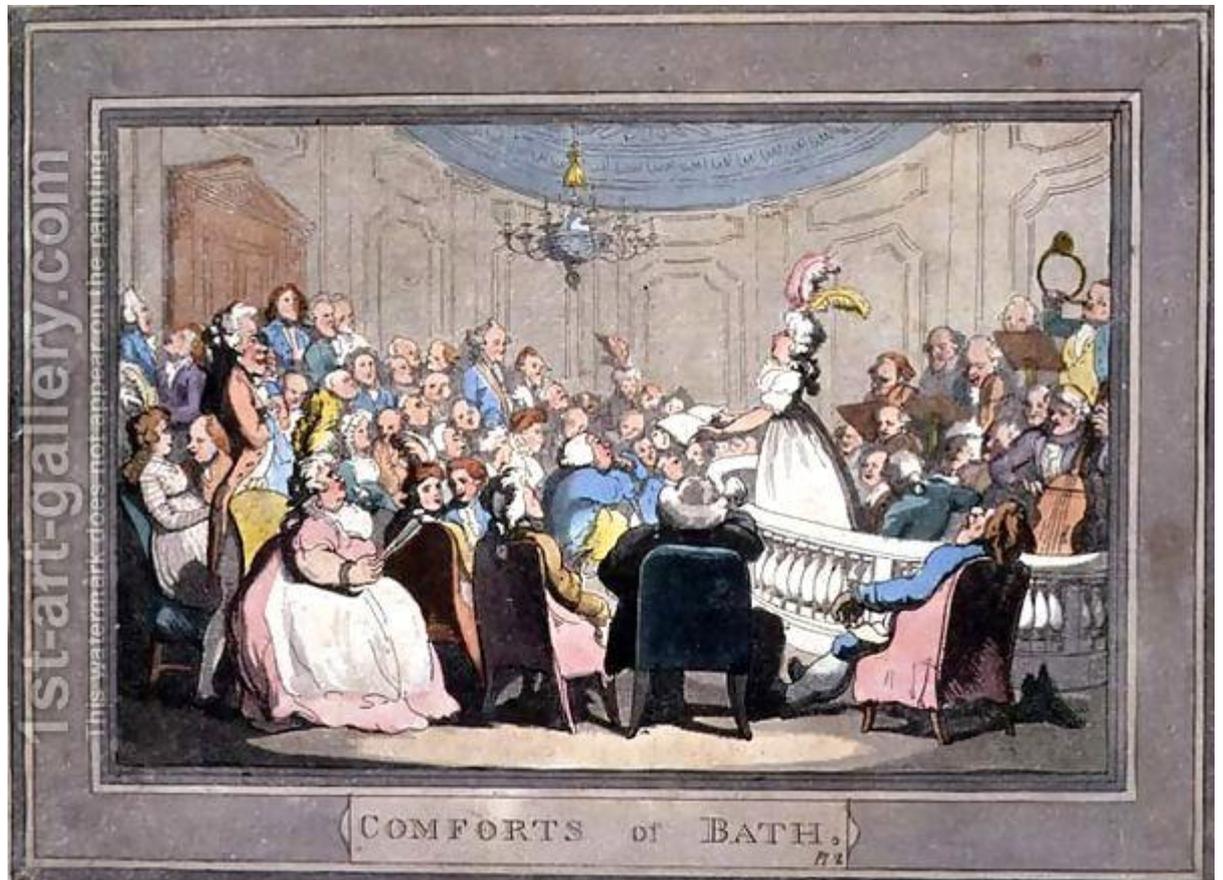


**'To Entertain the Fancy':
The Orchestral Concert Song in England, 1740-1800**



Thomas Rowlandson, *Comforts of Bath: 'Concert at the Upper Rooms'* (1798)
<http://www.1st-art-gallery.com/thumbnail/199443/1/A-Private-Concert,-Plate-2-From-Comforts-Of-Bath,-1798.jpg> (Accessed 5 January 2012)

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is the result of my own work. Where other sources of information have been used, they are acknowledged and cited in the appropriate manner.

ABSTRACT

The orchestral concert song is a genre of solo song with instrumental accompaniment written or adapted for concert performance. In eighteenth-century England it formed a major part of the output of many composers, both native and foreign, with the London pleasure gardens being the principal venue of performance.

However, this genre has not received much scholarly attention, and such literature as exists is largely concerned with the secular cantata, which was very much in a minority in terms of the overall output. Furthermore, this literature has focussed on the music itself, giving little attention to the surrounding issues that caused the genre to come into being, to grow and eventually to decline.

This study therefore endeavours to build on existing scholarship by not only discussing the other parts of the repertoire – namely the strophic song, the rondo and the aria – but also by examining the social and cultural influences upon the concert song as a whole. This examination precedes the historical account, which is in three parts: the early years (1740-1762); the period in which J.C. Bach and Arne were the predominant composers (1762-82); finally the later years of the century (1782-1800), during which the genre declined. The concluding chapter assesses current knowledge of the concert song, with a view to further investigation and potential revival.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	2
Abstract	3
Table of Contents	4
List of Figures	6
List of Musical Examples	7
List of Tables	11
Foreword	12
Abbreviations and Explanatory Notes	14
Preface	16
Chapter 1: The Study: Themes	38
a) Typology	38
b) The Orchestra and Orchestration	49
c) Musical Style	73
d) Vocal Technique	84
e) Music, Text and Context	89
f) Publication	97
Chapter 2: 1660-1740: Socio-Cultural Influences and Origins of the Concert song	109
Introduction.....	109
Early Concerts and Vocal Music	111
Art Song: From Private to Public.....	120
Ballad Opera, Opera in the Ballad and ‘English’ Music	130
The ‘Garden Culture’ and ‘Musical Democracy’	138
Handel.....	148
Synthesis? Songs of the 1730s	152
Conclusion	156
Chapter 3: 1740-1762: The Early Years	159
Introduction	159
Cantatas in the 1740s	165
Song Collections of the early 1740s	169
London i) Arne	174
London ii) Boyce.....	194
London iii) Worgan, and Other London Composers	201
Provincial Composers.....	212
Conclusion	214
Chapter 4: 1762-1782: i) Bach and Arne	215
Introduction.....	215
The Influence of the Symphony	216
The Influence of Opera.....	218
Bach’s route to Vauxhall.....	229
The Vauxhall Songs.....	232
Bach’s Other Concert Songs.....	240
Summary.....	244
Arne’s Later Songs.....	245
Conclusion: Bach and Arne or Bach <i>versus</i> Arne.....	250
Chapter 5: 1762-1782 ii) A musical Language, spoken with different Accents	253
Introduction.....	253

Native Composers	253
Michael Arne	254
Samuel Arnold	255
William Bates.....	260
Thomas Carter	263
Charles Dibdin.....	264
John Abraham Fisher.....	266
James Hook	268
John Potter.....	273
William Yates.....	274
Other London Composers.....	277
Provincial Composers.....	280
Summary.....	284
Foreign-born Composers	284
François Hippolyte Barthélemon	285
Tomasso Giordani.....	287
Theodor Smith.....	291
Summary.....	294
Conclusions	295
Chapter 6: 1782-1800: Consolidation or Stagnation?	297
Introduction.....	297
Hook's Songs 1783-1800	303
Jonas Blewitt.....	318
Other London Composers	321
Music in the Provinces.....	326
Conclusion	333
Chapter 7: A Lost Genre?	337
The Current Situation.....	337
Conclusions.....	350
Appendices	356
Appendix A: Analysis of Word Books from Vauxhall Gardens	
1) <i>A genuine Collection of all the new Songs, Ballads Cantatas and</i> <i>Chorusses, Now singing at Vaux-Hall Gardens, 1766</i>	356
2) <i>A genuine Collection of all the new Songs, Ballads Cantatas and</i> <i>Chorusses, Now singing at Vaux-Hall Gardens, 1768</i>	357
3) <i>The Songs, Duet, Choruses &c &c Now Singing at Vauxhall. Published by</i> <i>Authority, and under the Direction of Mr Hooke</i>	358
4) <i>The Vauxhall songs for the year 1795</i>	359
5) <i>The songs, trios, glees, &c. &c as sung... this season at Vauxhall</i> [1797]	360
Appendix B: Song Collections by provincial Composers 1736-1800	361
Appendix C: Critical Editions of five Concert Songs.....	363
Introduction.....	363
1) Berg, 'Gentle Auth'ress of my Pain' (1759).....	368
2) Arne, <i>The Lover's Recantation</i> (1761).....	371
3) Arnold, 'Where no ripen'd Summer glows' (1767)	384
4) Giordani, 'The Trumpet's loud Summons' (1772)	390
5) Hook, 'Willy of the Green' (1786)	401
Commentaries:	404
Bibliography 1) Music	408
2) Books and Articles.....	445
3) Manuscripts	468

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
Title Page: Thomas Rowlandson, <i>Comforts of Bath: 'Concert at the Upper Rooms'</i> (1798)	1
1.1: John Theodore Hines, <i>Music Party at Melton Constable</i> (1734)	53
1.2: Detail from the illustration to Boyce's 'Rural Beauty or Vauxhall Garden', (<i>The Musical Entertainer</i> - 1737)	57
1.3: Sutton Nichols, Detail from the title page of Hercules Mac Sturdy, <i>A Trip to Vauxhall</i> (1737)	57
1.4: Johann Sebastian Muller, Detail from <i>Vauxhall Gardens</i> (1751)	58
1.5: Thomas Rowlandson, <i>Vauxhall Gardens</i> (1784). Detail, showing 'the orchestra',	59
1.6: Purcell, Opening of 'Let all Mankind Pleasure share' (<i>Dioclesian</i>)	100
1.7: Handel, Opening of <i>Zadok the Priest</i> , Walsh's edition (1743)	101
1.8: Pescetti (arr. Stanley?), 'The Charmer', <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> , 7 (1737)	107
2.1: Title page to the tenth edition of Ramsay's <i>Tea-table Miscellany</i> (1740)	133
2.2: Marcellus Laroon the Younger, <i>A Musical Conversation</i> (c.1760)	142
2.3: Muller, after Samuel Wale, <i>A General Prospect of Vauxhall Gardens</i> (c.1751)	142
2.4: Hogarth, <i>The Enrag'd Musician</i> (1741)	145
3.1: Advertisement for <i>Lyric Harmony</i> , Volume I (1745)	175
4.1 Charles Loraine Smith, <i>Sunday Concert at the House of Charles Burney</i> (1782)	2412
6.1: James Gillray, <i>Playing in Parts</i> (c.1800)	299
6.2: Picture from the title page of Hook's <i>A Collection of Favorite Songs...</i> , 1799, Book 1	308
6.3: Detail from Gillray, <i>Farmer Giles & his Wife Shewing off their daughter Betty to their Neighbours, on her return from School</i> (1809)	334

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
1.1: Bononcini, 'Belché speranza' (1725), bars 1-8.....	51
1.2: Purcell, 'Hark, Damon, hark, bars 51-54.....	51
1.3: Handel, 'Transporting Joy' (<i>Venus and Adonis</i>), bars 31-33.....	52
1.4a: Arne, 'The Kind Inconstant', bars 1-9 (two-stave version).....	62
1.4b: Arne, 'The Kind Inconstant', bars 1-9 (three-stave version)	62
1.5: Paisible, Overture to <i>Pleasure</i> , bars 1-17	62
1.6: Pepusch, 'Gentle Slumbers' (<i>Venus and Adonis</i>), bars 1-9	64
1.7: Boyce, 'Mortal, whence this black despair' (<i>Thyrsis</i>), bass part Bars 1-15.....	64
1.8a: Arne, <i>The Lover's Recantation</i> , opening recit, bars 1-5	65
1.8b: Arne, <i>The Lover's Recantation</i> , first aria, bars 1-3.....	65
1.9a: Barthélemon, 'A New Scotch Song', bars 19-21, original version.....	66
1.9b: Barthélemon, 'A New Scotch Song', bars 19-21, edited version	66
1.10: Yates, 'Chorus of the Sister Arts' (<i>The Choice of Apollo</i>), bass part bars 1-7	69
1.11a: Arne 'Dirge in Cymbeline', Horn parts, bars 26-29. Written pitch.....	71
1.11b: <i>Ibid.</i> Sounding pitch of parts	71
1.12a: Arne, principal motifs from 'Now Phoebus sinketh in the west (<i>Comus</i>),	79
1.12b: <i>Ibid.</i> , with harmony (bars 9-12).....	79
1.12c: <i>Ibid.</i> , sequence, contrary motion and three-part texture (bars 37-40)	79
1.12d: <i>Ibid.</i> , four part texture (bars 54-57).....	79
1.13: Arne, 'Where the bee sucks', bars 5-9	80
1.14: John Worgan, 'O stay, brightest Liberty', bars 11-18, voice part.....	81
1.15: Pepusch, 'Fair blooming creature' (<i>Apollo and Daphne</i>), bars 1-16	83
1.16: Stanley, 'Blooming Hero' (<i>The Choice of Hercules</i>), bars 1-8.....	84
1.17: Arne, 'To a lady', bars 42-50	86
1.18: Boyce, 'Like the ever-toying dove (<i>Cantata</i>)', bars 21-26	87
1.19: Arne, <i>The Lover's Recantation</i> , second aria, bars 50-57	89
1.20: Giordani, 'The Trumpet's loud Summons', bars 183-191	89
1.21a: Hook, 'Favourite Rondo' (1777) bars 1-6, original version.....	104
1.21b: Hook, 'Favourite Rondo' (1777) bars 1-6, edited version	104
1.22a: Hook, 'Favourite Rondo' (1777) bars 41-5, original version	104
1.22b: Hook, 'Favourite Rondo' (1777) bars 41-5, edited version	104
2.1: Second aria from Pepusch's <i>Cantata Cloe</i> (1710), bars 1-14.....	123
2.2: Corbett, 'Lost is my Love', first chorus, bars 53-63.....	125
2.3: Hayden, 'Welcome Damon', bars 27-30.....	126
2.4: Carey: 'Close not those charming Eyes' (<i>Cantata I</i> - 1732).....	129

2.5:	‘A Song made to a Favourite Minuet in Rodelinda’ (adapted from Handel)	136
2.6:	‘A Song to Mr Hendel’s [<i>sic</i>] Trumpet Minuet’.....	136
2.7:	Handel, arr. Seedo, ‘Some Confounded Planet’ (<i>The Lottery</i>), bars 1-32.....	137
2.8:	Seedo, ‘Ye Gods you gave me a Wife’, <i>The Devil to Pay</i> Act 1 No IV, bars 22-28.	138
2.9:	Galliard, ‘With early Horn’, bars 1-12	151
2.10:	Handel, ‘Mirth admit me’, second setting (<i>L’Allegro</i>), bars 59-65.....	152
2.11:	William Hayes, aria from <i>Cantata I (Twelve Arietts)</i> , bars 18.4-27.....	154
3.1:	Arne, ‘Where the Bee sucks’, bars 20-24.....	163
3.2:	Stanley, <i>Cantata IV</i> (1742), second aria, bars 1-2	166
3.3:	William Hayes, ‘While I listen to thy Voice’, (<i>Cantata III – 1748</i>), bars 1-5.	167
3.4:	Flackton, ‘Now my brave Youth’ (<i>The Chace</i>), bars 1-15.....	172
3.5:	Arne, ‘The Kind Inconstant’, melodic themes	178
3.6:	Arne, ‘The Complaint’, bars 36-41	180
3.7:	Arne, ‘The Generous Distress’d’, bars 26-9	180
3.8:	Arne, <i>Cymon and Iphigenia</i> , first recit, bars 15-19.....	186
3.9a:	Arne, <i>Cymon and Iphigenia</i> , bars 24-7; depiction of Cymon’s walk.....	187
3.9b:	Arne, <i>Cymon and Iphigenia</i> , bars 31.4-35; Cymon’s whistling	187
3.10a:	Arne, <i>Cymon and Iphigenia</i> , second recit, bars 2-3 (published version), ‘Trembling’ motif,	187
3.10b:	Arne, <i>Cymon and Iphigenia</i> , (manuscript version), ‘Trembling’ motif... ..	187
3.11:	Arne, <i>Cymon and Iphigenia</i> , third aria, bars 13-16 (violin parts).....	188
3.12:	Arne, ‘Frolick and Free’ (<i>Cantata III</i>), first aria, bars 13-16	191
3.13:	Arne, <i>Bacchus and Ariadne (Cantata II)</i> , second aria, bars 19-20.....	191
3.14:	Arne, <i>The Lover’s Recantation</i> , first aria, bars 21-27	194
3.15a:	Boyce, ‘As Damon stood’, manuscript version	196
3.15b:	Boyce, ‘As Damon stood’, printed version (<i>Lyra Britannica</i> , Vol. II)..	196
3.16:	Boyce, ‘Mortal, whence this black despair’ (<i>Thyrsis</i>), bars 25-32	198
3.17:	Boyce, ‘The lover who sighing and languishing’ (<i>Thyrsis</i>), amended concluding ritornello	198
3.18:	Boyce, ‘Dialogue’, bars 4-6.....	198
3.19a:	John Worgan, ‘Come thou rosy dimpled Boy’, bars 1-8.....	203
3.19b:	John Worgan, ‘Come thou rosy dimpled Boy’, bars 16-18	203
3.20:	John Worgan, ‘The Lass with the delicate Air’, bars 1-16	204
3.21:	John Worgan, ‘Oh stay brightest Liberty’, opening page.....	205
3.22:	Berg, ‘Gentle Auth’ress of my Pain’, opening page.....	207
3.23:	Elizabeth Turner, ‘A Man that’s neither high nor low’, opening page	209
3.24:	Baldon, ‘On Pleasure’s smooth Wings’, opening page.....	209
3.25:	Pasquali, ‘The Hero first on native Plains’, bars 25-32.....	212

4.1:	Arne, 'The Soldier Tir'd' (<i>Artaxerxes</i>), bars 62.4-77, voice part.....	221
4.2:	Arne, 'Water parted from the Sea' (<i>Artaxerxes</i>), bars 1-8.....	223
4.3:	J. C. Bach, 'O Dio la man mi trema' (<i>Alessandro nell' Indie</i>), bars 13-17.1	226
4.4:	J. C. Bach, 'By my Sighs you may discover', bars 28-34.....	233
4.5:	J. C. Bach, 'Ah why shou'd Love', bars 21-26.....	234
4.6:	J. C. Bach, 'Smiling Venus Goddess dear', bars 1-8.....	236
4.7:	J. C. Bach, Opening of second section of 'Midst Silent Shades', (bars 33-43).....	238
4.8:	J. C. Bach, 'Cease awhile ye winds to blow', bars 1-4	239
4.9:	J. C. Bach, 'Sentimi non partir', bars 100-104.....	244
4.10:	Arne, <i>Love and Resentment</i> , first aria, bars 26.4-34.2, voice part	246
4.11:	Arne, <i>Diana</i> , principal themes and scoring of aria	249
5.1:	Arnold, 'Where no ripen'd Summer glows', bars 37-41	257
5.2:	Arnold, 'Child of Summer, blooming Rose', Interplay of soloists in bars 57-63.....	259
5.3:	Arnold, 'Plough, Loom and Sails', start of chorus (bars 54-65).....	260
5.4:	Bates, 'A Bacchanalian Song', introduction (bars 1-16)	261
5.5:	Carter, 'Love's the noblest Boon below' bars 21-24	265
5.6:	Dibdin, <i>A Cantata</i> (1770), first arioso, bars 1-6	267
5.7:	Fisher, 'A Sailor's Voice', introduction (bars 1-16).....	268
5.8:	Hook, 'Strephon I've been coy to prove thee', bars 61-64.....	270
5.9:	Hook, 'Damon and Phoebe', bars 5-12.	270
5.10:	Hook, 'The Favourite Scots Rondo' (1770), bars 59-62.	271
5.11:	Yates, 'Love and Affection', bars 1-6.	276
5.12a:	Yates, 'A Pastoral Ballad', bars 7-10.	277
5.12b:	Yates, A Pastoral Ballad, bars 19.3-23.....	277
5.13:	Thomas Linley the younger, 'In Yonder Grove' second recit, bars 11-4.....	282
5.14:	Thomas Linley the younger, 'Werter' cantata, arioso, bars 1-11	282
5.15:	Barthélemon 'A Canon', Opening page.....	287
5.16:	Giordani, <i>A Cantata</i> (1773), aria, bars 19.4-28.	290
5.17:	Giordani, Aria 'The Lambkins shall forget to play' ('Beneath a Myrtle's fragrant Shade' - 1776), bars 13 - 17.....	291
5.18:	Theodor Smith, 'See Aurora', aria, bars 65-6.	292
5.19:	Theodor Smith, 'Glide on ye moments', bars 19-22.....	293
5.20:	Theodor Smith, 'Ye Virgin Pow'rs', bars 29-38.1	294
6.1:	Hook, 'Hunting Song', bars 1-10.....	308
6.2:	Hook, 'How sweet the Love that meets Return', bars 4.4-10.3	309
6.3:	Hook, 'The Poor Peasant', bars 8.4-12.3.....	309
6.4:	Hook, 'Willy of the Green', (1786), bars 1-7	311
6.5:	Hook, 'A Pastoral', Violin parts, bars 13-31	312
6.6a:	Hook, 'Tantivy Hark', bars 71-88 (manuscript version)	314

6.6b:	Hook, 'Tantivy Hark', bars 79-88 (printed version).....	314
6.7:	Hook, 'Bring us Boy a flowing Bowl', bars 1-4.....	315
6.8a:	Hook, 'Je pense à Vous', bars 1-4, Alberti figure.....	317
6.8b:	Hook, 'The Lass of Richmond Hill', bars 1-4, Alberti figure.....	317
6.9:	Blewitt, 'The Lass of Humber-Side', bars 17-21,	320
6.10:	Jeremiah Clark, 'Distress me with thy Tears no more', bars 9-12.	330
7.1a:	Hook, 'Bring us Boy', original introduction (1797).....	339
7.1b:	Hook, 'Bring us Boy', Hatton's introduction (1870s).....	339

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The Royal College of Music: Exx. 1.25; 3.15b; 6.4.

Canterbury Cathedral Library and Archives: Fig. 1.7; Ex. 5.3.

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Page</i>
1.1: Comparison of manuscript and printed versions of Hook's 'Hunting Song' (1786).....	102
3.1: Tonality and Form in Arne's <i>Lyric Harmony</i> , Volume I.....	177
3.2: Thematic Structure of Arne's 'The Kind Inconstant'	178
3.3: Ritornelli and Scoring in Arne's <i>Lyric Harmony</i> , Volume I.....	179
3.4: Arne's Song Collections 1745-62	182
3.5: Song Collections by other London Composers, 1742 - 1762	202
4.1: Vocal music by J. C. Bach used in English theatre works in the 1760s.....	229
4.2 J.C. Bach's English and Scots Songs	241
4.3: J.C. Bach's Italian Concert Arias.....	243
4.4: Main theme, variants and scoring in the aria of Arne's cantata <i>Diana</i>	248
5.1: Song Collections by other London Composers, 1762-82.....	278
6.1: Structure of Hook's Songs in the collections 1783-1800.....	304
6.2: Principal Authors to Hook's Songs 1783-1800.....	306
6.3: Song Collections by other London Composers 1782-1800.....	321
6.3: Contents of Sophia Goodban's songbook and accompanying orchestral parts	328-329
7.1: Reception of Songs 1871-1925	343-347

FOREWORD

This study was originally conceived as a survey of solo song with orchestral accompaniment in the period between the death of Handel and the end of the eighteenth century. However, it soon became clear that this period would be inadequate, as it would not take into account the factors that were to have an influence on the genre, especially the socio-cultural climate that brought secular art song out of what had been an almost exclusive, 'private' environment into the public concert. Therefore the study expanded into a historical assessment of the period from when the orchestral concert song emerged as a genre in its own right in the early 1740s to when it declined towards the end of the century. Many issues were raised during my investigations, and my knowledge of this historical epoch, both of the music and its related subjects, has increased dramatically as a result.

Although research can be an isolating experience, it cannot be undertaken in isolation. It is therefore only appropriate that I acknowledge the assistance I have had in the preparation and completion of this project. First and foremost, I would like to express my immense gratitude to my supervisor Professor Simon McVeigh for the firm but fair guidance he has provided throughout my period of study, and for the continuous encouragement which has enabled me to attain goals beyond what I had thought possible. Not only has he been a limitless source of information, but his knowledge of areas beyond the purely musicological has expanded my own parameters of investigation into subjects that might not otherwise have been considered.

Many other people gave help and advice at various stages of my work. In particular, I should like to thank Dr Paul Banks, Mr Duncan Branley, Dr Barbara Eichner, Professor Robert Hoskins, Dr Berta Joncus, Dr Naomi Matsumoto, Mr Anthony Pryer, Mr Keith Potter, and Dr Robert Rawson for their comments and suggestions. Especial thanks are due

to Dr Joncus for allowing me access to unpublished material on ballad opera, which proved invaluable in helping establish the background to some of the music.

I should also like to thank the music librarians at a number of institutions both in the United Kingdom and abroad for their unfailing help in locating primary source material, some of which I suspect had not seen the light of day for some time. These libraries are: The Royal Academy of Music, London; The Royal College of Music, London; The British Library, London; The Guildhall Library, City of London; The Maugham Library, King's College, London; The Minet Library, Lambeth; The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham; The Bodleian Library, Oxford; The Faculty of Music Library, University of Oxford; Cambridge University Library; The Pendlebury Library of Music, Cambridge; The Rowe Library, King's College, Cambridge; The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library; Canterbury City Library; Dundee Public Library; Durham Cathedral Library; The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; The Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester; Southwark Borough Archives; Suffolk County Records Office, Bury St Edmunds; The Templeman Library, University of Kent; The Library of Congress, Washington DC.

Finally, I must record my appreciation of the many people who have offered help at various stages, or simply been on hand to listen with sympathy or encouragement depending on my progress. To these I give my most grateful thanks, especially to my fellow research students in various seminar groups at Goldsmiths College; to Dr David Flood and the Lay Clerks of Canterbury Cathedral for their tolerance of the inevitable absences from my duties that I had to make from time to time; finally to my relations and friends for their support, not only recently but throughout our long associations: I can never sufficiently acknowledge my gratitude to them.

ABBREVIATIONS AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

- BDA* Philip Highfill, Kalman Burnim & Edward Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London 1660-1800*, 16 Vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-93).
- Burney, History* Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, ed. Frank Mercer, 2 vols. (London: Printed for the Author, 1935 R/1957).
- CW* *The collected works of Johann Christian Bach*, followed by volume number. Full references can be found in section 1(c) of the bibliography (pp. 442-443).
- Grove Opera* *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie; managing editor: Christina Bashford, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1992).
- Goodall, Cantatas* Richard Goodall, *Eighteenth-Century English Secular Cantatas* (New York: Garland, 1989).
- The New Grove* *The New Grove Dictionary of Music & Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, & J. Tyrell, 7th edn., 29 Vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001).
- Hawkins, History* Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols. (London: Printed for T. Payne & Son, 1776). facs. edn., introduction by Charles Cudworth (New York: Dover Publications, 1963).
- The London Stage* *The London Stage 1660-1800*, Part 2 1700-1729, ed. Emmett L. Avery, 2 vols. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960); Part 3 1729-1747, ed. Abraham H. Scouten, 2 vols. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961); Part 4 1747-1776, ed. George Winchester Stone, 3 vols. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962); Part 5 1776-1800, ed. Charles Beecher Hogan, 3 vols. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968).
- MLE* *Music for London Entertainment*. Full references can be found in section 1(c) of the bibliography.
- RISM* *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*
Series AI, 'Einzeldrucke vor 1800', ed. Karlheinz Schlager, 14 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971-1999).
Series BII, 'Receuil Imprimés, XVIII Siècle' (München-Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1964).
- The Spectator* [Joseph Addison,] *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

RISM sigla are used for music manuscripts. Song collections are given in short title in footnotes; full titles can be found in the bibliography. Songs published singly are noted by library shelfmark, the reference being to the principal source consulted.

The word ‘Basso’ is used to denote the bass instrument group in the orchestra. This would, depending upon circumstances, consist of a combination of cello, possibly double bass, bassoon and keyboard.

Cantata titles are given in italics; opening lines of untitled cantatas are in inverted commas. Movement designations in cantatas: A: Aria; Ar: Arioso; R: Recitative.

Instrumental abbreviations in the main text follow those in *The New Grove*, which can be found in the ‘General Abbreviations’ section within the prefatory notes to each volume. Abbreviations in Appendix C and their critical commentaries follow those used by the SibeliusTM software.

The music examples from J.C. Bach’s Vauxhall Songs and from Arne’s *Lyric Harmony*, Volume I are transcribed from MLE F1 and F2 respectively. Sources of other music examples are given in the text.

Helmholtz notation has been used throughout.

Abbreviations of Periodical Titles

<i>BJA</i>	<i>British Journal of Aesthetics</i>
<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literature History</i>
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>GSJ</i>	<i>Galpin Society Journal</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>MA</i>	<i>The Musical Antiquary</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i>
<i>MMR</i>	<i>The Monthly Musical Record</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>The Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>MR</i>	<i>The Music Review</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>The Musical Times</i>
<i>P[R]MA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the [Royal] Musical Association</i>
<i>RMARC</i>	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>

PREFACE

The orchestral concert song of eighteenth-century England occupies a significant place within the musical repertoire of the era (and, arguably, within the history of English music as a whole), yet comparatively little is known about it. Of the thousands of songs composed between 1740 and 1800 only a handful remain within the consciousness of today's audiences, often appearing in publications that give little indication as to their true origins. This is a pity, since, with the possible exception of theatre music, solo song probably accounted for the largest quantity of music composed in England at this time. Yet this is also unsurprising; English music between the death of Purcell and the emergence of Elgar some two hundred years later has received little scholarly attention until comparatively recently, and such literature that is extant often contains outdated or inaccurate opinions, which are at best misleading and do not redress a balance overwhelmingly weighted elsewhere.¹ Handel is seen as England's greatest eighteenth-century composer and, though German by birth and contributing little to extant native musical traditions, his posthumous status has marginalised his English contemporaries, irrespective of the quality of their works. The valuable contributions made to English music by immigrant composers, some of whom are discussed in this study, are also often ignored. Biographical writings on eighteenth-century English composers have often been judgemental on their lifestyles to the point where their music has been almost been sidelined. W. H. Cummings' condemnation of Arne, describing him as 'notoriously a

¹ For example, Michael Hurd describes English music as being 'in the doldrums' in the eighteenth century, and continues: 'Nobody could pretend that Thomas Augustine Arne and Dr William Boyce loomed as large on the musical horizon as Bach and Handel'. See Michael Hurd, *Elgar* (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), p. 17.

profligate',² is but one example of a tendency to consign the 'dark ages' of English music to the historical shelf, with little in the way of positive appraisal.

This neglect relates directly to the defining of the musical canon in the nineteenth century. Much of the scholarship behind the establishment of 'great' or 'classic' works took place in Germany, focussing on the symphony, the concerto, opera and large choral works, none of which were explored significantly by English composers. So strong was this influence that many song composers merely imitated the *Lied*, often badly,³ until a move against German Romanticism allowed English Song and French *mélodie* to develop a distinct musical language. Even Osborne, writing in 1974, devotes the bulk of his survey of song to the *Lied*, implying that no other genre can compete.⁴ This is despite years of development and diversification, not only in Europe, but also further afield.

Geographically too, England was at a disadvantage, being at the northern frontier of Europe, and therefore removed from the heart of the emerging canon. Also, an influx of foreign musicians to England appears to have been to the detriment of native composers, especially as their compositional output was in canonic genres, i.e. operas and symphonies. As Holman observes:

The implication [of the number of foreign composers in England] being that native composers were too feeble, parochial or conservative to offer them much competition.⁵

However, England's flourishing concert life offered musicians from all over Europe opportunities unlike anything the autocratically-ruled France or Spain, or the independent German and Italian states, could provide. It may even be claimed that England was the country where a canon actually took shape, certainly through performance but also through scholarship, the histories of Burney and Hawkins being leading examples.

² W. H. Cummings, *Dr Arne and 'Rule, Britannia'* (London: Novello and Company, 1912), p. 72.

³ Balfe's 'Come into the Garden, Maude' (1857) is one example of an English composer trying (unsuccessfully) to imitate the *Lied*.

⁴ Charles Osborne, *The Concert Song Companion* (London: Gollancz, 1974).

⁵ Peter Holman, 'Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future', *Music in eighteenth-century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot & Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2000), p.3.

This generic and geographical bias in the defining of canon has fuelled the belief that eighteenth-century England really was ‘Das Land ohne Musik’, as asserted by Oscar Schmitz in 1914.⁶ Schmitz, apparently revelling in either what Lebrecht describes as ‘pungent Anglophobia’ or a desire for notoriety,⁷ describes the English as ‘the only cultured race without a music of their own (popular melodies excepted)’.⁸ Opinions such as this have outweighed those with less bias.

Schmitz’s diatribe, uttered at the outbreak of war between England and Germany, is the most notorious in a line of condemnation of English music as being light, ephemeral and existing merely to serve a mass culture.⁹ His opinions are, however, not entirely unjustified. Also, it cannot be denied that the English have done themselves no favours by not defending their musical heritage with sufficient vigour. Sadie notes:

Our readiness to accept a musical back seat and our refusal to make unjustifiable claims on behalf of British music have tended to blind us to the true facts of the musical life of eighteenth-century England.¹⁰

More recently, Holman has presented another perspective on the debate, arguing:

We are still prone to ignore and undervalue whole slices of our musical heritage, for reasons that have little to do with proper critical evaluation, and much to do with outmoded notions of nationalism and progress, and with the way the history of music developed as a subject in the last century.¹¹

Much nineteenth-century scholarship came from Germanic authors, continuing in America in the twentieth century, especially following the exodus of those opposed to the Nazis. Although two world wars helped to ferment an anti-German feeling in England,

⁶ Oscar A. H. Schmitz, *Das Land ohne Musik: Englische Gesellschaftsprobleme* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1914). The title page is reproduced in Norman Lebrecht, *Music in London: [a historical handbook]* (London: Aurum, 1992), p. 3.

⁷ Lebrecht, *Music in London*, p. 171.

⁸ ‘Die Engländer sind das einzige Kulturvolk ohne eigene Musik (Gassenhauer ausgenommen)’, Schmitz, *Das Land ohne Musik*, p. 30. Also cited in Lebrecht, *Music in London*, p. 2. Although Schmitz was making a socio-political comment on Britain at the time, it is perhaps significant that he chose to use the word ‘Musik’ in preference to ‘Hochkultur’ (high culture), or even ‘Seele’ (soul) in the title (and also as the heading for the first chapter).

⁹ See Holman, ‘Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future’, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰ Stanley Sadie, ‘Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century England’, *PRMA* 85 (1958), p. 17.

¹¹ Holman, ‘Pride or Prejudice? Peter Holman’s Plea for 18th-Century English Music’, *MT* 133 (1992), p. 504.

there was little response in the way of critical musical writing to present an alternative perspective on the state of music in England.

Eighteenth-century English solo song has suffered further by being accorded the status of ‘popular’ music, largely through its association with the pleasure gardens: music performed at these venues has been disregarded as transient and unworthy of serious study. Banfield compares eighteenth-century English song unfavourably with that of the twentieth century:

A vast and facile productivity is amply evident and ... the overall impression is one of worthlessness.¹²

The ‘vastness’ part of Banfield’s statement cannot be denied: the sheer amount of material from this period is sufficient to deter researchers from exploring the area thoroughly.

Whether the music is truly as ‘facile’ as he asserts rests upon an appraisal of the *galant* style, in which much of the music was composed. This style, consisting of light, airy, dance-like music, declined substantially in the wake of the French Revolution, being condemned as insufficiently ‘serious’ or ‘moral’ and a reflection of aristocratic behaviour. Music that continued to be written in a decadent style would have attracted criticism from those aspiring to a new world order.¹³

Although some attempt has been made to rectify this situation in recent years, the perception of English eighteenth-century concert songs being little more than the transient entertainment of a bygone age has remained. The few songs still within the consciousness of later generations, such as Hook’s ‘The Lass of Richmond Hill’ (1789), have either been transmuted into folk songs or become musical clichés, to be parodied by comedians rather

¹² Stephen Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), i, p. 3. It is noteworthy that one composer whom Banfield highlights, Finzi, was a strong supporter of the music of his eighteenth-century English forebears. See Chapter Seven for a discussion of Finzi’s opinions.

¹³ See Daniel Hertz/Bruce Alan Brown, ‘Galant’, *The New Grove*, ix, pp. 430-32 for a summary discussion of the *galant* style. More detailed reference will be made elsewhere in this study.

than given serious consideration by scholars and performers.¹⁴ This residual, and very incomplete, ‘skeleton’ that has been handed down to us has been fleshed out during the intervening years in ways that obscure the songs’ true identity because the culture that enabled their creation has disappeared. Certainly there have been critical editions and recordings of some songs, with original instrumentation, in recent decades, but as yet these have only shed a limited amount of light on the repertoire. As Hood remarks:

When a culture has finished with any [musical] tradition, when it no longer communicates or ceases to fill whatever function it has filled esthetically or otherwise, then it will most certainly disappear,¹⁵

What is a ‘concert song’? The obvious answer is that of a song intended for performance in a concert, but this raises the issue of defining a ‘concert’. Early concerts were called ‘consorts’, a fellowship, partnership or company of people making music. To do so effectively there had to be an agreement (a ‘concert’) between the participants, thus the word in its modern sense is a semantic amalgam of these two words, a group of people, in agreement, performing music.¹⁶ Tilmouth gives a date of c.1713 for the adoption of the word ‘concert’, meaning a musical performance before an audience, in London, though provincial musicians did not adopt this term until later.¹⁷ Such a performance need not involve a non-participating audience, though this became increasingly so as music became available to more and more people during the eighteenth century. Although ‘private’ concerts did not decline as their public counterparts grew, the prefaces to some song collections published in the early years of the eighteenth century, suggest that some music was conceived with private performance in mind;¹⁸ its initial

¹⁴ One notable example was in 1977 (broadcast 26 November) when The Two Ronnies, themselves parodying the popular theatre duo Hinge and Bracket (as ‘Ball and Socket’), performed a version of Arne’s ‘Where the Bee Sucks’ as ‘Where the cow slips, there slip I’.

¹⁵ Mantle Hood, ‘The Consensus Makers of Asian Music’, *Perspectives in Musicology: the inaugural lectures of the Ph. D. program in music at the City University of New York*, ed. Barry S. Brook, Edward O.D. Downes & Sherman van Solkema (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 204.

¹⁶ Michael Tilmouth, ‘Chamber Music in England 1675-1720’, 2 vols. (Unpublished PhD diss., Christ’s College, Cambridge, 1960), i, p. 55. See also William Weber, ‘Concert’, *The New Grove*, vi, p. 221.

¹⁷ See H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician *Extraordinaire*’, *JRMA* 133 (2008), 93-127 for examples of the use of ‘consort’, a term Morris used until his death in 1727.

¹⁸ See pp. 129 & 131 for examples.

reception appears to have encouraged circulation to a wider audience both through public performance and publication.

The term ‘song’ also raises problems. Hunter defines it as a ‘free-standing, single musical work, with or without additional verses, comprising any number of vocal parts, with or without instrumental accompaniment’.¹⁹ This is a useful starting point, but eighteenth-century concert songs have additional distinctive features. First, the vast majority were for a single voice; this represents a significant change from earlier song books, which usually contained works for one, two and three voices. Second, many English cantatas, notable early examples of which have been excluded from Hunter’s bibliography,²⁰ appear to have been written for concert performance and should therefore be considered a part of the overall repertoire. Finally, and most importantly, most eighteenth-century concert songs had an accompaniment either for instrumental ensemble or orchestra; this may be considered a defining characteristic, making many eighteenth-century songs distinctive from their predecessors, being performed with instruments at a variety of venues. The development of this key characteristic was achieved by the combining of two instrumental ensembles, the continuo group and the string band, and the gradual merging of their disparate roles to create one cohesive unit. The use of various combinations of instruments in conjunction with the voice gives the genre its ‘concerted’ element.

The term used in this study is a modern one, one of convenience, though not without precedent.²¹ Other terms were considered, but rejected as inappropriate. ‘Classical Song’ is certainly misleading because in music-historical terms it refers only to the latter

¹⁹ David Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England 1703-1726: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1997), p. xiii.

²⁰ See *ibid.*, fn.17. These cantata collections are those of Pepusch, Daniel Purcell, Galliard, Hayden, Bononcini and Ariosti. Hunter does not include them, or arias from cantatas, because they were published as complete works, though he does include arias from operas which appear without preceding recitatives.

²¹ Hoskins uses the term to describe Arnold’s Vauxhall Songs. See Robert Hoskins, ‘Dr Samuel Arnold (1740-1802): A Historical Assessment’ (Unpublished PhD diss., University of Auckland, 1982), p. 95.

part of the eighteenth century, even though much of the music under consideration here was composed during this period. ‘Art Song’, which Osborne calls ‘off-putting’ (‘elitist’ in today’s language),²² does at least situate the concert song within the world of Art Music, although its provenances are more eclectic than this term might imply. ‘Orchestral Song’ means a song with orchestral accompaniment, but not necessarily within the context of the concert, although this association may reasonably be inferred. ‘Popular Song’ sets the parameters for discussion in too broad a manner, even if the songs were popular in their day. Both ‘Garden Song’ and ‘Vauxhall Song’ are also unsuitable because, although many songs were written for the pleasure gardens, Vauxhall in particular, there is nothing especially unique about them when compared to other contemporary songs, thus no special claim can be made on the musical content despite the gardens being a fertile field for the genre.

There is also the question ‘when is a concert song’? Songs performed frequently in concerts create an association between music and venue, but one that may not reflect the music’s origins. Indeed, the widespread practice of performing excerpts from dramatic works in concerts today might cause them to be perceived as concert music if their contextual associations have become obscured over time. Many song collections contain items from theatre works, which illustrates the level of influence of theatre music upon the concert repertory; notable examples can be found in Arne’s *Vocal Melody* (1746-52) and *The Agreeable Musical Choice* (1753-60). Perhaps the best example is Arne’s ‘Rule Britannia’, originally the finale to *The Masque of Alfred* (1740), but now very much regarded as a ‘concert song’, and possibly seen as such before the end of the eighteenth century. It is certainly true that designations on the title pages of eighteenth-century collections such as, ‘sung by [Mrs Weichsell] at [Vauxhall]’, do not automatically mean

²² Osborne, *The Concert Song Companion*, p. 9.

‘written for [Mrs Weichsell] to be sung at [Vauxhall]’, though this was probably the case, especially as many song composers were musicians at concert venues.

A concert song is therefore best described (rather than defined) as one with accompaniment for orchestra or instrumental ensemble written for concert performance, or one from a larger work that has subsequently become associated with the concert. The term is deliberately centred upon the performance context, broadly considered, rather than on the work itself, as this fits with contemporary generic and conceptual thought.²³ A concert song is free-standing, capable of being placed anywhere in a concert programme with no consequent loss of either musical or contextual meaning.

Although distinctive, the concert song was not an *ex nihilo* creation: opera, theatre, ballads and traditional songs, and even instrumental music, exerted an influence. These influences are reflected in the musical forms in which the songs were cast; some are strophic and straightforward, others use extended forms and often require considerable technique on the part of the singer. Some songs combine the vocal line with multiple solo instrumental parts imitating the various concerto forms employed during the century.

The accompaniment, whether for an orchestra or smaller instrumental ensemble, could consist of various combinations of instruments depending upon the available performers. The music was often adapted for use outside concert venues, many songs being published as keyboard reductions, with additional alternative versions for flute and/or English guitar to attract greater sales. Often these reduced versions are the sole surviving source, and the implications of this practice form a major topic of this study.

The exclusion of this genre from the canon, with the consequent general perspective thereon, has meant that specific literature is limited. With the exception of Goodall, who focuses on the secular cantata,²⁴ little has been done beyond two American DMA theses

²³ See Jim Samson, ‘Genre’, *The New Grove*, ix, p. 658.

²⁴ Richard Goodall, *Eighteenth-Century English Secular Cantatas* (New York: Garland, 1989).

and a few short but informative articles. These shorter works point the way for further study, suggesting several possible routes into the subject – indeed Goodall draws considerably on the writings of Beechey, Boyd and Johnstone in his own research.²⁵

Goodall builds on the work of the above authors, creating a comprehensive survey of the secular solo cantata in eighteenth-century England, without which it would not be possible even to begin a wider survey of contemporary vocal music. The title of the published version is, however, something of a misnomer as he also discusses through-composed solo song in some detail; this is more apparent in the title of his original thesis.²⁶ He focuses primarily on structure and the relationship between music and text within the dramatic milieu of the cantata, and goes to some lengths to demonstrate the individual approaches of many English composers. Although his work is of considerable value, his omission of the rondo and the strophic song inevitably leaves a large part of the musical picture unpainted, thus making a wider appraisal of eighteenth-century English song worthwhile. Also, Goodall's work might be described as 'traditional' musicology, in that it does not give great weight to the surrounding socio-cultural issues that enabled the cantata to develop. Social history, iconography and literary history, which have become increasingly important to the study of music in more recent times, help to paint a much more vivid picture of the background to the music, and will therefore be examined in this study.

Goodall's work reveals the wealth of vocal repertoire available to both amateur and professional musicians in the eighteenth century. The second, unpublished, volume of his thesis lists both printed and manuscript sources of secular cantatas, and the amount of

²⁵ Gwilym Beechey, 'Songs and Cantatas of Eighteenth-Century England', *The Consort: Annual Journal of the Dolmetsch Foundation* 49 (1993), 30-40; Malcolm Boyd, 'English Secular Cantatas in the Eighteenth Century', *MR* 30 (1969), 85-97; H. Diack Johnstone, 'English Solo Song, c.1710-1760', *PRMA* 95 (1968-9), 67-80.

²⁶ Goodall, 'Through-composed Solo Song and Chamber Cantata in England, 1660-c.1780', 2 vols. (Unpublished DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1979).

material is considerable, printed sources considerably outweighing manuscripts. When the vocal music that he does not discuss is added to the above, then some idea of the amount of source material (Banfield's 'vastness') can be gained.

However 'vast and facile' the repertoire may initially appear, one should not accept Banfield's sweeping statement as to its value without undertaking some study of the music. This has, in part, been done by Paul Rice in his thematic catalogue of English secular cantatas, which is not only an obvious follow-up to Goodall, but, with its listings of instrumentations, provides a starting point for an examination of the scoring in the songs' accompaniments.²⁷

Although other specific literature is not abundant, it requires appraisal. Farish's monograph is devoted to Arne's songs through a discussion of some of his Vauxhall collections.²⁸ He presents a detailed discussion of those he sees as the most important: the two volumes of *Lyric Harmony* (1745-6), *Vocal Melody, Volume 1* (1746), *The New Songs Sung at Vaux-Hall* (1765), *Summer Amusement* (1766) and *The Vocal Grove* (1774).²⁹ He shows that Arne's compositional method in these collections is much more complex than is immediately obvious, and that his music deserves further study.

However, Farish's selectivity proves to be both the strength and weakness of his work. By limiting his discussion to those collections he ignores the significance of others. In particular, the *Six Cantatas* of 1754-55 are overlooked, possibly because they contain no specific reference to Vauxhall, although the fact that the music is scored for a full orchestra suggests that Arne had this venue in mind when they were written. The use of an orchestra to accompany the voice and Arne's scoring conventions do not appear to

²⁷ Paul F. Rice, *The Solo Cantata in Eighteenth-Century Britain: A Thematic Catalogue*, Detroit Studies in Musical Bibliography 84 (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 2003).

²⁸ Stephen Farish, 'The Vauxhall Songs of Thomas Augustine Arne' (Unpublished DMA diss., University of Illinois, 1962).

²⁹ Farish gives a date of c.1760 for *Summer Amusement*, which is now generally accepted as 1766, largely due to the names of the singers and the dates when they were professionally active.

have had much significance for Farish, as he does not discuss them in any real detail; since the orchestra was the principal medium of song accompaniment at this time his arguments are thereby weakened. This selectivity is unfortunate, especially as writings on the orchestra and orchestration, particularly those of Carse and Nettel,³⁰ were available at the time of his study, but were apparently not consulted. Arne's vocal music is imaginatively scored and, along with the work of some of his contemporaries, show that native composers were experimenting with the use of the orchestra in a manner independent of the Italians and endeavouring to find an individual musical voice. The fact that the *Six Cantatas* may also have been the first 'concert cantatas' to be published as a collection also seems to have escaped Farish's notice.

Farish hangs much of his argument on the concept of stereotyping. He lists six characteristics of Arne's songs, which, by implication, might be applied elsewhere.³¹

1. Strophic form
2. Binary structure
3. Ritornelli
4. Major tonality
5. Triple metre
6. Love poetry

Any notion of stereotype is, however, only extant on a superficial level; a closer reading of Arne's songs shows a wide variety of form, structure, and tonality that questions Farish's argument. This matter is discussed further in Chapter Three.

The other substantial study is that of Borschel, who endeavours to situate the music within its historical context, and to outline the developments in English song that took place between 1745 and 1784.³² Her work assesses the output of a small number of

³⁰ Adam Carse, *The History of Orchestration* (London: Keegan Paul & Co, 1925); Carse, *The Orchestra in the XVIIIth Century* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1940); Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England: A Social History* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1946). There is no reference to these works in Farish's bibliography.

³¹ Farish, 'The Vauxhall Songs of Thomas Augustine Arne', p. 37. See pp. 175-176 for a further discussion of these characteristics.

³² Audrey Borschel, 'Development of English Song within the Musical Establishment of Vauxhall Gardens 1745-1784' (Unpublished DMA diss., University of British Columbia, 1985).

composers, most notably Arne and Hook, with detailed analysis of a few selected songs, placing emphasis on their performance. Her thesis, however, is more of a description through selected musical examples rather than a rigorous investigation of generic development. The songs she discusses provide a framework for criticism, but leave the impression that little actually changed during the period under discussion, when there were innovations of considerable importance in both structure and orchestration during the second half of the century. Borschel does, however, raise two important issues for further discussion: the leisure culture of the eighteenth century, especially concerning the pleasure gardens, and the influence of the publishing industry; both will be discussed in this study.

Borschel, Farish and Goodall all hint at a quest by native composers for a distinctive musical identity, especially as a reaction to the seemingly all-pervasive Italian opera. Aspden's research on the politics of opera in England during the 1730s – showing how challenges to the supremacy of the Italians were mounted through works such as *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), *Hurlothrumbo* (1729) and *The Dragon of Wantley* (1737) – illustrates the struggles of composers who sought to produce equally strong dramatic music.³³ Although there was a definite ebb and flow of English composers' fortunes, they were on occasions able to capitalise on an anti-Italian feeling among the public and produce works that have, to some degree, remained within its consciousness. Some songs from theatre works, notably those of a patriotic nature (again, 'Rule Britannia' features prominently), have subsequently gained a wider audience, but are a small minority when set against the overall output of the century.

Aspden's work also shows that the development of the concert song was not entirely due to musical influences. Social change and a sense of weariness with political

³³ Suzanne Aspden, 'Opera and Nationalism in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain' (Unpublished DPhil diss. University of Oxford, 1999).

wrangling over opera are equally relevant to the emergence of a national song style in the eighteenth century and therefore cannot be ignored. Her work also helps to situate Handel, the most significant composer *not* to have composed concert songs, within the history of the genre. Following years of mixed fortunes with opera, Handel turned to oratorio, achieving considerable success with the secular *Alexander's Feast* in 1736. Oratorio became a bridge between stage works and secular song as it provided drama through the music itself, rather than through actions. It was also influential in elevating Handel to the status of a national musical icon. Although not a 'garden' composer, Handel did write a small number of English songs with continuo accompaniment, mainly in the pastoral tradition, mostly between c.1711 and 1746. These form a minor part of his output, and are problematic because of doubtful authenticity, many having been derived from other vocal, and sometimes instrumental, music for use in contemporary English theatre works, but show him willing to experiment with English as an expressive language.³⁴ Handel's influence upon native composers varied, but was important in the early years of the concert song, and needs to be given due attention.

Although the songs under consideration are those where there is a demonstrable connection with concert performance, reference is made to other contemporary vocal music, notably Italian opera and English theatre: both exerted an influence upon the concert song at various times during the century. The most important reference work on eighteenth-century English theatre music is Fiske's detailed survey.³⁵ Although concerts and their venues are given only brief mention, Fiske has done eighteenth-century English theatre music a valuable service by bringing it to the attention of the scholarly community

³⁴ The earliest dated English song is the cantata *Venus and Adonis* (c.1711); the latest is the Culloden ode *From Scourging Rebellion* (1746). For the provenances and contemporary publication history of these songs see Bernt Basel (ed.), *Handel Handbuch*, vol. 2, 'Oratorische Werke, Vokale Kammermusik, Kirchenmusik' (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, c.1984), pp. 631 & 635-646.

³⁵ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

in a way that many might have not attempted because of the vastness of the task.

Similarly, the numerous court odes of the period have already been examined in detail by Rosamond McGuinness.³⁶ Because of the material already present in these two works, the music they appraise will only be referred to briefly, except where it is of direct relevance either to the output of the composer under discussion, or to the wider history of the concert song.

Existing literature thus gives little attention to two aspects of the concert song as a multi-faceted genre: the accompaniment and the social history of the music. The development of the accompaniment will form the central part of this study as it has hitherto received virtually no scholarly attention. These accompaniments, with their varied and often innovative use of instruments are a useful indicator of the development of the orchestra, as well as having some aesthetic appeal. Before the eighteenth century, secular songs outside the theatre had been largely written for voice and keyboard alone, although there are antecedents to orchestral accompaniment in the symphony songs of Purcell, Blow and their contemporaries, and possibly earlier in the consort songs of Elizabethan and Jacobean times.³⁷ The eighteenth century saw the growth of instrumental accompaniment to solo vocal music, initially for a chamber ensemble, as seen in the cantatas of Pepusch and his contemporaries, then for an orchestra, firstly as incidental music in theatres but later in concerts when vocal music had become an accepted part of their programmes.

Keyboard instruments and continuo songs were not abandoned entirely, however, and songs with continuo accompaniment continued to be written. Also, the publishing of the music in two-stave short score allowed many orchestral songs to be performed with

³⁶ Rosamond McGuinness, *English Court Odes 1660-1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

³⁷ See *The Works of Henry Purcell*, Vol. 27, *Symphony Songs*, ed. Bruce Wood, (London: Stainer & Bell, 2007). See also Philip Brett, 'The English Consort Song, 1570-1625', *PRMA* 88 (1961-2), 73-88 for a more detailed discussion of this repertoire.

keyboard accompaniment. For a while these two accompaniments co-existed, but the early modern piano, with its greater range of dynamics and colours, eventually proved a more versatile, and cheaper, alternative to the orchestra. Songs from the later years of the century, written for public concerts and performed with orchestra, were almost exclusively published in a keyboard format that left few, if any, indications as to scoring, publishers having turned to the most profitable means of dissemination. Reasonably accurate reconstructions are possible by studying how these reductions were made, though a dearth of manuscripts makes the task more difficult, and it is regrettable that more have not survived.³⁸

One noteworthy aspect of the orchestral accompaniment that has emerged is the apparent influence of instrumental genres on the scoring. It is assumed that ‘new’ vocal music will draw on existing vocal genres: the concert song did this, and there is ample evidence of opera, both *seria* and *buffa*, oratorio, theatre and ballads having played their part. However, composers also appear to have employed the techniques used in the instrumental works performed alongside their songs. Although evidence is patchy until the advent of ‘symphonic’ scoring (flutes/oboes, horns, strings and continuo) towards the end of the 1750s it is possible to draw parallels between the scoring of Pepusch’s early cantatas and his sonatas; also, the use of two continuo groups in some cantatas by William Hayes in the 1740s seemingly copies the groupings in the *concerto grosso*. In the 1760s and 1770s the use of one or more *obbligato* instruments alongside the voice in songs by J.C. Bach, Arnold and others suggests the influence of the *sinfonia concertante*, and symphonic-style scoring in the later decades of the century mirrors that of symphonies from the Austro-German school. English composers, however, preferred flutes to oboes, partly to make the music attractive to amateurs, but possibly as a statement of independent

³⁸ The principal locations of MSS are GB-Lbl; GB-Lcm; GB-Lmt; GB-Ob; GB-Cul and GB-Ckc.

thought when there was little in the way of a native ‘school’ of instrumental composition.

Because the genre has received little scholarly attention it is not surprising that knowledge of its musical style is also lacking. Heartz uses J. C. Bach to represent the English *galant* style, implying that it had not been adopted prior to his arrival, despite ample evidence of its use at least thirty years previously. Gjerdingen’s discussion of the style’s harmonic features (complete with idiosyncratic terminology) also largely ignores England; while Fiske’s brief discussion focuses on the introduction of the symphony to England in the late 1750s.³⁹ All three concentrate on genres within the canon, which few eighteenth-century English composers explored in any depth. The resultant impression is that all English music imitated Handel until his death, following which there was a short hiatus until Bach’s arrival in 1762, leading to a sudden transformation in musical style. It is therefore necessary to examine non-canonic genres to appraise the *galant* style in England, and the concert song is one such genre, especially as its orchestral accompaniments provide many examples of the style’s development.

The social history of the genre also requires investigation. Although London, as the capital city, might reasonably be expected to have played a leading role in the genesis of the concert song, this was not entirely the case. In fact, the genre appears to have had some of its origins in provincial music societies, where ready access to recently published music was not as easy as in the capital; local talent appears to have been called upon in a number of cases. Cathedral cities, with a resident body of professional musicians, were obvious centres of provincial music-making, as were the university cities of Oxford and Cambridge, but surviving evidence points to wider musical activity than might be imagined. The fact that music societies existed can be attributed to urban development in

³⁹ Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780* (New York & London: W. W. Norton, 2003); Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Fiske, ‘Concert Music II: The Galant Style comes to Britain’, *Music in Britain*, Vol. 4 ‘The Eighteenth Century’, ed. H. Diack Johnstone & Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 205-210.

the period following the Restoration, as documented by Borsay among others,⁴⁰ and the parallel growth of cultural activities within these centres.

However, as the eighteenth century progressed, London exerted a centralising influence on cultural life. As transport improved so communication between the capital and the provinces became easier, leading to London's cultural trends being copied elsewhere. In particular, London's places of public entertainment became models, with provincial clones springing up in developing cities such as Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool. As a result, provincial music merely imitated that of London towards the end of the century, whereas there had been greater signs of individualism in earlier decades. Some evidence of two-way traffic in music can be found in the subscription lists of some song collections, where London societies bought works by provincial composers, but these are relatively few in number.⁴¹ This diminution in independent provincial musical thought helped to lead the concert song into stagnation, thence into decline, by 1800.

The principal venues for the performance of concert songs were the London pleasure gardens. Had they not vigorously promoted vocal music from the mid-1740s onwards, the concert song might have remained an insignificant, provincial genre. London was able to provide more extensive public arenas where all music, particularly that of native composers, could be heard. Equally importantly, these establishments offered entertainments that bridged the gap between the musical and social extremes of opera and the tavern, thus helping to weaken class barriers and to create a sense of 'national' culture.⁴² These arenas represent a part of England's cultural heritage that, arguably, has become as lost to us as the songs they helped to nurture. Although Rogers

⁴⁰ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

⁴¹ See Jennifer Burchell, 'Musical Societies in Subscription Lists: an overlooked Resource', *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music IX*, ed. Michael Burden & Irena Cholić (Oxford: Burden & Cholić, 1998) for evidence of the dissemination of music as found in subscription lists.

⁴² See Paul F. Rice, 'Musical Nationalism and the Vauxhall Gardens', *Lumen: Selected Proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth Century Studies* 19 (2000), 69-88, for a brief discussion of this matter.

asserts that they were a short-lived attempt to prevent a widening gulf between high and popular art forms, a form of papering over the underlying cultural cracks of the era, ‘an intellectual effort to check the process’,⁴³ this does not diminish the importance of these venues as places of diverse cultural experiences, with entertainments to suit all tastes. They created a form of superficial social cohesion through culture before the gap between art and popular forms widened. Any perceived cultural stop-gap is inevitably going to be seen as transient by later generations, but the art within it need not, and therefore requires an independent appraisal.

To some extent these venues were part of a move towards the creation of a sense of ‘democracy’ within the cultural life of the age. Vauxhall, with its one-shilling admission fee on most nights, was the most remarkable in this respect. McVeigh has described this milieu as ‘a quintessentially eighteenth-century form of refined but not precious amusement’,⁴⁴ meaning that there was something for everybody to enjoy, without any prerequisite cultural erudition. Quinlan also remarks:

It was democratic in the sense that all could come to it without fear of contempt. It was a place where lord and labourer were free of care.⁴⁵

Quinlan’s perception of the garden culture is, however, one of his own times, the words ‘democracy’ and ‘democratic’ being used in a way that implies a sense of naïve idealism. Writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries adopted a somewhat romanticised attitude towards extinct cultural phenomena. For example, Scott and Southworth both give factual, if rose-tinted, narratives, but are short on incisive criticism.⁴⁶ Southworth’s comment that eighteenth-century entertainments are

⁴³ Pat Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (Sussex: Harvester, 1985), p. 200. Rogers refers specifically to Ranelagh, but the wider implication is clear.

⁴⁴ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 44.

⁴⁵ John Quinlan, ‘Music as Entertainment in 18th-Century London’, *MT* 73 (1932), p. 613.

⁴⁶ W.S. Scott, *Green Retreats: The Story of Vauxhall Gardens 1661-1859* (London: Odhams Press, 1955); James Granville Southworth, *Vauxhall Gardens: A Chapter in the Social History of England*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).

‘simplicity’, as opposed to the ‘surface elegance’ of those of the following century is insufficiently developed to enable the reader to reach an informed judgement. More recently, Brewer, Plumb and Porter have provided more balanced perspectives, detailing the role of music within eighteenth-century society, and how it helped nurture consumerism and the leisure culture:⁴⁷

[London] aspired to elegance, but in reality it was a bit chaotic, all manner and conditions of people managing to show their face and create their own fun.⁴⁸

Despite the songs being performed in these places of public (and, to an extent, popular) entertainment, they were conceived, composed and moulded in the traditions of art music, and performed by some of the leading artists of the era. Both Kidson and Sands have observed that, if it were not for the music performed at the pleasure gardens, there would be little to show for the repertory of English music during this period in our history.⁴⁹ However, these opinions ignore the possibility of concert life flourishing at other venues; both authors appear to succumb to the same temptation as Scott and Southworth, portraying the gardens as a unique breeding ground for native music. In reality the gardens and theatres, both provincial and metropolitan, were the most significant promoters of native composers’ contributions to the cultural life of the era. The concert song thus owes much to those who pioneered a specific repertoire of vocal music in concerts.

Once established, the concert song became popular, reaching its zenith between the 1760s and 1780s. Its eclectic nature can be seen through the music written for virtuoso *fioratura* performers such as Frederika Weichsell and ballad singers such as Joseph

⁴⁷ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrer Straus Giroux, 1997); J.H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Pelican, 1950. Repr. 1963); Plumb, *Georgian Delights* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1980); Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin, 1982); Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Penguin, 1994).

⁴⁸ Porter, *London: A Social History*, p. 211.

⁴⁹ See Frank Kidson, ‘Nurseries of English Song’, *MT* 63 (1922), 394-395 & 620-622 and Mollie Sands, ‘Music of the Eighteenth-Century Pleasure Gardens’, *MMR* 69 (1939), 303-307.

Vernon. These songs form a musical spectrum that is unique to its time, mirroring every aspect of the musical life of the age, imitating operatic arias, theatre songs, chamber cantatas and tavern ballads, endeavouring to cater for each and every social class and taste. As Doughty has observed, ‘in its own rough, hoarse manner, the eighteenth century sang, and sang often’;⁵⁰ also in many ways; thus it might be argued that the genre created an element of social cohesion by appealing to a wide section of the community, even if only temporarily.

This summary discussion of the concert song demonstrates a need for further investigation, in particular the issue of the orchestral accompaniment and how it developed. This study therefore seeks to create an understanding of eighteenth-century English secular song, initially by extending Goodall’s approach to the wider repertoire, but emphasising the role of the orchestra. Although orchestration is the main focus of attention, structure, style, the music-text relationship and publication are given appropriate weight, especially where they are related to the instrumentation.

Although primarily a historical study, the project has been undertaken with the perspectives and concerns of editing and performance in mind, taking the practical applications that may be derived from such an approach into consideration. It also attempts to place the music within a wider musical and social context, examining the changes that took place during the eighteenth century. This approach might seem unusual, but can be justified on the grounds of endeavouring to paint as full a picture of the genre as possible, something that has hitherto not been attempted.

Goodall’s conclusion on the relationship between music and text is open to question – did this really suffer the ‘final and irretrievable breakdown’ he asserts?⁵¹ Also, has the trend towards publishing the music in reduction really left insufficient information to

⁵⁰ Oswald Doughty, ‘Eighteenth-Century Song’, *English Studies* 7 (1925), 161-9, p.161.

⁵¹ Goodall, *Cantatas*, p.265

enable a reconstruction of the full score? Scholarship has developed considerably in recent times, especially concerning our understanding of orchestration, therefore much more is now possible than was the case thirty years ago, thus Goodall's assertion that attempts at reconstruction may only meet with limited success needs to be tested and challenged.⁵²

It is not possible to attempt a fully comprehensive survey of such a large repertoire within the space available, therefore the principal sources have been the single-author collections, many of which, as well as being the most numerous, contain much information on scoring. Reference is necessarily made, however, to single songs, anthologies and periodical contents, but these are generally used to make specific points. Also, many songs from these other sources are often later versions of the 'original' in the collections.

To enable a fully critical evaluation, specific data from each song has been collated. In addition to standard terms of reference (composer, author of text (where known), structure, key, tempo and meter), the title, textual incipit, the broad textual category (e.g. pastoral or romantic), singer, venue, and scoring (in as far as it can be deduced) have been added. This information has been collated in both printed and electronic forms; the latter may, in time, become an online database of eighteenth-century secular song. The data helps underscore this source-based historical account of the genre and the discussion of its constituent parts.

From the collated data, it is possible to build a detailed picture of the music. As the information pertaining to the songs is often very specific, it is possible to relate certain singers to certain song styles, and, by cross-referencing with other literature, obtain some idea of the song's reception at the time of performance.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 237. Goodall states: 'economy-minded publishers generally reproduced them [the songs] in short score, and in such a haphazard fashion as to render reconstruction virtually impossible'.

Chapter One outlines the principal themes of the study, those of typology, the orchestra and orchestration, music and text, musical style, vocal technique and the publication and dissemination of the music. Set in broad terms, it is intended to act as a springboard into the more detailed parts of the study.

The remainder of the study takes a chronological approach, as this has been judged the best way of discussing the genre's history and evolution. Chapter Two examines the musical and socio-cultural background to the genre, including the seventeenth-century social and cultural developments that enabled a generic interaction on both musical and social levels, leading to the emergence of the concert song.

Chapters Three to Six detail the history of the genre from its early use in public concerts to 1800. The earliest collections (1740-1762) are examined in Chapter Three, with developments in both London and in the provinces being discussed in detail. The songs of the two principal composers of the period 1762-1782, Arne and J. C. Bach, are examined in Chapter Four; other composers, both native and foreign, in Chapter Five. Chapter Six explores the fortunes of the genre between 1782 and 1800.

Chapter Seven appraises the current status of the genre, and makes some suggestions for possible revival, both today and in the future.

From the above evidence, it can be seen that the concert song brings together many aspects of the social, cultural and musical developments of the eighteenth century. This makes it a genre worthy of further and deeper investigation, something this study endeavours to provide.

Chapter 1

The Study: Themes

A study of the orchestral concert song has much to offer in facilitating an understanding of music in eighteenth-century England. However, before embarking on a discussion of the music itself, it is necessary to set out the themes contained within such a study in order to see the genre and its development within the proper context. These are:

- a) Typology
- b) The Orchestra and Orchestration
- c) Musical Style
- d) Vocal Technique
- e) Music, Text and Context
- f) Publication

a) Typology

The concert song can be divided into four broad categories:

- 1) Arias and through-composed songs;
- 2) Ballads and strophic songs;
- 3) Cantatas;
- 4) Rondos.

This categorisation is based on the contemporary practice of using these terms as titles or subtitles to songs. Although probably originating from publishers rather than composers, the practice shows that certain genres were emphasised to give the music additional appeal, thus boosting sales. Alternatively, it may have been a way of highlighting forms other than strophic songs, which form the bulk of the concert song repertoire.

