair declared that, 'Had it not been for the exertion of the Society, it is extremely doubtful, whether the Army would have been supplied with Highland Pipers, capable of playing Pipe Music, at least in that perfection by which it is now distinguished.'[776] Scholars tend to agree that the Scottish piping tradition was under a degree of threat by the late eighteenth-century. This was due to a number of factors: while the Disarming Act did not legislate against the pipes specifically, nonetheless the Hereditary Jurisdictions of 1747 'effectively ruined many of the old clan chiefs', who had employed hereditary pipers for generations.[777] In this context, MacInnes argues, 'the traditional learned and musical orders were anachronistic, and many of the chief practitioners sought refuge in emigration'.[778] Furthermore, the repertoire of the Great Highland Pipes, taught from piper to piper by ear, with its complex grace notes and embellishments, defied musical notation, and therefore had not undergone the same 'improvements' as Scottish instrumental music and song music during the eighteenth century. The HSL was desperate to address these concerns, given the capacity of the bagpipe to conjure the inherent martial spirit possessed by Highlanders through its inexorable acoustic relationship to the homeland:

> But the Music of War, adapted for the great Highland Pipe, is of a peculiar description, and it was fast hastening to neglect and oblivion, when its preservation was fortunately considered, to be an object worthy of the particular attention of the Highland Society of London… The preservation of this ancient style of Music, and the Instrument on which it is played, is a most

[773] Vivien Estelle Williams, 'The Cultural History of the Bagpipe in Britain: 1680-1840' (PhD: University of Glasgow, 2013), 204.
[774] Christoph Heyl, 'The Pastoral Pipes: A New Musical Instrument and the Aesthetics of Neo-Classicism', in Ina Knoth (ed.), *Music and the Arts in England, c. 1670-1750* (Dresden: Muisconn, 2020), 129-130.
[775] Williams, 'The Bagpipe and Romanticism', 461.
[776] Sinclair, *An Account of the Highland Society of London*, 14.
[777] MacInnes, *The Highland Bagpipe*, 15.
[778] Ibid.

> fortunate circumstance; for there is no other Music or Instrument, which a Highlander would so soon follow to battle.[779]

This claim was not idly made. Indeed, Sinclair claimed that 'this has been proved on various critical occasions, when the sound of the Pipe, as if by magic, restored, in an instant, the exhausted strength and spirits of Highland Corps, and conducted them to victory.'[780] In 1815, following the Battle of Waterloo, he once again claimed that the pipes had been employed 'with the same effect in the late glorious conflicts, appeared by Letters from the Army'.[781] The music of the Great Highland bagpipe, therefore, was closely bound up with the Highland contribution to British military success, and Highland pride demanded that it continued to flourish both at home and on the battlefield.

In order to restore the fortunes of the Highland bagpipe, the Society financed an annual piping competition in Scotland, held first in 1783 at the Falkirk Tryst, and from 1785 at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh, 'as the only means within the reach of the Society of preserving and cultivating antient pipe music'.[782] The prizes for the competition were financed entirely by the London branch, though practical arrangements were the responsibility of the HSS in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The format of the competition resembled that of a theatrical performance, featuring three 'acts' in which competing pipers were required to play a selection of pìobaireachd to a panel of judges. The prize for the winning piper was a 'handsome Highland Pipe of the best construction', alongside a cash prize, but as the competition developed, additional prizes were offered for Highland dress, recitation, song, and dance, and to competitors who offered notated scores of their pìobaireachd to the judges.[783] The HSL, however, did not concern itself with the judging of the musical performances. Indeed, the records of the RHASS reveal that the judges were usually members of the HSS committee, perhaps with the addition of 'any other of the Members of the Society from the Highlands of known Skill in Ancient Martial Pipe Music who may be occasionally in Town'.[784] Without specialist advice, the quality of judging, according to MacInnes, was often low: 'the main qualities sought were enthusiasm and support for the Highland lifestyle; knowledge of pìobaireachd was a secondary, though valued, accomplishment.'[785] Indeed, it could be argued that the event was carefully designed as a whole to present a particular vision of Highland culture to an elite Edinburgh audience, to whom Highland culture was as much a 'foreign' spectacle as it was for London audiences. At the end of the evening, all the performers (who, including dancers, could number as many as 65) appeared on stage in a live

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[779] Sinclair, *An Account of the Highland Society of London*, 12-13.
[780] Sinclair, *An Account of the Highland Society of London,* 12.
[781] Minute Book, 05-04-1816, Dep 268/26, Records of the Highland Society of London, 26 August 1815.
[782] MacInnes, *The Highland Bagpipe*, 24.
[783] Janice Fairney, 'The Cultivation and Preservation of the Martial Music of the Highlands by the Highland Society of London', *Scottish Studies,* Vol. 38 (2018), 56.
[784] Sederunt Books, Vol. I: 1789-1795, Records of the Highland Society of Scotland, Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, Edinburgh, 3 June 1791.
[785] MacInnes, *The Highland Bagpipe*, 49.

tableau, complete, from 1790, with Highland backdrops.[786] The HSL's piping competition, despite its undeniable success, therefore illustrates the way in which the Society tended to promote the musical culture of the Highlands through a Romantic lens.

In addition to its piping competition, the HSL committee explored, over several decades, the possibility of instituting a piping school in Scotland, where the tradition could be preserved, and the profession populated in perpetuity. The Highland Society of Scotland was also involved in discussions, and, as early as 1783, the *Circumstantial Account of the Exhibition on the Highland Great Pipes in Dunn's Assembly Rooms* (in Edinburgh) referred to a Professor MacArthur, 'who is immediately, with the assistance of the public, to establish a college for the instruction of such young men as may be sent him to be bred to that ancient music, the utility of which in recruiting his Majesty's army, and the military ardour with which it inspires the highland regiments are too well known to say any further.' [787] However, rather like the project designed to re-invigorate the Scottish harp, this scheme never came to fruition. Initially, the Society identified a vacant military barracks at Glenelg, close to Fort Augustus, and suitable 'from the ready Communication which by the Roads now making it will have with the different Districts of the Highlands & Islands of Scotland'.[788] It also identified a piper to lead this new Academy of Pipe Music, Lieutenant Dòmhnull Ruadh MacCrimmon of the 84th Regiment of Royal Immigrants, who had a 'high reputation as a Performer' and was 'one of the few remaining Descendants of Real McCrimmon Race'.[789] The McCrimmons of Skye were a significant hereditary piping family, and the choice of professor therefore ideal, but, despite having bailed Dòmhnull Ruadh out of debtors prison twice (1789, 1809), and relocated him to Glenelg, the Society was still unable to fund the project, and never acquired their desired building. Again, while the HSL was ideologically ambitious in its cultural aims, a lack of financial planning, combined perhaps with a lack of realism when it came to proposals of such magnitude, led to the eventual failure of this project.

While the Piping Academy never transpired, the Society did actively support the publication of pìobaireachd, promoting the musical notation of an oral tradition for future generations of pipers. From 1805, prizes were given at the annual piping competition for pipe music on the stave, and in 1815, the committee resolved that, in the advertisements for the same, 'encouragement will be given for the Notation or Writing of Pipe Music as a means of fixing the same and facilitating the instruction of performers'.[790] This produced certain challenges, as most pipers did not read staff notation, and

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[786] *Caledonian Mercury,* 3 August 1822.
[787] 'Circumstantial Account of the Exhibition on the Highland Great Pipes in Dunn's Assembly Rooms on Wednesday October 22. 1783', quoted in Keith Sanger, 'One Piper or Two: Neil MacLean of the 84th Highlanders', in J. Dickson (ed.), *The Highland Bagpipe, Music, History, Tradition* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 18.
[788] Minute Book, Dep 268/25, Records of the Highland Society of London, 12 July 1808.
[789] Minute Book, Dep 268/26, Records of the Highland Society of London, 5 April 1816.
[790] Minute Book, Dep 268/26, Records of the Highland Society of London, 26 August 1815.

their mode of learning (canntaireachd) did not require them to do so.[791] Yet the HSL persevered, sponsoring Joseph MacDonald's *A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe,* the manuscript of which had been brought back from India, where Joseph had died in around 1760.[792] Unusually, MacDonald, who had studied under Pasquali in Edinburgh, was a Highland piper familiar with staff notation, and he was well placed to encourage a new generation of pipers in this direction. However, when the work was finally published in 1803, it was filled with significant notational errors. MacInnes comments that 'the whole savours of sloppy work by an editor with no knowledge of pipe music', and suggests that the committee of the HSL, to whom the work was dedicated, may have been responsible for the poor quality.[793] In 1820, the HSL had another burst of energy in this area, commissioning a collection of tunes from pipers John MacGregor, the Society's own piper from 1801, and Angus MacArthur, who were paid to play and record individual tunes. The rationale for this was contained:

> 'One of the principal objects of the Society being the preservation of the ancient Music of Scotland it was desirable that some attention should be paid to a Plan lately adopted for simplifying the process of learning and teaching Bagpipe Music, it was generally understood that the Piobracds [sic] could be communicated to Paper with the same facility as the music of the Violin and Piano and it was the utmost importance that these valuable pieces of ancient Music should be forthwith put down so as to be rendered legible to every Musician'.[794]

In total, 30 tunes were recorded, and the Society asked their in-house music publisher, John Gow, to estimate for the cost of the printing.[795] Gow duly did so, but the sub-committee appointed to arrange publication failed to advance the project. Once again, the Society had embarked upon an ambitious musical project without establishing the likely expenditure required. Overall, however, while the aims of the Society may have been often thwarted when it came to preserving the Highland bagpipe, its efforts to do so underline the importance it attached to a musical tradition widely considered fundamental to the global expression of Highland patriotic identity.

6.4 Pipers at the Highland Society of London

While the HSL expended great effort in relation to the preservation of Highland piping, the locus of this type of musical activity was largely Scotland itself. The HSL's piping school, though dreamt up in London, was intended to be located in Scotland; the piping competitions organised by the HSL took place in Edinburgh rather than in London. Even young Christopher MacRae, after receiving his training

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[791] 'Canntaireachd' means 'humming a tune' in Scottish Gaelic, and refers to the ancient method of teaching, learning and memorising pìobaireachd. Although today's pipers are generally able to read staff notation, canntaireachd is still widely employed in twenty-first century bagpipe teaching.
[792] Roderick Cannon (ed.), *Joseph MacDonald's Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe (c. 1760)* (Glasgow: The Piobaireachd Society, 1994), first published in 1803.
[793] MacInnes, *The Highland Bagpipe*, 207.
[794] Extracts of the Proceedings of the Society from 1819 to 1824, Dep 268/43, Records of the Highland Society of London, 2.
[795] Angus MacArthur's manuscript of piobaireachd music [MacArthur-MacGregor MS], MS. 1679, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

in the harp by Mr Gwynne, was bound to return to Scotland to pass on his knowledge. This is unsurprising; after all, one of the most important objectives of the Society was to improve economic and cultural conditions for those who lived in the Highlands. Nonetheless, in parallel with its Scottish musical focus, the HSL spent significant amounts of money on its musical activities in London, specifically on musical performances at its own meetings and Anniversary dinners, which were held at least four times per calendar year. Through an analysis of the musical expenditure of the Highland Society of London, it is possible to discern the character of the interactions between the Society and its musicians. For the period 1783-1815, the names of musicians were recorded in the Society's Debit and Credit Book, though detail becomes sparse towards the end of the time span. When combined with receipts and records of Accounts, a smaller period of 1796-1808 can be reconstructed in even greater detail. For the entire period, the payments received by each musician are recorded, and modes and frequency of payment are also discernible, alongside related expenditure on musical instruments. The Society's Minute Books record many significant matters concerning the Society's regular musicians, supporting the creation of a detailed picture of the musicians whom the Society employed, the frequency with which they performed, and, in some cases, their career trajectories in London.

The most significant category of musician employed by the HSL is, unsurprisingly, pipers, a vital cultural commodity in the Scottish diasporic context. It might be assumed that the HSL's sponsorship of the Piping Competition would have ensured a healthy supply of reliable candidates, but this was not always the case, and in fact, the Society often struggled to source pipers on a permanent basis.[796] Indeed, despite the popularity of Scottish music at associational and Society events across the capital, Scottish pipers resident in London seem to have struggled to make ends meet. The minutes of the HSL reveal countless difficulties with the Society pipers, who often appear to have fallen on hard times, moved back to Scotland, or fallen ill. The Society's first piper was sought in 1784, when we find the committee's secretary writing to a Mr Finlay of Glasgow 'to ask his assistance in procuring an active young Man who can play well on the Pipe and who will hire himself as a waiter, or servant to Mr Campbell of the Shakespeare'.[797] The HSL held its meetings at the Shakespeare tavern, of which Mr Campbell (presumably a Scot) was the proprietor. Mr Campbell was to provide this young piper with food and board, for 'the Society to make him an Annual Allowance in proportion to his merit & Good Conduct.'[798] Later that year, a piper had been sourced, Neil (Niel) MacLean, of a family of hereditary pipers to the MacLeans of Lochbuy, who first attended a Society meeting in December of that same

[796] The Highland Society of Scotland also struggled to find suitable pipers who were willing to satisfy their requirements. While both societies actively used the piping competition as a means of recruitment, it was not always best practice to select the best player, as he was often overcommitted. In 1791, after two unsuccessful appointments in 1791 and 1794, the HSS finally appointed a third piper on the basis that he 'consistently resides in Town' (Sederunt Books, Vol. III, Part 1: 1796-1808, Records of the Highland Society of Scotland, Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, Edinburgh, 3 June 1791, 9 January 1798).
[797] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 17 March 1784.
[798] Ibid.

year. Before his move to London, MacLean, though probably a novice, appears to have held the position of piper to the Glasgow Highland Society, and he also competed in the early piping competitions in Falkirk sponsored by the HSL. He won the prize pipe at the 1783 competition, at which point he was described as the piper to Major Campbell of Airds, though he appears to have had no subsequent connection with this family.[799] Sanger has raised the strong possibility of Neil MacLean being the piper of the same name in the 84th Highland Regiment; unfortunately, however, the scant evidence regarding his movements during the crucial period 1782-1783 is not sufficient to secure the identification beyond reasonable doubt.[800] Regardless, MacLean's reputation, and his success in the Society's competition, was sufficient for his employment by the HSL.

In January 1785, MacLean became the HSL's first 'Society Piper', and was furnished with full Highland dress, as well as an annual allowance of twelve guineas.[801] An engraving after a portrait of MacLean (Figure 18 below) survives from his period of employment, in which he is shown wearing, presumably, the dress purchased for him by the Society.[802] Despite a promising start, however, the relationship between MacLean and the HSL soon deteriorated. In 1787, MacLean petitioned for an increase in salary, and was awarded an increase to fifteen guineas, backdated to the previous year.[803] Only weeks later, MacLean petitioned the committee once more, arguing that his salary was 'insufficient to support him properly', and it was resolved that members of the committee should use their individual influence 'to procure him some appointment in addition to this present allowance'.[804] Later that year, the Society granted him a one-off payment of five guineas; the members evidently had not been able to find MacLean additional work.[805] In 1790, MacLean fell seriously ill, and the Society settled his doctors' bills in February of that year.[806] MacLean's illness is corroborated by a letter in his own hand to Murdoch MacLean of Lochbuie, written from Grosvenor Square, in which he declares that 'I was not Able to play to the high land Society for twelve months but twice but thank God I am now as well as ever'.[807] MacLean also confirms in this letter that 'I am at present scirse of money'. It is to the HSL's credit that it settled MacLean's medical bill; certainly this level of care suggests that the Society valued the contribution of its piper highly, or, more cynically, to ensure that it did not lose his services. By

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[799] Sanger, 'One Piper or Two', 21.
[800] Sanger, 'One Piper or Two', 14.
[801] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 2 March 1785.
[802] William Satchwell Leney, *Neil MacLean, active from about 1781. Piper to the Highland Society* (London, n.d.) Creative Commons/Out of Copyright, National Galleries of Scotland, accessed 24 January 2024. https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/34827/neil-maclean-active-about-1781-piper-highland-society.
[803] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 25 April 1787.
[804] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 1 May 1787.
[805] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 20 December 1788. In 1788, MacLean performed, in Highland dress, as part of a Sadler's Wells' production, in which he entertained the Audience 'with a Pibroch on the Prize Pipes, Descriptive of a Highland Battle.' The *World*, 9 September 1788, quoted in Sanger (2009), 18.
[806] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 5 February 1790.
[807] Quoted in Sanger, 'One Piper or Two', 14.

December 1790, however, MacLean had become engaged in the service of Captain McDougal of the Navy, and wrote to the Society for aid regarding the payment of his debts. The Society reluctantly agreed to settle the debts, but dispensed with his services as Society Piper.[808] Reading between the lines, the Highland Society of London, unable to compete with the comparative wealth of Scottish military interests, was outbid by the deeper pockets of Captain McDougal.