Arias and through-composed songs

The concert aria in England may be defined as an extended work, sometimes through-composed, sometimes in two or more distinct sections, but without strophic repeats. Possible English antecedents can be found in the 'ayres' of the lutenist composers, notably in Dowland's *Pilgrimes Solace* (1612), which includes three

contrapuntal songs with a obbligato viol part. However, as many ‘ayres’ were strophic, this term is misleading unless used to differentiate art song from the ballad.

Many songs in seventeenth-century publications are referred to as ‘Ayres’, but this term could mean both vocal and instrumental accompanied tunes.¹ Vocal ‘ayres’, often borrowed from stage works, appear to have been included in concert programmes from the inception of the concert.

A more sophisticated type of song appeared in the late seventeenth century: the extended or multi-sectional solo song. Its foremost exponent was undoubtedly Purcell, whose ability to mix *secco* recitative, arioso and aria in duple and triple time with a complex harmonic language places him among the finest of English song composers. These songs, being unstaged mini-dramas would have been well suited to concert performance.²

Most of Purcell’s extended songs are scored for voice and continuo alone. However, the symphony songs with instrumental accompaniment may have featured in concerts. Although, as Tilmouth points out, these songs were conceived as chamber music,³ the publication of two shortly after composition suggests concert performance, probably at York Buildings. ‘How pleasant is the flow’ring Plain’ (1682-3) and ‘Soft Notes and gently rais’d’ (1683-4), appeared in *The Banquet of Musick*, Volume I (1688) and *The Theatre of Musick*, Volume II (1685) respectively; both were also published in Volume I of *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698), giving some indication of their popularity, both during Purcell’s lifetime and after. Each is scored for one or two recorders or violins and continuo, suitable for the court, but not so intimate as to preclude performance elsewhere.

¹ See David Greer, ‘Air’, §2 ‘The English Ayre, 1597-1650,’ *The New Grove*, i, pp. 253-4 for further discussion of the genre and Michael Tilmouth, ‘Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719),’ *RMARC* 1 (1961), 1-107 for examples in publications.

² See Margaret Laurie, ‘Purcell’s Extended Solo Songs,’ *MT* 125 (1984), 19-25 for a fuller discussion of these songs.

³ See Tilmouth, ‘Chamber Music in England’, p. 7.

In provincial concerts, where excerpts were performed in preference to complete works, ‘airs’ were the mainstay of secular solo vocal music, even after the concert song became popular. An early example can be found in the correspondence of James Harris (1709-80), where a letter from John Kent of Salisbury gives the content of a concert there in early 1740; the vocal solos were ‘airs’ from Handel’s *Esther*, *Alexander’s Feast* and *Saul*.⁴

Although the inclusion of popular arias from operas and oratorios may have encouraged the creation of a specific concert repertoire, examples only appeared towards the end of the 1750s, the concert aria’s relatively late appearance probably stemming from its association with Italian opera, a world alien to many native composers. The *da capo* aria was generally avoided, native composers preferring multi-sectional or binary structures, although it appears in some cantatas, the cantata being generally perceived as an Italian genre. A move away from the *da capo* structure in opera in the 1760s, notably in those of J. C. Bach, encouraged native composers to develop alternative, through-composed structures, both for stage works and for other milieus. John Worgan’s ‘Oh stay, brightest Liberty’ (1760) is an early example of an ‘English’ aria, using extended ternary form and a moderate tempo, being gently expressive but without *bravura*. The use of English in pleasure garden concerts may have enabled English arias to achieve some popularity with the public.

A greater degree of acceptance emerged in the wake of Arne’s opera *Artaxerxes* (1762), arias from this and similar works being made popular by the singers Charlotte Brent (1735-1802) and Frederika Weichsell (c.1745-86). The number of concert arias is small, but many are of high quality, requiring considerable technical accomplishment from the singer.

⁴ See Donald Burrows & Rosemary Dunhill (eds.), *Music and Theatre in Handel’s World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 90-92.

Ballads and Strophic Songs

Of the four song categories, the ballad is the oldest, being similar in social origin to the folk song. Although Watson asserts that folk songs informed and entertained, whereas the ballad's purpose was to make money, both for performer and publisher,⁵ any attempt to make a meaningful distinction in these terms is misleading as the two often overlap, in terms of both music and text. However, the comparative brevity of eighteenth-century English ballads (the term is often applied to 'songs'), having only three or four verses, in contrast with contemporary German songs by such as Reichardt, with numerous verses,⁶ suggests a move to create a commercially viable genre of vocal music, a song of sufficient length to tell a story or describe a situation, within the confines of a concert programme.

The ballad was originally a literary form before becoming associated with music. By using narration rather than description, it offered a direct message to its audience. However, the categorisation of the Norfolk (later London) doctor, dissenter and essayist John Aikin (1747-1822) suggests that description was more common in his day:⁷

- 1) The Village Tale
- 2) The Dialogue of Rustic Courtship
- 3) The Description of Natural Objects
- 4) The Incidents of Rural Life

Despite Aikin's rural associations, the ballad's circulation was largely urban, announcing news and events as well as being a vehicle for political satire. However, its rusticity would have appealed to those seeking relief from city life, thus explaining its association with the pleasure gardens where many songs were cast in a ballad-like mould. Its rejection of Italian display and classical text in favour of a simple structure, topicality and a forthright manner of delivery also appealed to those seeking a type of 'national'

⁵ Ian Watson, *Songs and Democratic Culture in Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 15.

⁶ See, for example, *Schillers Lyrische Gedichte mit musik von Johann Freidrich Reichardt*, ed. Rainer Gstrein & Andreas Meier, *Das Erbe Deutsche Musik 125*, (München: G. Henle Verlag, 2005).

⁷ [John Aikin] *Essays on Song-Writing with a Collection of Such English Songs as Are Most Eminent for Poetical Merit by John Aikin*, 2nd edn., ed. R.H. Evans (London: Printed for R.H. Evans, 1810), p. 19.

song, especially in the wake of *The Beggar's Opera*.

Many strophic songs developed from the ballad and folk repertoires, though their musical origins are often difficult to trace even if the texts are more readily identifiable. In the eighteenth century it was thought acceptable to 'modernise' the literature of the past to enable it to conform to the 'good taste' of the age, Pope's rewriting of Chaucer being a good example. As the ballad was seen as the product of former times (and therefore vulgar), efforts were made to refine it, leading to its transformation into art song. Both the advertisement and title page of Arne's *Lyric Harmony*, Volume I (1745) describe the book's contents as 'ballads', presumably to distinguish them from Italian opera arias, though they are art songs, with extended structures, ritornelli and descriptive texts.

Bronson offers an explanation and a *caveat* when he states:

If in the course of traditional singing a tune becomes transformed beyond recognition, it will be because extraneous circumstances have too powerfully intervened.⁸

Here, the 'extraneous circumstances' are the development of the art song foundation through the use of contemporary harmony and scoring, while retaining a native generic designation. According to some nineteenth-century authors, this refinement also led to traditional modality being changed into modern tonality. Baring-Gould asserts that D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1699-1719) was one of the first anthologies to adopt this practice, and that it soon spread, notably in *The Beggar's Opera* where the tune 'Greensleeves' had a sharpened seventh added.⁹ However, 'Greensleeves' is a descant on an Italian ground bass which migrated to England in the sixteenth century in two forms, the *romanesca* and the *passamezzo antico*; each has a different but similarly patterned chord sequence:

Romanesca: B \flat -F-g-D-B \flat -F-[g-D]-g Passamezzo antico: g-F-g-D-g-F-[g-D]-g

⁸ Bertrand H. Bronson, *The Ballad as Song* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 147.

⁹ *Minstrelsy of England*, ed. Sabine Baring-Gould, 8 vols. (Edinburgh: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1895-[1897]), Vol. 1, p. xvi.

Many ‘ballads’ were actually contemporary popular songs, one example being ‘Mr Lane’s Maggot’, which first appeared in the ninth edition of *The Dancing Master* (1695) and in Volume IV of *Thesaurus Musicus* (also 1695). In the latter, the song is entitled ‘a Song made by Mr D’Urfey upon a new Country Dance’, acknowledging that the tune is new but drawing on older traditions.¹⁰

Ward’s documenting of ‘Greensleeves, and other songs, reveals the true provenances of many ballads to be art songs whose origins have become obscured over time.¹¹ Contemporary audiences would have known little of the songs’ histories, though composers and publishers marketed them as ‘traditional’ tunes to reinforce a sense of national identity.

Allied to the ballad was the ‘Scotch Song’, a genre setting lowland Scots (though not Gaelic) texts. Although political union between England and Scotland did not take place until 1707, the accession of James I to the English throne in 1603 facilitated a migration of ‘Scots’ culture into England. The earliest Scots songs appeared in print in England in John Playford’s *The English Dancing Master* (1651), and became an integral part of anthologies for many years. The Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 appear to have affected the genre’s popularity, but it recovered in the 1750s, aided in part by Geminiani’s *Treatise on the Art of Good Taste* (1749), in which he (mistakenly) asserted that David Rizzio (c. 1525-1566), musician to Mary Queen of Scots, had ‘found means at once to civilise and inspire it [the music] with all the native Gallantry of the SCOTTISH Nature’, before which its Scots melody had been ‘intirely rude and Brutal’.¹² However,

¹⁰ See Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1966), p. 494. The word ‘maggot’ means ‘whim’ or ‘fancy’, and may allude to the English fantasia, then in decline.

¹¹ See John M. Ward, ‘And Who but Ladie Greensleeves’, *The Well-Enchanting Skill Music, Poetry and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of F. W. Sternfeld*, ed. John Caldwell, Edward Olleson & Susan Wollenberg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 183-211 for a detailed discussion of ‘Greensleeves’, especially pp. 196-211, which contain listings of all uses of the tune from the mid-sixteenth century to the present day.

¹² Geminiani, Preface to *A Treatise of Good Taste in the art of music dedicated to His Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales by F. Geminiani* (London: [s. n.], 1749).

Rizzio's 'refining' of the Scots song is fictitious, a short-lived cult apparently begun through attributions to him in Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725).¹³ Geminiani seems to have seen a need to improve the genre further 'by converting some of his Airs into two, three and four Parts; and by making such Additions and Accompaniments to others as should give them all the Variety and Fullness requir'd in a Concert';¹⁴ he is merely imposing his own taste upon 'old' music in order to make it appeal to a contemporary audience. His arrangement of 'The Lass of Patie's Mill', from Allan Ramsay's *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (1725), shows how much 'addition and accompaniment' he made; the song opens with a 27-bar introduction in which the tune is highly embellished, requiring considerable technical skill from the first violin. The voice has a four-part accompaniment very much in the contemporary *galant* style, with the second violins in thirds or sixths below the firsts and the viola largely a harmony part. The Scotch snap motif is avoided in favour of more conventional dotted rhythms and the verse is in binary form. A coda with similar instrumental display to that in the introduction completes the song. Geminiani's treatment of this work is suited to concert performance, but is also an extreme example of modern taste being imposed on 'traditional' music.

Embellished arrangements such as Geminiani's make a 'typical' ballad difficult to define. However, 'Ye Gods that gave me a Wife' from the ballad opera *The Devil to Pay* (1731), attributed to Seedo, is a possible candidate, having the following structure:¹⁵

Introduction – 4 bars
 1st couplet of text – 4 bars (repeated)
 2nd couplet of text – 6 bars (repeated). Includes a repeat of line 3
 Instrumental interlude – 2 bars

¹³ Thomson withdrew this attribution in the second edition (1733), but the legend persisted for some years. James Oswald and John Brown, like Geminiani, were subscribers to the 'Rizzio legend'. The attribution to 'David Rezzi' in the Castle Society collection of Songs for Tenducci (c.1770) may be the last example of this promotion of Rizzio. See John Brown (1715-66), *A Dissertation in the Rise, Union, and Power, The Progressions Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music* (London: Printed for L. Dawes and C. Reymer, 1763), facs. ed. (Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1972), p. 200. See also Holman, 'Geminiani, David Rizzio and the Italian Cult of Scottish Music', *Geminiani Studies*, ed. Christopher Hogwood, Ad Parnassum Studies 6 (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2013) 183-214 and Kenneth Elliott, 'Rizzio, David', *The New Grove*, xxi, pp. 457- 458.

¹⁴ Geminiani, Preface to *A Treatise of Good Taste*.

¹⁵ GB-Lcm MS 2232 f56'. See p. 137 for further discussion of this song

3rd couplet of text – 4 bars (repeated). Same music as for 1st couplet.
 4th couplet of text – 8 bars (repeated). Includes repeat of line 7 of text and extended ending with short ritornello
 Coda – 2 bars

Whatever any notion of type or archetype may be, it is possible to assert that by textual truncation, re-harmonisation and the formalisation of the accompaniment, ‘ballad’ became ‘song’ in the eighteenth century, and may explain why many of these songs are cited in nineteenth-century anthologies as examples of ‘traditional’ English music.

The Cantata

Grassineau defines the cantata as:

A song or composition, intermixed with recitatives, little airs [ariosos?] and different motions, and merely intended for a single voice with a thorough bass, though sometimes for two violins and other instruments.¹⁶

The secular cantata first appeared in England towards the end of the seventeenth century, having been imported from Italy. The cantata was, however, not without English antecedents: symphony songs also have multi-movement structures and mix slow homophony with fast polyphony, a characteristic that fits a broad description of the cantata. However, Purcell’s symphony songs often require more than one singer, have no fixed structure of movements and sometimes conclude with a ‘chorus’, consisting of the soloists.

The first reference to the cantata in a London newspaper appears in the *New State of Europe*, 23 May 1701, where the publication of a work by Scarlatti is advertised. The first composition by an English composer to be styled a cantata was Daniel Purcell’s *Love I defy thee*, published in Walsh’s *Monthly Mask of Vocal Musick* in September 1708.¹⁷

English and Italian cantatas differed in their use of accompanying instruments. Most Italian cantatas are scored for voice and continuo, though occasionally a melodic

¹⁶ James Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary* (London: Printed for J. Wilcox ..., 1740.), facs. edn., *Aesthetics and Music in the Eighteenth Century 2* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003), p. 19.

¹⁷ See Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 118, and Olive Baldwin & Thelma Wilson, ‘“Reviv’d by the Publisher of the Former Masks”: The Firm of John Walsh and the *Monthly Mask* 1717-27 and 1737-8’, *RMARC* 42 (2009), 1-44.

instrument was added in an obbligato aria where it created a dialogue with the voice. However, those works with larger ensembles often show imaginative scoring by their composers. One example is Steffani's 'Spezza Amor l'arco e li strali', scored for 'Piffero' (probably an oboe), bassoon, and continuo.¹⁸ Some cantatas by Alessandro Melani (1639-1703) are scored for two violins and continuo with the voice(s); others have a solo trumpet and two violins in the ensemble.¹⁹ In many Italian continuo cantatas the bass instrument part has a role equal to that of the voice, notable examples being by Bononcini, as documented by Lindgren.²⁰

The most widely used cantata structure was of two arias, contrasting in key, tempo and mood, each preceded by a recitative. This structure has been referred to as the 'Neapolitan' cantata, but Gloria Rose has pointed out that this is a misnomer, the term coming into being because of its prolific use by Alessandro Scarlatti, who spent much of his life in Naples and is regarded today as the father of Neapolitan opera.²¹ As the cantata is a form of unstaged mini-drama, it was often seen as an extension of an opera composer's output, though for more 'private' occasions. English composers used this form in their cantatas, but the Aria-Recitative-Aria structure was also popular. Other cantata types include the five- and six-movement forms (A-R-A-R-A and R-A-R-A-R-A), these being extensions of their shorter counterparts. Sometimes the two-movement form (R-A) was used, something noted by Goodall when he states that a rigid typology was not adhered to in the eighteenth century:

A work styled as a 'cantata', for instance, may consist merely of a single *secco* recitative followed by

¹⁸ This cantata is the first of the *Sei Scherzi*, believed to date from before 1694. See preface to *Cantatas by Agostino Steffani*, Selected and Introduced by Colin Timms, facs edn., *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*, gen ed. Carolyn Gianturco, 15 (New York & London: Garland, 1985).

¹⁹ *Cantatas by Alessandro Melani 1639-1703; Atto Melani 1626-1714*, facs edn., ed. Robert Lamar Weaver, *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*, 11 (New York & London: Garland, 1986).

²⁰ See Lowell Lindgren, 'Bononcini's 'agreeable and easie style, and those fine inventions in his *basses* (to which he was led by an instrument upon which he excells)', *Aspects of the Secular Cantata in Late Baroque Italy*, ed. Michael Talbot (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 135-175.

²¹ See Eugen Schmitz, *Geschichte der weltlichen Solokantate*, rev. edn. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966), pp. 125-165 for a discussion of Scarlatti and the cantata in Naples and Gloria Rose, 'The Italian Cantata of the Baroque Period', *Gattungen der Musik in einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn & Hans Oesch, 5 vols. (Bern & München: Franke Verlag, 1973), i, p. 674.

a simple binary air. On the other hand, an art song or chamber cantata may turn up in a collection described simply as ‘ballads’.²²

Cantata scoring in England appears to have been heavily influenced by the instruments played at drawing-room gatherings, suggesting that it was seen as chamber music until the inclusion of vocal music in public concerts. *Cloe* [*sic*], one of Pepusch’s *Six Cantatas* of 1710, is the first ‘English’ cantata to be written for an enlarged ensemble, and its possible inclusion in Thomas Britton’s concerts may have been the start of a transition from private to public performance. From the mid-1740s the cantata gradually became a part of the vocal repertoire at pleasure garden concerts, composers apparently regarding it as the highest form of secular solo vocal music, worthy of the widest possible audience. This perception explains the inclusion of specific references to cantatas on the title pages of many collections.

The English cantata declined during the second half of the eighteenth century. Public performance and the increasing inclusion of instruments led to it losing much of the intimacy it had once enjoyed in private performance. Also, the use of less ‘elevated’ texts debased the genre’s value as a high art form.

The Rondo

Grassineau defines the rondo as:

a kind of burden or ritornello, where the beginning of each couplet is repeated at the end thereof.²³

The rondo (or ‘rondeau’, as it was known in Restoration England) first appeared in England in the 1660s, having migrated from France where it was a popular form of orchestral music from which keyboard transcription were frequently made.²⁴ Purcell became a prolific user of the vocal form in his stage works, notable examples being ‘I attempt from Love’s Sickness’ from *The Indian Queen* (1695), and ‘Man is for the Woman made’ from *The Mock Marriage* (1695). These two examples illustrate the

²² Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 3.

²³ Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary*, p. 205.

²⁴ See Borschel, ‘Development of English Song’, p. 46.

various types of rondo that can be found in vocal music; the first has three couplets of text and an ABACA structure to match this content. The second is essentially three short strophes, each ending with a repeat of the opening refrain, and is structured A-BA-BA-BA.

By the mid-eighteenth century the rondo had largely fallen into abeyance, making Grassineau's definition almost certainly retrospective, harking back to Purcell, but it was revived in the second half of the eighteenth century; a concert at the rooms in Dean Street, Soho in January 1760 lists 'Sig. Giardini's favourite Rondeau' in the programme.²⁵ Rondos were incorporated into pleasure garden concerts soon after: the 'Vauxhall Rondo', described in *The New Grove* as 'a type of finale, characterised by simple tunefulness and light texture',²⁶ was used by several composers, though this characteristic was by no means limited either to finales or to Vauxhall. The rondo finale became a popular ending to a concert, the form giving each singer the opportunity to present a different section or verse of the music, followed by the A section as the refrain. The final chorus of Hook's *The Queen of the May* (c. 1787) ('Bring the tabor, fife and drum') is one example, though the singers and their roles are not specified in the score.

The musical structure of the rondo did not always follow that of the text; a two-couplet (ABA) verse could be extended to an ABACA musical structure, the B and C sections being tonally and thematically different, which also enabled variations in scoring. One example is Arnold's 'Where no ripen'd Sumer glows' (1766).²⁷ Arne employs a sonata-rondo structure in the aria of his cantata *Diana* (1774), a form that suggests the influence of the solo concerto, but this is an almost unique incidence.

Grassineau is one example of a musical commentator attempting to define genre and type. Such writings are often retrospective, being published in the latter part of the

²⁵ *The Public Advertiser*, 21 January 1760.

²⁶ Malcolm, S. Cole, 'Rondo', *The New Grove*, xxi, pp. 650-651.

²⁷ See pp. 256-257.

author's lifetime, or even posthumously, by which time the genre or perceptions thereof might have changed. Indeed, neither contemporary nor modern definitions of structure are clear-cut, some songs falling into more than one category. Some 'rondos' have a simple ABA structure, such as Hook's 'Tis not the bloom on Damon's cheek' (1783), supporting Galand's assertion that 'genre characteristics cut across formal boundaries and formal boundaries cut across generic categories' in the eighteenth century.²⁸ Thus it is better to view designations as descriptive umbrella terms, rather than precise points of reference, and to consider genre as an elaborate musical patchwork quilt, rather than through nineteenth-century theoretical frameworks, which may prove too inflexible.

b) The Orchestra and Orchestration

The most complex issue concerning the concert song is orchestration. A paucity of manuscripts and of instrumental indications in printed scores creates uncertainty as to scoring, but surviving information plus appropriate secondary literature allows the situation to be mapped out, leading to an editorial approach.

Clues as to why the orchestra became the primary mode of accompaniment can be found in some modern writings. Heighes, in his discussion of William Hayes' 1748 cantatas, asserts that the composer followed the fashion of the time,²⁹ but Hayes's scoring, though interesting, is not typical of the period. Holman suggests a taste for the unusual in Restoration England, citing the works of Gottfried Finger (c.1655-1730) as an example:³⁰ however, it is notable that the 'unusual' came from overseas, being subsequently copied by native composers.

Although composers may have experimented with instrumentation to play to audience taste, the growth of both private and public concerts during the eighteenth

²⁸ Joel Galand, 'Form, Genre, and Style in the Eighteenth-Century Rondo', *Music Theory Spectrum – The Journal of the Society for Music Theory* 17 (1995), p. 30.

²⁹ Simon Heighes, *The Lives and Works of William and Philip Hayes* (New York: Garland, 1995), p.130.

³⁰ Holman, 'The British Isles: Private & Public Music', *Companion to Baroque Music*, ed. Julie Ann Sadie (London: Dent, 1990), p.267.

century had led to larger, often purpose-built or outdoor, performance spaces, requiring an accompaniment that could not be provided by continuo alone. Orchestral accompaniment therefore evolved as much from need as from taste, though the process was gradual.

Borschel, while acknowledging the place of the orchestra as accompaniment, seems to regard it as a negative influence upon the growth of piano accompaniment, in comparison with developments on the continent.

Because the songs were conceived and performed with orchestral accompaniment, the development of piano accompaniment was slower in England than on the continent, where *Lieder* developed and flourished.³¹

Hughes is equally negative, saying that songs written for the gardens had a ‘retarding’, influence on the development of keyboard accompaniment.³² However, The German *Lied* emerged later than the English concert song, and was a different genre, conceived with keyboard accompaniment, thus any attempt at a direct comparison is meaningless. Differences can partly be explained by national preference, but also because the public concert was more developed in England than on the continent, resulting in a different approach to accompaniment.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were three distinct types of song accompaniment: continuo, ritornello and obbligato. The continuo group was the principal means of accompaniment in both England and Italy during the seventeenth century, but could take two forms, harmonic and melodic. The harmonic bass, as found in many of Purcell’s songs, had little thematic material in common with the vocal line, but the melodic bass, as seen in some Italian cantatas, had an almost equal role with the voice, often introducing the voice with an embellished form of the principal theme. Bononcini’s *Impara a non dar fede* (1725), contains one such example (see Ex. 1.1).

The ritornello accompaniment involved two distinct ensembles: the string band and

³¹ Borschel, ‘Development of English Song’, p. 20.

³² Rosemary Hughes, ‘Solo Song, England’, *New Oxford History of Music*, Vol. VII, ‘The Age of Enlightenment’, ed. Egon Wellesz & Frederick Sternfeld (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 340.

The image shows two systems of musical notation. The first system consists of a treble clef staff with a whole rest and a bass clef staff with a triplet of eighth notes. The second system shows a vocal line with lyrics and a bass line with a triplet of eighth notes.

Ex. 1.1: Bononcini: ‘Benché speranza’ (*Impara a non dar fede* (1725)), bars 1-8. Copied from facsimile in Lindgren, ‘Bononcini’s ‘agreeable and easie style’, p. 153 (US-CAh Ms Mus 63, f14’). Triplets in cello part originally semiquavers.

the continuo group. The strings played the introduction to a song and other ritornelli, but left the accompaniment of the voice to the continuo group. Purcell’s earlier symphony songs contain examples: in ‘Hark, Damon, Hark’ (c.1681), the violins are confined to the ritornelli between the vocal sections, but provide continuity to the music and herald changes of tempo, voice and mood. Ex. 1.2 links the tenor and bass solos.

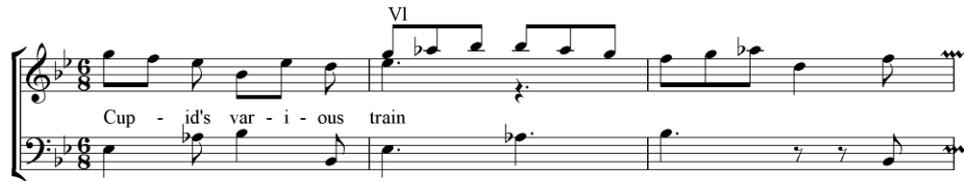
The image shows a musical score with a vocal line and a bass line. The vocal line includes a trill (tr) and a sixteenth note (VI). The lyrics are: [de-]light, re - peat the pleas - ing sound.

Ex. 1.2: Purcell, ‘Hark, Damon, Hark’, bars 51-54 (*The Works of Henry Purcell*, vol. 27, p. 5).

Obbligato accompaniments have treble instrument(s) either in counterpoint with the voice(s) or a single instrument providing a melodic line above the voice. Purcell’s later symphony songs, contain examples of both, for example the opening chorus of ‘See where she sits’ (1683). These accompaniments are similar to those found in Italian cantatas, although generically the music is quite different.

Accompanied arias in seventeenth-century Italian opera were rare until the 1680s, but by 1710 some form of ensemble accompaniment was the norm, with instrumental phrases overlapping with the voice. ‘Transporting Joy’ from Handel’s cantata *Venus and Adonis* (1711), has an overlap between violin and voice, although the scoring of this

cantata contrasts sharply with those from his Italian period (1706-10), in which oboes and strings are a standard accompaniment.



Ex. 1.3: Handel: 'Transporting Joy' (*Venus and Adonis*), bars 31-33. GB-Lbl Add. MS 31993, f48^v.
The other instance occurs in the B section at bars 70-72.

The process of overlapping vocal and instrumental episodes continued to develop until, by c.1730, the continuo aria had almost disappeared entirely from Italian opera. Inevitably, there were those who disagreed with this change: Tosi, writing in 1723, complained that the increased use of instruments was having an adverse effect upon the voice, and hoped for a return to former times:

They will recover the instrumental Harmony now lost: They will compose more for the voice than the Instruments: The part for the voice will no more have the Mortification to resign its Place to the Violins.³³

Purcell's symphony songs were initially performed at court, probably with a single voice or instrument on each part, by the 'Private Musick', a body of up to thirty instrumentalists and singers.³⁴ The same forces may also have been used in concert performance. Such a performance practice gave voice(s) and instruments almost equal status, the distinction between the two being the use of text, raising the issue of how far the voice was seen as an 'instrument' and vice-versa. As much instrumental music was apparently performed with single instruments until 1740, the addition of a voice in a concert setting would simply mean that the vocal part was one within the greater ensemble, only the text giving it prominence. Hines' *Music Party at Melton Constable* (1734) is believed to depict the performance of a concerto by Festing,³⁵ but it would not be surprising had a singer also been present as the instruments (flutes, strings and

³³ Tosi, *Opinioni sopra il canto figurato*, tr. J. E. Galliard (London, 1743), p. 116.

³⁴ See *The Works of Henry Purcell*, Vol. 27, p. xi and Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p. 47.

³⁵ See Peter Holman & Richard Maunder, 'The Accompaniment of Concertos in 18th-century England', *EM* 28 (2000), 637-50, p. 641.

continuo) are those found in the accompaniment to much vocal music of this period.



Fig. 1.1: John Theodore Hines, *Music Party at Melton Constable* (1734).
www.jjhc.info/heinsjohntheodore1756.htm (Accessed 16 July 2009).

As the orchestra grew in size its role might have been expected to have become subsidiary to that of the singer to ensure that its sound did not overpower the voice. However, the *concertante* accompaniment, with more than one obligato instrument, that emerged in the 1760s led to the singer being one of several soloists, each with a prominent role.

The concept of the ‘orchestra’, as we understand the term today, had its roots in the string bands of the early seventeenth century, used for masques and similar entertainments.³⁶ The string band at the English court comprised twenty-four violins, modelled on the Vingt-Quatre Violons du Roi at the French court.³⁷ This formal establishment of a band of bowed strings, with some players doubling on the same part and the potential to develop its own specific repertoire conforms comfortably with some of the criteria used by Spitzer and Zaslaw in their taxonomy for the concept of ‘orchestra’,

³⁶ See John Spitzer & Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution: 1650-1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 20 and 46-49 for further information.

³⁷ See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 282-4.

playing as a unified ensemble and with a distinct organisational identity.³⁸ However, the double bass was not used in England until early in the following century, and there is little evidence that a continuo instrument was used regularly except when accompanying vocal music.

The principal difference between the English and French bands was one of parts; the French band played in five parts, whereas the English band had only four. The Italianate scoring of two violins, viola and bass was introduced around 1675 and soon became the standard model.³⁹ Works in the French style, often specifically commissioned under patronage, include Grabu's opera *Albion and Albanus* (1685), which uses treble, soprano, mezzo soprano, alto and bass clefs for the string parts (violin, three violas and bass), therefore buck the trend towards the Italian style of scoring.⁴⁰

A further reduction to three parts can be seen in Purcell's symphony songs and in some symphony anthems where there is no viola. This change can be explained by a need to make the music compatible with domestic use, the intimate scoring, for two violins or recorders and continuo, supports this theory.⁴¹ The omission of a viola part was to become more widespread in the eighteenth century, especially after the instrument's role had changed from being a 'voice' to a mere harmony part.

Holman's claim that Purcell was 'the father of the orchestra in England' is indisputable,⁴² although not all Purcell's innovations were adopted (such as the use of the tenor oboe as a counterpart to the viola in *Dioclesian*). His consistent scoring laid a firm foundation for the modern orchestra and, more importantly, meant that this format was established by the time Italian opera arrived in England early in the following century.

Wind instruments, formerly a separate ensemble, were added to the strings as and

³⁸ Spitzer & Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, p. 19.

³⁹ See Holman, 'Purcell's Orchestra', *MT* 137 (1996), 17-23, p. 17 and *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p. 318.

⁴⁰ See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp. 380-388 for a more detailed discussion of this and similar works.

⁴¹ See *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁴² Holman, 'Purcell's Orchestra', p. 17.

when required. The addition of oboes and bassoon to the string ensemble appears to have first taken place with the arrival of French oboists in 1674; they participated in a performance of Jonson's *Volpone* in the 1674-5 theatre season. Trumpets and drums became a part of the full orchestra in the 1680s; the music composed for the Coronation of James II by Nicholas Staggins (1685) is believed to be one of the earliest examples of an integrated band of musicians, using oboes, trumpets and strings.⁴³

The opening of the Queen's (later King's) Theatre in the Haymarket in 1706 as a venue for Italian opera helped to solidify the composition of the orchestra. From the evidence in the papers of Vice-Chamberlain Thomas Coke (1674-1727) it is possible to establish a mean to that orchestra's size: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 4-6 first violins, 4-6 second violins, 2 violas, 3-5 cellos, one double bass, one trumpet and one harpsichord, a total of 26.⁴⁴ Italian opera was, however, the apex of music-making in England at the time, employing the best musicians available; other theatres and concerts would have had to use more modest forces. The 'Small Orchestra' of the Chapel Royal in the 1720s and the band led by Geminiani at the *Philo-musicae* Masonic lodge from 1725 to 1727, with forces of twelve and thirteen respectively, are more representative of the size and proportions of the early eighteenth-century orchestra.⁴⁵

It was common for players to double on more than one instrument. Oboists would be expected to play flute or recorder and trumpeters would double on horn. One interesting example of doubling can be found at Vauxhall, where the first cello John

⁴³ See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp. 328-30 & 401.

⁴⁴ See [Thomas Coke], *Vice-Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers 1706-1715*, ed. Judith Milhouse & Robert D. Hume (Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), pp. 30-31, 32-3, 38-9, 68-9, 78-9, 118-9, 127, 133, 151, 159 & 179-80 for lists of orchestral players at the Haymarket, and pp. 191-2 for a list of players at a concert given by the Duchess of Shrewsbury during the season of 1712-13, many of whom were members of the Haymarket orchestra.

⁴⁵ See Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 471-2 and Andrew Pink, 'The Musical Culture of Freemasonry in early Eighteenth-Century London' (Unpublished PhD diss., Goldsmiths, University of London 2007), p. 114 for further information.

Hebden (1712-65) also played second bassoon.⁴⁶ Doubling was more prevalent in the provinces where a dearth of musicians meant that players had to perform the music as best they could. Marsh describes the orchestra at Salisbury in 1776 as having up to seven violins (a mixture of professionals and amateur ripieno players), two violas, one (possibly more) cello, one double bass, one oboe, one or two ‘amateur flute players’ and two horns or trumpets (the players doubling as required), one of whom ‘occasionally played a rough bassoon’ and an organ or harpsichord.⁴⁷

The development of the orchestra in the pleasure gardens, where most concert songs were performed, can be seen through surviving iconographical evidence. Two early examples are found in *The Musical Entertainer* and on the title page of Mac Sturdy’s *A Trip to Vaux-Hall: or, a general Satyr on the Times*, both dating from 1737. In the former six musicians are visible, apparently grouped around a harpsichord, and performing one to a part. In the latter the performers are all instrumentalists, including a trumpeter, possibly Valentine Snow (*d.* 1770), Sergeant Trumpeter to the king and a popular performer at Vauxhall. The ‘orchestra’ (the stage) was rebuilt later that year and a new organ installed in 1738.

Muller’s picture of Vauxhall in 1751 shows a slightly larger orchestra plus a singer. The detail is unclear, but suggests the inclusion of flutes and a bassoon. Although the organ featured in concerts by this time, it may have been deliberately omitted in order to highlight the other musicians. The ensemble matches the scoring of many songs of the time, and is a reasonably accurate depiction of the standard mid-century orchestra. However, an advertisement in the *Ipswich Journal* for 11 August 1759 suggests that the Vauxhall orchestra was larger and included trumpets (possibly horn players doubling on

⁴⁶ See David Coke & Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens: A History* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 145.

⁴⁷ *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer*, ed. Brian Robins (Stuyvesant NY: Pendragon Press, 1998), p. 145. See also Burrows & Dunhill (eds.), *Music and Theatre in Handel’s World*, p. xxxii.



Fig. 1.2: Detail from the illustration to Boyce's 'Rural Beauty or Vauxhall Garden' in *The Musical Entertainer* (1737). © The British Library Board, I.351.a, p. 21.



Fig. 1.3: Sutton Nichols: Detail from the title page of Mac Sturdy, *A Trip to Vauxhall* (1737). www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/catalogue/urls.lon.ac.uk/SearchResults.aspx (Accessed 27 April 2012).

trumpet) and timpani.⁴⁸

It is known that the 'orchestra' (the stage) had reached its greatest extent by either 1756 or 1758,⁴⁹ but the 'band' (the orchestra) continued to expand. Therefore, by the time

⁴⁸ Cited in Holman, 'The Colchester Partbooks', *EM* 28 (2000), p. 582.

⁴⁹ See John Dixon Hunt, *Vauxhall and London's Garden Theatres* (Cambridge: Chadwick-Healey, 1985), p. 23.

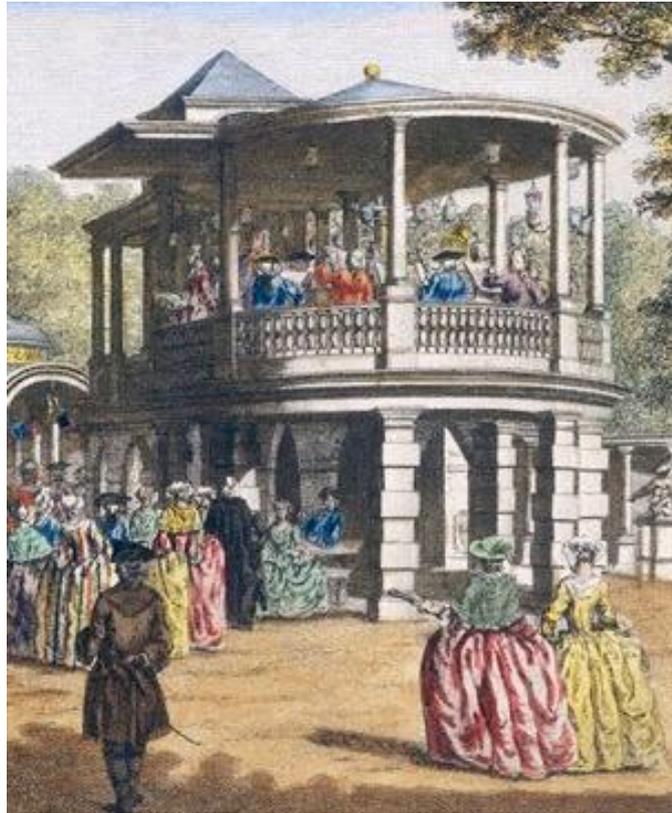


Fig. 1.4: Detail from Johann Sebastian Muller, *Vauxhall Gardens showing the grand walk at the entrance of the garden and the orchestra with music playing*. www.vam.ac.uk (Accessed 14 August 2013).

of Rowlandson's portrayal of Vauxhall (c.1784), more musicians had to be packed into the same space than twenty-five years previously. Here, the enlarged band includes trumpets and timpani. The detail in Rowlandson's picture not only gives a useful insight into the performance practice of the time, but may also be hinting that the stage was overcrowded. Also of note is that the players are now facing the audience, rather than inwards around a table, as in previous pictures. Although there is no evidence that Rowlandson is portraying a specific work, the instruments accompanying Frederika Weichsell match those in J. C. Bach's 'Midst silent Shades' (1771). Bach had died only two years earlier and Weichsell had been his star pupil, thus it is tempting to make this connection.

Such evidence, however abundant, does not resolve every question about the precise instrumentation of the songs. Publication practices, often using condensed scores, mean that more than one interpretation is possible. Although creating editorial difficulties,

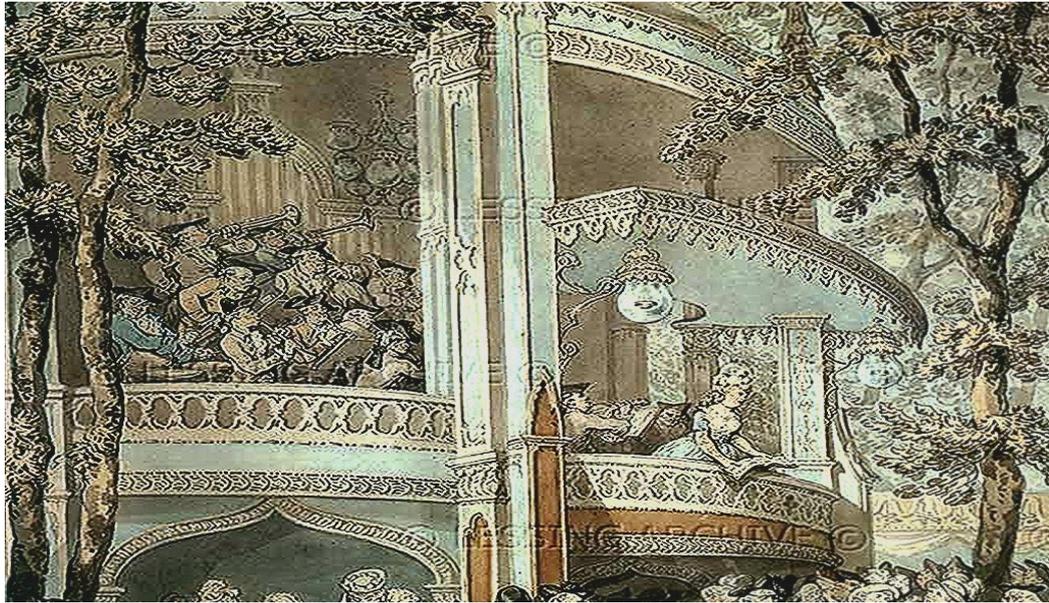


Fig. 1.5: Detail, showing ‘the orchestra’, Thomas Rowlandson, *Vauxhall Gardens* (c.1784).
www.lessing-photo.com/p3/330206/33020665.jpg (Accessed 27 December 2012).

it appears that, for the eighteenth-century musician, there existed a series of rules, apparently largely unwritten, being passed down from teacher to pupil: one of the last vestiges of an oral tradition in Western art music.⁵⁰

Recent attempts at reconstructing the instrumental accompaniment to songs have often been either conjectural or based on a literal interpretation of a printed score, rather than on an informed or considered approach to the music.⁵¹ These results are liable to misinterpret the composer’s original intentions. Although Warlock’s *Songs of the Gardens* (1925) reproduces the original publications more or less exactly (and is therefore remarkable for its time), there is little explanation of the scoring, although this quasi-facsimile edition is certainly better than the approaches used by other compilers, who frequently altered the music to suit their own tastes.

Carse and Nettel provide detailed descriptions of the history of the orchestra, but little help in interpreting the source evidence.⁵² A better attempt can be found in Dart’s

⁵⁰ Cadenzas in solo concertos were also seldom notated until the nineteenth century, the music usually being improvised by the soloist.

⁵¹ One example is Percy Young’s edition of Arne’s cantata *The Lover’s Recantation* (Leipzig, 1985). Young seems to have adopted an *Urtext* approach, making little attempt at reconstruction where the scoring is incomplete.

⁵² See Carse, *The History of Orchestration*, pp. 132-166 and Nettel, *The Orchestra in England*, p. 29ff.

The Interpretation of Music.⁵³ The nub of Dart's argument is that the omission of instruments from a source does not mean that they were not used in performance. This assertion brings with it implications of part-doubling, additional harmony parts and reinforced bass lines, all of which were features of the *galant* style.

Though Dart's 'rules' cannot go unchallenged, he pointed the way towards a balanced appraisal of the situation. Also, to his credit, he acknowledged that his conclusions should be seen as guidelines rather than diktats. Maunder's study of the Baroque concerto has helped to build on Dart's work, but, being limited to one genre, is of limited value elsewhere beyond highlighting the roles of the viola and bassoon.⁵⁴ His assertion that before 1740 most, if not all, concertos were performed with one player to a part has implications for other genres, but as concert songs originated mainly in the theatre it is more probable that theatre practices prevailed with their accompaniments.

Unless it is clearly indicated that there is only one violin part intended, the second violin may have played in thirds or sixths below the first, adding suspensions at cadence points. However, the lower part would have had to be notated if played either by amateurs or by a section. It should not be assumed that this is true for *every* short score; there are arias in operas and oratorios, for example, 'Thou shalt break them' from Handel's *Messiah*, where the violins play in unison throughout. A three-part texture (voice, violins and basso) was obviously intended here, so it is possible that the published scores of some songs are the performing versions.

The two versions of Arne's 'The Kind Inconstant' (see Exx. 1.4a and 4b) exemplify the difficulties encountered in these situations. The first is for melodic instrument (probably violin), voice and continuo; the second has an added second violin part. The

⁵³ Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* (London: Hutchinson's University Press, 1953). See Chapter V, 'Style in the Eighteenth Century', especially pp. 67-71.

⁵⁴ Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004). See especially Chapter 6: 'England 1685-1725' (pp. 112-132) and Chapter 10: 'England 1725-50' (pp. 222-263).

two-stave version is supposedly from *The Musical Entertainer* (1737), but this has not been verified and may be either a supplementary song or one published at a later date, with the second violin part removed.⁵⁵ The second violin part in the three-stave version, from *Lyric Harmony*, Volume I, playing in thirds and sixth below the first, may have been added later. Whichever version is the original, the music does not suffer through the addition or deletion of the second violin part, which is testimony to Arne's skill as a composer.

The viola part is often absent from a score, but this should not imply the absence of the instrument. The part would usually either double the bass line, sometimes in unison, sometimes an octave higher, or act as a harmony part, filling in any missing note of a chord. The fact that this practice was unwritten suggests a degree of trial and error by the players in rehearsal, the final version of the part probably being reached either by consensus or by having only one player, the latter being more likely in music clubs. The player(s) probably began by reading the basso part, modifying it as their familiarity with the music grew.

An example of an implied viola part can be found in Paisible's overture to *Pleasure* (c.1679), which has a blank stave between the second violin and basso parts; it suggests that a viola was present, even though the part was not notated.⁵⁶

Some supporting evidence of an improvisatory practice can be found in Quantz's *Versuch*, in which he states that one viola can be as strong as five or six violins.⁵⁷ If only one player was used in the orchestra for the first part of the eighteenth century, then an

⁵⁵ See www.lyonsltd.com/Subjects/Sheet_Music/The_Kind_Inconstant-Print. Although this song purports to be from *The Musical Entertainer*, it does not appear in either the 1737 or the 1740 editions. However, a copy in the British Library (Hirsch III.650) has a number of additional songs, with the engravings attributed to Bickham, bound between the leaves of Volume II, so it is possible that Arne's song may have similar provenances.

⁵⁶ A facsimile edition of this and other late seventeenth-century theatre music can be found in *Incidental Music for London Theatres 1690-1699*, introduction by Curtis Price, MLE A3 (Withyham: Richard McNutt, 1987).

⁵⁷ Joseph Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte Traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752), tr. & ed. Edward R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute* (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), p. 239.

Two-stave musical score for Ex. 1.4a. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of two systems. The first system has two staves: a treble staff with a trill (tr) over the first measure and a bass staff with a trill (tr) over the second measure. The second system also has two staves: a treble staff with a trill (tr) over the first measure and a bass staff with a trill (tr) over the second measure. Fingering numbers are provided below the notes in the bass staff of each system.

Ex. 1.4a: Arne, 'The Kind Inconstant', bars 1-9 (two-stave version).

Three-stave musical score for Ex. 1.4b. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of two systems. The first system has three staves: a treble staff with a trill (tr) over the first measure, a middle staff, and a bass staff with a trill (tr) over the second measure. The second system also has three staves: a treble staff with a trill (tr) over the first measure, a middle staff, and a bass staff with a trill (tr) over the second measure. Fingering numbers are provided below the notes in the bass staff of each system.

Ex. 1.4b: Arne, 'The Kind Inconstant', bars 1-9 (three-stave version).
(*Lyric Harmony*, i, p. 2)

Handwritten musical score for Ex. 1.5. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system has three staves, the second has two, and the third has two. The score is written in a cursive hand and includes the title 'Overture Pleasure' written in the first system.

Ex. 1.5: Paisible: Overture to *Pleasure*, bars 1-17.
GB-Lcm MS 1172, f41^r. Copied with permission.

improvised or realised part seems feasible. However, as the size of the orchestra increased, this practice declined, especially among amateurs. Two players, as used in Marsh's subscription concerts in Chichester, would have required a consensus as to the reading of a basso part; a larger section would have needed a notated part.⁵⁸

Examples of how viola parts changed can be found in Pepusch's *Venus and Adonis* (1715) and Boyce's cantata *Thyrsis* (c.1750). In the Pepusch example the viola is a harmonic filler, sustaining an e' throughout much of the aria, though the harmony changes little in this instance. This part could therefore be dispensed with if necessary.

There is no stated viola part in Boyce's cantata, and the scoring of the first and third arias suggests violins and basso accompaniment. However, the addition of trumpet and oboes in the second aria implies the presence of a viola, and the tessitura of the basso part means that a viola could play this line at the same pitch, changing to a higher octave when necessary.

As the eighteenth century progressed, viola parts became increasingly notated. An example of the transition from improvisation to notation can be found in Arne's cantata *The Lover's Recantation* (c.1761), the surviving manuscript of which gives a clear picture of the original scoring.⁵⁹ Both recitatives are *stromentato*, with the viola part clearly written on a separate stave (see Ex. 1.8a). However, although the viola has its own stave in the arias, nothing is notated other than one complete bar at the opening, followed by the direction 'col basso' (see Ex. 1.8b). Although the viola player(s) would have adapted the basso part, there would have been opportunities to add harmony notes where appropriate.

Viola parts were sometimes notated in the bass clef, as the example from

⁵⁸ Marsh regarded the viola as an instrument for amateurs, 'who many of them being men of business, or not having much leisure for practise, were thus not only furnished with an agreeable recreation for themselves, but were enabled occasionally to entertain and gratify their friends and neighbours, upon very easy terms'. See John Marsh, *Instructions and Progressive Lessons for the Tenor* ([London: c.1821] repr. London: Augener, c.1880), p. 1. See also Spitzer & Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, p. 292, and Cudworth, 'John Marsh on the Subscription Concert', *GSJ* 19 (1966), p. 133.

⁵⁹ GB-Lbl Add. MS 29370, ff8^f-19^v.

Ex. 1.6: Pepusch: 'Gentle Slumbers, life relieving' (*Venus and Adonis*), bars 1-9
GB-Lcm MS 975 (i), f45^r.

Ex. 1.7: Boyce, 'Mortal, whence this black despair' (*Thyrsis*), bass part, bars 1-15
GB-Ob Mus. c.3.ff 32^v-33^r.

Barthélemon's 'A new Scotch Song' (c.1785) shows.⁶⁰ The part in the published score goes below the range of the viola, but the 'viola sola' marking suggests that the passage would have been played up the octave. A partially notated viola part also suggests the presence of a second violin; a part has been added in Ex. 1.9b.

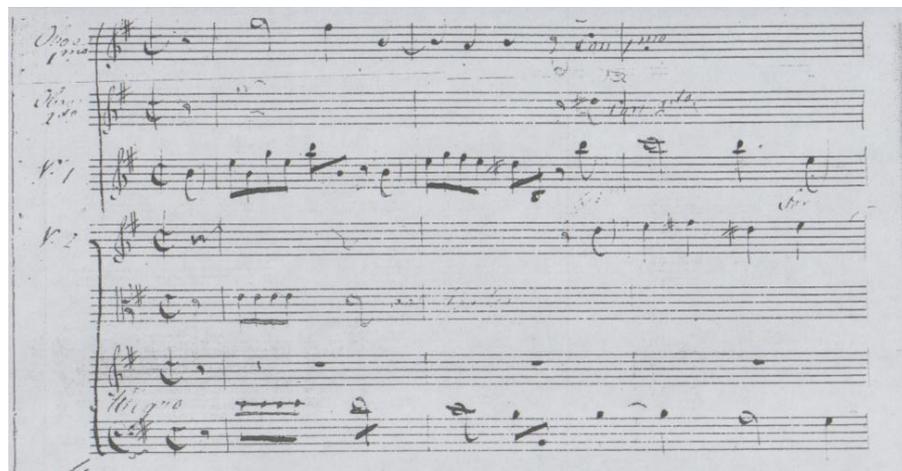
The bass line of the orchestra was normally provided by a cello or bassoon: a double bass was not common until the 1730s.⁶¹ Although Spitzer and Zaslav state that there are four violins, two violas, one cello, two flutes and harpsichord in Hines' Melton

⁶⁰ *Five New Favourite English Songs and one Italian Duett* (Dublin, [1785]), no. 4.

⁶¹ See Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, p. 243. The cello superseded the bass viol in England around 1700, Nicola Haym (1678-1729) being the first Italian cellist in London. See Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), p. 96.



Ex 1.8a: Arne, *The Lover's Recantation*, opening recit, bars 1-5
 © The British Library Board, GB-Lbl-Add. MS 29370, f8^r.



Ex 1.8b: *The Lover's Recantation*, first aria, bars 1-3
 © The British Library Board, GB-Lbl-Add. MS 29370, f9^r.

Constable picture, the size of the instruments, and the fact that the player of the largest is standing, suggests three violins, a viola, a cello and a double bass in the ensemble.⁶²

Kollmann (1799) describes the addition of wind instruments to the orchestra in layers or 'classes'.⁶³ These are, in order, flutes and horns, oboes and bassoons, trumpets and timpani, and finally trombone, double bassoon and serpent. The last category can be

⁶² Spitzer & Zaslav, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, p. 291.

⁶³ Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann, *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition*, facs. edn., ed. Imogene Horsley (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), p. 93.

Ex. 1.9a: Barthélemon, 'A new Scotch Song', bars 19-21. Original publication.
British Library, G. 426. (1.), No. 4.

Ex. 1.9b: 'A new Scotch Song', edited version.

dispensed with immediately in the context of this study, although Sands refers to a concert at Marylebone in August 1738 when 'two Great or Double Bassoons' were added to the orchestra, presumably for visual, as well as aural, effect.⁶⁴ Trumpets and timpani were mainly reserved for occasional music; thus their use in concert songs was limited. However, this concept of 'layered' scoring seems only applicable to music in England, due to social, as well as musical, factors. Oboes and bassoons were regular members of the orchestra before flutes and horns, though horns were increasingly included from the 1750s and flutes were often played by oboists.

As wind instruments doubled string parts for much of the century, the absence of directions in the score does not automatically mean they were omitted. The most common practice was for oboes or flutes to double the violins, with a bassoon doubling the bass line. If oboes or flutes played alone, the bassoon would accompany alone. This doubling of parts allowed for a degree of flexibility in 'private' performance; flutes could be

⁶⁴ Mollie Sands, *The Eighteenth-Century Pleasure Gardens of Marylebone* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), p. 12.

substituted for violins and a bassoon for a cello if necessary.

Oboes, flutes and clarinets were interchangeable, the instruments often being played by the same players, changing instruments for different movements of symphonies or sections of songs. Carl Weichsell, husband of Frederika Weichsell, was proficient on all three. Oboists were frequently required to play flute or clarinet; this accounts for clarinet parts being non-transposing, though some early clarinets were also pitched in C. In the provinces, wind parts would have been played on whatever instruments were available, although any changes from the composer's original scoring inevitably made a difference to the timbre of the music. Publishers sometimes altered the scoring to increase sales, though some composers objected, even taking legal action, J.C. Bach being a notable example.⁶⁵

The flute was a common instrument in the orchestra for much of the eighteenth century, superseding the recorder in the 1720s. The earliest surviving piece of English music to employ the 'German' or transverse flute was Eccles' *The Judgement of Paris* (1701), though the instrument had been in use in England during the previous decade.⁶⁶ Pepusch indicates a 'Flute Almain' in the score of 'Welcome gentle Death' from *Venus and Adonis*, but the instrumental part, in a different hand, names a 'German Flute': given the mixture of Italian and French terms in this score; 'Almain' is simply a variant of 'allemande', or 'German'.⁶⁷

Flutes and recorders often doubled violin parts. Independent parts became more common with the advent of later *galant* orchestration, in which the winds provided a chordal accompaniment to the strings, with occasional solo passages.

⁶⁵ See Ann van Allen-Russell, 'For Instruments not Intended: The second J.C. Bach Lawsuit', *ML* 83 (2002), 3-29.

⁶⁶ See John Eccles, *The Judgement of Paris*, facs. edn., introduction by Richard Platt, MLE C1 (Tunbridge Wells: Richard Macnutt, 1984), pp. 28-33. The instrument is named as a 'Flute D. Almagne' [*sic*]. See also Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p. 349.

⁶⁷ See GB-Lcm MS 975 (i), ff 72^r-73^v and the Oboe 1 part in GB-Lcm MS 975 (ii) for these markings. See also Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 57.

Although the transverse flute became the standard orchestral ‘flute’ in the eighteenth century, the recorder was not abandoned altogether. There are several examples of ‘small flute’, ‘octave flute’ and ‘piccolo flute’ in scores, these terms often referring to a descant or sopranino recorder, or to a flageolet, the precise instrument being determined by the range of the part. Arne calls for a ‘small flute alone’ in the first recitative of his cantata *Cymon and Iphigenia* (1753), and the date of this work suggests a recorder, although the more precise ‘Octave German Flute’ is used in ‘The Lark her lowly Nest defends’ from his theatre work *Eliza* (1754). In J.C. Bach’s ‘Hither turn thy wandering Eyes’ (1778) the ‘bird song’ accompaniment suggests some form of piccolo. Towards the end of the century there are references to a ‘Vauxhall Flute’ in songs by Hook and Philip Hayes; this was a transposing instrument with parts in different keys to those of the concert flute and some may have been a form of fife.⁶⁸

Oboists were usually professional musicians, but even if their parts doubled the violins, they would have needed to be copied out separately. However, there can still be some uncertainties as to the precise notation of the parts, as blank bars and ‘tacet’ markings in scores should not be taken literally. This is evidenced by the oboe parts in *The Lover’s Recantation* (see p. 65), marked ‘Col 1^{mo}’ and ‘Col 2^{do}’ at the end of the second complete bar. In the absence of surviving parts it might be assumed that there was doubling throughout the movement, but there are sections (e.g. bars 21-27 and 53-59) where the strings would almost certainly have played alone.

The clarinet was the last woodwind instrument to be included in the orchestra on a regular basis. Its earliest use in a concert song occurs in ‘O stay brightest Liberty’ (1760) by John Worgan, possibly the first English composer to write for the instrument.⁶⁹ Occasionally it was combined with other treble wind instruments, there being several

⁶⁸ Examples can be found in GB-Lbl Add. MS 28971 and GB-Lmt IV/162/9. However, a transposing part is only used in certain keys

⁶⁹ See pp. 203-206.

examples by English composers, but, as with flutes and oboes, it was usually the only treble wind instrument employed.

The bassoon's role was often one of providing a balance of sound in the bass line where flutes or oboes were present. Yates's *The Choice of Apollo* (1764) indicates a standard performance practice, showing the instrument sustaining the bass line when the strings played repeated notes. However, a number of sonatas and concertos, notably those of Pepusch,⁷⁰ give the bassoon an independent contrapuntal line in its tenor register, where it either acts as a fifth voice or doubles one of the upper parts. This scoring technique of Pepusch, as opposed to the French practice of using two viola parts, was copied by contemporary English composers, not only his pupil William Babel (c.1690-1723), but also William Corbett (1680-1740) and John Baston (*fl* 1708-39).⁷¹

The image shows a musical score for two parts: Bassoons and Bassi. Both parts are written in a single system with a 3/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Bassoons part is written on a tenor clef (C4), and the Bassi part is written on a bass clef (C2). The music consists of seven measures. The Bassoons part features a melodic line with various note values, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, and rests. The Bassi part provides a harmonic accompaniment with repeated notes and chords, often using a rhythmic pattern of quarter and eighth notes.

Ex. 1.10: Yates, 'Chorus of the Sister Arts' (*The Choice of Apollo*), bars 1-7.
GB-Lcm MS 643, p. 20. Both parts originally written on the same staff.

Two, sometimes three, bassoons seem to have been used from early in the century, even where there is either no separate part for the instruments, or only one written part. Handel used two bassoons in his *Brockes Passion* (1716), the Coronation anthem *Zadok the Priest* (1727) and *Saul* (1739); Walsh's edition of the *Concerti Grossi Op 3* (1734) also suggests two bassoons, in both *concertante* and in *ripieno* roles.⁷² A later example occurs in GB-Ob Mus.Sch.Ex.d.70, Richard Langdon's submission for the Oxford BMus degree in 1761, where the indications in the score imply one cello, two bassoons and

⁷⁰ Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, pp. 118-119. Pepusch's *Concerto in F* (D-DI Mus. 2160-O-3) is cited as a notable example.

⁷¹ See *Ibid.*, p. 119

⁷² See *ibid.*, pp. 237-238.

double basses. However, a single cello would have accompanied the vocal solos, but would have been reinforced in the tutti. The marking ‘fagotti’ occurs in John Worgan’s ‘Second Love’ (1754),⁷³ but the bassoons’ roles are not clearly defined, and it can only be assumed that they both doubled the bass line.

The horn was apparently introduced into England from France shortly after the Restoration, often being played by domestic servants of the upper classes (probably coachmen or huntsmen), ‘to lend panache to their equipages and give pleasure to their guests at home’.⁷⁴ Its transition to the theatre orchestra appears to have occurred in the second decade of the eighteenth century, the earliest use in Italian opera being in Alessandro Scarlatti’s *Tigrane* (1715).⁷⁵ Handel’s *Water Music* (1717) is the first major work in England to use the horn, and, being very ‘public’, would have drawn listeners’ attention to the instrument. Its theatrical use was for dramatic effect, notably in ‘Va Tacito’ from Handel’s *Giulio Cesare* and the second ‘Mirth Admit me’ from *L’Allegro*. Hunting songs with horn calls were also popular in the 1730s, to the extent that their high register melodies were parodied by Carey and Lampe in *Margery, or A Worse Plague than the Dragon* (1738), a sequel to *The Dragon of Wantley* (1737).⁷⁶ Publications such as *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn*, published by John Simpson in c.1746 contain a number of duets, trios and quartets for horns, possibly intended to be played outdoors by servants, hidden from view.

The horn was first incorporated into concert song accompaniments around 1750, when composers began to take advantage of developments in the instruments, notably the introduction of interchangeable crooks and a wider bell. As it could now sustain chords in a variety of keys, the horn developed both melodic and textural roles, the latter being

⁷³ *A Collection of new Songs and Ballads* (London, 1754), no. 1.

⁷⁴ See Reginald Morley-Pegg, *The French Horn: some notes on the evolution of the instrument and of its technique*, 2nd edn. (London: Ernest Benn Ltd; New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1978), pp. 75 & 77.

⁷⁵ See <http://hornhistory.com> (Accessed 28 January 2013).

⁷⁶ See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 155.

useful in the middle of the orchestra's range, where it could be combined with other wind instruments.

Arne's horn parts were often written in different clefs, which enabled the parts to be read both as transposing instruments and at sounding pitch.⁷⁷ This system was copied, albeit inconsistently, by other composers during the 1750s and 60s. C clef parts were at sounding pitch; F clef parts sounded an octave higher than written, G clef parts an octave lower. These clefs and keys were:

B \flat	Tenor (C4)
C	Treble (G2)
D	Alto (C3)
E \flat	Bass (F4)
F	Mezzo Soprano (C2)
G	Baritone (F3)

An example of F clef writing can be found below:



Ex. 1.11a: Arne, 'Dirge in Cymbeline' (*The Winter's Amusement* – 1761), British Library, G. 320. (4.), No 9. Horn parts, bars 26-29. Written pitch.



Ex. 1.11b: *Ibid.* Sounding pitch of parts.

Trumpet parts are few, and are not always notated, but can sometimes be realised from a reduction, due to the limited number of notes the instrument could play. The trumpet as a solo and ensemble instrument developed in England largely through the works of Finger in the late 1680s, notable for an increased use of the fourth octave (c''-c''') and for a greater variety of keys than had been used hitherto.⁷⁸ These innovations

⁷⁷ See *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁷⁸ See Robert Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: The Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655-1730)', 2 vols. (Unpublished PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002), pp. 107-119 for a discussion of Finger's trumpet writing.

meant an increased role for the trumpet within the orchestra, and a number of proficient players in England able to play obbligato parts in operatic arias by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Trumpet writing in England was less adventurous than that on the continent, parts rarely going above a", even for a noted player such as James Sarjant (*d.*1798). The martial aspect of the trumpet was maintained, with the sounding of fanfare motifs in the third octave (c' e' g' c"). Parts are generally for trumpet in D, though the instrument could also play in C by adding a transposing crook.

Timpani parts are seldom notated, but can be realised from existing trumpet or horn parts, based on tonic and dominant chords in the harmony.

The organ was the continuo instrument for much of the concert song's history, especially in the pleasure gardens. The best documented instrument is that at Vauxhall, built in 1737, and containing several interesting features, including a carillon and a 'symphony of singing birds'.⁷⁹ James Harris' brother Thomas, in a letter of 30 November 1738, refers to a 'Tubalcain' used to play the 'Carillon Symphony' from Handel's *Saul* at Vauxhall. The instrument proved to be one of the gardens' main attractions, and James is known to have had an organ made by James Worgan, the Vauxhall organist, for Salisbury concerts.⁸⁰ The organ, with its sustaining power, was necessary to accompany singers in open-air venues, and the regular availability of the instrument may have expedited the inclusion of songs.

By the end of the 1750s eight-part scoring had become standard in instrumental music, with oboes, sometimes substituted by flutes, and horns being added to the strings.

⁷⁹ See Coke & Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens*, p. 143 and Betty Matthews, 'The Organs of the London Pleasure Gardens', *The Organ* 48 (1968-9), p. 36. Chrissochoidis suggests that Handel may have played the Vauxhall organ; see Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'Hee-Haw...l-lelujah: Handel among the Vauxhall Asses (1732)', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 7 (2010), p. 246.

⁸⁰ See Burrows & Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World*, pp. 60 & 73-73. Tubal-Cain is believed to have been the first biblical smith.

If bassoons had independent parts the number rose to ten. Trumpets and timpani were added occasionally.⁸¹ J. C. Bach sometimes added an additional pair of wind instruments, and, with bassoons in their tenor register, created twelve-part scoring. The addition of the clarinet in the 1760s increased the number of available instruments, and, by the end of the century, the wind octet had become the norm, certainly in instrumental music. In England, where there was not a strong school of instrumental composition, particularly symphonic works, vocal music composers tended to use older styles of instrumentation: those who also wrote symphonies are the exception, but their output in this genre is small compared to that of their continental counterparts.

It is possible, where sufficient evidence exists, to reconstruct the orchestral accompaniment from a short score. However, because a method can be applied to some of the repertoire, it should not necessarily be applied to *all* scores. In songs written before 1760 it is possible to reconstruct second violin and viola parts from the printed score, but this might amount to something that the composer did not write. Songs written after 1760 leave less doubt as to the reconstruction of the score.

c) Musical Style

A central feature of the concert song throughout the eighteenth century is the style in which much of the music was written, the *galant*. Evidence of this style can be found in England from at least the 1710s and it informed the native musical output for most of the century, and even beyond. It is therefore necessary to discuss the style's features, and to examine its relationship with orchestration, as the concert song and its accompaniment were primary vehicles for its expression, and provide strong evidence of the style's presence in England.

As already mentioned, existing scholarship overlooks the initial phase of the

⁸¹ See Eugene K. Wolf *The Symphonies of Johann Stamitz: a study in the formation of the classic style: with a thematic catalogue of the symphonies and orchestral trios* (Utrecht: Bohn, Scheltema & Holkema, 1981), especially pp. 227-240, for a detailed analysis of the orchestra in the 1750s.

English *galant*, merely referring to its second phase, in which doubling of parts, additional harmony parts and thicker textures are all evident. Marsh refers to this later phase as the principal melodic difference between the ‘ancient’ and ‘modern’ musical styles. Much of his argument addresses amateurs’ difficulties in performing more difficult music, viola players being given particular attention.⁸² However, second-phase scoring can be seen in English music of the 1750s, showing that native composers had adopted or developed the concept independently.

Sheldon describes the *galant* as ‘the influence of French taste and reason on German tradition’.⁸³ French literature of the late seventeenth century reacted against the extravagance of the regime of Louis XIV, seeking to portray characters in a more natural, unaffected manner. This quest was epitomised in Watteau’s *Fêtes Galantes* paintings, set in Arcadian nature where the figures have dignity and bearing, but are also informal and unpretentious. Such settings can be related to the natural religion movement of the period, as seen in the writings of Descartes and Pascal.

Heartz notes a generally-accepted opinion that the keyboard music of Couperin published between 1713 and 1730 provides the French musical foundation to the style,⁸⁴ although the term ‘galant’ was first applied to music by Mattheson in *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (1713). The word *Orchestre* is misleading here, as its meaning was intended to encompass all music, especially opera. The emphasis on dramatic music enabled literature and music to be brought together under one umbrella, and allowed music to assume the mantle already taken up by literature. When combined with painting the parameters expanded further to portray man in nature, surrounded by beauty but without excessive social affectation.

⁸² John Marsh, ‘A Comparison between the Ancient and Modern Styles of Music’, *The Monthly Magazine* 2 (1796), ed. Charles Cudworth as ‘An Essay by John Marsh’, *ML* 36 (1955), 156-164, p. 157.

⁸³ David A. Sheldon, ‘The Galant Style Revisited and Re-evaluated’, *Acta Musicologica* 47 (1975), p. 270.

⁸⁴ Heartz, *Music in European Capitals*, p. 20.

Despite attempting to create a more naturalistic portrayal of mankind, the *galant* movement was rooted in French high art, subsequently given intellectual weight by German scholarship. This was not the case in England. Few, if any, writings by German theorists were published in English translations during the eighteenth century, and, unlike France or Germany, England did not have a high literary or artistic base upon which to build its version of the *galant*. However, there was a corpus of suitable musical literature in the ballad, which, with its tales of ordinary people, offered similar settings to those in Watteau's paintings, but with a different social foundation.⁸⁵ In France some art music was translated into folk culture, whereas England turned its folk culture into art music:⁸⁶ ballad opera is the foremost example, though the concert song and theatre music, both partly founded on the ballad style, proved more durable.

The contrast between the Baroque and the *galant* has been likened to that between the sublime and the beautiful, often being related to a comparison between sacred or biblical and secular music.⁸⁷ Handel was seen as a sublime composer mainly due to his settings of biblical texts; although Arne composed masses, he was known for his cheerfully secular theatre music and songs. Additionally, the Baroque was the 'learned', musical style, whereas the *galant* was 'free', unfettered by formal, even pedantic, rules of composition. The implied opinion is that sacred music elevates the soul, but the secular merely entertains.

Certainly the *galant* focused more on the dignified expression of emotion than on creating masterpieces of form and harmony. Words such as 'elegant', 'light', 'graceful' and 'unadorned' are found in contemporary writings, but these also contain veiled attacks on superficiality and pretence. Within the context of the pleasure gardens, where every

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-9.

⁸⁶ See *Ibid.*, p. 21. Hertz notes Couperin's 'Le Dodo ou l'Amour au berceau' (1720) as the origin of the nursery song 'Do, do, L'Enfant do'.

⁸⁷ See Todd Gilman, 'Arne, Handel, the Beautiful and the Sublime', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42 (2009), 529-55 for a further discussion of this topic.

effort was made to manufacture a sense of man in harmony with nature, one can sense their ambience, and the art within it, as being equally ephemeral. This perception undoubtedly determined the status of the concert song, both then and now.

The *galant* style contained a number of features which can be summarised as follows:

- An increasing focus on the melodic line, which was built on stepwise movement;
- A consequent lessening of the emphasis on the bass as the underpinning foundation;
- A tendency for regular-length phrases;
- A three-part texture, though sometimes with parts doubled;
- Unprepared dissonances in the harmony;
- Tasteful, but not excessive, ornamentation.

Seventeenth-century vocal music was built on a melody-and-bass concept, one example being Purcell's 'Music for a while' from *Oedipus* (c. 1692), where the bass is neither melodic nor contrapuntal, but provides the forward movement to the music through constantly-moving quavers. Because the bass merely accompanied, the melody was given prominence. Purcell, in the twelfth edition of Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1694), stressed the importance of the melodic line over any lower part. Although he makes an exception of the trio sonata, his remarks are particularly suited to vocal music, and one might speculate that Purcell, had he lived longer, might have become the progenitor of the *galant* style in English song.

When you make a *Second Treble* to a Tune, keep it always below the upper part, because it may not spoil the Air: But if you compose *Sonata's* [sic], there one *Treble* has as much Predominance as the other.⁸⁸

Galant music also favoured dance patterns, which could not easily be incorporated into counterpoint; therefore a more vertical structure developed. English composers made wide use of what was perceived as traditional dance music, even if much of it, like the ballad, was actually adapted art music. Another 'dance' feature was a binary structure,

⁸⁸ *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick, in Three Books...The Third, the Art of Descant, or Composing Musick in Parts...Published By John Playford. The Twelfth Edition. Corrected and Amended by Mr. Henry Purcell.* (London: Printed by E. Jones for Henry Playford, 1694), p. 116.

with phrases of regular length which imitated the steps of the dance; different instruments were sometimes used to highlight different melodic episodes.

The *galant* became a style suited to solo performance, vocal and instrumental, and to chamber music, all of which have associations with some form of dance:

In a small room... where few instruments are at hand for the accompaniment, the player may use concertos that have gay and *galant* melodies and in which the harmony changes more quickly than at half and whole bars. These may be played more quickly than the former type. (Quantz)⁸⁹

Quantz's opinions, written in 1752, show the chamber music concept being carried over from an earlier era into one where the orchestra was the norm. Early concert songs retain the chamber style, thus being suited to performance in a variety of settings with no adverse effect on the music. The expansion of the orchestra led to the concert song becoming unequivocally orchestral.

Galant music often contained a 'motto' theme, similar to the subject in Baroque counterpoint, but answered by an antithetical motif, and not developed contrapuntally. Both motifs could be transposed, varied, inverted and built into sequences, though the original material was still recognisable. 'Now Phoebus sinketh in the West', from Arne's *Comus* (1738), the first significant *galant* work by an English composer, contains several examples. The aria has a *da capo* structure, but the two motifs, as shown below, are the music's foundation, and are combined in a variety of ways. The first (A – bars 1-4) is stated as sung; the second (B – bars 5-8) initially appears as an embellished instrumental variant. Arne varies the mood by changing into common time for the B section and by also using both the relative minor and a slower tempo. These changes, commonly seen in a Baroque aria, suit the text, which contrasts the sobriety of age with the taking of youthful pleasure accompanied by drink in the A section. The different time signatures also contrast the 'tipsy dance', a jig, of youth with the stately step of maturity. The texture also varies within this song. Three-part harmony is the most common during the A

⁸⁹ Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, p. 200, §19.

section, where the violins often double the voice and the viola part is omitted during many of the vocal sections, creating a lighter feel to the music. Unison writing and four-part harmony characterise the more sober, ‘older’, B section.

Of particular note here is the way Arne combines features of the Italian baroque with those of the English *galant*. Although he did not make much use of *da capo* form in other songs, it appears that he was seeking to synthesise the two styles within his music from early in his career, something that was to reach fruition in his opera *Artaxerxes* (1762). Burney comments:

[Arne] introduced a light, airy, original and pleasing melody, wholly different from that of Purcell or Handel, whom all English composers had hitherto either pillaged or imitated. Indeed, the melody of Arne at this time, and of his Vauxhall songs afterwards, forms an aera in English music; it was so easy, natural and agreeable to the whole kingdom, that it had an effect upon our national taste.⁹⁰

Concert songs in three parts consist of the vocal line being doubled by an instrument, a second part either playing the same material a third or a sixth lower or providing additional harmony, and a bass line, often providing a pedal of repeated notes (a ‘drum bass’) under the two upper parts. Even where parts are doubled, the melody, second part and bass construct is still apparent.

The harmonic language of the *galant* was also freer than that of the Baroque. Most notable was the use of unprepared dissonance, a feature that provoked considerable debate among German theorists. Dissonance, especially the seventh, was no longer approached by step, but abruptly, though this was explained by the ellipsis of the antecedent consonance, which was implied but not present.⁹¹ Such an approach to harmony was the antithesis of the ‘learned’ approach of the Baroque.

The harmony of many concert songs, however, does not explore the use of dissonance in any great depth, although the bass line often provides a pedal over which a number of harmonic sequences are possible. More common was a I-IV-V-I progression,

⁹⁰ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 1004.

⁹¹ See Sheldon, ‘The Galant Style Revisited and Re-evaluated’, pp. 264-8.

Ex. 1.12a: Arne, principal motifs from ‘Now Phoebus sinketh in the West (*Comus*).
British Library, G. 320.d., p. 9.

Ex. 1.12b: Motifs with Harmony (bars 9-12). *Ibid.*

Ex. 1.12c: Sequence, contrary motion and three-part texture (bars 37-40). *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Ex. 1.12d: Four-part texture (bars 54-7). *Ibid.*

the *cadence galant*, upon which entire pieces could be based.⁹² In Arne’s ‘Where the Bee sucks’ the harmony seldom strays from this pattern, although chord vi is sometimes used to enable the repeat of a melodic episode, the result being an interrupted cadence followed

⁹² See Hertz, *Music in European Capitals*, p. 23.

by a perfect cadence. More notable, as seen below, is the treble ‘pedal’ over a moving bass followed by a moving treble over the same bass sequence, a clever variation on the *galant* melodic model.

Ex. 1.13: Arne, ‘Where the Bee sucks’, bars 5-9. (*Lyric Harmony*, ii, p. 5)

Modulation was often made by the use of sequence, a device inherited from the Italian Baroque, where a phrase was repeated a tone higher or lower several times. Although Fiske sees this device, as used in ‘Now Phoebus’, as a lapse into an Italian cliché,⁹³ it could also be either a tongue-in-cheek statement by Arne or another example of his attempting stylistic synthesis.

Melodic progression by step gave little room for elaborate ornamentation, but this does not mean that ornaments were ignored; they were simply different to those of the Baroque. Grace notes, especially appoggiaturas, were used abundantly, being seen as acceptable melodic embellishments and not excessive decoration, and also a mean of heightening the music’s *Affekt*. These features are allied to the English taste for extended *cantabile* singing and playing, as noted by McVeigh, but they also gave the music greater expression.⁹⁴

Examples of *galant* ornamentation can be found in the opening line of John Worgan’s ‘O Stay, brightest Liberty’ (1760). The use of trills is limited to the instrumental parts, though others may have been added by the singer. The appoggiaturas colour the vocal line effectively, without interfering with the stepwise procession of the melody.

⁹³ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 184.

⁹⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, pp. 140-143.

Likewise, the concluding turn is graceful but not excessive.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major, 6/8 time. The first staff contains the lyrics: "O stay bright - est lib - er - ty stay, or waft_ us with_ thee far_ a - way!". The second staff contains the lyrics: "Stay bright - est lib - er - ty stay, or waft_ us with_ thee far a - way!". The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a concluding trill on the final note of the second staff.

Ex. 1.14: John Worgan, 'O stay, brightest Liberty', bars 11-18, voice part.
British Library, G.809.xx. (10.), p. 4.

A difficulty in discussing the *galant* style in England is its lack of discernible linear development, probably due to the factors given above, which has led Johnstone to assert that the style is easier to recognise than to define.⁹⁵ The fashion for Italian opera, in particular that of Handel, though temporarily displaced by *The Beggar's Opera*, meant that there was little scope for English composers to establish their own voice for many years. Also, a degree of conservatism on their part led to other composers' styles being derided as inferior, as seen in Burney's view of Galuppi:

[He] copies the hasty, light and flimsy style which reigned in Italy at this time, and which Handel's solidity and science had taught the English to despise.⁹⁶

However, salient moments in the history of the English *galant* style can be identified. Fiske suggests that it originated in the masques of Pepusch, in particular *Apollo and Daphne* (1716).⁹⁷ As a German *émigré* Pepusch would have been familiar with both German and French *galant* literature, thus being well placed to introduce the style to English audiences. Fiske notes of *Apollo and Daphne* that, despite being 'Compos'd after the Italian Manner' there are early signs of the 'lyrical minuet song which in Arne's hands sounds thoroughly English'.⁹⁸ Some of these features can be seen in the aria 'Fair blooming Creature' (see Ex. 1.15). The introduction contains a 'motto', the unifying theme of the aria, in bars 1-2, a device that had been a feature of the Italian cantata and

⁹⁵H. Diack Johnstone, 'Handel's London – British musicians and London concert life', *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 77.

⁹⁶Burney, *History*, ii, pp. 839-40. See also Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 248.

⁹⁷See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 58.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

aria for some time. However, the scoring and the texture are unusual, especially the use of oboes accompanied by violas, as opposed to violins, and basso. Also, the sparse texture, especially in bars 9-16, is unexpected, though a bass line played by violins was also an established Italian device. There is imitation between the three parts in bars 3-8, although the descent is more prolonged in the outer parts than in the viola. The tonal structure suggests binary form, the introduction modulating to the dominant, then being repeated exactly by the voice; later songs usually ended the introduction in the tonic to herald the entry of the singer. This work is therefore transitional, but hints as to the future direction of *galant* scoring in England.

Fiske's comment that in the hands of an English composer the music would have sounded more 'native' leads to a search for early manifestations of the *galant* by Englishmen. *Comus* has already been mentioned, and the masque, associated with the dance, was the first genre to feature the style prominently. However, there is earlier evidence of stylistic experimentation in unpublished vocal works by Greene and Stanley. Greene's Italian duet, 'Rapide si volate' (late 1720s?) is scored for violins, viola and basso, but there are directions for the violins to double the voices in places, and there are also passages where the viola is marked 'with the Basso'; both are features of *galant* scoring.⁹⁹

Stanley's early cantatas also show *galant* features, notably the aria 'Blooming Hero' from *The Choice of Hercules* (c.1730), scored for horns, violins and basso.¹⁰⁰ Although there is some imitation between the violin and horn parts, there is also evidence of the three-part 'block' homophonic texture that is a feature of *galant* scoring.

A homophonic three-part texture needed additional material to enliven the music,

⁹⁹ See GB-Ob Ms Mus. d. 52, ff 84^r-89^v. See also H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Life and Works of Maurice Greene (1696-1755)', 2 vols. (Unpublished DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1968), ii, p. 66 for further reference to this work.

¹⁰⁰ GB-Ckc Rowe MS 7, ff1^r-16^v. See A. Glyn Williams, 'The Life and Works of John Stanley (1712-86)', 2 vols. (Unpublished PhD diss., University of Reading, 1977), ii, pp. 34-5 for further reference to this work.

2 oboes

Viola

Soprano

Basso

The first system of the musical score shows the initial instrumental and vocal parts. It features two oboes, a viola, a soprano, and a basso. The music is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The soprano and basso parts are currently silent, indicated by a horizontal line.

VI (not indicated)

Ob double voice

Fair bloom - ing___ Crea - ture, Each ten - der___

The second system continues the instrumental parts. A violin part is present but not indicated. The oboe part is labeled 'Ob double voice' and begins to play the vocal line. The lyrics 'Fair bloom - ing___ Crea - ture, Each ten - der___' are written below the oboe staff.

fea - ture Speaks thee by___ Nat - ure For Love de - sign'd

The third system continues the instrumental parts. The oboe part continues the vocal line. The lyrics 'fea - ture Speaks thee by___ Nat - ure For Love de - sign'd' are written below the oboe staff.

Ex. 1.15: Pepusch: 'Fair blooming Creature' (*Apollo and Daphne*), bars 1-16.
GB-Lcm MS 976, ff 12^v-13^f. Voice part originally in Soprano clef.

and this was sometimes achieved by the doubling of the violin parts by wind instruments at repeated statements of the principal theme, the texture becoming progressively thicker. *Galant* orchestration in England developed in phases, outlined below, which may have prompted Kollmann's concept of instrumental 'classes'. These are:

Phase 1, 'standard': three-, occasionally four-part scoring for strings.

Phase 1, 'enhanced': strings with the addition of a pair of wind instruments, flutes

Ex. 1.16: Stanley, 'Blooming Hero' (*The Choice of Hercules*), bars 1-8. GB-Ckc, Rowe MS 7, f4^r.

(occasionally oboes), or horns.

Phase 2, 'standard': strings with the upper parts doubled by a pair of wind instruments, and additional harmony parts for viola and/or horns.

Phase 2, 'enhanced': as above plus a second pair of treble wind instruments or bassoons in tenor register, doubling at the upper or lower octave.

A further phase, almost exclusive to J.C. Bach's operas, was to have additional harmony parts moving in contrary motion. This scoring resulted in a very dense texture, which may explain its lack of use by English composers, who appear to have preferred more transparency in their music.

d) Vocal Technique

Vocal technique is linked to musical style in that stylistic development will influence melodic structure, range, the use of melisma and/or florid writing and the demands placed upon the singer. Rice's commentary on the cantatas in his catalogue, using expressions such as 'moderately easy', gives an idea of the music's demands on the singer, and whether the work was suitable for amateur performance.¹⁰¹ However, as the

¹⁰¹ Paul Rice, *The Solo Cantata in Eighteenth-Century Britain*.

cantata was in a minority compared with other song types, this classification needs to be treated with caution. Rohr's stratification of singers by where they sang has implication for vocal technique, especially as she places the concert between church and theatre, which implies that concert singers came from both higher and lower musical tiers, their differing techniques and styles merging in an intermediate milieu.¹⁰²

Several treatises on the voice were written during the eighteenth century, but these relate mainly to opera. Tosi, an Italian castrato, wrote from his own experiences, and not necessarily within a wider context. It is therefore more useful to examine the development of technique through the music itself, combined with biographical information on the singers for whom it was written. This approach shows how songs related to specific singers and whether their voices were capable of adapting to different musical styles.

Broadly speaking, there are two periods of vocal technique in respect to the concert song, corresponding approximately with the two phases of the *galant* style. Such a distinction is possible because of a limited use of florid writing before 1760, allied to the native 'ballad' style, and a greater, though by no means universal, use thereafter. Also, the range and tessitura of the soprano voice changed significantly after 1760, with an increased use of the *coloratura* register. Developments in vocal technique can thus be seen by comparing the music of these two phases.

According to McVeigh, 'The English prided themselves on their discernment in rejecting empty virtuosity and excessive embellishment, preferring instead melodic directness and music that 'spoke to the heart'',¹⁰³ thus Burney's 'light, airy, original and pleasing melody' could not succeed if excessively ornamented. Composers therefore limited florid passages to those which underscored the *Affekt* of the text. Arne's 'To a Lady', from *Lyric Harmony*, Volume I, is an fine example of how the prolonged 'flow'd'

¹⁰² Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 100.

¹⁰³ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 144.

fits into the context of ‘Your mantling blood in torrents flow’d’; it sets the second statement of the text, and highlights the agony of the character, but the music retains both its graceful, dance-like quality and the intense emotion of the dramatic setting.

The image shows a musical score for three parts: VI 1 & 2, Voice, and Basso. The music is in 3/8 time and G major. The vocal line is highly melodic and ornamented, with trills and triplets. The basso line is more rhythmic and provides harmonic support. The lyrics 'flow'd' and 'in Torrens flow'd' are written under the vocal line.

Ex 1.17: Arne: ‘To a lady’, bars 42-50. *Lyric Harmony*, i, p. 21.

Boyce, Arne’s contemporary, is less flamboyant in his vocal writing, but the same linearity of the vocal line is evident. The example below, from Volume I of *Lyra Britannica* (1746) contains some intervallic leaps, but all are within the competence of the average singer, and all fit comfortably with both the text and with the musical style.

Only soprano and tenor voices feature in most concert songs; there are some bass songs, with a range closer to that of the modern baritone (c-f’), but none for the countertenor. This use of voices derives from the native theatre tradition, where the principal singers were either sopranos or tenors, supported by basses. By contrast, Italian opera often featured two castrati, two female sopranos and a tenor or bass.¹⁰⁴ The castrato, whose ornamented arias were regarded as an emblem of Italian luxury, was generally shunned by English composers, though Tenducci and Rauzzini both performed and

¹⁰⁴ See John Roselli, ‘The Beginnings of Opera’, *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 90.

And let each Rose that decks your face, Blush as sent to
 my embrace. Blush as sent to my embrace.

Ex. 1.18: Boyce, 'Like the ever-toying dove' (*Cantata*), bars 21-26.
 (*Lyra Britannica*, i, p. 21). Ritornello omitted from final bar.

composed concert songs in the second half of the century.¹⁰⁵

Two singers whose careers exemplify Rohr's classification are also two of the earliest exponents of the concert song, Thomas Lowe (*d.* 1783) and John Beard (1716?-1791).¹⁰⁶ Lowe's early musical experiences are not known, though it is suspected that he was a tavern singer. By contrast, Beard was a chorister at the Chapel Royal who, after his voice had broken, was engaged by Handel for oratorio performances in 1734. These two singers, from very different backgrounds, both sang the same types of song at the same time, although in different places. Both also took the role of Macheath in *The Beggar's Opera* at various times.

The tenor voice quickly became favoured in England, replacing the castrato. Its rise in popularity was due to its lack of gender ambiguity (a feature of castrati, men with 'female' voices), and to its timbre. Tenor range was seen as that of a high male voice, and therefore sexually unambiguous, though tenor songs are generally kept within the compass of d - a', possibly due to composers wishing to maintain a 'male' sound. The timbre could be light and unforced, and when combined with the directness in vocal

¹⁰⁵ See Suzanne Aspden, 'Opera and Nationalism in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain' (Unpublished DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1999), pp.171-180 for a discussion of luxury, ornamentation and Italian opera. See also McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 147.

¹⁰⁶ See *BDA*, ix, pp. 372-4 and i, pp. 400-406 for further biographical information.

delivery that characterised much English song, was arguably ideal for the new musical style that was emerging. It is significant that many of the songs in the early volumes of Boyce's *Lyra Britannica* were written for Lowe and Beard (sopranos appear in later volumes), as they represented an 'English' voice, largely untainted by Italian ambiguity or excess, acceptable to those anxious to promote a native style.¹⁰⁷

Songs written for Lowe and Beard often contain melodies with stepwise movement and restrained decoration, features of *galant* melodic writing. By the end of the 1750s some florid passages had been introduced and the range was being extended upwards. The decoration in bar 12 of Berg's 'Gentle Auth'ress of my Pain' (1759) may have been added by Beard in performance and subsequently included in the published version, but some songs written for Lowe also tested his *falsetto* range.¹⁰⁸

Changes in range, tessitura and florid writing are most apparent in the soprano voice. Songs written before 1760 mainly stayed within the compass of the stave, or a maximum of one leger line above and below, the general range being limited to d'-a'', comparable to that of the tenor. This range is evident in both *Lyric Harmony* and *Lyra Britannica*, where the compass of the soprano songs is generally e'-g''; often the lower tonic note is not used. After 1760 an extended range is discernible, the voice often being taken to c''' or higher. The acceptance of 'Italianate' singing into the English repertoire was probably due to its use by Arne, initially in *Eliza* (1754), but more prominently in *Artaxerxes* (1762). His cantata *The Lover's Recantation* (1761) is possibly the first example of this approach by a native composer; not only is the range extended but there are longer, more florid passages, requiring a higher degree of technical skill. The first volume of J.C. Bach's *Vauxhall Songs* (1765) also shows the increased range of the

¹⁰⁷ See William Boyce, *Lyra Britannica*, introduction by Robert J. Bruce, Music for London Entertainment F3 (Tunbridge Wells: Macnutt, 1985).

¹⁰⁸ See pp. 206-207.

soprano, with a compass of e^b^1 - b^2 and a correspondingly higher tessitura. Although *coloratura* arias became popular at the pleasure gardens for a time, this technique was not applied to other voices, remaining exclusive to the soprano. Despite the decline in florid singing in the mid-1780s, the range and tessitura remained, examples of which appear in several of Hook's later songs.

Two singers who made their name through their use of Italian *coloratura* were Charlotte Brent and Frederika Weichsell. A comparison of songs written for them reveals that, despite having different backgrounds and teachers (Arne and J.C. Bach), each had a considerable range, was capable of changes of register mid-phrase involving great leaps and could sing extended florid passages. Although undoubtedly dramatic within the original performance context, amateur attempts to emulate them would have been limited, thus making the music unattractive to publishers.

ad - van
cing, ad - van - cing or re - tir - ing,

Ex. 1.19, Arne, *The Lovers Recantation*, second aria, bars 50-57 (Brent).
British Library, G.320. (4.) p. 20.

and hails
them with
shouts from the toils of the day.

Ex. 1.20: Giordani, 'The Trumpet's loud Summons', bars 183-191 (Weichsell).
British Library, H. 1652.ee. (14.), p. 31.

e) Music, Text and Context

Any assessment of the quality of songs will, to an extent, be based on an appraisal of their poetry. Eighteenth-century poetry has received less attention than its predecessors

and successors, being sandwiched between the metaphysical and Romantic eras. As it was the principal source of material for contemporary composers, it is not surprising that musical settings of such poetry have also been overlooked, except where a tangible link between poet and music has been established.¹⁰⁹ Much of it consisted of light, ephemeral verse, elegant yet simple, which would not tax the reader too greatly; these characteristics have led to its being treated with some scorn. Aikin's comments imply that the raw material feeding contemporary song left much to be desired:

[it] 'is characterised by a languid, sensual indolence, averse even in its pleasures to any thing that requires attention of the mind'.¹¹⁰

However, very few poems set to music in the eighteenth century come from the high art tradition, as noted by Komlós in her discussion of the canzonet.¹¹¹ Works of poets such as Gray are generally avoided, suggesting that their poetry was deemed too intellectual for musical setting, though poems by Pope, Prior, and Waller do appear occasionally.¹¹² It is therefore better to classify text by subject, rather than attempting to relate it to contemporary poetic styles. This approach was followed in some nineteenth-century song text anthologies, notably *The Vocal Library* (1822), which categorises texts as 'Amatory', 'Ancient Ballads', 'Bacchanalian', 'Catches and Gleees', 'Comic', 'Hunting', 'Military', 'Naval', 'Sentimental' and 'Chansons Français'.¹¹³ Although from a later period, this volume's retrospective approach is closer to eighteenth-century literary thought than many of its contemporaries.

¹⁰⁹ Two examples are Majl Ewing, 'Musical Settings of Prior's Lyrics in the 18th Century', *ELH* 10 (1943), 159-71 and Lewis M. Knapp, 'Smollett's Verses and Their Musical Settings in the Eighteenth Century', *Modern Language Notes* 46 (1931), 224-232.

¹¹⁰ Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing*, p. 9.

¹¹¹ Katalin Komlós, 'Haydn's English canzonettas in their local context', *Engaging Haydn: Culture, Context and Criticism*, ed. Mary Hunter & Richard Will (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 77.

¹¹² See Eric Rothstein, *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Poetry 1660-1780; The Routledge History of English Poetry*, gen. ed. R. A. Foakes (Boston, London and Henley: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1981), p. 101. A posthumous publication of Prior's poems lists those which were set to music. See *The Poetical Works of Matthew Prior*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for W. Strahan, T. Payne, J. Rivington & Sons..., 1779), ii, pp. 238-268.

¹¹³ *The Vocal Library, being the largest collection of English, Scottish, and Irish songs, ever printed in a single volume...* (London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1822).

Other than royal odes, songs with texts celebrating significant national events (e.g. the victory at Culloden) and some cantatas, very few texts are by named authors, though there is some mention of poems being set to music by specific composers, one example being William Upton's 'The dying Thrush', noted in his *Poems on Several Occasions* as being 'Set to music by Mr Hook'.¹¹⁴ However, by cross-referencing the publication dates of songs with those of contemporary poetic miscellanies it becomes possible to construct a tentative link between the two. The numerous volumes of *Poems on Several Occasions* provide a useful starting point, but their attributions may sometimes be inaccurate.¹¹⁵ The practice in the late seventeenth century appears to have been to collate texts with a similar theme, mainly from pamphlets and broadsheets, and then to publish a collection. If this practice continued into the eighteenth century, a text may have undergone numerous transformations over time, leaving a potential tangle of material that may prove impossible to unravel.

Changes to poetry occurred as it acquired a larger and socially broader audience due to increased literacy. A new alliance of composition and performance emerged, with the emphasis on public entertainment rather than intellectual appeal, where content and subject matter could be diluted to suit the less erudite. A literary foundation of simplicity, artifice and formalism offered limited prospects for a high standard of musical settings of such poetry, especially when mass-produced to satisfy commercial demands. Sutherland calls this 'a world of temperate delights and rational pleasures',¹¹⁶ alien to us today but normal in the eighteenth century; therefore it should not be judged in an ahistorical manner.

¹¹⁴ William Upton, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London: Printed for John Strahan, 1788), p. 105.

¹¹⁵ Thorpe, in the preface to his edition of Rochester's collection, notes that of the sixty-one poems, at least thirteen belong to other authors. See *Rochester's Poems of Several Occasions*, ed. James Thorpe (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. xxviii-xxix.

¹¹⁶ James Sutherland, *A Preface to Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948 R/1962), p.167.

The alliance between music and poetry was discussed at length by several eighteenth-century authors. John Brown (1715-66) argued that music and poetry had separated due to the rise of instrumental music (possibly including orchestral accompaniments to songs), which was becoming increasingly expressive in its own right, and that the quality of the music had consequently declined, becoming devoid of dignity and therefore shunned by men of taste.¹¹⁷ Brown also points to the taste for songs about love and wine as ‘proof of Jollity rather than Taste’, an implied criticism of songs performed at the gardens.¹¹⁸ A point in support of his argument is the decline in collaborations between poet and composer, as had been seen in works by Pepusch (Hughes-1710), Stanley (Hawkins-1742) and Boyce (Lockman-1730s and 40s); this practice was almost extinct by 1750. Composers turned to the works of minor poets or even provided their own texts, which may explain in part why the poetry and its musical settings have been dismissed as ephemeral entertainment, and not been given the consideration they perhaps deserve.¹¹⁹

A more positive view is given by Anselm Bayly (1718-94), who opines that the use of instruments had greatly enhanced the dramatic effects of music. For him, the quasi-vocal timbres of certain instruments could be used to underpin and enhance the text.

From a multiplied conjunction of voices and instruments... must certainly arise fullness more astonishing, more effective and more comprehensible to common ears, than from a less number in parts or harmony.¹²⁰

However, Bayly warns composers to be particularly careful with instruments that are closest in sound to the voice, such as the oboe and bassoon, as their injudicious use might detract from the delivery of both the vocal line and the text.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ John Brown (1715-66), *A Dissertation in the Rise, Union, and Power, The Progressions Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music* (London: Printed for L. Dawes and C. Reymer, 1763), facs. edn. (Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1972).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

¹¹⁹ Borschel (‘Development of English Song’, p. 25) suggests that some poems may have come from composers themselves or amateurs, which may account for their comparatively facile nature.

¹²⁰ Anselm Bayly, *The Alliances of Music, Poetry and Oratory* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1789), facs. edn., *Aesthetics and Music in the Eighteenth Century* 6 (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003), p. 33.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

The most common textual theme was that of love, though more closely allied to the eighteenth-century preoccupation with man's relationship with nature than to romance. Far from being an activity pursued under the protocols of church or court, a more humanistic approach came into being, showing man both as a product of nature, and also capable of bringing it under his control.¹²² This aesthetic resonated with the atmosphere the pleasure gardens sought to create.

The pastoral features heavily in eighteenth-century song, connecting past with present by drawing on both Classical and natural themes. However, Aikin points out two weaknesses in the Arcadian idyll; firstly that it was outmoded, and was therefore a model rather than a representation of reality, and secondly that a background of Mediterranean plains and groves did not suit more northerly climes.¹²³ In the 1720s Ambrose Philips began a gradual move away from Classical portrayals of nymphs and shepherds towards a native pastoral, using British, especially Scottish, names that blended established poetical norms with the 'native exotic', thus enabling setting and protagonists to become 'British'. The Arcadian Strephon and Phillis gave way to the native Colin and Chloe, or the Scots Jockey and Jenny; these names identified more readily with contemporary culture. Consequently, the pastoral became an emblem of the gardens, combining the formalism of high art with themes of contemporary life, occasionally verging on the bawdy. The native pastoral/rustic theme remained popular beyond 1800, offering a diversion from contemporary concerns. However, from the 1760s onwards, the undercurrent of these texts changed from what McVeigh terms 'Pastoral Charm',¹²⁴ into something more engaged with personal sentiment, perhaps reflecting social change at home and abroad.

The classless tone of concert song texts is reflected in references to activities now

¹²² Aikin equates human love with natural beauty, using it as a means to tame mankind's baser emotions. See Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing*, p. 5.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹²⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 139.

being enjoyed by a greater part of the population. Hunting, once the preserve of the nobility, features frequently, though one suspects that, as in madrigal texts, the ‘quarry’ may be human rather than animal.¹²⁵ Social milieus were sometimes mixed; drinking, formerly a tavern and lower-class activity, is depicted as something to be enjoyed by all, though sometimes featuring a rejected suitor seeking consolation in the tavern. As some early concerts took place in taverns, and the pleasure gardens became popular concert venues, an extant association between music, love, nature and drinking developed though the concert song.

Genre and textual theme often came from different backgrounds, thus a rustic tale was sometimes set as a cantata. Arnold’s *The Milk-Maid* (1774) combines a ballad-style text with art song music, thus appealing to the socially diverse audience at Vauxhall. It has an R-A-R-A structure, the opening line of each section marking the salient moments of the text, as would the verses of a ballad: the girl, daydreaming, trips and spills her pails of milk and advises other not to share her fate – a cautionary tale . The instrumentation adds an extra dimension to the music, being in the symphonic style, with oboes, horns, strings and continuo.

Recit: ‘As Kate one morn with milk pail on her head’. (Narrative, setting the scene)

Arioso: ‘Suppose my milk, sold some eggs’. (A flight of fancy)

Recit: ‘Struck with the fancied bliss’. (Distraction, leading to accident (falling over))

Aria: ‘Fair ladies who my tale attend’. (The moral of the story)

There is evidence that texts were reused on a number of occasions, though modified to align a poem with current taste. Arne’s two ‘Celia’ cantatas are an example. ‘Fair Celia Love Pretended’ (1746) gives a neo-operatic presentation of the text; *The Lover’s Recantation* (1761) uses the same text for the arias, but the recitatives replace the neo-pastoral with a contemporary setting in which Celia, far from playing the coquettish

¹²⁵ See Alexander L. Ringer, ‘The “Chasse” as a Musical Topic of the 18th Century’, *JAMS* 6 (1953), 148-159 for a discussion of the social and musical origins of this topic.

nymph, escapes from the watchfulness of her mother to meet her suitor.¹²⁶

Texts were often modified to filter out the ‘vulgar’ from older authors, an early form of bowdlerisation. Shakespeare, in particular, seems to have come in for considerable attention, the best example being ‘Ariel’s Song’ from *The Tempest*, where the word ‘suck’ in ‘Where the bee sucks, there suck I’ is replaced by ‘lurk’: apparently it is acceptable for a bee to suck nectar, but not a fairy.

Certain poetic styles and subjects had associations with certain key characteristics, part of a long-established musical aesthetic. These associations created a backdrop to the drama in a stage work, which would remain with a song irrespective of its performance venue. The difficulty here is that any rhetorical strategy was often the product of a composer’s personal creation, rather than one based on an accepted series of norms. Price asserts that Purcell used certain keys to create certain moods, as listed below, but warns against applying this categorisation to every song, even suggesting that Purcell did not intend such a strategy.¹²⁷

- F & B \flat majors – pastoral
- C & D majors – triumph, ceremony, royalty
- G minor – death
- F minor – horror, witches and the like
- E minor – fate

- C minor – melancholy
- D & A minors – sexual ardour

Both Purcell and Handel appear to have used a characterised approach to achieve cohesion within their music, but as a product of their subconscious thought, rather than through any allegiance to aesthetic diktats.¹²⁸ However, the above framework provides a broad understanding of how songs may have been crafted and how instruments could

¹²⁶ See Paul F. Rice, ‘The Solo Secular Cantatas of Thomas A. Arne’, *Sharing the Voices: The Phenomenon of Singing*, ed. Brian A. Roberts (St John’s: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000), pp.196-205, especially pp.199-201 for further information. The ‘Celia’ text is also set by Bowman in his *Two Cantatas and Eight English Songs* (c.1750).

¹²⁷ Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 22.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23. See also Winton Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 60.

have been used to enhance the atmosphere the composer was trying to create.

Some key characteristics from the time of Purcell, as noted by Holman, continued into the eighteenth century, and have clear associations with instruments.¹²⁹

C and D majors – ceremony & battle [trumpets and drums]

B \flat major (oboe key) – drinking

F major – pastoral [recorders, later flutes]

Other keys listed are:

C minor – tragedy

F minor – horror

G minor – death

Perhaps understandably, minor keys were not abundant in songs performed at the gardens, where pleasure was sought. Bronson distinguishes between the ‘happy dance... refusing to take itself seriously, regardless of tragic implications’ in the triple meter of English ballads, and the duple meter and minor key of Scots ballads.¹³⁰ However, many later Scots songs are in major keys and triple meter, suggesting that musical ‘authenticity’ was discarded in favour of populism.

The range of available keys increased with improvements in instrumental design and playing technique leading to a wider exploration of tonality. E flat became a key of hunting music, being suited to the horn and later the clarinet. G major became another key associated with the flute, and thus with the pastoral.¹³¹

Although the literary foundation for the music does not present a particularly inspiring picture, it is important to the understanding of the concert song within its historical context. Weaknesses in poetry meant that something else was required to animate the music, thus the addition of instruments became important in counterbalancing textual deficiencies.

¹²⁹ Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 38-39.

¹³⁰ Bronson, *The Ballad as Song*, p. 266.

¹³¹ Steblin’s survey of key characteristics reveals a bewildering array of opinions as to which characteristics fit each key. See Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Epping: Bowker, 1983), pp. 38-48 for a more detailed discussion of this subject.

f) Publication

The publishing industry, growing alongside England's concert life, became important in the development of the concert song during the eighteenth century.

Publishers capitalised on the popularity of music performed at concerts, and sold it to an increasingly musically literate public for consumption both in private and in public. The wider availability of music helped to weaken class barriers, the middle classes having disposable income to devote to music, as noted by Borschel.¹³²

The proliferation of the music publishing industry in the eighteenth century owes much to its ability to adapt to consumer demand. The availability of music was initially dependent upon patrician tastes, but towards the end of the seventeenth century, John Playford and John Walsh the elder 'sensed the distinctive spirit of England's middle-class audience',¹³³ and directed their marketing accordingly. In doing so, they engineered a shift in the nature of music printing towards a commercial approach, giving the public the music they wanted to hear and perform.¹³⁴

Developments in technology also helped to increase the circulation of music. Round-note type made music more legible and therefore more attractive to the consumer. The change from typesetting to engraved plates, led by the elder Walsh, proved more cost-effective and led to greater flexibility in the layout of a score. However, the six volumes of D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1698-1720), the most popular collection of vocal music of its time, are all typeset, showing an overlap of techniques in the first two decades of the eighteenth century.

¹³² Borschel, 'Development of English Song', p. 56.

¹³³ D.W Krummel and Stanley Sadie (eds.), *Music Printing and Publishing* (Basingstoke & London: Macmillan, 1980 R/1990), p. 92.

¹³⁴ See Rebecca Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *JAMS* 63 (2010), 243-290, especially pp. 243-9 for a discussion of the transition from patronage to commercial publishing.

Another significant step forward occurred in the 1690s when the engraver Thomas Cross (?1660-65 - ?1732/5), issued song sheets with both words and music.¹³⁵ Ballad sheets had formerly contained only the words of a song, the reader being directed to use a popular or traditional tune, with or without appropriate adaptations. Cross, using hand-drawn signs on the plates as decoration, helped to refine a tradition hitherto seen as vulgar. More importantly, he captured an oral tradition in printed form, in many cases for the first time.

Early ballad sheets were ‘half-sheets’, the music, usually consisting of a melody only though occasionally with a simple bass line, being printed on the top half of the page with the words underneath. This addition enabled ballads, many of which were derived from art songs and instrumental music, to appear in print in a form that approximated to the original. The concept proved popular, such song sheets numbering several hundreds by 1700. Not all publishers liked the ‘ephemeral nature’ of these songs,¹³⁶ but they saw their potential market; even those who specialised in instrumental music began including songs in their catalogues. Walsh went further, reissuing many single-sheet songs in periodical collections, *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music* (1702-11) being a popular publication in its day.¹³⁷ Many publishers also issued songs in different formats in a bid to outdo each other, resulting in presentation often taking precedence over content.

Most songs published between 1740 and 1800 appeared in collections by a single composer; this became the standard publication practice. Short score collections were cheaper than those in full score, though the difference in price was comparatively small, 3s for a collection in short score and 4s or 5s for one in full score. The price of these

¹³⁵ See Frank Kidson/William C. Smith/Peter Ward Jones, David Hunter, ‘Cross, Thomas’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 3 January 2013) for Cross’s biography.

¹³⁶ Krummel & Sadie, *Music Printing and Publishing*, p. 208.

¹³⁷ *The Monthly Mask* also appeared between 1717-23 and 1737-8. The original series has been edited in facsimile by Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

collections remained remarkably stable for much of the century, the typical cost being between three and four shillings. This price made the music accessible to a wider public, though still prohibitively expensive for many. Additionally, there were a number of small anthologies, sometimes associated with a specific performer or venue; these were a further part of publishers' marketing strategies, attracting people to specific places to hear certain singers thus encouraging them to buy the music they had heard.¹³⁸

Towards the end of the century, single songs became more popular than collections; publishers could sell a song in full score for one shilling, while proffering the lure of further songs at similar prices. The industry therefore came full circle within a hundred years, moving from single songs in short score to collections in full score and then back to single songs, in full or short score.

Full scores of operas were published in the 1680s and 90s, Grabu's *Albion and Albanus* (1685) and Purcell's *Dioclesian* (1691) being notable examples. However, the cost of producing such scores, and a very limited market, meant that such ventures did not succeed, and it was not until the following century that full score publications became financially viable. Pepusch's cantatas of 1710, published in full score, show that there was now a market for songs with instrumental ensemble. Concert songs in this format could now be performed with the original accompaniment anywhere in the country; parts had to be copied out but there were no additional purchasing costs.

The format of the full score varied considerably. In *Albion and Albanus* the voice parts are placed on the topmost staves, the instrumental parts underneath. In *Dioclesian* the format is closer to modern conventions, the voices being placed between the upper strings and the basso. The trumpets have the top staves, the oboes and violins, doubling on the same parts, underneath, and the viola under them.

¹³⁸ It is also possible that some form of deal may have been agreed between performer, venue and publisher, to everybody's mutual benefit.



Fig. 1.6: Purcell, 'Let all Mankind the Pleasure share' from *The Vocal and Instrumental Musick in The Prophetess or The History of Dioclesian* (London: Printed for J. Heptonstall..., 1691), pp. 28-9.
<http://0-www.jshistoricbooks.ac.uk.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/Search.aspx>
 (Accessed 4 January 2013).

John Walsh the younger's publishing of Handel's coronation anthems in full score (on eighteen staves) in 1743 shows how far both printing techniques and the market for this format had developed in a short time. The format mirrors that in *Dioclesian*, though with the string bass part above the voices. However, Walsh did not subsequently produce collections of songs in full score; this became the province of his main rival, John Johnson, who printed collections either in full score or in condensed format with instrumental indications.

The term 'full score' can be misleading, as the music rarely included every part written out in full. The number of staves in the system was apparently determined at the outset, the instrumental parts being adapted to fit the format. Although it was necessary to include all the important information, much could be left out; competent copyists could reconstruct the parts as required. Viola parts were frequently omitted, as were doublings of violin parts by winds. Indications such as 'Oboi col violini' provided the necessary information for copyists. This practice provides the basis for Dart's 'rules', although he

The image displays a page of a full musical score for the opening of Handel's *Zadok the Priest*. The score is arranged in a system of 18 staves. From top to bottom, the staves are labeled: Tromba 1^a and 2^a; Tromba 3^a; Tympano; Hautbois 1^a and 2^a; Bassons 1^a and 2^a; Violino 1^a; Violino 2^a; Violino 3^a; Viola; Violone: 4; Contra Bass; Canto 1^o; Canto 2^o; Alto 1^o; Alto 2^o; Tenore; Basso 1^o; Basso 2^o; and Organo. The organ part includes the instruction 'Soft' and a dynamic marking of '40'. The music is in common time (C) and features a complex, rhythmic texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes.

Fig.1.7: Opening of Handel's *Zadok the Priest*, Walsh's edition in full score (1743).
Canterbury Cathedral Library, W2/R-16-21, p. 2. Copied with permission.

did not use specific examples to support his assertions.

Although the full score was widely used, especially in the 1760s and 1770s, most collections were published in short score to make them accessible to amateurs. A typical example is Hook's 'The Joy of the Sport' (1786). A comparison of Hook's autograph and the printed short score shows how much orchestral material has been removed; only the Violin 1 and basso parts are largely unchanged, though oboe and horn parts are partly cued in.¹³⁹

One feature of many short scores is the placing of the second violin part above the first to make reading at the keyboard easier for amateurs, who then read two adjacent staves. The vocal line would be doubled by a violin or other melodic instrument, a second part being added if a player was present. Warlock retains this format in *Songs of the Gardens*, thus giving a useful insight into former practices. Singers would often

¹³⁹ GB-Lcm MS 295, ff 9^r-12^v; *A Favorite Collection of Songs* (London, 1786), no. 2.

Table 1.1: Comparison of Manuscript and printed versions of Hook's 'Hunting Song' (1786)

<u>Bar Nos</u>	<u>Manuscript</u>	<u>Printed Score</u>
1-4 (introduction)	Strings & Horns notated Ob double Vn	Vn1 & basso only
5-6	Ob & Hn (marked 'Solo'), Basso	Ob1 & Hn (marked as such). Ob2 omitted except for last 3 notes
7-8	Full; Ob double Vn 1	Voice/Vn1 & basso only
9 (entry of voice) -12 (repeat mark)	Vn1 (doubling voice), Vn2, Va, Basso. Ob & Hn added at end of 11	As above
13-20	Strings as above; Hn added 14-15, 16-17 & 20; Ob 17 & 18	As above
21-22	Ob & Hn, marked 'Soli'	Hn only (notes cue size)
22-26	Strings & Hn, written out in full	Voice/Vn1 & basso only
26-30	Full; Vn1 doubles voice (indicated). Ob added at end of 28	As above
30-32 (coda)	Full; all parts written out	As above, marked 'Sy'

accompany themselves in the home, but a proficient keyboard player need not have felt constrained to double the voice part in the right hand; a competent singer freed the accompanist to fill in the harmonies as appropriate. The harmony of the ritornelli might have been similarly expanded. Therefore, a domestic performance could mean several possible combinations of performers:

- 1) Singer accompanying him/herself at keyboard
- 2) Singer and separate accompanist
- 3) Singer and melodic and/or bass instrument, without keyboard
- 4) Singer, keyboard and melodic and/or bass instrument,
- 5) As above, with added second violin and viola parts, realised from the short score
- 6) As above, with wind instruments doubling the strings parts and adding harmony

This list is not exhaustive; there are many possible permutations. However, the parts for 5) and 6) would have needed notating at some point. Short scores often contained instrumental cues to enable provincial copyists to make approximations of the parts; this raises the possibility of considerable variation between towns, each having parts that are musically acceptable but not necessarily correct reproductions of the composer's original version.¹⁴⁰

Hook's 'Favourite Rondo' (1777) offers an example of how a full score can be

¹⁴⁰ See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 296.

reconstructed from a short score.¹⁴¹ The song appears to be scored for flutes, violins and basso, a combination that could easily be assembled for a ‘domestic’ or provincial performance. However, a ‘full’ orchestra was used at Vauxhall, therefore consideration needs to be given to the viola and bassoon parts, present but not notated. The flutes are used quite sparingly, their role being to provide a contrast in colour to an otherwise all-string texture, and their interjections provide some background humour to the music. The short score suggests that they only play in the ‘tutti’ A section, and not elsewhere.

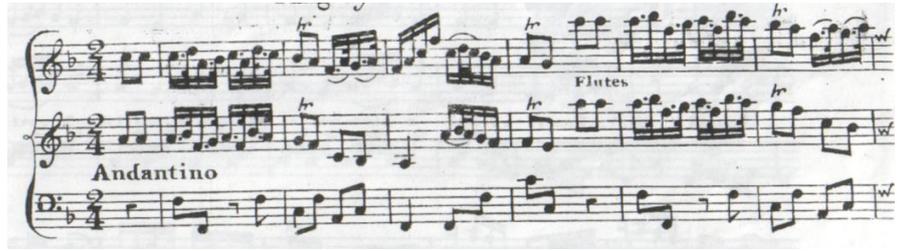
A modern full score would differ considerably from the original. The change from violins to flutes at bar 5 is marked, but could mean either ‘flutes alone’ or ‘flutes doubling the violins an octave higher’. Given the imitative nature of the music the former seems more probable (see Exx. 1.21a & 21b).

The violin 1 part generally doubles the vocal line, as shown by ‘1^o con voce’ at the entry of the voice in bar 22. The violin could double the voice throughout, but the *fioratura* passage in bars 42-44 is unlikely to have been doubled. The passage in Ex.1.22a probably had the violins filling in the harmony using the same rhythmic material as the other instruments. The bracketed section in Ex. 1.22b shows one possible solution. The realised viola part is closely related to the basso, but in performance the players may have altered the part as appropriate, perhaps adding harmony notes. However, as any editorial interpretation of this music can be questioned, it is only possible to suggest options, rather than provide definitive answers.

The use of instruments in songs led to the inclusion of introductions and other ritornelli in the music. Many songbooks in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries printed songs without introduction, *Wit and Mirth* being a notable example. Fiske suggests that this practice was a way of saving space and money;¹⁴² any

¹⁴¹ *A Collection of Songs* (London, 1777), no. 11.

¹⁴² Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 54.



Ex. 1.21a: Hook, 'Favourite Rondo' (1777), bars. 1-6.
 © The British Library Board, H.1651.c. (1.), p.14.

Andantino (♩ = c.60)

Flute 2

Soprano

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Basso
 (Violoncello,
 Double Bass &
 Bassoon)

Ex. 1.21b : Hook, 'Favourite Rondo', bars 1-6. Edited version.



Ex. 1.22a: Hook, 'Favourite Rondo', bars 41-5, original version.
 © The British Library Board, H.1651.c. (1.), p. 15.

Fl.

S.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

Ex. 1.22b: Hook, 'Favourite Rondo', bars 42-5. Edited version.

necessary introduction would be the opening line of the song played over before the entry of the voice. The increasing use of instruments, including harmony parts, meant that notated introductions became necessary, and from the 1730s songs began to be published with ritornelli, *The Musical Entertainer* being a notable exception. These additions gave the music more shape and elegance, which suited the *galant* style well, thus by the time that vocal music was incorporated into garden concerts songs had been lengthened by some considerable degree.

Song publications often give the name of the singer and venue, either on the title page or at the head of the song, or both. This information is invaluable to scholars, as it not only assists with dating a publication by reference to the performers' biographies, but also enables an appraisal of singers' abilities.

Subscription lists provide much useful information into the dissemination of music collections throughout the country. Burchell's analysis of collections with subscription lists published between 1730 and 1800 reveals both the number of music societies active in the country at the time and the songs performed at their meetings.¹⁴³ Provincial composers were often promoted within their regions; Pixell's two song collections (1759 & 1775) were bought by music societies in Birmingham, Coventry, Lichfield and Stourbridge, all apparently supporting a Birmingham composer. Oxford's Musical Society was able to acquire information on musical activities in other provincial centres through its student membership, and it is possible that students may have copied its music for subsequent use elsewhere. The reasons for the purchasing of the Durham composer Jasper Clarke's *A Cantata and Five Songs* (c.1760) by Winchester's Musical Society become clear when one learns that he was a Lay Clerk at the cathedral from 1741 before moving to Durham in 1753: he evidently maintained a connection with Winchester

¹⁴³ See Burchell, 'Musical Societies in Subscription Lists'.

after his departure.¹⁴⁴

The inclusion of songs, mainly from operas but also from other genres, in literary periodicals from the mid-1730s suggests a desire by composers and publishers to circulate their music to as wide an audience as possible.¹⁴⁵ The earliest known example is in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for October 1737. Attributed, almost certainly erroneously, to Stanley in the index,¹⁴⁶ it is actually an English adaptation of Pescetti's 'Semplicetta Tortorella' from *Demetrio* (1732).¹⁴⁷ The reasons for such a piece being chosen are that it came from a work currently in vogue, the aria in its original form having been published by Walsh in short score in the same year.¹⁴⁸

In the periodical, the opening and concluding ritornelli are omitted, and the word underlay is substantially altered to suit the English language. Although no instruments are stated in the periodical, Walsh's edition has the Violins marked 'unisoni' on the treble stave and 'Viole col bas[si]' on the bass. These markings make this work eminently suitable for domestic performance, as it could be performed with a minimal number of instruments. The binary structure of the aria would also have appealed to those who disliked the Italian *da capo* form; for them the music would have had an 'English' flavour.

Also of note is the version for 'German' or transverse flute, which was becoming a mainstay of the domestic musical scene by this time. Later in the century, versions for the

¹⁴⁴ I am indebted to Dr Brian Crosby (Durham Cathedral Library) and Gill Rushton (Winchester Cathedral Archives) for providing this biographical information.

¹⁴⁵ See Gerald Seaman, 'Coverage of Music and the Performing Arts in Eighteenth-Century European Periodicals', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 11 (1987), 127-138 for a discussion of this aspect of publication throughout Europe.

¹⁴⁶ Williams makes no mention of this song in his survey of Stanley's music, but notes two other songs of doubtful authenticity in the same magazine. See Williams, 'The Life and Works of John Stanley, i, pp. 136-7.

¹⁴⁷ *Giovanni Battista Pescetti, The Favorite Songs in the Opera call'd Demetrius (London, [1737]). Demetrio* was first performed in London on 12 February 1737. See *The London Stage*, Part 3, p. 638.

¹⁴⁸ 'The Favourite Songs' from *Demetrio* was advertised in *Country Journal; or, The Craftsman* on 23 April 1737 as 'Just Publish'd'. See William C. Smith, & Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1721-1766*, 2nd edn. (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1968), p. 269.

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE for OCTOBER 1737. 626
 The CHARMER. To a celebrated Air in DEMETRIUS.

STELLA darling of the Muses, Fairer than the blooming Spring, sweetest Theme the
 Poet chuses, When of thee he strives to sing!
 While my Soul with Wonder traces, All thy Charms of Face & Mind, All the Beauties, all the Graces
 Of thy Sex in thee I Find
 Love and Joy and Admiration,
 In my Breast alternate rise,
 Words no more can paint my Passion,
 Than the Pencil can thy Eyes.
 Lavish Nature thee adorning,
 O'er thy Lips, and Cheek, hath spread,
 Colours, that can shame the Morning,
 Smiling with celestial Red.
 Could the Gods, in blest Condition,
 Ought on Earth with Envy view,
 Lovely STELLA, their Ambition,
 Would be to resemble You.

FLUTE.

N. B. This SONG is infested by Desire; as will B J's on the Consideration mentioned.

Fig. 1.8: Pescetti (arr. Stanley?), 'The Charmer', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 7 (October 1737), © The British Library Board, 249.c.7, p. 626. This song also appeared in *The Monthly Mask*, 1737-8, No. 2 (See Baldwin & Wilson, 'Reviv'd by the Publisher of the Former Masks', p. 30).

English 'guittar' were also introduced, this instrument having become favoured by women, for domestic use.¹⁴⁹ The earliest examples appeared in collections from the mid-1750s, increasing in number in the following decades.

The popularity of these songs is evident from the number of examples in various periodicals, and from the number of magazines including music. Kennedy's list of two hundred and forty-five songs in *The London Magazine* (1732-83), provides ample evidence of this.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ See Philip Coggin, "'This Easy and Agreeable Instrument': A History of the English Guittar", *EM* 15 (1987), 205-18. Pp 205-209 contain a detailed discussion of the social history of the instrument.

¹⁵⁰ Josepha Kennedy, 'An Index to the Songs in the London Magazine (1732-1783)', *MR* 46 (1985), 83-92. See also Frank Kidson, 'English Magazines Containing Music before the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century', *MA* 3 (1911-12), 99-102 for a list of contemporary magazines including music.

Non-musical sources, usually chapbooks or similar publications, can be equally informative. Two notable examples are *A Genuine Collection of all the Songs, Ballads, Cantatas and Choruses now singing at Vaux-Hall Gardens*, published by F. Newberry in 1766, priced at 1s, and a similarly titled publication in 1768.¹⁵¹ The first contains the words to thirty-three songs performed at Vauxhall during the season, the second thirty songs. Both demonstrate the variety of vocal material performed at these concerts, though an accurate assessment is difficult as some pieces, especially the finales, were not published and have subsequently been lost. It is also possible to date some songs more accurately from information in these publications. Barthélemon's 'Gentle Damon' is one example; it is listed in Newberry's 1766 collection, but not published until 1770, suggesting that Barthélemon waited until he had amassed enough material before publishing it in a collection.

This chapter, though lengthy, shows the amount of information that a study of the concert song can provide. As it developed and diversified, so did its orchestration, its relationship with texts, its musical style and its publishing practices. It is now necessary to examine how the genre's musical foundations were laid.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix A for an analysis of the contents of both booklets.

Chapter 2

1660-1740: Socio-cultural Influences and the origins of the orchestral Concert Song:

Introduction

While the struggles of an experimental age may feed the inspiration of a great artist they have no power to influence nature in a way that will engender men of genius. (Nettel)¹

The concert song, as its name implies, is a genre of vocal music written for concert performance. However, it is not an *ex nihilo* creation, as the underlying social and cultural foundation had to create the necessary conditions that enabled the genre to come into being. It is therefore necessary to understand not only the music (the song), but also its cultural companion (the concert). In many respects the two developed side by side, the growth of the concert enabling a development of vocal repertoire to fit the requirements of the performance milieu. Although this implies a degree of interdependence between the two, this is only true inasmuch as the concert song could not have come into being without the concert culture to engender its creation – songs can exist without concerts and vice-versa. Also, the concert did not create the concert song; rather a new cultural institution initially drew on the music of other milieus before developing a distinctive literature of its own. When the orchestra became established in England the possibility of song with instrumental accompaniment was realised, leading to the gradual development of the orchestral concert song.

The genres that fed into the concert song are many and varied, and are not limited to any one country or practice. Certainly Italian music, especially opera and the cantata, played its part, but the concept of orchestral accompaniment is by no means unique to Italy. The works of the Moravian Gottfried Finger, who directed the concerts at York Buildings in the 1690s, and the German Johann Christophe Pepusch also played an

¹ Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England: A Social History* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1946), p.18.

important role in building a foundation to the genre. The nature of the English, prolific borrowers from elsewhere, can equally be said to have contributed, but, lest it be said that English music is merely a series of borrowings, there had to be an established tradition of musical creativity for any 'home-grown' genre to succeed, and the native theatre tradition was to be as fertile a field as those imported from overseas.

There were three possible pathways for the development of the concert song:

1) 'Borrowing' or genre transfer, involving the wholesale lifting of songs out of their original setting unchanged and placing them in a different environment. This process would have applied to songs from theatre works, and there is evidence from publications that many such songs found their way into concerts. Being a 'closed' form, and therefore not dependent on the surrounding music for context, they could be translated into other musical performances, though some contextual significance (relating to the plot of the drama) might be lost. Symphony songs had no such contextual problems, and could be performed anywhere suitable.

Transfer was really only a partial solution to the problem of finding vocal music for concert performance, a stop-gap until the idea of specifically-composed music had emerged. However, the publishing practice of associating song, singer and venue began to appear in books of transferred songs in the late seventeenth century, increasing public access to music by encouraging attendance at concerts.

2) Cultivating or refining an existing genre to suit a new situation. This process applies to 'ballads' or popular songs. As many were originally art songs, which had basses, they offered a simpler song style to theatre or court music, and could be inserted into programmes between longer and more complex items, using a continuo group for the accompaniment.

3) Composing new music. There is little evidence of this before the 1690s, so it can be assumed that either existing songs were sufficient to satisfy public demand or that the

possibilities of new music had not been explored.

As cultural horizons expanded, so the growth of the music publishing industry enabled works performed in public to be circulated to a wider audience. This growth took place as a result of a demand from the emergent middle class, one created by money rather than breeding, with sufficient disposable income to enable it to participate in cultural activities. The publishing industry was therefore able to capitalise on this desire for cultural enlightenment and ply its trade among a receptive clientele. Thus concerts and publishing grew side by side, as McGuinness notes:

two factors prevail as the catalysts: the public concert and the publishing and circulation of music and the symbiosis of all three.²

With musical life very much in the ascendancy from the end of the seventeenth century, there came opportunities for formerly 'private' genres to move into a more public arena. The secular cantata is the foremost example: its move into the theatre, thence into the concert, led to an orchestral accompaniment becoming more common in England than in Italy.

The above influences on the concert song were as diverse as the music itself, and therefore need to be examined individually before their confluence can be charted.

Early Concerts and Vocal Music

It seems clear, from surviving evidence, that vocal music was an integral part of the concert tradition from its earliest days. As singing, in some form, had always enjoyed a degree of popularity it was natural that it found its way into new outlets as they emerged. Vocal music had been performed, and even published, during the Commonwealth, which bears testament to its ability to survive, even in straightened circumstances. Taverns had hosted music in the 1650s, despite Cromwell, in his third parliament of 1655-7, having decreed that tavern musicians be considered 'Rogues,

² Rosamond McGuinness, 'Music as a Commodity: Creating a Market in Eighteenth-Century London', *Contributions to Economic Analysis* 260 (2004), p. 133.

vagabonds and sturdy beggars'.³ Put simply, music had lurked in the background until greater opportunities for performance arose.

These opportunities came in the wake of the Restoration, which brought an increase in the public performance of music and greater public access to it. A repertoire of vocal music was available, due to John Playford having published sets of secular songs in the 1650s.⁴ The link between composer and publisher became established in that decade, Playford publishing three volumes of songs by the Cavalier composer Henry Lawes in 1653, 1655 and 1658.⁵ Lawes, unlike many of his contemporaries, had remained in London, where he is known to have held musical entertainments at his house around this time.⁶

The theatres reopened in the 1660s, allowing a further influx of music. However, the ready availability of theatre music and ballads at this time meant that there was little reason to seek a specific repertoire for other musical events as there was sufficient to satisfy demand.

The first recorded concerts in London, promoted by John Banister from 1672 until 1679, began to change the situation. Although the first reference to vocal music being included in his concerts dates from 1674,⁷ it is probable that songs of some kind were included from the start, and with a new outlet for vocal music would have come the concept of a repertoire for this outlet. However, little is known of concert programmes until the 1680s when York Buildings became the first purposely-adapted concert venue. By this time, court musicians were playing an active part in London's musical life whenever their duties allowed, and had been the mainstay of the accompaniment to

³ Cited in Robert Elkin, *The Old Concert Room of London* (London: Edward Arnold, 1955), p. 13.

⁴ Playford's *Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues* was published in 1652, and contained works by John Wilson, Charles Coleman, Henry Lawes and William Webb, as well as works by 'Doctours of Musick' and 'Gentlemen'. See Cyrus L. Day & Eleanor Murrie, *English Song Books 1651-1702: A Bibliography with a First-Line Index of Songs* (London: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1940), p. 22.

⁵ *Ayres and Dialogues for One, Two and Three Voyces*. See Day & Murrie, *English Song Books 1651-1702*, pp. 23, 25 & 27.

⁶ See Ian Spink, *English Song, Dowland to Purcell* (London: Batsford, 1974), pp. 96-97.

⁷ *London Gazette*, 24 September 1674.

theatrical productions in the 1660s and 1670s.⁸ Their involvement meant that court music found its way into concert programmes. Birthday odes and similar works were repeated in concerts before a larger audience, thus the emergent middle class began to acquire a taste for music that had hitherto been restricted to the nobility.⁹

Purcell used the symphony song model in several stage works, one famous example being ‘Let the dreadful Engines’ from *Don Quixote* (1694). A more pertinent example, however, is ‘Seek not to know’ from *The Indian Queen* (1695), scored for two oboes and continuo. This song also appears in Volume I of *Orpheus Britannicus*, and its inclusion suggests that oboes were available for non-theatrical performances. As oboes were almost exclusively played by professionals at this time, a concert performance would probably have involved court musicians.

The symphony song was a middle ground between semi-opera and the theatre ballad, being neither too high nor low in text and taste. Had Purcell lived into the eighteenth century it might have proved more enduring as a genre, rather than being eclipsed by the taste for Italian music, including the secular cantata. Indeed, he might have provided a style of recitative that contrasted with that from Italy, which, according to Laurie, was ‘steadily becoming more perfunctory’.¹⁰ However, symphony songs with instrumental accompaniments appear, from publication evidence, to have enjoyed a degree of popularity, and may even have been performed as theatre interludes, thereby becoming the precursor to the cantata.

Other composers copied Purcell’s model. Leveridge’s ‘Black and gloomy as the Grave’, from D’Urfey’s *Cinthia and Endimion* (1697), published in his first collection of songs in the same year, may also have had concert performances. Scored for two violins and continuo in the first section and chorus, and trumpet and continuo in the

⁸ See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp. 331-354 for reference to stage works performed at this time.

⁹ See Tilmouth, ‘Chamber music in England’, p. 14.

¹⁰ Laurie, ‘Purcell’s Extended Solo Songs’, p. 25.

second section, it represents a further extension of the use of orchestral instruments in songs, even if they were originally performed in the theatre. A further link with concerts can be seen in the sale catalogue of Gottfried Finger, which includes Leveridge's first book of songs.¹¹ Finger had promoted concerts at York Buildings in the 1690s, therefore it is reasonable to assume that the catalogue's contents reflect those of his concerts.¹²

Also of interest in Finger's catalogue are his own songs. Items 32 and 33 are '13 Large score books of Masks, *Songs*, &c. with Simphonies' and '6 Large *Songs* with Simphonies' respectively.¹³ Little is known of the music, despite Rawson's painstaking cataloguing,¹⁴ and they mostly appear in published form without ritornelli, as was customary at the time. One, 'Our Hearts are touch'd with sacred Fire' (c.1695) has a short introduction for the continuo, suggesting some form of instrumental accompaniment, probably a continuo group.

The publication dates of the five-volume *Thesaurus Musicus* (1693-6), which contains some of Finger's songs, coincide with Finger's time at York Buildings. Although only seven songs in the entire series are associated with concerts (as opposed to twenty-three with the theatre), it is possible that these may be among the first to be written specifically for concert performance. Of Finger's songs, only 'Celia whose Charms' (c.1695) has a subtitle naming a concert, but the beginnings of the connection between song, singer and venue can be seen here.¹⁵ Caution is needed, as 'sung at' need not necessarily mean 'written for', but, on the balance of probability, this would seem to be the case.

¹¹ See Holman, 'The Sale Catalogue of Gottfried Finger's Music Library: New Light on London Concert Life in the 1690s' *RMARC* 43 (2010), p. 34. Interestingly, Leveridge's collection is listed with volumes of Italian vocal music, and there is no other reference to English songs, other than those by Finger himself.

¹² The first of Finger's concerts was advertised in the *London Gazette* on 23 November 1693. See also Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London', i, p. 13 and Holman, *Life after Death*, p. 15

¹³ Holman, 'The Sale Catalogue of Gottfried Finger's Music Library', p. 36.

¹⁴ See Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London', ii, pp. 319-322 for references to these works.

¹⁵ The song is subtitled 'A New Song set by Mr. Godfrey Finger, sung by the Boy at the Consort in Duke Street, Covent Garden'. This venue, apparently overlooked by Tilmouth, is now part of John Adam Street, WC2. See *The London Encyclopedia*, ed. Ben Weinreb & Christopher Hibbert (London: Macmillan, 1983), p. 7.

The inclusion of these songs in anthologies shows the publishing industry to be capitalising on the popularity of concerts. The first reference to published music being performed at both court and theatre appears on the title page of Playford's *Choice Songs and Ayres for One Voyce* (1673),¹⁶ and the first reference to concert performance in *Thesaurus Musicus*.¹⁷ Again, a degree of caution is needed as attributions may be misplaced, but here is evidence of art song becoming less exclusive as a result of both performance and publishing, which supports McGuinness' assertion.

Provincial music-making also included vocal music from the outset. An early recorded example was at Oxford on 6 May 1669, when the Prince of Tuscany was entertained with 'Vocal and Instrumental Musick' during his visit to the university.¹⁸ This was, of course, a special occasion, for which music may have been especially composed. However, Oxford, with choral foundations in its colleges, had much potential for secular music-making. Clark notes concerts in Oxford being held at the house of William Ellis, the former organist of St John's College, in the 1650s, where, both instrumental and vocal music was apparently performed.¹⁹ A music club was meeting at the Mermaid Tavern by 1690 and quickly acquired a substantial performing repertoire of both vocal and instrumental music. *Orpheus Britannicus* was among its earliest acquisitions, and 'Seek not to know' was performed on 28 December 1713, showing that oboes were in use at the club by this time, unless substituted by violins or recorders.²⁰

Less is known of musical life in Cambridge at this time, though there is ample evidence of viol players active in the city.²¹ It is reasonable to assume Cambridge, a

¹⁶ See Day & Murrie, *English Songs Books, 1651-1702*, p. 42.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.86.

¹⁸ *London Gazette*, 6-10 May 1669.

¹⁹ Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 51. See also Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.45

²⁰ See Margaret Crum, 'An Oxford Music Club', *Bodleian Library Record* 9 (1973-78), p. 93.