Figure 18. 'Niel McLean, Piper to the Highland Society', c. 1781. Source: National Galleries of Scotland.[809]

Following MacLean's departure, it proved very difficult for the Society to find a suitable replacement. For several years, it relied on the pipers of Society members, who were generally available only on a

[808] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 3 January 1791.
[809] William Satchwell Leney, *Neil MacLean, active from about 1781. Piper to the Highland Society* (London, n.d.) Creative Commons/Out of Copyright, National Galleries of Scotland, accessed 24 January 2024. https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/34827/neil-maclean-active-about-1781-piper-highland-society.

temporary basis. In 1791, for example, the Society briefly employed the late Lord Heathfield's piper for two meetings.[810] This kind of arrangement was not satisfactory. In 1793, Lord Breadalbane's piper was not able to perform as expected, as he had returned to Scotland with his employer.[811] Eventually, the Society appointed Charles MacArthur, previously piper to the Earl of Eglinton, who had competed in the inaugural piping competition in Falkirk. By 1804, however, MacArthur was playing less for the Society, and John MacGregor, son of Peter MacGregor, who had briefly played for the Society in 1782, became the Society's piper in 1805, until his death in 1821. A player of great talent, MacGregor's tenure was significantly more successful than his predecessors, partly due to the fact that he was also employed in London as piper to the Duke of Sussex, and was not forced to rely on the HSL's salary as his primary income stream.[812] Upon MacGregor's death, the Society employed George Clarke, a piper already celebrated by the HSL and the HSS for his valour at the Battle of Vimiera, until his retirement in 1837. This orderly succession, however, masks a rather messier reality. In practice, replacement or additional pipers often appeared at Society meetings, particularly in the 1790s and early 1800s. During periods of uncertainty, the Society fell back on military connections to ensure a piping presence at their entertainments, but otherwise struggled to retain the services of their pipers. Again, this highlights the challenge faced by the HSL in securing talented pipers, not otherwise engaged by Scottish regiments or by members of the Scottish elite classes.

Despite these difficulties, the HSL was energetic in commissioning new equipment for its pipers. In 1802, the piper Charles MacArthur convinced the Society to commission a new set of pipes, which, in true Scoto-British spirit, were emblazoned with the Union flag.[813] A Malcolm MacGregor, described in the Society's minute-books as 'Musical Instrument Maker in London', became the Society's official pipe-maker.[814] Between 1805 and 1807, and from 1811, he often performed alongside John MacGregor when the Society requested two Highland pipers at meetings.[815] In 1811, Malcolm designed a new chanter, in which the HSL took great interest. The Society minutes record that while 'the Chanter formerly in use in the Great Bag Pipe appears sufficiently to answer for playing the ancient Pibroachs', MacGregor's 'improved' chanter was 'better adapted for many Tunes requiring a greater compass of Notes', such as 'Archivalich' and 'Tulluch Gorrum'.[816] The former tune is obscure, but 'Tulloch Gorum' was extremely popular in the assembly rooms of London and Edinburgh, appearing regularly in reports of elite entertainments. The tune appeared in several popular instrumental

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[810] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 4 February 1791.
[811] Committee Book, Dep 268/22, Records of the Highland Society of London, 3 March 1793.
[812] MacInnes, *The Highland Bagpipe*, 137.
[813] Minute Book, Dep 268/24, Records of the Highland Society of London, 30 December 1802.
[814] Minute Book, Dep 268/25, Records of the Highland Society of London, 9 February 1811.
[815] Little is known about the career of Malcolm MacGregor, except that he ran a woodwind instrument-making business at 151, Strand, with a partner, Charles Wigley, between 1811 and 1825. Several transverse flutes and recorders of his construction have survived today, but his connection with the HSL pertained specifically to the bagpipes.
[816] Minute Book, Dep 268/25, Records of the Highland Society of London, 9 February 1811.

collections of the period, including Robert Bremner's *Collection of Scots Reels, Country Dances* (1757), where it first appeared as a strathspey.[817] It also featured in *Niel Gow's First Book of Reels* (1801), and the tune as printed in this collection extends to the note B5, a tone higher than A5, the highest note on a typical Scottish bagpipe chanter.[818] Of course, it is this version of Tulloch Gorum that would have been familiar to the HSL committee members, performed at their entertainments on the violin by Niel's son, John, who sold his father's collections at his music shop in Carnaby Street. The committee's fascination with the expanded capacity of MacGregor's chanter therefore suggests that it favoured the development of a wider repertoire for the Great Highland bagpipe, specifically, it seems, in the direction of Scottish music popular in the assembly rooms of the day.

In encouraging Scotland's pipers to embrace metropolitan musical tastes, the committee members may have believed themselves to have been contributing to the survival of the Great Highland bagpipe itself. Yet when MacGregor's new chanter was demonstrated to the competitors at the 1811 contest, the pipers strongly opposed the innovation. The HSL dismissed their concerns, arguing that 'the Pipers who had given their opinion were mistaken', and that 'without using the additional keys the Chanter is the same with that of the old Pipe' and that therefore they 'might have performed the Ancient Pibrachs upon it the same as upon their own Pipe'.[819] A surviving prize pipe made by Malcolm MacGregor for the 1813 competition features a chanter with holes to which additional keys could be attached, but indeed is otherwise similar to other chanters of the period.[820] It is possible, of course, that the offence to the pipers was caused not by any particular element of the new chanter itself, but by the manner in which it was thrust upon them. Reading between the lines, it seems that the pipers felt that their 'Ancient Pibrachs' were being disrespected, or even supplanted, by the drive to perform a greater breadth of popular repertoire. Desperate to convince Scottish pipers of the new chanter's superiority, the Society paid for MacGregor to travel to the 1812 competition, where he was to instruct the winner on the use of the new chanter, and to perform himself on it, so that the two styles of chanter might be compared.[821] Whether this changed the pipers' minds is not recorded, but the enthusiasm with which the HSL promoted the new chanter demonstrates the value it placed on integrating the Scottish bagpipe into a more urbane Scottish musical identity, and their readiness to ignore pipers' objections and expertise in pursuit of this goal.

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[817] Robert Bremner, *Collection of Scots Reels, Country Dances* (Edinburgh: Robert Bremner, 1757), 16.
[818] Niel Gow, *First Book of Niel Gow's Reels,* 2nd edition (Edinburgh: Gow & Shepherd, 1801); 16. Niel Gow was particularly well known for his performance of the tune and is believed to have played it for Robert Burns.
[819] Minute Book, Dep 268/25, Records of the Highland Society of London, 10 March 1812.
[820] Ron Bowen, 'MacGregor, Malcolm', *The Bagpipe Place Museum*, accessed 24 July 2024, https://www.thebagpipemuseum.com/the-makers/macgregor-malcolm.
[821] Ibid.

Interestingly, although expenditure on musicians was often tight, the HSL usually employed a Union piper from Ireland alongside the Society's Highland piper at its meetings.[822] The HSL's patronage of Irish piping over such a prolonged period underlines its commitment to Celtic music, observed above in its interest in the Welsh harp. Several leading Irish pipers of the day were employed by the Society, including three with publications to their names. First, John (James) Murphy, who performed for the HSL between 1788 and 1803, published a *Collection of Irish Airs and Jiggs* before 1810. In the preface, Murphy described himself as a 'performer on the Union pipes at Eglinton Castle', a seat in North Ayrshire, and Sanger notes that the predominantly Scottish subscription list for his collection, not to mention the fact that it was published in Edinburgh by Gow and Shepherd, confirms his Scottish connections.[823] The Gow connection may be significant: it is entirely possible that it was John Gow who recruited Murphy for the HSL. Certainly, by 1805, Murphy appears to have made Scotland his home, and appears to have been in the employ of the Earl of Eglington when he entertained crowds at the Ayr races that year.[824] He died, however, in London, in 1818, described in his death notice as 'an eminent professor of the Union Pipes', emphasising that 'His loss will be long felt by the admirers of Scots and Irish Music.'[825] This demonstrates that Murphy was considered to be a specialist in the traditional music of both countries on his chosen instrument. When he played for the HSL, therefore, it is likely that he would have performed both Scottish and Irish music, to afford the entertainment a more broadly Celtic air.

After Murphy relocated to Scotland, the Irish piper of choice between 1803 and 1806 at the HSL was Richard Fitzmaurice (f. 1806-1816), who published Fitzmaurice's *New Collection of Irish Tunes* (c. 1805) and *Irish Tunes by Mr. Fitzmaurice* (c. 1809), both in Edinburgh. Fitzmaurice's brilliant career in Scotland is well-documented: he performed on multiple occasions at Corri's Rooms, advertised as 'Mr Fitzmaurice the celebrated Performer on the Union Pipes to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Duke of Sussex and the Highland Society of London'.[826] It is clear from the dates of his Edinburgh performances, and his appearances at the HSL, that Fitzmaurice travelled between London and Edinburgh frequently, but also remained in Scotland for longer periods, where he offered lessons on the Union Pipes and sold his own compositions around town. Indeed, from 1807, it appears that he settled in Scotland, where he continued to perform, despite bouts of illness, and to sell a new chanter which he had invented. While Fitzmaurice's Scottish career is beyond the scope of this thesis, his success north of the border underlines the extensive Scots patronage of the Union pipes, which the

[822] The 'union pipes' were a type of bellows-blown bagpipe known in Ireland from the early eighteenth century. Quieter and sweeter in tone than both the mouth-blown Irish or Gaelic great bagpipes, these small pipes were sometimes described as the 'pastoral pipes'. Unlike the Great Highland bagpipe, the union pipes usually had keys, enabling players to play a fully chromatic scale, and perform music with a wide melodic compass.
[823] Keith Sanger, 'Irish Pipers and Scotland', *Ceol na hÉireann: Irish Music,* no. 3 (2002), 83.
[824] Ibid.
[825] Ibid.
[826] Sanger, 'Irish Pipers and Scotland', 84.

HSL continued in diaspora space. The repertoire Fitzmaurice played at the Society's meetings is not clear in their records, but newspaper reports often note that he performed 'charming airs', with, on one occasion, 'an excellent violin player of the name of Chapman'.[827] Around the same time, a singer named Chapman performed for the Society, revealing a certain versatility on the part of the musicians attending. Indeed, while Fitzmaurice definitely performed primarily on the Union pipes, one of the Society's Highland pipers, John MacGregor, was apparently also able to play this instrument.[828] The overlap in playing traditions between the Irish and Highland pipes could, it seems, coalesce in one individual.

A similar narrative can be established for P[atrick] O'Farrell, who, in 1804, and between 1807 and 1810, filled the role of Irish piper for the Society. O'Farrell was at least partly London-based: in 1800, it was he who performed on stage in Covent Garden in the pantomime, *Oscar and Malvina*.[829] Later, when advertising his services as a teacher of the Union pipes in Edinburgh, he declared that he had been 'encored every night during his performance' at London theatres.[830] He is also to be found selling music and bagpipes from his home at 65, Swallow Street, in 1804. O'Farrell's musical publications, printed in London, include a *Collection of National Irish Music* (1804), and a *Pocket Companion for the Irish or Union Pipes,* published in four volumes throughout the same decade. Interestingly, *A Collection of National Irish Music* was published by John Gow, and, as in the case of Fitzmaurice, a previous connection with the Gow family might have led to his employment by the HSL. The music performed by O'Farrell for the HSL is described in 1809 only as 'O'Farrell's favourite tunes on the Irish pipes', but, even from this, we can surmise that his repertoire was by no means restricted to Irish tunes.[831] O'Farrell himself identified over a quarter of the tunes in his 1804 collection as Scottish, and indeed, like Fitzmaurice, he spent a great deal of his time in Scotland, where he too was highly successful. Overall, the popularity of the Union pipes in Scotland during the late eighteenth century necessitated their presence at HSL meetings for fashion's sake, but the Society's patronage of the instrument can also be viewed as a natural extension of its drive to unite the branches of ancient Celtic music. With both Highland and Irish pipers at its meetings, the HSL was able both to further its diasporic cultural aims, and to showcase performers popular in both London and Scotland.

6.5 Instrumentalists at the Highland Society of London

Besides Highland and Irish pipers, a wide variety of other instrumentalists and singers provided entertainment at the HSL's London meetings over the period 1783-1815. The number and type of

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[827] *London Courier and Evening Gazette,* 10 June 1806; *Weekly Dispatch,* 18 March 1804.
[828] A 'McGregor' is described performing on the Union pipes, accompanied by harp, at the Drury-Lane Theatre in 1814. *Statesman,* 4 June 1814.
[829] Sanger, 'Irish Pipers and Scotland', 89.
[830] Ibid.
[831] *Saint James's Chronicle,* 25 March 1809.

musicians varied significantly from year to year, but the contribution of John Gow as 'the Society's musician' or 'Musician to the Club' continued without cessation during these years. Gow's early years as musician to the HSL were not without controversy: in 1785, he was not paid at all, after an occasion on which he 'did not attend the Society at last Meeting in proper time, And that it was reported he had engaged himself at the Opera house, so as not to be able to give due Attention, at the future Meetings of the Society'.[832] Dissatisfied with his lack of commitment, the committee agreed in November that year that Gow was to be 'examined', and his dismissal was seriously considered.[833] Understandably, the Society would have withheld payment of wages until the outcome of this review, but other elements may have been at play here. The Society's financial capacity was, in 1785, stretched by their support of the young would-be harper Christopher MacRae, and in March 1786, the Society did pay Gow a substantial sum (£16, 3s, 6d) to teach MacRae the violin while his fate was still in the balance.[834] In time, the dispute was resolved, Gow finally received his salary in August 1786, and the HSL's minute books record no further discussion of his dismissal. This incident, however, points to a familiar problem. In 1785, John Gow, only recently arrived in London, had to find additional employment to that offered by the HSL, a fact not appreciated by the committee members, who demanded total loyalty. The salary offered was not particularly high: from 1787, he received an annual salary of 10 guineas, an amount that remained unaltered until 1815 or later. In return, he was expected to perform at all Society events, and also to be responsible for fixing musicians for the entertainment at the HSL meetings. This may have been rather onerous, particularly when the Society requested specific combinations of musicians. In 1806, for example, the committee resolved 'that Mr Gow do provide a good band of Music consisting of three Violins, a French Horn, Jones the Harper, O'Farrell the Irish Piper, and John MacGregor the Highland piper'.[835] In the 1800s, receipts pertaining to Gow often also include wages for a second violinist and a cellist (usually described as 'the bass'), demonstrating that Gow often received payment to distribute to the other musicians he had hired.

The members of Gow's core band were largely, though by no means exclusively, London-based Scottish musicians. The specific composition of the band, particularly for the decade 1790-1800, may be discerned through the named musicians paid by the HSL, though it is quite possible that instrumental roles within the line-up were to some extent flexible. First, in 1791, the Society began to employ a cellist, and, in preparation for this, purchased a new cello for his use in 1790, sourced by a Mr G. Steuart for the sum of five Guineas.[836] The cellist, until at least 1798, was none other than Scottish dancing master George Jenkins. Given Jenkins's close acquaintance with the Gow family, John Gow's choice of cellist is unsurprising, although there has been no previous scholarship on his role as an

[832] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 27 Jan 1785.
[833] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 1 November 1785.
[834] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 26 March 1786.
[835] Minute Book, Dep 268/24, Records of the Highland Society of London, 20 March 1807.
[836] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 16 January 1790.

instrumentalist. We can assume that Jenkins had been performing with Gow for the HSL for several years, as the committee agreed that as he had 'voluntarily attended the Monthly Meetings of the Society for some years Past, as Bass, without any consideration', he would be permitted an annual allowance in the future.[837] This is also suggested by the fact that, in 1787, a Jenkins, simply described as 'A Musician', came before the HSL offering a collection of Gaelic Airs.[838] The identification of George Jenkins is further confirmed by the fact that, in 1791, he brought two of his sons, most probably George and William, to dance for the Society. In recognition of 'their own Merit', as well as the… attention of their Father Mr Jenkins the Violincello to the Monthly Meetings', the HSL then purchased two sets of Highland dress for the boys.[839] Jenkins showcased his sons' talent in fashionable company around London; they appeared in the same year at a ball held by the Duchess of Gordon.[840] George Jenkins's connection with John Gow, and thereby his employment with the HSL, offered him additional income and performance opportunities in addition to his work as a Scottish dancing master in London.

In 1793, John Gow and George Jenkins were joined by Gow's brother, Andrew, on second violin. Andrew, who had already settled in London by this point, was involved from the early 1790s with his brother's publishing business in Soho. Gow continued to draw his annual salary, and it is clear that Andrew was an additional pair of hands rather than his replacement. The band now composed three members, two violins and a cello, in which format it remained for several decades. In 1795, Andrew ceased to play for the HLS, and was replaced on second violin by another Scot and dancing master, Duncan McIntyre (c.1767-c.1807). Little is known about MacIntyre, save that he was from Perthshire, and had a dancing school in Edinburgh before he moved to London. MacIntyre was certainly in London by the mid-1790s, when, as a 'teacher of Scotch dancing', he published *A Collection of Slow Airs, Reels and Strathspeys* (c.1794).[841] The collection was dedicated to Lady Charlotte Campbell (1775-1861), daughter of John Campbell, 5th Duke of Argyll, who subscribed to the collection, alongside various members of the Anglo-Scottish nobility, Scottish musicians including George Jenkins and Nathaniel Gow, a number of military men, and several representatives of the East India Company in

[837] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 3 June 1791.
[838] This collection is likely to have been George Jenkins, *Eighteen Airs for two Violins and a Bass* (Edinburgh: Brysson, c. 1790).
[839] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 4 February 1791. George Jenkins may have hoped that his two young sons would become a regular fixture at Society meetings, but in 1792, they were requested not to appear at the subsequent meeting, and it is unclear whether the arrangement continued. HSL Dep 268/21, 3 February 1792.
[840] *Kentish Gazette*, 8 May 1792.
[841] This collection was printed and sold by MacIntyre himself at 22, Great Marlborough Street, by Thomas Skillern, and by another expatriate Scot, William Campbell. William Campbell printed John Gow's 1788 dance collection, *12 Favorite Country Dances, & 4 Cotilions, for the Violin, Harpsichord, or Harp, with their proper Figures, as perform'd at Willis's, late Almack's, &c, &c*, from his premises at No. 11, New Street, Covent Garden, and at least four collections of *Slow Airs Strathspeys and Reels* (1795-1800) for John and Andrew Gow. These were dedicated with permission, to the Highland Society of London, who also subscribed to at least the first volume (Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 2 March 1792).