²¹ See Holman, *Life after Death*, pp. 67-72 for a more detailed description of the situation in Cambridge.

Puritan stronghold as opposed to the staunchly Royalist Oxford, was slower to adopt public activities formerly condemned by its Member of Parliament, Oliver Cromwell.²²

Concerts were not exclusive to London, or to the university towns. Provincial cities did not have the same quantity of either venues or musicians as London, but made the most of their available resources, as sometimes documented by notable residents. Claver Morris, a doctor practising in Salisbury, and later in Wells, may have founded a music club in Wells before 1696, and similar societies were extant in other towns and cities by the end of the century, probably instigated by the clergy who were searching for means of similar entertainments to those they had encountered at university.²³ The music club founded in Stamford in the 1690s by the Ferrar brothers provides additional evidence of the clergy and the professional classes helping provincial music to move into the wider community.²⁴ The clergy were required to meet with all people in their parishes and thus became acquainted with all musical tastes. Also, the church may have been the only suitable building for public performance in some communities.²⁵

However, outside the world of church-promoted musical gatherings, the involvement of the general public in concert life was less than evidence of music societies might suggest. Love has noted that today's notion of a 'public' would be something of a misnomer when applied to the past; music, in common with the arts in general, was often the preserve of the educated few rather than the many. 'Music

²² Despite his religious convictions, Cromwell is known to have retained a band of domestic musicians. See Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of the Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 5 & 148.

²³ See Elizabeth Chevill, 'Music Societies and Musical Life' in *Old Foundation Cathedral Cities 1700-60'* (Unpublished PhD diss., King's College, London, 1993), Chapters 2, 3 and 5 respectively, especially pp. 108 (York), 114-118 (Exeter), and 153 (Salisbury).

²⁴ See H. Diack Johnstone, 'Claver Morris', p. 95 and Bryan White, 'A Pretty knot of Musical Friends' The Ferrar Brothers and a Stamford Music Club in the 1690s', *Music in the British Provinces 1690-1914* ed. Rachel Cowgill, & Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 9-44, especially p. 13. Basil Ferrar (1667-1718), was a clergyman. His brothers, Thomas (1663-1739) and Edward (1671-1730), were a grocer and a lawyer respectively. See also Rosemary O' Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England 1450-1800: Servants of the Commonwealth* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd, 2000), p. 238.

²⁵ See Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 186.

meetings', as music society concerts were often called, were still governed by political and professional groups, who controlled the finances.

What we might describe today as "music-lovers" had no simple and obvious way of identifying themselves as a community. Instead they had to encounter the art by becoming surrogate members of other communities, or sing madrigals or play viols or virginals at home.²⁶

Despite Love's assertion, the inception of small art-loving communities through the influence of a third party (often the clergy) had its origins towards the end of the seventeenth century, developing from there during the eighteenth.

The Stamford music club is of particular note for its attempt to commission a Cecilian ode towards the end of the seventeenth century. Although ultimately unsuccessful, the attempt shows the status of vocal music in the programmes of musical societies. London could, and did, commission odes for the St Cecilia celebrations, believed to have begun in 1683, but the provinces could not afford this level of funding, and had to be content with alternative music.²⁷

Apart from that of Purcell, evidence of the vocal music performed in early eighteenth century concerts is sparse, private collections consisting of anthologies, rather than music by single composers. Instrumental music, usually listed by title, provides more precise information. The vocal music in the Ferrars' lists includes Volume II of *Orpheus Britannicus* and *A Collection of Songs set to Music by Mr Henry Purcell & Mr John Eccles* (1696), but the rest are anthologies. Morris's vocal music is mostly taken from contemporary stage works.²⁸ The practice of buying vocal anthologies suggests that, with the above exceptions neither publishers nor collectors felt a need for specifically-written concert music at this time, the concert still being relatively new. Anthologies also offered

²⁶ Harold Love, 'How Music Created a Public', *Criticism - A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts* 46 (2004), p. 260.

²⁷ See White, 'A Pretty Knot of Musical Friends', p. 22. See also Johnstone, 'Claver Morris', p. 101. For the origins of the St Cecilia celebrations see Richard Croudson, *Apollo's Swan and Lyre: Five Hundred Years of the Mucisians' Company* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), p. 121 and Holman, *Henry Purcell*, p. 160.

²⁸ See Johnstone, 'Claver Morris', p. 100. Although the book of Purcell's song is not named, it would probably have been a volume of *Orpheus Britannicus*.

a greater variety of vocal music, including catches and other items for more than one voice, thus helping to promote the convivial atmosphere music societies sought to create. The eclectic content of these volumes is evidenced by a newspaper advertisement on 8 December 1681, announcing ‘A New Collection of the Choicest Songs, as they are Sung at Court, both the Theatres, the Musick-Schools, and Academies &c’.²⁹

York has the earliest evidence of songs written for performance in a provincial city. George Hayden was a Songman at the Minster from 1704 to 1717, and Griffiths has suggested that his *Six new Songs with full Symphonies, after the Italian manner* (1713) were composed there. This title implies performance at a music club, especially given the interest in Italian music by three local clergymen, Edward Finch (1663-1738), Valentine Nalson (1683-1723) and William Knight (1684-1739). Although these songs were not published until after Hayden left York, and have subsequently been lost, they may have been the first concert songs composed in the provinces.³⁰

Vocal music had other outlets. The spas, a revival of a Roman practice, became a social pastime during this era and music was often performed as a means of diverting the patrons’ attention from the foul taste of the waters’ supposed remedial properties. The most fashionable was Bath, and concerts began there around 1700.³¹ However, other resorts nearer London were equally popular and one, Epsom Wells, appears to have promoted vocal music; Purcell’s ‘Leave these useless Arts’ is described as ‘A Two-Part Song in Epsome-Wells’, in Volume I of *Orpheus Britannicus* and Volume II of *Thesaurus Musicus*.³² Bath and Tunbridge Wells were the first spa towns to create

²⁹ *The Domestick Intelligence*, 8 December 1681. Also cited in Tilmouth, ‘A Calendar of References’, p. 5. See also Day & Murrie, *English Song Books 1651-1702*, p.54.

³⁰ See Griffiths, ‘Music in the Minster Close: Edward Finch, Valentine Nalson and William Knight in Early Eighteenth-Century York’, *Music in the British Provinces 1690-1914*, p. 58. Some songs by Hayden may be later reprints of single items from this collection. ‘A Song with a Symphony for a hoboy – or – violin’ (1720) would seem a likely candidate. See Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 120 (146).

³¹ The earliest reference to a concert in Bath is noted by Ned Ward in *A Step to the Bath* (c. 1700), though concerts may have begun there before the end of the previous century. See Kenneth James, ‘Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath’, (Unpublished PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 1982), p. 125.

³² Tilmouth states that Epsom Wells had become popular in 1705, but the evidence from these publications suggests that the resort was favoured before this date. See Tilmouth, ‘Chamber Music in England’, p. 63.

theatre companies, but Norwich and York also had companies by 1720, although semi-residential, touring for part of the year.³³

As concerts became increasingly popular, so the publishing industry began to capitalise on the music performed, publishers exploiting music venues as additional sales outlets. According to Harley, coffee houses were the first places to hold sales of music collections, which would have attracted people who could afford to indulge their appetites for music by trying to build their own library.³⁴ However, as music sales increased, so the publishing industry appears to have wanted more say in how concerts were managed. More formal organisation was advocated by Henry Playford in his preface to *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (1701), though his motives may have been more commercial than philanthropic:

the several Cities, Towns, Corporations, &c in the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as Foreign Plantations, will follow the Example of the well-wishers to Vocal and Instrumental Musick in this famous City, by establishing such Weekly Meetings as may render His [Playford's] Undertaking as generally receiv'd, as it is Useful.³⁵

If the contents of late seventeenth-century anthologies are an accurate indicator of audience taste, then it seems that the broad musical foundation for the concert song was in place by 1700. Additionally, they reflect the social change also taking place, many class barriers being subtly eroded through a common interest in the arts, music in particular. The concert, as a symbol of taste and wealth, helped to create a wider audience for music, and larger audiences needed larger spaces in which to enjoy it. This growth helped to create what Habermas has termed the 'bourgeois public sphere', a social group determined by money, rather than breeding. McVeigh, however, warns against a simplistic distinction, saying:

³³ See Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, pp.120-22. See also Trevor Fawcett, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Norwich and Norfolk*, (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1979), p. 21 for information on the founding of the Norwich theatre.

³⁴ John Harley, *Music in Purcell's London: The Social Background* (London: Dobson, 1968), p.144.

³⁵ *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*;/ Being a Choice Collection of/ CATCHES/ For Three and Four Voices/ Published Chiefly for the Encouragement of the Musical Societies,/ which will be speedily set up in all the Chief Cities and Towns in England. The Fourth Edition, Corrected and much Enlarged (London: Printed by W. Pearson for Henry Playford, 1701), p. ii. See Day & Murrie, *English Song Books 1651-1702*, p. 125 and Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, pp. 141-142.

Modern [i.e. eighteenth-century] musical taste was undoubtedly formed by aristocratic patrons in the fashionable end of town. It is therefore dangerous to attempt to explain changes in style in terms of bourgeois taste, citing sensationalist effects, colourful orchestration, catchy folk tunes and the like.³⁶

To summarise, it seems that vocal music was performed in concerts from the outset, and that some form of instrumental accompaniment other than the continuo group developed from the 1680s onwards. However, there were questions as to the songs' suitability. Drinking, a part of many a communal occasion, was as much of a unifying factor as the music in tavern concerts, and was therefore seen by some as debasing music through populism. Also, vocal music was now so readily accessible that its quality appeared subservient to its quantity. Thomas Shadwell's plays described songs as being 'good music for good fellows',³⁷ the implication being that most were suitable for country fairs or taverns, but could not be described as art music.

Bedford, in *The Great Abuse of Musick* (1711), also saw the dangers of popular taste lowering expectations of culture and society. His call for music publishers to elevate rather than debase their readership was perhaps swimming against the tide, but showed that not everybody accepted the populist path down which culture was travelling.

if these publishers of song are not to promote the glory of God, let them at least stand neuter, and not espouse the interest of the Devil.³⁸

Art Song: From Private to Public

Despite the growing popularity of concerts, for many people entertainment in the early eighteenth century meant the theatre. Here, some form of incidental entertainment was often required to cover the gaps between scenes, which usually took the form of instrumental music, often composed or adapted for a specific production.³⁹ However,

³⁶ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.6.

³⁷ See H. James Jensen, 'English Restoration Attitudes toward Music', *MQ* 55 (1969), 206-214 for a more detailed discussion of this concept.

³⁸ Arthur Bedford, *The Great Abuse of Musick* (London: John Wyatt, 1711), p. 245. See also a commentary by J. Bradford Young: J. Bradford Young, 'The "Great Abuse of Musick, 1711"', *Fontes Artes Musicae* 32 (1985), 148-152.

³⁹ Fiske gives one example, from a production of Dryden's *The Spanish Fryar* at Covent Garden on 8 May 1735. The 'First Musick' was 'A Concerto for Hautboys etc', the 'Second Musick', 'A Concerto of

vocal music was also performed, including symphony songs. Neither the multi-sectional structure nor the instrumental accompaniment was novel, but short, closed-form songs as unstaged mini-dramas would have had an appeal both in and outside the theatres.

In the early years of the eighteenth century, the secular cantata arrived in England, the first reference appearing in *The New State of Europe* on 23 May 1701, advertising a work by Scarlatti. Initially, its audience appears to have been ‘private’ similar to that in Italy, but it soon acquired a wider public. The first recorded example of a theatre performance was on 12 April 1706, when ‘An English Cantata, compos’d after the Italian manner’ was sung by Margarita de L’Epine at Drury Lane.⁴⁰ The practice soon spread, with newspapers regularly advertising a cantata performance as part of the evening’s entertainment. This emphasis also provides evidence of ‘higher’ musical genres becoming more accessible to a public eager for more cultural stimuli.

Evidence of the cantata being performed in theatres is significant in the history of the concert song. The rise of the public concert had led to competition between concert venues and theatres for the best available music, with theatres incorporating more, and more sophisticated music into their productions, both within the plot and as interludes and entr’actes. Price observes:

But when the concert attained sufficient sophistication and popularity to alleviate some of the musical burden hitherto borne by the playhouse, music had become so fixed a tradition of the stage that competition between the theatres and concert rooms rather than cooperation ensued.⁴¹

This competition allowed composers to have their music performed more widely than before, and to produce works with the potential to exploit increased resources. This development within theatre music enabled the English cantata to copy the symphony song and develop an accompaniment by an instrumental ensemble. It also meant that short, dramatic unstaged works could now be heard by audiences outside the theatre.

Geminiani’, and the ‘Third Musick’, ‘Overture to Ariadne’ (Handel’s *Arianna*) See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 259-260 and *The London Stage*, Part 3, p.489.

⁴⁰ *Daily Courant*, 12 April 1706. No composer is named.

⁴¹ Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, p. 107.

When the concert promoter Thomas Britton died in 1714 his effects were sold at auction, the catalogue of which survives in Hawkins's *History*.⁴² A notable entry is Pepusch's *Six Cantatas* of 1710, the music of which shows a transition in the scoring of cantatas from continuo group to larger ensemble. The first three cantatas are scored for voice and continuo alone, but the fourth and fifth have a violin and recorder respectively as obbligato instruments. The sixth, *Cloe* [*sic*], is scored for oboes (in the second aria only), two violins, viola, and basso (including bassoon), and is published in full score. This scoring is similar to that of Alessandro Scarlatti and other Italian composers: Scarlatti's cantatas were on sale in London by this time (see p. 122), and Haym's English adaptation of Bononcini's opera *Camilla* had been performed in London in March 1706, Walsh publishing songs from the work shortly after.⁴³ Italian composers used obbligato arias and ensemble accompaniments in their cantatas, and *Camilla* also shows an imaginative use of strings in the aria accompaniments. *Cloe* thus represents an important stage in the development of instrumental accompaniment to the English cantata, especially the addition of wind instruments to four-part strings, something that was to become progressively more common in later decades.⁴⁴

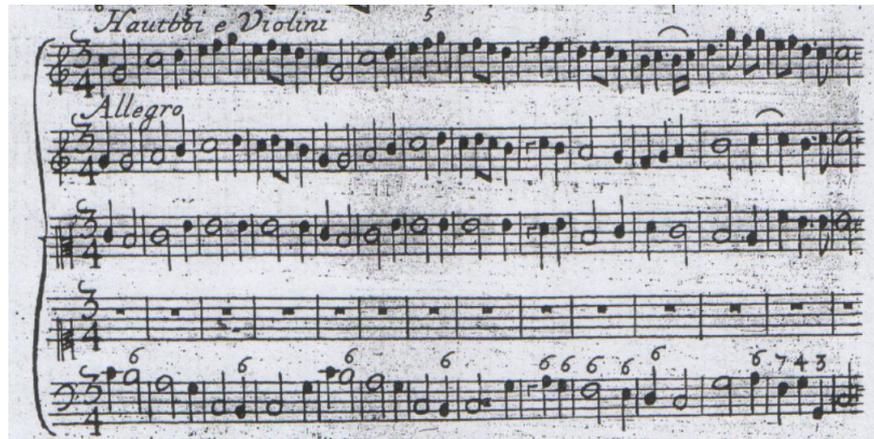
Another of Pepusch's cantatas, *The Britannia*, was apparently first performed at Drury Lane on 7 April 1715.⁴⁵ This work, composed shortly after the accession of George I, might be seen as music in celebration of this event, especially with the inclusion of a solo trumpet, but the work was apparently repeated later the same year,

⁴² Hawkins, *History*, ii, pp. 792-793.

⁴³ See Lindgren, 'I Trionfi di Camilla', *Studi Musicali* 6 (1977), 89-164 for a discussion of this opera and its various performing versions, especially p. 138 for the sources from the London production in 1706. Walsh appears to have spent the whole of April producing the plates of the songs from *Camilla*, as the three books were advertised on the 2nd, 16th and 30th of that month. See Hunter, *Opera and Song Books*, pp. 45-6.

⁴⁴ See Donald Cook, 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch' (1667-1752) with Special reference to his Dramatic Works and Cantatas', 2 vols. (Unpublished PhD diss., King's College, London, 1982), ii, p. 153 for the catalogue reference to *Cloe*.

⁴⁵ Cook is convinced that *The Britannia* was the 'new English Cantata (never performed before) by Mrs Margarita [L' Epine], called the Britannia, compos'd on the occasion of His Majesty's happy arrival in his Dominions'. See Cook 'The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch', ii, pp. 156-7. See also *The London Stage*, Part 2, p. 350.



Ex. 2.1: Pepusch, *Cloe* (1710), second aria, bars 1-14. © The British Library Board, G.222, p. 29.

therefore its appeal went beyond the initial performance.⁴⁶ There are also examples of cantatas by native composers, being performed in the theatres: one is on 12 March 1718, when ‘a new cantata by William Babel’ was performed at the Tennis Court in the Haymarket, further evidence of the secular cantata being socially less exclusive than in Italy.⁴⁷

Although the theatre led the way in introducing the secular cantata to English audiences, the concert room soon followed. ‘A Cantata to the Arch-lute, by Mr Newberry’, performed at York Buildings on 18 April 1707, is the first surviving newspaper reference, though other performances may have taken place without advertisement.⁴⁸ The content of this advertisement implies that, for a time, cantatas performed in concerts used the continuo group as accompaniment, while cantatas sung in theatres used a larger ensemble. Without the names of either works or composers this can neither be substantiated nor disproved, and the inclusion of Pepusch’s instrumental cantatas in Britton’s concerts suggests that any differentiation in scoring by venue was

⁴⁶ *Daily Courant*, 5 December 1715: ‘Particularly an English cantata, compos’d by Dr Pepusch’, performed at Drury Lane. This work could have been *The Britannia*. See Cook, ‘The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch’, i, pp. 225-227 for other examples of Pepusch’s cantatas being performed in the theatres.

⁴⁷ *Daily Courant*, 10 March 1718. Also cited in Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, p. 120. The Tennis Court may have been the Royal Tennis Court on the south side of James Street, near the Haymarket Theatre. See <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45194> (Accessed 18 January 2011). Nalbach’s statement that the theatre at Lincoln’s Inn Fields was a converted tennis court suggests that the idea might have been copied elsewhere. See Daniel Nalbach, *The King’s Theatre 1704-1867: London’s First Italian Opera House* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1972), pp. 1 & 39.

⁴⁸ *Daily Courant*, 17 April 1707. See also *The London Stage*, Part 2, p. 146.

short-lived.

Pepusch's cantatas are notable for not only what has been described as their 'English tunefulness',⁴⁹ but also for their use of obbligato instruments. According to Goodall, these techniques 'gave rise to a tradition which was to remain with the English cantata throughout the century'.⁵⁰ Pepusch's music also synthesised an Italian dramatic genre with the 'forthright manner of delivery which is generally associated with the London pleasure gardens performances later in the century'.⁵¹ The scoring, according to Joncus, merged native word-setting with Corelli's instrumental style,⁵² especially through the 'dialogue' between voice and obbligato instrument, each borrowing certain qualities from the other.⁵³ Being an instrumental composer, Pepusch adapted sonata scoring to the dramatic requirements of the cantata by blending the voice with different combinations of instruments. As Goodall observes:

Pepusch, like Handel, shows a Germanic predilection for instrumental colour, and it is this which immediately distinguishes his cantatas from those in other early collections.⁵⁴

Pepusch's ideas were not immediately copied by English composers, who may have been suspicious of imported genres. His idea of dialogue, borrowed from the *concertante* style, did, however, suggest a possible pathway for the development of vocal music by imitating instrumental styles, and shows that instrumental music was exerting an influence on vocal composition before the era of the concert song.

One example of an English composer experimenting with orchestration can be found in William Corbett's 'Lost is my love', scored for recorders and strings, but with two horns added in the aria 'I'll beg of Pluto' and its subsequent chorus.⁵⁵ Edwards

⁴⁹ Malcolm Boyd/Graydon Beeks (with D. F. Cook), 'Pepusch, Johann Christoph', *The New Grove*, xix, p. 326.

⁵⁰ Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 139.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁵² Berta Joncus, 'Private music in Public Places: Chamber Cantata and Song', *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, p. 528.

⁵³ See Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 139.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁵⁵ See Owain Edwards, 'Corbett, William', *The New Grove*, vi, p. 446 and *BUCEM*, i, p. 216. The title page is missing; therefore the opening line of the text is given here.

believes this work to have been a birthday ode for Queen Anne in 1712, although *BUCEM*'s date of c.1725 is more probable, given that horns are not known to have been used in England until 1717. Although the horns are reserved mainly for the instrumental ritornelli and imitative sections, where they double the violins at the lower octave, their inclusion gives the music an unusually dense texture for its time (see Ex. 2.2). This combination of flutes/recorders, horns, strings and continuo may be the earliest surviving example of the 'English' scoring of accompaniments that became standard later in the century.

Ex. 2.2: Corbett, 'Lost is my Love', first chorus, bars 53-63. British Library H.1797.a. (1). 'Flutes' may have doubled the violin parts, although this is not indicated in the score.

The use of extended vocal works as entr'actes may have extended beyond cantatas; Hayden's *Six new Songs* suggest that other song forms sometimes had a similar role. The words 'after the Italian manner' suggest the *da capo* aria, and show that the operatic style was being used outside the theatres. The example below, possibly one of these songs, contains a part for oboe or violin imitating the vocal line in a manner similar to that found in an Italian obbligato aria.

Ex. 2.3: Hayden, 'Welcome Damon', bars 27-30. Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 120 (146).

Hayden's *Three Cantatas* (1717) also show some signs of experimentation with instruments.⁵⁶ The first, *Martillo*, apparently the most popular of the three, is scored for continuo alone; however, the second and third, *Thyrsis* and *Neptune and Anymone*, have one and two violins added respectively, showing that native composers were using instruments other than the continuo group.⁵⁷

Many English composers seem to have preferred to imitate the Italian cantata style, rather than attempt to develop one of their own, acknowledging the fashion for Italian opera. This is apparent in Walsh's *XII Cantatas in English*, published in 1723. English composers are well represented, seven being attributed to Eccles, Sheeles, Wichello (2), Daniel Purcell and Anthony Young (2), but the arias are almost all in *da capo* form, showing the extent to which the Italian style was copied. The exception, a two-section through-composed aria in Sheeles's 'See how beneath the lawrels shade' (No. 8), is possibly an early attempt to give the English cantata a more individual

⁵⁶ *Three Cantatas Composed by Mr G. Hayden* (London, 1717). See also Malcolm Boyd/ H. Diack Johnstone, 'Hayden, George', *The New Grove*, xi, p. 171, and Smith, *A Bibliography of Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695- 1720*, pp. 150-151.

⁵⁷ See Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 155 for the contemporary reception history of *Martillo*. The instrument in *Thyrsis* is not named, but the violin is the most probable. However, the range of the part is within the compass of the flute or recorder, so either could have substituted.

flavour by employing structures used in Purcell's theatre works.⁵⁸

Henry Carey, in his *Cantatas for a Voice with Accompaniments Together with Songs on Various Subjects* (1724), made a more successful effort to bring a sense of 'Englishness' into the cantata. This publication may be the first to combine cantatas with other forms of song,⁵⁹ though Carey appears aware of the risk that he took with the collection when he wrote in the preface that they were published:

To please my Friends,
To Mortify my Enemies
To get Money,
And Reputation.⁶⁰

In the second cantata (*The Tragical Story of the Mare*),⁶¹ the text is a lament for a mare that has lost her shoe, introducing mundane, even comic, subject-matter into a genre normally concerned with pastoral or Classical themes. Carey was satirising the fashion for Italian music by combining a humorous English text with the form and structure of the cantata, especially by using the *da capo* aria. The barbed wit of the opening recitative illustrates this well.

Unhappy me! What shall I do!
My poor dear Mare, has lost her Shoe,
And I've no Money to buy new.

Some Drunken Rascal, in the Night,
Has torn her Saddle, out of Spight;
'thas ruined and undone me quite.

But what does most my Soul assail;
Is that in Fury of his Ale,
The cursed Dog, has Lop'd her Tail.⁶²

Other items in this collection include 'An Epithalamium for 2 voices', essentially a duet with a chorus, and 'A Hunting Song', taken from the Drury Lane production

⁵⁸ Sheeles's *A Collection of Songs* (London, [1722-5]) contains a mixture of *da capo* arias, multi-section and strophic songs.

⁵⁹ See p. 21, fn. 19 and Hunter, *Opera and Song Books*, pp. 364-366.

⁶⁰ Preface to *Cantatas for a Voice with Accompaniments* (London, 1724). Also cited in Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 163.

⁶¹ Subtitle: 'Compos'd in the High Stile by Sig^r Carini'.

⁶² Carey, *Cantatas for a Voice with Accompaniments* (1724), p.11.

Love in a Forest.⁶³ This mixture of forms and styles shows that the cantata could be successfully combined with other song forms within one collection, something that was to occur regularly in later decades. The inclusion of a cantata not only gave a collection greater variety, but also became a means of quality assurance as, in the minds of the elite, only ‘serious’ composers were likely to attempt such a form. The other songs in a collection might therefore be seen as more highbrow than if they had been published as ballads.

Carey’s *Six Cantatas* of 1732 also demonstrate his ability to produce music suitable for a variety of venues. Three are scored for voice and continuo, but the others are scored for voice, instrument(s) and continuo. The first cantata is set out on four staves with two melodic instruments in addition to the continuo. This work was ‘Sung by Mr Papillon at the Theatre in Lincoln’s Inn Field’, showing that the secular cantata continued to be performed in theatres, though Carey is careful to ensure that his works could be performed elsewhere through his choice of instruments. At the opening of the aria ‘Close not those charming Eyes’ the words ‘Flauto Traverso 1^{mo}’ appear in the margin against the top staff and ‘Travers. Violin 2^{do}’ against the second. Goodall asserts that both instruments would have been used in performance,⁶⁴ and this was a standard scoring for its time, but there is an alternative interpretation of the markings, that the music was adaptable to suit whatever instruments were available at any particular time. These alternatives (or even ambiguities) can often be seen in the instrumental indications in contemporary cantatas.

In his preface, Carey wrote that he began with ballads, proceeding to cantatas, thence ‘it may probably embolden me to produce an *Opera*, which indeed is little more than a Dramatic *Cantata*, only protracted’.⁶⁵ Despite this aspiration, he rejected Italian

⁶³ See *The London Stage*, Part 2, p. 704. This work was supposedly based on Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*.

⁶⁴ Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 169, fn. 7.

⁶⁵ Preface to *Six Cantatas* (London: [n. p.], 1732).

Although London had many venues available to composers wishing to present cantatas, many provincial towns and cities had no ‘permanent’ theatre and were still reliant on taverns for most public performances. Music societies could include unstaged dramatic music in their programmes, which may have given provincial composers an opportunity to write cantatas for concert performance. Barnabas Gunn’s *Two Cantata’s* [sic] *and Six Songs* (1736) may be an early example. By the time of the collection’s publication the Three Choirs Festival (Gunn was organist of Gloucester Cathedral from 1730 to 1739) had been established for over ten years and with it the concept of performing sacred music non-liturgically (i.e. in concert). Gunn’s cantatas, scored for melodic instrument (violin, flute or oboe), voice and continuo, may have been performed as entertainment at the performers’ dinner. Both Young and Chevill make this suggestion,⁶⁹ although neither offers conclusive evidence, but if true it means that secular cantatas were included in provincial concerts by the 1730s.

The theatre proved an important stepping stone in the translation of art song into the concert by making vocal chamber music known to a wider public. However, its instrumentation was generally limited to that found in the drawing room, i.e. flute, violin and continuo. In order for solo vocal music to reach a greater audience and develop its accompaniment, it was now necessary for either a new milieu to be created for this music or for an existing one to be adapted to accommodate it. As the theatre appeared to offer few further opportunities, other venues were explored, with the result that the pleasure gardens, in existence but not yet offering vocal music in their became the principal location for the concert song.

Ballad Opera, Opera in the Ballad and ‘English’ Music

The Musical vitality of a country or city is founded on the love for music of its inhabitants, and

⁶⁹ Percy Young ‘The First Hundred Years’, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Three Choir Festival*, ed. Barry Still (Gloucester: Three Choirs Association, 1977), p. 11; Chevill, ‘Music Societies and Musical Life’, p. 45. See also Anthony Boden, *Three Choirs: A History of the Festival* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992), p. 18.

their native musical ability. (Harley)⁷⁰

The introduction of art song into English theatres was an important step in the confluence of genres and styles that created the concert song, bringing art song to a wider public. However, just as the cantata was gaining a following among non-operagoers, another Italian genre threatened to create a rift between audiences that could not easily be resolved.

The presence of Italian musicians and the popularity of their music, particularly that of Corelli,⁷¹ and the lack of a prominent native composer to redress the balance led to much native vocal music written after 1710 being imitative or pastiche rather than original. Fashion governed musical taste in England, the upper classes preferring foreign, particularly Italian, music, others the native output. Although sporadic attempts were made to produce operas in English in the early years of the century, many were little more than imitations of the Italian style; Thomas Clayton's opera *Arsinoë* 'after the Italian manner' (1705), is one example. John Smith's *Wonders in the Sun* (1706) contained an element of parody, mixing Italian and English forms and styles, using through-composed and strophic songs, and is thus an antecedent for *The Beggar's Opera*.⁷²

John Reading's *Book of New Songs (After the Italian Manner)* (1710), reveals the attitude of some English composers towards Italian music. In his preface, he states:

But being persuaded by my Friends y^t a work of this nature probably wou'd incite our Great Masters to improve y^e Design to such a Perfection y^t our English Composers might be inspir'd wth y^e utmost delicacy of a **Roman Genius**.⁷³

Although five of Reading's songs are *da capo* arias with extended introductions (one with a preceding recitative), the others are either in binary or multi-section form,

⁷⁰ Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, p. 54.

⁷¹ Corelli's music was first published in 1695 and is first referred to in England by Playford in his *General Catalogue of the Choicest Music Books* (1697). See White, 'A Pretty Knot of Musical Friends', p. 17.

⁷² See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 41-44 & 98 and Hunter, *Opera and Song Books*, p. 73 for further reference to this work.

⁷³ *A Book of New Songs (After the Italian Manner)*, (London, [1710]).

showing that the degree of imitation was not as extensive as his preface implies. Despite the collection's title page declaring that the songs were 'Fitted to the Harpsichord &c', the accompaniments have indications for 'flutes' (recorders) and violins, suggesting that the inclusion of instruments music was also important, though these directions could have been added by the printer.

In the second decade of the eighteenth century Italian opera dominated music in England, Handel's *Rinaldo* (1711) having brought the genre wide public approbation. Although many did not care for all-sung works, preferring spoken narrative to recitative, the Italian style was adopted by men of taste who saw the native tradition as crude and unrefined. Thomas Shadwell's plays also portrayed the singers of English songs as 'either ill-bred or stupid or both'.⁷⁴ Addison added to the dichotomy between genres, noting that 'noble' roles were usually sung in Italian, those of servants or slaves generally in English. His comments suggest a class distinction by use of language, though many Italian performers spoke little English and vice-versa.⁷⁵ He also notes that when Italian texts were translated into English, their meaning was often changed radically.⁷⁶ Furthermore, he comments on the seeming abandonment of native music within polite society, saying:

At present, our Notions of Musick are so very uncertain, that we do not know what we like; only, in general, we are transported with any thing that is not *English*.⁷⁷

However, English composers were soon able to draw on a new resource for a counterattack. Ballads had been in print for some time, but three major publications in the 1720s were to have an important effect on the direction in which native music was to turn. These were: *A Book of Old English Ballads*, attributed to Ambrose Philips (1723), Allan Ramsay's *The Tea-table Miscellany* (1723) and William Thomson's

⁷⁴ Cited in Jensen, *English Restoration Attitudes towards Music*, p. 209.

⁷⁵ *The Spectator*, 21 March 1711. See *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), i, p.80.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Orpheus Caledonius (c. 1725). The latter two are especially significant as they helped to bring songs in lowland Scots, though not Gaelic, south of the border, where they appear to have met with a favourable reception. This music provided a sense of the exotic, but also a sense of Britishness, even if the authenticity of both verse and music is highly questionable. ‘Scotch’ songs (Irish and Welsh songs appeared later in the century) became very popular, many collections containing at least one such song or ballad, and some singers began to specialise in ballad performance.

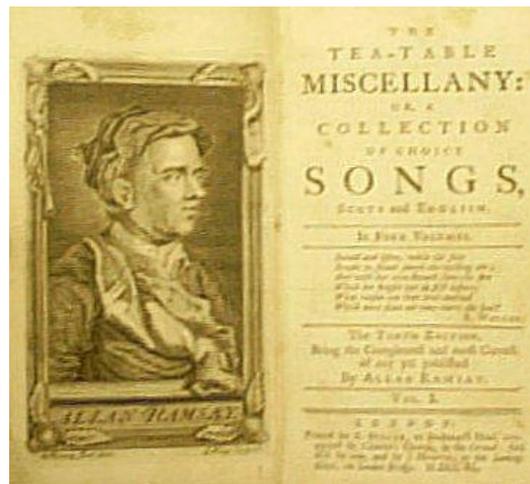


Fig 2.1: Title page to the tenth edition of Ramsay's *Tea-table Miscellany* (1740). <http://www.sc.edu/library/spcoll/britlit/burns/bm122.jpg> (Accessed 16 December 2008).

A further shift of balance occurred with the production of *The Beggar's Opera*, the most famous English ballad opera, in 1728. This work portrays the gritty reality of life among the lower classes (owing much of its inspiration to the criminal Jonathan Wild, hanged in 1725⁷⁸), as opposed to the idyllic world of the pastoral, and can be seen as an attempt to distance English drama from Italian opera. Its writer, John Gay, had, according to Kidson, acquired the idea and method from Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd*, a pastoral first performed in 1726.⁷⁹ Gay, who owned a number of song-books, was aware of the musical potential (and profitability) of the ballad among audiences eager for a contrast to Italian opera, and exploited this to the full. Despite the

⁷⁸ See Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture*, p. 152.

⁷⁹ Frank Kidson, *The Beggar's Opera: Its Predecessors and Successors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), pp. 31-32.

songs being labelled as ‘ballads’, many are English or French art songs, and thus are less removed from operatic arias than might be thought. One example is ‘Greensleeves’, appearing in its ‘Romanesca’ form.⁸⁰

Burney attributed the success of the songs to Pepusch, the musical director:

[he] furnished the wild, rude and often vulgar melodies with basses so excellent that no sound contrapuntist will ever attempt to alter them.⁸¹

These ‘excellent basses’, may, however, simply be elaborations on existing basses. The abilities of the singers may have dictated Pepusch’s choice of continuo-only accompaniment, to give them more opportunity to declaim the text unhindered by instruments.

A positive effect of ballad opera was, according to Price and Hume, ‘its contribution to the musicalization of the British theatre which is one of the most conspicuous features in the second half of the eighteenth century’.⁸² Although the theatre was musical long before ballad opera, the genre gave its musical content a considerable boost. Hadow states that *The Beggar’s Opera* was a defining moment in English musical history, propelling audience taste back towards native music, at least for a time.⁸³ The perception of ‘ballad’ as ‘song’ owed much to this work, ‘high’ and ‘low’ styles of dramatic music being brought together in one production. Schultz also comments:

The Beggar’s Opera taught England the value of ballad music for stage use; one might say it transferred ballad singing from the streets to the theatre and gave it a new literary, as well as a dramatic, significance.⁸⁴

Although by no means comparable to an *opera seria*, *The Beggar’s Opera* demonstrated the potential of ballads as dramatic songs. Surviving manuscripts of later

⁸⁰ See Kidson, *The Beggar’s Opera*, pp. 67-79 for a list of the songs and their sources. See p. 43 for reference to ‘Greensleeves’.

⁸¹ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 986.

⁸² Curtis Price & Robert D. Hume, ‘Ballad Opera’, *The New Grove*, ii, p. 558.

⁸³ Henry Hadow, ‘Music’, *Johnson’s England: an Account of the Life and Manners of His Age*, ed. A.S. Turberville, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), ii, p. 198.

⁸⁴ William Eben Schultz, *Gay’s Beggar’s Opera: its Context, History and Influence* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1923 repr. 1967), p. 162.

ballad operas offer strong evidence that the theatre ‘ballad’ was developing into the concert song through the addition of both opera-style ritornelli and instruments from the opera orchestra. These additions may have been originally intended as a part of the parody, but they support Bronson’s concept of ‘extraneous circumstances’, elements of Italian opera being combined with those of the English ballad.⁸⁵

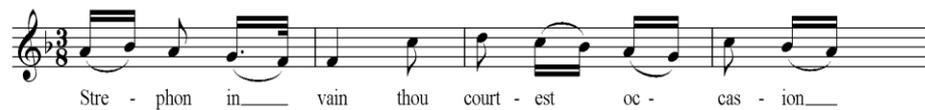
By being performed in the theatre, ballad opera unwittingly provided an antithesis to the cantata. These musical opposites were now being performed in the same venue, though not necessarily together, thus the foundations of the concert song took shape through the juxtaposition of different vocal genres in one location. It only remained for an environment to be created where this mixture could flourish. This was to emerge in the pleasure gardens, where different social classes could be seen side by side, if not necessarily together, their differing musical tastes being reflected in the music performed.

Although ‘traditional’ or popular tunes form the bulk of the music to ballad operas, there are examples of art music having been borrowed or adapted from elsewhere. An increased demand for music in the theatres meant a need for more material, not all of which could be drawn from the so-called ‘native’ tradition. Consequently, foreign music was imported into theatre works, the songs being later published as ‘popular tunes’ in the ballad tradition. These adaptations appear to have been the standard treatment accorded to any popular work, and, in the days before effective copyright laws, was something over which composers had little control. Some, however, may have welcomed anything that increased public appreciation of their music.

Handel’s music was frequently borrowed, aria sections and dance movements being the most common. *Da capo* arias were generally truncated to the A section alone,

⁸⁵ Bronson, *The Ballad as Song*, p. 147.

bringing them closer to the binary structures of ballads. Walsh's *A Choice Collection of English Songs set to Musick by Mr Handel* (1731) contains several examples.⁸⁶ Binary movements from overtures are used extensively, the music being transposed where necessary and words added to fit the metre: in the example below the music has been transposed down a fifth. Extracts from *The Water Music* were treated similarly, notably the opening of the 'Minuet for the French Horn' (HWV 348/7), as shown below.



Ex. 2.5: 'A Song made to a Favourite Minuet in Rodelinda' (1731).
British Library, I.114.m, no. 12.



Ex. 2.6: 'A Song to Mr Hendel's [sic] Trumpet Minuet'. British Library, I.114.m, no. 17.

The process of adapting the music from *opera seria* to ballad opera can be seen in the treatment of 'Son confusa pastorella' from Handel's *Poro* (c.1731), scored for violins, viola and basso. The second violin is in unison with the first for much of the time, and the viola part is mainly confined to the ritornelli: both are therefore dispensable if necessary. The sparing use of the strings made this, and similar arias, easily adaptable for use in ballad opera and elsewhere. Seedo's arrangement for *The Lottery* (1732), retains the eighteen-bar introduction, but with an unfigured bass and no melodic line in the introduction (see Ex. 2.7). However, the surviving copy was probably a vocal score, enabling the singer to learn the part by following the bass line, and is unlikely to be an actual performing version of the song.

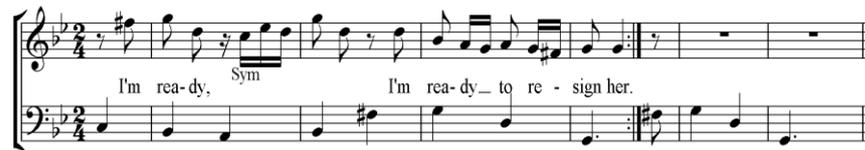
⁸⁶ *A Choice Collection of English Songs set to Musick by Mr Handel* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, 1731). For further discussion of the contents of this collection see Gerald Abraham (ed.), *Handel: a Symposium* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp.298-299; William C. Smith, *Handel: a Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Editions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), p. 176; A. Craig Bell, *Handel: Chronological Thematic Catalogue* (Darley: The Grian-Aig Press, 1972), pp. 397-403. The song in Ex. 2.6 was also published in *The Monthly Collection of Songs for August* [1726] (London: Printed for and Sold by Daniel Wright, [1726]).

The image displays five systems of musical notation for a vocal score. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The music is in 3/8 time and the key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "Some con - foun - ded Plan - et reign - ing must. have mov'd you to these Airs, Or could your in - cli - nat - ion stoop so low".

Ex.2.7: 'Some Confounded Planet', *The Lottery*, bars 1-32. GB-Lbl R.M.21.c.43 (3), f6^v.
Treble part in Introduction taken from Handel's *Poro*.

Instrumental indications in vocal scores are few, but those present show some imitative use of melodic instruments, possibly another part of the parody element. Seedo's 'Ye Gods gave me a Wife', from Act One of *The Devil to Pay* (1731), contains a rare example of the interruption of the vocal line by an imitative instrumental part (see Ex. 2.8). This interjection not only shows that a melodic instrument was used in performance, but also that operatic aria and theatre 'ballad' were closer musically than might be immediately obvious.

Examples of four-part scoring in ballad opera also survive. GB-Lcm MS 2232, a score of *The Devil to Pay*, contains the song 'My little Sprite now appears' leading into the 'Chorus of Sprites' (ff59^r-60^r), possibly in four parts. The second violin and viola parts act as harmonic fillers, the second violin part generally playing a third below the



Ex. 2.8: Seedo: 'Ye Gods you gave me a Wife' (*The Devil to Pay* Act 1 no. IV), bars 22-28. GB-Lbl R.M.21.c.43 (2), ff^{3r}-3^v

first. The tessitura of the viola part suggests that the instrument had a harmonic role, rather than being the third voice present in Purcell's music. Both parts therefore have features of the *galant* style, in addition to showing that four-part accompaniment to songs was possible in a milieu less consistent and affluent than Italian opera.

Ballad opera became a springboard for the ballad-style songs of later decades. However, any sense of the creation of 'national' music through ballad opera can be countered by arguing that it was built on a negative rather than a positive; that is to say, what it was *not* (i.e. Italian aria), rather than what it actually *was*. The term 'ballad' simply allowed audiences to ascertain the musical style on offer, a practice that continued through its frequent use in song collections. There appears to be little in the way of differentiation between 'ballad' and 'song', some publishers using one and some the other, but this blurring of boundaries helped give the ballad a new status and acceptability.

The 'Garden Culture' and Musical 'Democracy'

Imagine to yourself a pretty large garden, and in the middle thereof a spacious hall, forming a polygon of forty eight sides within and without. Its diameter, of so we may call it, is about twenty seven toises without [1 toise \approx 6' 5"], and a little more than twenty within. This fine hall is of painted wood and plaster, of excellent workmanship in its kind; its height within is very near eight toises. (Rouquet)⁸⁷

The eighteenth-century versions of the tradition, begun in the Renaissance, of the garden spectacles where musical and dramatic works were performed in the open air, usually in the preserve of royalty or nobility. The major difference between the sixteenth century and the eighteenth century is that this form of entertainment was now available to anybody who could afford the entrance fee. Although the different social classes may not have mixed socially, once through the gates there was an atmosphere of conviviality marking Britain out as the most 'egalitarian' country of the age. (Hunt)⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Andr  Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England*, facs. edn., ed. R. W. Lightbown (London: Cornmarket Press, 1970), pp. 113-114. Rouquet does not specify the venue, but it is believed to be Ranelagh.

⁸⁸ Hunt, *Vauxhall and London's Garden Theatres*, p. 12.

The Elizabethan concept of a public garden was derived from the *rus in urbe* concept of classical times, an acknowledgement of the need for open spaces within an urban area where people could go for ‘amusement’ and a temporary retreat from city life. Urban development in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries led to a significant expansion of leisure activities, both public and private, and the creation of venues where more people could enjoy these pursuits publically. Although common land was used, private land was also developed as a commercial asset, with entrance charges, thus the public park and pleasure garden were born. The growth of ‘public’ leisure did not, however, lead to the demise of ‘private’ activities; these still flourish to this day. Managed open spaces became accessible to a wider public with the opening of Marylebone Gardens in 1659, followed by Vauxhall in 1661; by 1700 their number had increased dramatically. At first, many ‘gardens’ were attached to taverns, thus the music migrated from inside the building to the outside areas. Tavern music would have attracted a larger audience outdoors and a larger space enabled more musicians to participate. The spas also provided opportunities for music to become a part of outdoor entertainment.

Pepys’s diaries record visits to the Spring Gardens, Vauxhall’s original name, in the 1660s and describe the various entertainments available to the visitor. Though he later became disenchanted with the gardens, he provides an insight into their atmosphere.

[28 May 1667] But here the nightingale and other birds, and here fiddles, and there a harp, and here a Jew’s trump, and here laughing, and there fine people walking, is mighty divertising.⁸⁹

The dilution of class barriers in the eighteenth century helped to create places where the ability to pay, rather than social status, gave access to formerly exclusive entertainments. This seemingly classless situation was epitomised by the pleasure

⁸⁹ Pepys, *Diaries*, vi, p. 32.

gardens; initially this occurred in London but it soon spread to other cities. Although the gardens were not fully 'inclusive' in the modern sense, they were a significant step in this direction. Scholes' comment on Ranelagh distinguishes between 'public' and more exclusive events:

The prices at Ranelagh, as at Vauxhall, were so arranged as to admit everyone on general occasions and to keep out all but the *haut ton* on special nights. For the 'Ridottos' ... the price was a guinea. But on the ordinary days you went in for a shilling, or latterly, half a crown.⁹⁰

The 'shillingworth' was actually a considerable sum for many, and Scholes ignores additional expenditure on transport and refreshment, unaffordable by poorer people; thus he is exaggerating here. However, the gardens became a haven for many classes, as demonstrated by contemporary iconography.

The intention appears to have been to provide a multi-sensory experience to the visitor. As well as listening to a varied programme of music, the visitor could admire the art and architecture and sense the aura of the various walks within the gardens while promenading. *Trompe l'œil* paintings at the end of these walks gave an impression of large open spaces, though the overall area of the gardens was more limited. The addition of the quasi-exotic, with 'Chinese' and 'Moorish' Temples along with the 'Rural Downs', gave an effect of distorted reality, the visitors being bombarded with such an excess of sensation as to leave them disorientated and thus susceptible to persuasion by any visual or aural illusion that came their way. The gardens' ordered (though not too formal) layout was also seen as man's control over nature at its finest.

The garden culture grew as the taste for scenic design in the theatres moved away from the classical backgrounds, rejecting their formalism in favour of 'natural' settings. The emphasis was now on the modern, the ruins of former times being gradually covered by new landscapes. Leslie Ellen Brown offers a six-point description of these new stage settings, which can be summarised as follows:

⁹⁰ Percy Scholes, *A Shillingworth of Ranelagh*, Scenes of Old English Music 10 (London: BBC, 1935).

- 1) The enchanted grove
- 2) A place for personal introspection.
- 3) A place of refuge
- 4) A place to express emotion
- 5) A place of intrigue
- 6) A source of sensual (and possibly sexual) gratification.⁹¹

Of these, the first is the key to the others as it provides a location from which, inspired by their close proximity to nature, people were able to express themselves in a ‘natural’ and unaffected way. Expressions of ‘real’ and intense emotion probably led to the other activities taking place, but for the members of a theatre audience the garden setting was something with which many could readily identify. Although such activities would have taken place separately in an opera, they were integrated in the gardens, many being simultaneous. Conlin observes:

You could abandon your normal social roles or even your normal sexual persuasion.⁹²

The gardens were also theatres, but not in the conventional sense. People came there both to see and be seen; a sense of ‘mutual voyeurism’ seems to have been present. The attractions became a prism through which people saw not only themselves but also others, reflected in the naturalistic scenery. Leppert’s description of ‘terrains of self and other – a place to be, a place to want’,⁹³ suits the gardens’ social ambiance well, and although he is referring to the landscape paintings in the background of Laroon’s *A Musical Conversation* (c.1760 but sketched in the 1730s), it is easy to see an element of desire through their inclusion in an indoor scene. This desire was undoubtedly heightened through utopian depictions such as Muller’s of Vauxhall. The dark walks provided additional theatre, with ample opportunity for amorous encounters of all kinds;

⁹¹ Leslie Ellen Brown, ‘Metaphor and Music: The Landscape Garden in Eighteenth-Century Opera Sets’, *Opera Quarterly* 2 (1984), 37-55.

⁹² Cited in Lisa Mullen, ‘Vauxhall, Coarser’, www.timeout.com/london/aroundtown July10-16 2008, p. 52. (Accessed 15 December 2008). See also Penelope Corfield, *Vauxhall and the Invention of the Urban Pleasure Garden* (Mitcham: History & Social Actions Publications, 2007), p. 16.

⁹³ Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. xxiv.



Fig 2.2: Marcellus Laroon the Younger, *A Musical Conversation* (c.1760) www.1st-art-gallery.com/Marcellus,-The-Younger-Laroon/Musical-Conversation.html (Accessed 27 October 2011).



Fig. 2.3: Muller, after Wale, *A General Prospect of Vauxhall Gardens* (c.1751). www.foundingmuseum.org.uk/uploads/images/exhibitions/J.S._Muller_after_Samuel_Wale_A_General_Prospect_of_Vaux_Hall_Gardens_engraving_1751_Private_collection.jpg (Accessed 7 January 2013).

such events could easily be related to the offstage action in a play, now incorporated into real life. The music enhanced this atmosphere and the words of the songs, which translated classical pastoral texts into the contemporary rustic, gave the whole experience an illusion of realism.

The 1730s brought both substantial and significant changes to the gardens, most

notably Vauxhall. Tyers had bought the lease in 1728 and soon transformed them into a place of repute. As Altick says:

He provided in one spacious locale, for the enjoyment of all who could pay, the amenities of the private gardens that were so essential an accompaniment to fashionable eighteenth-century life and so characteristic a manifestation of contemporary taste.⁹⁴

The gardens' sensory experiences were promoted to the extent where they were deemed to be socially 'elevating'. The poem *Green-wood Hall* (1742) describes Farmer Colin's visit to Vauxhall:

O Mary, soft in Feature
I've been at dear Vauxhall
No Paradise is sweeter,
Nor that they Eden call:
At Night such new Vagaries
Such gay and harmless Sport,
All Look'd like giant Fairies,
And this Monarch's Court.⁹⁵

This is pure illusion; no rustic would be capable of such elegant expression in ordinary life, though the theme of man's ennoblement by nature is reinforced in the song's text. Later, however, the farmer compares the regular patrons unfavourably with himself saying:

But now, the Tables spreading,
They all fall to with Glee;
Not e'en at Squire's fine Wedding
Such dainties did I see:
I long'd (poor starveling Rover);
But none heed Country Elves;
These Folk, with Lace daub'd over,
Love only dear themselves.⁹⁶

This description sets town and country in opposition, the inhabitants of each seeming to regard the other with suspicion and/or disdain. The town-dweller sees the rustic as uncultivated, while the countryman is scornful of the city-dweller's superficiality. Such a portrayal of difference may have changed *rus in urbe* to *rus et urbs*, thence to *rus versus urbem*. Nettel observes:

⁹⁴ Richard Altick, *The Shows of London*, (Cambridge MA & London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 94.

⁹⁵ From *The Vocal Companion* (London: Printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, 1759), p. 68.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

As the Industrial Revolution went its way the gap between new industrial townsmen and the old rural communities widened. Misunderstanding was to be expected, and wishful thinking on both sides produced fantasies that became quite comical when seen through the eyes of an understanding writer.⁹⁷

Hogarth's *The Enrag'd Musician* (1741) demonstrates both *rus versus urbem*, and the insight of the 'understanding writer' or artist. Barlow's discussion of this picture illustrates the division between town and country; for him *The Enrag'd Musician* brings these cultural opposites into stark focus.⁹⁸ The central figure is not the musician, believed to be Pietro Castrucci (1769-1752),⁹⁹ but a milkmaid, taller than the other figures and with an outsized pail on her head. Leppert argues that this caricature illustrates the difference between harmony (the musician's house) and discord (the scene outside); she is exaggerated, making her a 'poor Madonna'.¹⁰⁰ Although milkmaids and cattle were common in both town and country, she appears out-of-place, her aloof manner and her staring into the distance reinforcing her separation from the action around her. Hogarth may also be making her a figure of fun, as emphasised by the size of the pail. The horn (shown as a post-horn, but which could equally represent a hunting horn) in the right of the picture is another indication that the country, too, has its own disruptive noises, natural and man-made. The musician himself is a violinist or fiddler; here two opposites are combined in one person, the 'serious' professional musician and the rustic fiddler, neither seeming entirely in congruity with the setting. The musician secretly yearns for harmony away from the urban turmoil, even though he knows that fulfilling his wish is a vain hope. Hayes, in his reply to Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression*, notes how the musician, as represented by a violinist, is regarded by the public:

⁹⁷ Nettel, *The Englishman Makes Music* (London: Dobson, 1951), p. 168.

⁹⁸ Jeremy Barlow, *The Enraged Musician: Hogarth's Musical Imagery* (Aldershot & Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2006).

⁹⁹ See Burney, *History*, ii, p. 1004.

¹⁰⁰ Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 213.



Fig 2.4: Hogarth, *The Enrag'd Musician* www.gutenberg.org/files/22500/22500-h/22500-h.htm
(Accessed 25 August 2008).

in *England* we are often too apt to despise the Professors of Music, and to treat them indiscriminately with contempt: But although every Fidler may have the Vanity to look upon himself as a Musician, yet we ought not to regard every Musician *only* as a Fidler.¹⁰¹

The poster advertising *The Beggar's Opera* represents the performance of art and 'traditional' music in the same place, though hinting at an uneasy marriage of two opposites. It also links English theatre with the gardens, a connection reinforced by the incongruous mixture of the characters in Hogarth's picture; most, if not all, were represented in some way at the latter. Brewer comments:

The pleasure garden was in many ways a natural successor to *The Beggar's Opera*, a living embodiment of the play's values. It offered a mixed audience a variety of entertainment from opera arias to ballads in a place where high and low life, respectability and intrigue could combine.¹⁰²

As music was now a part of the public domain it became a public commodity, and when a commodity becomes public property its creator, or even manufacturer, is, to significant extent, at the mercy of the general taste or fashion. Composers working in the public domain now needed to produce music acceptable to a much wider range of

¹⁰¹ William Hayes, *Remarks, on Mr. Avison's Essay on musical expression ... : in a letter from a gentleman in London to his friend in the country ...* (London: for J. Robinson, 1753), p. 92. Cited in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, p. 15.

¹⁰² Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp 377-78.

people and tastes than hitherto. Newspapers began to influence taste by exploiting increased literacy among the population, leading to McGuinness' 'musical market place', the whetting of a public appetite for greater cultural erudition.¹⁰³

The word 'democratic', although bearing little resemblance to a modern interpretation of the word, signifies greater freedom, especially cultural freedom, in England than in the absolute monarchies of France and Spain, as noted by Voltaire during his two-year stay in London during the 1720s.¹⁰⁴ Something he may also have observed was the degree of social mobility, something Cannadine describes as:

a totally different society; crowded, tumultuous, rootless, mobile, restless, sometimes segregated, sometimes not, where the customary models of hierarchy offered at best an inadequate and outdated guide to the social landscape.¹⁰⁵

This social order was effectively Habermas's 'bourgeois public sphere', a social stratum between the upper and working classes, though created by acquired wealth, rather than hereditary privilege. This new middle class patronised activities formerly exclusive to those above and below it: horseracing, the preserve of the upper classes, and boxing, normally seen at fairgrounds, were both patronised by the 'middling sorts', helping to create a cultural 'middle ground' much of which was centred on the gardens.

This diversity of cultural pursuits also encouraged the creation of new music. In songs, this process probably took place through textual associations: hunting, with its 'chase' theme would have appealed to race-goers, while heroic ballads could narrate sporting achievements, such as in boxing.

The portrayal of a society where class boundaries were diluted through culture was actually as illusory as the gardens' experiences. The gardens were an emblem of a bourgeois urban society, its members publically role-playing to both self and other.

Theatres and balls, parks and pleasure gardens, libraries and reading rooms – all welcomed the urban patriciate, while the aristocracy stayed away and the 'inferior sorts' were deliberately kept

¹⁰³ Rosamond McGuinness, 'The Music Business in Early Eighteenth Century London', *Quarterly Journal of Social Affairs*, 1 (1985), p. 251.

¹⁰⁴ See Voltaire, *Lettres Philosophiques*, ed. F.A. Taylor (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), especially no. 5, 'Sur la Religion anglicane' (pp. 14-17), and no. 9, 'Sur le Gouvernement' (pp. 24-28).

¹⁰⁵ David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 46.

out, by cost, by membership requirements or by direct proscription. The result was a different version of society..., which proclaimed instead the dominance of the middle-class civic élite.¹⁰⁶

A (reasonably) new location for musical performance does not automatically imply the creation of new music, but this appears to have been the case with the vocal repertoire. Accounts of vocal music having been performed at Vauxhall prior to 1745 (Burney's date for when songs were introduced) exist, notably a performance of Handel's *Zadok the Priest* in 1738, but these events were special, rather than regular occasions.¹⁰⁷ These special occasions may have spurred a demand for vocal music to become a regular feature of the entertainments. Although excerpts from operas and theatre productions would have satisfied demand in the short term, this music, having been borrowed from other venues, may have had a limited attraction, and to a limited section of the audience. Add a quest for a national musical idiom coupled with a growing interest in the 'folk' music of the British Isles, now being notated and published, and the concert song, a self-contained species drawing its ideas from opera, theatre, chamber music and the ballad, was conceived. This heterogeneous musical concoction might initially appear to have a limited life due to its being influenced by taste, but the genre survived, and indeed grew, for some years, only declining towards the end of the century.

The pleasure gardens thus became a haven for the nurturing of native music, especially songs. Composers, possibly encouraged by publishers, turned to the gardens' large audiences for additional income from the general public. Paul Rice sees this development as important:

There were few places where secular, vocal music (set to English Texts) of artistic merit could be heard.¹⁰⁸

The gardens were, however, not unique: the theatres, where much garden music

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49

¹⁰⁷ See p. 155 for further discussion of this matter.

¹⁰⁸ Paul F. Rice, 'Musical Nationalism and the Vauxhall Gardens', *Lumen: Selected Proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth Century Studies* 19 (2000), p. 75.

originated, were more important, and musical growth may have partly stemmed from the attraction of the spectacular, visual and aural, which had been part of English theatre for some time. Native music simply became more widely available through the gardens.

Handel

Within the history of the concert song, Handel is an almost insignificant figure. Although he composed a small number of songs in English, these are by no means representative of his contribution to music in England. ‘Twas when the Seas were roaring’, included in John Gay’s farce *The What D’ye call it* (c.1725), is the most notable, and is believed to have received over five hundred performances at various times.¹⁰⁹

Most of Handel’s English songs are settings of anonymous pastorals and ballads. Lockman’s ‘From scourging Rebellion’ (1746), in praise of the victory at Culloden, is a notable exception. Most are scored for voice and continuo, but show that Handel did experiment with the English pastoral style. One, ‘Phyllis Advised’, was even published in *The Musical Entertainer*. Nevertheless, Handel was perhaps the most famous composer *not* to have composed songs for public concerts, though there is evidence that his instrumental music was performed at the gardens on numerous occasions;¹¹⁰ his *Hornpipe for the Concert at Vauxhall* (1740) was written for performance there. (Tyers’ commissioning of the Roubiliac statue in 1738 shows that he could support Handel publically, while also capitalising on his reputation.) However, arias from his operas (translated into English) and oratorios were probably performed there, both in his lifetime and after.

Handel’s influence on the concert song can be found in the secular oratorio and orchestration. Of the oratorios, *L’Allegro* (1740) had an important effect upon English

¹⁰⁹ See Berta Joncus, ‘Handel at Drury Lane: Ballad Opera and the Production of Kitty Clive’, *JRMA* 131 (2006), 179-226, especially pp.181-192 for a tabular analysis of Handel’s music in English Theatre and in Ballad Opera.

¹¹⁰ Chrissochoidis suggests that Handel may have been connected with Vauxhall during the 1730s, before the introduction of vocal music. See Ilias Chrissochoidis, ‘Hee-Haw...l-lelujah: Handel among the Vauxhall Asses (1732)’, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 7 (2010), pp. 244-247.

song. Handel drew his inspiration from *Comus* (1738), the work that established Arne, seeing an opportunity to be seen as an ‘English’ composer by setting Milton, then very much in vogue, to music. Similar circumstances influenced Handel’s setting of Congreve’s *Semele* (1744), when he was again inspired by Arne’s *The Judgement of Paris* (1740).

L’Allegro is one of Handel’s least understood works, but makes as strong a statement as the more overtly ‘political’ *Alexander’s Feast* or *Israel in Egypt*. Colley asserts that Handel became a national institution by portraying England as a ‘second and better Israel’ through his oratorios.¹¹¹ However, *L’Allegro* portrays a ‘pastoral Israel’, a land at peace, with prosperity brought by the Hanoverians. More importantly, there is a contrast between urban and rural life, the two opposites being unified by ‘Il Moderato’, Jennens’s addition to the libretto. Moderation was, according to Smith, one of the ‘moral-aesthetic principles’ of the time, reconciling contrasting lifestyles through culture.¹¹² This ideal was to take a more tangible form in the songs of the gardens, and it is possible that *L’Allegro* was a springboard for the aesthetic of moderation unifying enjoyment and introspection through an atmosphere of harmony.

L’Allegro, according to Smither, is not a secular oratorio (Handel would have been unfamiliar with this designation), but a pastoral in the form of an oratorio.¹¹³ Hicks describes the work as a species of ode, being both secular and reflective.¹¹⁴ Handel was at pains to identify with the English pastoral style, but his approach was to combine an English text (though with a fashionably Italian title), with German structures and chorus usage. The work’s apparent weakness is due to the static nature of the libretto, something

¹¹¹ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation* (New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 31-32.

¹¹² Ruth Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 271.

¹¹³ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 3 vols., Vol. 2 *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Protestant Germany and England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), p. 350.

¹¹⁴ Anthony Hicks, ‘Handel and the Idea of an Oratorio’, *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, p. 157.

Dean describes as ‘an alternation of two moods’, rather than a structured plot,¹¹⁵ yet Handel’s skill as a mood-setter comes to the fore through his imaginative use of the orchestra, the scoring of several recitatives and arias exploring various combinations of instrumental colour to good effect.

With the exception of ‘Sweet Bird that shun’st the noise of folly’ the arias are not in *da capo* form, though some choruses have an ABA structure. This departure from convention may be a conscious move towards a more ‘English’ style, Handel openly contrasting *L’Allegro* with his Italian works. Several arias are followed by a chorus which repeats some of the textual and musical material of the aria; this pattern follows that of the English masque, reinforcing the aria text.

Stahura describes Handel as an innovative orchestrator,¹¹⁶ and his liking for a wide variety of colour and texture in accompaniments is immediately apparent in the opening recitative ‘Hence loathed Melancholy’, scored for divided cellos and bassoons with continuo. Throughout the work there are many interesting examples of scoring, notably in the two ‘Mirth, admit me’ arias: the first is a ‘English’ nature setting, with violins, though not flutes, imitating bird song,¹¹⁷ while the second is a quasi-heroic hunting song, scored for horn and strings. In the latter, Handel may have been copying the ‘horn’ song, possibly as a result of having heard Galliard’s ‘With early Horn salute the Morn’, performed by John Beard in *The Royal Chace* (1736),¹¹⁸ to give *L’Allegro* an English flavour. However, the scoring matches that in ‘Va Tacito’ (*Giulio Cesare*), thus the aria has arguably both English and Italian antecedents.

In Galliard’s song the voice is accompanied by continuo only, though occasionally by the four-part strings. A string part, usually either first violin or viola, often doubles the horn, either in unison or at the octave, maintaining a four-part texture throughout. This

¹¹⁵ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, p. 319.

¹¹⁶ Mark W. Stahura, ‘Handel and the Orchestra’, *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, p. 245.

¹¹⁷ The flute only appears in ‘Sweet Bird’; oboes are the ‘pipes’ elsewhere in the work.

¹¹⁸ The manuscript to Galliard’s song is GB-Lcm MS 2232, ff61^r-64^v (pp. 138-145).

approach harks back to the antiphonal style used at the beginning of the century. In *L'Allegro*, there is evidence of Handel's style having become not only 'English' but *galant*. The violin parts are in unison throughout, and are often doubled by the horn in the ritornelli. There is some imitation between horn, voice and violins, the horn and voice often being in canon, enhancing the 'echo' effect of an enchanted wood.¹¹⁹

The image shows a musical score for a Galliard, 'With early Horn', bars 1-12. The score is in 6/8 time and B-flat major. It features four staves: Horn (Hn), Violin 1 and 2 (VI 1, 2), Viola (Vla), and Bassoon (Basso). The Horn part is in canon with the Violins. The Viola and Bassoon parts provide harmonic support with rhythmic patterns.

Ex. 2.9: Galliard, 'With early Horn', bars 1-12. GB-Lcm MS 2232, f61^r.

According to Harris, Handel found the English pastoral a form of compromise between the Italian and German styles, but, rather than merely copy either, he chose to combine the best elements of each.¹²⁰ Although Harris is somewhat dismissive of *L'Allegro*, possibly because of its hybridism, the combination of the heroic and the pastoral in one

¹¹⁹ See Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, p. 321.

¹²⁰ Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 141.

Ex. 2.10: Handel, 'Mirth admit me', second setting (*L'Allegro*), bars 59-65.

text makes it an important work in the English musical repertoire.¹²¹ It is also possible that *The Enrag'd Musician*, an Italian in an English town, represents stylistic convergence in *L'Allegro*, as well as being the object of Hogarth's satire.

Synthesis? Songs of the 1730s

The elements discussed above could not individually have built a foundation for the concert song, but together they contributed to its creation. As the ballad gained respectability through ballad opera and the cantata became known to a wider audience, so the possibilities for further development became apparent. As the public concert grew, with vocal music featuring in its programmes, so songs specifically composed for concert use came into being.

¹²¹ See *Ibid.*, p. 266, fn. 6.

Few collections of songs were published in the 1730s, but those that survive show a convergence of form and style taking place within their pages. One important example is *Twelve Arietts or Ballads and Two Cantatas* by William Hayes (1735), composed shortly after his appointment to Magdalen College, Oxford.

In his preface, Hayes declares:

[the songs] were originally intended only to please my Friends in Private, in which succeeding much better than I could expect, I have been prevailed upon to make them Publick.¹²²

The precise meaning of this statement, echoing that of Reading in c.1710 and Carey in 1724, is a matter for conjecture, but suggests that the songs were originally performed privately within the walls of Magdalen College, and later in a more public venue.

Although the songs are mostly scored for voice and continuo, the aria in the first cantata 'Beneath this cool refreshing Shade' is scored for violin, viola and basso. The use of a viola in preference to a second violin is unusual, although there may have been two violins playing in unison (see Ex. 2.11).

The style and scoring of this aria suggest music in transition, containing elements of both the Baroque and the *galant*. The three-part texture is achieved by the violin doubling the vocal line, hence the rests in its part in bars 1-4. In bars 6-9 the violin imitates the voice in an ascending sequence, the viola part being either absent or limited to harmony notes. Although a devotee of Handel, Hayes's vocal music is 'English' in style, though both cantatas contain *da capo* arias. Also, despite Heighes' assertion that Hayes disliked the ballad,¹²³ seven songs are in strophic binary 'ballad' form, thus the collection can be described as a judicious mixture of Italian and English structures, aiming to cater for all tastes.

A landmark in the history of song publishing came with *The Musical Entertainer*, a periodical issued fortnightly between January 1737 and December 1739. It contained

¹²² Preface to *Twelve Arietts or Ballads and Two Cantatas* (Oxford, 1735).

¹²³ Heighes, *The Lives and Works of William and Philip Hayes*, p. 127. See also Peter Ward Jones & Simon Heighes, 'Hayes: (1) William Hayes (i)', *Oxford Music Online*, (Accessed 28 January 2013).

Voice: The blushing Rose around thy Head shall have her sweet - est Odours shed, the
 Violin
 Viola
 Basso

mantling
 Vine shall yield to you

Ex. 2.11: Hayes, aria from *Cantata 1 (Twelve Ariets)*, bars 18.4-27.
 British Library, E. 217.c, No. 12.

a mixture of ballads, strophic songs, arias and cantatas presented in a way that had hitherto not been attempted this scale. Although published with the upper classes as its primary target, the music is much broader in its appeal, including ballad-style songs and subject matter such as Leveridge's 'The Cobbler's End' (Vol. 1, No. 16). The songs may therefore have been performed by all types of singers; men in clubs or taverns, women in the home.