Madras.[842] By 1799, MacIntyre had left London for India, to be replaced by various players, including John's brother Nathaniel, when in town.[843] Another Scottish musician, who performed in 1799, may have been Daniel Dewar, maker of cellos in eighteenth-century Edinburgh, active during the period 1786-1825. After 1800, only one further name appears in Gow's band; that of a second violinist or bass, also of the name 'Jenkins'. This was one of George Jenkins's sons, William Kinnaird Jenkins, who had danced for the Society ten years earlier.[844] Evidently, membership of Gow's band was a family affair, featuring not just his biological family, but at least two expatriate dancing masters and other Scottish musicians passing through the capital, revealing a thriving, if fluid, community of Scottish musicians and dance professionals in London at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Although many of the musicians employed by the Society were Scottish, it did, when funds allowed, invite other musicians to perform at its meetings. In additional to Irish pipers, at least two Welsh harpers were engaged regularly from the 1790s, their nationality suggested by the recorded names Harris and Jones.[845] This, of course, aligned with the Society's encouragement of Celtic music, and its expressed interest in the music of the Welsh harp in particular. By the 1800s, John Gow's receipts demonstrate that it was he who booked and paid the harper, and, in 1798, 1803 and 1807, a French horn player in addition to the usual band. Sometimes, 'star' musicians were invited in order to impress special guests: in March 1806, the committee invited the 'celebrated hautboy player', Mr Thomas Fraser 'In Compliment to His Royal Highness' [Duke of Sussex].[846] In June 1803, Mr Bowie and Sampson Duncan, 'two celebrated performers of ancient Highland Music', were booked, though it is unclear whether they were pipers, singers, or instrumentalists of some other sort.[847] From 1799, the Society also invited the most famous singers of the day to perform; often in pairs or threes, but on one occasion, in a much larger group. These singers did not have any apparent connection with Scotland, though they were extremely popular solo singers in London at the time. Charles Dignum (1765-1827) and Charles Incledon (1763-1826), for example, were both star tenors. A Mr Chapman also appeared

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[842] Lady Charlotte was born at Argyll House, London, and it appears that she spent much time there, regularly socialising with literary celebrities of the day. Later, she was widely known as a novelist, but music may also have been an interest; in her portrait of 1789, painted by Tischbein during a family trip to Naples, she sits with a hand resting on a music manuscript; see https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/1993.

[843] Receipt from John Gow, 1799, listing himself, Dewar, and an 'N. Gow' (Accounts and Receipts, 1796-1808, Dep 268/16, Records of the Highland Society of London, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh). Two further receipts from John Gow in the same period (1796-1797) refer to an 'N. Gow' performing three times.

[844] By 1797, records refer to both George and William Jenkins: it seems likely that, as George Senior's health deteriorated, one of his sons took his place. In 1798, a receipt is signed by 'Thomas Jenkins for William Kd. Jenkins' (Accounts and Receipts, Dep 268/16, Records of the Highland Society of London).

[845] Minute Book, Dep 268/24, Records of the Highland Society of London, 20 March 1807. 'Jones' was likely Thomas Jones, a 'Professor of Harp' who very likely performed at Willis's Rooms from the late 1780s, as suggested by the following publication: Thomas Jones, *For the Year 1788 Ten new Country Dances & three Cotillons for the harp, harpsichord or pianoforte with an accompaniment for a violin, humbly dedicated to the ladies, directors nobility and gentry subscribers to Willis's Rooms, late Almack's, by Thomas Jones, Professor on the Harp…* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1788).

[846] Minute Book, Dep 268/24, Records of the Highland Society of London, 8 March 1806.

[847] Minute Book, Dep 268/24, Records of the Highland Society of London, 3 June 1803.

several times for the Society, both as a singer, and, as mentioned above, possibly as a violinist. Overall, while Scottish musicians were favoured by the Society, it also expressed its fair share of interest in popular singers and instrumentalists of the age, readily available in London itself. Indeed, it could be argued that the HSL's musical priorities reflected its dual identity as a Scottish associational club in fashionable metropolitan space.

It should be emphasised that the number of musicians engaged for the HSL's meetings depended to a great extent on the state of the Society's finances. When these had been too much depleted by other expenditure, or membership income had fallen, musical expenditure was usually the first area to be reduced. In 1789, the committee resolved to convey to Mr Campbell, proprietor of the Shakespeare Tavern, to 'represent to Gow the Musician that the Expence of Music exceeds what appears reasonable', and that his annual salary of £10 must cover his own performance and that of his assistant.[848] In the 1800s, there was frequently caution on the part of the committee as to the size of the band, and, following the first appearance of Mr Thomas Fraser and the 'heavy expence' of a royal visit in 1806, the committee ordered that no professional singers or extra musicians should be engaged for the subsequent meeting.[849] By 1813, the Society was in serious financial difficulty, and conducted a review of its expenditure, concluding that expenditure on music 'should be materially reduced', indeed halved. While Gow's own salary was safe, it was recommended that 'the charge for Assistant Performers ought to be limited as much as possible and included with the Tavern Bills in the extremes of the Meetings to be paid by the Company'.[850] In other words, additional musicians would be paid from the pockets of members, rather than from the coffers of the Society itself. Whether these changes were actually made is unclear, but it is clear that the HSL, while it valued the contributions of its musicians, was reluctant to pay them suitable recompense for their services. The general attitude can perhaps be summed up by a letter of 1802 from a Mr George MacKenzie to the HSL's secretary, in which he recommended the regular introduction of public singers such as Dignum at Society meetings, but lamented that, 'It is a great Pity these Gentlemen charge so highly.'[851]

6.6 Musical Performance at the Highland Society of London

What was the nature of the music played at the Highland Society of London's entertainments, and what purpose did it serve? Occasionally, the music performed at HSL meetings and dinners was recorded in the Society's own records: in March 1805, the arrival of His Royal Highness the Duke of

[848] Minute Book, Dep 268/21, Records of the Highland Society of London, 22 May 1789.
[849] Minute Book, Dep 268/24, Records of the Highland Society of London, 18 April 1806.
[850] Minute Book, Dep 268/25, Records of the Highland Society of London, 9 January 1813. Previously, the HSL had footed the bill for the tavern bills of the musicians, and, in doing so, had encountered significant expenditure. Attempts were frequently made to limit the musicians' alcohol consumption during the evening.
[851] Correspondence, 1 October 1781 - 30 September 1820, Records of the Highland Society of London, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Letter from Mr George MacKenzie, 21 March 1802.

Sussex was to be announced by the Piper with the pìobaireachd 'Phaillie Phrince'.[852] However, more detailed information can be gleaned from newspaper reports, which often provide full accounts of a typical anniversary dinner (see Appendix F). The structure of such an evening seems to have been well-established by the early nineteenth century. First, the Chair was piped in by the Society's piper, who played a tune such as 'The Gathering of the Clans', 'The Campbells are coming', or 'Fraser's Gathering' to call the party to dinner.[853] After this, the piper continued to play during dinner, though this was apparently not always appreciated by those attending. In early 1792, it was resolved that 'The pipe in future to play on the outside of the door, except at the time the Whiskey is going about, when he is permitted to play once or twice round the room.'[854] Presumably the room used at this time was simply too small for the outdoor volume of the pipes, and distant playing was therefore preferred. Nonetheless, the presence of the Society's piper was clearly key to the evening's proceedings.

After dinner, several toasts were each followed by an appropriate particular piece of music, performed either by the Society's piper or Gow and/or his band.[855] The tunes to accompany the toasts were carefully planned in advance: in March 1802, the committee 'ordered Mr Gow to furnish the Committee with a List of the best Tunes of his Performance'.[856] Two weeks later, the committee made their selection: 'Having taken into consideration suitable Toasts for the next Meeting, a proper Selection was made, with correspondent Music, of which three fair Copies were ordered to be written for the President, Vice President, and the Band.'[857] In general, the music accompanying each toast was played alternately by Gow and the Society's piper.[858] The table that follows is collated from a report in the *New Times* of an HSL meeting in March 1822, at which toasts were given, and music performed. The report records the pairings for toasts and musical items throughout, revealing that some thought went into this part of the musical entertainment. Both tunes and words were carefully chosen to recall specific emotive moments in Scottish history, and even to reinforce particular clan identities. For example, the toast, 'Buaidh le cruadal,' which translates as 'Victory by adversity', was matched with 'Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled', recalling Robert Burns's version of the speech given by Robert the Bruce before the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. On the other hand, a toast to the King as 'leader of the Gaelic community', paired with a performance of 'God Save the King' reinforced Highland patriotism and loyalty to the British crown. Musical choice therefore created a particular diasporic

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[852] Minute Book, Dep 268/24, Records of the Highland Society of London, 5 March 1805.
[853] *British Press,* 12 March 1805; *New Times,* 26 March 1822.
[854] HSL Dep 268/21, 17 January 1792.
[855] *Inverness Journal and Northern Advertiser,* 6 April 1821; *The Sun,* 18 February 1822. Similar formats were followed in other Scottish events of the period, which were no doubt organised and attended by similar persons. The Spring Festival of the Scottish Hospital and Corporation also featured patriotic Scots songs and bagpipe tunes between toasts (*British Press,* 27 April 1818).
[856] Minute Book, Dep 268/24, Records of the Highland Society of London, 5 March 1802.
[857] Minute Book, Dep 268/24, Records of the Highland Society of London, 15 March 1802.
[858] *The Sun,* 18 February 1822.

atmosphere at the HSL's events, through which its members were reminded of Scotland's illustrious past, yet at the same time pledged their allegiance, as Gaels, to Britain.

Table 3. Toasts and Accompanying Music at a dinner of the HSL, March 1822.[859]

Toast	**Accompanying Music**	**Musician**
An Righ ceannard a chomiunn Ghaelich	God Save the King	Gow's band
Diùc Albinn agus an armail	Ceann na drochaid big	The pipes
Diùc Chill-Rimhinn agus an camhlach	Rule Britannia	Gow's band
The memory of Abercrombie	Chi till sinn tuille	The pipes
Buaidh le cruadal	Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled	Gow's band
Clann na'n Gadhael ann guailibh à cheile	Comadh leam, comadh leam, cogadh na sith.	The pipes
Lord Gwydir, and the House of Perth	Miss Drummond of Perth	Gow's band
The Marquis of Huntley, and the Clann Gordon	Coleach an taobh tuath	Gow's band
McGregor of McGregor, and the Clann Alpin	Fàilte nan Greagarach	The pipes
The Earl of Breadalbane, and the House of Cleannurchie	Bhoidich nam Brigmhais	The pipes
The Highland Society of Scotland	Should auld acquaintance	Gow's band
The Solicitor General of Scotland and the Scottish Bar	Albainn Cheadarach	The pipes

After dinner, musical entertainment varied depending upon the musicians hired for the occasion. Often, there was a special performance by a guest musician or dancer, an additional contribution from the Society's piper, or 'charming airs' on the Union Pipes. Star musicians such as the oboe player Mr Thomas Fraser presumably performed their regular party pieces for the assembled company. In 1822, a blind Highland musician performed 'several admirable performances of national melodies on the violin and violincello, both of which instruments he played at the same time'.[860] In the early nineteenth century, professional singers were hired to sing favourite Scotch songs, including, in 1819, 'Scots wha ha' wi' Wallace bled'.[861] At a meeting held for the purpose of receiving the Duke of Sussex, star tenor Charles Dignum 'sang the Address of King Robert I. to his army before the memorable battle of Bannockburn, set to the tune of that heroic Monarch's March, by the celebrated Mr. Burns, and accompanied by the band of music'.[862] Members of the Society also sang, for example Sir John Macpherson, who presented 'plaintive and martial Gaelic Songs' 'with great taste, animation, and

[859] *New Times,* 26 March 1822.
[860] *The Sun,* 18 February 1822.
[861] *Morning Herald,* 23 March 1819.
[862] *British Press,* 12 March 1805.

expression'.[863] Archibald Constable, at a Society meeting in 1807, enjoyed 'plenty of songs, most of them Gaelic; the best English song was sung by the Duke of Argyll, on the subject of Duncan's victory, to a very uncommon tune'.[864] After the musical entertainment, there was, at least after 1814, dancing, led by Gow's band. At the March dinner that year, 'Long before the company separated, many reels were both danced and *performed*'.[865] In 1817, at the anniversary meeting, Gow's band 'roused the company with those national tunes… which no French Quadrilles can long keep from the ball room' until six in the morning.[866] In 1822, 'Mr Gow's band oftener than once stirred up a *foursome* reel among the mountaineers, who performed their native and peculiar capers with uncommon agility'.[867] It seems, therefore, at least latterly, that both professional musicians and guests combined to create a broadly national entertainment at the HSL's anniversary events.

Despite the usual presence of John Gow and his band, there were occasions on which the committee recorded dissatisfaction with the music provided at Society events. Sometimes, musical quality was perceived to be poor: in February 1802, committee member Colin Macrae was directed 'to request Gow the Musician to provide a better Band of Music on the 17th inst, than that which performed at the Anniversary Meeting.'[868] It is evident from this remark that the membership of the band was not fixed, and that the quality of musicianship could vary. Five years later, in 1807, Gow may have been struggling for good musicians, or so it was suggested by an attendee of an HSL dinner that year: 'We had an excellent piper; and John Gow and his band to play Scotch tunes to us. John Gow plays extremely well, which is more than can be said of the rest of his band, which consisted of four other violins, violoncello, harp (French pedal), and French horn, - a curious variety compared with our Nathan of Edinburgh. They are very very far behind indeed, as may well be supposed'.[869] One senses an element of patriotic zeal here, and perhaps the London-based John was bound to be judged harshly by this author in comparison to 'our Nathan', i.e. Nathaniel Gow. If quality did vary, it is unclear whether this stemmed from a lack of competent musicians, or a lack of funds on the part of the HSL. Either way, it must have been challenging for Gow to supply a consistent band, when the Society so often changed its mind as to the number and type of musicians desired. Financial, rather than musical, priorities, dictated the size of the band, and the reluctance of the Society to pay 'assistant' musicians on a permanent basis must have made the task of managing the band even more difficult.

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[863] *Star,* 27 March 1802; 17 March 1804.
[864] Thomas Constable, *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents: a Memorial,* Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1873), 115.
[865] *Morning Chronicle,* 23 March 1814.
[866] *MC,* 24 March 1817.
[867] *The Morning Post,* 23 April 1822.
[868] Minute Book, Dep 268/22, Records of the Highland Society of London, 5 February 1802.
[869] Constable, *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents*, 115.

6.7 Conclusion

I have demonstrated that the Highland Society of London attached significant importance to the preservation and performance of Scottish, and particularly Highland, music, from its establishment until the middle of the nineteenth century. The drive to preserve what it considered to be the 'Ancient Music of the Caledonians' was strongly influenced by a Romantic vision of the Highlands, often implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) linked to the narrative world of James Macpherson's works of Ossian. As a result, the search for this 'ancient' music, and that of the Celtic lands more generally, was a continuing priority for founding members such as Sir John Sinclair. However, the preservation of Highland musical culture also held additional symbolic value for the membership of the HSL. For the committee members, the 'Music of the War', particularly the martial repertoire of the Highland bagpipe, was the sonic embodiment of their vision of Highland martial masculinity. Indeed, the musical activities of the HSL can be situated within the broader socio-political aims of these elite Highlanders, who sought to influence the trajectory of cultural and economic development within Scotland from the metropolitan hub of London. Viewed cynically, these elite men were prepared to exploit Scottish music as a cultural commodity in the pursuit of a Romantic vision of the Highlands, which in turn allowed them to assert a diasporic identity that particularly benefited their own class and sex. Indeed, just as the context for Scottish dancing enabled the performance of an alternative strand of femininity, the musical activities of the HSL similarly enabled members to embrace a Scoto-British masculinity whilst reinforcing homosocial cheer in London's elite space.

Did the Highland Society of London achieve its musical aims? Its sponsorship of a piping competition, in partnership with the Highland Society for Scotland, certainly increased the instrument's public visibility, and arguably established a tradition that has survived to this day. Nonetheless, there were problems when it came to the HSL's attitude towards musicians and music, many of which stemmed from a lack of artistic expertise within its membership. Projects like the piping academy and the sponsorship of a harp apprentice were energetic, but a certain naiveté concerning the cost of these, combined with a reluctance to commit funds, led, at least in part, to their eventual failure. Musical expertise was often not employed by the committee of the HSL, even when it was readily available: McDonald's bagpipe tutor was edited poorly by a non-musician, and was rendered practically useless to pipers as a result. In developing a new bagpipe chanter against the express wishes of experienced pipers, the committee also arguably exhibited a certain arrogance, assuming without question that their preferred (London-based) bagpipe maker would produce a chanter eminently suitable for their needs. The issue is well illustrated by the fact that the judging panel at the HSL's competition comprised members of the HSS committee, failing to recruit from outside its own membership or social class. Indeed, as time went on, the competition format prioritised the creation of a Romantic vision of the Highlands for Edinburgh audiences, employing the music of the bagpipe as a crucial cultural signifier of the Highland region for Lowland elites.

When it comes to the HSL's London entertainments, a similarly mixed picture emerges. Clearly, the Society placed significant value on musical performance, viewing it as an integral part of their meetings and anniversary dinners. The HSL was also generally prepared to purchase and repair musical instruments, as well as providing its pipers with Highland dress. John Gow's contribution was particularly valued: in March 1822, at the annual Society dinner, *The Morning Post* records that he was presented with a medal, which he wore proudly in May at the Great Caledonian Ball at Almack's.[870] Beyond Gow himself, the HSL's events afforded employment to a number of Scottish musicians active in London, many of whom were connected personally with John Gow, or were connected with the teaching of Scottish dance in the capital. In order to unite all branches of Celtic music, Irish pipers and Welsh harpers were also invited to perform at the Society's events, alongside popular singers of the day. Nonetheless, the HSL often found it difficult to maintain the loyalty of its pipers and instrumentalists, partly because the Society's salary could not sustain a living, and it was not always easy for musicians to find employment in London alongside the small number of annual appearances required. The state of the Society's finances was never stable enough to guarantee a particular number of musicians at any given event, leading to variable musical quality. Despite these issues, the music performed at the HSL's entertainments over this period was significant, and undoubtedly contributed to the construction of a particular diasporic identity espoused by its elite membership. The performance of music, overwhelmingly Scottish in style and character, and mainly performed by Scottish musicians, enabled the members of this elite Highland club to formulate and express their unique brand of 'Scoto-British' patriotism in London's diaspora space.