In total, there are 165 songs, the majority of which are strophic and in binary form without ritornelli. A small number of cantatas and extracts from Handel's operas are also included; these have ritornelli, including a coda. Although the extended forms are in the minority, it is the juxtaposition of art songs (arias and cantatas) with ballads or folk songs within the pages of the same pamphlet that is important, which may have encouraged

similar collections in later decades.

Several songs in *The Musical Entertainer* have textual themes that focus on the delights of nature, especially the ‘rural’ settings of the gardens. Of particular note are the two settings by Boyce of Lockman’s poems, ‘The Rural Beauty or Vauxhall Gardens’ (Vol.1, No. 21) and ‘The Adieu to the Spring Gardens’ (Vol.1, No. 53). Other songs containing gardens references, direct and indirect, include Thomas Gladwin’s ‘The Invitation to Mira requesting her Company to Vaux-Hall Gardens’ (Vol. 2, No. 5); here there are suggestions of amorous intrigue with the secluded retreat being used as a lure (the double meaning is evident). These songs, praising the virtues of Vauxhall, may have been performed there during either the 1737 or the 1738 seasons, though possibly at special events, such as the opening and closing nights of the season. It is, however, a relatively small step from having songs in praise of a venue to there being a demand for them to be performed *at* this location: the argument is one of context, a desire to hear the music performed at the place described by the song.

Scott uses *The Musical Entertainer* to support his argument that the soprano, Miss Stevenson, sang at Vauxhall in 1738, though, as his chronology is questionable elsewhere and not borne out by further evidence, this assertion cannot be held to be reliable.¹²⁴ Burney states that vocal music did not arrive at Vauxhall until Arne’s appointment as musical director in 1745; this has also been called into question by Johnstone and McGuinness on the grounds that Burney may not have been impartial in his assessment of the situation.¹²⁵ As he became Arne’s apprentice around this time it would seem too much of a coincidence to be reliable as evidence.

A further point of interest lies in the way in which *The Musical Entertainer* was

¹²⁴ W. S. Scott, *Green Retreats*, p. 71. *BDA*, xiv, p. 282 suggests a later date of c.1740 for Miss Stevenson but this may mean no more than her being employed to sing pieces such as birthday odes on special occasions. Arne’s songs of the 1740s do not name her.

¹²⁵ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 1011. See also H. Diack Johnstone & Rosamond McGuinness, ‘Concert Life in England I’, *Music in Britain: Vol. 4, The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack, Johnstone & Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 70

advertised. Thomas Harper, the man responsible, while employing the hyperbole common to the period ('after the use of the Best Poets set to Musick by the most eminent Masters') also states that the songs have been 'adapted to the Voice, Violin, German and Common Flute, Harpsichord or Spinet with the through Bass to each Song'.¹²⁶ However, this phraseology is simply a continuation of one established in the previous century; the word 'adapted' probably means the printing of the music in a key suitable to all the instruments mentioned in the advertisement. However, it seems to encourage instruments to accompany not just cantatas and arias with an obligato instrumental part but also the, strophic songs, suggesting that the different musical genres that constitute the concert song were being treated in a more uniform manner by publishers.

The popularity of *The Musical Entertainer* was such that the series was reprinted, with corrections by J.F. Lampe, in 1740 and a third edition by John Ryall in 1765. The periodical also gave rise to a number of similar publications such as Lampe's *British Melody* (1739), but these were soon to be superseded by the single-author publications that became popular from the mid-1740s onwards.

Conclusion

By 1740 the elements for the creation of a repertoire of solo song with orchestral accompaniment were in place. First, the public concert had been created, offering opportunities for music to be heard by larger and socially more diverse audiences. Second, through theatres, music societies and concerts, art song, the cantata in particular, had been translated into a more public arena. Third, an 'English', or native, song style was developing in the shape of *galant*-influenced ballads. Fourth, a suitable performance environment had been created in the shape of the gardens, which were a middle ground between theatre and tavern, and where all types of song could be heard in the same

¹²⁶ Both cited in Roy Wiles, *Serial Publications in England before 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), pp. 204-205. The original source of the second is unknown.

concert. Finally, the possibilities of dramatic solo song outside the world of opera had been realised in oratorio: through Handel the English language had been shown to be a valid means of expression. It now remained for composers to explore these possibilities and for promoters to encourage them in this work.

These circumstances were not unique to London. Music clubs had been established in many towns and cities by this time, providing further opportunities for the development of vocal music. The reception of a work by a club audience may well have assisted composers in determining not only the current popular taste (and thus the nature of subsequent compositions), but also whether the music performed there was fit for publication.

However, there was also a warning that an adherence to populism restricted the prospects for the development of English music within the higher art forms. According to Plumb the public had become so ‘besotted by music’ that it had ceased to appreciate it properly.¹²⁷ Spink highlights the social changes of this period as a reason, arguing that contemporary attitudes prevented high standards from prevailing:

A society in which the bourgeoisie suddenly finds itself rich and powerful - especially if the ethos of that society is partly materialist and partly Puritan – will almost certainly lack high artistic standards.¹²⁸

Pope, in *The Dunciad* (1729), refers scathingly to the current state of song:

All hail him victor in both gifts of song,
Who sings so loudly, and who sings so long.¹²⁹

His opinions, echoing Shadwell, provided a counterbalance to what risked being a rose-tinted picture of contemporary developments. Rogers asserts that Pope was condemning a situation where ‘recreations that promote taste and sensitivity are being invaded by those which rely on cheap effects and tawdry glamour’.¹³⁰ Pope foresaw art being

¹²⁷ J. H. Plumb, *Georgian Delights* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1980), p.31.

¹²⁸ Ian Spink, ‘Music and Society’, *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian Spink (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 65.

¹²⁹ Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad Variorum with the Prolegomenia of Scriblerus* (London: Printed for A. Dod, 1729), Book II, p.42 (ll. 257-258).

¹³⁰ See Rogers, *Literature and Popular Culture*, pp. 8-9.

sacrificed for entertainment, and the following decades would show whether his words would prove prophetic or merely cautionary.

Chapter 3

1740-1762: The Early Years

Introduction

By 1740, the foundations for the orchestral concert song had been laid. Art song was less exclusive than in previous decades, and ballad opera had brought an element of refinement to the ballad style. Therefore, two of the three pathways for the provision of songs for concerts had, to a greater or lesser extent, been fulfilled, but the third, and potentially most productive, the composition of new music, had yet to develop.

Genre transfer was very much in evidence, and the arrival of Italian music had widened its scope considerably, arias from operas and oratorios being included in concerts on a regular basis by the 1730s. A notable example was at Handel's benefit concert on 28 March 1738 at the King's Theatre. The programme, as recorded by James Harris, includes excerpts from the oratorios *Deborah*, *Esther* and *Athalia*, as well as an organ concerto played by Handel.¹ Harris also notes that the King had vetoed the inclusion of the 'Dead March' from *Saul* as this event was too soon after the death of Queen Caroline the previous year. Jonathan Tyers, the proprietor of Vauxhall, bought fifty tickets for this event, as noted in the *London Daily Post* on 18 April.² Although King's Theatre audiences were more inclined towards 'high-style' music, Tyers' presence suggests he was interested in incorporating works from this programme into Vauxhall concerts. As the Roubiliac statue of Handel at Vauxhall was nearing completion at this time, it is no surprise that Tyers wanted to draw attention to his placing Handel on a pedestal, both in stone and in real life.³

A drawback of transfer was that the music was not new. Although extracts from stage works published as 'Favourite Songs' would have prolonged their public appeal,

¹ See Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World*, pp. 43-45. See also Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955), p. 456.

² See also Chrissochoidis, 'Hee-Haw...llelujah', p. 247.

³ See Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World*, p. 45.

their value would not have been fully appreciated in the absence of a musical canon. Also, a ‘borrowed’ aria may have required alteration to suit different venues and performers, the result possibly affecting the public’s attitude towards the music. English adaptations of ‘foreign’ (i.e. Italian) arias made their texts intelligible to the middle and lower classes, but did not necessarily retain the music’s original mood.⁴

In the wake of ballad opera, the ballad had become, according to Barlow, ‘almost any kind of song, light or serious’,⁵ giving it increased respectability, and, equally importantly, a sense of identity when native composers were competing with Italian opera. ‘Ballads’ were now both ‘English’ or ‘British’, and non-Italian, thus creating a distinction between national musical styles. However, the adaptation of genre could be social and literary as well as musical, as shown by the anglicising of pastoral poetry, thus continuing a practice that, according to Ellen Harris, had been established towards the end of the sixteenth century.⁶

Because many ‘ballads’ were originally art songs, all that was necessary for further ‘improvement’ was the addition of a second violin part a third or a sixth below the melody and a viola part, derived from the bass line, if desired. This process, compatible with three-part *galant* texture, gave songs additional elegance, making them well suited to the atmosphere of the gardens.

Potentially the most fertile field was the composition of new music, but one which also carried the greatest risks. As concert music became increasingly public, so the public became its patrons, requiring composers to produce works that would appeal to a socially more diverse audience. The result may have been an uneasy compromise between the art of the composer and consumer demand. Composers needed to be aware of popular taste in order to produce suitable music and acquire both reputation and money as a result.⁷

⁴ See p. 132.

⁵ Barlow, *The Enraged Musician*, p. 134.

⁶ See Ellen Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition*, pp. 94-100.

⁷ See Carey’s remarks on pp. 127-129.

‘Scotch’ songs, and other fashionable styles, could therefore be exploited and advertised as ‘favourite’ songs or ballads, though usually by the publisher rather than the composer.⁸ The danger of the composer being a public servant was that art could be sacrificed for populism, as already highlighted by Pope.

Some form of bridge between extant and new genres was therefore needed, and this came via an unexpected source. The Licensing Act of 1737 (10 Geo. II, ch. 28), building on an earlier bill of 1714 (12 Anne 2, ch. 23), attempted to curb potentially seditious new plays, particularly those satirising Prime Minister Robert Walpole. Although playwrights were the primary target of the legislation, performers were also subject to scrutiny, as seen in the clause below:

every person who shall for hire Gain or Reward act represent or perform...any Interlude tragedy Comedy Opera Play ffarce or other Entertainments of the Stage...[without authority]... shall be deemed to be a Rogue and a Vagabond⁹

As a result of the Act, old plays, especially those by Shakespeare, were revived, giving composers opportunities to write songs in a new style. This political influence on the theatre came at a time when musical style was changing to the *galant*, especially through Arne, the leading native composer of the time. Although the *galant* style had been in evidence for some time, the fashionable taste for Italian opera had delayed its development, but, spurred by a new direction in plays, it became the foundation of both theatre and concert music over the following decades. Composers could now either imitate the Italian style or explore the ‘new’ *galant* in their music, and the three-part homophonic scoring in many concert songs suggests that many chose the latter. There are, however, examples of composers using elements of both styles, usually found either in form or in the use of an obbligato instrument. Thus Burney’s description of Samuel

⁸ This practice continued into the early part of the twentieth century, such tags often meaning that the song(s) had sold well. See Derek Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing-room and Parlour* (Milton Keynes & Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1989), p. ix.

⁹ 10 Geo. II, Ch.28; 5 presses. See also Vincent J. Leisenfeld, *The Licensing Act of 1737* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 123-128.

Howard:

This honest Englishman ... preferred the style of his own country to that of any other so much, that he never staggered his belief of its being the best in the world, by listening to foreign artists or their productions.¹⁰

is inaccurate, as Howard did not reject 'foreign' forms completely, writing at least two cantatas in imitation of Handel, thus he was not the 'honest Englishman' Burney states.

Howard's use of the strophic form in the four volumes of *The Musical Companion* (c.1740-1756), containing strophic songs with English titles, is probably the work on which Burney bases his appraisal.¹¹ The comment that Howard's ballads were 'long the delight of natural and inexperienced lovers of Music' is perhaps closer to the truth.¹²

Arne's Shakespeare songs thus became the bridge between *Comus* and his Vauxhall songs. Some were published in Volume II of *Lyric Harmony*, showing that their popularity had not waned in the intervening years. In terms of style and scoring they also set the precedent for many of the songs that were to appear over the following two decades.

Young, in his preface to *Nine Shakespeare Songs*, asserts that the scoring was restricted to strings and flutes on financial grounds,¹³ but Arne was often imaginative with the resources at his disposal. The use of flutes in preference to oboes (although played by the same musicians) sets the songs apart from Italian aria scoring, as well as portraying the pastoral theme that was to be a popular feature of gardens' songs. The flute is often used to imitate bird song, as in 'Ariel's Song' and 'The Owl', and sometimes motifs are passed between voice and instruments to create a simple, but effective, background to the text. Few songs have four-part scoring, and where it is present, as in 'Come away Death', the viola doubles the bass line for much of the time.

Although many of Arne's Shakespeare songs are 'English', he combines elements

¹⁰ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 1014.

¹¹ Only Volumes 1, 3 and 4 have survived in their entirety, as well as a fragment of what may be Volume 2 (See Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 387).

¹² Burney, *History*, ii, p. 1014

¹³ Preface to *Nine Shakespeare Songs by Thomas Arne*, ed. Percy Young (London: Chappell & Co, 1963).

of the Italian obbligato aria with those of the English *galant* in his scoring. In ‘Under the Greenwood Tree’ the violin parts follow the *galant* homophonic model, being mostly a third or sixth apart. The flute (or recorder) part is more imitative, often providing a countermelody to the voice based on the second motif of the introduction. This combination of imitation and homophony with a through-composed structure again suggests Arne’s experiments in combining the English and Italian styles.

Arne’s most famous Shakespeare setting is ‘Ariel’s Song’ from *The Tempest* (1746). Here, a solo flute joins the two violins and basso, its use being clearly indicated by the direction ‘German Flute in the Symphonies, and Solo Part of the Song’ at the head of the page. For much of the time it doubles the first violin, but the  motif provides a realistic imitation of a tawny owl’s hooting to accompany ‘There I couch when Owls do cry’, repeated twice for effect. A short florid passage emphasises the word ‘fly’. The result is an English *galant* song garnished with Italian *fioratura*, further evidence that Arne’s music mixed both styles from an early date.



Ex. 3.1: Arne, ‘Where the Bee sucks’, bars 20-24.

Despite these promising signs, songs had still to be incorporated into garden concerts. McVeigh suggests a possible ‘concern for tradition and acoustics’,¹⁴ though the installation of organs in the late 1730s provided a partial solution to the latter. A degree of conservatism on the part of composers and/or the musical establishment and the popularity of instrumental music may have led promoters to believe that there was no

¹⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 39.

need for immediate change, other than on special occasions.

The mid-1740s saw the introduction of vocal music to the London pleasure gardens. 1742 has been suggested for Ranelagh, but this may merely coincide with the performance of Thomas Gladwin's 'Green-Wood Hall'. This song praises Vauxhall, but a closer reading of the text suggests that the pursuits of those gardens' patrons might be less than acceptable, implying that Ranelagh does not condone such activities – clearly a marketing ploy.¹⁵ Sands states that vocal music was introduced into concerts at Marylebone in 1744, but does not give the source of her information; however, given the competition between venues this seems possible.¹⁶ Brewer notes a concert at Cuper's Gardens in 1741 which included songs by Arne from the recent Drury Lane production of *As you like it*: these, however, were songs already in circulation.¹⁷

Any dispute over the introduction of vocal music to the gardens is of small account when its effect on the development of the concert song is assessed. These venues promoted vocal music in their concerts, subsequently published with their audiences in mind. However, the idea of music for mass consumption did not have a universal appeal; some objected, feeling that this approach would lead to the degrading of music. Avison, in his *Essay on Musical Expression* (1752) wrote:

would modern composers condescend to repair to these Fountains of Knowledge [Air, Harmony, and Expression] the public Ear would neither be offended or misled by those shallow and unconnected compositions, which have of late so much abounded, especially those insipid Efforts, that are daily made to set to Music that Flood of Nonsense which is let in, and which, in the Manner they are conducted, cannot possibly prove of any Advantage to Music. Trifling Essays in Poetry must depress, instead of raising the Geniuses of the Composer; who vainly attempts, instead of giving Aid to Sense (Music's noble Prerogative) to harmonise Nonsense and make Dullness pleasing.¹⁸

This intemperate rant clearly has more to do with Avison's taste than with an attempt to paint an accurate picture of the state of English song. Also, the *Essay* was

¹⁵ See Aspden, 'Opera and Nationalism in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain', p. 264 for further discussion of this topic.

¹⁶ Sands, *The Eighteenth-Century Pleasure Gardens of Marylebone*, p.17.

¹⁷ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 378-379. The source of his information is not given, but has been traced to the *London Daily Post*, 17 July 1741.

¹⁸ Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London: Printed for C. Davis, 1752), facs edn., *Aesthetics and Music in the Eighteenth Century 3* (Bristol: Thoemmes Publications, 2003), pp.70-71.

written less than ten years after the introduction of vocal music to the gardens, therefore it is uncertain how objective Avison could really be.¹⁹ It is also noteworthy that Avison subscribed to the song collections of Alcock, Chilcot, Hawdon and Jasper Clarke: of these the first two were published before 1745, the others were written by musical colleagues in the north-east. However, it is not surprising that his remarks about the poetry have been seized on in more recent times to support criticism of the concert song.

Cantatas in the 1740s

In 1742 Hawkins wrote in his preface to Stanley's *Six Cantatas*, for which he provided the texts:

as they are calculated rather to entertain the Fancy than improve the Understanding, there may not be found that Justness in the Sentiments, nor that Elegance of Thought, or Propriety of Expression, which are requisite in works compos'd with a more serious view;²⁰

Hawkins appears to have intended his texts, and Stanley's settings, to be entertainment, rather than an intellectual exercise. His target audience seems to have been the cultured elite, implying that the cantata was still seen as chamber music, despite three decades of inclusion in concerts.

However, the title of Stanley's cantatas, 'for a Voice and Instruments', recognises the place of instruments in the accompanying ensemble, their role being more integral. Through these collections it is possible to assess perceptions of the cantata in the middle of the eighteenth century, and whether they changed with greater inclusion in concerts.

Chalmers' assertion that Stanley's cantatas were performed at the London pleasure gardens cannot be substantiated with regard to the 1742 collection.²¹ The thin textures, along with sparing instrumentation (sometimes continuo alone), also call this statement

¹⁹ Avison is known to have disliked modern music. William Hayes, in his *Remarks* (1753) accused Avison of the bias of a professional, rather than the measured approach of a gentleman amateur. See Roz Southey, *Music-making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006), pp. 38 & 84.

²⁰ Hawkins, Preface to John Stanley, *Six Cantatas for a Voice and Instruments* (London, 1742), p. ii. Also cited in Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 196 and more fully in Tony Frost, 'The Cantatas of John Stanley (1713-86)', *ML* 53 (1972), p. 286.

²¹ Alexander Chalmers, *The General Biographical Dictionary*, new edn., 32 vols. (London: J. Nichols and Son, 1812-17), xvii, p.246. Also cited in Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 201.

into question. However, ‘Whilst others barter Ease for State’ (No 4), has two horns in the second aria, which suggests a concert setting, and this cantata may be the first secular English vocal work to use two horns since *The Choice of Hercules* (c.1730). The horn writing is melodic, using the higher notes of the instruments’ range, but the texture is more in the three-part *galant* style, unison violins supporting the first horn.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a three-part instrumental setting. The first system features three staves: Horn (Hn), Violin (VI), and Bassoon (Basso). The Horn part is in the treble clef, the Violin in the treble clef, and the Bassoon in the bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 6/8. The first system contains six measures. The second system contains one measure. The third system contains five measures. Fingering numbers are provided for the Bassoon part: 6, 4, 3, 7, 6, 6 in the first system; 6 in the second system; and 6, 6, 6, 4, 3 in the third system.

Ex. 3.2: Stanley, *Cantata IV* (1742), second aria, bars 1-12.
Royal College of Music, D1317/1 (3), No. 4.

A clearer association with concert performance appears in Stanley’s 1748 cantatas, especially in the use of the *stromentato* recitative.²² In ‘Aloft and near her highest Noon’ (No. 2), the accompaniment appears to be divided into two groups, with a harpsichord in each. Although this practice was most commonly associated with Italian opera, it is also possible that Stanley may have had the *concerto grosso* in mind, as the scoring suggests the contemporary practice of professionals and amateurs performing different parts. The viola part is more independent here than in many contemporary works, rather than merely

²² See Williams, ‘The Life and Works of John Stanley’, pp. 159 & 163.

doubling the bass line or being a harmonic filler: this may also suggest the inclusion of amateurs in performance.

Stanley's cantatas have a variety of structures, some having up to six separate sections, supporting Frost's assertion that they show a transition towards a more 'English' style, 'which surely gives the lie to the once popular opinion...that all English music of the period was but a pale imitation of Handel'.²³ When the scoring of the 1748 collection is taken into consideration there is evidence of the cantata becoming absorbed into the wider concert song genre.

Hayes' comments on his *Ariettes* hint at concert performance,²⁴ thus his 1748 cantatas may have been conceived for concerts. However, there is still evidence of the chamber music concept: 'While I listen to thy Voice' (No 3) is scored for two bass instruments, each with a separately figured continuo part, without any melodic instrument. As with the Stanley example above, it is possible to envisage these parts as the *concertante* and *ripieno* groups of a *concerto grosso*: both therefore show the influence of instrumental genres on vocal music.

The image displays a musical score for the cantata 'While I listen to thy Voice' (No. 3) by Thomas Hayes, from his 1748 collection. The score is presented in two systems. The first system features a vocal line for the Voice (treble clef) and a keyboard part for Violoncello e Cembalo (bass clef). The second system features a keyboard part for Cembalo e Contra Basso (bass clef) and a vocal line for the Voice (treble clef). The music is in G minor and 3/4 time. The keyboard parts include figured bass notation, and the cello part includes trills. The lyrics 'While I' are written above the second system's vocal line.

Ex. 3.3: Hayes, 'While I listen to thy Voice' (*Cantata III* - 1748). British Library, G.224.a, No. 3. Instrumental markings are original.

²³ Frost, 'The Cantatas of John Stanley', p. 289.

²⁴ See p. 153.

Hayes's fullest scoring occurs in *An Ode to Echo* (No 6). The first recitative has two 'Piccolo Flutes' in bars 7-8,²⁵ making the echo effect more ethereal; an ordinary flute joins the strings in the other arias. Boyd notes the independence of the harpsichord part from the bass line, a practice dating back to 'Vo' fa guerra' in Handel's *Rinaldo*,²⁶ and though his comment that it is 'raised to the status of a soloist on equal terms with the singer, sharing in a texture which at times adumbrates that of a Mozart keyboard concerto' is perhaps excessive, it underlines the increasing importance placed on the instrumental accompaniment. This cantata integrates the voice and instruments more than in earlier works with similar forces, being a form of *concerto grosso* for voice and instruments

The cantatas of Stanley and Hayes reveal a variety of perceptions of the secular cantata in the middle of the eighteenth century. Although Pepusch had provided a model for cantata scoring over thirty years earlier, this had not been universally adopted. Williams notes that scoring varied considerably,²⁷ and even by the end of the 1740s, there were several scoring models that could be employed:

- 1) Continuo only, though possibly with a melodic bass, after Bononcini.
- 2) Continuo and one melodic instrument. This instrument mainly doubles the voice, but has additional melodic material in the ritornelli.
- 3) Two melodic instruments and continuo. There are more ritornelli, but there is little overlapping of parts, which tend to be homophonic, in the *galant* style.
- 4) Four-part strings, but with sections of three-part texture
- 5) Strings with one or two wind instruments, usually flutes but occasionally oboes. The parts usually double the violins, but with some independent passages.
- 6) Strings with horns (rare). The string parts are often reduced to unison violins

²⁵ See p. 68 for a definition of the term 'Piccolo Flute'.

²⁶ Boyd, 'English Secular Cantatas in the Eighteenth Century', p. 94. Also cited in Heighes, *The Lives and Works of William and Philip Hayes*, p. 126.

²⁷ Williams, 'The Life and Works of John Stanley', p. 164.

to compensate for the thickened texture.

Although the use of instruments in the cantata had increased, and a fragmented form of orchestral accompaniment can be seen in the above works, it was not until Arne's *Six Cantatas* (1754-5) that a 'true' orchestral accompaniment was given to the cantata. Also, these collections are among the last publications devoted exclusively to the cantata. From 1750 cantatas were published in more diverse collections, and limited to one or two alongside several ballad-style songs. Stanley's 1751 collection, comprising three cantatas and three *da capo* arias, is, as Williams suggests, a sign that taste was turning against works containing recitative.²⁸ Henceforward the cantata would be seen as part of a greater whole, rather than an entity in itself.

Song Collections of the early 1740s

Although the Licensing Act could be firmly enforced in London, the authorities in provincial centres may have taken a more liberal approach, turning a blind eye to entertainments they themselves enjoyed.²⁹ This tolerance may account for provincial composers publishing concert songs before their London counterparts, creating a greater equilibrium between provincial and metropolitan concert song publications between 1740 and 1762 that was not subsequently equalled.

One of the first song collections with instrumental accompaniment intended for concert performance was by James Corfe, who in 1743 produced *Twelve English Songs with their Symphonies*.³⁰ Corfe was, by the 1740s, an established London singer and had been a soloist in Handel's *L'Allegro*.³¹ However, Corfe's family was based in Salisbury, and it is possible that his songs would have been sent there for performance at the Music

²⁸ See *Ibid.*, p. 154.

²⁹ See Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 119.

³⁰ James Corfe, *Twelve English Songs with their Symphonies* (London, 1743).

³¹ The preface to Chrysander's edition of *L'Allegro* notes 'Corfe' alongside John Beard as one of the tenors in the early performances, their names taken from notes in Handel's MSS. See Handel, *L'Allegro, Il Penseroso ed Il Moderato*, ed. Friedrich Chrysander, *The Works of George Frideric Handel* 6 (Leipzig: Printed for the German Handel Society, 1859; Republished Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press Inc., 1965), p. 2.

Club, other members of the family promoting this collection.³²

The influence of opera is apparent in the songs, the lengths of the ritornelli being often over twelve bars in the introductions and six bars in the codas, thus making them closer to operatic arias than to English theatre songs. However, only ‘The Female Rake’ (No 9), from *Bickerstaffe’s Unburied Dead* (1743), is actually from a dramatic work, although other songs may have been used in the theatre. The scoring of the songs, ‘for the violin, German Flute and Harpsichord,’ makes them suited to concert performance, even with minimal instrumentation, although the short score may have omitted the inner string parts.³³

Some of Corfe’s song texts depict Classical/Arcadian scenes, but others focus on contemporary rural life. The use of ‘English’ and ‘British’ in this collection suggests a move towards a national art-song style, reflected in the songs’ strophic and binary structures. Florid writing is also rejected in favour of a clearer, more straightforward manner of delivery. This ‘English’ vocal style was becoming increasingly popular, even in Handel’s works, thus it is not surprising that Corfe may have used Handel as a model for his collection.

In the same year William Flackton of Canterbury brought out his first collection of solo songs, containing two cantatas, five strophic or strophic binary songs and one two-section song. Originally published in Canterbury, where Flackton was a printer, the collection was advertised for sale at five shillings, making it expensive for its time.³⁴ Of these the first, a cantata entitled *The Chace* (from which the title of the collection is taken), is set out in full score, for horn, two violins, viola and basso. Flackton’s brother,

³² See Betty Matthews, ‘Handel and the Corfes’, *MT* 112 (1971), pp. 231-232. See also Burrows & Dunhill (eds.), *Music and Theatre in Handel’s World*, pp. xxxi & 168 and Brian Robins, ‘Eighteenth-Century Catch Clubs in Salisbury and Southern England’, *The Hatcher Review* 49 (2000), 34-48 for references to the Corfe family and musical life in eighteenth-century Salisbury.

³³ See *Daily Advertiser*, 27 September 1743.

³⁴ The collection was advertised for sale on 27 July 1743, according to a handwritten note on a newspaper cutting in the Flackton papers (GB-CA Add. MS 30 (29)). The paper has been identified as the *Kentish Post*, no. 2683 (23-27 July 1743).

John (1715-65), is reputed to have been the horn soloist, and the technical requirements of the part show him to have been a proficient player.

The Chace may, in fact, be the first solo cantata for which there is a clear association with a public concert, having probably received its first performance through Canterbury's Musical Society.³⁵ Among the Flackton papers is a poem by a Mrs Young dedicated 'To Mr Flackton on hearing his Chace Perform'd at the Canterbury Concert'.³⁶ Although somewhat obsequious, it is also encouraging, especially in the last verse:

Go on my Friend nor heed the Critics' sneer
Sure of Applause from all the chaste and fair
For every Venus shall the Love Notes Grace
And each Diana patronise *The Chace*³⁷

Possible influences on the cantata's style can be found in 'Mirth admit me' from Handel's *L'Allegro*, and possibly in Galliard's 'With Early Horn'.³⁸ All three works have the same scoring, but the style shows a different approach in each case. Flackton's cantata reflects the development of the *galant*: the accompaniment is often reduced to three parts, the viola being marked 'col basso' or simply adding harmony notes. However, the music is a mixture of two- three- and four-part writing and antiphonal and full textures, which ultimately makes it less cohesive than its antecedents. Despite these weaknesses, the cantata is a good example of the evolution of orchestral accompaniment at this time.

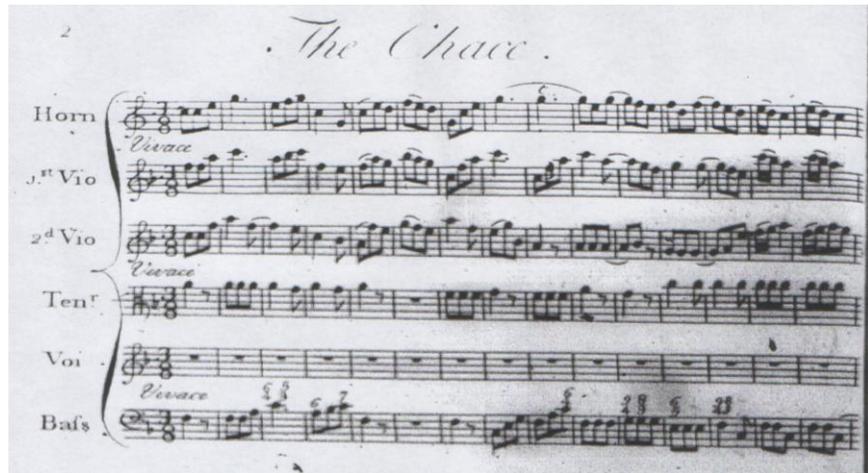
Another song in the collection, 'The Rover Reclaim'd' (No 4), uses an 'octave flute' with unison violins and continuo. The text describes a sequence of love, betrayal and reconciliation; here the 'flute' is used to depict the flighty nature of the lover.

³⁵ Although the first reference to organised musical activities in Canterbury appears in the *Kentish Post*, 27 November-1 December 1725, it is almost certain that concerts date back to at least the beginning of the century. The music to Purcell's *Dioclesian* (1691) and two sets of Finger's sonatas (1688 & 1690) are among the collection owned by the Cathedral Minor Canon William Gostling (1696 - 1777), suggesting an even earlier date. See Robert Ford, 'Minor Canons at Canterbury Cathedral: The Gostlings and their Colleagues', (Unpublished PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1984), pp. 445 & 935-44.

³⁶ See GB-CA Add. MS 30 (27) and Luke Agati, 'William Flackton (1709-1798) Organist of Faversham Parish Church 1735-1752: The Life and Times of a Canterbury Musician', *About Faversham* 79 (2002), whole volume. Pp. 10-12 refer to *The Chace* and to Flackton's other songs. Flackton's later cantata, *Elegy for Elizabeth Young* (1747), may have been a later response to this gesture of admiration, though the title suggests a very different mood and setting.

³⁷ GB-CA Add. MS 30 (27).

³⁸ See pp. 150-151.



Ex 3.4: Flackton 'Now my brave youth' (*The Chace*), bars 1-15.
 © The British Library Board, H.1650.c. (2.), p. 2.

Although this song and the cantata are the only pieces to use wind instruments, they show Flackton capable of exploiting the resources at his disposal.

Also in 1743, John Alcock, then organist of St Laurence's Church in Reading, published *Twelve English Songs*. This collection is noteworthy for a subscription list containing 355 names, from all over England and even from Dublin. Most of the contents appear to have been written for this collection, though one, 'Love and Harmony' was originally published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Volume 10 (1740), as 'Almeria's Face'.³⁹ The last two songs come from Alcock's opera *Rosamond*, completed in c. 1732, and are two of only three surviving items from this work.

The songs in this collection have neither ritornelli nor instrumental indications, but would almost certainly have had some form of introduction for melodic instrument and continuo in performance. Apart from the *Rosamond* arias the songs are mostly strophic. Marr observes that the notation was very deliberate, and, to an extent, 'destroys the spontaneity of a style forthright and direct at its best',⁴⁰ but this is a minor failing on Alcock's part, and suggests that he was trying to be too sophisticated, perhaps searching for a blend of styles similar to that of Arne.

³⁹ See Peter Marr, 'The Life and Works of John Alcock (1715-1806), 3 vols., (Unpublished PhD diss., University of Reading, 1978), ii, p. 34.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

In 1744, *Twelve English Songs with their Symphonies*, by Thomas Chilcot, organist of Bath Abbey, was published by Johnson. These are mainly settings of songs from Shakespeare's plays, but there are also texts by Marlow, Anacreon and Euripides, showing Chilcot to have a considerable literary knowledge, as well as being able to capitalise on the current fashion for Shakespeare.

Although most of the songs are scored for strings, mainly in three parts, Chilcot adds wind instruments in the last three songs: two flutes in 'Wedding is great Juno's Crown' (No 10), an obbligato flute in 'Orpheus with his Lute' (No 11) and two oboes, two trumpets and timpani in 'The Choir Awake' (No 12). The latter is distinctly Handelian, possibly imitating 'Let the bright Seraphim' from *Samson*. Handel's name appears in the subscription list, something rare for Handel, thus this item may be a form of homage to him.⁴¹ This scoring is certainly rare in the early history of the concert song, thus it is disappointing that Chilcot does not appear to have composed any other songs as he might have become a significant figure in the development of the genre.

The string writing in many of the songs is typical of the first phase of the *galant* style, the violins often being in unison and the viola providing the inner harmony. However, the viola part is essential in these accompaniments, often, as in 'Hark, hark the Lark' (No 3), being the second part. Where a four-part texture is used, it is to good effect; the blackness of the scene in 'Pardon Goddess of the Night', where the words 'Graves yawn and yield your dead' are accompanied by repeated semiquavers, is a device Rishton describes as 'imaginative'.⁴² This description fits many of the songs, which contain a wide variety of mood-setting, from the serious to the abandon of a drinking session ('Friends of Play and Mirth and Wine' – No 8) in which the strings have a dialogue of 'laughter' with the bass voice.⁴³

⁴¹ Handel's name is also present in Gunn's collection (1736). Young suggests a *quid pro quo* in that case, thus there may have been a similar situation with Chilcot. See Young, 'The First Hundred Years', pp. 11-12.

⁴² Tim Rishton, 'Chilcot, Thomas', *The New Grove*, v, p. 607.

⁴³ See James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath', p. 93 for further reference to these songs.

These four collections were composed by men who lived and worked in provincial centres for part of their lives: Salisbury, Reading, Canterbury and Bath. These cities all had an established musical culture by the 1740s, which may have encouraged the promotion of new works by local composers. The Salisbury-Bath connection is easily understood, as musicians from Salisbury are known to have performed in concerts at Bath on a number of occasions.⁴⁴ Corfe may have introduced Chilcot to Handel, as Handel's subscribing to Chilcot's songs suggests some form of acquaintance.

Alcock was initially a London composer who later became a provincial organist, but was also a friend of Pepusch, Stanley and Hayes. Canterbury's location on the route from London to Dover meant good communication between the two cities, enabling Flackton to become acquainted with London musicians. He is known to have been in correspondence with John Travers (c.1703-58), Organist to the Chapel Royal, and Travers encouraged Flackton to publish his 1747 collection of songs, describing them in a letter as 'worthy of the attention of the public'.⁴⁵

London: i) Arne

Songs appear to have been introduced to all the gardens over a relatively short period of time, possibly because of the rivalry between proprietors wishing to attract audiences to their own establishments and away from others. This competition may have been both intense and acrimonious. Its culmination was the appointment of Arne as Musical Director at Vauxhall in 1745, a move that demonstrates the acumen of Jonathan Tyers as Arne had shown himself a capable song composer with the Shakespeare songs performed at Drury Lane. His appointment not only helped to place Vauxhall firmly at the forefront of pleasure garden music-making, but gave him the opportunity to experiment with scoring and style in his songs.

⁴⁴ See Gwilym Beechey, 'Thomas Chilcot and His Music', *ML* 54 (1973), 179-196 & Chevall, 'Music Societies and Musical Life', p. 141 for examples.

⁴⁵ GB-CA Add. MS 30 (1) & Agati, 'William Flackton', p. 11. Travers' letter is dated 21 August, 1746.

At Vauxhall, Arne responded to the challenges of his position by providing the first substantial collection of vocal music specifically associated with the gardens. *Lyric Harmony*, Volume I was advertised for sale on 8 July 1745, but not published until September, publication possibly being delayed to avoid plagiarism by other composers or piracy by other publishers. The term ‘ballads’ on the title page recognises the provenances of the songs, and associates the music with the native tradition. The singers were the soprano Cecilia Arne (the composer’s wife) and the tenor Thomas Lowe. This specificity of information concerning singer and venue was to be a feature of the published collections of songs throughout the century.

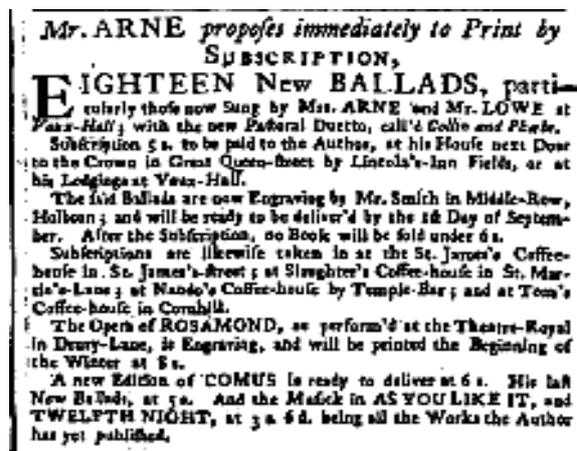


Fig. 3.1: Advertisement for *Lyric Harmony Vol. I*, *General Advertiser*, 8 July 1745.
<http://ofind.galegroup.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk> Gale Document Number Z2000414127
 (Accessed 16 December 2009).

This collection contains seventeen solo songs and one ‘pastoral dialogue’, ‘Colin and Phæbe’ (No 18), the only piece to employ wind instruments: two oboes and, by implication, a bassoon.⁴⁶ Farish, Borschel and Hogwood have all commented on the songs’ structure in this collection in some detail but Farish’s and Hogwood’s descriptions, ‘according to a stereotyped fashion’ (Farish),⁴⁷ and ‘of a conventional cast’ and with ‘very

⁴⁶ Only four texts in this collection have an author attribution, and only ‘The Dumps’ (no. 16), an original attribution, an adaptation of one of John Gay’s *Pastorals*. The others are ‘The Invitation’ (no. 2), and ‘The Complaint’ (no. 4), with words by Lockman and James Miller respectively. The words to ‘Colin and Phæbe’ are by Edward Moore. See T.A. Arne, *Lyric Harmony*, introduction by Christopher Hogwood, MLE F2 (Tunbridge Wells: Macnutt, 1985), p. xiii.

⁴⁷ Farish, ‘The Vauxhall Songs of Thomas Augustine Arne’, p. 37.

little opportunity for characterization [by the singers]' (Hogwood),⁴⁸ imply that the texts and their settings are uninspiring. Hogwood's comments on Volume II lean towards making Volume I the poor cousin of its successor.⁴⁹ However, the music is stronger than these criticisms imply. The songs are not so much a stereotype but a formula or prototype, at least as far as Vauxhall is concerned; a generic prototype can be traced back to *Comus* through the Shakespeare songs. If the stereotype concept is valid, it is because Arne and other composers copied and reused it many times, the repetition creating the stereotype.

Many of Farish's characteristics are in evidence:⁵⁰ all the songs are strophic, all have ritornelli and the texts are about love, in some form. However, only six songs adhere strictly to the binary model: of the others two have multi-section structures (one being a cantata in all but name), and the remainder are only binary in the sense that the music moves to a related key then returns to the tonic – there are no mid-point repeat marks. Eight songs have triple meter, and fourteen are in a major key; of those in minor keys three conclude in a major key. In short, there are too many subtle variations of ritornelli, meter, and tonality for Farish's argument to stand.

Farish's stereotype can be challenged in 'The Kind Inconstant' (No 1), here in its three-part form. The song is in a major key and triple meter (resembling a minuet), and sets love poetry. The structure, however, does not conform to any notion of stereotype, being through-composed and with its melodic segments moved around and varied in a subtle manner (see Ex. 3.3 and Table 3.2), thus a work with greater complexity than any 'stereotypical' composition might contain. Although a possible reworking of a previous version,⁵¹ both this song and the others in the collection suggest that Tyers and Arne were seeking something that would set Vauxhall's songs apart from those of its rivals. The marketing tactics in 'Green-Wood Hall' would have merited a reply; a hidden message

⁴⁸ T.A. Arne, *Lyric Harmony*, p. x.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. x-xi.

⁵⁰ See p. 24 for Farish's defining characteristics.

⁵¹ See pp. 60-62 for a comparison of both versions.

Table 3.1: Tonality and Form in *Lyric Harmony, Volume I*

<u>Song Number</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Structure</u>
1)	The Kind Inconstant	A	Through-composed Binary
2)	The Invitation	G	Strophic Binary 3vv
3)	The Charms of Isabel	D	Strophic 3vv
4)	The Complaint	B \flat	Strophic Binary 3vv
5)	The Rover reclaim'd	F	Strophic Binary 3vv
6)	Philosophy no remedy for Love		
7)	Colin's Invitation	A	Strophic Binary 3vv
8)	The Generous Distress'd	e	Strophic 4vv
9)	Kindness and a Graceful Air preferred to Beauty	E	Strophic Binary 3vv
10)	Cloe Generous as Fair	D	Strophic Binary 2vv
11)	The Lovesick Invocation	g-B \flat	Cantata R-A (Aria 3vv)
12)	The Fond Appeal	E	Strophic 3vv
13)	To a Lady...	e-G	Arioso (3vv) –Aria
14)	The Complaint	g-G	Arioso – Binary Aria
15)	The Contest between Love and Glory	D	Strophic 4vv
16)	The Dunps	E \flat	Strophic 4vv
17)	The Happy Bride	D	Three-section with repeats
18)	Colin and Phæbe: a Pastoral	C	Strophic (9vv) & Chorus

might therefore be that Vauxhall's songs were superior and did not need to use their texts for advertising.

Several features of the *galant* style can be seen in 'The Kind Inconstant'. The melody moves mainly by step, though the first note is unexpectedly an e", rather than a', though effective. The frequent use of the appoggiatura heightens the charm of the melody, as does the use of sequence in segments a3, b2 and b4; in the first the motif is repeated and then inverted in a4. The chromatic a sharp and d sharp in a2 are unexpected, but highlight the 'falling tear' most effectively. The harmony, based on the I-IV-V-I progression, is a series of variations on the *cadence galant*, though with some added chromaticism.

A song that contradicts Hogwood's assertion about lack of characterisation is 'To a Lady' (No 13). The key of E minor denotes the anguish felt by the suitor, emphasised by the use of common time and a bass line of unbroken crotchets. After the first verse the music changes into the relative major and 3_8 . This contrast suggests a time of mutual love,

A Section Bars 22-29 a1 a2

Why Clo - e still these jea - lous Heats and why that fall - ing Tear

Bars 32-41 a3

The Heart that to a thou - sand beats to one may -

a4

be sin - cere, to one may be sin - cere

B Section Bars 44-65 b1 b2

To swee - ten Au - tumn's mild - er Reign The sul - try Sum - mer glows, the

a1 (b3)

sul - try Sum - mer glows and chil - ling Dews and

a2'

beat - ing Rain give fresh - ness to the Rose, give fresh - ness

b4

to the Rose, to the Rose.

Ex. 3.5: Arne: 'The Kind Inconstant', Melodic themes

Table 3.2: Thematic Structure of 'The Kind Inconstant'

Introduction	Verse 1	'Interlude'	Verse 2	Coda
Bars 1-4: a ¹ (23-26)	23-6: a ¹	65-67: a ²	74-77: a ¹	119-121: a ²
5-6: a ¹	27-9: a ²	68-69: x ¹	78-80: a ²	121-122: x ¹
7-9: a ² , bass line 8ve lower	30-32: a ²	70-73: b ⁴	81-83: a ²	123-126: b ⁴
10-12: a ²	33-38: a ³		84-92: a ³	
13-16: b ¹ (45-48)	38-41: a ⁴		93-95: a ⁴	
17-18: decoration (x)	41-44: a ⁴		96-99: b ¹	
19-22: b ⁴ (62-65)	45-48: b ¹		100-105: b ²	
	49-54: b ²		106-107: decoration (y)	
	55-61: a ¹ (b ³)		108-109: b ³	
	61-64: b ⁴		101-111: b ³	
			112-114: b ³	
			115-118: b ⁴	

though this may well be a delusion on the man's part. Arne makes effective use of

fioratura at two points, to paint the words 'flow'd' and 'fires'; here the music draws on

operatic display, another example of synthesis in Arne's style. The last two verses repeat

the music of the first section. This, in terms of structure and dramatic content, is the judicious setting of an indifferent text to considerable dramatic effect.

Subtle variation is not limited to structure: ritornelli and scoring also invalidate any notion of stereotype. Arne makes careful use of the violins (and viola, where present), sometimes merging the two upper parts into one, sometimes dividing them. The ritornelli vary considerably in length; while some conform to the regular pattern of two- or four-bar phrases, others are of varying lengths (see Table 3.3). In bars 36-41 of ‘The Complaint’ (No 4), both violin parts imitate warbling birds in three-bar phrases (see Ex. 3.5). Another notable use of the orchestra is in ‘The Generous Distress’d’ (No 8), where the second violin part has a series of repeated semiquavers under the melody. The first violin doubles the vocal line, thus maintaining the three-part texture, but with a certain amount of decoration. Both examples reveal a highly creative talent at work.

Table 3.3: Ritornelli and Scoring in *Lyric Harmony*, Volume 1

<u>Song No</u>	<u>Introduction (bars)</u>	<u>Interlude(s) (bars)</u>	<u>Coda (bars)</u>	<u>Scoring</u>
1)	22	3, 8, 3, 3	8	2Vn, Basso
2)	19	4	4	Vn (unis), Basso
3)	10	-	2	2Vn, Basso
4)	12	3	3	2Vn, Basso
5)	10	2	4	2Vn, Basso
6)	15	-	4	Vn (unis), Basso
7)	12	2	2	Vn (unis), Basso
8)	10	-	2	2Vn, Basso
9)	13	4	4	2Vn, Basso
10)	12	-	4	2Vn, Basso
11)	16 ^a	4 ^b	4	2Vn, Basso
12)	12	-	4	2Vn, Va, Basso
13)	11	2, 2	4	2Vn, Basso
14)	8	1 (2) ^c	2 (2)	2Vn, Basso
15)	4	-	1	2Vn, Basso
16)	16	2	4	Vn (unis), Basso
17)	8	3, 2, 4	8	2Vn, Va, Basso
18)	16	2	2	2Ob, 2Vn, Va, Basso ^d

- a) No introduction to B section
- b) A section only
- c) Figures in brackets refer to B section
- d) Oboe & Viola only notated in chorus section

VI 1 & 2
 Voice
 Basso

p

Ye Warblers come raise your sweet Throats no
 lon-ger in sil-ence re-main, no

7 6

Ex. 3.6: Arne: 'The Complaint', bars 36-41.

VI 1 & 2
 Voice
 Basso

Think not of my Dis-tress nor me Think not of my Dis-tress nor me.

4# 6 6# # 6# 6 # 6 6 5
 2 4 #

Ex. 3.7: Arne: 'The Generous Distress'd', bars 26-29.

Thus the concept of stereotype has to be dismissed in favour of an innovative approach by Arne. Strophic form was common, sometimes even in arias,⁵² but in many cases it simply mirrors the poetic structure. The use of binary form is by no means universal, and a closer examination of the music reveals a subtle use of interchangeable motifs, with variations. The addition of ritornelli was part of the transition from ballad to art song, but a more gradual process than Farish suggests. Although many English concert songs are in major keys, the dramatic possibilities of minor keys are also explored. One example is 'The Generous Distress'd', a 'fate' song in E minor in which the intense

⁵² Arias and rondos tended to use rhyming couplets, though with many variant forms. See Marita P. McClymonds, 'Aria §4 (i): 18th century', *The New Grove*, i, pp. 890-894, especially the table on p. 891.

emotion is underscored by the repeated semiquavers in the strings.⁵³ The iambic rhythm of triple meter can be related to the minuet, but duple and quadruple meters are used, reflecting other dance forms. Love is the most common textual theme, but this is so frequent in songs that no especial weight can be given here. Also, many song texts combined love with topical issues such as patriotism, social comment and the pleasure of rural life, also hinting at the sexual abandonment often taking place at the gardens.⁵⁴

Volume II of *Lyric Harmony* contains a greater variety of texts, though not all the songs were written for Vauxhall, notably ‘Ariel’s Song’. Nearly all of the authors are either named or have been subsequently identified.⁵⁵ As well as the contemporary figures Lord Lansdown, Ambrose Philips and William Shenstone, Shakespeare and Jonson are included and one poem is ‘Modernized from Chaucer’ (‘The Caution’ (No 6)).

Only five songs adhere to the binary model and only eight use triple meter, two in one section only. The love theme is still prevalent, but contemporary humour is injected, not only in the Chaucer adaptation (a warning to young ladies of the dangers of men), but also in the poem, ‘Written by a Gentleman of Cambridge, On a young Lady, who was so closely watch’d by an Aunt, her Guardian, that he cou’d never get an Opportunity to address her’ (No 16). Arne uses these texts to demonstrate that the situations of his own time were not far removed from those of the past: this may be a subtle form of social comment on his part.

Arne produced many collections of songs, the last being *The Syren* (1777). Borschel lists nine collections known to be connected to Vauxhall,⁵⁶ but many other volumes of songs and anthologies dated between 1745 and 1762 survive: those containing mainly concert music are given in Table 3.4. The absence of *No 2, A Favourite Collection* suggests that at least one further collection was published. The volumes’ numbers are of

⁵³ See Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 147, for further discussion of this use of tonality.

⁵⁴ See Rothstein, *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, p.43.

⁵⁵ See MLE F2, pp. xiii-xiv for a list of attributions.

⁵⁶ Borschel, ‘Development of English Song’, p. 32.

interest, Walsh's catalogue only referring to the Vauxhall collections *Vocal Melody* and *The Agreeable Musical Choice*. The two *Favourite Collections* (1757-8) are omitted, possibly because these songs were performed at Ranelagh.⁵⁷

Table 3.4: Arne's Song Collections 1745-62

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of Songs</u>	<u>Walsh's Numbering</u>
<i>Lyric Harmony</i> , Vol. 1	1745, repr. 1746	18	-
<i>Lyric Harmony</i> , Vol. 2	1746, repr. 1748	18	-
<i>Vocal Melody</i> , Vol. 1	1749	9	[I] ^f
<i>Vocal Melody</i> , Vol. 2	1750	9	[II]
<i>Vocal Melody</i> , Vol. 3	1751	7	[III]
<i>Vocal Melody</i> , Vol. 4	1752	8	[IV]
<i>The Agreeable Musical Choice</i> , Vol. 1	1753	8	V
<i>The Agreeable Musical Choice</i> , Vol. 2	1754	8	VI
<i>The Agreeable Musical Choice</i> , Vol. 3	1756	8	VII
<i>The Agreeable Musical Choice</i> , Vol. 4	1758	7/8 ^a	VIII
<i>The Agreeable Musical Choice</i> , Vol. 5	1760	8	IX
<i>Six Cantatas</i>	1755	6 ^b	-
No 1, <i>A Favourite Collection of English Songs</i>	1757	6	-
No 3, <i>A Favourite Collection of English Songs</i>	1758	6	-
<i>The Monthly Melody</i>	1760	27 ^c	-
<i>British Melody</i>	1760	5	XI
<i>A Choice Collection of Songs</i>	1761	4	XII
<i>The Winter's Amusement</i>	1761	13 ^d	-
<i>British Amusement</i>	1762	11 ^e	-

- a) Although Song No 5 is structured as a cantata (R-A-R-A) the British Library copy (G.321. (9.)) has 'Sung by Miss Young [in *Isabella*]' inserted in pencil at the head of the second aria, implying that this aria could have been performed separately at another location and time.
- b) The cantatas were originally published in pairs in 1754-5 before being assembled as a set.
- c) There are 28 items in the collection in total, No 11 being a *Duetto for two German Flutes*.
- d) This collection appears to have been reprinted as *A Collection...* (the rest of the title being the same) in c.1765. See Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 163.
- e) With the exception of the first item, all the songs are in *The Monthly Melody*.
- f) Although the *Vocal Melody* collections are numbered I-IV there is no indication of this being the beginnings of a larger series of Arne's songs until Vol. I of *The Agreeable Musical Choice*.

The four volumes of *Vocal Melody* and the five of *The Agreeable Musical Choice* form the bulk of Arne's songs between 1746 and 1760. Some songs are from theatre works, but most were written for Vauxhall. Their scoring is typical of this period, being mainly for three-part strings, though Arne occasionally adds an obbligato oboe or flute part. The exceptions are the choruses to Volume IV of *Vocal Melody*, 'Would you in her Love be blest' (No 1), from *The Oracle* (1752), and 'Harvest Home' (No 5), from

⁵⁷ See John A. Parkinson, *An Index to the Vocal Works of Thomas Augustine Arne and Michael Arne*, Detroit Studies in Musical Biography 21 (Detroit: Information Coordinators Inc., 1972), pp. 13-15 for further information.

Harlequin Sorcerer (1752): the first chorus adds oboes, horns, trumpets and timpani; the second oboes and horns. The inclusion of theatre music into ‘gardens’ collections in the 1750s (the practice declined after 1760) may have reinforced the ‘theatrical’ or illusory element to the gardens. The practice may also have been a convenient way of promoting Arne’s wider output, the combining of music from the theatres and the gardens increasing the publications’ appeal, thus benefitting both composer and publisher.

Arne introduced horns into the aria ‘Jealousy with Reason’ in Volume II of *Vocal Melody*, with his idiosyncratic use of the mezzo soprano clef to determine the key. Although the song is in short score, and can therefore only provide limited evidence of the part-writing, it appears that Arne was using horns in a harmonic and textural role some years before the Mannheim symphonies came to England, thus showing him to be at least abreast, if not ahead, of orchestral development on the continent.

However, with the exception of horn writing, these collections offer little insight into Arne’s musical development. Herbage asserts that the 1750s was a period when he ‘submitted to the comparative drudgery of mass-producing musical entertainment for the theatres and pleasure gardens’,⁵⁸ but mass-production may have guaranteed Arne some income while he was seeking to develop his musical style. His sometimes awkward financial situation, especially following the rift from his wife, meant that producing songs with a ready appeal to a wide range of people was the easiest way for him to earn a living.

The best examples of Arne’s song style and scoring from this period can be found in the cantatas of the 1750s, *Cymon and Iphigenia* (1753) being the first. The published short score names Vauxhall as the venue and Lowe as the singer, presumably during the 1753 season, but an earlier performance was given by Beard, as an entr’acte at his benefit concert at Drury Lane on 27 March 1753.⁵⁹ Information gleaned from *The London Stage*

⁵⁸ Julian Herbage, ‘The Vocal Style of Thomas Augustine Arne’, *PRMA* 78 (1952), p. 91.

⁵⁹ See *The Public Advertiser*, 23 March 1753. This would have been before the start of the Vauxhall season, which ran from May to August.

also suggest that Beard was the principal exponent of the work.⁶⁰

Known Performance of Arne's *Cymon and Iphigenia*

<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Singer</u>	<u>London Stage Page No (Vol. 4)</u>
27/3/1753	Drury Lane ^a	Beard	361
13/3/1755	Drury Lane	Beard	473
15/3/1755	Drury Lane	Beard	474
30/3/1756	Drury Lane ('by desire')	Beard	535
11/3/1758	Drury Lane ('by desire')	Beard	652
16/3/1758	Drury Lane ('by desire')	Beard	654
4/5/1767	Covent Garden ('by particular desire')	DuBellamy	1242
11/5/1768	Covent Garden ('by particular desire')	DuBellamy	1332
1/5/1775	Haymarket ^b	'A Gentleman'	1888

a) Advertised in *The Public Advertiser*, 22 & 24 March 1753.

b) Advertised in *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* on 15, 22, 27 and 29 March and 1 May, and in *The Public Advertiser* on 18, 22 and 28 March. The concert was '(The Last time this Season) Being desired again by several Persons of Quality'.

The text is believed to have been an adaptation from a poem in by Dryden's *Fables* of 1700, itself derived from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, by Isaac Bickerstaff, who reworked an epic poem of six hundred and forty lines into a short pastoral idyll.⁶¹ Only lines 85-86 of Dryden's poem are actually quoted *verbatim*, in the opening recitative, and the adaptation completely omits the introduction, revealing Cymon to be an outcast from a noble family, rather than a simple rustic.

The cantata opens with Cymon, 'a clown [in the Elizabethan sense] who never dreamt of love' (line 7)), encountering the beautiful Iphigenia (the name from Greek mythology) asleep in a 'thick grove' (a pastoral symbol), the sight of her moving him to noble sentiments. Captivated by her beauty, he declares, in an aria, that she 'completes this rural scene' (line 3). At first she recoils from him, but his continued serenade in the second aria wins her over ('amazed', she 'finds him comely' (third recitative, line 3)), and she agrees to a further meeting. The cantata concludes with a commentary by an unseen narrator.

Although the cantata's messages are easy to discern (love conquers all, and the

⁶⁰ All references are in Volume 4. Although *The London Stage* contains inaccuracies, its source material includes pamphlets and playbills, making it wider than contemporary newspapers, and therefore needs to be taken into account.

⁶¹ For the full text, see *The Poems and Fables of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley (London, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 815-831.

power of music),⁶² they might easily be interpreted as a form of social comment. The woman is of higher status than the man, a reversal of customary gender roles, where urban, educated, worldly men encounter simple country girls, acknowledged symbols of rural innocence. Degott interprets this cantata as ‘overturning [inverting?] all the stereotypes’ [of the period]:⁶³ Arne may be using role reversal as a tongue-in-cheek comment on Vauxhall and its audience, while also poking fun at contemporary popular literature. An alternative reading is that music can be understood and enjoyed by anybody, irrespective of class, culture or education: this reflects the ethos of the gardens. *Cymon and Iphigenia* is therefore a highly effective expression of *dramma per musica*, presented in a manner that appeals to a wide audience.

The cantata’s structure (R-A-R-A-R-A) is an extension of the ‘Neapolitan’ form, though the second aria is a repeat of the first, with a different text. This repetition underscores Cymon’s captivation; he can only sing the same tune when confronted with the sight of Iphigenia. The use of binary form in each aria enables the intensity of the drama to build through repetition. The third aria has two sections of four lines, but the other two have three lines to each section, the third being repeated to create a sense of balance. This is one of the many subtle variations on binary form that can be found in Arne’s vocal works.

The published version survives in short score only, but a later set of manuscript parts for voice and strings survives at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts (GB-Bu Shaw-Hellier, #415-#419). These, believed to have been copied within a few years of publication, are of a high quality, possibly having been made at Samuel Hellier’s behest.⁶⁴

⁶² The second couplet of the text of the final aria reads:

‘Love can rage itself control
And elevate the human soul’

⁶³ Pierre Degott, ‘Paysages Musicaux Et Musiques Paysagères: La Musique Dans Les Jardins d’agrément De Londres Au XVIIIe Siècle’, *Bulletin de la Société d’Etudes anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles* 51 (2000), p. 206.

⁶⁴ Johnson, the publisher, announced on the title page that ‘any Gentleman or Professor of Musick may have the Parts or accompaniment from the Original Copy’. See *A Catalogue of the Shaw-Hellier Collection*

The instruments are used to good effect, especially in the recitatives, creating a series of dramatic scenes which, according to Goodall, are ‘the likes of which had never before been heard in a cantata’.⁶⁵ These include the ‘Lulling’ motif in bars 15 and 17 of the first recitative, which depicts Iphigenia asleep under the shade of a tree. The effect is enhanced by the use of the full ensemble (see Ex. 3.8).

The musical score consists of five staves. The top staff is the vocal line in soprano clef with lyrics: "sleep, fair Iph-i-gen-ia lay." The second and third staves are for violin and flute, both in treble clef, with a "Lulling" motif marked [pp] and pp. The fourth staff is for the cello in alto clef, and the fifth staff is for the bass in bass clef, both with a "Lulling" motif marked pp. Fingerings 6, 4, and 5 are indicated for the bass line.

Ex. 3.8: *Cymon and Iphigenia*, first recit, bars 15- 19 (from GB-Bu Shaw-Hellier #415-#419).

Cymon’s lolling gait and whistle are depicted by violins and flute respectively (see Ex. 3.9). In the former case, the melody bears a resemblance to the traditional Tyneside song ‘The Keel Row’: this, however, may be no more than a coincidence;⁶⁶ the use of parody was common, thus Arne may be poking fun at both the character and folksong/ballad tradition. The ‘whistling’ theme may also be derived from a folk tune, but its origins have not been traced.

Arne also exploits the instrumental accompaniment in the second recitative, using

in the Music Library, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, the University of Birmingham, compiled by Ian Ledsham, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 124-125.

⁶⁵ Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 221.

⁶⁶ ‘The Keel Row’ is believed to have first appeared in printed form in *A Collection of Favourite Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: Printed for and sold by N. Stewart, c.1770), but Chappell refers to a use of the tune as a dance, entitled ‘Smiling Polly’ in *Thompson’s Compleat Collection of 200 Country Dances ...* (London: Printed for Charles and Samuel Thompson, c.1770). See William Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2.vols. (London: Chappell & Co, 1859), ii, pp.721-2. It is possible that either version may have appeared in a ballad opera earlier in the century, from which Arne borrowed the tune, but there is no extant evidence to support this, thus it remains a matter for conjecture. This tune also appears in Arne’s cantata *The Morning* (1755).

repeated semiquavers to emphasise Cymon's fear when Iphigenia awakes ('poor Cymon trembling stands' (line 1)). In the published score this only appears in the continuo part, but with full strings the drama of the moment is heightened (Ex. 3.10b).



Ex. 3.9a: *Cymon and Iphigenia*, bars 24-7; depiction of Cymon's walk.



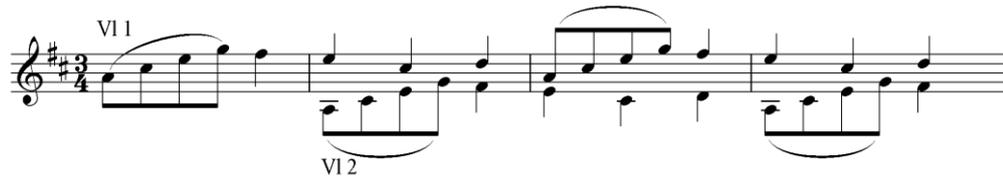
Ex. 3.9b: Arne, *Cymon and Iphigenia*, bars 31.4-35; depiction of Cymon's whistling.

Ex.3.10a: Arne, *Cymon and Iphigenia*, 'Trembling' motif, second recit bars 2-3 (published version).
British Library, G.295.(17.).

Ex. 3.10b: Arne, *Cymon and Iphigenia*, 'Trembling' motif (manuscript version).

In the final aria the instruments enhance the picture of rural harmony and the union of the couple by the use of an imitative figure (Ex.3.11). This imitation in Arne's music shows that he was still mixing elements of the Baroque and the *galant* in the 1750s.

A number of features in the manuscript have a significant bearing on an editorial



Ex. 3.11: Arne, *Cymon and Iphigenia*, third aria, bars 13-16.

approach. Although a viola part is present in the recitatives, it is marked ‘tacet’ for the arias. It is possible that the practice of viola players reading from the basso part may have been overlooked by a copyist, musically literate but not necessarily musically informed. However, several works by Arne and Boyce have four-part accompaniments in *stromentato* recitatives and three-part scoring in arias, therefore Arne is following a contemporary convention, giving the narrative greater support while making the arias texturally more transparent.

A flute part is only notated in bars 31-35 of the first recitative, raising the question as to whether it should also be used in the arias, doubling the first violin. There is also some ambiguity as to which type of flute was used; the manuscript Violin 1 part direction is ‘Small Flute alone’, suggesting a descant recorder.⁶⁷ A high-pitched instrument would enhance Cymon’s ‘whistling’, but would be intrusive in the arias; therefore the player would need to change instruments. The performance in *Dr Arne at Vauxhall Gardens* has the flute doubling the Violin 1 part in the first two arias; this is a possible solution to the problem posed by the solo flute passage.

Two recent recordings attest to the place of *Cymon and Iphigenia* within the history of English Song.⁶⁸ The use of instruments is minimal, as suggested by the short score, but shows that the work is as effective in a ‘chamber’ situation as when performed with an orchestra.

Although *Cymon* was intended for theatre or concert performance, it retains features

⁶⁷ Both Johnson’s editions (c.1753) and Thompson’s reprint (c.1770) state ‘Flute alone’, therefore the Birmingham manuscript may be the exception, rather than the rule.

⁶⁸ *Dr Arne at Vauxhall Gardens*, Hyperion CDA 66237 and *Songs of the Pleasure Gardens*, Signum SIGCD101, 2007.

of chamber music. Arne's *Six Cantatas* (1754-5) are, however, definitely concert works, and reveal a maturity in his compositional style. Farish does not consider these cantatas, possibly because there is no reference to the gardens, but Goodall has no doubt that they were conceived with these locations in mind.⁶⁹ With the exception of *Delia* (No 6), which is scored for strings only, all use at least one wind instrument with a full string section, including a written-out viola part.

The wind orchestration in these cantatas is especially interesting. Horns are employed in the arias of *The School of Anacreon* (No 1) and in the final aria of *Bacchus and Ariadne* (No 4); their role is textural with no melodic episodes. Flutes and oboes are used in 'Frolick and Free' (No 3) and in *Bacchus and Ariadne*, though not together; the instruments were probably played by the same people, changing from one to another during the recitatives, something Goodall apparently fails to observe.⁷⁰ This use of treble winds mirrors the scoring in many three-movement Mannheim symphonies, though, significantly, before their introduction to England. There is also a brief use of two bassoons in tenor register in the opening recitative of *Lydia* (No 2). These examples imitate Stamitz's symphonic scoring, but Arne is not known to have had any contact with Mannheim, therefore it had to be assumed that the ideas are his, though possibly influenced by Handel. Possible precedents for the bassoon writing can be found in Handel's oratorios, most notably 'Behold a ghastly band' from *Alexander's Feast*, but the accompaniment in a *stromentato* recitative was normally confined to the strings in a cantata, so Arne is certainly breaking with convention.

These cantatas are contemporary with Arne's theatre work *Eliza* (1754), in which there are several examples of innovative orchestration. The overture is scored for oboes, horns and four-part strings – the Mannheim model – and the first section has oboes

⁶⁹ Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 220

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

doubling the violin parts, thickening the music's texture. The oboes and horns also provide the inner harmonies in 'We've fought, we have conquered'. Independent melodic episodes for wind instruments occur in 'Where Chaste Diana keeps her Court', where horns are used to create contrasts with the strings. There are also examples of older (Handelian?) scoring, notably in 'What pity is it that the brave must die', where the voice is accompanied by an obbligato cello with continuo, and in the 'patriotic' songs such as 'To Arms Britons', which have accompaniments for obbligato trumpet, oboes and strings. In this song the oboes have passages independent of the strings, showing that the two sections were becoming independent of each other.

Similar scoring techniques appear in the *Six Cantatas*, examples being in 'Frolic and Free' and *Bacchus and Ariadne*. In the former the oboes take the melodic lead in the ritornelli: this certainly breaks with convention, and the effect would have been striking. Also, rather than merely doubling the violins, the oboes sustain chords, provide the inner harmony when the violins play in unison and add a short descant at the cadence point; all these are examples of 'Mannheim' wind orchestration. In *Bacchus and Ariadne* there is a rare example of the voice being accompanied by the full orchestra, albeit for only two bars and around a sustained note (see Ex. 3.13). Both cantatas show that Arne was beginning to see the potential of the full orchestra, with its enhanced range of colours and textures, as a viable accompaniment for the voice, and that the voice was gaining in weight, becoming more capable of being heard over an enlarged ensemble.

Fiske believes that *Eliza* broke new ground in orchestral technique for Arne,⁷¹ and Rice describes the cantatas as works that 'bridged the gap between art music and more popular styles with complete ease'.⁷² Arne cherry-picked elements of the Italian style, such as the judicious use of florid writing, and combined them with the direct delivery of

⁷¹ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 240. See also Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 229.

⁷² Paul F. Rice, 'Musical Nationalism and the Vauxhall Gardens', p. 75.

the English ballad style to create a musical style that was both ‘ancient’ and ‘modern’, but which could also be appreciated by a wide section of the public. Equally significant is that he was doing so without being under any apparent influence from overseas; he therefore pioneered the second phase of the *galant* style in England.

Ob

VI

Vla

Basso

6 6 b

Ex. 3.12: Arne, ‘Frolick and Free’ (*Cantata III*), first aria, bars 13-16.
British Library, G. 321. (1.), No. 3.

Hn

Ob

VI

Vla

Basso

Wine

7 6/4 7 4 5/3 6

Ex. 3.13: Arne, *Bacchus and Ariadne* (*Cantata IV*), second aria, bars 19-20. (*Ibid.*, No. 4)

Arne's melding of Italian and native styles combined with a judicious choice and treatment of text was his most important contribution to the development of contemporary solo song. Also, his ability to manipulate thematic material within the structure makes him an important figure in eighteenth-century music. His achievements have not achieved adequate recognition. Both Walker and Langley appear to comment on his work favourably, but show a degree of condescension towards both Arne and his audiences. Walker compares Arne unfavourably with Purcell, and Langley appears to regard the songs as superficial.⁷³ In making such comments, these authors betray a nineteenth-century perspective on the past, the underlying sentiment being that unless music contains profound meaning, it is of little value. This is a misrepresentation of both the eighteenth century and Arne, who, from the evidence of his songs, sought to develop an individual manner of expression, while honouring a commitment to both employer and audience. Furthermore, the possibility of social comment in the songs is not raised by either author; by using the pastoral Arne was drawing not only on an established textual tradition but also on the equally-established practice of embedding allegory within the text,⁷⁴ perhaps making a careful critique of his own world, thus reflecting his position as an outsider from the musical establishment of his day.

Herbage's insightful point that 'what Arne needed first and foremost in his life was a voice to train and to compose for' is more apposite, and offers the opportunity to discuss another aspect of Arne's writing of the late 1750s, his development of the English *coloratura*.⁷⁵ A comparison between the songs composed for his wife and for Charlotte Brent shows a markedly different approach. It is possible that writing music for his wife may have become disagreeable after Arne's marriage failed; this may be reflected in the

⁷³ See Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*, rev. edn, ed. J. A. Westrup (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 258 and Hubert Langley, *Doctor Arne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), pp. 80-81.

⁷⁴ See Ellen Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition*, p. 95 for references to the use of allegory in the pastoral.

⁷⁵ Herbage, 'Arne: His Character and Environment', *PRMA* 87 (1960), p. 25.

lack of development in his vocal writing for a number of years. The discovery of Brent's potential, combined with the death of Handel and the award of the degree of Doctor of Music in 1759, seems to have provided the spur for Arne to become more adventurous. The songs in Volume V of *The Agreeable Musical Choice* break the mould not only in terms of orchestration but also in terms of structure and of technical demands on the singer. Seven songs in this volume are from Arne's theatre work *The Jovial Crew* (1760) and are written for Brent. Although five songs are binary the other three have extended structures; one through-composed song ('See how the Lambs are sporting'), one four-section aria ('No woman her envy can smother') and one ternary aria ('Trumpet Song' – sung by Lowe in *The Prophetess* (1758)). The use of extended structures reinforces the idea that Arne was developing a synthetic musical style, and, equally importantly, before *Artaxerxes*. The songs in this volume also contain a thicker orchestral texture, with wind instrument parts, horns in particular, containing both melodic episodes and harmonic filling. In 'Trumpet Song' an obbligato trumpet is accompanied by oboes as well as a full string section, another example of Arne thickening the orchestral texture at this time.

These three songs are not isolated examples; the first two items in *British Melody* (1761),⁷⁶ 'Ye Pow'rs that o'er true love preside' and 'Of all the gifts that Heav'n bestows' (both songs were subsequently sung by Brent and Lowe at Vauxhall), make greater demands on the singer than in many songs written for Lowe, suggesting that Arne was building on what he had achieved with Brent by applying the same ideas to other singers. In the cantata *The Lover's Recantation*, from *The Winter's Amusement* (1761), written for Brent, these experiments in vocal technique reach fruition. Arne seems to have been sparing with the orchestra, often using a three-part texture to give the voice central place. The two extended passages in the 'rage' aria ('To all the sex deceitful') at bars 21-27 and 53-59 require considerable facility in execution, with great clarity in the intervallic leaps,

⁷⁶ No. XI *British Melody* (London, [1760]).

as well as a range of over two octaves (b-c^{'''}), so this work is not for amateurs, though its publication in a collection designed for domestic consumption suggests that some may have tried it.



Ex. 3.14: Arne, *The Lover's Recantation*, first aria, bars 21-27. British Library, G.320. (4.), p. 17.

Arne lived in the shadow of Handel for much of his working life, but made a contribution to English music that was equally important. Arne even inspired Handel, through *Comus* and *The Judgement of Paris* (1741), to produce ‘English’ works (*L’Allegro* and *Semele*). Arne is overlooked because Handel’s works have been incorporated into the canon, and his have been omitted. Much weight has also been given to Handel’s music being ‘sublime’, with Arne’s being only ‘beautiful’. Essentially, the difference lies in style. Handel’s works are ‘ancient’, Baroque, Italian and often sacred, or at least biblical; Arne’s are ‘modern’, *galant*, English and secular. Gilman also points to a class-based audience; Handel’s music had long had aristocratic support, whereas Arne ‘appealed chiefly to middle-class taste’ though the theatres and pleasure gardens.⁷⁷ This socio-musical hierarchy, in addition to the generic and geographical biases already mentioned, does not favour Arne, unless the canon is reappraised. Perhaps such action is now due.

London: ii) Boyce

Boyce, like Arne, was a leading English composer of the eighteenth century, but is

⁷⁷ Gilman, ‘Arne, Handel, the Beautiful and the Sublime’, p. 540.

remembered for different musical genres. Arne's reputation is largely as a composer of theatre music and songs, but who also wrote instrumental music. Boyce composed many songs, but the twentieth-century revival of his music concerned itself with his symphonies and organ music. Boyce's church music is also still performed regularly, and the three-volume *Cathedral Music* (1760-1773), compiled by him from the works of earlier composers, is regarded as a landmark publication of its time.

Boyce's early published songs appeared in *The Musical Entertainer*, though some cantatas were composed prior to this date. His principal contribution to the concert song lies in the six-volume *Lyra Britannica* (1747-59), but many of these songs are from theatre works, thus this publication is a compilation of his vocal music. Only the title page of Volume III refers directly to the gardens, though two songs in Volume VI name Vauxhall as the place of performance. However, his theatre songs, mainly composed during the years when he was associated with Garrick (1749-53), were also probably sung at the gardens.

Volume I of *Lyra Britannica* contains songs with the greatest structural variety, three cantatas and two through-composed multi-section songs. Most of the songs in the later volumes are either strophic or strophic binary, with few of the subtle thematic variants present in Arne's music. The relationship between voice and accompaniment also varies considerably: in some songs there is little evidence of interaction, but others contain greater imitation between the two.

The printed scores suggest that Boyce seldom varied his instrumentation across the six volumes. Occasionally there are two violin parts, and a separate viola part appears in some of the songs in Volumes IV and V. In 'When Damon languish'd at my feet' (Volume V, No 10), an oboe is added to the four-part strings. Although this scoring seems conservative, it is also consistent, more so than in Arne's music. Also, other songs may

have been performed with a larger ensemble than *Lyra Britannica* implies: the two-stave reduction simply makes the music playable on a keyboard instrument.⁷⁸

One song from *Lyra Britannica* that has survived both in manuscript and in printed form is ‘As Damon stood in pensive Mood’ (Volume II, No 4). The manuscript (GB-Lcm MS 782, f40^r) has no ritornelli, the published version has four bars of introduction and two bars of coda have been added. Assuming that the manuscript is the earlier version, the addition of ritornelli in publication represents a significant change from former practices, their inclusion now being seen as desirable.

The image shows two versions of the musical score for 'As Damon stood in pensive Mood'. On the left (a) is a handwritten manuscript page with two staves of music and lyrics. On the right (b) is a printed version of the same song, also with two staves of music and lyrics, including a 'VIVACE' marking and a 'SONG.' title.

Ex. 3.15 Boyce, ‘As Damon stood’ a: GB-Lcm MS 782, f40^r, copied with permission;
b: Printed version in *Lyra Britannica*, ii. © The British Library Board, G.330, p. 27.

The consistency of Boyce’s orchestrations led Finzi to describe it as ‘more habitual than highly imaginative’.⁷⁹ However, the surviving manuscripts of his secular vocal music, particularly the cantatas and odes, show that Boyce was a skilful, if not

⁷⁸ See *William Boyce: Lyra Britannica*, introduction by Robert J. Bruce, MLE F3 (Tunbridge Wells: Macnutt, 1985) pp. xi-xii for further information on scoring and publication.

⁷⁹ *William Boyce: Overtures*, ed. Gerald Finzi, *Musica Britannica* 13 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1957), p.xxi.

adventurous, orchestrator.⁸⁰ His unpublished works, for example the cantata ‘Young Damon fir’d with am’rous Heat’ (c.1735),⁸¹ are scored for four-part strings with the viola part noticeably independent from the basso. Another cantata, *Thyrsis* (c.1750), shows Boyce’s orchestration at its finest.⁸² The work opens with a ‘symphony’ for two violins and basso, but the instrumentation increases as the work progresses. The aria ‘Mortal, whence this black despair’ is scored for trumpet, oboes, violins, and basso; the oboes sustain the harmony and the violins play material related to, but not always doubling, the vocal line. The trumpet adds a descant to the melody and colour to the texture. Although the music is essentially homophonic, the overlapping of the violins is closer to the Baroque style rather than the *galant*.

In the aria ‘The Lover who sighing and languishing’, Boyce makes an unusual but effective use of the bassoon, probably borrowed from his serenata *Solomon* (1742). Bartlett’s comment that ‘*Solomon* provides an ideal platform for the musical evocation of nature so vividly exploited by Handel in *L’Allegro*’ is most evident in the aria and chorus ‘Softly rise, O southern Breeze’ where a solo bassoon in its tenor register is used to evoke the breeze.⁸³ In *Thyrsis*, the bassoon evokes the lover’s sighing with a meandering line often at the same tessitura as the violins. The direction ‘The two principal Violins to play the solos’ shows how the orchestra was to accompany the voice, the *ripieno* instruments being silent during the vocal passages. This reduction of players also suggests the influence of the *concerto grosso*.

The string writing in these works is a mixture of three- and four-part textures. In ‘Dialogue, the words by Dryden’ (GB-Ob Mus.c.3, ff 21^f-29^v) the strings are four parts,

⁸⁰ See GB-Lcm MS 782 and *William Boyce: Three Birthday Odes for Prince George: 1749 or 1750, 1751, 1752*, introduction by Robert J. Bruce, MLE F4 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1989), for examples.

⁸¹ GB-Lcm MS 782, ff 32^v-39^f.

⁸² GB-Ob Mus. c.3, ff 30^f42^v. See Robert J. Bruce, ‘William Boyce: Some Manuscript Recoveries’, *ML* 55 (1974), 437-443 for details of the contents of Boyce’s manuscripts at the Bodleian Library.

⁸³ *William Boyce: Solomon: A Serenata*, ed. Ian Bartlett, *Musica Britannica* 68 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1996), p. xxvi.

Trumpet

Oboes

Violin 1

Violin 2

Voice

Basso

p

p

p

p

p

De - lia may with kind - ness burn, if you Gay - e ty re -

turn. If you hap - pi - ly can dare, I'll dis - pose the yield - ing fai

Ex. 3.16: Boyce, 'Mortal, whence this black despair' (*Thyrsis*), bars 25-32.
GB-Ob Mus c. 3 ff 32^v-33^f.

VI (originally on two staves)

'Soli principali'

Bassoon

Voice

Basso

Soli principali'

Bassoon

Voice

Basso

Ex. 3.17: Boyce, 'The Lover who sighing and languishing' (*Thyrsis*), amended concluding ritornello.
GB-Ob Mus.c.3, f43^v.

but the viola has a high tessitura, often overlapping with the second violin. The viola also becomes the second part whenever the violins are in unison, but is still a harmony part, being rhythmically the same as the basso.

The image shows a musical score for three staves: Violin I (top), Viola (middle), and Bass (bottom). The music is in 6/8 time and G minor. The bass line includes fingerings: 6, 6, 6, 6, 5/4, 6/4.

Ex. 3.18: Boyce, 'Dialogue' GB-Ob Mus.c.3 f23^f, bars 4-6.

The theatre works and the unpublished *Birthday Odes* of 1750-52, some of which were performed at Ranelagh,⁸⁴ also use a larger orchestra than in many songs. In the odes a trumpet and horns are added to the strings. 'With Horns and with Hounds', from *The Secular Masque* (c.1746) is scored for oboes, horns, four-part strings and continuo. The *Lyra Britannica* version (Volume I, no 1), is transposed from F major to D major, to make the horn parts more accessible to the average player; the original key would have required virtuosi.⁸⁵

If the scoring of these works gives a more accurate picture of Boyce than that seen in *Lyra Britannica*, then the latter should be viewed as music aimed at a wide audience. A standardised orchestration would have increased the music's saleability at a time when the market was expanding.

Cudworth's comparative article on Boyce and Arne portrays Arne as the outsider who mass-produced music in order to earn a living.⁸⁶ Boyce is the passive conformist, secure in his position thus apparently feeling no need to be adventurous. This picture paints both composers in primary colours. Boyce produced solo songs earlier in his

⁸⁴ The odes *Let Grief Subside* and *Another passing Year has Flown* are believed to have been performed there on 24 May 1751 and 25 May 1752 respectively. See Boyce, *Three Birthday Odes*, pp. xii-xiii.

⁸⁵ See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 212. The manuscript of *The Secular Masque* is at GB-Lcm MS 93.

⁸⁶ Cudworth, 'Boyce and Arne' 'The Generation of 1710', *ML* 41 (1960), 136-145.

career than Arne, yet was virtually silent as a theatre and song composer after 1760, *Lyra Britannica* being his only substantial song publication. Arne's output covers a much larger part of his life: he experimented more and many of his songs stand above those of Boyce. Boyce is, however, the more consistent composer, as the quality of Arne's songs varies considerably

Cudworth also assesses both in relation to Handel:

both lived in the shadow of Handel, yet managed to preserve a considerable degree of individuality, Arne by deliberately opposing the great man, Boyce by working in Handel's own idiom – perhaps the harder task.⁸⁷

This assessment is not entirely true, however, as there is less of a confrontational element in Arne's music than Cudworth implies: he has a Handelian side, but there is also evidence of Handel having copied his style. Boyce's style, though closer to Handel, is also of his own making and his scoring built on a different model.

The fact that both composers were recognised in their lifetime shows that England did offer them a platform, but through a different milieu. Handel's not composing for the gardens may be his recognising a need for native composers to have such an outlet.

Potter praises Boyce as 'the greatest composer that this kingdom has to boast of',⁸⁸ while describing Arne in more limited terms: 'In the song way he is great, his accompaniments are sprightly and elegant'.⁸⁹ Contemporary opinion of the two composers appears to be based on how each stood within the musical establishment of the day, which, to some extent, has been carried over to modern times. Both, however, made an important contribution to eighteenth-century English music, which deserves greater recognition.

⁸⁷ Cudworth, 'Settings of Shakespeare's Lyrics', *Shakespeare in Music*, ed. Phyllis Hartnoll (London: Macmillan, 1964), p. 62.

⁸⁸ John Potter, *Observations on the Present State of Music and Musicians* (London: Printed for C. Henderson, 1762). facs edn., *Aesthetics and Music in the Eighteenth Century* 4 (Bristol: Thoemmes Publications, 2003), p. 55.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

London: iii) Worgan, and other London Composers

Although the contributions of Arne and Boyce to the concert song repertoire cannot be overstated, there has been a general neglect of other song composers, many of whom played an important role in the genre's development.

Little is known of the lives of other early concert song composers; in many cases biographical information has been obtained through gleanings from their published music. A number were both church organists and theatre musicians, part of a portfolio career in performing and teaching.⁹⁰ Organists probably had the widest musical training, and were therefore well-equipped to move into other areas of composition and performance; experience in the theatres would have enabled them to acquire an awareness of current popular song styles. Other composers may have been members of theatre orchestras or even freelance musicians. Their number, as shown in Table 3.5, shows that song composition had become a popular, and possibly lucrative, pursuit.

A composer whose song accompaniments stand out is John Worgan, organist of Vauxhall from 1751 to 1761. As a colleague of Arne, Worgan was well placed to absorb musical ideas from the older composer: for example, his harmonic use of horns is similar to Arne's in 'Shall I wasting in Despair' (1757), but this is simply part of a wider change of role for the horn.⁹¹ Treble wind instruments, where used, appear to double the strings in the early collections, again similar to Arne's songs.

However, by the time of his 1759 collection, Worgan's songs show signs of an individual, if initially archaic, approach towards scoring. 'Come thou rosy dimpled Boy' is scored for horns, violins and basso.⁹² The horns are mainly limited to the ritornelli, partly doubling the violins at the lower octave and partly providing the harmony where the violins are in unison. They also provide the inner harmony at bars 16-18. Although

⁹⁰ See Donovan Dawe, *Organists of the City of London* (London: Donovan Dawe, 1983), for specific information on individual composers.

⁹¹ *The New Ballads... Book the 6th* (London, 1757), no. 6.

⁹² *The Songs and Ballads ... Book VIII 1759* (London, 1759), no. 6.

Table 3.5: Collections by other London Composers 1742 - 1762

<u>Composer</u>	<u>Number of Collections</u>
Arne, Michael	4
Baildon, Joseph	6
Bates, William	2
Berg, George	7
Bowman, Thomas	1
Bryan, Joseph	2
Burgess, Henry Jr	1
Clark, Edward	2
Curtis, Thomas	1
Defesch, Willem	2
Dibdin, Charles	1
Duncalf, Henry	1
Dunn, John	2
Festing, Michael Christian	4
Granom, Lewis	2
Greene, Maurice	2
Heron, Henry	2
Holcombe, Henry	2
Howard, Samuel	3
Hudson, Robert	1
Jarvis, Samuel	1
Lampe, John Frederick	3
Pasquali, Nicolo	1
Turner, Elizabeth	2
Worgan, James	1
Worgan, John	14
Wynne, John	1

melodic horn writing was an older style, possibly influenced by Stanley's cantatas, the mixing of this with 'modern' harmonic writing works quite successfully, and shows signs of the transition to the second phase of the *galant* style.

In 'The Lass with the delicate Air' (No 8), an obbligato cello is added to the violin accompaniment, being both a tenor part and leading the second theme of the introduction. During the vocal solos the cello is marked in 'unison with Mr Lowes Voice', thus doubling the first violin at the octave, a feature of the later *galant* style.

A brief comparison of this song with Michael Arne's setting of the same text (c. 1760) is worthwhile. Arne's is rightly remembered for its graceful melodic line, but Worgan's has the more advanced scoring, which may be seen as either the obbligato aria style translated into a strophic song or the tentative beginnings of the *concertante* style that was to feature in some later song accompaniments.

Ex. 3.19a: John Worgan, 'Come thou rosy dimpled Boy', bars 1-8. Rowe Library, Mn 13.25, No. 6.

Ex. 3.19b: 'Come thou rosy dimpled Boy', bars 16-18.

Worgan's 1760 collection shows an important development in the use of wind instruments in 'Oh Stay Brightest Liberty' (No 2), scored for clarinets, horns and strings.⁹³ Although the clarinet had been introduced to England in the 1720s,⁹⁴ it had seldom been used in the orchestra, its more usual place being in the *Harmonie* or wind band, where it combined with horns. This replacement of the oboe by the clarinet is a bold move by Worgan, and may be the first use of the instrument by a British composer.

⁹³ *A Collection of the new Songs ... Book the IX* (London, 1760).

⁹⁴ See Albert R. Rice, 'The Clarinet in England During the 1760s', *EM* 33 (2005), 55-63 for a brief history of the early use of the clarinet in England.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for 'The Lass with the delicate Air' by John Worgan. The first system includes Violin (VI), Cello Solo, and Bass parts. The Violin part features a melodic line with several ornaments (tr) and a 'unis.' marking. The Cello Solo part has a bass line with ornaments (tr) and a 'Solo' marking. The Bass part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with various ornaments (tr) and a 'Solo' marking. The second system continues the Cello Solo and Bass parts, with the Cello Solo part featuring a 'Solo' marking and ornaments (tr). The third system shows the continuation of the Cello Solo and Bass parts, with the Cello Solo part featuring a 'Solo' marking and ornaments (tr). The Bass part continues with ornaments (tr) and a 'Solo' marking.

Ex. 3.20: John Worgan, 'The Lass with the delicate Air', bars 1-16. Rowe Library, Mn 13.25, No. 8.

Arne's *Thomas and Sally* is generally given this honour but this work was first performed in November 1760. Worgan's publisher, Johnson, is specific in his dating, the following volume (Book X, 1761) listing Worgan's previous song collections, with dates. If correct, 'O Stay, Brightest Liberty' would have been performed at Vauxhall during the summer season of 1760, thus predating *Thomas and Sally* by up to six months. Consequently, the credit for being the first native composer to write for the clarinet seems to belong to Worgan rather than to Arne.

The clarinets' roles in this song differ from those allocated by Arne in that they are orchestral rather than belonging to a *Harmonie*. The opening song of *Thomas and Sally*

4 Oh stay, brightest Liberty. A Song with Clarinets, Sung by M^{rs} Vincent.

Allegro ma non tanto Clarinets & Horns

senza Violini

Oh stay, brightest Liberty stay, Or

con Violini e Fla.

waft us with thee far away! stay brightest Liberty stay or waft us with thee

far away; Horns Such numberless Pleasures you give

without thee, ah! how can we live! stay bright-est Liber-ty

stay or waft us with thee far away, such.

Ex. 3.21: John Worgan, 'Oh Stay Brightest Liberty', opening page.
© The British Library Board, G.809.xx. (10.), p. 4.

(‘The echoing Horn’) is scored for two clarinets and two horns, the players performing on stage, but first and second clarinets and horns are paired, limiting the number of clarinet notes to those in the horn’s harmonic series. Worgan adopts a different approach, giving the clarinets parts similar to those of oboes. Even though the winds and strings appear to combine only in some of the ritornelli, the blend of sounds would have been unusual. As the two groups are mainly separate in the score, it is possible that they were physically separated in performance to enhance the contrast of sounds. Although this separation might have been difficult to achieve, given the limited space on the Vauxhall stage, the ‘theatrical’ nature of the gardens means that the possibility cannot be ruled out.

Structurally, the two songs also differ: Arne uses the strophic form while Worgan chooses a through-composed ternary aria, leaning towards the Italian opera style. Songs such as this point to experiments with extended form taking place before the arrival of J.C. Bach,

and again suggests a stylistic change largely uninfluenced by him. Although in short score, the three-part *galant* texture is maintained throughout the song, but if the parts were doubled, as the final four bars imply, then there are signs that the second-stage *galant* texture is also present, a further example of stylistic transition.

Worgan also uses clarinets in ‘The Favourite Air in the Ode for His Majesty’s Birth Day’ (1761), where flutes, horns and clarinets are combined with strings.⁹⁵ This, however, is an excerpt from an occasional work, and therefore needs to be seen within that context. In the same collection, Worgan uses divided violas in ‘The Maid that I love is as cheerful as Day’ (No 6), which may double the violin parts an octave lower; this is another example of stylistic change through the thickening of the music’s texture.

George Berg was a violinist (possibly also organist) at Ranelagh in the 1750s and early 60s. His early songs copy the three-part scoring pattern, but his 1759 songs also show signs of change. ‘Gentle Auth’ress of my Pain’, is scored for two oboes and two bassoons in thirds an octave apart plus strings (see Ex. 3.21).⁹⁶ Here Berg maintains the doubling of parts during the vocal solos, whereas in many previous songs it was limited to the ritornelli. This scoring may therefore be the first example of the greater integration of voice and instruments that was to become more common in later years.

A number of other composers contributed to the repertoire in diverse ways, illustrating the hybrid nature of the concert song. Granom’s songs are a mixture of English and Italian/Handelian structures; those in his first collection (c.1752) are either strophic or binary, but the later collection (c.1753) consists mainly of *da capo* arias.⁹⁷ With forty separate items, his second collection is the largest single-author publication of its time, and although the index states that nine arias belong to the undated oratorio *The Prodigal Son*, a further ten have no such attribution and may have been written for

⁹⁵ *A Collection of the new Songs ... Book the X* (London, 1761). The song is subtitled ‘With Clarinets, French Horns & Flutes’.

⁹⁶ *A Collection of New English Songs... Book IV* (London, 1759), no. 7.

⁹⁷ *XII New Songs and Ballads* (London, [1752]).

Gentle Auth'ress of my Pain
George Berg (1730s-1775)

Moderato

Oboe
Bassoon 1
Bassoon 2
Violin 1
Tenor
Basso

5

Ob.
Bsn.
Bsn.
Vln.
T.
Vc.

Gen - tle Auth' - ress of my Pain, Ch - loe Pride of ev' - ry Swain,

Ex 3.22: Berg, 'Gentle Auth'ress of my Pain', opening page. Copied, without alteration, from Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 210, p. 22. See Appendix C (1) for a critical edition.

performance as concert arias.⁹⁸ The remaining items comprise twenty strophic songs and one two-section aria. Granom only adds wind instruments in the arias, but the other songs in both collections are scored for a full string section with an independent viola part. This Baroque-style scoring contrasts with the three-part texture of the *galant*.

One composer stands out as remarkable, by being a woman: Elizabeth Turner. Until recently little was known of her life, but the loose strands of information have now been

⁹⁸ *A Second Collection of Favourite English Songs* (London, [1760]). Six of the songs in this collection were subsequently reprinted as a set in c.1756, Cuper's Gardens again being the venue. See Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 297.

pieced together by Yelloly.⁹⁹ Although her career seems to have been cut short by a premature death, she published two volumes of songs, in 1750 and 1756. The first volume contains thirteen songs, which appear to be for violin(s) or flute with basso, other than the last three songs, which have two separate instrumental parts.¹⁰⁰ The collection may have been compiled over a number of years, the songs with instruments suggesting a date closer to publication, by which time instrumental accompaniment had become established.

Turner's 1756 collection, again probably the result of several years' work, contains nineteen songs and six 'lessons' for the harpsichord.¹⁰¹ 'A Man that's neither high nor low' (No 14), is scored for violins, flutes and basso and published in full score (See Ex. 3.23). This scoring is not a series of alternatives; both instruments are required, with moments where the flutes are in contrary motion with the violins. Although the texture is still in three parts, this scoring is a variation on part-doubling, and the moments of independence between violins and flutes also hint at the transition to the later *galant* style, as developed by J.C. Bach.

Turner was one of small number of women to receive recognition during her lifetime both as a performer and composer. Her songs were published in *The Lady's Magazine* for some years after her death, the last known example being in 1796.¹⁰²

The songs of Joseph Baildon provide further insights into changes in horn writing in the 1750s. 'On Pleasure's smooth wings' (*The Laurel*, Volume II, No 5), is scored for horns, flutes and four-part strings. The horn parts in the ritornelli are melodic rather than textural – a feature of 'old' horn writing, but in the two songs published with the 'New Favourite Cantata' (c.1750), their role is purely harmonic. These examples, along with

⁹⁹ Margaret Yelloly, 'The Ingenious Miss Turner': Elizabeth Turner (*d* 1756), Singer, Harpsichordist and Composer', *EM* 33 (2005), 65-79.

¹⁰⁰ *Twelve Songs with Symphonies* (London, [1750]).

¹⁰¹ *A Collection of Songs with Symphonies* (London, [1756]).

¹⁰² 'Not Cloris that I juster am' (1756 collection, no. 3). Published as a supplement. See British Library, P.P.5141.

SONG XIV *The Words by a Lady* 15

Viol. 1^{mo}
Viol. 2^{do}
Trav. 1^{mo}
Trav. 2^{do}
Vocc.
Baffo.

Collo-Parte

A Man that's neither high, nor low in Party or in Stature. A Ruck-a Rattle, and a Beau.

Ex. 3.23: Elizabeth Turner, 'A Man that's neither high nor low', opening page.
<http://0find.galegroup.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/ecco/retrieve.do>
 Gale Document Number: CW3307393107 (Accessed 7 August 2007).

10 *Sung by M^r. Lowe.*

Corno 1 & 2
Traversa 1 & 2
Violino 1 & 2
Viola
Basso

On Pleasure's smooth wings, how old Time steals a way, ere Love's fatal flame leads the Shepherd astray: my days. O ye Swains, were a round of As-

Ex. 3.24: Baldon, 'On Pleasure's smooth Wings', opening page.
 © The British Library Board, H.1650.a. (1.), p. 10.

contemporary works of Arne, show a move towards the harmonic and textural role of horns, but the dates of the collections also show this transition to have been a somewhat haphazard process. Two songs by Festing are notable for their scoring. Both are from his 1746 collection, the contents being the standard mixture of multi-section and strophic works. In the cantata 'On May Morning', a setting of Milton's ode, there is a separate bassoon part, possibly copying the model in Boyce's *Solomon*. The ode, in celebration of the victory at Culloden, was appended to the collection following the news of Culloden as part of Ranelagh's contribution to the national rejoicing, and to rival Handel's 'From Scourging Rebellion', performed at Vauxhall. It requires flutes, oboes, horns, trumpet, timpani and strings, an unusually large ensemble, but is an occasional work, for which the orchestra would have been routinely enlarged.¹⁰³

Greene's contribution to the orchestral concert song repertoire appears to be limited to one cantata, published in his second book of songs in 1746. The majority of his secular songs have continuo accompaniment, though with melodic basses in the style of Bononcini, with whom Greene had been associated in the 1720s.¹⁰⁴ In *Beauty, an Ode*, a four-part string texture is intended throughout, the viola part being independent of both violins and basso. However, there are moments when Greene writes more in the *galant* style, with violins in unison and the viola 'col basso' in the arias, especially the second.¹⁰⁵

Another collection, *The Trophy*, a set of six cantatas dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland, is sadly lost, and might show a different side to Greene's scoring, especially as such works tended to have fuller scoring at this time, with liberal use of winds.¹⁰⁶

The concert song was not exclusive to English composers. Defesch published three collections between 1748 and 1753, probably as a result of leading the orchestras at

¹⁰³ *An Ode upon the Return of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland from Scotland, Milton's May Morning And Four other English Songs ...* (London, [1746]), The ode was advertised on the title page of the collection *Milton's May Morning And several other English Songs* (c.1746),

¹⁰⁴ See H. Diack, Johnstone, 'The Life and Works of Maurice Greene, i, p. 112.

¹⁰⁵ *A Cantata and English Songs ... Book II* (London, 1746), no. 1.

¹⁰⁶ See Johnstone, 'The Life and Works of Maurice Greene, i, pp. 241-3 for further information.

Marylebone. His first English songs were, however, in the 1746 production of *The Tempest*, a work written in collaboration with Arne.¹⁰⁷ The contrast between the two composers' settings is notable; Arne's introductions use material derived from the voice part, those of Defesch sometimes have thematically independent material, as seen in 'Oh bid your faithful Ariel fly'. This song is also notable for the contrast of instruments in the two sections; the first has a string accompaniment, though mainly in three parts, the viola becoming the second part when the violins are in unison. The second section is a minuet in which the voice is accompanied by two flutes and continuo, though violins in unison with the flutes are added for the final ritornello. There is a mixture of two-, three- and four part textures throughout the song, thus giving the music a greater variety than in many of Arne's songs. Similar scoring is present in the other songs; 'While you here do snoring lye', has an oboe providing a descant above the violins, another example of an instrument being used as a 'voice' in the accompaniment.

Defesch takes pains to identify with the English song style, using either strophic or strophic binary structures. His scoring, especially in his 1748 collection, shows a liking for two flutes with violins and continuo.¹⁰⁸ This differs from contemporary songs by native composers, which tend to use a single wind instrument, though Defesch's parts often double the violins.

Pasquali's only collection of songs contains excerpts from his Dublin masques and theatre works, including his setting of 'Where the Bee sucks'.¹⁰⁹ The collection contains a mixture of *da capo* arias and binary and ternary songs, and is an early example of Italian forms being combined with English texts. His scoring follows the three-part *galant* model, although there are occasional moments of four-part writing, as seen in the example below. This copies Hayes' scoring in his *Ariettes*, and creates a variant on the texture and

¹⁰⁷ See Irena Cholij, 'Defesch's 'Tempest' Songs', *MT* 127 (1986), p. 325.

¹⁰⁸ *VI English Songs* (London, [1748]).

¹⁰⁹ *XII English Songs in Score* ([London], 1750). See *BDA*, xi, p. 231 for further information on the masques.

timbre of the accompaniment.

VI 'colla parte'

His. Bel - gae sav'd from Gal - lic chains, the He - ro first to na - tive plains

Vla

Basso

6 6 9 7 7 8 6 5 6 4 4

Ex.3.25: Pasquali, 'The Hero first on native Plains', bars 25-32.
Royal College of Music, H 123, No 3.

Provincial Composers

The concert song was not a London creation, as the examples discussed earlier have shown. Indeed, in the period 1740- 1762 more songs were written by provincial composers than at any other time in the century. Although, like the works of the minor London composers, the quality of the music varies greatly, from the inspired to the inept, the number and location of the collections demonstrates not only a need for 'home-grown' vocal music, but also its popularity throughout the country.

Demand for vocal music appears to have been sufficiently large for London composers and publishers alone to be unable to satisfy it; local musicians were therefore needed to make good any deficiency. They may also have been encouraged by the clergy, who, following their musical experiences at Oxford and Cambridge, may have founded music societies in provincial towns, 'in what was partly an attempt to overcome problems of cultural isolation'.¹¹⁰ The distance of a concert centre from London may also have played a part, given the time and expense of obtaining music from the capital.

Some provincial composers were cathedral organists, examples being John Broderip of Wells and Richard Langdon of Exeter. The prominence of cathedral cities is of little surprise as there would have been a ready supply of competent musicians to provide an anchor for local concert life. The collections of John Pixell (c.1759), a clergyman and

¹¹⁰ Chevill, 'Music Societies and Musical Life', p. 5.

organist of St Bartholomew, Edgbaston, and of Mathias Hawdon (c.1760), organist of Trinity Church, Hull, suggest a need for concert music in their respective cities, both of which were becoming increasingly industrialised.¹¹¹

Other provincial composers at this time were Christopher Dixon of York and John Carr of Boxford in Suffolk. Virtually nothing is known of Dixon, except that he may be the ‘Mr Dixon’ who was the solo cello at the York concerts in the 1740s and 50s, and that he published two books of songs, each containing a cantata.¹¹² Although Carr’s *The Grove or Rural Harmony* (c.1760) has little to recommend it musically, it shows a demand for vocal music even in small communities.¹¹³ The collection, printed and sold in both London and Ipswich (the latter having had a music society since the 1730s¹¹⁴), may be one of the earliest to contain both solo and concerted vocal music. The inclusion of three cantatas and three catches implies that Carr’s audiences varied from the drawing room to the tavern music meeting. By predating the founding of The Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club in 1761, this collection suggests, as Robins notes, that provincial music societies may also have led the way with this form of music-making.¹¹⁵

The scoring of the songs in most of the collections is for two violins and basso, probably for practical reasons. Langdon, however, introduces wind instruments in his 1759 collection,¹¹⁶ notably in ‘Philander and Sylvia, a Pastoral Dialogue’ (No 6), where two horns are used throughout and there is a separate bassoon part in the final duet. A

¹¹¹ *A Collection of Songs...Set to Musick by Mr Pixell...* (Birmingham, [1759]). Pixell was at Edgbaston from 1750 until his death.

An Ode on the King of Prussia and six songs ...by Mr Matts Hawdon... (London, [1760]).

¹¹² See Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the finest Quality*, pp. 111-2.

¹¹³ *The Grove, or Rural Harmony* (Ipswich & London, [1760]). Carr was a grocer, thus, by implication, an amateur. See Holman, ‘The Colchester Part Books’, p. 589.

¹¹⁴ See Sadie, ‘Concert Life in Eighteenth Century England’, p. 21 and Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 333.

¹¹⁵ Robins uses William Hayes’ *Catches, Gleees and Canons* (1757) as evidence that provincial clubs were in existence before those in London. In reality, such clubs may already have been active on an informal basis for some years. See Brian Robins, ‘The Catch and Glee in eighteenth-century provincial England’, *Concert Life in Eighteenth Century Britain*, ed. Simon McVeigh & Susan Wollenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 142-143.

¹¹⁶ Goodall (*Cantatas*, p. 242) gives the date of this collection as c.1754, as does the British Library catalogue. If true, composers outside London were experimenting with orchestration before Arne, Berg and Worgan.

printed note in the score states: ‘This [bassoon] part may be sung with the words by a bass voice’ – a prudent alternative should a bassoon not be available or a bass singer wish to participate.¹¹⁷

Conclusion

The period 1740-1762 saw the establishment of solo song with orchestral accompaniment performed outside the theatre. Within a relatively short time, the genre had secured a place in all but the most exclusive concert programmes of this period. More importantly, a native voice had begun to develop as an antidote to Italian opera, the English *galant* style being its common denominator. Some stylistic developments, such as the doubling of instrumental parts at the octave and harmonic horn writing, predate their introduction through canonic genres, suggesting that native composers introduced these changes independent of foreign influence.

Despite their importance, these innovations were not used consistently, leaving a patchwork rather than a linear progression. More importantly, they were often limited to the songs’ ritornelli, with little integration with the vocal sections, except in a few cases. This antiphonal construct shows little real development on music written earlier in the century, and is a case of voice and orchestra, rather than voice *with* orchestra. It was therefore necessary to integrate the disparate ensembles, and the success, or otherwise, of attempts to do so would be important to the next stage of the genre’s development.

¹¹⁷ *Ten Songs and a Cantata* (London, [1759]).

Chapter 4

1762-1782: i) Bach and Arne

Introduction

By the early 1760s the orchestral concert song was established within English musical life. Theatre, chamber music and the ballad had all influenced the inception of the genre, and the growth of concert life had brought it to a wide audience. Composers, seeing songs as a means of obtaining both recognition within the musical community and money, composed songs with varied accompaniments, as seen in the examples in the previous chapter. The potential for further development appeared considerable.

However, the genre largely consisted of strophic songs plus some cantatas. Also, the accompaniments were not yet fully integrated with the voice part, except in a minority of works. Furthermore, the songs had charm but little dramatic content, thus their appeal was limited. Therefore, if the genre was to progress the music had to broaden its structural scope, increase its theatricality and the orchestra had to become more interactive with the voice.

Such changes could not all have come from the native ballad tradition; other genres had to exert an influence. It was fortunate that developments elsewhere were reaching England at a time when they could be received favourably and therefore make an impact on the content of concert songs and also enable vocal technique to reach new heights, literally, with the expansion of the soprano range into the *coloratura* register.

These changes came about through the works of two composers, Arne and J.C. Bach. Although from different backgrounds, they did much to develop the concert song in the 1760s and 1770s, partly by exploiting a gifted pupil, but also by exploring the possibilities of orchestral expression combined with the development of virtuoso technique. Many years of working in the theatres and at Vauxhall had enabled Arne to develop a synthesis of the English ballad style with Italian vocal writing. Bach arrived in

England from Italy in 1762, where the latest innovations in symphonic style, for example the use of obbligato recitative, in which the instruments were sometimes as prominent as the singer, had been incorporated into his operas. His arrival became a catalyst for change, but only because Arne had already built a foundation for him to develop. The contributions of both composers therefore need to be assessed in relation to each other, and also to other concert song composers in England.

The Influence of the Symphony

Bach and Arne were aided in their experiments by the advent of the symphony, bringing with it changes in the technique of orchestration, especially in the 'layering' of instruments, which created a greater range of colours and textures for composers to explore. Earlier instrumental genres, such as the *concerto grosso*, had exerted some influence on the scoring of song accompaniments, but the symphony, scored for winds, horns, strings and continuo, brought consistency to their scoring, especially when songs began to be performed alongside symphonies in concerts.

The symphony was principally a product of Stamitz and the Mannheim orchestra, which, according to Burney, reached a peak of perfection in 1759:

it has long seemed to me as if the variety, taste, spirit and new effects produced by contrast and the use of *crescendo* and *diminuendo* in their symphonies, had been of more service to instrumental Music in a few years, than all the dull and servile imitations of Corelli, Geminiani, and Handel, had been in half a century.¹

Any contemporary discussion of Mannheim is concerned with the technique and discipline of the ensemble, especially in its use of dynamics, rather than to any specific compositional style.² However, the orchestra's performance, as well as the scoring of its repertoire, was important in enabling instrumental music to be seen as expressive in its own right, and led composers to copy symphonic scoring in song accompaniments, thus making the orchestra more interactive with the singers, rather than merely providing

¹ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 945.

² See Roland Würtz/Eugene K. Wolf, 'Mannheim', *The New Grove*, xv, p. 273.

colourful ritornelli.

Kollmann's concept of orchestral 'layers' is relevant to the symphony, as the orchestra was built upon such a construct.³ However, several variants upon his system can be seen in English vocal music of the 1750s. Berg's 'Gentle Auth'ress' (1759) uses oboes and bassoons with strings; horns were not suitable here as they could not have doubled the melodic line. Also possible was the combination of clarinets and horns, as seen in Worgan's 'O Stay, brightest Liberty': this variant was imported from *Harmoniemusik*, and possibly through Rameau's operas, though his influence in England was limited.⁴ Despite inconsistencies in Kollmann's argument, the point that there is more scope for different combinations of instruments in solo passages, provided they are neither too similar nor too different in sound, is pertinent to song accompaniments, which needed to adapt to suit the requirements of the text.⁵

The symphony came to England from Germany in the late 1750s.⁶ The Sixth Earl of Kelly (1732-81), who had studied in Mannheim with Stamitz from 1752 to 1756, may have brought manuscript copies of some symphonies back to England and circulated them for performance.⁷ The Edinburgh publisher Robert Bremner published symphonies by Kelly in 1761 before moving to London the following year, starting his series *The Periodical Overture* in 1763.⁸ Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-87) and Franz Xaver Richter (1709-89) had symphonies published in London around 1760.⁹ These events attest to the

³ Kollmann, *An Essay on Practical Music Composition*, p. 93.

⁴ See Hertz, *Music in the Courts of Europe*, p. 653 for further reference to Rameau.

⁵ Kollmann, *An Essay on Practical Music Composition*, p. 94.

⁶ See Fiske, 'Concert Music II: The Galant Style Come to Britain', pp. 205-6.

⁷ The first reference to Stamitz in England is in *The Public Advertiser*, 3 March 1763, where *Six Orchestra Trios* are advertised in the 'New Music' section. This would not have prevented privately purchased or hand-copied parts of Stamitz's music from being circulated by Kelly and his associates in the preceding years. The first newspaper reference to Bach is on 28 February 1763, announcing the first performance of *Orione*. This does not, however, mean that his works had not already found their way into London concert programmes.

⁸ See David Wyn Jones, 'Robert Bremner and *The Periodical Overture*', *Soundings* 7 (1978), 62-84 for further information.

⁹ Abel's *VI Symphonies à 4 parties* Op 1 had been published in Amsterdam by Hummel in 1759, but were reprinted by Johnson as *6 Overtures in eight parts* in 1761, possibly having been re-scored to suit public taste. Richter's *Six Symphonies in eight parts* Op 2 were published by Walsh in 1760 (advertised in *The Public Advertiser* on 27 June 1760).

rapid acceptance of the symphony in England.

Cantatas by Hayes and Stanley and some of Arne's early songs show that some symphonic-style scoring, notably the harmonic use of horns, was in use from the 1740s, albeit sporadically. Arne's *Six Cantatas* and the songs in Volume V of *The Agreeable Musical Choice* (1759) suggest that he had introduced symphonic orchestration into his works on a regular basis by this time. These works reveal the foundation of, and the potential for, an English symphonic tradition, independent of Mannheim influence, by the beginning of the 1760s. However, the symphony was not adopted by English composers to the same degree as elsewhere, thus those that were composed are a small portion of the native musical output of the time. Arne's *Four New Overture or Symphonies in Eight and Ten Parts* (1767) are perhaps the most important; they copy the Mannheim model, including passages for wind instruments alone, dramatic use of the orchestral unison tutti and gradual dynamic changes, but are not as important as his vocal works. However, the significance of the symphony in England was that it helped to solidify the scoring of song accompaniments.

The Influence of Opera

If the symphony influenced the scoring of song accompaniments, opera helped in the development of new forms. In the 1750s *opera buffa*, or comic opera, became a part of the London theatre culture, succeeding where ballad opera had failed. Much of its success was due to its portraying ordinary characters, but, unlike in ballad opera, the music was written for the work, rather than borrowed from elsewhere.

One of the most popular comic operas of the century was Galuppi's *Il Filosofo di Campagna* (1754), performed in London on 13 January 1761.¹⁰ A part of its success lay in its departure from *da capo* aria form, which had persisted in England for many years,

¹⁰ *Il Filosofo di Campagna*, was first performed in Venice in October 1754. Several songs from the opera were published by Walsh in 1761. See *Public Advertiser*, 13 January 1761 and Michael Burden, 'The Lure of Aria, Procession and Spectacle: Opera in eighteenth-century London', *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, p. 390.

largely because of Handel's status. Burney names Bach as the first composer to abandon the *da capo* aria, but this is not entirely true, as both Hasse and Graun had already done so, and Bach used the form in some of his London works.

The Operas of this master are the first in which *Da Capo* disappeared, and which, about this time, began to be generally discontinued: the second part being incorporated with the first, to which, after modulating into the fifth of the key, the singer generally returns.¹¹

Several arias in *Il Filosofo* are through-composed. 'Compatite Signor' (Act 2) is in ABA'B' form, the music being transposed in the repeats. The two subjects are thematically different, and the modified tonality creates a sense of progression, rather than mere repetition. Similar structures used in the 1750s include AABAA, AA'BAA' and ABCAB, many of which can be found in Galuppi's opera, and which can be seen as early examples of the exposition, development and recapitulation in sonata form.

Robinson observes that Italian arias were imitating the concerto in the 1750s, citing Jomelli's 'Fa pur l'intrepido' from *Attilio Rigolo* (1753) as an example.¹² Although the ternary aria resembled *da capo* form, its first section modulated to a related key, usually the dominant, and a short central section returned to the tonic for an extended repeat of the first section, with a more florid voice part. An alternative was to create an extended binary structure, without a contrasting middle section for the voice but with an extended instrumental ritornello incorporating the necessary return to the tonic.

Rosen argues that opera exerted an influence on the solo concerto in the 1750s, through the development of aria form.¹³ However, it is possible to argue that the reverse is also true, extended and modified aria forms encouraging the development of virtuoso vocal technique, just as developments in instrumental design and playing technique encouraged the emergence of the virtuoso soloist. This process is therefore two-way,

¹¹ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 866. See also Hertz, *Music in the Court of Europe*, p. 897.

¹² M.F. Robinson, 'The Aria in Opera Seria, 1725-1780', *PRMA* 88 (1961-62), pp. 40-41.

¹³ Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, rev. edn. (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988), pp. 44-5. See *Ibid.*, p.58 for other examples of aria form at this time.

creating the vocal ‘concerto’ and the instrumental ‘aria’.¹⁴ Also, the residual influence of the *concerto grosso* can be seen in the *concertante* song, which features multiple solo instruments alongside the voice.

The rondo came to England from French opera in the 1760s. Bach used this form for Caesar’s concluding aria in *Alessandro nell’ Indie* (1762), but a more famous example is Gluck’s ‘Che Farò senza Euridice’ from *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762).¹⁵ The English rondo did not use the minor keys and changes of tempo that appear in Gluck’s aria, thus it is less dramatic than its operatic counterpart, hence the criticism of its being ephemeral.¹⁶ However, the greater use of extended instrumental ritornelli with contrasts of scoring to enhance the mood of the song partly compensates for any lack of drama.

Changes to the aria in England can be seen in Arne’s opera *Artaxerxes*, which received its first performance on 2 February 1762, to considerable acclaim. James Harris’ wife Elizabeth remarked that it was ‘infinitely beyond my expectations [;] tis a great deal in the Italian manner & some very pleasing songs in it’.¹⁷ The opera was a showcase for Charlotte Brent, who sang the role of Mandane. Her aria ‘The Soldier tir’d of War’s Alarms’ took expression and technical display to new levels, as shown by the long triplet phrases and large leaps in the example below. Its success was testament to both Brent’s technique and to Arne’s understanding of her capabilities, and remained a favourite with the public, being performed and published until well into the following century. Burney commented:

He crowded the airs, particularly in the part of Mandane for Miss Brent, with most of the Italian divisions and difficulties which had ever been heard at the [Italian] opera.¹⁸

¹⁴ Hartz gives the Andante from J.C. Bach’s *Symphony in D*, Op 3 no. 1 as an example, highlighting the stepwise movement and limited range of the first violin part. See Hartz, *Music in European Capitals*, p. 911.

¹⁵ ‘Che farò’ was made popular in England by Tenducci. The first newspaper advertisement of a performance appears in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 21 March 1770, at Covent Garden, where ‘between the 2nd and 3rd acts of *Messiah* Mr Tenducci will sing a favourite Italian Song, composed by Sig. Gluck’. The aria was first published in England, as ‘The Favourite song sung by Sig. Tenducci. Price 6d.’ See also the *Public Advertiser*, 24 March 1770 and Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 548.

¹⁶ See Cole’s description on p. 48.

¹⁷ Burrows and Dunhill (eds.), *Music and Theatre in Handel’s World*, p. 370.

¹⁸ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 1015.

and scorns

the spear, the spear and shield.

Ex. 4.1: Arne, 'The Solider Tir'd', bars 62.4-77, voice part. British Library G. 226. (2.).

In addition to its demands on vocal technique, 'The soldier tir'd' exemplifies the change from *da capo* form to a through-composed structure. The first section modulates to A major, though not strongly, at bar 40; this anticipation of the new key continues for a further fourteen bars before being firmly established at bar 54, then maintained until the end of the first section at bar 77. The extended ritornello (bars 78-94) takes up the voice's triplet quavers, combining them with the instrumental $\text{♪} \cdot \text{♪} \cdot \text{♪} \cdot \text{♪}$ motif, leading the music back to the tonic (D major) at bar 95. The second section ('But if the brazen Trumpet sounds'), introduces new material, combining florid singing with a more declaimed, syllabic, style – a clever combination of the English and Italian approaches to vocal writing – though the ending, with the final *fioratura* repeated twice with variations, is decidedly Italian. This aria became a model for other composers, Giordani's 'The Trumpet's loud Summons' (1772), appearing to owe much to Arne.¹⁹

The scoring of the aria, for oboes, horns and strings follows the Mannheim model, but the second section, with obligato trumpet, is more Handelian. Although the trumpet emphasises the contrast between the two sections of the text, it does not interact with the

¹⁹ See pp. 288-289.

voice as in a Handel aria; it is there purely for dramatic effect.

Artaxerxes was equally important for its orchestration. Arne's approach is immediately apparent in the overture, scored for trumpets, horns, oboes and strings, with an independent viola part. The texture is much thicker than in earlier works; horns and violas provide the inner harmony and fill the middle of the orchestral range. The increasing importance of the wind is apparent in the duet 'Fair Aurora', in which the evocation of the dawn is played by oboes, bassoons, horns and double basses, without upper strings. The oboe and bassoon parts are often doubled in octaves while bassoons with horns provide the inner harmony in places. The aria 'Behold on Lethe's dismal Strand' has the bassoons sustaining the bass line an octave above the repeated notes in the string bass part, and there are some passages for two bassoons accompanied only by the basso. This use of the bassoon's tenor register was a device Arne apparently liked to explore. The aria in Act 3, 'Water parted from the Sea', is scored for clarinets, bassoons, horns and strings; again, this use of colour and texture would have been not only dramatic but striking. Where the strings accompany alone, as in 'To sigh and complain alike I disdain', the reflective mood of the aria is enhanced by a lighter texture.

Herbage sees Arne's use of the orchestra in *Artaxerxes* as 'varied and original', and showing Arne to be an 'orchestral pioneer',²⁰ but other important experiments in orchestration had already taken place elsewhere.²¹ However, Arne did help to engineer important changes in English music in his lifetime, *Artaxerxes* being the most prominent work in this respect.

Not everybody liked Arne's innovations in *Artaxerxes*; some felt that his combining

²⁰ Herbage, 'The Vocal Style of Thomas Augustine Arne', p. 93.

²¹ Gluck, whose operas *La Caduta di Giganti* and *Artemene* were performed in London in 1746 (see *The London Stage*, Part 3, pp. 1208 & 1223), first included horns in arias in the first version of *Ezio* (1750), including a change of crook in 'Se povero il ruscella' (no. 7). The winds have greater independence parts in several arias in *La Clemenza di Tito* (1752). Gluck also added clarinets and piccolos to his orchestra in his late 1750s operas, and 'Se il fulmine sospendi' (no. 17) in the second version of *Ezio* (1763) has 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 horns and 2 trumpets. See Carse, *The History of Orchestration*, pp. 156-157 for further examples of Gluck's scoring.

Clarinet (in C) *tr*

Bassoons

Horns in F (originally in Mezzo Soprano clef)

Violins *tr*

Viola/Violetta

Basso

6 6 5 4 3

9 8 7 6 5 7 6 5 4 3

Ex. 4.2: Arne, 'Water parted from the Sea', bars 1-8. British Library G. 226. (2.).

the English language with Italian florid singing was an unhealthy hybridisation of genres, despite Handel having done the same in his oratorios and in *Semele*. Arne was accused of betraying English music by dallying with a foreign style. Charles Churchill was especially venomous, writing:

Let T---y A--e – with usual pomp of style
 Whose chief, whose only merit's to compile,
 Who, meanly pilfering here and there a bit,
 Deals music out as Murphy deals out wit;
 Publish proposals, laws for taste prescribe,
 And chaunt the praise of an Italian tribe;²²

²² Charles Churchill, *The Rosciad* (London: Printed for the Author, and sold by W. Flexney, 1761), ll. 712-17. Churchill attacks the assimilation of the Italian vocal style into English music a few lines later: The boasted work's called NATIONAL in vain, If one ITALIAN voice pollutes the strain. (ll. 723-4).

It is difficult to ascertain which works Churchill is referring to in support of his assertion. *The Rosciad* was published in March 1761, predating both *Artaxerxes*, the pastoral *Love in a Village*, performed on 8 December 1762, and *The Lover's Recantation*, arguably their antecedent in terms of vocal writing. *Thomas and Sally* is a possible target, but this is a very 'English' work, therefore *The Jovial Crew* (1759), with its use of extended aria form, is the probable candidate.

Important as *Artaxerxes* may be, it could not have succeeded without the prospect of a favourable reception. Few English composers had hitherto ventured into the world of *opera seria*, therefore Arne needed a libretto already known to the opera-going public, Metastasio's *Artaserse* (1730), which had already been set many times.²³ Although his setting was radical by using English, there is ample evidence that he had worked to combine the English dramatic style with Italian florid writing over many years, and that *Artaxerxes* was the culmination of his efforts.

Burney sees *Artaxerxes* within the context of Arne's later musical style:

Arne had the merit of first adapting many of the best passages of Italy, which all Europe admired, to our language, and of incorporating them with his own property, and with what was still in favour of former English composers.²⁴

Arne's 'new' approach to orchestration continued in *Love in a Village*, to which he was the main contributor. Although the songs were published in short score, a manuscript full score, believed to be mainly in Arne's hand, has survived;²⁵ through this one can see how the scoring in *Artaxerxes* was maintained. Many of the songs imitate the symphonic style, being scored for flutes or oboes, bassoons, horns and strings. The duet 'Hope thou Nurse of young Desire' (arranged by Arne from music by John Weldon (1676-1736)), has the oboes sharing the melodic material with the strings, and in one place the bassoons

²³ The first newspaper reference to a performance of *Artaserse* is in the *Public Advertiser* on 12 February 1754. The composer is not named. Other notable settings of the libretto include those by Vinci (1730), Hasse (1730), Gluck (1741), Graun (1741) and Galuppi (1749).

²⁴ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 1015.

²⁵ GB-Lcm MS 342. See also Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp.328-329.

have the melody, accompanied by the basso. Other arias, especially those for Rosetta, are similarly scored.

The other contributing composers either copied Arne's orchestration or had their music arranged by him. Lucinda's aria 'Cupid God of soft persuasion' (originally by Giardini) has two bassoon parts, on separate staves, doubling the violins at the lower octave. A larger orchestra accompanies the solo and duet items of the main characters, though, as in *Artaxerxes*, this only makes songs with reduced scoring (e.g. Rosetta's 'My Heart's my own, my Will is free', accompanied by violins and basso alone) stand out all the more. Although the distinction of character status by accompaniment was common in opera, the contrast was more remarkable in a work by an English composer juxtaposing the Italian aria style with that of the English ballad.

Love in a Village brought further criticism of Arne for diluting the 'English' style, Burney's comments revealing an ambivalent attitude:

the English pasticcio burletta of *Love in a Village*, and in 1765 *The Summer's Tale* and *The Maid of the Mill* betrayed us into a taste for the Italian melody, which has been the model of most of our vocal composers in and out of the theatre ever since.²⁶

However, Arne demonstrated that an English composer could write very effectively in the Italian style without having to resort to pastiche. This achievement is partly due to the scoring of the songs in *Love in a Village*, something Fiske acknowledges:

Its originality lay partly in the kind of song that was borrowed and partly in the way the songs were orchestrated.²⁷

Bach's years in Milan had been fruitful, especially in the production of operas, with *Artaserse* (1760), *Catone in Utica* (1761) and *Alessandro nell' Indie* (1762). Terry describes the orchestration in *Catone* as 'deft and expressive',²⁸ but this is also evident in Mandane's 'Con servati fedele' (No 1 in *Artaserse*), where the writing for oboes and horns mirrors the scoring of many contemporary symphonies. Equally notable was the use

²⁶ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 1016.

²⁷ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 328.

²⁸ Charles Sanford Terry, *John Christian Bach*, 2nd edn. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 53.

of multiple *obbligato* instruments: in ‘Vivro se vuoi cosi’ (No 22) there are two solo cellos and bassoons, in addition to oboes and horns. Here, the cellos and bassoons both imitate the oboes and play in contrary motion with them, as well as accompanying the voice, indicating a considerable degree of independence between parts.²⁹ In *Alessandro* Bach also uses two flutes in the aria ‘Oh Dio la man mi trema’ (No 15b), thus adding a wind octet to the strings. A dense texture can be seen in bars 13-16, where flutes, horns and bassi sustain the pedal note, oboes and bassoons play in contrary motion and the strings’ repeated quavers maintain the forward movement of the music.³⁰ The use of contrary motion between inner parts is often found in Bach’s operas, but only rarely in his concert songs.

Ex. 4.3: Bach, ‘Oh Dio la man mi trema’, bars 13-17.1. CW 3, Act II, ff28^v-29^f.

Bach quickly established a reputation in London through the operas *Orione* and *Zanäida* (first performed on 19 February and 7 May 1763 respectively), becoming, for a time, the leading composer of *opera seria* in London. Burney describes *Orione* as having been ‘extremely applauded’,³¹ which may have been partly due to its orchestration being strikingly different from earlier Italian operas in England.

²⁹ See CW 1, *Artaserse*, ed. Ernest Warburton (New York: Garland, c.1986), Act III, ff7^t-16^v.

³⁰ See CW 3, *Alessandro nell’ Indie*, ed. Ernest Warburton (New York: Garland, 1985),

³¹ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 864.

Two versions of the *Orione* score exist and, as these are placed on facing pages in the *Collected Works*, an immediate comparison is possible.³² The first version of the overture is scored for clarinets, tailles (tenor oboes), horns, strings and basso.³³ The substitution of the oboe by the clarinet and two pairs of tenor winds creating a much thicker sound in the middle of the orchestral range is immediately seen as unusual. The inclusion of the clarinet relates to orchestral development in England after Handel's death and van Allen-Russell suggests that Bach used it to help attract an audience.³⁴ Given the popularity of Arne's *Thomas and Sally*, which has clarinets not only in the orchestra but also on stage at the opening, this seems feasible. Burney comments:

[they] were chiefly struck with the richness of the harmony, the ingenious texture of the parts and, above all, with the new and happy use he had made of wind-instruments: this being the first time that *Clarinets* had admission in our [opera] orchestra.³⁵

The second version of the overture, for separate publication, is scored more conventionally, for oboes, bassoons (mainly in unison), horns, strings and basso. In both versions the role of the winds is mainly harmonic; they fill the middle of the texture and sustain chords around fast and soft passages in the strings, but when they play alone, as in the trio of the final Allegro, the effect is that of *Harmoniemusik* combined with strings.

Bach's thicker, more colourful, orchestral texture was not confined to the opera's overture. The aria 'Andro dal colle al' prato' (No 10) has flutes and clarinets in the accompaniment: although they do not play simultaneously the gaps between their respective episodes are too short for the players to have changed instruments, thus two pairs of players are necessary. The 'block' texture of the movement, where the instrumental passages are aligned vertically rather than horizontally, also means that

³² CW 4, *Orione* and *Zanaïda*, ed. Ernest Warburton (New York: Garland, 1989).

³³ Bach's use of the taille is probably something he inherited from his father. The tenor oboe, in its various forms, fell into disuse in the latter part of the eighteenth century, although it did appear in a few concertos, notably those of J.C. Fischer. It was not until the nineteenth century that its 'modern' form, the cor anglais, achieved a regular place in the orchestra, and then only as a single instrument.

³⁴ Ann van Allen-Russell, 'Wind Orchestration in the Music of Johan Christian Bach 1762-1782: Studies in Structure, Texture and Form' (Unpublished PhD diss., Goldsmiths, University of London, 2006), p. 388.

³⁵ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 865. The comment on clarinets is, however, only true with regard to *opera seria*.

these instruments are indispensable, despite their subsidiary role. Even denser textures are evident in the arias ‘Se mia è caro’ (No 14) and ‘Di quest’alma desolata’ (No 21), which are filled with passages of contrary motion between the instruments. Such scoring undoubtedly helped to establish Bach as a new voice among composers, especially those seeking to break free from Handel’s influence.

The aria ‘Se spiegi le primi vele’ (No 13 in *Zanaïda*), is scored for tailles, clarinets, bassoons, horns, strings and basso. It was one of Bach’s most popular vocal compositions, later adapted into three English versions: in the pastoral *Mancalas* (1764), the ballad opera *The Summer’s Tale* (1765) and as a Vauxhall song in 1777. The publication of Italian *opera seria* arias in English versions dates back to Walsh’s songs from Bononcini’s *Camilla* (1706), and is therefore nothing new,³⁶ but this scoring, if retained, would have made an impact in the theatres, encouraging the development of a larger orchestra and more consistent scoring than before.

Although Arne made an impact with *Artaxses*, Bach was better at writing vocal music sympathetic to a full orchestral accompaniment. Burney remarked of some of the lesser arias in *Orione* and *Zanaïda* that ‘they were more admired as instrumental pieces, than compositions for the voice’,³⁷ and it is through Bach that a merging of vocal and instrumental styles can be seen. This synthesis helped to make the 1760s and 1770s into what may be regarded as the zenith of the concert song, both in terms of diversity and instrumentation.

Bach’s route to Vauxhall

Bach’s pathway to the gardens was via the English theatre, in which he contributed to some collaborative works. These works show his transition from *opera seria* to the lighter music of the gardens, and indicate his willingness to write music to suit English

³⁶ See Hunter, *Opera and Song Books*, p. 45.

³⁷ Burney, *History*, ii, p. 866 See also Hertz, *Music in the Courts of Europe*, pp. 896-7. Hertz is, however, quoting out of context as Burney’s remarks are as much concerned with the indifferent performance by the singers as with the scoring.

taste. His known contributions to the vocal repertoire of the English theatre in the 1760s are summarised below:³⁸ they are not numerous, and some may be borrowings made without his knowledge,³⁹ but they provided an opportunity for his orchestrations to be incorporated into the native theatre tradition. In some cases the songs were specially composed; others, such as ‘Trust me, would you taste love’s pleasure’ from *The Maid of the Mill* (1765), are contrafacta, ‘Se volete eterni Dei’ coming from *Orione* (No 24).

Table 4.1: Vocal Music by Bach used in English Theatre Works in the 1760s.

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Music Attributed to Bach</u>	<u>Provenances</u>
<i>Manalcas</i>	1764	3 arias, 2 choruses	Arias adapted by Harris from <i>Orione & Zanaïda</i> ; one chorus also from <i>Zanaïda</i> , the other, ‘Swains be Gay’, new.
<i>The Maid of the Mill</i>	1765	2 arias, 1 duet	Arias from <i>Orione & Zanaïda</i> ; duet new.
<i>The Summer’s Tale</i>	1765	2 Arias, 1 duet	1 aria from <i>Zanaïda</i> , the other, ‘So profound’, new; duet from <i>Alessandro</i> .
<i>Pharnases</i>	1765	1 aria & 1 duet	1 aria known to be from <i>Adriano in Siria</i> .
<i>Tom Jones</i>	1769	3 arias	3 Vauxhall songs (‘By my Sighs’, ‘Ah’why shou’d Love’, & ‘Tender Virgins’), with new texts. ‘Tender Virgins’ originally from <i>Carattaco</i> .

Bach’s first venture into English theatre music was not in London but in Salisbury, where he was invited to conduct at the 1764 Festival by James Harris, one of its founders.⁴⁰ This may have been a shrewd move by both men: Harris was able to promote a ‘new’ composer at Salisbury, thus enhancing the city’s reputation as a centre for the arts; Bach could explore the native theatre tradition before a less critical audience. Harris’ *Manalcas*, performed on 22 August and described on the title page as ‘a Pastoral Eclogue intirely [sic] new’, contains music either new or adapted by a number of composers, including five items by Bach.⁴¹

³⁸ See CW 4, CW 9 and CW 25 *Works with English Texts*, ed. Ernest Warburton (New York: Garland, 1990) for further information.

³⁹ See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 600-612 for a list of borrowings from 1760 to 1800.

⁴⁰ See Betty Matthews, ‘J.C. Bach in the West Country’, *MT* 108 (1967), p.702. There is, however, no direct reference to this event in Harris’ papers.

⁴¹ See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 324 and the preface to CW 4 for further information.

Bach first contributed to a London theatre production with two arias in the pasticcio *Ezio*, performed at the King's Theatre on 24 November 1764.⁴² Both are from *Allesandro*, and, have an 'English' two-section structure. A more important contribution came the following year with two English arias in *The Maid of the Mill*. One, an English contrafactum of 'Se volete', is notable for the difference in scoring between the two versions. The original version is for two obbligato bassoons, violins and basso; the bassoons' role is both to double the violin parts at the lower octave and to imitate them with answering phrases, thus they are indispensable. In the English version the aria is transposed down from B \flat to G and the short score does not include the bassoon parts. Given that only cellos could have substituted these parts (the transposition takes the music below the range of the viola), it is probable that they were used and that the short score only omits them for the sake of saving space.⁴³ Fiske describes the scoring as 'Mozartian',⁴⁴ and this melodic and lyrical use of bassoons may have suggested new possibilities in the use of this instrument to other composers. The music's compiler was Samuel Arnold, whose song orchestrations owe a great deal to Bach.