[870] *The Morning Post,* 28 March 1822. The inscription read: 'Presented to Mr. John Gow, in testimony of their approbation of his long services, and of the delight which his eminent and hereditary musical talents have never failed to inspire' (*MP,* 15 May 1822).

Conclusion

This thesis has contributed to the study of Scottish music outside the borders of Scotland itself through a rich analysis of Scottish musical culture in London between 1741 and 1815. I have challenged assumptions relating to the expression of Scottish musical identity in London, particularly the idea that the primary concern of Scottish musicians in their host city was to promote their native music. Indeed, if we simply view Scottish musicians in London as cultural ambassadors for Scotland's folk music tradition, we fail to account for a rich body of evidence for their activities outside this narrow remit. Crucially, the social, economic, and even political factors shaping the character of Scottish musical culture in eighteenth-century London were necessarily quite different to those in Scotland itself, and those who wished to thrive there had to adapt to the creative context of the great metropolis. My analysis therefore adopts a new perspective, acknowledging the persistence of Scottish musical identity in the lives of Scottish émigré musicians, but focusing primarily on their varied activities in the vibrant musical context of London itself. Above all, I have argued that Scottish cultural production in London was shaped not only by aesthetic and artistic concerns, but by the city's patterns of commerce and consumption. In this context, a vast network of actors reshaped and refashioned Scottish musical culture to appeal to Scottish diaspora and non-Scots alike, reinforcing real and imagined sonic connections with Scotland itself.

Throughout this study, I have argued that London's Scottish musical culture must be situated within a broader understanding of how Scots and Scottish culture were *perceived* in London during the long eighteenth century. From the early seventeenth century, Londoners were exposed to a variety of stereotypes of the Scottish people, many of which were, at best, unfavourable, and at worst, cruel. Such prejudices were heightened at moments of political tension, such as the Jacobite rising of 1745, when the image of the wild and barbaric Highlander was often presented to London audiences as representative of the entire Scottish nation. In London's public discourse, particularly in the first half of the eighteenth century, this translated into caricature as portrayed on stage in the city's many theatres. The music and dance employed in such contexts was not always truly Scottish in origin, but the presence of Scottish musical (and extra-musical) features nevertheless provided London audiences with a sonic link to Scotland. As the century wore on, the image of the Highlander (and thereby that of Scotland as a whole) was successfully rehabilitated, and the vision of Romantic Scotland was born. Scottish music, as a core cultural signifier of Scottishness, played a crucial role in evoking Scotland's culture and landscape. These stereotypical visions of Scotland had one element in common: the idea that Scotland, and Scottish people, were in some sense 'other' to the experience of those living in England, and particularly London. Indeed, despite the large numbers of Scots in London during this period, Scotland itself was often perceived as exotic by many Londoners, themselves steeped in the ancient topography of Scotland as characterised by MacPherson in his works of Ossian.

There were some in London, however, for whom Scottish music represented their native musical tradition - the many members of the city's long-established Scottish diaspora community. The cultural expression of Scottishness by Scots in diaspora space was of course multifaceted, but the performance and appreciation of Scottish music undoubtedly enabled the expression of national identity, or indeed, identities, for Scottish émigré individuals and associations in their host city of London. This was certainly the case for Scottish musicians such as James Oswald and John Gow, for whom the performance and publication of Scottish music was a core part of their musical identity. Musical activity in the context of London's Scottish associational culture also reveals a strong attachment to Scottish musical tradition in a diasporic environment. In at least two of London's Scottish churches, worshippers maintained a strong attachment to peculiarly Scottish styles and repertoires of psalm-singing well into the nineteenth century, and the speed of change in this area was notably slower than that in Scotland. In this case, the geographical distance of these congregations from Scotland engendered a more intense emotional relationship with Scottish musical tradition. At the elite entertainments of the Highland Society of London from 1778, Scottish music played a key role in the expression of a North British identity, underpinned by Whig narratives of economic improvement for the Highland region. Indeed, while much of the musical material performed at the Society's dinners was Highland in origin, the members also enjoyed the performance of music which celebrated Scottishness more broadly, often imbued with Romantic sentiment. For the members of the HSL, the performance and appreciation of Scottish music in associational space offered simultaneously a sonic connection to their place of origin, and an opportunity to underline the crucial role of Highland piping tradition in Britain's military success.

The extent to which any Scot embraced Scottish music in London naturally varied according to their specific socio-economic context, and the character of their artistic and commercial ambition. While specific reasons for relocation varied, nonetheless there is a strong pattern of ambition visible in the careers of many Scottish musicians in eighteenth-century London. Although James Oswald, for example, worked primarily as a dancing master in Scotland, even his early publications demonstrate a stylistic breadth, which he demonstrated after 1747 in his varied catalogue of publications in London. Scotland may have been concretely too narrow for Oswald: even Edinburgh could not offer him work in the theatre, a context he later came to embrace enthusiastically. Robert Bremner, too, saw economic opportunity in London, which he considered to be the 'fountain-head' of British musical life. Bremner's move to London, however, was rather more reflexive than Oswald's. After 1760, travel between Scotland and London became gradually faster and safer, and the flow of musicians between Edinburgh and London increased in parallel with these trends. Bremner was therefore able to maintain businesses in both cities, and continued to support Edinburgh's concert scene for several decades after his emigration. The four sons of Niel Gow also divided their resources between Scotland and London: Nathaniel and William remained in Edinburgh, while John and Andrew represented the family's

interests in London. For decades, Nathaniel and John, in their respective cities, adeptly exploited the popularity of Scottish dancing in Anglo-Scottish elite space, to significant financial gain.

Evidently, much Scottish musical activity in London during the period 1741-1815 was economically motivated, a response on the part of Scottish musicians to the opportunities they identified in London's metropolitan space. In order to thrive in this uniquely competitive commercial environment, Scottish musicians had to adopt an energetic, entrepreneurial attitude, and were therefore undoubtedly, as Johnson complained, 'artists in big business'. However, while Oswald was evidently a talented salesman – as demonstrated by his Society of the Temple of Apollo brand - this does not render him less of a musician. Indeed, the available evidence suggests that he viewed his entire career holistically, carefully cross advertising his publications and performances to a wide consumer demographic. Similarly, Bremner, also a highly successful trader, nonetheless remained a thinking musician. Indeed, his depth of musical experience is strongly evident in his extended preface, *Some Thoughts on the Performance of Concert Music,* and also in his enthusiasm for musical antiquarianism and developing trends in music theory. In Bremner's case, the fact that he was an excellent musician, and a passionate teacher, was a critical factor behind the success of his business, and strongly informed his profound influence on a global Scottish musical culture. The strong commercial success of Scottish musicians in London therefore renders them more, rather than less, relevant to any analysis of the development of Scottish musical culture in eighteenth-century London.

The expression of Scottish national identity in historical diaspora space varied significantly from individual to individual, according to class, profession, temperament, and, of course, length of stay in London. The process of cultural assimilation, if followed at all, was by no means linear, and many Scottish musicians, in particular, inhabited parallel identities, often entirely unconsciously and certainly with no hint of discomfort. It is important to underline, however, that Oswald, Bremner and Gow were not forced to abandon their Scottishness entirely in order to flourish in London. Oswald, for example, embraced his Scottish musical identity upon arrival in London, and earned a reputation as the 'Scottish Orpheus' through the publication and performance of Scottish music across the capital. In his valedictory advertisement, Bremner was keen to reassure his Scottish customers that he would continue his efforts to put the 'peculiar music' of Scotland into its 'proper dress' from his new home in London. In searching for 'good originals, ancient and modern', he was supporting both the preservation of Scotland's native musical tradition, and crowdsourcing the composition of new Scottish musical material. Once in London, Bremner initially expressed his Scottish identity through his membership of Crown Court Church, and through his work as the principal London agent for the Edinburgh Musical Society. Later in the eighteenth century, the Gow and Jenkins families formed a close-knit Scottish expat musical community, whose expertise enabled the provision of Scottish dance music for London's many elite entertainments. Therefore, although modes of expression varied, it was

entirely possible for Scottish musicians to embrace, and indeed, exploit, their national musical identities in London's diaspora space.

There was, however, a distinct urbanity inherent in the way men like Oswald, Bremner and Gow expressed their Scottishness in London. Oswald and Bremner, who had spent much of their early careers in Edinburgh, were influenced by the spirit of innovation prevalent in Scottish Enlightenment discourse. Oswald, later a member of the nascent Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, became fascinated with the production of musical sound by nature alone, and was motivated to (re)invent the Æolian Harp through practical scientific experimentation. Robert Bremner's musings to Francis Hopkinson on the subject of the travel of musical sound through air, and his questions relating to the uniqueness of human consciousness, also reveal a direct engagement with Scottish Enlightenment philosophy. Bremner's business in London, coupled with his brother's presence in Philadelphia, also supported the export of Scottish musical culture across a transatlantic network of Enlightenment literati. Both Oswald and Bremner also embraced the Enlightenment narrative of improvement: Bremner's commitment to this is evident in his enthusiasm for the transformation of Scottish psalm-singing, and in the strongly didactic bent of many of his later musical publications. James Oswald too, following in the footsteps of William Thomson and Allan Ramsay, embraced the 'polishing' of Scottish musical material at the heart of the Scots Drawing Room style, and presented it with great success in London. Indeed, Oswald's urbane Scottish musical identity translated well into the London context, interacting with consumer trends in elite space to inform the character of Scottish musical culture in the city.

Crucially, however, émigré Scots in London did not exist in a vacuum, and the sustained success of Scottish musicians in the capital was often born of their readiness to embrace social networks beyond the members of the Scottish diaspora community. James Oswald, for example, established Masonic connections before he left Edinburgh, which may very well have supported his successful transition to London. Once settled, Oswald quickly formed connections with music publishers and members of the book trade, and with David Garrick at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. Oswald did associate with several of his literary-minded compatriots, most notably Thomas Smollett, James Thomson and David Mallet. This artistic group, however, was not defined by its Scottishness, representing instead a loose grouping of Patriot artists surrounding Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Princess Augusta. There is no real evidence that any of these men had strong Jacobite sympathies, and instead it seems that they espoused a broader patriotic identity that placed the flourishing of the arts at the heart of British national success. Robert Bremner, too, established a varied social network in London, priding himself on an intimate knowledge of the city's music scene. By his own account, Bremner's energy in this direction was born of a curiosity and sociability, qualities which led him to form life-long friendships with men such as Charles Burney and Francis Hopkinson. From London, Bremner was ideally situated to travel to the European continent, where he established connections with fellow music publishers,

and likely sourced music and musicians for the King's Theatre and the Edinburgh Musical Society. Overall, the success of Scottish musicians in eighteenth-century London correlates strongly with their readiness to embrace the many networking opportunities uniquely available to them in the city's creative space.

Throughout this study, I have suggested that the development of Scottish musical culture in London during this period was co-produced by musicians and consumers, to the mutual benefit of both. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the development of a fashion for Scottish dancing at London's elite entertainments provided a firm basis for Scottish musicians and dancing masters such as John Gow and George Jenkins to thrive in their host city. Indeed, the broader taste for Highland (and by extension, Scottish) culture and dress, combined with the flourishing of formal Scottish associational life in the capital, led to a flurry of 'national' Scottish entertainments, all of which required the services of Scottish musicians. Notably, it was often prominent Scots in London, particularly Jane, Duchess of Gordon, who hosted Scottish music in the city's fashionable spaces, enabling the commercial success of musicians through their patronage. Crucially, however, especially when it came to elite entertainments, Scottish musicians possessed agency: their services were highly sought-after and well remunerated. While appearances at elite fashionable events were perhaps most lucrative, the HSL also prioritised the performance of Scottish music at its London entertainments, and consistently valued the services of Gow, and their pipers, highly. Importantly, alongside their performances, Scottish musicians and dancing masters were also able to influence consumer trends in their favour through the publication of dance music and manuals for their audiences to enjoy in domestic space. Ultimately, it was this dynamic interaction between musicians and consumers that drove the characteristic development of Scottish musical culture in eighteenth-century London.

During the period 1741-1815, London-based Scottish musicians and publishers were highly skilled in adapting Scottish music to best suit the unique demands of their audiences. It is no accident that contemporaries judged Nathaniel and John Gow to have 'softened the wild vivacity of highland music' for the elite urban environments of London and Edinburgh. Indeed, this was a well-trodden path: in the 1720s, William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* had successfully adapted Scottish songs for London space, and Allan Ramsay's *The Tea-Table Miscellany* had incorporated several 'Scots sangs' in the forms they appeared on the London stage. Often, Scottish publishers in London appear to have paid little attention to the origins of the music they sold or performed, instead embracing stereotype in pursuit of profit. James Oswald's early works 'in the Scotch taste', for example, contained little Scottish musical material, instead embracing the popular pastoral genre. In the second half of the eighteenth century, attempts were made in Scottish literary-philosophical space to control the arrangement and performance of Scots songs, which recommended the utmost stylistic simplicity. Yet this purist focus on origins was by no means universally embraced, and indeed the most commercially successful collections in Britain at this point featured options for instrumental accompaniment. Beyond this, a

huge number of unusual publications adapted Scottish music for the unique creative context of London itself, leading to fascinating genres such as the Scotch glee. Further research may reveal an even greater variety of musical works inspired by Scottish culture. Undoubtedly, the refashioning of Scottish music in London's urban space, shaped in turn by fast-changing consumer trends in the city itself, was overwhelmingly messy in character, and certainly defies neat categorisation.

Throughout this study, I have highlighted instances in which trends in Scottish musical culture originated in the creative context of London, rather than in Scotland itself. This is particularly visible in the context of London's vibrant Scottish dance culture, which appears to have developed a particular style of its own in elite fashionable space. Indeed, the way in which Londoners danced a Scots reel may have been qualitatively different to that espoused by Scots in Scotland. Certain traditions may even have been shaped entirely in London: the Highland Fling may very well have been dreamt up by a London-based Scottish dancing master, and subsequently exported to Scotland. London's creative context also supported the invention of the hybrid genre of Scotch Quadrilles, which appear to have been essentially ordinary quadrilles set to popular Scots tunes. Nonetheless, the Scotch Quadrille served a particular purpose in diaspora space for its creator, John. H. Gow, whose career may very well have been threatened by the ascendancy of the quadrille, and the consequent fall in grace for Scottish dancing. More broadly, Scottish dance in London supported the performance of Scottish identity in elite space, accessible by Scots and non-Scots alike. Given the agency of elite women in London's fashionable space, I have argued that Scottish dance, and the music which accompanied it, offered a more robust, or even masculine, mode of Scottish femininity, which challenged gender expectations of the day in its emphasis on physicality as opposed to grace. This brand of Scottish femininity, of course, may very well have differed from that experienced by Scottish women in Scotland, shaped instead by the diasporic experience of Scottish women in London's elite space. Further research in this area is necessary to establish whether this concept of Scottish femininity translated from the ballroom into London's domestic musical space.

The refashioning of Scottish music in elite diaspora space was also embraced by the Highland Society of London, whose distinctly martial masculinity sought to place Highland musical tradition at the heart of a global British patriotism. For the members of this Society, the preservation and revitalisation of Scottish music was aligned with the Romantic concept of a Celtic musical heritage, which itself relied upon the idea of a shared distant past for Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. This is most visible in the Society's attempts to repopulate the ancient harp tradition of Scotland with Welsh-taught performers, but in fact the idea of an ancient Celtic network also had a significant impact on the character of the HSL's entertainments in London. In addition to Scottish musicians, the Society regularly welcomed both Union pipers from Ireland and Welsh harpers, whose performances constituted part of a wider Celtic musical offering in diaspora space. For Irish Union pipers in particular, this kind of performance was extremely lucrative, and many travelled regularly between London and Edinburgh, where they

performed both Scottish and Irish music. However, although the HSL had a significant influence on the piping tradition within Scotland, it often struggled to achieve its musical aims outside London. In several instances, the Society, whose vision of Scottish piping was forged at some remove in elite urban space, rarely availed itself of the readily available expertise of professional Scottish pipers. When the Society's London-based instrument maker, Malcolm MacGregor, invented a new chanter suited to the performance of a wider, perhaps more 'fashionable' repertoire, the Society actively dismissed the concerns of native pipers. This episode underlines the fact that diasporic developments in Scottish musical culture were not always well-received in Scotland itself.

Overall, between 1741 and 1815, a wide range of different actors interacted with Scottish music across London, contributing to a complex, energetic network underpinning Scottish cultural production throughout the city. The precise character of this network was always in flux, constantly reshaped by changing patterns of musical consumption, and by the particular priorities of individuals and groups within London's Scottish diaspora community. Indeed, the activities of émigré Scots, to whom Scottish music represented an emotional link with their place of origin, played a significant role in the development of Scottish music culture in London during this period. Most Londoners, however, did not have significant knowledge of Scotland, and viewed Scottish music primarily through the paradigm of cultural stereotype. Particularly after 1760, it was the Romantic vision of Scotland, with Highland culture at its heart, which cemented the popularity of Scottish music and dance in London. This in turn supported the diasporic careers of countless Scottish musicians and dancing masters, the most successful of whom made significant fortunes in London's urban creative space. Drawn by ambition to the English capital, these musicians and publishers (for they were often both) became highly skilled in the exploitation of their native music for commercial gain, refashioning and adapting it in response to changing musical fashions in London itself. While there were some stylistic grumbles amongst those who favoured a more 'authentic' Scots style, most adaptations were highly popular with audiences in London, and even, in many cases, in Scotland. For, through the constant flow of musicians, musical works, and patrons between Scotland and London, developments and innovations in London's Scottish musical culture were transported from the capital back to Caledonia, where they continued to shape the musical history of Scotland itself.

Appendix A Accession to Membership List, Crown Court Church, 1759-1773

Date	Name	Address in London	Profession	Place of Origin	Recommendation
1759-?	James Rammage and his wife	Kings head Court, Shoe Lane		South Leith	certified by one of the ministers of South Leith
	James Plain	at Mr Johnstons in Oxford Road		Sallon	recommended by the minister of Sallon
	John Hume	at Mr Duthies on White Horse Yard		Warnford	recommended by the dissenting minister at Warnford
	Margaret Reid	Suffolk Street			daughter to Mrs Bannerman
	William Fowler	Glassenbury Court			
	Janet & Kathrine Nicolson	Kingstreet Holburn		West Kirk Edinburgh	with testimonials from the minister of west Kirk Edinburgh
	William Robison	Litchfield Street		Dublin	certified by a Dissenting Minister at Dublin
1760-01	William Drew			Calder near Glasgow	
1760-04	Francis Aberdeen	Dean Street Soho	Tailor		
	James Small	lodges in Castle Street		from the Parish of [Dull/Dall] in Scotland	
	Robert Taylor	Leicester Street	Journeyman Baker	from Kinnaird in Scotland	
	William Herriot			South Leith	certified by the ministers of South Leith
1760-10	Ritchard Scot	Nightingale Lane	Tailor		
	James Kerr	Dove Court, Leather Lane			
	James Moneylaws	Mr Swans Perukemaker, St Martins Lane			
	George Burn	Windmill Street	Journeyman Wigmaker		
	John Jack	lodges in Shelton Court		from Montrose	
	John Scot	lodges at Mr Winters in Rose Street		from Kinneler	
1761-01	William Mason	lodges at Mr Fells in Rose Street, Long Acre		from Cornhill in Northumberland	
	Mrs Gowan	Tooley Street in the Borough			

	James Henry				recommended by the Revd Mr Lawson
	William Aberdeen	Mays Buildings			
	George Proffit	at Mr Hunts, mercer in Southampton Street			
1761-04	Miss Bennet				
	Mrs/Mr Stewart				
	Miss Wauchop				
1761-07	Mr & Mrs Tennent	at Mr Johnstons in Conduit Court, Long Acre			
	Mr Ritchardson	in the Savoy			
	Alexander Cunningham	lodges in Leicester Street		from Kilmarnock	
	Andrew Hunter			from Melross in Scotland	
1761-10	William Brunton	Shelton Court, Chandos Street			
	James Mckaine and his wife	Dolphin Yard, bottom of St Martins Street			
	Margaret Geddies			Banff	certified by the minister of Banff in Scotland
	James Turnbull			Larbert	certified by the minister Mr Taylor
1762-01	Mrs Millar	Drury Lane			
	Mr and Mrs [Bexter]	Wardour Street, Soho			
	Mrs Anne Mackpherson	Round Court			
	The wife of William Mason	Rose Street			
1762-04	Mr David Millar	Drury Lane			
	John Fisher	Lodges at Mr Fells a Joiner in Lombard Court		from Couper of Angus	
	Alexander Marno	in Greek Street, Soho	Staymaker		
	Mrs Hallin	Holburn			
1762-07	Anne Stodhart	Drury Lane			
	Thomas Gordon	Fountain Court			
	John Aitchison			from Newburgh in Fife	

	Josiah Mien & wife	at the sign of the White Hart, Castle Street, Seven Dials			
1762-10	Charles Smith	Dukes Court	Hosier & Hatter		
	Andrew McCurrie	St Martins Lane	Baker		
	John Oldsman			Montrose	certified by Mr Aitken Minister there and Mr Gillies of Glasgow
	Anne Twendale	at Mr Andersons a Taylor in York Street, Covent Garden		[Glasgow]	certified by [Iness] Gillies at Glasgow and Henderson at Blantyre
	Mrs Thompson	Long Acre			
	Elizabeth Burn			Kelso	attested by the minister there
	Miss Nicol	at Mr Wilsons	Bookseller		
1763-01	Margaret Wright	at Admiral Mathews widows			
	William Aitchison			[Langton in the merse, Berwick]	certified by the minister there
	Elizabeth Kerr			from Berwick on Tweed	
	Mrs Walker	Cecil Court	Mantua maker		
	James Spence	White Lion Street near Seven Dials			
	Helenor Colston				
	Miss Duncan				
	Mr Gardner	at Mr Jacks in St Martins Lane			
	Mr and Mrs Bremner	at the Musick shop near the New Church in the Strand			
	Archibald MacDuff		Cabinet Maker	Dunkeld	certified by Mr McLagn minister of Dunkeld
	Mrs Hay	More Street, St Sanns			
1763-07	Edward Copland	Hammond Row	Turner		
	Thomas Kinneir		in the train of Artillery		
	Musgrave Lowe	Wardour Street at the Sign of the George	Journeyman Cabinet Maker		
	Mrs Cranstoun	Monmouth Court, Hedge Lane			
	Jane Irwin	Berkeley Square			

	Mr Douglas			Sergeant Major of the old Highland Regiment	
1763-10	David Sherrif and his mother	Shorts Gardens	Glazier		
	Morris Connel			Amsterdam	recommended by Doctor Blenshall
	Mrs Dickson	Berry Street, St James			
	Edward Brankston	Russell Court			
	Thomas Buchan	at Mr Gibsons in Round Court			
1764-04	Mrs Blackie	Middlerow Holburn			
	Thomas Sommers	at Mr Sherrifs in Shorts Gardens			
	James Fierme		Mason	[Long Furmans]	recommended by the minister of [Long Furmans]
1764-07	Aleser [Alastair] Burton & his wife	Plough Court near Carey Street			
	Miss Jakes	at Mr Jakes in Saint Martins Lane			
1764-10	Herron [Deitch/Datch]	at Mr Oliphants			
	John Mundel			Edinburgh	known to be a member of the church
1765-01	Thomas Reynolds	Orange Street			
	Margaret Stivens				
	Miss Smith	Dukes Court			
	Harry Newl				certified by a minister
1765-04	Miss Mary Wishart				
	James Fenton				
	Issobel Thorn				
	Robert Brown				
1765-07	John Ferguson				
	John Paterson				
	Margaret Simpson	at Mr Reynolds in Orange Street, Leicester Fields			
	Christiana Bear				

1765-10	Samuel Ray			Ulster	certified by Mr Fleming a Dissenting minister in the Province of Ulster
	John Semple			Kilbarcher	certified by the minister of Kilbarcher in Scotland
	Miss Davidson				
	John Wilkie & his wife			South Leith	certified by the minister of South Leith
1766-01	Mr Maxwell & his wife	Monmouth Court, Hedge Lane			
	William [Jolick/Tolick]	at Mr ... Taylor in Seymour Court, Chandos Street			
	John Glendinning			Melrose	from Melrose certified by the Minister
1766-04	Anne Baterson				certified by the Revd Mr Patrick
1766-07	Hannah Marshall		Servant to his Royal Highness Prince Henry		
	Miss Hamilton	at Dr [Hariner]			
	Mrs Lamb	Drury Lane			
1766-10?	William Ross			Banffshire	certified by Mr William Wilson Minister in Banffshire Scotland
	Mr George Mairns & his wife	Great Queen Street			
	Mrs Farquhar	in St Martins Church Lane			
	James Boyes	Kingstreet Drury Lane			
	Isobella Ogilvy	at her Fathers in Charles Court			
	Mr Thomas Nisbet	Wild Street	Baker		
1767-04	William Paterson	Fountain Court	Shoemaker		
	James Alexander	Bedfordbury	Cabinet Maker		
	Thomas Wilson	Burleigh Court in the Strand	Solder in the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards		
	James Duff	at Mrs Brodies in Jermyn Street			
1767-07	John Chambers	at Mr Jenners? Castle Street, Leicester Fields			

	Jean Lesly			Aberdeen	
	Charles Robertson	Burleigh Court, Exeter Strand, Strand			
	Dr Jarvay				
	Miss Oliphant				
	Isobell Wilkie	Change Court, Strand			
	Elizabeth Jamieson	at Mr Cummins in Cravens Street			
1767-10	Mrs Henderson	Round Court			
	Mr [Gilion]	New Bond Street			
	Mr & Mrs Brown	Chancery Lane			
	Mr John Stotteridge	lodges at Chancery Lane with Mr & Mrs Brown			
	Mrs Saunders	Burleigh Court			
	Mr David Murray	Bulleigne Court			
1768-01	William Duncan	Holburn			
	Miss Dott? Doll?	Angel Court, Piccadilly			
1768-04	Mrs Stotteridge	Fox Court, Southampton Buildings			
	Andrew Alexander			[Alvan/Alva]	certified by the minister of Alvan
	Mrs Drysdale	Devonshire Street			
	Janet Wilson	White hart Yard			
1768-10	George Anderson			Belfast	from Belfast in Ireland
1769-01	Mrs Corrie	Maiden Lane			
1769-04	Mr & Mrs Allen	Drury Lane			
	Mr Mickie	White Lion Street near Seven Dials			
1769-07	Mr Grinton		Carpenter		
1769-10	Mr John Boyle	St Albans Street			
	Mr William Lundie	East Street, Red Lion Square	Journeyman Watch maker		

	Mr & Mrs Simpson	Princes Street, Soho			
	Mr Nivein	Kings Street, Soho			
1770-01	Mr George Grey	at an Earthen Ware Shop in Claremercat			
	Mrs Mirehead	Percy Street			
	& Mrs _____		her maid		
1770-04	Mrs Touch		The Clerk's wife		
	Mr White				
	Christian Norrie				
	Eneas McKenzie & Wife				
1771-04	Mr Nisbet	Seymour Court, Chandos Street			
	Mrs McDonald	Heath Cock Court Strand			
	William Haswell			West Kirk near Edinburgh	
	Mr Dean				recommended by Mr Campbell
	Isobel Hannal		a servant of Lady Grants		
1771-10	Mrs Moreson				
	Mrs Trotter in Holborn				
1772-01	Miss Betsey Oliphant				
	Mr Teviotdale				
	Mr & Mrs Elder				
1772-11	Mr & Mrs Russell				
	Mr Thomas Wishart				
	Mary Curer				
1773-01	Martha Suiteler				
	Mr Aleter Junr				
1773-04	Miss Muir				
	Mr Kairns				

Appendix B Military men presenting children for Baptism at Crown Court Church, 1711-1797

Year	Name	Regiment	Rank/Other
1716	James Herriot	Third Regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards	Sergeant
1718	Thomas Foster		Soldier
1718	William Hamilton		Soldier
1721	Mackland		Captain
1718			Soldier
1721-1738	[James] Ker/Kerr	Horse Grenadier Guards	Corporal
1722	Gilbert Younger		Captain
1722-1739	James Frazer		Soldier
1726	Young		Captain
1729	Pedders		Soldier
1736	John Gordon		Soldier
1737	Drummond		Soldier
1737	William Finch		Yeoman
1737-1742	David Grant		Soldier
1740			Corporal
1741	John Wardrope		Soldier
1741	John Scott	[Horse Grenadier Guards]	Gentleman soldier
1743	Gavine Boyd		Soldier
1744-5	William Hog		Soldier
1752	Thomas Jones	First Regiment of Guards	Soldier
1753	Watson	Scots Greys (2nd Dragoons)	Soldier, retired; now linen-draper
1755	Douglass	His Majesty's Life Guards	Retired; lived in Chelsea
1758	James Reid	Horse Grenadier Guards (second troop)	Soldier
1758	Johnston	Third Regiment of His Majesties Guards	Soldier
1764-1768	John Crook	[His Majesty's] Foot Guards	Also shoemaker
1763	Walter Douglass	Old Highland Regiment (42nd Regiment/Black Watch)	Sergeant Major
1763	John Anderson	Third Regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards	Soldier
1764	John Robertson	Third Regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards	Soldier
1764-1781	Alexander McGregor	Third Regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards	Sergeant; Six children
1768	John More	Third Regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards	Soldier
1769	Daniel Bradley	Horse Grenadier Guards	Soldier
1776	Henry Grimes	General Elliots Regiment of Light Dragoons	Quarter Master
1780	Hendry Young	Third Regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards	Sergeant
1781	James Lang	Third Regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards	Corporal
1781	Alexander Storrock	Third Regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards	Soldier

Appendix C Naval men presenting children for Baptism at Crown Court Church, 1711-1797

Year	Name	Description of Naval Role	Other Information
1730	John Shield	Mariner	Lived in Bloomsbury
1740	Thomas Kirkwood	Surgeon on his majesties ship Chatham	
1745	Robert Scotland	Sailor aboard his majesties ship the Yarmouth	
1757	Peter Davidson	Ship carpenter	
1758-1765	Robert Douglas[s]	Sailor	Lived in Wapping
1758	Thomas Oswald	Ship Master	Lived in Wapping
1759	Alexander Hag/Hay	Clerk to a Shipbuilder	Lived in Southwark
1759	Turnbull	Journeyman Baker in the Navy Office	
1760	William Ford	Sailor	Lived in Southwark
1761	Alexander Mitchel	Master on board of his majestys ship Chesterfield	Lived in Pall Mall
1761	William Stodhart	Clerk in his Majestys Navy Office	
1762	[David] McLean	Sailor	Lived in Shadwell Dock, City Dock
1763	William Slodhart	Master of his Majesty's Naval Stores in Jamaica	
1770,1772	Daniel Ward	Sailor	Lodging in Conduit Court
1771	Charles Pearse	Clerk to a Captain of an armed Ship in the Kings Service	Lodging near the church
1776	John Rae	Ship carpenter	Lived in Deptford
1776	Thomson	Ship Master	Lived on the Strand
1793	John Davidson	Mariner	Retired

Appendix D Works composed by James Oswald, 1731-1765

* The date assigned to publications refers, where possible, to the first newspaper advertisement for the work. Uncertain dates are recorded in square brackets.

Year	Month/Day*	Work Title	Composer	Publication Details
1731		'James Oswald his Music Book'	James Oswald	[Dunfermline; unpublished]
1734	Aug-12	*A Collection of Minuets*	James Oswald	Printed for the author, Edinburgh
1736	Jan-06	*A Collection of Musick by several hands, both vocal and instrumental, most of which never before printed, and now published for the use of the Orpheus's Clubs*	James Oswald	Printed for the author, Edinburgh
1740	May-08	*A curious collection of Scots tunes for a violin, bass viol. or German flute, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord, as also a sonata of Scots tunes in 3 parts and some mason's songs…*	James Oswald	Printed for the author, Edinburgh
1741	**Apr-22**	**Oswald arrives in London**		
1743	Jan-18	*Colin's Kisses, being twelve new songs design'd for musick*	James Oswald	Robert Dodesley and T. Cooper, London
1743	Feb-19	*A Second Collection of Curious Scots Tunes*	James Oswald	John Simpson, London
1743	Apr-04	*12 Songs Compos'd in the Scotch Taste*	James Oswald	John Simpson, London
1744	**Feb-12**	**Oswald marries Mary Ann [Marion] Melvill at St James's Westminster**		
1745		*Universal Harmony, or, the Gentleman and Ladies' Social Companion: Consisting Of … English and Scots Songs, Cantatas &C.*	James Oswald and others	John Newbery, London

1745	May-03	*A Collection of Curious Scots Tunes, [newly engraved with new tunes and music compos'd for the Tragedy of Macbeth]*	James Oswald	John Simpson, London
1745		*The Caledonian Pocket Companion.* Volumes 1 & 2	James Oswald	John Simpson, London
1745	June	*The Self-Banished*	James Oswald	Gentleman's Magazine, London
1746	Mar-18	*Balin a none in The Double Disappointment*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1746	Dec-03	'The Tears of Scotland' in *The Land of Cakes*	James Oswald	R. Williams, London
1747	Mar-19	[untitled song] in Issue V of T*he Lady's Weekly Magazine*	James Oswald	W. Owen, London
1747	**Oct-23**	**Oswald receives a royal privilege to print music**		
1747	Jun-02	*The Temple of Apollo, or Theatre of the Muses for the month of April 1747, by A Society of Gentlemen*	James Oswald/Society of the Temple of Apollo	John Newbery, John Oswald, London
[1750]		*The Caledonian Pocket Companion.* Volumes 3 & 4	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1750		*Six Sonatas or Duets for two German Flutes. Compos'd for the Temple of Apollo, etc. Opera Prima. Book 1st.*	Giuseppe Sammartini	James Oswald/Society of the Temple of Apollo, London
1750	[Oct]	*Six Songs composed for the Temple of Apollo, to which is added a Favourite Cantata, set to music by Mr Charles Burney*	James Oswald/Charles Burney	James Oswald/Society of the Temple of Apollo, London
1750		*Apollo's Collection, being XII Duettos for Two German Flutes or Two Violins, composed by… Geminiani, St. Martini, Iommelli, Rameau, Blavet, Oswald.* Volume 1	James Oswald et al.	James Oswald/ Society of the Temple of Apollo, London
1750/51		*The Comic Tunes in Queen Mab As they are performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane; set for the Violin German Flute or Hoboy, with a Thorough*	Charles Burney/Temple of Apollo	James Oswald, London