Although Bach, primarily a composer of Italian opera, composed little new music for the theatre, the reasons for him contributing are unclear. Gärtner suggests a sense of *ennui* following his appointment as music master to Queen Charlotte in February 1764.⁴⁵ At that time the court spent much of its time at Kew, and its musical activities may not have been particularly challenging, especially as the Royal Children were too young to receive musical instruction. Also, despite the success of *Orione* and *Zanäida*, further opera commissions were not immediately forthcoming – Bach's third London opera *Adriano in Siria* did not receive its première until 26 January 1765. This gap, and an even

⁴² See CW 9 *La Clemenza di Scipione, and Music from London Pasticci*, ed. Ernest Warburton (New York: Garland, 1990), pp.103-117.

⁴³ See CW 4, pp. 230-233 and CW 25 pp. 162-163 for the respective versions of this aria.

⁴⁴ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 353.

⁴⁵ Heinz Gärtner, *John Christian Bach: Mozart's Friend and Mentor*, tr. Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland OR: Amadeus Press, 1994), p. 189.

longer interval before Bach's fourth London opera *Carattaco* (premiered 14 February 1767), support the notion of Bach having insufficient work between commissions. A prolonged period of relative inactivity may therefore have acted as a spur for him to seek other outlets for his music. However, he seems to have limited his use of English texts until he had acquired a good grasp of the language.⁴⁶ From the theatre, it was an easy progression to the gardens as not only had they become a haven for the performance of music with English texts (settings by foreign composers were also welcome), but the direct manner of delivery peculiar to the English language combined with technical display from the singer provided a combination of the familiar and the novel, thus an added attraction to audiences.

Bach's exploration of the English theatre may also have been due to the theatre orchestras now being able to perform his music. Fiske lists an orchestra of 24 players at Drury Lane in 1775 (16 strings, 4 woodwind, 2 horns and harpsichord), which could have coped with many of Bach's scores in their original form.⁴⁷ If also true for other theatres, it marks a significant change from the *ad hoc* orchestras of earlier times, the theatres now structuring their bands along the lines of the opera house.

Another factor in Bach's writing for the pleasure gardens may be that he, like Arne, had found a voice he could train to a high standard. This was Frederika Weichsell, whose ability was at least equal to that of Charlotte Brent. There is little evidence to suggest any acrimonious rivalry between the two singers similar to that between Faustina and Cuzzoni in the 1720s; the fact that both are named on the title page of Bach's second Vauxhall collection implies a healthy working relationship between them, though audiences may well have preferred either one or the other.⁴⁸ His pupil's ability, plus a growing

⁴⁶ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 324.

⁴⁷ See *Ibid.*, p. 281. The source of this information is not given, but is supported by evidence collated by Spitzer and Zaslav. See Spitzer & Zaslav, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, pp. 280-81.

⁴⁸ An anonymous report of 20 May 1765 refers to a dispute between 'two famous singers', probably Brent and Weichsell, where one refused to sing, and the other was eventually persuaded to perform one item. The nature of the dispute is not known, and seems to have been a one-off. They also performed in finales

confidence in setting English texts, may have prompted Bach to choose the gardens as a means of offering his music to a wider audience and to demonstrate his acquired skill at working with the English language.

The Vauxhall Songs

Bach's output for the gardens is comparatively small, comprising fourteen songs in four collections plus 'See, see the kind indulgent Gales', the contrafactum of 'Se spiegi le primi vele'. This lack of quantity is, however, not reflected in the songs' quality, which is high and shows the influence of both *opera seria* and the English theatre. Most of the songs were written for Vauxhall, though 'Tender Virgins shun Deceivers' is a contrafactum of 'Non è ver che asise in trone', from *Carattaco* (1767).⁴⁹ All are published in full score, providing an excellent opportunity to assess Bach's contribution to the genre.

Bach's writing for Vauxhall may have been due to its orchestra having expanded, possibly copying the King's Theatre. The paintings by Canaletto and Muller (c.1751) show a stage with the musicians performing with relative ease in the space available, but in Rowlandson's picture of 1784 the players appear cramped, possibly due to a larger band being on a stage that had not changed since the late 1750s.⁵⁰ Bach's songs, and the possibilities their orchestrations offered, may have prompted native composers to copy his example, with a consequent increase in the orchestra's size.

The first song in Book One (1766), 'By my sighs you may discover', shows a number of Bach's stylistic characteristics. It is in rondo form, an example of the influence of opera, and may be a sign of Bach's desire to integrate with London's musical world.

The song opens with a four-bar phrase for strings and continuo, answered by the clarinets

together, one notable example being in the presence of the King of Denmark in 1768. See Coke & Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens*, p. 159 and Southworth, *Vauxhall Gardens*, p. 117.

⁴⁹ Warburton use the term 'contrafactum' extensively, meaning that a different text has been substituted for the original, although this, strictly speaking, does not fall within the definition of the term, i.e. the substitution of a secular text for a sacred work. See the prefaces to CW 4 & 25 for examples of his usage.

⁵⁰ See pp. 56-59 for a discussion of the iconographical evidence.

in thirds in ‘clarinet’ register (b'-c'''); this register is maintained throughout, an octave above the violins. The clarinet writing is both melodic and harmonic; in the latter case they are paired with the horns and provide either the inner harmony to the music or sustain a pedal around the strings’ imitative figures. At bars 29-31 clarinets and horns are accompanied only by a bassoon on the bass line, similar to Worgan’s ‘O stay, brightest Liberty’, but Bach’s writing enables the melodic line to pass smoothly from strings to winds, something Worgan does not achieve. The winds also have independent material, rather than merely doubling the string parts. Their inclusion greatly enhances the accompaniment, but also makes them essential to the music’s harmony and structure, thus the song could not exist without them. In a transcription for keyboard many of these effects would be lost, as would the instruments’ effect on the word-painting.

The image shows a musical score for 'By my Sighs you may discover', bars 28-34. The score is in G minor, 3/4 time. It features four staves: Clarinets (top), Horns, Bassoon(s) (bottom), and Violins (top). The vocal line is written in the Horns staff. The lyrics are: 'what the... Tongue must not im -'. The Clarinet part has a melodic line that is an octave above the Violin part. The Bassoon part provides a harmonic accompaniment. The Horns part provides a melodic accompaniment. The Violin part provides a harmonic accompaniment.

Ex. 4.4: ‘By my Sighs you may discover’, bars 28-34.

‘Cruel Strephon will you leave me’ (No 2), also uses clarinets and horns. Here, however, the clarinets have more of a ‘doubling’ role, reinforcing the string parts either in unison or an octave higher. When the latter occurs, the horns and violins often play in unison. This sharing of melodic material between strings and winds had rarely been seen

to this degree in England, except in some works by Arne.

‘Come Colin, Pride of rural Swains’ (No 3) is scored for flutes, horns and strings, and is the only strophic song in the set, an exception to Bach’s preference for longer, through-composed (operatic) structures.⁵¹ The flute parts are similar to those for the clarinets in ‘Cruel Strephon’, while the violins and horns again fill in the middle of the texture. The only wind instruments in ‘Ah, why should love with tyrant sway’ (No 4) are two bassoons. Their role is firstly to support the violins, by doubling at the lower octave, and secondly to provide the inner harmony in a way that the viola part (which largely doubles the bass line at the octave) does not do. Although the bassoon was not yet completely freed from its role as a purely bass instrument, partial melodic writing such as this represents a significant step in that direction.

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Ah, why shou'd Love', bars 21-26. The score is in G major and 2/4 time. It features five staves: Violins, Bassoons, Voice, Viola, and Basso. The lyrics are: 'press each youth - ful heart ah why shou'd Love op - press each youth - ful heart'. The Violins and Bassoons parts are highly active, with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The Voice part has a melodic line with some rests. The Viola and Basso parts provide a harmonic foundation with longer note values.

Ex. 4.5: ‘Ah, why shou’d Love’, bars 21-26.

⁵¹ See van Allen-Russell, ‘Wind Orchestration in the Music of Johan Christian Bach’, p. 164 for further comment.

However novel the scoring in Bach's first Vauxhall collection may appear, it is, other than the above use of bassoons, similar to that of his operas. Bach may have been looking to gauge audience reaction to his music to see whether his ideas on orchestration were palatable to a public largely unfamiliar with the enhanced *galant* style.

In Bach's second collection (1767), three songs were written for Mrs Weichsell, the other for Charlotte Brent, now Mrs Pinto. 'In this shady blest retreat' (No 1), uses flutes and horns in a similar manner to that in 'Come Colin', although this similarity is largely limited to the introductory material and its repetitions. The flutes have sections of imitative dialogue with the violins and short passages of sustaining the harmony an octave above them. Although there are passages where the flutes double the violins, the dialogue sections are more in keeping with Bach's style than that of native composers.

'Smiling Venus, goddess dear' (No 2) is Bach's first Vauxhall songs to use oboes. Here Bach pairs them with the bassoons, doubling the melodic material two octaves apart, sometimes with the violins playing in the intermediate octave, as seen in Ex. 4.6, this 'tripling' of the melodic line deriving from his operas. Throughout the song the winds take the lead, the violins having a subsidiary role, particularly in bars 11-14 where they play repeated semiquavers between the melody in oboes and bassoons. An effective dialogue between instrumental sections is maintained throughout, the melodic material being passed from violins to oboes to bassoons and woven around the vocal line. The result is an elaborate tapestry of motifs, exploring the colours and textures of the orchestra to the full.

'Tender virgins' (No 3) is scored for flutes, horns and strings with an independent viola part. Other than the English text, there is no difference between this version of the song and the aria in *Carattaco*.⁵² The scoring in 'Lovely yet ungrateful swain' (No 4) has

⁵² See CW 4, pp. 419-430 & J. C. Bach, *Favourite Songs sung at Vauxhall Gardens*, introduction by Stephen Roe; General Introduction to the Pleasure Gardens by Christopher Hogwood, MLE F1 (Tunbridge Wells: Macnutt, 1985), part 2, pp. 11-14.

Ex. 4.6: 'Smiling Venus Goddess dear', bars 1-8
Original order of staves: Vn1, Vn2, Ob, Hn, Bn, Basso.

additional bassoon parts, and they are mainly used in their tenor register, doubling the horns, flutes and violins in turn to provide a variety of colours throughout the song.

One song, performed in 1768 but now lost, is 'When chilling winter hies away'. The text survives in Newberry's word book of that year,⁵³ and its content, along with its having been sung by Mrs Weichsell, suggests that it was an aria. Nothing further is known, but it suggests that Bach's contribution to the genre was greater than the surviving sources show.

The songs in Bach's third collection (1771) were sung by a Miss Cowper, about

⁵³ *A Genuine Collection of all the new Songs, Ballads, Cantatas and Chorusses* (London, 1768), p. 21. See Appendix A (2) for list of contents. See also CW 48 part 1, 'Thematic Catalogue', compiled by Ernest Warburton (New York: Garland, 1999), p. 394.

whom little is known, other than her having been an occasional singer at Vauxhall in the 1770s.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, her abilities must have been comparable to other principal London singers, as the range and technical demands of the songs are equal to those required of Weichsell.

‘Midst silent Shades’ (No 1), an extended two-section song, contains both florid writing and a high c". The structure copies the English song style, and suggests that Bach was moving towards an amalgamation of the two traditions in his music. Bach contrasts the two sections in a dramatic manner. The first, a tranquil scene, is scored for oboes, horns and strings, with the winds doing little other than doubling the violins or filling in the inner harmonies. The atmosphere is reinforced by the strings imitating a stream in the background. A sudden change occurs with the words ‘But if the Trumpet’s loud alarms’ heralding a more turbulent mood. Here Bach adds flutes, trumpets and timpani to the ensemble; this is the only occasion where two pairs of treble winds are used in his Vauxhall songs, although the flutes double the oboes for much of the time. A fanfare motif of repeated quavers is passed between the winds, reflecting the violence of war (see Ex. 4.7). Bach’s achievement is to have combined the drama of an operatic aria with the pastoral/rustic atmosphere of the gardens; such a song may have made a considerable impression, especially with such a full orchestration.

The other songs in the set are stylistically closer to Bach’s earlier music. ‘Ah seek to know’ (No 2) is scored for flutes, horns and strings, while ‘Would you a female heart inspire’ (No 3) uses only flutes and strings. Both songs are examples of ‘English’ scoring and are through-composed, but they also contain a considerable number of florid passages, reflecting Bach’s background in opera. Also notable is Bach’s combining an ‘English’ structure with *galant* scoring, or vice-versa, signs of a composer keen to use the best elements of both styles in his music.

⁵⁴ See *BDA*, iv, p. 13.

Fl, Ob (a2)

Tpt (a2)

Voice

Hn (a2)

VI 1 & 2

Basso

But if the Trum-pet's loud al - arms

Ob

ex - cite to deeds of Man - ly Arms, ex - cite to deeds to

Fl

Ob

Fl Ob unis.

Tpt

Tpt (Hn 8ve bassa)

Hn

deeds of Man ly Arms

Ex. 4.7: Opening of second section of 'Midst Silent Shades' (bars 33-43). Timpani part omitted.

‘Cease awhile ye winds to blow’ (No 4) is a rondo, scored for oboes, horns, obbligato bassoon and strings. The bassoon part is in thirds with the second violins in several places and, as the first violin doubles the voice part, often has an essential role in providing the inner harmony. The obbligato part is restricted to the A section only, but this only serves to make its use more effective. The oboes and horns have imitative and doubling roles, providing a thicker texture where the emotion of the song becomes more intense. The strings have a background role, but one which enhances the music’s drama by using motifs depicting the wind and water elements of the text. There is also some disguised contrary motion between parts, a stylistic device more commonly seen in Bach’s operas.

Ex. 4.8: ‘Cease Awhile’, bars 1-4.

‘See, see the kind indulgent gales’ (‘Se spiegi le primi vele’ from *Zanaïda*), was published in the autumn of 1777.⁵⁵ The Vauxhall version is fifteen bars longer and contains a more elaborate vocal line (designed for Mrs Weichsell). The scoring differs considerably from the original, being for clarinets, horns, a bassoon (generally doubling the bass line) and strings.⁵⁶ The taille parts are omitted, probably because of the instrument’s near obsolescence, but this also suggests that they were used for additional colour, rather than being an essential part of the ensemble. The horns are now the only

⁵⁵ See the *Public Advertiser*, 9 September 1777. See also CW 25, p. xiii.

⁵⁶ See p. 228. Unusual instruments may well have been used for visual, as well as musical, effect at Vauxhall.

parts with a purely harmonic role, and are little changed from the original version. The only significant alteration is the omission of the pedal c' in the first horn at bars 13-16 and in the recapitulation (bars 98-100); here they are given the former *taille* parts.⁵⁷ Although this rescoring of the music may simply be to adapt it for contemporary performance, it may also suggest that the Vauxhall orchestra was less adaptable than elsewhere, although some string players may have doubled on other instruments.

Bach's final contribution to Vauxhall was a book of two songs published in 1779. The first, 'O how blest is the condition', is scored for oboes, bassoons (on separate staves), violins and basso. By contrast with 'Smiling Venus' the oboes provide harmony and pedal notes, and are thus more closely related to the bass than to the melody. The second, 'Hither turn thy wand'ring eyes', is scored for 'Octave Flutes' (probably piccolos), horns and strings. The flutes imitate bird song in the background, passing a semiquaver figures to and from the violins in quick succession. There is also some contrary motion between the two pairs of instruments.

Bach's Other Concert Songs

Bach's English song output was not confined to Vauxhall. Between 1767 and 1780 he composed five 'English' songs and five 'Scotch' songs. The latter were, according to Warburton, encouraged by Tenducci, who had spent time in Edinburgh, encountering the 'Scotch' idiom in its native setting;⁵⁸ for Bach, it may have been a further means of integrating into the native culture. The songs, and their scoring, are set out below:

The more restricted scoring suggests that Bach was seeking to create a 'natural' (i.e. native) sound picture. Although the Scots songs use winds, their roles suggest a partial blend of shepherd's and Highland pipes, another example of hybridisation in the concert song. 'The Braes of Ballanden' is an extended, through-composed work of 182

⁵⁷ See CW 4, pp. 457-61 & MLE F1.

⁵⁸ See CW 25, p. xiv and Helen Berry, *The Castrato and his Wife* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 147-50 for further information on Tenducci performing at Edinburgh.

Table 4.2: Bach's English and Scots Songs

English Songs:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Scoring</u>
'The London Lass'	between 1767 & 1775	2 vn, basso
'Neptune'	between 1769 & 1775	vn (unis?), basso
'Farewell ye green Fields'	unknown	continuo
'The World'	unknown	2 vn, basso,
'Not on Beauty's transient Pleasure' (Concert Rondo)	1780	2 vn, basso/piano

Scotch Songs:

'I'll never leave thee'	by late 1770s	2 fl, vn, basso
'The Broom of Cowdenknows'	by late 1770s	2 fl, vn, basso
'Lochaber'	by late 1770s	2 fl, vl, basso
'The Braes of Ballanden'	by 1779	ob, vn, va, vc, piano.
'The yellow-hair'd Laddie'	late 1770s	Viola da gamba, piano

bars, similar to a *sinfonia concertante* movement; Bach uses an extended binary (ABAB) structure for the strophic text, pairing verses 1 and 3 and 2 and 4. The scoring is for oboe, violin, viola, cello and piano, with cadenzas for violin in bar 58, viola in bar 103, and cello in bar 147. Although reinforcing the *sinfonia concertante* concept, they also suggest that the song was performed in the one-instrument-to-a-part chamber style as depicted in Smith's drawing of a Sunday concert at Burney's home. These songs may therefore have been presented as chamber works at the Bach-Abel concerts.⁵⁹

'The yellow-hair'd Laddie', now lost, is scored for keyboard and *viola da gamba*, and is believed to have been performed at the Bach-Abel concerts in 1779.⁶⁰ The scoring enables both singer and instrumentalists to be named; Tenducci the singer and Bach and Abel the accompanying players. The performance of a 'Scotch' song by an Italian castrato, with German instrumentalists, demonstrates the level of stylistic integration Bach was able to achieve during his years in England.⁶¹

Bach also composed three English finales for Vauxhall, all of which are now lost: 'Ode to Pleasure' (Summer 1766); 'Ode to Summer' (Summer 1766); and 'The Pastoral

⁵⁹ 'The Braes of Ballanden' was performed by Tenducci on 10 May 1779 at the Festino Rooms, Hanover Square. See CW 25, p. 333 and McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.113.

⁶⁰ See CW 48 part 1, p. 429.

⁶¹ Abel apparently wrote no vocal music in London.



Fig. 4.1: Charles Loraine Smith, *Sunday Concert at the home of Charles Burney* (1782), www.loc.gov (Accessed 18 April 2013).

Invitation' (June 1768). The words survive, having been published in Newberry's word books of 1766 and 1768. These finales were probably performed by the named singers standing at the front of the stage, and, as concerted works, would almost certainly have had the accompaniment of the full orchestra, though the precise wind orchestrations cannot be determined.

Additionally, there are seven Italian concert arias, written between 1773 and c.1781.⁶² Most were written for Tenducci, possibly as an opportunity for him to display his abilities on the concert stage.⁶³ Although the use of Italian suggests a highbrow performance setting, probably the Bach-Abel concerts, as concert music these arias are similar in conception to Bach's Vauxhall songs, and therefore need to be discussed in relation to his overall output. These works are listed in Table, 4.3.

⁶² See CW 16, *Miscellaneous Works with Italian Texts*, ed. Richard Maunder (New York: Garland: 1985), for the edited scores.

⁶³ 'Sentimi, non Partir' was performed by Cecilia Grassi (later Bach's wife), at Hickford's Rooms on 17 May 1773.

Table 4.3: Bach's Italian Concert Arias

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Structure</u>	<u>Scoring</u>
'Sventurata, in van mi languo'	by May 1773	2-section	2 fl, 2 vn, 2 va, 2 hn (obbl.), basso
'O venere vezzoso'	1775	A-R-A	2 hn (arias only), 2 vn, va, basso
'Sentimi, non partir'	1773?	R-A	2 fl, 2 cl, 2 hn, 2 vn, va, 2 vc, piano (obbl.), basso
'Ah che gl'istessi numi'	late 1770s	R-A	2 fl, 2 cl, bn, 2 hn, 2 vn, va, basso
'Infelice in van mi lagno'	late 1770s	R-A	Piano (four hands)
'Ebben si vada'	by 1778	R-A	ob (obbl.), ob (rip.), bn, 2 hn, 2 vn, va, piano (obbl.), basso.
'Mi scordo i torti miei'	1778 or later	R-A	2 fl, 2 hn, 2 vn, va, basso

Bach, evidently more confident with Italian than with English, is more adventurous with both structure and scoring in these works, which are closer in form and style to opera than to English song. 'O venere vezzoso' has a 'cantata' form of three movements, which could be described as a *scena*. The recitatives are longer than in cantatas (sixty-four bars in the case of 'Sentimi') and are mostly *stromentato*, though the scoring is mainly limited to strings.

'Sentimi, non Partir', the earliest aria, is the most thickly scored, for flutes, clarinets, horns, violins, viola, two cellos, piano and basso. The piano part is integral to the music, having two prominent solo passages in bars 90-99 and 100-107, where it has decorative figures. The two cello parts, in tenor register, are similar to Bach's bassoon parts, as they double the violins at the lower octave for much of the song, giving the music a dense texture.

'Ebben si vada' also has a decorative piano part. The obbligato oboe part also provides imitative figures to those of the voice. This is further evidence of the *sinfonia concertante* influencing the scoring of vocal music, allowing the instrumentalists ample opportunity to show their abilities alongside those of the singer.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ See CW 30 & 31, *Sinfonia Concertantes*, ed. Richard Maunder, (New York: Garland, 1985 & 1988), for examples of scoring in this particular genre.

2Fl
2Hn
Vln. 1, 2, Vla
Voice
Piano
Basso (2Vlc, Cb, [Bn])

A quest' al ma ab -
ban - do - na - ta

Ex. 4.9: 'Sentimi, non partir', bars 100-104. Condensed from CW 16, p. 170.

Summary

Bach's skilful use of wind instruments makes his relatively small contribution to the concert song extremely important at a time when these instruments were taking on an increasingly prominent role within the orchestra. He brought the symphonic scoring of song accompaniments into sharp focus, which may have encouraged native composers to experiment for themselves. Although his influence on later composers has been seen more in terms of instrumental music, his vocal music exploits developments in the capabilities of both instruments and voices to the full, providing a platform for the future exploration of colour and texture within the orchestra. It is a pity that the juxtaposition of two pairs of

treble wind instruments to provide greater contrasts of colour was used in only one Vauxhall song, as greater use of this device would have more of an impact on the development of the wind section in England.

Roe says that ‘of the hundreds, possibly thousands of works composed for the gardens...Bach’s stand among the finest’,⁶⁵ and his opinion is justified by their scoring. Although the Italian arias are more developed, this does not mean that the English songs are in any way inferior; they are simply different. However, the fact that they were written for singers of the highest calibre made them almost inaccessible to others, and thus out of place at a time when vocal music was becoming more widely available, and to a greater part of the population.

Arne’s Later Songs

Arne’s later songs show signs of a more mature approach to composition, in both structure and scoring. Although many texts are strophic, he does not automatically employ a matching musical structure, preferring through-composition to repetition in many cases. This change is evident in the *Favourite Songs* of c.1765. ‘To a young Lady who argu’d in defence of Platonic Love’ (No 3), has a three-section structure, possibly modelled on the A-R-A cantata, but the boundaries between the sections are less distinct than in a multi-movement work, and may even suggest the *scena*.

There are also some unusual structures in *The New Songs sung at Vauxhall* (also c.1765), as noted by Farish,⁶⁶ and in *Summer Amusement* (c.1766). In the latter, notably in ‘While Spring sheds his odors around’ (No 4), elements of the strophic ballad and the *da capo* aria are combined. The first two sections are repeated, then there is a new section before the first section returns; an antecedent here is ‘To a Lady’ from Volume I of *Lyric Harmony*.

⁶⁵ Stephen Roe, ‘J.C. Bach’s Vauxhall Songs: A New Discovery’, *MT* 124 (1983), p. 676.

⁶⁶ Farish, ‘The Vauxhall Songs of Thomas Augustine Arne’, pp. 116-7

Evidence of development in orchestration in these collections is, however, less clear. Most were published in short score, and there are few indications as to the scoring. Many appear to have a violins and basso accompaniment, in keeping with the first phase of the *galant* style, but it is possible that the wind and horn parts were simply omitted in printing, thus the true picture cannot be known. Such markings as exist suggest that Arne continued to use the techniques found in *Artaxerxes* and *Love in a Village*, though inconsistently.

One feature of Arne's scoring that is apparent is his liking for the clarinet. A notable example can be found in the cantata *Love and Resentment* from *Summer Amusement*, written for Charlotte Brent and scored for two clarinets and strings. The scoring has led Farish to believe that the work was composed soon after *Thomas and Sally*, but it was not published until 1766 and there is no other evidence to support his claim.⁶⁷ The cantata has an A-R-A structure, both arias being in through-composed binary form, with no central repeat mark. Brent's technique is again evident in the florid writing, especially in the first aria, which copies that in *Artaxerxes*.



Ex. 4.10: Arne, *Love and Resentment*, first aria, bars 26.4-34.2, voice part. British Library, G. 322. (1).

Goodall claims that Arne's orchestration in this cantata may have been chosen to place greater emphasis on the text and its delivery, although the use of clarinets would also have attracted attention.⁶⁸ However, Goodall's assertion that the cantata was losing its 'intimacy' by being increasingly performed in public is not borne out here;⁶⁹ this work

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

⁶⁸ Goodall, *Cantatas*, p. 233.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

is equally suitable for public and private performance, its scoring and text (pastoral love) having a wide appeal. Although Albert Rice does not refer to *Summer Amusement* in his survey of 1760s clarinet writing, his inclusion of the engraving from *The Clarinet Instructor* (c.1780), depicting a gentleman in a domestic setting, suggests that the instrument had quickly found favour in private use.⁷⁰

In *The Vocal Grove* (1774) Arne varies the orchestral accompaniments considerably. ‘The Caution’ (No 2), uses two clarinets, bassoon and strings. The clarinets have a prominent melodic role and the bassoon alternates between providing inner harmony and doubling the basso. The inclusion of the clarinet, also used in the rondo ‘Nancy’s Bower’ (No 5), provides further evidence of the instrument’s growing popularity.

The most interesting scoring in this collection occurs in the cantata ‘Diana’ (No 6), possibly written some years earlier but now published for the first time.⁷¹ The *stromentato* recitative is followed by a through-composed sonata-rondo aria of 176 bars, with many florid vocal passages. The rondo structure allows for wind instruments to be added at appropriate moments; in order, oboes, clarinets and horns. This interpretation of the scoring should, however, be treated with caution as the clarinet and oboe parts could have been played by the same people, changing instruments during a suitable break. Although the winds also appear to double the violins, the gradual addition of colours to the accompaniment and the consequent thickening of the texture serve to heighten the intensity of the hunt scene, the use of horns and clarinets together being particularly effective. This song provides an interesting example of the linking of structure and scoring, showing a high degree of compositional skill on Arne’s part, especially as the melodic variants are allied to changes in instrumentation (see Table 4.4 and Ex. 4.11).

⁷⁰ Albert R. Rice, ‘The Clarinet in England during the 1760s’, p. 56.

⁷¹ The cantata’s words appear in Newberry’s *A Genuine Collection of all the Songs, Ballads, Cantatas and Choruses* (London, 1766), suggesting that the work may originally date from that year.

Table 4.4: Principal themes and scoring in the aria of Arne's Cantata 'Diana'

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Material</u>	<u>Scoring</u>
1-24	Introduction	2 vn (separate staves)
25-56	1 st Solo	Voice, 2 vn, Basso
57-60	Ritornello	2 ob (unaccompanied)
61-64	Solo	Ob (unis.), voice, vn unis.
65-68	Solo (continued)	Ob 1 in canon with voice
69-80	End of solo	Voice, 2 vn, Basso
81-100	Ritornello	Strings (with ob?), Basso
101-104	Solo	Voice, 2 cl
105	Solo	'Tutti' (vn & cl?)
105-107	Solo	Voice, 2 cl
108-120	Ritornello	'Tutti' vn (with cl?), Basso
121-140	Solo	2 vn, Basso (cl double vn?)
141-144	Solo	Voice, 2 hn
145-150	Solo	Cl 1 in canon with voice
151-152	Solo	2 vn, 2 cl, Basso
153-156	Ritornello	2 vn, (2 cl?), Basso
157-168	Solo	Voice, 2 vn, Basso
169-177	Coda	Tutti? (2 ob and/or 2 cl, 2 hn 2 vn, Basso)

Arne's final collection, *The Syren* (1777) is a mixed volume, containing music from theatre works, an extract from an oratorio and songs for Vauxhall and Ranelagh. Again, the songs are mostly through-composed; only one, 'New blessing new life ye impart' (No 6), a later addition to Arnold's oratorio *The Prodigal Son* (1773), is in binary form and here only the B section is repeated.⁷² This item also has the fullest scoring, for clarinets, horns and strings, and uses the texture to emphasise the nature of the words, that of a blessing. The scoring of the Ranelagh songs is apparently limited to two flutes and strings, but a possible indication that more instruments were used can be found in 'The Generous Shepherdess' (No 2) and 'The Favourite Cotillion' (No 3). At the head of No 3 there is the direction 'No Hautboys or Bassoons. Flutes an Octave above the Voice, except when it runs too high': this suggests that the oboes and bassoons doubled the strings for at least part of No 2, leaving the solo sections to the flutes. The orchestral accompaniment was therefore larger and created a fuller texture than is apparent at first sight.

⁷² See Hoskins, 'Arnold, Samuel', *The New Grove*, ii, p. 55. Arnold's oratorio was first performed at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 5 March 1773.

1. Vn bb 1-4



2. Voice bb 24-28



From this high Mount with me des - cend and hey to the joys of the Chase.

3. Voice bb 33-36 (words as above)



4. Ob & Voice bb 57-60

O'er hill and dale our flight we'll bend, o'er hill and dale our flight we'll bend

5. Cl & Voice bb 105-108

My sil - ver bow is rea - dy strung, is rea - dy strung

6. Hn & Voice bb 141-144

and she, who strikes ye dest - in'd prey, shall Queen of the for - est be crown'd

Arne's contribution to the development of the orchestra and to the concert song is difficult to summarise. Of all recent commentators, Aspden is the most insightful:

We know relatively little about the composer's aims first hand, but reports about him and the material circumstances of his career serve to build a picture of a man both at odds with his community and, therefore, at pains to establish his place within it.⁷³

Although Aspden is referring to Arne as an opera composer, her remarks are equally applicable to his other vocal works. Certainly he was prone to mass-produce music, which often affected its quality, but he also showed signs of being innovative. Developments in both the structure and the orchestration of his songs are testament to his ability to balance a need to produce music the public would like (and which would bring him money), while maintaining his creativity. *Artaxerxes* and *Love in a Village* show this to be true of his stage works, but his concert songs also reveal the same talent, albeit less overtly. The scoring of the songs suggests that he sometimes worked with limited resources, but still managed to achieve much. As a composer whose career covers a large part of the century, he can therefore be said to have done much for the concert song by a combination of compliance and experimentation.

Conclusion: Bach and Arne or Bach *versus* Arne

Bach and Arne were the two principal London composers of the 1760s and 1770s. Despite them appearing to vie for attention in London's musical world, there appears to have been little rivalry between them. Indeed, despite differences in age and background, and the fact that they moved in different circles, each seems to have been receptive to the other's ideas, being prepared to adapt them to suit their own circumstances. For example, van Allen-Russell asserts that Arne's use of wind instruments in his symphonies of 1767 owes much to Bach,⁷⁴ while Bach's bassoon writing may well have been influenced by Arne's stage works, especially *Artaxerxes*.

⁷³ Aspden, 'Arne's Paradox: National Opera in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Words and Music Studies* 4, ed. Suzanne Lodato, Suzanne Aspden & Walter Bernhart (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), p. 199.

⁷⁴ van Allen-Russell, 'Wind Orchestration in the Music of Johann Christian Bach', p. 211.

It is from Arne that some of the changes in orchestration in post-Handelian England originate. Some build on Handel's techniques; others, for example the use of clarinets in *Thomas and Sally*, are of his own creation, and are experiments with independent wind writing in stage works.

Bach was the first foreign composer in England to realise the possibilities of combining the scoring techniques of vocal and instrumental music, and his songs are among the most important to be written during this period. His musical training on the continent had given him the opportunity to take the foundation of new ideas in orchestration and to build on it in a manner that suited the appetite for variety in colour and texture in English musical taste. He was able to amalgamate his own ideas on the use of wind instruments with those of Arne, the result being a number of new concepts in orchestration that influenced the younger generation of English composers. However, not all his techniques appear in his English works, from which it can be deduced that he diluted his style to suit English taste. His opera scoring is more fully developed than that of any English composer, but was not imitated by them, as they seemed to prefer more transparent textures in their music.

Each composer had a notable singer as a *protégée*. Brent and Weichsell appeared together at Vauxhall, and the pairing of such talents would have enhanced the reputation of the Vauxhall concerts. Their abilities are beyond doubt, but they also show that Bach used less florid writing in his songs, in imitation of the English style. Arne, on the other hand, tests vocal technique to the maximum in his later cantatas, possibly copying Bach's operatic style.

Both composers therefore have an equal claim to the development of orchestration and vocal writing in England in the 1760s, their contrasting styles being complementary. The principal difference between them is their musical background. Bach came from the world of opera and the symphony, and was able to incorporate these styles into the

concert song with a degree of consistency that had not been achieved by native composers. Arne's musical education had been in a world where there needed to be sufficient flexibility to suit not only the needs of the work itself, but also whatever financial circumstances prevailed at the time.

The two composers therefore trod parallel paths, different in origin but occasionally converging, and their individual styles offered contemporary composers greater choice in the techniques of song composition, giving the concert song considerable potential for development in the later years of the century.

Chapter 5

1762-1782: ii) A musical Language, spoken with different Accents

Introduction

Bach and Arne were the two most important figures in the history of the concert song, but not the only composers to make a significant contribution to the genre. The attraction of having music performed at a public concert, especially at the gardens, appears to have been so strong that many composers were eager to contribute, hoping to gain recognition thereby. Both the extent and variety of material produced during this period testify to their endeavours.

With not only more outlets for music, but also a wider variety of musical styles from which to choose, composers could adopt an approach that appealed to fashionable taste, with extended opera-style arias and complex scoring, or stick with the established ‘ballad style’ strophic songs with two- or three-part accompaniment. They could also adopt an approach that combined elements of each. This chapter examines the approaches taken by a number of composers, native and foreign, to ascertain how these options are reflected in their output.

Native Composers

Unsurprisingly, the majority of concert song composers were English. Some were continuing the work of previous decades, others were new to the genre. Although it might be assumed that older composers would be inclined to stick to older compositional styles, with the younger generation developing new ideas, this is by no means as predictable as might be expected.

In the wake of the criticism levelled at Arne and *Artaxerxes* composers were faced with difficult choices. They could maintain the native tradition unaltered; they could copy Arne’s approach and be accused of ‘corrupting’ the native idiom; or they could adopt

imported styles wholesale and be accused of betraying their musical heritage completely. Too conservative an approach risked being left behind, musically and financially, as more progressive composers gained favour with the public; music perceived as too ‘modern’ might not be appreciated by an unsophisticated audience. Alternatively, composers could seek a middle way; simple accompaniments for strophic, ballad-style songs and more complex scores for extended structures. They could also combine what they regarded as the best of both, creating an individual but recognisable idiom.

Michael Arne (c. 1740-86)

Michael Arne’s compositional career began in his youth, with his first collection, *The Flow’ret*, believed to date from c.1750.¹ Between then and 1780 he published six further collections of songs. He appears to have preferred the strophic form; only in his last published collection are there signs of the influence of opera in the through-composed ‘Trumpet Song’ (No 3), and the rondo, ‘Invitation to Ranelagh’ (No 2).²

Arne’s early orchestrations are mostly in the ballad style; only ‘To Rosalinda’, which has two horns, indicates any addition of winds.³ However, in his 1773 collection, there is evidence of a more modern approach.⁴ Oboes and horns are included in ‘Content’ (No 1) and ‘How imperfect is Expression’ (No 5); the oboes double the violins and the horns provide the inner harmony, as in early symphonies. In ‘Pitty Patty’ (No 4), clarinets provide a colour contrast from that of oboes, but they still appear to double the violin parts, with little, if any, independent material. A solo clarinet provides an imitation of bird song in ‘Sweet Bird’ (No 8), though it is stated that an oboe can be substituted should a clarinet not be available.

Michael Arne thus adhered to the older style in his songs, though with some

¹ *The Flow’ret, A New Collection of English Songs* (London, [1750]).

² *Ranelagh Songs, 1780* (London, 1780).

³ *A Favourite Collection of Songs...Book III* (London, 1758), no. 6.

⁴ *A Collection of favourite Songs* (London, 1773).

tentative experiments in structure and scoring in the 1770s. It seems that he never fully accepted the developments that came with the second phase of the *galant* style, something a composer of a younger generation might have been expected to do.

Samuel Arnold (1740-1802)

From the 1760s onwards more composers' careers seem to have begun in the theatres, though many also held church appointments. From the theatres a move to the gardens was a logical step, once they had acquired sufficient knowledge and experience of song-writing to be able to write for different audiences. Arnold is the best example of this trend: he spent much of his career in the theatre, though later becoming organist of the Chapel Royal in 1783, and of Westminster Abbey in 1793.

Arnold was the first native composer of his generation to adopt Bach's ideas on orchestration wholeheartedly. His adapting of Bach's operatic arias for *The Maid of the Mill* was probably the source of inspiration for his own songs, even though he probably did not seek Bach's approval for the project. The publication dates of his song collections closely follow those of Bach, providing additional evidence of the latter's influence.⁵

In Arnold's first collection (1767) only two of the eight songs are in strophic form; the remainder are two rondos, three through-composed arias and one two-section song. 'Come hope, thou Queen of endless smiles' (No 6) is possibly an early *scena*, the first section being structured ABA and the second AB: the sections are contrasted sharply, one being lyrical the other dramatic. This operatic style owes much to Bach, and suggests that the concert aria was now an established part of the music at pleasure garden concerts. It also represents a significant break with the hitherto dominant native ballad style, introducing longer and more complex structures to songs.

Arnold's three other collections maintain the variety of structures used in the first;

⁵ The dates of Bach's song publications are: 1766, 1767, 1771 and 1779; those of Arnold are: 1767, 1768, 1774 and c.1778.

all except the fourth (1778) contain strophic songs, rondos, arias and cantatas. The fourth contains a cantata with a through-composed ternary aria, a rondo, a two-section song and a through-composed aria. Strophic songs are in a minority, showing that Arnold's preference was for the operatic style of song. Evidence of the move from *da capo* towards early sonata form can be found in 'Tender Hearts to every Passion', which, with a double exposition, also suggests the influence of the solo concerto.⁶ Another early example of the *scena* can be found in the 'cantata' 'Hither, hither from the Glade' from the same collection (No 3): here the cantata designation is spurious as this song is really a two-section aria.

Arnold's orchestration has possible antecedents in both native and foreign traditions. For example, the inclusion of the clarinet and bassoon parts in tenor register can be traced back to Worgan and Arne, though Italian and French opera could have been equally influential. The doubling of the melodic lines in the winds, though immediately apparent in Bach's London operas, is also found in English music of the 1750s, thus the provenances are equally strong. Treble winds often have both melodic and textural roles, devices which owe their origins to both Bach and Mannheim symphonies.

A good example of doubling can be found in the rondo 'Where no ripen'd summer glows' from Arnold's first collection, scored for flutes, clarinets, horns and strings.⁷ All the winds have melodic material (though the horns' contribution is predictably limited), which is passed from part to part providing a number of colour contrasts throughout the song. The flutes generally double the violins, either in unison or at the octave, but sometimes they are paired with the horns, for example in bars 31-33. The clarinets' role is both melodic and textural, sometimes combining with the violins and sometimes with the

⁶ *A Third Collection of Songs* (London, 1774), no. 2. This aria has an AABA' structure.

⁷ *A Collection of the Favourite Songs Sung at Vaux-Hall* (London, 1767), no. 4. See Appendix C (3) for a critical edition.

horns; this blending of orchestra and *Harmonie* is more integrated than in Worgan's 'O stay brightest Liberty', the motifs being taken up by different combination of instruments, as in bars 37-41 (see Ex. 5.1).

Ex. 5.1: Arnold, 'Where no ripen'd Summer glows', bars 37-41. © The British Library Board, G.378.a. (1.), p. 21. Staves, downwards: Hn, Cl/Fl, Vn1, Vn2, Voice, Basso. Note the many instrumental directions.

Also present are specific directions as to the inclusion of both viola and bassoon.

The marking 'Bassoon' in bar 37 shows that the instrument was used to contrast with the lower strings, and the direction at the head of the score 'Viola e Fagotti col Basso' in 'No stormy winter enters here' (No 3) provides clarification of how viola writing was understood at the time. An independent viola part is present in many of Arnold's songs, though it is often straightforward, providing additional inner harmony.

In songs with wind instruments the horn is the most common, providing inner harmony, but also having some melodic episodes to enhance the orchestral colour. However, it has to be said that Arnold's wind orchestration, though varied, is not always consistent. This is apparent in the second collection, where two pairs of winds are only used once and the clarinet does not appear at all; the latter's omission is surprising, given its prominence in the first collection.

Despite any apparent faults, Arnold's orchestration uses wind instruments more than many contemporary composers, showing that he took a modern approach to scoring. He appears to have built the orchestra along symphonic lines, giving a permanent place to

the wind section. Flutes and oboes are both used, though not together, and clarinets appear as often as their longer-established counterparts. Bassoons, playing in thirds in tenor register, can be found in many songs. In the 1778 collection there is an enlarged wind section, with two pairs of winds, horns and four-part strings in two of the songs: flutes and clarinets in *A Favourite Cantata* (No 1), and flutes and bassoons in ‘Again the balmy Zephyr blows’ (No 2).⁸ In ‘Child of Summer, blooming Rose’ (No 4), a solo oboe and bassoon interact with the voice producing a three-way imitative conversation, a combination of different soloists in the manner of a *sinfonia concertante*. The roles of the vocal and instrumental parts are less distinct, and Arnold may have chosen to display the abilities of notable instrumentalists, such as Fischer or Parke on oboe, alongside Mrs Weichsell (see Ex. 5.2).

Another collection, to which Arnold was the principal contributor, was that dedicated to Tenducci by the members of the Castle Society in c.1770.⁹ All six songs are scored for flutes, horns and strings; two also have separate bassoon parts. The wind instruments are only used in the ritornelli, ensuring that Tenducci had no competition from the orchestra. This scoring is unusual for Arnold, whose exploration of colour and texture and their interaction with the voice has already been noted. Although McVeigh describes this collection as one that ‘shows clearly how the graceful Italian *affetuoso* had infiltrated the British Song style’,¹⁰ this is only true with regard to the homophonic *galant* idiom; the scoring suggests different provenances, again copying that of contemporary symphonies.

Arnold’s single songs are mainly strophic settings of patriotic texts. ‘The Royal

⁸ *The Favourite Cantata and Songs* (London, [1778]).

⁹ *A Collection of Favourite Airs in Score sung at Haberdashers Hall by S^{ingr} Tenducci and Dedicated by him to the Gentlemen of the Castle Society* (London, [1770]). The other contributors are Carter, The Earl of Kelly, David Rezzi [*sic*], and an anonymous composer. The Castle Society was the grandest music club in the City of London, taking its name from the Castle Tavern, where it was based from 1724, and continuing until at least 1775. See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

Oboe

Voice

Bassoon

f

p

f

p

a - rise to Light, thy form dis -

close, ri - val the span - gles, the

Ex. 5.2: Arnold, 'Child of Summer, blooming Rose', interplay of soloists in bars 58-63 (Library of Congress, M1611.A761. p. 37).

British Tar' (c.1783) is the most notable example, using trumpets and drums to emphasise the military text. Arnold also uses trumpets and drums in 'Plough, Loom and Sails' (c.1782),¹¹ though the direction 'Trumpets or Corni in C' in the margin suggests that horns are an acceptable substitute should trumpets not be available. The writing is, however, more suited to horns, possibly alto horns sounding at trumpet pitch; the inclusion of the note f", for example in bar 56, was more common in horn parts as the intonation could be better controlled on horns. Dart's assertion that the use of horns with timpani was an orchestral device unique to England is supported by the scoring in this song.¹²

Hoskins describes Arnold's songs as being 'imbued with the easy charm of pure entertainment music, and, at that, of music composed in the first instance for public performance'.¹³ He also notes that the orchestration was a key feature of the music,

¹¹ Canterbury Cathedral Library, CCL-V28 (13). Christopher Cipkin assigns a provisional date of c.1782 to this song in his unpublished catalogue of the vocal music of the Canterbury Catch Club. The song is 'inscribed to the Agricultural Societies in Great Britain'.

¹² See Dart, *The Interpretation of Music*, p. 70. This scoring dates back at least to Barsanti's op 3 concertos of 1742, and several symphonies by Haydn and Pleyel call Dart's assertion into question.

¹³ Hoskins, 'Dr Samuel Arnold (1740-1802): A Historical Assessment', p. 95.

The image shows a musical score for the beginning of the chorus of 'Plough, Loom and Sails' by William Arnold. It consists of two systems of six staves each. The first system includes vocal parts and instrumental parts. The second system continues the instrumental accompaniment. The lyrics are: '...nite in support of our Trade and our Laws Our Trade and our Laws Our Trade and our Laws. Who u_nite in support of our Trade and our Laws.'

Ex. 5.3: Arnold, 'Plough, Loom and Sails', beginning of Chorus (bars 54-65).
 Canterbury Cathedral Library, CCL-V28 (13), p. 3. Copied with permission.
 The staves are: Timp, Tpt/Hn, Ob, Vn1, Vn2, Va, Voice, Basso.

Arnold using wind instruments to colour the accompaniment in a variety of ways, as Bach had done. He was proficient in the use of Italian decoration, while allowing the singers ample opportunity for the directness of delivery that characterises sympathetic settings of the English language. Although the influence of Bach is discernible, Arnold had the advantage of being able to see possibilities in textual nuances that may well have escaped a non-native speaker.

William Bates (*fl* 1750-80)

Bates' dates of birth and death are unknown; only publication dates, some of which are approximate, offer a guide to his professional career. He composed songs for several musical establishments, although there is no evidence of his having a formal connection

with any. He appears to have spent most of his career composing songs for the gardens, though he also made one substantial contribution to the theatre in the 1760s.

One compositional device Bates used extensively is the extended introduction to a strophic song, after the operatic style, and it is often from instrumental directions in these introductions that his scoring can be deduced. One example is ‘A Bacchanalian Song’ (c.1770), where horns have a six-bar solo, setting the drunken scene by reeling between tonic and dominant without settling firmly in either key (see Ex. 5.4).¹⁴

Ex. 5.4: Bates, ‘A Bacchanalian Song’, introduction. British Library, G.310. (84.).

Bates’ earliest songs, published in c.1760, consist of two collections of twelve songs, each written for Ranelagh. They appear to have been composed in the ballad style (most are strophic), and only three songs use wind instruments, thus they are little more than *œuvres d’apprentissage*.

Bates appears to have produced no further concert songs until 1768, but during that time he composed the opera *Pharnaces*, one of three ‘English Operas’ produced by

¹⁴ British Library, G.310. (84.)

Garrick at Drury Lane in the 1764-5 season.¹⁵ The scoring of both overture and songs copies the *galant* style, with textural, rather than melodic, wind writing. Some arias are long and difficult, in imitation of *Artaxerxes*, which has led Fiske to describe the work as ‘the most competently written and the most inventive of the three Drury Lane ‘English Operas’’.¹⁶ However, Bates’ orchestration is, at times, clumsy, notably in ‘The Blaze of Rage’ (Act 1), in which the horns conclude some phrases with an unaccompanied  motif, making the music sound disjointed. The strings-only arias, such as ‘Bested Fast’ (Act 1), have a surer touch, showing Bates to be more comfortable with the older style. The scoring of ‘Love (When worth like them inspires)’ (Act 1), and ‘Now free from Pow’r of mortal Harms’ (Act 2) is for clarinets, horns and strings (orchestra and *Harmonie*), with the two groups playing separately, except at cadences.

Bates’ later concert songs comprise eight collections dating from 1768 to 1777. All three of the major London gardens are named on the title pages, plus the lesser-known Grotto Gardens in Southwark. The vast majority of the songs are strophic, and the accompaniments appear to be for strings only. The exceptions, such as ‘The Choice’ (1769), stand out because of their scoring;¹⁷ here clarinets and bassoons join the strings, creating another variant of the orchestra-*Harmonie* combination and also showing signs of the doubling of parts present in the later phase of the *galant* style. However, the obvious use of woodwind instruments is rare; only in the 1776 collection does the evidence point to flutes being combined with horns and strings, similar to the slow movements of some contemporary three-movement symphonies.¹⁸ Trumpets make an appearance in ‘Hark the Trumpet sounds to Arms’, a through-composed aria in the

¹⁵ The other operas were Rush’s *The Royal Shepherd* and Michael Arne and Battishill’s *Almena* (both 1764). See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 311.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

¹⁷ *A Collection of Songs* (London, 1769), no. 2.

¹⁸ *The Favourite Songs* (London, 1776).

1777 collection, which also contains two *da capo* arias.¹⁹ The combination of additional instruments with an operatic structure in this collection is unusual for Bates, but shows signs of greater integration of strings and winds, and may have been written in the wake of the theatre work *Flora, or Hob in the Well* (c.1775), which is more mature in style than earlier works.²⁰

Fiske describes Bates as a good melodist,²¹ though his early attempts to compose in the later *galant* style seem somewhat inept. As his understanding of orchestration grew, so he became more confident; something apparent in his more cohesive later works. His almost exclusive preference for the strophic song sets him apart from those who introduced other structures into their song-writing, and suggests that he struggled to adopt new ideas. His sporadic attempts at striking a balance between the older and newer styles, especially with orchestration, show that his sympathies lay with the former.

Thomas Carter (c.1740-1804)

Carter spent his early years working at theatres in Dublin, where the results of his collaboration with Tenducci in the revision of George Rush's *The Royal Shepherd* as *Amintas* in July 1765 were well received. This success may have encouraged him to move to London in 1769. Thereafter, his career appears to have been one of mixed fortunes: theatre pieces appear to have had limited success, but his concert songs were more popular, especially 'Oh Nanny, wilt thou fly from me'.²² The words are by Thomas Percy, and originally appeared in Dodsley's *Collection of Poems* (1758).²³ They were subsequently transposed into lowland Scots, an act criticised by Burns as shameless

¹⁹ *The Favourite Songs Sung at Ranelagh* (London, 1777).

²⁰ *Flora, or, Hob in the Well: the Overture, Duet and principal Songs* (London, [1775?]).

²¹ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 398.

²² *A Collection of Favorite Songs* (London 1773), no. 4.

²³ *A Collection of Poems in Six Volumes by Several Hands* (London: Printed by J. Hughs for R. and J. Dodsley, 1758), vi, pp. 233-4.

capitalising on a popular literary form.²⁴

Carter's choice of texts is in keeping with the tastes of the time, blending the Arcadian pastoral with the native rustic, though he, perhaps more than other composers, appears to be poking fun at these, and at other fashions, with some pointed comments on contemporary culture. 'A Modern Fine Lady's Reflections' opens with the words 'When the hated Morning's light', portraying a character who sees the coming of daybreak, with its accompanying ill-health, as a bitter end to her carousing.²⁵

Carter's structures are a mixture of strophic songs, rondos, some through-composed arias and the cantata, 'Sweet Remembrance, tell my Mind'.²⁶ His orchestration is stylistically more advanced than his use of form: several songs, with differing structures, copy the symphonic model of either flutes or oboes combining with horns and strings. 'Oh Nanny' is more developed, with flutes, bassoons, horns and four-part strings, showing that an 'ancient' text, could be combined effectively with a modern accompaniment.

Carter's scoring is more varied than that of many of his contemporaries, using different combinations of instruments that are often imaginative. His rondos are the best examples, the recurrence of the main theme being given contrasting colours through variations in the scoring, similar to Arne's *Diana*. In 'Love's the noblest Boon below' (1774), the flutes double the violins at the upper octave and the horns provide a harmonic pedal in the middle of the texture: both roles are in keeping with the second phase of the *galant* style. The clarinets have a dual role; partly reinforcing the pedal at a higher octave and partly doubling the flutes and violins, though with a change of register mid-phrase (see Ex. 5.5).

²⁴ See [Percy, Thomas], *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry consisting of Old Heroic Ballads. Songs and Other Pieces of our Earlier Poets, together with some few of Later Date by Thomas Percy D.D.*, ed. Henry B. Wheatley, 3 vols. (London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co, 1889), i, pp. lxxii-lxxiv for a discussion of the provenances of the poem and Burns's remarks.

²⁵ *A Favourite Collection of Songs ... Book I* (London, 1779), no. 1.

The image shows a musical score for six instruments: Flute (Fl), Clarinet (Cl), Horn (Hn), Viola (Vla), Bassoon (Bn), and Bass (Basso). The score is in 2/4 time and features a vocal line in brackets with the lyrics '[Source of com - fort, Balm of Woe]'. The instruments include Flute (Fl), Clarinet (Cl), Horn (Hn), Viola (Vla), Bassoon (Bn), and Bass (Basso). The score is in 2/4 time and features a vocal line in brackets with the lyrics '[Source of com - fort, Balm of Woe]'. The instruments include Flute (Fl), Clarinet (Cl), Horn (Hn), Viola (Vla), Bassoon (Bn), and Bass (Basso).

Ex. 5.5: Carter, 'Love's the noblest Boon below' (1774), bars 21-24 (vocal line shown in brackets). British Library, H.1660.cc. (1.), No. 1. Viola and bassoon parts editorial.

Carter's concert songs are perhaps his best compositions, and seem to have come more easily to him than his stage works, in which he apparently overreached himself.²⁷ His orchestrations are closer to Bach than many of his contemporaries, showing that he was not afraid to blend the ballad style with modern *galant* scoring.

Charles Dibdin (1745-1814)

Dibdin's reputation today rests upon his stage works, some of which were performed as theatre afterpieces, and therefore in a concert-like situation.²⁸ Scholarly emphasis on the theatre works has, however, led to his concert songs being overlooked; Hogarth's edition of his songs omits three of the four collections, only the words from the 1773 set being included.²⁹ This omission means that appraisals of Dibdin's vocal music are incomplete, especially as some songs have interesting stylistic features.

²⁶ *A Collection of Favourite Songs... 1773*, no. 3.

²⁷ Fiske described Carter as someone who 'wrote best when least ambitious'. See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 550.

²⁸ See Holman, 'The Sadler's Wells Dialogues of Charles Dibdin', *Art and Ideology in European Opera: Essays in Honour of Julian Rushton* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 148-75 for a discussion of Dibdin's stage works.

²⁹ *The Songs of Charles Dibdin*, ed. George Hogarth, 2 vols. (London: How & Parsons, 1842). The words to the 1773 songs can be found at pp. 418-424.

Dibdin's early songs were written in the ballad style, with accompaniments in two or three parts. However, in his 1770 collection there is clear evidence of second-phase *galant* orchestration.³⁰ The final song, *A Cantata*, is scored for flutes, oboes, clarinets, horns and strings, though there is only one pair of treble winds in each movement and the clarinets appear to be intended as substitutes for oboes. In the first arioso the violas are divided, thickening the texture in the middle of the orchestra and the violins play an imitative broken chord figure above a bass of repeated crotchets; these features, plus the use of the inverted seventh chord in bar 5, show Dibdin to be skilled at writing in the later *galant* style. However, this is a lone example; the only other concert song known to use full *galant* scoring is 'Love's an April Day' (1773), and this has the more conventional model of oboes, horns and strings.³¹

Holman describes Dibdin as 'the first English composer who could handle [the *galant* style] with assurance',³² though Arnold's songs suggest that he was equally skilful. Although condensed scores cannot give an accurate picture of Dibdin's scoring, they do show that his music was probably more cosmopolitan in its influences than that of many contemporary English composers.

John Abraham Fisher (1744-1806)

Fisher led the orchestras at both Covent Garden and Vauxhall in the 1760s and 1770s. He also wrote theatre music, concertos and symphonies, making his overall output wider than that of many of his contemporaries. His songs date from the 1770s, with textual themes more closely related to contemporary life than to the pastoral, indicating a preference for natural, rather than idealistic, presentations of scenes.

The majority of Fisher's songs, including cantata arias, are strophic, but combine

³⁰ *Six Favourite Songs and a Cantata* (London, 1770).

³¹ *Vaux Hall Songs for 1773* (London, 1773), no. 6.

³² Holman, 'The Sadler's Wells Dialogues of Charles Dibdin', p. 64.

Ex. 5.6: Dibdin, *A Cantata* (1770), first arioso, bars 1-6. British Library, H.1653.q.(5.), p. 16.

older structures with modern accompaniments. ‘A Sailor’s Voice’ (1770), is the most imaginatively scored, with the unusual combination of oboes and clarinets.³³ Although both pairs of instruments are necessary they rarely play simultaneously and the oboes are limited to providing a series of answering phrases (see Ex. 5.7). Fisher’s conception of the song appears to have been a dialogue between two sets of ‘pipes’, sailor’s and shepherd’s, which suits the nautical and Scots themes of the text. However, this dialogue is not used with sufficient skill, thus the music gives the impression of a sound idea badly developed. Fisher’s orchestration generally copies the Mannheim model. However, when wind instruments are used, the violins appear to be reduced to a single part, promoting the winds at the expense of the strings. This device may be a deliberate mixture of old and new styles of scoring or simply an attempt at a compromise between different tastes.

³³ *The Favourite Cantata of Diana and Cupid and a Collection of Songs* (London, 1770), no. 2.

Ex. 5.7: Fisher, 'A Sailor's Voice', bars 1-16. Pendlebury Library, X RA. 850.17B.X1, p. 6.

An *obligato* instrument appears in some strophic songs, one example being 'The Hedges were green'.³⁴ Here, a solo clarinet is combined with unison violins and basso, which, although evoking the *obligato* aria is notably different from earlier practices of restricting accompaniments in strophic songs to strings only. By introducing new instrumental colours and textures to a more 'traditional' type of song, the link between scoring, structure and the 'national' style of English vocal music is weakened, but not to the extent that it becomes subsumed into continental models. This adoption of 'standard' *galant* scoring into 'English' song accompaniments was a small but important step in the history of music in England.

James Hook (1746-1827)

Hook was the most prolific song composer of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England. It is estimated that his output numbers around two thousand songs, published individually and in collections, between 1767 and 1820, comprising two, sometimes three, collections every year, plus many single songs. Such a quantity inevitably makes a detailed analysis difficult, especially when the majority were

³⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 5.

published in short score, but there are several surviving autograph manuscripts, dating from the 1780s to c.1820, which enable Hook's orchestral style to be appraised.³⁵

Hook's London career began at the New Theatre in Richmond. A set of Richmond songs appeared as his Opus 1 in 1767, with two others added.³⁶ Through contact with John Fawcett (*d.* 1793), also a singer at Ranelagh,³⁷ he found a major outlet for his music. His second collection (also 1765), names Hook as a composer for, if not necessarily employed at, the gardens - initially at Marylebone (1769-1774), then at Vauxhall (1774-1820). Thereafter, at least one collection was published every year until 1803.

The vast majority of Hook's output consists of strophic songs, though he also wrote a number of rondos and cantatas, mostly in the earlier part of his career. The three-verse format is the most common, although the number of lines in each stanza varies from song to song. This structure is more in keeping with Farish's concept of stereotyping than Arne's output, or of many other composers, but strophic songs offered a contrast to both neo-operatic vocal works and to the instrumental items heard at garden concerts, which were becoming longer and more complex. Hook appears to have had an astute understanding of what was required, and composed accordingly.

Having assisted Arnold at Marylebone, Hook may have copied his mentor's concepts of orchestration. However, there are some signs of the later *galant* style in his earliest collections. His liking for the clarinet is evident from the outset; in bars 61-64 of 'Strephon I've been coy to prove thee' they have an accompanying figure under the held note in the voice part (see Ex. 5.8).³⁸ Also notable in this example is the transposition of the pedal to the second clarinet part in bar 63 and the contrary motion between the first

³⁵ Some of the songs in GB-Cul Add. MSS 6636 & 6637, GB-Lbl Add. MS 28971 and GB-Lmt IV/162/9 have a number in the top right hand corner of the first page, which suggests a later attempt at cataloguing. These manuscripts are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6; see pp. 307-312.

³⁶ *A Collection of New English Songs... Opera Prima* (London, 1767).

³⁷ Fawcett also took part in the first season at the New Theatre in 1766. See *BDA*, v, pp. 191-5 for further biographical information.

³⁸ *A Collection of Songs... Book I* (London, [1767]), no. 1.

clarinet and the basso part, a device probably copied from Bach, though less sophisticated in its application.

Ex. 5.8: Hook, 'Strephon I've been coy to prove thee', bars 61-64.
British Library, H. 1651.d. (4.) H (1), No. 1

Two flutes and two bassoons are used in 'Damon and Phoebe' (1768).³⁹ The bassoons are paired in the introduction, but they apparently reinforce the bass line during the vocal solos, only emerging again in the ritornelli. However, this example provides further evidence of Hook exploring the *galant* style from the start of his career.

Ex. 5.9: Hook, 'Damon and Phoebe', bars 5-12. British Library, H. 1651.d. (4.) H (2), No. 1.

Treble winds are used consistently in the Marylebone songs, but are generally limited to a single pair, usually flutes or clarinets. Horns appear only to have been used

³⁹ *A Collection of Songs... Book II* (London, [1768]), no. 1.

in hunting songs, such as ‘When the Morning peeps forth’.⁴⁰ In some rondos, Hook experimented with the use of obbligato instruments; in ‘The Favourite Scots Rondo’ an oboe and a bassoon have additional solos to complement the voice in the B and C sections, while also demonstrating Hook’s use of the *concertante* style.⁴¹ These examples show that the scoring of Hook’s Marylebone songs was consistent, and sometimes imaginative.

Ex. 5.10: Hook, ‘The Favourite Scots Rondo’ (1770), bars 59-62.
British Library, H.1651.d. (2.), No. 7.

Although instrumental indications in the short scores decline after 1770, it is probable that Hook continued to score in a similar manner. Where he differs from Arnold is in the placing of the instrumental colours, certainly in the strophic songs. Arnold blended the instruments with the voice, while Hook tended to use decorative instrumental figures and colours only in ritornelli, allowing the orchestra to make way for the singer. It appears that, for him, the text, especially when containing humour or social comment, had to be transmitted to the audience without any risk of distraction by the accompaniment.

There is evidence of Hook making greater use of the wind section after his move to Vauxhall in 1774, with an increase in the range of colours and textures. However, there is still a connection between the strophic song and a simple accompaniment, either strings-only or with the wind confined to the ritornelli, which may have been a deliberate attempt to create a clear contrast between this and more complex forms, to reinforce the ‘national’

⁴⁰ *The Favourite Songs Sung at Vaux Hall* (London, [1770]), no. 2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, no. 7.

or folk-like musical idiom of the ‘ballad’ style. This is at its most evident in the ‘Scots’ songs, for example ‘My Peggy is a young thing’,⁴² where unison violins and a ‘drone bass’ (imitating bagpipes) would have enabled the provenances of the music to be readily identified by the audience.

There is evidence of greater use of wind instruments in the songs with extended structures. The rondo ‘Farewell Noise and Fancy’s Riot’ is scored for flutes and clarinets,⁴³ and the cantata ‘Love’s the Tyrant of the Heart’ for oboes and bassoons.⁴⁴ In the latter case the thickened texture heightens the intensity of the text. Although the Mannheim model is readily discernible in the cantata, the use of two pairs of treble winds is rare, and Hook may have been copying Arnold’s style in the rondo.

Towards the end of the 1770s, with Britain at war in North America, more patriotic songs appeared in the Vauxhall programmes. ‘The Female Captain’ (1778),⁴⁵ has a text implying the inclusion of trumpets and drums, and ‘Rouse Britannia’ has an obligato trumpet part.⁴⁶ The latter also has a through-composed strophic structure, which, although an unusual treatment of a ‘traditional’ form, shows Hook, while remaining a ‘ballad-style’ composer, being aware of developments in aria form and prepared to explore its possibilities. ‘The Description’ is an early example of the *scena*, with six sections, each differing in tempo and meter but succeeding each other without a clear break.⁴⁷

Hook also developed the Vauxhall finale, an unstaged endpiece, into a ‘mini-opera’. His experience of this genre would undoubtedly have come from working at Marylebone. Although many have been lost, those that survive, involving all the singers from the evening’s concert, reveal how quickly the new operatic style had been seized upon by

⁴² *A Collection of Songs* (London, 1775), no. 2.

⁴³ *A Collection of Songs* (London, 1781), no. 8.

⁴⁴ *A Second Collection of Songs* (London, 1780), no. 5.

⁴⁵ *A Third Collection of Songs* (London, 1778), no. 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 6.

⁴⁷ *A Second Collection of Songs* (London, 1779), no. 2.

pleasure garden composers.⁴⁸

An examination of the scoring of Hook's early songs shows that he was aware of the colours and textures that the 'modern' orchestra could produce, and exploited them to good effect in settings of often quite rudimentary texts, projecting them to audiences in a manner that enabled them to be easily received. The enhanced scoring in the more operatic songs suggests that he would seek to develop the genre further in later years.

John Potter (c.1734-after 1813)

Potter's 1762 lectures at Gresham College, subsequently published as *Observations on the present State of Music and Musicians*, brought him to the attention of London's musical world, leading him to compose music for the pantomime *The Rites of Hecate*, in collaboration with Jonathan Battishill in 1763. The contrast between the two composers' music is marked; Battishill embraces the new *galant* ideas on orchestration, his scoring imitating that of *opera seria*, including a full wind section. Potter's 'Comic Tunes', many of which are dances, seem archaic, being scored for strings alone, mainly in three parts, with the violins often in unison, and the second part played by violas.⁴⁹ Although there is an element of pastiche in the music, the part-writing is notably closer in style to the Baroque than to the *galant*, with independent material for the inner part(s).

Potter's approach to song-writing is clearly stated:

The Voice is the principal thing to be heard in the song, therefore no accompaniment should overpower it; nor any intervening symphony be too loud, for if so, the voice is not heard when it goes on again.⁵⁰

He names Boyce as the paragon of this particular art.

in his accompaniments to his songs, he has expressed everything that can be done by a variety of

⁴⁸ Borschel states that only four of these finales, or short operas, have survived: *The Poll Booth* (1784), *A Word to the Wives* (1785), *The Triumph of Beauty* (1786) and *The Queen of the May* (1787). However, a number of other similar works survive in manuscript. See Borschel, 'Development of English Song', p. 42 and Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 395 for further information.

⁴⁹ *The Comic Tunes to the principal scenes in The Rite of Hecate* (London, [1764]). William Hopkins, in his diaries, describes the tunes as 'very bad indeed'; see *The London Stage*, Part 4, p. 1029.

⁵⁰ Potter, *Observations*, footnote to p. 56.

instruments, but never over-burdens the voice with rattling symphonies, so as to eclipse it, and render it insignificant; a thing too frequently done by most of our composers.⁵¹

Potter's opinions are reflected in his songs, written between 1765 and 1774.⁵² He is conservative both with structure, using mainly the strophic form, and with scoring, copying the older, 'ballad' style. There is some use of extended form, but these songs are only a fraction of his overall output. Indeed, the cantata *Cupid's Recruiting Serjeant* is simply a strophic song preceded by a *stromentato* recitative.⁵³ Eight songs are 'Scots', showing that Potter had a liking for this style:

There is an easy natural simplicity in their modulation, and some of their compositions may be stil'd elegant; and the song music is most agreeably suited to the dialect of the country.⁵⁴

Potter's accompaniments appear to be almost exclusively for unison violins and basso. Only in 'The Shepherds Festival', a finale, are wind instruments definitely included; horns, trumpets and timpani are added to four-part strings, though there were probably some wind instruments as well.⁵⁵

Potter's songs reveal a determination to be true to the native ballad tradition, setting himself apart from many contemporary composers. Although he describes English music as being 'adapted to suit all the dispositions of mankind',⁵⁶ he himself appears to be largely inflexible in his compositional style. However, his songs offered a contrast to the more complex works, and thus may have been welcomed by sections of the audience.