		Bass for the Harpsicord: Compos'd by the Society of the Temple of Apollo		
1751	Feb-23	'The Happy Shepherds', and other *Music in Alfred*	James Oswald/Temple of Apollo	James Oswald, London
1751		*When I was a maiden of twenty*	James Oswald	Gentleman's Magazine
1751-52		*The Musick in Harlequin Ranger. [Pantomime.] As it is perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, set for the Violin German Flute or Hautboy with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1751		*A Collection of Songs, as performed in the Publick Gardens. Set to Music by James Oswald.*	James Oswald/Temple of Apollo	James Oswald, London
[1751]		*Robin Hood*	James Oswald/Temple of Apollo	At the Theatre and M. Cooper, London
1752		*The comic Tunes in the Genii, [Pantomime] ... Set for the Violin, German Flute or Hautboy with a Thorough Bass for ye Harpsichord*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1752		*A Collection of Songs sung at the Publick Gardens composed for the Society of the Temple of Apollo, Opera. 2nd. Book 2nd*	James Oswald/Temple of Apollo	James Oswald, London
1752	Aug	*A Collection of Songs sung at the Publick Gardens composed for the Society of the Temple of Apollo, Opera. 2nd. Book 3rd.*	James Oswald/Temple of Apollo	James Oswald, London
1752/3		*Six English Songs and a Dialogue, as they are perform'd at the Publick Gardens*	Mr Dunn	James Oswald, London
1752		*Apollo's Collection, being six Sonatas or Duets for Two German Flutes or Two Violins, composed by... Tartini, St. Martini, Iommelli, Rameau, Blavet, Oswald - Volume 2*	James Oswald et al.	James Oswald, London
[1753]		*The Dustcart Cantata in The Old Woman's Oratory*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London

1753		*The Comic Tunes in Fortunatus*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1753/4		*When Damon languish'd at my Feet - Song in the Gam[e]ster.*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1754		*XII Sonatine Notturne ...per Sua Maestà Rè di Prusia*	Dottel	James Oswald, London
1754	Oct-17	*6 Divertimentis or Solos, Op. 2*	James Oswald/Dottel Figlio	James Oswald, London
1754	Late	*Caledonian Pocket Companion* - Volume 5	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1755	Jan-20	*Caledonian Pocket Companion* - Volume 6	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1755	Apr-23	*Airs for the Spring*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1755	Jul-19	*Airs for the Summer*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1755	Oct-01	*Airs for the Autumn*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1755	Dec-02	*Airs for the Winter*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
[1755]		*The Wheel Barrow, cantata*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
[1755]		*Six Sonatas for Two Violins or German Flutes*	Dothel Figlio/Temple of Apollo	James Oswald, London
1755		*Eighteen Divertimentos for two Guitars or two Mandelins (sic) / Properly adapted by the best Masters*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1755	July	*Thy fatal shafts unerring move*	James Oswald	J. Coote, Gentleman's Magazine, London
1755	Aug	*The Lost Shepherd*	James Oswald	J. Coote, Gentleman's Magazine, London
1756		*Airs for the Four Seasons, Violino e Flauto Secundo*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London

1756		*The Gamester's Song*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1756	March	*For Joy of Joys (A Favourite Song)*	James Oswald	J. Coote, Gentleman's Magazine, London
1756		*Six solos for a German flute or violin, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord*	John Reid, a member of the Temple of Apollo	James Oswald, London
1756/7		*A Collection of Scots Tunes with Variations*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1757		*Captain Death*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1757		*From the man whom I love (A favourite song in the Reprisal)*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1757		*The Queen of the May*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
[1758]		*Caledonian Pocket Companion.* Volume 7	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1758		*40 Marches, Tattoos and Night Pieces for two German flutes, violins or guittars as performed by the Prussian and Hessian Armies*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1758		*Oswald's Scots Tunes for the Harpsichord*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1758	Jul-15	*10 Favourite Songs Sung by Miss Formantel at Ranelagh*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1758	Jul-15	*Twelve Divertimenti for Guitar*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1759-1760		*A Compleat Tutor for the Guittar. With two scales shewing the method of playing in the keys of C & G. To which is added eighteen favourite songs adapted for that instrument.* Volume 1	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1759		*55 Marches for the Militia*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1759		*The Pocket Companion for the Guittar.* Volume I	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
[1760]	[Spring]	*Caledonian Pocket Companion.* Volume 8	James Oswald	James Oswald, London

1760-1764		*The Pocket Companion for the Guittar*. Volumes II-VI	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1760	Jan-18	T*he Musical Magazine; or Monthly Orpheus, consisting of original songs, sonatas, serenatas &c.* Issue I.	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote. London
1760	[Mar-01]	*Musical Magazine.* Issue II	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1760	Apr-01	*Musical Magazine.* Issue III	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1760	May-01	*Musical Magazine.* Issue IV	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1760	June-02	*Musical Magazine.* Issue V	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1760	July-01	*Musical Magazine.* Issue VI	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1760	[Aug-01]	*Musical Magazine.* Issue VII	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1760	Sept-02	*Musical Magazine.* Issue VIII	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1760		*Musical Magazine.* Issue IX	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1760	Oct-01	*Musical Magazine.* Issue X	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1760	[Nov-01]	*Musical Magazine.* Issue XI	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1760	[Dec-01]	*Musical Magazine.* Issue XII	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1761	Feb-02	*Musical Magazine.* Issue XIII	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1761	Mar-03	*Musical Magazine.* Issue XIV	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1761	Apr-01	*Musical Magazine.* Issue XV	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1761	[May-01]	*Musical Magazine.* Issue XVI	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London
1761	June-01	*Musical Magazine.* Issue XVII	James Oswald/other masters	J. Coote, London

1761	Sep-29	*A Collection of the Best Old Scotch and English Songs*	James Oswald	James Oswald
1761		*Six Pastoral Solos for a Violin & Violoncello with a Thorough-Bass for the Organ or Harpsicord*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1762	Mar-25	*Twelve Seranatas [sic] for two Violins and a Violoncello, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1762	Oct-16	*Psalms and Hymns for two and three Voices, with a thorough Bass for Organ and Harpsichord, composed for the Foundling Hospital and Magdalen House*	James Oswald	[James Oswald], London
1762	Dec-09	*A Second Sett of Six solos for a German flute or violin, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord*	John Reid/Temple of Apollo	J. Oswald, London
1765		*A Collection of 43 Scot's Tunes with Variations, particularly adapted for the Violin and Harpsichord*	James Oswald	Bland and Weller, London
1765	May-02	*Six Solos for a German Flute and Violoncello, Second Book*	James Oswald	James Oswald, London
1766	**May-17**	**Oswald marries Leonora Robinson Lytton in Rotherhithe**		
c.1770		[Reprint] *The Shepherd's Invitation, Wheelbarrow, Dust Cart, The Parting Kiss, and other single sheet songs*	James Oswald	Straight and Skillern, London
c.1770		[First print] *Airs for the Spring/Summer/Autumn/Winter* [2nd set]	James Oswald	Straight and Skillern, London
c.1770		[Reprint/first print] *Caledonian Pocket Companion* - all 12 volumes	James Oswald	Straight and Skillern, London
c.1770		[Reprint] *6 Divertimentis or Solos, Op. 2*	James Oswald/Dottel Figlio	Straight and Skillern, London
c.1770		*A description of the Æolian-harp*	James Oswald	Henry Thorowgood, London

Appendix E Newspaper Reports of performances in and around London by the Gow family, 1801-1826

Date	Newspaper	Type of Entertainment	Location	Which Gow?	Performance Description
1801.02.16	Morning Post	Opening of 'Messrs. Second and Willis's Academy for young Ladies of distinction	Willis's Rooms, King's street, St. James's-square; apply to Mr Wills, No. 3, Golden-square, or Mr. Second, No. 4, Bloomsbury-square	[Mrs] Gow	French, Scotch and Irish Dancing; 'The music under the direction of Mrs. Gow'.
1802.01.30	Morning Post	Private Lessons in Modern Dancing by Mr. Allen	No. 19, Sherrard-street, Golden-square and No. 10, Great Alle? Street, Goodman's-fields	[John Gow]	Mr Gow and Mr Mackintosh are engaged from the beginning of February to the end of the Season to lead the Band alternately, that those who are fond of good Music may enjoy the pleasure of dancing to a Band conducted by two of the best Performers of Ball Music in this country.
1802.02.20	Morning Post	St Anne's Corps Military Ball	Willis's Rooms	[Mrs] Gow	Mrs. Gow is engaged to attend.
1802.06.12	Morning Post	Fashionable World	'in the circles of Fashion'	[John Gow]	The Dancing Music so much admired in the Circles of Fashion, we understand, is only to be had of Mr. Gow, the celebrated performer of Scots Music.
1802.12.13	Morning Chronicle	Launch of an Indiaman (ship)	One of the buildings belonging to the yard at Deptford	[John Gow]	After dinner there was a dance… A great part of the Company followed so good an example, "tripping it on the light fantastic toe," to the excellent music of Gow's band.

1803.01.27	Morning Post	Fashionable World	Portman Square	John and Nathaniel Gow	Catches and glees preceded an elegant supper…after which the younger part of the guests proceeded to the dancing-room, where the spirited exertions of the Gows kept up the ball till four in the morning.
1803.07.09	Morning Post	Duchess of Devonshire's Ball	Devonshire House	[John Gow]	Third grand ball. 'Three excellent bands of music were provided, viz. Mr. Gow's for country dances, Mr. Jones's for cotillions, and Milanese Minstrels.' 'The music was preparing to strike up *Sir Charles Douglas,* when Lady Sarah Fane called for the lively dance of *O'er Bogie wi' my Love.* The fiddles began, and in a moment, it electrified the gay and volatile. From three to four the same dance was continued, and it was near seven before the ball concluded, with reels and strathspeys.
1804.06.02	Morning Post	Mrs. Thellusson's Masquerade	Foley House	[John Gow]	From eleven until one the company to the excellent band of Messrs. Gow, and a Military Band played at intervals soft music in the garden.' 'Several Highland Reels were danced by different characters, among those who excelled were Lord Charles Bentick, Lord Morpeth, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Sloane, and Mr. T. Sheridan.
1804.06.02	London Courier and Evening Gazette	Mrs. Thellusson's Masquerade	Foley House	[John Gow]	Mr. Gow's Band played in the Ball Room, where several couples stood up to dance, without distinctions.
1805.07.05	Oracle and the Daily Advertiser	Mirs Egerton's Grand Masquerade	Albemarle-Street	[John Gow]	The charming music of two Bands, the Pandean Minstrels, which was below stairs in the hall, and the Gows Band above stairs… left nothing wanting to delight or gratify the guests.

1805.07.27	Morning Post	Stoke Park Fete	Stoke Park, Buckinghamshire	[John Gow]	The company…having danced without a moment's intermission for five hours - a circumstance almost unexampled in the fashionable world at this season of the year. To the animating music of Mr. Gow's band we can only ascribe the prolongation.
1805.08.20	Morning Post	Stowe House Fete	Stowe House	[John Gow]	Mr Gow's excellent band of musicians attended… about seven in the morning when the latter…
1805.08.20	Morning Post	Duchess of York's Fete	Oatlands	[John Gow]	Mr Gow's excellent band of musicians attended. In their return to town in the stage, the driver, from inadvertency overturned the coach at Weybridge, by which accident Mr. Gow and several other Musicians were much hurt. They were removed into an inn, the landlady of which conducted herself in a manner highly reprehensible, for we understand she not only refused to procure the party post-chaises to town, but acted in other respects in a manner little creditable to her feelings as a woman.
1805.12.09	Morning Post	Grand Ball, hosted by Mr. [Samuel]	Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire	[John Gow]	Precisely at 9 o'clock, the excellent band belonging to Mr. Gow struck up the favourite dance of *The Honey Moon.*
1806.06.27	Morning Post	Mr Penn's Divertisement	Spring Gardens	[John Gow]	About two o'clock the supper took place, after which dancing commenced to the captivating music of Mr. Gow's band.
1806.07.15	Morning Post	Mrs. Dawson's grand Ball and Supper	Manchester Square	[John Gow]	Mr. Gow's band was stationed in a temporary alcove in the balcony, which was covered with laurel, and hung with lamps.
1806.07.16	Morning Post	Miss Jordan's Fete Champetre	Twickenham	[John Gow]	The dancing commenced with the *Young Roscius's Strathspey,* a new dance composed by Mr. Gow, who was present with his inimitable band… In the course of the evening another new dance took place, namely, *The Countess of Dalhousie.*

1807.04.21	Morning Post	Dinner given by Captain Elphinstone Fleming	Great Room at the Albany	Neil Gow [incorrect], [John Gow]	Neil Gow added to the pleasure of the company by his harmonic and lively national strains.
1807.04.29	Morning Chronicle	Masquerades	At the Pantheon	[John Gow]	Gow's Band with the Pandean Ministrels in Costume, from Vauxhall Gardens are engaged to play for Reels and Country Dances.
1807.05.15	Morning Post	Ball and Supper given by the Miss Moores	Great George Street, Westminster	[John and Nathaniel Gow]	The lively Airs of the celebrated Gows detained the company until a late hour yesterday morning.
1807.06.19	Morning Post	The Countess of Powis's Ball	Berkeley Square	John and Nathaniel Gow	About eleven o'clock the Ball was opened with a new Scottish Dance, called "The Keel Row" by Earl Percy and Lady Clive, one of the accomplished daughters of the hostess… The dances recommenced at three, with "The Largos"; or Fairy Dance. It was not until six o'clock that the whole concluded with reels. Mr. Gow, and Mr. Nathaniel Gow, from Edinburgh, were present; the music, which was under their direction, was sprightly and good.
1807.07.06	Morning Post	The Countess Spencer's Fete Champetre	Wimbledon	[John Gow]	There were three bands of music, one was the Milanese Minstrels, and another the excellent *Scots* band, belonging to Mr. Gow.
1807.07.11	Morning Post	Mrs. And the Miss Thompsons' Ball	Grosvenor Square	[John Gow]	Mr. Gow directed the band… the dancing was protracted until twelve o'clock; they were led off by Lord Alexander Gordon and Miss Thompson, to the tune of "*Fight about the Fireside*".' 'The "*Largos Fairy Dance*", composed by Mr. Nathaniel Gow, of Edinburgh, continued a favourite throughout the evening.
1807.08.12	Morning Herald	Grand Ball and Supper (Prince of Wales)	Brighton Pavilion	[John Gow]	Gow's Band, from London, is also said to be engaged.

1807.10.26	Morning Post	First Assembly of the Seasons	Hampstead new Subscription Rooms	[John Gow]	The Gow's Band led on the dance in the great ballroom…
1808.01.21	Morning Post	Mrs. Lawrell's Ball	Eastwick Park, near Leatherhead, Surrey	[John Gow]	Mr. Gow was the leader of the band.
1808.02.09	Morning Post	Grand Masquerade	The Vauxhall Pantheon	[John Gow]	a Military Band in uniform, with Gow's famous Scotch Band for Reels and Country Dances… are engaged to play the whole evening.
1808.05.14	Oracle and the Daily Advertiser	Grand Masquerade	Pantheon	[John Gow]	Gow's Band, the Vauxhall Pandeans, and a Band of Savoyards, are engaged to play the whole evening.
1808.07.06	Morning Post	Lord Altamont's Ball	The Town-hall, Cambridge	[John Gow]	The dances were led by Mr. Gow.
1808.09.01	Morning Post	Fete Champetre	Clarendon Park, near Watford	[John Gow]	The amusements commenced with dancing on the green; the Duke of York's Band playing…' later, when it rained, 'his Lordship called to Mr. Gow's excellent band of Scotch musicians, to strike up *"Miss Johnstone."*
1808.10.08	Morning Post	Ball	High Wycombe, Bucks	[John and Nathaniel Gow]	Several professional glee singers delighted the company after supper with their melodies… Dancing was resumed under the tuneful auspices of the Gows, and continued with unabated spirit till six in the morning.'
1808.11.15	Morning Post	Third Assembly	High Wycombe, Bucks	[John and Nathaniel Gow]	The Gows surpassed themselves…After the company had returned to the Ball-room, two sets of Cotillions were formed, under the direction of Mr. Heart… At six o'clock the Gows were released from their pleasing labour.
1809.02.21	Morning Post	The Hon. Mrs. Knox' Ball	Upper Grosvenor Street	[John Gow]	Mr Gow's excellent Band attended. The dancing commenced with the favourite new tune, called "*Noel Park".*

1809.04.19	Morning Post	Lady Catherine Tylney Long's Ball	Grosvenor Square	[John Gow]	Mr. Gow's celebrated band of Scots musicians was engaged. About half past ten the ball was opened, with the favourite new tune of "*Flora Macdonald,"…* So highly were the company delighted with the new tune, that they absolutely danced it for two hours in a regular continuation. At half an hour after twelve, the Hon. Miss Bouverie introduced an entirely original dance, composed by herself; it was much admired; it is not yet named.
1809.05.08	Morning Post	Countess Nelson's Ball and Supper	Great Cumberland Place	[John Gow]	Mr Gow displayed his usual taste in the selection of an excellent band.
1809.05.24	Morning Post	Argyle Institution Grand Ball	No. 25 Argyle Street	[John Gow]	Grand Ball, supper and promenade, with Gow's and the Pan…thean? Bands, for the Benefit of Mr Slade, Conductor of the Household, at the above Institution.
1809.05.25	Morning Post	Masquerade	Little Argyle Street	[John Gow]	The dancing commenced immediately after supper. It was not until six o'clock in the morning that the company retired… Gow's celebrated band of Scots Musicians attended.
1809.05.29	Morning Post	The Princess of Wales's Ball and Supper	Her apartments in Kensington Palace	[John Gow]	The ball was opened with that admirable dance called "*Lady Lucy Johnstone"…* The band consisted of the first performers of Scotch music, ably led by Mr. Gow. Dancing was renewed at the arrival of the morning dawn; the Princess calling for a Scotch dance, *Money Musk* (named from a Gentleman's seat in Fifeshire), and leading off herself with Mr. North, Reels, waltzes and strathspeys succeeded.
1809.06.10	Morning Post	Last Masquerade of the Season	Pantheon, Oxford Street	[John Gow]	The New Grand orchestra will contain the Military Band, in full uniform, from Vauxhall Gardens, with Gow's Band, and a Band of the Vauxhall Pandean Minstrels, in costume.

1809.06.12	Morning Post	Mrs. Chichester's Masquerade		[John Gow]	The Band of the Cardigan Militia, of which Colonel Chichester is Commandant, were stationed in an orchestra, encircled in the temporary room; Gow's Band was stationed above stairs.
1809.07.25	Morning Post	Fete Champetre	The Earl of Clarendon's Seat	[John Gow]	The Duke of Gloucester's band, in full uniform, played… At half-past ten o-clock dancing commenced in the temple… to….music of Mr. Gow's celebrated Band.
1809.10.30	Morning Post	Oxfordshire Jubilee Ball	Town Hall, Oxford	[John Gow]	Mr. Gow and his Band will attend on the…
1809.12.26	Morning Post	Hon. Mrs. Harvey's Ball	Near Chigwell, Sussex	[John Gow]	The very excellent band of Mr. Gow attended.
1809.06.26	Morning Post	Masquerade	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	Gow's excellent Band attended.
1810.04.21	Morning Post	Grand Masquerade	Pantheon, Oxford Street	[John Gow]	Gow's Band, with the Pandean Minstrels in full costume, and two Bands of Savoyards, will play in various parts of the house.
1810.06.10	Morning Post	Mr. Pendock Barry Neale's Ball	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	1st regiment of guards were stationed on the staircase. The ball-room was 'lighted with five hundred coloured lamps over the orchestra, in which was placed Gow's band.
1810.07.05	Morning Post	Mrs. Dawson's Masquerade	Manchester Square	[John Gow]	Dancing commenced about four o'clock, to the soul-inspiring music of Messrs' Gow's Band.
1810.08.18	Morning Post	Celebration of the Duke of York's Birthday	Oatlands	[John Gow]	About forty couple joined in the second dance, "*Lady Montgomery";* they were wholly composed of the country people….Conviviality prevailed under six o'clock, when the life-inspiring sounds of Mr. Gow's excellent band had ceased to vibrate on the ears of the votaries of the "*light fantastic golden".*

1810.08.30	Morning Post	A Grand Selection of Scotch, English and Irish Music	Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand	[John Gow]	Mr Gow with his favourite band of Scotch performers, will attend. Mr. O'Farrel will perform on the Union Pipe; and G. Clarke will repeat the Martial Airs which he continued to play till removed from the field of battle. Scotch reels and country dances.
1810.09.01	Morning Post	First Ball	Barfield's	[John Gow]	Mr Fleming will lead the music; they are a proportion of the inimitable Gow's band.
1810.09.06	Morning Chronicle	Concert for the benefit of Clarke, the Vimiera Piper	Crown and Anchor Tavern	[John Gow]	Clarke himself played four pieces of Highland music on the great bagpipe - 1st, *Cogadh Sliabh an Shioradh* (The Battle of Sherriff-Moor) - 2d, *Cogadh na Sith* (War or Peace) 3d. *Bodich nam Briguis;* or, Lord Bredalbane's March, 4th. *Cochruin each nam Fin each an* (The gathering of the Clans). The second piece is that which is generally performed when a Highland regiment is engaged. It is hardly necessary to say that the performer and his music were received with the loudest applause. O'Farrel performed several beautiful airs on the union pipes. A reel from Gow's band made the company impatient for the dance, which began at ten o'clock, and continued till a late hour.
1810.09.22	Morning Post	Fete Champetre	Dandelion (Island), Margate	[John Gow]	Two bands of music were present, one of them belonging to the Stirlingshire Militia; the other, part of the celebrated Gow's, now here; they each played alternately, with admirable taste. Dancing on the platform, promenading in groups of sixes and sevens to and fro on the lawn, and partaking of the tea and coffee...
1810.10.13	Morning Post	Fete Champetre	Dandelion (Island), Margate	[John Gow]	'The dancing on the platform was more general than we have noticed it heretofore.. "God save the King" was admirably played by the regular Gow's band, ably led by Mr. Fleming.'

1810.11.01	Morning Post	The Jubilee	Ball at the Hon. Mrs. Johnstone's	[John Gow]	‘Gow's inimitable band was engaged.
1811.05.11	Morning Post	Lady Blackett's Masked Ball	At Lady Blackett's	[John Gow]	numerous dancers tript to the enlivening strains of Gow and his excellent band…Several beautiful glees were sung at supper; and a mask astonished the company by *whistling* in a capital style, a most difficult Italian air.
1811.05.27	Morning Post	Mrs. Dawson's Ball	Manchester Square	[John Gow]	‘French dances, performed with great spirit, were amongst the pastimes of the evening. Dancing was renewed after supper to the soul-inspiring sounds of Messrs. Gow's band, and kept up with uncommon hilarity till six o'clock in the morning.
1811.06.22	Morning Post	The Fete	Carlton House	[John Gow]	About ten o'clock, dancing commenced in the Council Chamber; Mr. Gow's excellent Band attended for the purpose. From the crowded state of the room, however, dancing was shortly discontinued, contrary to the wishes of the Prince, who used every exertion to set it on foot again there was only one dance more during the remainder of the evening.
1811.06.22	British Press	Grand Public Masquerade	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	A Band of Pandean Minstrels will be stationed in the Hall, and Gow's Band, for Country Dances and Reels, will play during the whole of the evening in the Ball Rooms.
1811.06.26	Morning Post	Masquerade	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	Gows excellent Band attended, and after supper the dancing commenced.
1811.07.11	Morning Post	Lady Tylney Long's Fete Champetre	Tylney House	[John Gow]	Whilst a part of the company promenaded on the lawn, or around the pleasure grounds, others danced to the very excellent and enlivening? Music of Mr. Gow's band there were several hands, namely, 34 musicians belonging to the Duke of York's band, the Padeans, and another military one, attached to the 18th Light Dragoons.

1811.12.02	Morning Chronicle	Scottish Hospital Dinner/St Andrews Day	the Old London Tavern	[Nathaniel or John Gow]	A number of Songs were sung by Mssrs. Sinclair, Taylor and Shaw; and the Band of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent played several Scotch Tunes, Gow's Band from Edinburgh, and Mr. McGregor, the piper, all contributed to the entertainment of the evening.
1811.12.11	Morning Post	Grand Ball	Star and Garter, Richmond	[John Gow]	The very excellent band belonging to Mr. Gow was present, and played in a temporary orchestra in the great saloon. To add to the general effect, the musicians attached to the regiment of dragoons, quartered in the neighbourhood (we believe the 17th), appeared about eleven o'clock...
1812.04.14	London Courier and Evening Gazette	Grand Masquerade	Argyll Rooms	[John Gow]	Gow's Band, and a Band of Pandeans, for Country Dances and Reels, will play during the whole of the Evening in the Ball Rooms.
1812.06.13	Morning Post	Mr Barry Barry's Masqued Ball	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	Nuns, Friars, Clowns, Quakers, Turks, Housemaids with whiskers, made up the whimsical groupes; reels, waltzes, &c, to Gow's lively strains, saw day peep along before the light fantastic toe was tired.
1812.08.10	Sun (London)	Edward Disbrowe and John Ramsbottom	Windsor Town Hall	[John Gow]	The music for dancing was the NEIL GOW Band.
1813.02.15	Morning Chronicle	Grand Masquerade	Argyll Rooms	[John Gow]	Gow's Band, and a Band of Pandeans, for Country Dances and Reels, will play during the whole of the Evening in the Ball Rooms.
1813.05.11	Morning Post	Grand Masquerade	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	The above elegant and spacious… have recently been considerably enlarged, and will… Thousand Persons. Gow's Band, and …. For Country Dances and Reels, will play… the Evening in the Ball Rooms.

1813.06.24	Morning Post	Public Breakfast	Lady Smith Burgess's residence, the Terrace, Piccadilly	[John Gow]	About five dancing commenced on the law, which was succeeded by similar movements in the great saloon on the ground floor, aided by the inspirations of Mr. Gow's Band.
1813.06.28	Morning Post	Magnificent [Deirone]	Fitzroy Farm, Highgate	[John Gow]	At five the dancing, the band being led by the inimitable Gow.' 'In addition to the above band, the Duke of Cambridge's military one attended and Rivolta, the celebrated performer upon *seven instruments* at one time, was engaged. The latter played on the lawn.
1813.07.15	Morning Post	Lady Mary Lindsay Crawfurd's Ball		[John Gow]	Dancing did not commence until midnight… to the tune of *Henrico,* a new dance… Dancing recommenced with waltzes, and the whole concluded at five in the morning… Mr Gow superintended the two bands of music.
1814.02.14	Morning Post	Grand Masquerade	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	Gow's Band, and a Band of Pandeans will play during the whole of the Evening.
1814.02.24	Morning Post	Juvenile Christmas Balls	Britencles House, Buckinghamshire	[John Gow]	Gow's choice band of music attended purposely from London.
1814.06.01	Morning Post	Grand Masquerade	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	Gow's Band, and a Band of Pandeans, will play during the whole of the evening. One of the Ball-rooms will be appropriated for Country Dances.
1815.01.10	Morning Post	Grand Masquerade	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	Gow's Band, and a Band of Pandeans, will play during the whole of the evening. One of the Ball Rooms will be appropriated for Country Dances.
1815.03.18	Morning Post	Grand Masquerade	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	Gow's Band, and a Band of Pandeans, will play….' (same as above)
1815.05.06	Morning Post	Juvenile Christmas Balls	Britencles House, Buckinghamshire	[John Gow]	Gow's choice band of music attended purposely from London.

1815.05.06	Morning Post	Grand Masquerade	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	Gow's Band and a band of Pandeans will play during the whole of the evening…
1815.05.28	Morning Post	Scottish Corporation, Spring Festival	Free Masons' Tavern, Great Queen Street	[John Gow]	His R.H. the Duke of Kent having been graciously pleased to order his band for the occasion. They afforded great pleasure to the company, as did Mr. Gow's celebrated band of Scotch instrumental performers... In addition to these provisions for the general hilarity, we must not omit to notice the exertions of MacGregor, the celebrated Scotch bagpiper, who was conspicuously sonorous as usual.
1815.06.19	Morning Post	Grand Masquerade	Argyle Rooms	[John Gow]	Gow's Band and a band of Pandeans will play during the whole of the evening…
1816.03.04	Star (London)	Caledonian Asylum Anniversary Dinner	Freemasons' Tavern	[John Gow]	After the cloth was removed, *Non Nobis Domine* was sung by the vocal performers, Messrs Leete, Bellamy, Pyne, Broadhurst, Goss, J. Smith, C. Taylor, Tittel, Leonard, McGrath, and Master Turle. Songs: *God Save the King, Hail Star of Brunswick, When order in this land, Fy, let us a' to the bridal,* followed by a reel played by Gow's band.
1816.08.09	Morning Post	Entertainments	Wanstead House	[John Gow]	At one o'clock the dancing commenced in the saloon, and the long room; in the first waltzes, in the last country dances. Mr. Gow presided in the latter, Mr. Paine in the former.
1817.05.09	Morning Post	A Grand Ball	Crown and Anchor? Tavern, Strand	[John Gow]	Mr. Gow, with his band, will attend for Quadrilles, Waltzes, etc.
1817.08.07	Morning Post	Ball	Princess Elizabeth's Cottage, Windsor	[John Gow]	The music was by Gow's Band from London.

1817.10.02	Morning Post	Master of the Ceremonies' Ball	Margate	[John Gow]	It was nearly ten before the dancing commenced… The favourite Scotch air, "I'll gang nae mair to yon town" was given with true Highland fling. The mirth-inspiring sounds of Mr. Gow's violin contributed not a little to produce this effect. Quadrilles followed...
1817.10.11	Morning Post	Ball	Ramsgate	[John Gow]	A single quadrille followed and then a series of Scots dances, commenced with "I'll gang nae mair to yon town", ably led by Mr. Gow.
1817.10.16	Morning Post	Farewell Ball	The Assembly Rooms, Margate	[John Gow]	The band of music was led by Mr. Gow, and ably assisted by Mr. J. Weippert, on the harp: it commenced its operations at ten o'clock…
1817.10.27	Morning Chronicle	Ball	King's Arms, Berkhamsted	[John Gow]	Dancing commenced shortly after with the fashionable and much-admired air of "May Morn.".. The party did not break up till past four. Mr. Gow himself led the band, which gave universal satisfaction.
1817.12.22	National Register (London)	Scottish Hospital St Andrew's Festival		[John Gow]	… preceded by a bagpipes, whose music, although appropriate enough in the hall of a Highland chieftain, or at the head of a Highland regiment, seemed rather overpowering for the London Tavern, and does not appear a necessary appendage of the Scottish Society, or of the patron Saint of the institution... Gow's band, which was engaged for the occasion, was not inactive in playing national airs, and in gratifying the company with the most appropriate tunes.
1818.04.27	Sun (London)	The Scottish Corporation Spring Festival		[John Gow]	Gow's band were seated in the music gallery, and played many delightful airs during the entertainment.

1818.05.18	British Neptune	Annual Dinner of the "True Highlanders"		[John Gow]	The meeting was highly respectable, many of the leading characters of Caledonia being present in appropriate garb. The noble chairman [James Murray]…had secured the attendance of Gow and his band; and *Mac-Mhle-Alastair,* founded of the Institution, was attended by his celebrated piper. The ardour of genuine Highland enthusiasm was fully sustained and gratified by the appearance of the company in the romantic garb of Caledonia, by the wild and martial music of the Highland bagpipe and, above all, by the harmonious interchange of sentiments, which recalled all the delightful associations of their dear native land, "over the hills and far away." The company marched off to the sound of the bagpipe at a late hour.
1818.08.14	Morning Post	Fete	Rochets, Essex	[John Gow]	The band of Mr. Gow attended the dance, and that of the Life Guards were placed on the lawn, which at intervals played many favourite pieces.
1818.09.16	Morning Post	Masquerade, Assembly Rooms	Margate	[John H. Gow]	Grand Selection of Sacred Music was introduced last evening at the Assembly Rooms from the Messiah and the Creation, accompanied by a full band, ably led by Mr. Gow.
1818.09.16	Morning Post	The New Dandelion, Public Breakfast	Margate	John H. Gow	Messrs Gow, jun. and Weippert, jun. led the band'
1818.09.22	Morning Post	First Grand Ball	The Albion, Ramsgate	[John H. Gow]	French quadrilles took the lead; and Gow's Scots music brought up the rear.
1818.09.24	Morning Post	Masquerade, Assembly Rooms	Margate	[John H. Gow]	The band, led by Mr. Gow, played excellently well.

1818.10.05	Morning Advertiser	Launch of an Indiaman (ship)	Barnard and Roberts's Dock, Deptford	John Gow or John H. Gow	Subsequent to the launch, a company of nearly 300 persons, Ladies and Gentlemen, partook of a cold collation in the mould loft; after which Mr. Gow's band struck up, and dancing commenced with quadrilles, reels, &c.
1818.10.06	Morning Post	Dr. Gray's Villas	Ramsgate	[John H. Gow]	It commenced in the Saloon… with Quadrilles, ably led by Mr. Gow, at ten 'clock.
1818.10.24	Morning Post	Benefit Ball	Margate	[John H. Gow]	An extra Ball, for the benefit of Mr. Gow, the leader, takes place this evening.
1819.03.23	Morning Herald	Anniversary Meeting	Freemasons' Tavern	John Gow or John H. Gow	After the cloth was removed, "God save the King", "Scots wha ha' wi' Wallace bled," and several favourite Scotch songs, were sung by the professional gentlemen present, assisted by Gow's band, and the bagpipes. In addition to many of the fine ancient tunes performed by the band, several of the most beautiful national airs were sung by gentlemen, with the true tone and pathos of their native simplicity.
1819.07.17	Morning Herald	"The Regent's Ball"	Carlton House	John Gow or John H. Gow	The quadrilles were led by Mr. Mozart, the country dances by Mr. Gow, under the direction of Mr. Rice.
1819.04.19	Morning Post	Highland Society Annual Meeting	Free Masons' Tavern, Great Queen Street	John Gow or John H. Gow	We noticed several distinguished characters of the Army, dressed in the Highland garb, and presented a truly national appearance. Clarke, the Piper, and Gow's Band amused the company.
1819.05.24	Morning Post	National Monument of Scotland	Festival at FreeMasons' Tavern	John Gow or John H. Gow	Gow's Band attended, and many favourite national airs were played and sung, and the company did not break up until a late hour, resolved to meet again and preserve this bond amongst Scotchmen in England.

1819.05.25	Commercial Chronicle	National Monument of Scotland	Festival at FreeMasons' Tavern	Gow's Band	This toast was drunk with enthusiasm, which was considerably heightened by McGregor, the piper, playing a favourite national air on the bagpipes. In the course of the evening, Mr. Broadhurst sang, *Scots wha hae, wi' Wallace bled, Auld Lang Syne, John Anderson my do,* and in each of them was rapturously encored. Gow's band also attended, and played several national airs.
1819.06.03	Morning Post	National Monument	Free Masons' Tavern, Great Queen Street	John Gow or John H. Gow	It is to the memory of Robert Burns. 'The Music on the Occasion will be mostly National, and the Vocal selected chiefly from the Works of Burns. In the course of the Evening the following Songs, Duets, and Glees, will be sung by Messrs. Broadhurst, Evans, Taylor, Jolley, Clarke, and Master cole, Viz. "Scots wha hae", "Ye Mariners of England", "Saw ye my Father", "Lord Gregory", "Ye banks and braes", "John Anderson", "Peace to tae soulds", "Marmion", "Our bugles sung truce", "Lochaber", "Lochnagar", "The birks of Invermay", "The ewie with the crooked horn", "Bonny Dundee", "Auld lang Syne", "For a' that", "Here's a health". Mr Gow's band will attend.
1820.07.24	Evening Mail	Marriage of Mary Gow to George Jenkins	Marylebone Church	Mary Gow	At Marylebone Church, on Saturday, the 22d inst. George Jenkins, of Weymouth-street, Portman-place, Esq, to Mary, third daughter of Nathaniel Gow, of Edinburgh, Esq.
1820.05.27	Morning Post	Dinner	Caledonian Asylum	John Gow or John H. Gow	As the Caledonian Asylum is now fully established.. It is proposed that an Annual public dinner shall take place… The Music will be chiefly Scotch and the most eminent Vocal Performers, and Gow's Band, are engaged.
1820.12.01	Morning Post	Dinner for the Scottish Hospital	City of London Tavern	John Gow or John H. Gow	An excellent Band, under the direction of Gow, was in attendance.

1821.04.02	Morning Post	Dinner	Caledonian Asylum	John Gow or John H. Gow	The Music will be chiefly Scotch, the most eminent Vocal Performers, and Gow's Band are engaged, and every attention will be paid to render the Meeting agreeable and interesting.
1821.01.07	Morning Post	New Music	31, Great Marborough Street	John. H. Gow	A Third favourite Set of Quadrilles, from admired Scotch Airs, dedicated to Mrs. Farquahar, Johnstone Lodge, Kincardineshire.
1822.03.28	Morning Post	Highland Society Annual Dinner	Free Masons' Tavern, Great Queen Street	John Gow or John H. Gow	At Seven o'clock, Maccallum mòr entered the Hall, preceded by the Society's pipes playing "The Campbells are coming"… The Highland garb predominated the Meeting. The evening was cheered by National Airs from Mr. Gow's band; and the gallant deeds of the Gael were recalled by the martial strains of the Pioaireachd. At the request of the Society, the Noble President presented to Mr. Gow and to Mr. Clarke, the Piper, Medlas which had been voted to these individuals by the Society - to the former, in testimony of their sense of his services and musical talents; to the latter, in token for their esteem for his gallantry, worth, and musical ability.
1822.04.26	Morning Post	Highland Society General Court	Free Masons' Tavern, Great Queen Street	John Gow or John H. Gow	Nor was the light Strathspey forgotten while the animating strains of Gow's violin gave unusual pleasure. Many excellent Piobaireachds were performed by Clarke, and among others a very superior salute, composed in honour of the Society, by Mr. Angus McArthur, one of the few individuals in the Ancient College of Pipers in Skye.

1822.05.15	Morning Post	Great Caledonian Ball	Almack's	John Gow	For the benefit of the Caledonian Asylum: There were three bands of music: the first, and principal, was led by Messrs. Gow. There was music in the supper-room, and even in the tea-room. The boys marched up to the Directresses, headed by two pipers playing, in full costume; the boys also wore Highland dresses. The veteran Gow wore a medal presented to him by the Highland Society, bearing this inscription: "Presented to Mr. John Gow, in testimony of their approbation of his long services, and of the delight which his eminent and hereditary musical talents have never failed to inspire." On the reverse - the Duke of Athol's Arms.
1822.06.20	Morning Post	Countess of Wemyss and Charteris' Ball	Charteris House, Stratford Place	John H. Gow	The dancing took place in the Banqueting-room and another apartment… The Quadrilles were under the direction of a French Band; the Scots Country dances, reels and strathspeys, led by Mr. Gow. Jun. Need we add, that the dancing was resumed? It was six o' clock ere the last Highland reel was flung.
1823.05.14	Morning Post	The Caledonian Fancy Ball	Almack's	John Gow	The procession commenced at half-past eleven: noticed was given of its approach by the sounds of the bag-pipe. The boys (of the Caledonian Asylum) were marshalled in the saloon; and, in the full Highland garb, proceeded up the staircase, preceded by the Piper, playing - "Who would be a traitor-slave". The true Highland Fling was given at the offset by Mr. Stewart Nicolson and one of the Ladies Paget. It then became one of the most animated scenes ever witnessed, the spirit of which continued unabated till half-past two. We observed an old favourite, the veteran Gow, at the head of an excellent band.

1824.06.28	Morning Post	The Caledonian Ball	Almack's	John Gow or John H. Gow	The Duke of Argyll, as the head of the Highland Chiefs, attended the Royal Ladies, preceded by the ancient and renowned Piper, who came all the way from Gordon Castle to preside on this occasion; he marched up the stairs playing the reel of "Tullochgorum" with that degree of animation so peculiar to himself and the Highlands. The French musicians attempted to strike up "God save the King" on the entrance of the Royal Party; this was opposed, and Gow's band called for, which was the favourite of the night. The dancing commenced at a quarter past twelve with a quadrille a la Polonaise; danced by two sets of tall, young and beautiful women... 'Tullochgorum' was the next dance, followed by 'Colonel McBean', 'Moneymusick' and 'Through the Wood to Davie'. Mr. Gow's Band, by particular desire, played his (Mr. Gow's) first favourite set of Scotch Quadrilles
1825.07.07	Morning Post	Caledonian Fete	Vauxhall	[John H. Gow]	The Caledonian Fete drew together a great number of Gentlemen, who appeared in the Highland costume. They were in general accompanied by elegant females, displaying all the charms of beauty, and every external decoration which could honour Scotland. The vocal and instrumental national music of Caledonia diffused a charm which cannot be described. The lovers of national melody never received more satisfaction... Over the Piazza appeared the Cross of St. Andrew, enclosed by thistles in brilliant lamps of various colours, and the words "Cruinachan Nain Clann" - "The Gathering of the Clans." In the Rotunda a fine display of Scotch banners, with naval and military trophies. Gow's Band kept up the spirit of the evening; and in short the whole of the arrangements produced a scene of fairyism and delight... In the Cosmoramas were introduced views taken from the Grampian-hills.

1826.03.31	Morning Post	Lady Clarendon's Ball	Children's Ball, Watford	[John H. Gow]	Quadrilles and waltzes were only danced; the most favourite set were the quadrilles of Bonny Brave Scotland. Mr. Gow provided the music, which gave general satisfaction.
1827.05.16	Morning Post	The Grand Caledonian Ball	Almack's	The band of Gow	Precisely at midnight, the renowned Piper, from Gordon castle and another of equal celebrity, preceded the boys, int eh tartan and phillibeg, thirty-six in number; they were accompanied by two remarkably handsome Highlanders, bearing the richly embroidered standards of Scotland, the air "the Campbells are Coming". The procession proceeded through the apartments, and then retired, with the reel of "Tulloch'gorum", in which the band of Gow accompanied the dance which ensured. Then Musard and Collinet struck up a new figure dance... it was followed by the reel "Miss Drummond of Perth".

Appendix F Newspaper Reports of entertainments at the Highland Society of London, 1802-1839

Date	Newspaper	Occasion	Location	Details of the Music
1802.02.20	True Briton	Monthly meeting	Shakspeare Tavern	After dinner a solemn dirge was performed in the true Scotch stile, on the death of Abercromby, by a most excellent band. Among the performers were the Gows, and two celebrated performers on the Bag-pipes, from Scotland.
1802.03.27	Star (London)	Monthly meeting	Shakspeare Tavern	An elegant dinner was served at half-past six o'clock, during which several National Airs on the pipe were performed by the Pipers to the Society, and a few Pebrachs [sic], with wonderful taste and execution, by Buchanan, Piper-Major to the 42nd Regiment. After dinner several loyal and appropriate toasts were given in the Gaelic language, and many plaintive and martial Gaelic Songs were sung, of which one in particular (the War Song of the ancient Highlanders), with great taste, animation, and expression, by Sir John MacPherson, excited a peculiar degree of applause and enthusiasm. The greatest harmony and conviviality prevailed during the evening. Gow's band of Instrumental Music, Murphy, the Irish Piper, together with the vocal strains of Dignum, and other public Singers, added much to the general festivity. On the complimentary toast to the 42nd Regiment, and the two other Highland Corps on the Egyptian Service having been given, the following Stanza, the *extempore* composition of a Member present, was introduced by Mr. Dignum, in the characteristic Air of "The Garb of old Gaul".
1804.03.17	Sun (London)	Monthly meeting		A number of other toasts were given, interspersed with songs by Dignum, two Gaelic songs by John MacPherson, and the music of Gow's incomparable band, as well as Scots and Irish pipes.
1804.03.18	Weekly Dispatch (London)	Monthly meeting	Shakspeare Tavern	The company was enlivened by several songs by Dignum: and the performance on the Irish harmonic pipes by Mr. Fitzmaurice, who was accompanied by an excellent violin player of the name of Chapman: the two instruments went admirably together.

1805.03.12	British Press	Extraordinary Meeting for the reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex	Crown and Anchor Tavern	The sound of the Caledonian Trumpet announced the arrival of His Royal Highness before the Crown and Anchor… The instrument of warlike music was played before His Royal Highness til he reached the middle of a great room, in which the society were assembled before dinner. A tune, called *The Gathering of the Clans*, was played to notify that dinner was served up. Mr Dignum sang the Address of King Robert I. to his army before the memorable battle of Bannockburn, set to the tune of that heroic Monarch's March, by the celebrated Mr. Burns, and accompanied by the band of music. His Royal Highness was pleased to sing two songs, with which all who had a taste for music were delighted, and the whole Company highly gratified.
1806.06.10	London Courier and Evening Gazette	Last meeting for the season	Crown and Anchor Tavern	The Highland Pipes, Scotch Whiskey, and Bonnocks, were introduced as usual. At ten o'clock Mr. Fitzmaurice arrived, who was anxiously expected, and played several charming airs on the Union Pipes.
1808.03.28	Morning Post	Anniversary Meeting	Freemasons' Tavern	Between the toasts the hilarity of the meeting was much enlivened by the heart exhilarating and martial music of the Highland and Irish bagpipes, and the grand and original Airs of Ossian, on the violin. Several Gaelic songs were sung in very superior style of excellency.
1809.03.25	Saint James's Chronicle	Meeting	Freemasons' Tavern	Mr Gow's band performed several of Ossian's fine airs, which, with O'Farrell's favourite tunes on the Irish pipes, added much to the harmony and entertainment of the evening.
1813.05.17	Sun (London)	A Scotch deputation a meeting of the Friends of the Lancaster… System of Education	Freemasons' Tavern	Towards the close of the evening the Royal Chairman stated to the Meeting, that he was just informed that at another Meeting (that of the Highland Society), which was at that moment held in that house, some resolutions favourable to this Society had been come to.... After waiting some time, his Royal Highness observed, that as their Scotch pipes "were heard afar". The sound came nearer and nearer, expectation rose as it came, and at length the deputation entered the room with great pomp, pipes playing and colours flying.

1814.03.23	Morning Chronicle	Highland Society Dinner, battle of Alexandria	Freemasons' Tavern	An elegant Address, composed for the occasion, was also recited, and a Highland Officer favoured the company with a pibroch on the bagpipes, the martial strains of which were rendered more emphatic by his gigantic stature and Herculean form. Conviviality was prolonged... to the dawn of morning, and long before the company separated, many reels were both danced and *performed*. The dinner was excellent, and the national dishes were judiciously interspersed among the other luxuries.
1816.03.25	London Chronicle	Anniversary Meeting	Freemasons' Tavern	The Duke of Kent's band attended, as did a band led by Mr. Gow, consisting of fourteen, who played Scotch music only. Also a band of Highland pipers, led by Mr. Clark, the celebrated piper, who continued playing after he was wounded, to lead his comrades on to battle in Portugal.
1817.03.24	Morning Chronicle	To celebrate the Anniversary of the Batle of Alexandria	Freemasons' Tavern	When the Duke of Argyll withdrew, the Chair was taken by the Marquis of Huntly, who kept up the spirit of conviviality, characteristic of a Highland Meeting.... A celebrated piper struck up "The Gathering," as the head of each clan was toasted - while Gow's celebrated band roused the company with those national tunes which make the heart lightsome, and which no French Quadrilles can long keep from the ball room, where dancers prefer exhilaration to monotonous but graceful insipidity. The bumper and the reel were kept up with uninterrupted vigour till six in the morning.
1818.03.24	English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post	Anniversary Meeting		The dinner was enlivened by the admirable music of Gow's band, diversified by that of the pipes. In addition to many of the finest ancient tunes exquisitely performed by the band, several of the most beautiful national airs were sung by Gentlemen, with the true tone and pathos of their native simplicity, particularly the heroic song of "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," was sung by Mr. Robertson, in a way which we wish Mr. Braham had heard, as a lesson for his imitation.
1819.03.23	Morning Herald	Anniversary Meeting	Freemasons' Tavern	After the cloth was removed, "God save the King", "Scots wha ha' wi' Wallace bled," and several favourite Scotch songs, were sung by the professional gentlemen present, assisted by Gow's band, and the bagpipes. In addition to many of the fine ancient tunes performed by the band, several of the most beautiful national airs were sung by gentlemen, with the true tone and pathos of their native simplicity.

1819.04.19	British Press	Anniversary Meeting	Freemasons' Tavern	During dinner, Clarke, the piper, who it may be remembered acted in so gallant a manner at the battle of Vimeira, was present, dressed in Highland style, and inspired his countrymen by playing various tunes upon the bagpipes, marching round the room. Mr Gow's band also attended, and played several delightful airs during the evening.
1821.04.06	Inverness Journal and Northern Advertiser	Second General Court	Freemasons' Tavern	The pipers and Gow's band continued to relieve each other, and to excite the meeting to the utmost festivity.
1822.02.18	Sun (London)	General Court of the HSL	Freemasons' Tavern	During the dinner, the Society's piper continued playing favourite pibrochs, according to ancient custom... and Mr. Gow with his band, and Mr. Clark the piper, alternately enlivened the company with native airs and pibrochs. In the course of the evening Mr. Watson, a native of the Highlands of Scotland, was introduced, and astonished and delighted the party with several admirable performances of national melodies on the violin and violincello, both of which instruments he played at the same time. This individual, we hear, became blind when he was four years old, but even at that early age he displayed a talent for music which this calamity could not repress, and which he has cultivated with so much perseverance and ardour, that his performance is not only interesting from its singularity, but highly pleasing from the precision and true Highland spirit which characterise it. Nothing can be more ingenious than the means which he has devised of performing on two most difficult instruments at the same time, and we are informed that he has invented a method of teaching music to the blind, for which the Society of Arts and Sciences have voted him one of the medals of that Institution.
1822.03.25	Sun (London)	General Court of the HSL	Freemasons' Tavern	At seven o'clock the Duke of Argyle, preceded by the Society's piper... During the dinner Mr. Clark, the Piper, and Gow's excellent band, alternately entertained the company with many most admirable national melodies, and as soon as the cloth was removed... Mr. Gow and Mr. Clark, the pipers, were then introduced to the President, for the purpose of being presented with the medals which had been voted to them by the Society as a reward for their long services.

1822.03.26	New Times (London)	General Court of the HSL	Freemasons' Tavern	At seven o'clock MacCallum Mor entered the Hall, preceded by the Society's Piper, playing *The Campbells are coming*...It seems that there were musical interludes between each toast. "The pipes - Ceann na drechaid big", "Gow's band - Rule Britannia", "The pipes - Chi till sinn tuille", "Gow's band - *Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled*", The pipes - "Comadh leam, comadh leam, cogadh na sith". And so on. We can use this as a template for the evening.
1822.04.23	Morning Post	General Court of the HSL	Freemasons' Tavern	The great bagpipes, in the masterly hand of Mr. Clarke, the Scoiety's Piper, lent their powerful aid to the hilarities of the occasion; and Mr. Gow's band oftener than once stirred up a *foursome* reel among the mountaineers, who performed their native and peculiar capers with uncommon agility.
1822.04.26	Morning Post	General Court of the HSL	Freemasons' Tavern	Nor was the light Strathspey forgotten while the animating strains of Gow's violin gave unusual pleasure. Many excellent Piobaireachds were performed by Clarke, and among others a very superior salute, composed in honour of the Society, by Mr. Angus McArthur, one of the few individuals now remaining who learned the Highland Music in the Ancient College of Pipers in Skye.
1823.04.24	New Times (London)	General Court of the HSL	Freemasons' Tavern	Gow's strains were much in request; and the Society's piper, Mr. Clark, played a few piobrachds in good style.
1824.02.25	Sun (London)	General Court of the HSL	Freemasons' Tavern	The martial strains of the "Frasers' Gathering" then summoned the Society to the dining-room, where every delicacy of the season was served up, together with the more homely dishes, peculiar to the Land O'Cakes.
1824.03.25	English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post	Death of Peter Macgregor		At Tinhehunairt, Fortingall, on the 26th ult., after 24 hours' illness Peter Macgregor, piper to Francis Gordon Campbell, Esq. of Troup and Glenlyon, in the 76th year of his age. He was nearly unequalled as a performer on the great Highland bagpipe, and was the first who gained a prize-pipe in Scotland. He afterwards became piper to the Highland Society of London, and had repeatedly the honour of performing before their late Majesties.
1827.08.10	London Packet and New Lloyd's Evening Post	Death of John McDonald		Aug. 2, at Castle-hill, Edinburgh, aged 107 years, maker to the Highland Society of London. This venerable old man was able to walk about till within a few weeks of his death...

1839.05.21	Morning Post	General Court of the HSL	Freemasons' Tavern	The company were generally arrayed in the picturesque garb of Caledonia, and were, according to custom, enlivened by the animating strains of the Highland bagpipe. During the evening many national and appropriate songs were sung, recalling to mind the happy scenes of youth, and bringing to fond recollection the days and doings of "Auld lang syne." Gow's band - *Should auld acquaintance, etc...* The evening was cheered by national airs from Mr. Gow's band, and the gallant deeds of the Gadhael were recalled by the martial strains of the Piobaireachd.

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Digitisation of eighteenth- and early nineteenth- century literature and newspapers has greatly facilitated this research. In addition to the electronic resources made available by libraries worldwide, the following websites have allowed me to access digital material:

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