William Yates (d. 1769)

Very little is known of Yates, other than his having succeeded Worgan at Vauxhall in c.1761, remaining there until his death in c.1769. The earliest references to him are in benefit bills at Drury Lane in 1761 and 1766, while *Mortimer's London Directory* (1763)

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, main text.

⁵² Although the first collection has not survived, the others can be found in the British Library and The Bodleian Library.

⁵³ *A Favourite Collection of New Songs* (London, 1771), no. 2.

⁵⁴ *Observations*, p. 43

⁵⁵ *A Favourite Collection of New Songs with the Shepherds Festival* (London, 1768), no. 5.

⁵⁶ *Observations*, p. 44.

names him as an ‘Organist and Teacher on the Harpsichord *At Spring-Gardens, Vauxhall*’ in the ‘Masters and Professors of Music’ section.⁵⁷ He wrote songs for Vauxhall, Marylebone and Finch’s Grotto Gardens. After his death Worgan succeeded him at Vauxhall.

Yates’ first substantial work was the *serenata The Choice of Apollo* (libretto by John Potter), performed for his benefit at the Little Theatre on 11 March 1765.⁵⁸ The manuscript to this work (GB-Lcm MS 643) provides useful information in assessing the Yates’ other music, all of which was published in short score. The orchestration follows the Mannheim model of oboes, bassoons, horns, strings and continuo, but also appears to be ‘gendered’, Apollo’s songs being for the full orchestra, while the female parts, Britannia and Poetry, are accompanied by strings alone. The exception is in Poetry’s ‘Long may your sons with Freedom crown’d’ (pp. 37-41), which has no bass line and where oboes and horns sustain chords over a quaver motif in the violins.

Yates’ song collections date from the 1760s, the earliest being *A Collection of Moral Songs* (c.1762).⁵⁹ The title suggests that these songs, with texts attributed to Isaac Watts, were intended for devotional use, but a closer examination of both music and texts show them to be non-liturgical, as seen in the following verse from ‘Great God to thee my voice I raise’ (No 3):

I would not change my native land
For rich Peru with all her Gold
A nobler prize lies in my Hand
Than East or Western Indies hold

Although none of the songs has an introduction, they do have a short interlude and coda,

⁵⁷ *Mortimer’s London Universal Directory* (London: 1763), pp. 31 & 38. See Anon, ‘An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians’ *GSJ* 2 (1949), 27-31 and Lydesay G. Langwill, ‘Two Rare Eighteenth .Century London Directories’ *ML* 30 (1949), 37-43 for further information on Mortimer. See also *BDA*, xvi, p. 340 for further biographical information on Yates.

⁵⁸ *The Choice of Apollo* received only one performance, and no reference to its publication has been found in either RISM or *BUCEM*. See Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 316 & 408 for comments on the music and libretto respectively.

⁵⁹ *A Collection of Moral Songs* (London, [1762]).

which also suggests non-liturgical usage. The accompaniment of ‘How glorious is our heav’nly King’ (No 1), possibly for two violins and basso, suggests concert performance.

Yates’ second published collection (c.1765) only contains three songs by him; the others are by Giardini and an anonymous composer.⁶⁰ ‘Love and Affection’ (No 4) is scored for oboes, horns, strings and continuo; here the wind instruments lead at the opening, relegating the strings to a subsidiary role. This scoring is reminiscent of the *Harmonie*, and, with bassoons on the bass line, the song could be performed with winds alone.

Ex. 5.11: Yates, ‘Love and Affection’, bars 1-6. Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 561* (3), No. 4.

Yates appears to have preferred a strings-only accompaniment, only occasionally adding wind instruments. A notable exception is ‘A Pastoral Ballad’, which is accompanied by clarinet and strings.⁶¹ At first sight, the solo clarinet does not interact with the voice, only joining the violins in the ritornelli, but only a single melodic line is printed, therefore a second violin or clarinet playing a third below the first is possible, and some additional notes in the treble staff appear to confirm this (see Exx. 5.12a and 5.12b). In the first example, the violins and clarinets have a dialogue of motifs; in the second, the violins accompany the voice, the clarinets providing a flourish between phrases. This use of clarinets may be exploiting their trumpet-like sound and chromatic

⁶⁰ *The New Songs sung...at Vaux-Hall* (London, [1764]). A handwritten note on the title page, possibly by either the composer or the publisher, says: ‘Book 2nd, 1764’. See Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 561* (3).

⁶¹ *A Collection of Songs... Book III* (London, 1768), no. 5.

range to emphasise the festive text. The hunting cantata *The Chace*, from the same collection, is scored for horns, strings and basso, but Yates introduces the horns in the opening recitative, giving them a four-bar unaccompanied passage that heightens the expectancy of what is to come.

Ex. 5.12a: Yates, 'A Pastoral Ballad', bars 7-10. British Library, H. 1653.q. (16.), No. 5.

Ex. 5.12b: *Ibid.* bars 19.3-23

Equally notable is the horns' changing crook from C to F between the siciliana and arioso sections; this practice was long-established in the theatre, but this example may be the first in a concert song, demonstrating the development of the instrument at this time.⁶²

In Yates' final (posthumous?) collection (1770), only 'A Bacchanalian' may have had a fuller orchestral accompaniment.⁶³ Oboes and horns may have been used to thicken the texture of the music, the robust sound being well-suited to a drinking song.

Yates was a composer who alternated between incorporating new ideas into his music and using older, simpler scoring. This approach suggests that many native composers liked the innovations of the later *galant* style, but were conscious of the varied tastes of audiences, and adapted their music accordingly.

Other London Composers

As in preceding decades, many composers published sets of concert songs; some

⁶² The use of transposing crooks on the horn in England is believed to date from the early 1740s, but does not appear to have been in general use until the 1760s. See Morley-Pegg, *The French Horn*, p. 86 and John Humphries, *The Early Horn; A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.11-12 & 14 for examples of music written for horns and notable players in England in the eighteenth century.

⁶³ *A Collection of Songs* (London, [c.1770]).

Table 5.1: Song Collections by Other London Composers 1762-1782

Adams, James B.	1
Barber, Robert	1
Battishill, Jonathan	1
Bowman, Thomas	1
Brewster, Henry	3
Curtis, Thomas	2
Dunn, John	1
Dupuis, Thomas Sanders	1
Gaudry, Joseph	1
Heron, Henry	6
Howard, Samuel	1
Hudson, Robert	1
Jarvis, Samuel	2
Lockhart, Charles	1
Newton, James	1
Shield, William	2
Smith, John Stafford	1
Wainwright, Dr Robert	1
Worgan, John	3

were new to the genre, for others it was the continuation of established work. For many, song composition was part of a portfolio career, which could include both church and theatre posts. Two examples are the theatre singer Joseph Gaudry (*d.* 1782) and Charles Lockhart (1745-1815), organist of Lock Hospital on three separate occasions (1768-70, 1772-78 and 1790-97),⁶⁴ both of whom published a collection of songs in 1775.

A comparison of the songs of composers active both in the 1750s and in later decades enables an appraisal of whether their style changed over time. One such composer is Heron who, towards the end of his career, began to use the symphonic style of accompaniment. In ‘The Moth’,⁶⁵ an obbligato bassoon joins the strings with a meandering line depicting the flight of the insect. This writing could be an example of the *concertante* style or an imitation of ‘Softly Rise’ in Boyce’s *Solomon*. In ‘A Hunting Song’ the instrumental introduction to the recitative is scored for flutes, horns and four-part strings;⁶⁶ this symphonic orchestration was probably copied from Bach’s London

⁶⁴ See Nicholas Temperley, ‘The Lock Hospital Chapel and Its Music’, *JRMA* 118 (1993), p. 51 for a list of organists at Lock Hospital from 1768 to 1801.

⁶⁵ *A Collection of Songs...* [Book 4] (London, 1769), no. 6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 8.

operas.

In Heron's eighth collection (1780),⁶⁷ there are stronger indications of the modern style, though these may be little more than a dalliance with new ideas in composition, rather than a genuine attempt to adopt them. In 'Rondeau' (No 6) and 'To follow the Sound of the Horn' (No 8), winds and horns join the strings to provide a much thicker texture to the music. The latter is a strophic song, and shows that the symphonic model was used in 'ballad-style' songs.

Similar patterns can be found in the works of other composers; some, such as Adams and Brewster, adopt the new orchestral style with enthusiasm; others, such as Dunn and Jarvis, reject it in favour of the older, more 'English' style. The later songs of Howard and Hudson show that both experimented with later *galant* scoring, though neither did so consistently, thus any examples in their songs do not prove that they adopted it fully. Howard's scoring for flutes and horns in 'O give me that social Delight,'⁶⁸ and Hudson's use of flutes with strings in 'The Constant',⁶⁹ are almost their only examples of wind orchestration. However, as Howard's song is strophic, it suggests that he too was seeking to combine symphonic scoring with 'ballad-style' songs.

John Worgan returned to song composition in 1770, and his three later collections show that he had fully adopted the modern style, with a consistent use of flutes or oboes with horns and strings. In his thirteenth collection (1771),⁷⁰ there are examples of bassoon writing in tenor register, and Worgan is quick to draw attention to his use of the clarinet in 'A Favourite Air, with Clarinets' (No 6), possibly because he had been the first native composer to use the instrument.

⁶⁷ *A Collection of Songs...* [Book 8] (London, 1780).

⁶⁸ *A Collection of Songs... Book V* (London, [c.1765]), no. 3.

⁶⁹ *The Myrtle... Book 3d* (London, [c.1767]), no. 6.

⁷⁰ *A Collection of the Favourite Songs Book the 13th* (London, 1771).

Provincial Composers

London's influence over provincial cities in terms of musical taste had initially been with instrumental music, but, with the increasing popularity of the pleasure gardens, it extended into the vocal repertoire. Provincial composers still supplemented music from the capital with their own works, and the fact that their music was usually, though not exclusively, published in London suggests the concert song was a means of gaining recognition beyond the confines of their immediate areas.

Several provincial composers produced collections of songs between 1762 and 1782. There is a wide geographical range, with Bath, Birmingham, Doncaster, Durham, Exeter, and Worcester being represented, as well as the Caerhays Estate, near St Austell in Cornwall. The latter collection, by Charles Bennett,⁷¹ is away from the main centres of music-making, but the title page reveals private patronage, the music being apparently intended for the drawing room of the Trevanion family, to whom it is dedicated. Most of the subscribers are local, though the inclusion of Yates' name suggests that some songs may have been performed subsequently in London.

The concept of private performance is supported by the scoring, mostly for strings in three parts, though horns are used in *A Cantata* (No 12), a hunting piece. In 'The Wakeful Nightingale' (No 11), two flutes and a 'Flauto Piccolo' are added to the strings, the latter imitating bird-song.⁷²

Most of the provincial collections are from Bath, indicating the growing importance of that city as a musical centre. However, the collections by Davidson Russel, Henry Harington and the elder Thomas Linley contain either strophic or binary songs and, with the exception of Russel's cantata 'Now Gentle Spring' from *The Butterfly*, are

⁷¹ *Twelve Songs and a Cantata* (London, [1765]).

⁷² The instrument doubles the first violin part throughout, its range (e'-e''') suggesting the descant recorder.

generally scored either for strings or for keyboard alone, following the ‘ballad’ style.⁷³

A more substantial use of the orchestra can be found in the cantatas of the younger Thomas Linley. The six cantatas in the two volumes of the *Posthumous Works* (c.1800) are probably by him, three certainly so, and, although initially performed in London, would almost certainly have been heard at Bath, where his family was active in the musical life of the city.⁷⁴

Linley’s orchestral writing includes examples of the *concertante* style, an oboe and cello forming a solo group with the singer in the second aria of ‘In yonder grove’; the instrumental parts have passages in contrary motion around the vocal line. His recitatives reveal a more developed style, often beginning *secco* then moving to an *accompagnato* ending, either to enhance the atmosphere, as in Ex. 5.13, or the mood of the character, as in the ‘Werter’ cantata (Ex. 5.14). In both cases the addition of instruments helps to link the music into the aria. Beechey describes the use of horns in ‘In yonder Grove’ as sensitive and probably modelled on the scoring of Stanley’s cantatas, though Linley uses a full string section, with divided violas.⁷⁵ This division creates a thick texture, though the three-part *galant* foundation is still discernible.

Other examples of more developed orchestration can be found in the works of the Exeter composers Langdon and William Jackson. Langdon’s collection of c. 1770 is scored in the symphonic style, and makes good use of the bassoon, pairs of which appear in ‘Ev’ry bliss that Heav’n can give’ (No 1) and the cantata *The Indifferent* (No 13), where they are joined by oboes.⁷⁶ In ‘Tender Hearts to ev’ry Passion’ (No 9), the scoring is at its fullest with ‘Clarinets or Hoboys’, bassoons, horns and strings. The binary

⁷³ *The Butterfly, Being a Collection of Songs* (London, [1773]), no. 1. The scoring is for two flutes/oboes, two violins and basso.

⁷⁴ *The Posthumous Vocal Works of Mr Linley and Mr T. Linley* 2 vols. (London, [1800?]). Three of the cantatas have been recorded on *Linley: Cantatas and Theatre Music*, Hyperion CDH55256.

⁷⁵ Beechey, ‘Thomas Linley, 1756-78 and his Vocal Music’, *MT* 119 (1978), p. 671.

⁷⁶ *Twelve Songs and Two Cantatas* (London, [1770]).

Ex. 5.13 is a musical score for a recitative. It features a vocal line with lyrics: "[he] stray'd and heard the tur-tles from they - press bough. for none but". The instrumental parts include Horn (Hn), Violin (VI), Viola (Vla), and Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The vocal line is in a recitative style with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The instrumental parts provide harmonic support with chords and moving lines.

Ex. 5.13: Thomas Linley the younger, Cantata, 'In yonder grove', second recit, bars 11-14. (*Posthumous Works*, i, p. 44)

Ex. 5.14 is a musical score for an arioso section. It features a vocal line with lyrics: "Down the lone steep the sor-row-ing youth des-cends" and "Up-on the earth his mourn-ful eye he bends". The instrumental parts include Violin (VI), Viola (Vla), Violoncello solo (Vlc solo), and Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line is in an arioso style with a more melodic and expressive quality. The instrumental parts provide harmonic support with chords and moving lines.

Ex. 5.14: Linley, 'Werter' cantata, arioso, bars 1-11. (*Posthumous Works*, i, pp. 62-3)

structure of this song combined with a full orchestra again indicates that some provincial composers were incorporating new instrumental writing into older forms. Jackson generally limits his accompaniments to four-part strings, with the occasional addition of horns. His scoring is, however, in the older style, and there are few signs of the later *galant* accompaniment being used. Langdon's orchestrations are more contemporary,

possibly because he was the more widely travelled and thus better equipped to absorb new ideas.⁷⁷

Jackson is also notable for his opinions on song-writing, which, as with those of Edward Miller of Doncaster, are set out in the prefaces to his collections. The two quotations below give an interesting contrast of perspectives from two geographically (though not necessarily musically) remote parts of the country.

There are two Ways of setting Words to Music. One, is when the Words are considered merely as Vehicles for Sound; the other, is when Music gives a plainer Expression to the Sentiment, or a more forcible Excitement to the Passion of the Words. (Jackson)⁷⁸

He [the composer] cannot approve a Stile which appears to him more calculated to display the vanity of the *Singers*, than to do justice to the Sentiments of the Poet. (Miller)⁷⁹

Jackson argues that either method is acceptable, dependent upon circumstances, though he clearly prefers the latter. Miller insists that a song must do justice to the words, and not place the interests of the performer above either music or text. Their opinions, written within a few years of each other, illustrate the problems that often beset vocal music, with the advocates of the native and Italian schools constantly vying for supremacy throughout the century.

Of other provincial songs, Pixell's *Providence* (1775) has the most interesting scoring; three oboes, two bassoons, three violins and basso.⁸⁰ This is, however, a sacred, though non-liturgical, work; the secular items in the collection are more conservatively scored, though 'The Farewell' (No 1) has *obbligato* oboe and cello parts, another example of a *concertante* strophic song.

Overall, concert songs from Exeter make the strongest musical statement. Although much of the city's musical reputation depended on two composers, concert life flourished there for most of the century. Exeter's distance from London may have given them an

⁷⁷ See Watkins Shaw, 'Langdon, Richard', and Richard McGrady, 'Jackson, William', *The New Grove*, xiv, p. 238 & xii, pp. 724-6 respectively for further biographical information.

⁷⁸ Preface to *Twelve Songs, Op 4* (c.1765).

⁷⁹ Preface to *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode* (c.1770), p. i.

⁸⁰ *Odes, Cantatas, Songs etc* (Birmingham, 1775).

opportunity to establish a cultural voice that was different from elsewhere.⁸¹

Summary

Between 1762 and 1782, native composers had many opportunities to develop their use of orchestral accompaniments to solo songs. Some, notably Arnold, adopted the later *galant* orchestration with enthusiasm. Others were more cautious, preferring a ‘middle way’, retaining the string accompaniment with the occasional addition of winds. At the other extreme there were those who rejected any modernising of song accompaniments.

The reasons for this broad range of styles are difficult to establish, partly because there is no obvious differentiation between generations of composers. Such differences related to whether or not a composer wished to write in the native, declamatory, style, or copy the florid Italian style. However, it appears that the second phase of the *galant* style was generally received favourably by English composers, although they allowed the orchestra to come to the fore only when the singer was not performing, ensuring the soloist took centre stage. This approach was maintained, although there are many examples of *concertante* style accompaniment, even in ballad-style songs. The contrasting of colourful instrumental ritornelli with simple accompanied vocal sections reinforces the importance of the words and their delivery taking priority over any elaborate musical decoration. Bach’s orchestrations had a considerable influence, but native composers generally stood their ground with accompaniments to vocal music.

Foreign-born Composers

Before 1760, most composers producing solo songs with orchestra were native to Britain. Now, in the wake of Bach and Arne’s operas, and the translation of the operatic style into their concert songs, a sense of new possibilities of musical expression in a

⁸¹ See Chevill, ‘Music Societies and Musical Life’, pp. 110-124 (Chapter 3) for a description of concert life in eighteenth-century Exeter.

different milieu seems to have encouraged foreign-born musicians working in England to write concert songs.⁸² Bach's Vauxhall songs shows that these composers were welcome at establishments that had hitherto sought to promote native music and musicians. It is therefore necessary to examine their contribution to the genre to ascertain how far they imposed their own ideas upon the concert song, or whether they adopted (or adapted) extant styles and techniques.

The principal composers, other than Bach, were a Frenchman, an Italian and a German; François Hippolyte Barthélemon, Tomasso Giordani, and Theodor Smith.

François Hippolyte Barthélemon (1741-1808)

Barthélemon arrived in London in 1764, becoming a violinist in the theatre orchestras. These experiences may have prompted him to compose his *opera seria* *Pelopida* in 1766. The limited success of this venture led him to experiment with *burletta* and ballad opera, which were performed at Marylebone during Arnold's proprietorship. Through these works Barthélemon acquired an understanding of the English song style, leading him to compose concert songs.

It would be reasonable to expect Barthélemon to have copied the French opera style of Rameau and Gluck. However, he appears to have assimilated himself into the English tradition from the outset, perhaps facilitated through his marriage to Mary Young, a relative of Arne. He did not, however, abandon his French roots entirely; one of his most successful works, the masque or 'pastoral entertainment' *The Maid of the Oaks*, written for the wedding of the Earl of Derby in 1774, borrows from Rousseau, Philidor and La Borde.⁸³

The majority of Barthélemon's songs follow the English strophic model, although

⁸² Cudworth states that the gardens had hitherto 'accorded performance, if not respectful attention to English works'. See Cudworth, 'The English Symphonists of the Eighteenth Century', *PRMA* 78 (1952), p. 39.

⁸³ *The Maid of the Oaks...composed by F.H. Barthélemon* (London, [1774]). However, only three items, two of which are instrumental, are attributed to these composers in the text.

those with more extended structures show a mixture of styles. For example, the rondo ‘Oh Ranelagh’ is extended almost into an aria, having an ABACADA structure, while the aria ‘Cheerful Birds on ev’ry Spray’ copies the extended binary form used by Arne.⁸⁴ However, the cantata ‘Lo! Where the rosy bosom’d Hours’, is a through-composed recitative and aria, the recitative leading straight into the aria without a break, another suggestion of the *scena*.⁸⁵

In this collection there appears to be a link between structure and orchestration, the more extended songs employing a larger ensemble and the strophic items having a more restricted scoring. An interesting example occurs in ‘A Canon’, scored for clarinets, bassoons, horns and four-part strings.⁸⁶ There is imitative writing between voice and instruments, especially clarinets and first bassoon, reflecting the repetition of the line ‘Under sweet friendship’s name’ in lines 3 and 6 of each verse. Here, Barthélemon fuses vocal and instrumental forms in a highly individual way.

In the 1780 collection there is greater variety in the use of instruments.⁸⁷ Wind instruments are sometimes added in the strophic songs, but the texture is quite sparse elsewhere, as in the aria ‘Lovely Nancy’ (No 3), scored for flutes and strings only. This reduced scoring contrasts with Barthélemon’s other extended songs. However, the scoring is fuller, and the texture thicker, in the rondo ‘Hope thou dear and sweet illusion’ (No 2), scored for clarinets, bassoons and strings. Two bassoons fill out the middle of the texture in ‘How easy was Colin’ (No 4), and in *Spring: a Cantata* (No 7), flutes and horns join the strings, the horns notably sustaining a unison a in bar 5 of the *stromentato* recitative. All these examples are variations on the symphonic model, and show that composers

⁸⁴ See *A Collection of New Songs* (London, 1770), no. 1 and *A Collection of Favourite Songs* (London, [1775]), no. 3 respectively. The title page of the latter collection states that the songs within were performed at both Marylebone and Vauxhall during the 1773 and 1774 seasons.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 5.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 4.

⁸⁷ *1779 and 1780 Ranelagh Songs* (London, [1780]).

12

A CANON
Sung by Mr^r Vernon at Vauxhall

Viol: 1^o

Viol: 2^o

Viola

Clar: 1^o
in B \flat

Clar: 2^o

Corni in B \flat

Fagotti

Canto

Cembalo

Basso

Andantino

P.

PP.

Fag. Solo

Basso

Under sweet Friendship's Name, the World is

Ex. 5.15: Barthélemon 'A Canon', opening page. © The British Library Board, G.378.a. (3.), p. 12.

were aware of the potential variety of its application.

Barthélemon's contribution to the concert song is possibly the most cosmopolitan of all composers of this period, combining English, French, German and Italian stylistic features in an effective manner. His approach also shows that generic boundaries could be comfortably transcended through the scoring of the songs' accompaniments.

Tomasso Giordani (c.1733-1808)

Giordani had a long association with both London and Dublin, composing opera and theatre music for both cities. He contributed to the Dublin production of *The Maid of the Mill* at Smock Alley Theatre on 26 March 1765, and also composed the overture and some songs for the pantomime *The Elopement*, produced at Drury Lane on 26 December

1767.⁸⁸ In the published short score of the overture there are several episodes for solo bassoon and passages in which two bassoons double the violins at the lower octave; both devices were probably borrowed from Bach.

A combination of his experiences as both singer and composer led Giordani to compose songs for Vauxhall in the 1770s. However, none of his songs owe anything to the ballad tradition; even those with texts concerned with love and nature are more in the tradition of Italian *opera seria* rather than English ballad opera. Giordani also rejected strophic forms in favour of extended through-composed structures (fourteen of his twenty-eight songs use this form), rondos and *da capo* arias. He also made full use of the talents of Mrs Weichsell, for whom most of his songs were written. This combination of style and singer opened up the world of opera to a different audience. Giordani's command of the English language appears to have been stronger than Bach's; despite the use of *fioratura*, there is a directness of delivery that would have appealed to English audiences.

Many of the through-composed arias are in ternary form, but mirror contemporary solo concertos, having an ABA' structure with a different key scheme in the A and A' sections. One example is 'The Trumpet's loud Summons' (1772).⁸⁹ The extended introduction of thirty-two bars is essentially the first of two expositions, without any modulation. The first solo section of fifty-six bars repeats some of the introductory material, but modulates to the dominant. The second section begins in the dominant, passing through a number of keys before returning to the dominant chord, heralding the recapitulation, which begins at bar 120. This section is extended to seventy-five bars, with several florid passages before the climax at bar 191; a short coda of five bars concludes the aria. What is notable here is that, even with the decorative passages removed, the

⁸⁸ *The Comic Tunes in the Pantomime of the Elopement* (London, [1768]).

⁸⁹ *Three Songs and a Cantata* (London, 1772), no. 4.

structure resembles the sonata form of the opening movement of a solo concerto.

Giordani's concert arias are essentially concertos for voice, being arias developed into an extended display of technique and musical expression, as in the solo concerto. Within the context of Vauxhall it is possible to imagine that the *haut ton* would have appreciated the operatic style, while the less cultured would have been able to grasp the meaning of the words, while simultaneously admiring the singer's display.

Structure of Giordani's 'The Trumpet's loud Summons'

'Exposition'1 'Exposition'2 'Development' 'Recapitulation'
 Key: I - I I - V V - [vi - iii] - V I - I

Giordani's songs are published in full score, making a thorough analysis of his orchestrations possible. These show the influences of both Bach and the native tradition, with features such as overlapping string parts combined with sustained winds, as seen in Ex. 5.16. The viola part has greater independence and is sometimes divided to exploit its harmonic role, similar to the use of bassoons in tenor register.

Giordani is consistent in his use of wind instruments, often using two pairs of woodwinds with horns and four-part strings. Bassoon writing frequently uses the tenor register, sometimes one instrument alone, sometimes both and sometimes bassoons combine with the viola. In 'When the silver Clarion Sounding' the bassoon accompanies the clarinets when they play alone, emphasising the contrast in timbre between the two sections of the orchestra.⁹⁰ In the cantata 'Beneath a Myrtle's fragrant Shade', the bassoon is the only wind instrument used; here it plays in thirds with the viola, effectively acting as a fifth string part.⁹¹

Giordani uses the clarinet and the oboe more often than many other composers, apparently being determined to make full use of the colours the winds offered. A large

⁹⁰ *A Collection of Favourite Songs* (London, 1772), no. 4.

⁹¹ *The Favourite Songs* (London, 1776), no. 3. The brace on the lower two staves and the 'cembalo' marking indicate a keyboard alternative to the orchestra, if required.

VI 1 & 2

Bassoon

Viola

Voice

Cembalo

The Lamb - kins shall for - get to play, the Birds to rove from Spray to Spray [the]

Basso

6 6 3 6/4 3

Ex. 5.17: Giordani, 'The Lambkins shall forget to play' ('Beneath a Myrtle's fragrant Shade'- 1776), bars 13-17. Britiah Library, G. 802. (3.), No. 3

orchestra is maintained throughout the 1770s, except in the second collection of 1773 where some of the songs are for strings alone, and in the others only oboes and one bassoon are added.⁹² By contrast, his instrumental works are more sparsely orchestrated;⁹³ his *Six Concertos for the Pianoforte or Harpsichord* Op 14 (1776) are scored for two violins and basso, and the *Chamber Concertos* Op 3 (c.1773) and the Op 19 concertos (1780) are both scored for flute, two violins and continuo. Although this scoring initially suggests a more conservative approach to instrumental music, it is simply a different expression of the *galant* style, as also found in concertos by Bach and Abel.⁹⁴

Giordani's approach to the concert song clearly shows the influence of opera. However, his songs would probably not have succeeded at Vauxhall without the talents of Weichsell and the equally capable Mrs Hudson (*fl* 1769-80),⁹⁵ the style being outside the experience of the non-opera-going public. His orchestrations are bold and exploit wind orchestration to the full, thus it is a pity that he did not venture into the world of the symphony as he might have made a considerable impact.

Theodor Smith (c.1740-c.1810)

Theodor Smith is believed to be a German who became naturalised sometime in the

⁹² *A Collection of Songs and Cantatas* (London, 1773).

⁹³ See Irena Cholij, 'Giordani, Tomasso', *The New Grove*, ix, pp.883-7, for a list of the composer's instrumental works.

⁹⁴ See J.C. Bach, 'Keyboard Concertos II: Eight London Concertos for Harpsichord or Pianoforte', ed. Richard Maunder, CW 33 (New York & London: Garland, 1985) for use of this style by Bach.

⁹⁵ See *BDA*, viii, p. 14 for further biographical information.

late 1760s.⁹⁶ Although he only published two collections of songs, in 1769 and 1774, these contain interesting features, with striking contrasts in structure and orchestration. Strophic songs and rondos are, with the exception of ‘Bo-peep’ which uses two flutes,⁹⁷ scored for strings only; cantatas and arias employ a larger orchestra of winds, horns and strings. The fullest orchestration is in ‘Ye virgin Pow’rs defend my Heart’, scored for oboes or clarinets, bassoons, horns and strings.⁹⁸ Although designated a Rondo, it is an aria in extended ternary form, also hinting at the solo concerto.

The scoring in the 1769 collection adheres to the symphonic model of oboes, horns and strings, with independent bassoon parts sometimes added.⁹⁹ In the cantata ‘See Aurora’ there are solo sections for the wind, which create an effective dialogue between the two sections of the orchestra.

Ex. 5.18: Theodor Smith, ‘See Aurora’, aria, bars 65-6. British Library, G. 316.j. (2.), No. 1.

In the aria ‘Glide on ye Moments’ (No 4), the bassoons double the violins at the lower octave and provide harmonic and textual fillers (see Ex. 5.19). The viola part doubles the bass line for much of the time, though there are passages when it is independent, sometimes even dividing. These are further examples of viola and bassoon parts providing inner harmony while simultaneously giving the music greater contrasts of colour. The bassoons are sometimes in unison with the violins, but elsewhere the first part doubles the second violin while the second plays the first violin part an octave lower,

⁹⁶ Smith is believed to have been born in Hanover. See Roger Fiske/Rachel E. Cowgill, ‘Smith, Theodor’, *Oxford Music Online* (Accessed, 9 July 2013).

⁹⁷ *A Collection of Favourite Songs...* London, 1774), no. 3.

⁹⁸ This alternative, stated in the score, is an example of substitution when necessary.

⁹⁹ *The Favourite Songs Sung at Vaux-Hall...* (London, [1769]).

Ex. 5.19: Theodor Smith, 'Glide on ye moments', bars 19-22. British Library, G. 316.j. (2.), No. 4.

thickening the texture.

The 1774 songs are, with the exception of 'Ye virgin Pow'rs', scored for either flutes and strings or strings only, although the texture of 'Tell me, cruel Cupid' (No 4) suggests that flutes or oboes may have doubled the string parts for some of the time, and that horns may have been used in the A section. The texts are both romantic, therefore it is possible that the full orchestra reflects the anger felt at a betrayal in 'Ye Virgin Pow'rs', while the thinner texture in 'Tell me Cruel Cupid' underlines a sense of loss, here a careful use of scoring highlights the text.

'Ye Virgin Pow'rs is notable for the use of contrary motion between parts.

Although this device was a feature of the later *galant* style, in England its use was often limited to the outer parts, especially within a sequence. Smith has the violins, oboes and bassoons in contrary motion with each other; this example is one of the closest to Bach's style achieved by a contemporary composer in England.

Smith's songs owe their provenances to opera, the pastoral and the ballad, and his ability to combine features of these genres effectively reveals a sound grasp of the English concert song as it had developed by the end of the 1760s. His style is more confident than that of many composers, and, although it approaches the finesse of Bach, it never equals his mastery of *galant* orchestration.

Ob

Bn

V1

V2

Basso

An heart whose flames are seen tho' pure needs ev'-ry vir-tue's aid, and

she who thinks her - self se - cure the soon - est is be -

tray'd. And

Ex. 5.20: Theodor Smith, 'Ye Virgin Pow'rs, bars 29-38.1.
Cambridge University Library, MR 290.a.75.453, No. 1.

Summary

Foreign-born composers show a more consistent use of the orchestra than most of

their English counterparts. Much of this is probably due to their greater experience with Italian opera, but some, notably Barthélemon also show an understanding of the English 'ballad' style in their songs. Generally, however, they were more adventurous with their expressions of the *galant* style and orchestral technique, as seen in the examples above.

Conclusions

The period 1762 to 1782 saw the concert song develop considerably. New ideas on structure had been introduced, leading to the establishment of the concert aria and the rondo. Composers had also exploited a convergence of vocal and instrumental styles, adapting innovations in symphonic scoring to the accompaniments of their songs, with the result that strophic songs now had more varied and interesting accompaniments, and the cantata made greater use of the *stromentato* recitative. These orchestrations are at their most evident in music written for the London pleasure gardens, where songs by native and foreign composers were performed in the same concerts. Audiences were therefore able to appreciate differences in musical style juxtaposed within the programmes. There were, however, composers who declined to adopt new ideas, remaining wedded to what they saw as a more 'pure' (i.e. 'English') style. Potter is the prime example, but others may have limited their experimentation for similar reasons, because they did not wish to abandon the 'ballad' style that had proved effective in previous decades.

Any divisions in stylistic pathways did not follow national lines; native and foreign composers tended to borrow ideas from each other. Nor were there any apparent differences in approach between composers of the 'old' and 'new' generations. Although older composers were perhaps slower to adapt, there is evidence that they experimented with the second phase of the *galant* as much as the younger generation, although less conspicuously.

Provincial musical centres still provided local composers with opportunities to have their compositions performed, but an increasing trend to 'centralise' musical style and

performance on London had reduced their scope for developing individual ideas, although not suppressing it entirely. The balance in output between provincial and metropolitan musical life in earlier decades had receded, and the dominance of the capital was to be central to the development of the concert song in the last years of the century.

Chapter 6

1782-1800: Consolidation or Stagnation?

Introduction

By the 1780s the orchestral concert song had reached its zenith. Its boundaries had expanded to include opera-style songs, bringing with them new levels of vocal virtuosity, and the orchestral accompaniment had incorporated innovations from instrumental genres which allowed solo instrumentalists to perform alongside singers as an almost equal partnership. Although some of the genre's founding composers had died, the output of the succeeding generation suggested that its future was in good hands.

However, the situation did not develop as might have been expected. Changes, social and musical, took place in the later years of the century, which, in combination, affected the genre's development. These are: the decrease in opportunities for performance; the increase in status of the piano, leading to its rivalling the orchestra as a means of accompaniment; an increase in the popularity of foreign instrumental music, which extended the boundaries of text-less musical expression; and the rapid growth of concerted vocal music, including the glee. This chapter examines how the concert song and its composers reacted to these changes.

By 1782 Marylebone Gardens had been closed for six years and Ranelagh, Vauxhall's principal rival, was in decline. Vauxhall therefore enjoyed a near monopoly on garden entertainments, meaning less need for composers to write music that surpassed that performed elsewhere. Consequently, Hook, certainly the most prolific composer of solo vocal music in London, was in a virtually unchallenged position. Some foreign composers produced new material, but not in the quantity of the previous decade, thus Hook had a near monopoly on solo song composition. How his output developed forms a part of this chapter.

Although opportunities for performance at the gardens were diminishing, others were in the ascendant. Subscription concerts began with the Bach-Abel series in the 1760s, continuing with those at the Hanover Square Rooms, the Pantheon and elsewhere in the 1770s and 1780s. These concerts offered a similar programme structure to that of the gardens, but their vocal repertoire was almost exclusively taken from Italian opera, although some English songs are found in surviving programmes.¹ One of Bach's Vauxhall songs may have been performed in the first Hanover Square series, on 19 February 1783,² when a song 'by the late Bach' was sung by Ann Cantelo.³ However, this could have been an Italian concert or operatic aria, and without further evidence one cannot be certain. Songs known to be by English composers include 'Mary's Dream' (possibly by Lupton Relfe), sung at the sixth Professional Concert at Hanover Square by Madame Piéltain on 16 March 1785, and Samuel Webbe's 'A Rose from her Bosom has Stray'd', sung at the Salomon concerts on 16 March 1786.⁴ These, however, represent only a fraction of the songs sung at these concerts, thus an opportunity for the development of the concert song away from the gardens was not realised.

The orchestra was, by this time, no longer unrivalled as the favoured means of accompanying a solo song. The piano, as both a solo and accompanying instrument, had made its first appearance in a London concert in 1768, Bach playing the solos.⁵ Although its use in concerts was initially limited to private events, it subsequently increased, the instrument being included in some of Bach's Italian concert arias in the

¹ See McVeigh, 'The Professional Concert & Rival Subscription Series in London 1783-93', *RMARC* 22 (1989), 1-135 for details of programme content from these series.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³ See *BDA*, vii, pp. 145-146 for biographical information.

⁴ See McVeigh, 'The Professional Concert & Rival Subscription Series in London', pp. 42 and 55 respectively.

⁵ The concert was advertised in *The Public Advertiser*, 2 June 1768. The first reference to the piano being used in London was on 16 May 1767 at Covent Garden (see Burney, *History*, ii, p. 874n). The first reference to the piano in a published work in England is probably *Burton's 10 Sonatas* of 1766 (see *BUCEM*, i, p. 144). See also Virginia Pleasants, 'The early Piano in Britain', *EM* 13 (1985), 39-44.

Bach-Abel concerts in the late 1770s.⁶ As the piano's popularity increased, so did the number of pianists, both professional and amateur, a 'piano cult' developing rapidly. As Cole asserts:

Composers sat at the pianoforte to try out their ideas; theatres introduced them to accompany musical items; and every young woman with social pretensions and the slightest talent applied herself to learning to play. It was nothing less than a revolution.⁷

Gillray's 'Playing in Parts' (1801) satirises the status of the piano at the turn of the nineteenth century, but also shows that domestic music-making had, in many respects, changed little over preceding decades. The size and shape of square pianos allowed them to fit into small spaces, making them better suited to domestic settings than harpsichords.



Fig. 6.1: James Gillray, 'Playing in Parts' (1801)
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Playing_in_parts_by_James_Gillray.jpg
 (Accessed 25 September 2009).

Allied to the development of the piano came music intended for solo voice with piano accompaniment. Much of this repertoire was for more discrete than the concert song, being intended for domestic consumption, although its consumers were probably also concert-goers. The canzonetta, or canzonet, is the most important genre within this

⁶ See pp. 241-244.

⁷ Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. v.

repertoire, having been popular on the continent for some time, and had even found its way into opera, notably in Galuppi's *Il Filosofo di Campagna*. However, English canzonets represented both 'new' and 'old' music, many early published sets acknowledging a debt to their sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antecedents. Travers' *Eighteen Canzonets for Two and Three Voices* (1746) are a notable example, containing both *galant* songs and multi-sectional pieces, similar in style to those of Purcell, something that would have appealed to the Academy of Ancient Music, with which Travers was connected for many years.⁸ This music was part of the growing awareness of past repertoires, a movement that was to become much stronger later in the century.

Some later canzonets show signs of harmonic development that anticipates the Romantic era. Komlós cites Shield's collection of 1796, with its use of the diminished seventh and chromaticism, as an example.⁹ These harmonic features seldom occur in the concert song, which consistently followed *galant* harmonic patterns. Although it is acknowledged that Shield's canzonets owe much to Haydn's of 1794-5, it seems, in general terms, that the canzonet's harmonic language was superseding that of the concert song, aided by the parallel exploration of the piano's sonorities.

Two other genres also represented the 'old' and the 'new' in music, the catch and the glee. A new type of music club, in which members with sufficient musical ability were able to participate, became popular in the second half of the century, The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, founded in 1761, leading the way. Catches, formerly the staple fare of taverns and domestic music-making, became more respectable, losing many of their bawdy lyrics due to aristocratic patronage of clubs, their members seeing the canonic structure of the catch as an example of 'learned' music.¹⁰ Glees, a form of

⁸ See Charles Cudworth/H. Diack Johnstone, 'Travers, John', *The New Grove* xv, p. 700 & William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 62 & 65 for further information.

⁹ Komlós, 'Haydn's English canzonettas in their local context', p. 82.

¹⁰ See Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, pp. 174-9 for further information.

madrigal for male voices, also encouraged greater participation, though these were often accompanied by either keyboard or strings.¹¹ These changes of emphasis in both performance and performers of vocal music may have affected both the composition and circulation of the solo song; the proliferation of concerted vocal music, with a wider commercial potential for publishers, possibly discouraging composers from producing more demanding works.

Catches and glees became popular in the 1760s, the surrounding culture spreading rapidly from private society to both domestic and public concerts. Both Marylebone and Ranelagh promoted catch and glee concerts at this time, though the events appear initially to have been separate from the 'standard' garden concerts.¹² The Handel commemoration of 1784, where choral excerpts from oratorios were performed in the concerts, further boosted their popularity.¹³ Some songs were arranged and published as glees, one example being Jackson's arrangement of Arne's 'Where the Bee Sucks', performed at the first of the Vocal Concerts on 11 February 1792.¹⁴ The format of this programme is by no means unique; other concerts, both in London and the provinces, were similarly structured.¹⁵

Evidence of this change in taste can be seen in the programmes of the Vocal Concerts in the 1790s. The programme of 25 April 1793 shows the glee to be the favoured genre, with only four solo songs being included the programme, a marked contrast to the number performed at the pleasure gardens.

¹¹ See David Johnson, 'Glee', *The New Grove*, ix, p. 942 for further information.

¹² See Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in eighteenth-century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 107-8.

¹³ Burney provides a full description of the various events of the Handel Commemoration in his *Account* of 1785, including the contents of the programmes. See Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performance in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon...in commemoration of Handel* (London: Sold by T. Payne, 1785). See also McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 111 and Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, pp.1 & 20 for further comment on this event.

¹⁴ Advertised in *Oracle and World*, 10 February 1792.

¹⁵ A number of programmes can be found in the Ashe Collection at the Bodleian Library, 17405.d.6-12. Oxford concerts notably contain more solo songs than those in other cities. See Bodleian Library, 17405.d.6 & 17405.d.8 (vols. 1 & 3).

Programme of the Vocal Concert, 25 April 1793¹⁶

Act 1

Overture	Bach
Glee, 3 voices and Chorus ('May the God of wit inspire')	Purcell
New Glee, 3 voices ('The Country Maid')	J.S Smith
Glee, 3 voices 'from Ossian' ('Peace to the souls')	Callcott
Song, 'Recitative and Air' ('O'er Hill and Valley')	Harrison
Catch in 4 parts ('Buz, quoth the blue-fly')	Arne
Selection of [vocal] music from <i>The Tempest</i>	Purcell
Quartet ('Where the Bee Sucks')	Arne arr. Jackson
New Ballad ('In the dead of the Night')	Anon
Glee, 4 voices and Chorus ('Since Harmony deigns')	Webbe

Act 2

Fourth Concerto	Avison
Glee, 5 voices and Chorus ('Blest Pair of Sirens')	J. S. Smith
Song ('From glaring shew and giddy noise')	Webbe
Glee, 4 voices ('For me my Fair')	Giardini arr. Harrison
Song ('Un amanti sventurato')	Sarti
New Round, 3 parts ('Lads and Lasses hither come')	Atterbury
Glee, 4 voices ('Hark hark the Lark')	[B] Cooke
Glee, 3 voices and Chorus ('Happy are we met')	Atterbury

Although the growth in popularity of catches and glees suggests that vocal music was in the ascendancy, as noted by McVeigh,¹⁷ this is only true in as far as it was popular and widespread. However, development was limited, and any consequent stasis can be attributed to the effects of the populism that drove the music's creation.

Thus the orchestral concert song became a genre of the present, apparently paying little heed to either the burgeoning interest in the past, strongly influenced by the Handel commemoration, or to the musical developments which would lead to its decline. Despite offering a contrast to the subscription concert repertoire, the genre's restriction to the pleasure gardens gave composers little opportunity or desire to develop it further. Also, a move towards performing different genres at different concerts created associations that led to vocal music becoming compartmentalised.

Instrumental music had gradually grown in stature during the preceding two

¹⁶ Willis's Rooms, No X. Harrison and Knyvett's Vocal Concert, Thursday, April 25 1793 (London: Printed by H. MacLeish. . . , 1793). <http://ofind.galegroup.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/ecco/retrieve.do>: Gale Document no. CW3306499290 (Accessed 12 April 2010).

¹⁷ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 102.

decades, and by the mid-1780s was challenging the standing of vocal music with the public. Symphonies and concertos were particularly favoured, and, from surviving concert programmes, it becomes apparent that the orchestral music of Haydn had gained a significant following during the late 1770s and 1780s;¹⁸ therefore his arrival in London in 1791 was a much-welcomed event. The range of dramatic effects within his symphonies – sharp contrasts between slow and fast sections, extremes of dynamic range and the exploitation of the technical capabilities of the orchestra – increased their allure. By contrast, concert songs had lost much of the *bravura* popular in the previous two decades and the greater element of visual display provided by the instrumental soloist meant that the long-standing supremacy of vocal music in England was now under threat.

Taking all these factors into account, it is perhaps surprising that the concert song survived to the end of the century; the fact that songs were composed and performed into the nineteenth century points to its resilience and its continuing, though reduced, popularity.

Hook's Songs 1783-1800

Hook's productivity continued throughout these years; he published two, sometimes three, collections each year, though with different publishers, issuing the first set through one firm, and the second through another.¹⁹ His output was unrivalled, with no other composer approaching his quantity. 'The Lass of Richmond Hill' (c.1789), his most enduring song, belongs to this period.

Hook's songs reveal very static structures and orchestrations, though not without variation. The vast majority of his songs are strophic, the three-verse form being the most common. Although there are some cantatas, rondos and arias, these are comparatively few

¹⁸ McVeigh points to *Symphony no. 53 'L'Impériale'* (1781) as the moment when Haydn's symphonies took over the London Concert scene, effectively destroying any aspirations in the genre by native composers. See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 126.

¹⁹ From 1783 to 1790 the first collection was published by S. A. & P. Thompson, the second by Preston. From 1791 to 1796 the first collection was published by Bland & Weller, the second as before. Thereafter, every collection was published by Bland & Weller.

in number. Table 6.1 shows the extent of his use of strophic form.

Table 6.1: Structure of Hook's Songs in his collections 1783-1800

Strophic 2vv	3	
Strophic 3vv	213	
Strophic 4vv	22	
Strophic 5vv	5	
Strophic with refrain/chorus	22	
Strophic Binary	2	
Cantata (R-A)	2	
Through-composed aria	2	
Through-composed with strophic text	3	
<i>Da Capo</i> aria	5	
Two-section aria	4	
Rondo ABA	3	
Rondo ABACA	13	
Ternary (ABA')	5	Total 304

Despite the dominance of one form, an interesting mix of established and new ideas can be found. Cantatas are basically arias with preceding *secco* or *stromentato* recitatives, though with little structural development, and the two-section arias are a reversion to an older style, as used by Arne. A non-strophic setting of a strophic text created variety by use of contrast, making it possible to change the scoring of different sections, something also true of the rondo. In Hook's case, however, this cannot be substantiated by the evidence in the printed short scores, and, because surviving manuscripts are generally of strophic songs, the precise scoring is open to speculation.

Textual themes also show signs of change. Although the pastoral is still present, it is now in a minority, and the tone of the poetry is far more contemporary, 'British' characteristics being habitually depicted. The romantic theme, though still the most common, had also shifted from the merely descriptive (and detached) to more pressing themes, for example the quest for the ideal man or woman and 'advice' songs, in which an anonymous third party offers the benefit of his or her experience to a friend or relation on how their desire might be fulfilled. Here, there is a blending of the romantic with the 'moral' aspect of the ballad, illustrating how the boundaries between literary and musical genres had gradually changed over time, the pseudo-classical being replaced by the

contemporary. This subtle change helped create a sense of national identity in both words and music at a time of national anxiety.

Two types of song text that reflect the times in which they were written are the patriotic and what might be termed ‘social comment’. Although topicality was common, it had, for much of the century, been largely confined to the theatre or the ballad; thus such material appearing within a setting that was socially more mixed suggests a more open society. ‘Never believe ‘em’, with its opening line ‘When the Doctor seems happy to meet you in health’,²⁰ has an obviously humorous theme, the change from the artificial world of the pleasure gardens into the present and factual suggests a greater realism in their concerts. Such material provided light relief from more ‘serious’ music helping to maintain Weber’s concept of ‘contemporaneity’ of taste through topicality.²¹

The increase in patriotic songs also reflects the mood of their times. Similar songs from earlier decades had been either *post facto* celebrations of events or praising Britain’s virtues, rather than an outright attack on other nations. John Worgan’s ‘Song on the taking of Mont-real by General Amherst’ (1759), rejoices at the victory, but also expresses a wish for peace between former adversaries.²² However, following the outbreak of war in 1793 texts now expressed a hope of victory, not just over France, but also its post-revolutionary ideology. ‘Dear William shall leave me no more’,²³ with its opening line ‘This Old England, cried William, invites me to arms’, acknowledges the patriotic duty of the male protagonist, but also desires his safe return. The complacency of former decades has gone; there is now only hope for a fervently desired outcome, both on national and personal levels.

Patriotic sentiments in the later years of the century encouraged the composition of

²⁰ *A Second Collection of Songs* (London, 1786), no. 9.

²¹ William Weber, ‘The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste’, *MQ* 70 (1984), 175-94.

²² See Borschel, ‘Development of English Song’, pp. 28-30 for further discussion of this song.

²³ *The Favorite Songs Sung at Vauxhall Gardens ... Book II 1794* (London, 1794), no. 3.

more ‘national’ music. Mathew cites a number of works from the Viennese school that might be described as ‘heroic’, one example being Haydn’s ‘Nelson Mass’ (1798), but the focus is more on general events and the contemporary *zeitgeist*, than on a specific individual. The same is true for many English ‘patriotic’ songs of the 1790s: individuals receive praise, but they are ordinary people who feel the call of duty and go to fight for their country. The ‘national air’ thus becomes the product of the artist as an autonomous individual, someone Mathew describes as ‘a voice that could thus speak independently, and persuasively, on behalf of institutions and ideologies, rather than merely echoing them’:²⁴ though these echoes are present the songs are intrinsically different.

Towards the end of the century the songs’ poets are named more frequently. Few are now remembered, with the possible exception of George Saville Carey (1743-1807). Those whose contributions are the most numerous are given below; the other twenty-eight named authors provided one, two or three poems. Two have military titles (Captains Morris and Topham): the theme of their texts is drinking, a familiar soldier’s or sailor’s pastime. As well as the customary ‘By a Lady’ and one poem ‘altered from Lady Wortley Montague’, three other women are named, suggesting a greater acceptance of female authors.

Table 6.2: Principal Authors in Hook’s Songs 1783-1800

Mr Upton [William Upton]	33	
Mr Vint [John Vint of Newcastle?]	10	
‘A Lady’	7	
Mr Anderson [Robert Anderson (1770-1833)]	6	
Mrs Rowson [Suzanna Rowson, née Haswell (1762-1824)]	6	
Mr Fox	5	
Mr Oakman	4	
Mr Hawkins	4	
Dr Houlton	4	Total 79

Although the short score two-stave format used in the collections makes it difficult to determine the scoring, surviving manuscripts show that Hook regularly wrote for four-

²⁴ Nicholas Mathew, ‘Heroic Haydn, The Occasional Work and ‘Modern’ Political Music’, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 4 (2007), p. 7.

part strings with at least one pair of treble wind instruments, horns and bassoons. Many single songs were published in full score, thus containing additional information on Hook as an orchestrator.

There are three principal manuscript sources of Hook's pre-1800 concert songs: GB-Lbl Add. MS 19647, GB-Lcm MS 295 and GB Lmt IV/162/9. Lcm MS 295 is the oldest, containing songs from the Vauxhall seasons of 1786-88. The music is in full score, including a viola part and violin parts on separate staves. Each flute, oboe and trumpet part also has its own staff, though horn and bassoon parts are usually condensed onto one.

Lbl Add. MS 19647 covers the years 1788 to 1798, and contains both solo and concerted items, including a glee, two catches and a finale. Finales, involving all the singers from the evening's concert, would have been an appropriate ending to the programme, but the inclusion of instrumentally accompanied catches and glees points to Hook experimenting with the hybridisation of vocal genres. From evidence in the Vauxhall programmes of 1786, a catch and a glee were paired as the finale to the first part of the concert, thus necessitating the full orchestra. However, it appears that only eight such pairs were used in the entire season, which suggests that the emphasis was still on solo song, at least at Vauxhall.²⁵ The picture of the 'orchestra' at Vauxhall in the 1790s, appearing on the title page of most of Hook's contemporary collections, shows the performance of one such work, the singers standing in front of the orchestra.²⁶

Not all the songs in this volume were published. 'The last time I came o'er the Moor' (1788), sung by Mrs Wrighten (ff85^r- 86^v), is scored for four-part strings only, and may be a deliberate move back to simpler scoring for ballad-style songs. 'Hunting Song' ('Now in my Hunter's habit drest' – ff87^r- 89^v), is scored for clarinets, bassoons (playing

²⁵ See Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 117.

²⁶ The names and numbers of soloists change from year to year, but some identification may be possible by cross-referencing with the contents of the collections.

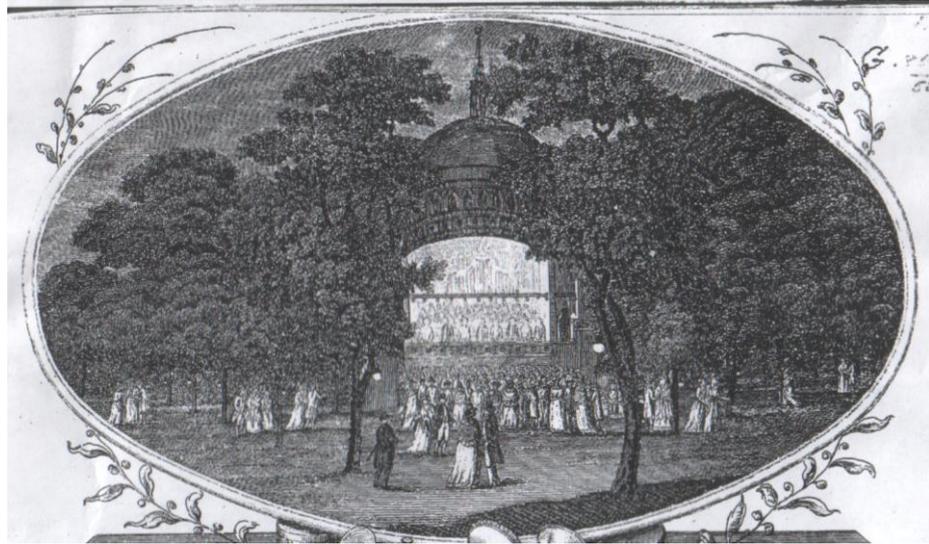


Fig. 6.2: Picture from the title page of Hook's *A Collection of Favorite Songs, Book 1st 1799*
 © The British Library Board, G.806.b. (55.). This picture first appeared in 1793.

the same part), horns and strings, and is another *Harmonie* song, with the introduction played by the winds only.

Ex. 6.1: Hook, 'Hunting Song', bars 1-10. GB-Lbl Add. MS 19647, f87^r. Clarinet and Horn parts transposed; clarinet parts originally on separate staves.

Hook's penchant for exploring the capabilities of the bassoon is apparent in 'Cruel Peggy' (ff 81^r- 84^r – 1789), which has the first part playing a broken chord accompaniment to the violins in the opening eight bars, a quasi-*concertante* role. Many published songs also have examples of bassoon writing. In 'How sweet the Love that

meets Return',²⁷ two bassoons apparently play alone in the introduction. The scoring mimics bagpipes, something appropriate in a Scotch Song.

The bassoon's role could be melodic, doubling the violin at the lower octave, but it could also be used in its tenor register in combination with horns as a harmonic and textural filler. One example is 'The Poor Peasant',²⁸ where flutes, bassoons, horns and strings are used in an imitative and colourful manner.

Ex. 6.2: Hook, 'How sweet the Love that meets Return', bars 4.4-10.3.
British Library, H.1651.e. (15.), No. 1.

Ex. 6.3: Hook, 'The Poor Peasant', bars 8.4-12.3.
British Library, G. 379.b. (8.), No. 6.

Lmt IV/162/9 contains twenty-two songs, mainly dating from 1801 to 1819. However, the first two date from the 1780s; 'Now gladsome Summer deigns again' (ff 1^r-4^r – 1783), is scored for flutes, clarinets, horns and strings, a rare example of Hook's use of enhanced second-phase *galant* scoring.

²⁷ *A Second Collection of Songs* (London, 1783), no. 1.

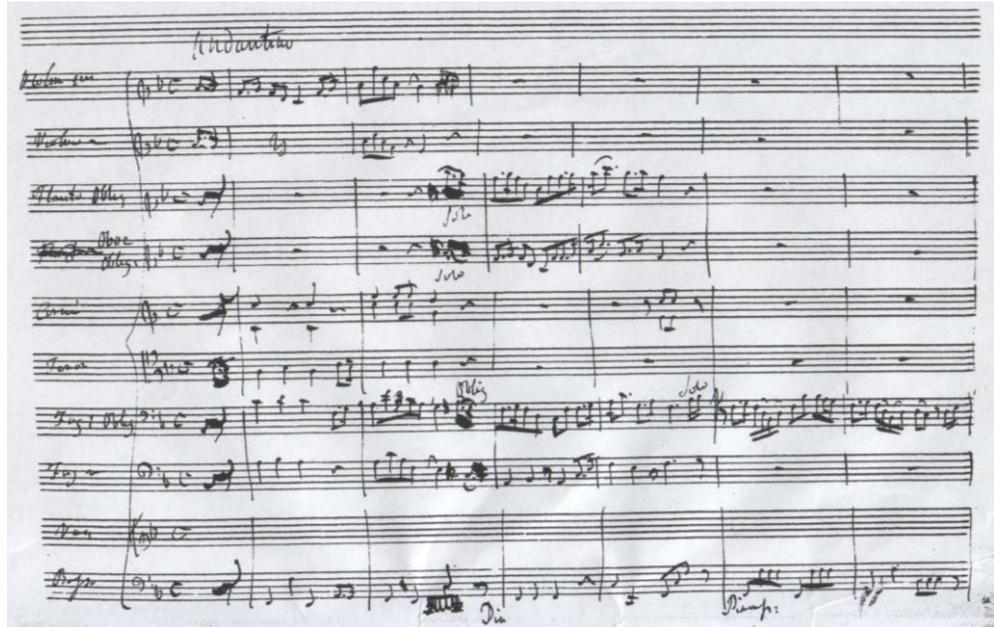
²⁸ *A Second Collection of Songs* (London, 1791), no. 6.

The other songs all date from after 1800, but show that Hook generally maintained his 'standard' orchestra. Occasionally a second pair of treble winds is added, and winds are often given *obbligato* roles, either singly or in combination, showing the *concertante* style being used in strophic songs. Unconventional instruments are also sometimes added, such as a flageolet in 'Tarry awhile with me my Love' (ff 26^r-33^v – 1802). In the second decade of the nineteenth century there is some use of the harp, though it is not possible to tell from this source alone how regularly it was included in the orchestra.

The presence of a written-out viola part enables an assessment of how far writing for this instrument had progressed by the end of the century. A 'proper' viola part was now necessary because of the instrument's increased independence from the basso. Also, there was probably more than one player in the section by this time, therefore a partially improvised part could no longer be considered a safe practice. Nevertheless, the viola was still primarily a harmony part in vocal accompaniments; more expansive writing was yet to evolve.

Hook's use of two partially independent bassoon parts in some songs suggests the beginnings of their separation, and the instrument's partial release from merely reinforcing the bass line into a role that provides both harmony and texture, a feature of later *galant* music. This is at its most evident in songs where there is an *obbligato* part for the first bassoon, one example being 'Willy of the Green' (Lcm MS 295, ff27^r-30^v). There are three *obbligato* instruments (flute, oboe and bassoon) plus a *ripieno* bassoon, horns and strings. As with earlier examples, the style is that of a *sinfonia concertante* for voice and instruments, although there is only one solo episode, for the first bassoon, in the introduction. This writing is not apparent in the printed version where the passage appears in the right hand of the keyboard part. The viola part is fully notated, and is more closely tied to the second bassoon part than to the basso. The second phrase (bars 4-5) has the three *obbligato* instruments as soloists, accompanied by the second bassoon and basso; all

have the same material, but there is a gap of an octave between each. There follows a three-bar solo for the first bassoon, accompanied only by the basso before the final tutti bar of the introduction. The second bassoon does not join with the basso, but provides a tenor or baritone voice to the texture. The two bassoon parts are separate throughout, and, with the viola, thicken the texture between *f* and *f'*. During the vocal solos most of the instruments are used, the viola and second bassoon parts generally filling in the middle of the texture. The only part not to be fully notated (as it largely doubles the vocal line) is the first violin; doublings are shown by the 'Voce' marking at the beginning of the verse. The solo flute and oboe also largely double the voice, either in unison or at the upper octave, but there are moments of separation, such as in bars 13-15 where the oboe plays sustained harmony notes while the flute continues to double the voice part, with some decoration. The first bassoon's role in the verses is mainly harmonic, but it also has some decorative figures.



Ex. 6.4: Hook: 'Willy of the Green', bars 1-7. GB-Lcm MS 295, f27^r, copied with permission. See Appendix C (5) for a critical edition

One further manuscript, GB-Cul Add. MS 6639, a set of orchestral parts from c.1790, provides interesting information as to both the size of the orchestra and the

performance practice of the songs. From these parts, the Vauxhall orchestra appears to have two oboes (doubling either flute or clarinet), two bassoons, two horns, three first violins, three second violins, one viola and three cellos/double basses.²⁹ The parts may, however, indicate the number of desks in each section, therefore the string section could number 6-6-2-4-2. There are clear divisions between ‘principale’ and ‘ripieno’ functions in the string parts of ‘A Pastoral’ (‘Sweet are the sounds’), the ripieno players apparently being silent when the singer is performing and only playing in the ritornelli. Although the evidence is inconclusive, a reduction in the number of players would have emphasised the soloist’s role within the ensemble, as in an instrumental concerto.³⁰



Ex. 6.5: Hook, ‘A Pastoral’ (from GB-Cul Add. MS 6639, pp. 43-51), Violin parts, bars 13-31.
A *tacet* for the ripieno parts is shown by the brackets.

Two flutes or oboes, two horns and strings was Hook’s standard scoring, one that copied that of many contemporary symphonies, but which could be translated into a domestic or music club performance, especially as the flute was still seen as the instrument of the gentleman amateur. Although a second pair of winds was occasionally added, there are no signs of the emergence of the wind octet, suggesting a stasis in his orchestration. This may have been caused by financial constraints, but even so, the wind

²⁹ See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 207 & Cudworth, ‘The Vauxhall Lists’, *GSJ* 20 (1967), pp. 27-28.

³⁰ See Holman & Maunder, ‘The Accompaniment of Concertos in 18th-century England’ for a further discussion of this matter.

section in England does not appear to have grown into octet plus horns except in operas, which were mainly written by foreign composers.

Although Borschel asserts that Hook made progressively more use of the wind section in his song accompaniments, the clarinet in particular,³¹ the flute is still the most frequently used, probably for the reason given above. The clarinet was, however, used more and more in the later years of the century, some fourteen examples appearing in the short scores. It was used either singly, occasionally in an *obbligato* role, or in pairs, sometimes being the only wind instrument present. However, it also combined with other instruments, as in ‘Tantivy Hark’, where it joins with horns, bassoons and strings. This combination allows for ‘horn calls’ in a higher register than would be possible with horns alone.³²

As this song survives in both manuscript and printed versions, the differences between the two are apparent (see Ex. 6.6). In the manuscript the accompaniment to bars 71-88 is provided by the first clarinet and horns, a *Harmonie* accompaniment. The printed version is transposed, and with a part for instrument(s) or keyboard added in bars 79-88. These alterations allow the song to be performed within ‘private’ settings, and also give the voice part a less demanding range.

The oboe is the least used woodwind instrument, but it appears several of Hook’s hunting songs, in combination with horns. Occasionally it has an *obbligato* role, as in ‘Hark Eliza’s tuneful Voice’.³³ Sometimes it is offered as a substitute for the clarinet: in ‘Ye Happy Nymphs’ the direction ‘Clarinetts or Oboes Solo’ is printed in the margin, though the clarinet is evidently preferred.³⁴

The trumpet made a comeback in a solo role in Hook’s Vauxhall songs towards the

³¹ Borschel, ‘Development of English Song’, p. 43.

³² *A Favourite Collection of Songs* (London, 1788), no. 5. The song is titled ‘Hunting Song’ in GB-Lbl Add. MS 19647, ff 59^r-64^v.

³³ *The Favourite Songs... Book II 1794*, no. 3.

³⁴ *A Second Collection of Songs* (London, 1787), no. 8.

Cl 1 (B \flat)

Hn (E \flat)

Voice

Huz - za!

Ex. 6.6a: Hook, 'Tantivy Hark', bars 71-88. GB-Lbl-Add. MS 19647, ff64^{f-v}.

Vl (or Cl?)

Voice

[Huzza]

Keyboard LH (VI/Cl?)

Hn

Ex 6.6b: Hook, 'Tantivy Hark', bars 79-88. British Library, G. 378.a. (8.), No 5.

Ex. 6.7: Hook, 'Bring us Boy a Flowing Bowl', bars 1-4. British Library, G.379. (10.), No. 3. 'Trumpet Solo by Mr Sarjant' stated in the score.

end of the century, possibly due to the abilities of James Sarjant. These parts are very prominent, as in 'Bring us Boy a flowing Bowl',³⁵ although this emphasis may be as much for the soloist's benefit as for the instrument itself. Although the *clarino* register is not used, the writing is moderately florid and serves as an effective descant to the principal motif, played by unison strings.

The profusion of trumpet songs reflects the various wars of the period, though their texts also favour a desire for peace and the safe return of those sent to fight. 'Softly sound the Martial Trumpet', and 'The Trumpet's shrill Notes' are arias,³⁶ in contrast to the more common strophic song, thus allowing a more lyrical expression of the text. In the latter there is also a solo oboe part, creating another *concertante* work for voice and two solo instruments.

Hook also introduced unusual, even theatrical, effects into some songs, including a carillon In 'When Sandy told his tale of love' to symbolise the marriage of the two protagonists in church.³⁷ Although this additional effect contributes to the theatricality of the song, it also suggests that 'special effects' were now in demand at Vauxhall, a trend that became more marked in the following century, and that the attention was now on the performance rather than the quality of the music.

Hook published a considerable number of single songs in the last two decades

³⁵ [A] *Second Collection of Favorite Songs* (London, 1797), no. 3.

³⁶ *A Second Collection of Songs...* (London, 1784), nos. 3 & 8.

³⁷ [A *Second Collection of Favourite Songs...*] (London, 1799), no. 3.

of the century, most of which were written for Vauxhall.³⁸ This change of strategy suggests that publishers thought more money could be made from issuing songs singly in full score at a price of one shilling (or 6*d* in short score), although the market for each format would have been different. Some songs are associated with other venues: ‘The Captive Queen’ (c.1793) was performed at the ‘Principal Concerts’, presumably subscription concerts in London.³⁹ It is not surprising for this song to be given as wide an audience as possible, as the fate of the French monarchy would have been very much in the minds of English concert patrons.

Most of these single songs are strophic, again with three verses, though there are some through-composed songs and rondos as well as two cantatas. Their scoring again suggests that the music was written for the widest possible market, flutes, horns and strings being standard. Two bassoons replace treble winds in ‘I have often been told’ (c.1787), adding melodic material an octave below the violins. Two *obbligato* clarinets join two bassoons in ‘Come buy my Water Cresses’ (c.1794), the only occasion on which the clarinet is specified. Trumpets appear in patriotic songs, such as ‘Britons struck Home’ (c.1794), and a timpani part could have easily been extrapolated from the trumpet parts whenever drums were available.

The textual themes are similar to those in the collections, but Hook uses a French refrain in some songs. Although the two countries were at war for much of this period, this device is a form of social comment, poking fun at behavioural affectations within the *haut ton*, rather than at the French themselves; that was done more directly in the patriotic songs of the 1790s.

³⁸ The earliest approximate date for a single song is 1783 for ‘Blest Hero who in Peace and War’, published by Preston. Most single songs, however, date from the late 1780s and 1790s.

³⁹ No reference to Hook’s song has been found in concert programmes from this time. However, the first Professional Concert of 1793 (18 February) includes an aria by Storace, ‘a... tribute to the... CAPTIVITY of... ANTOINETTA’, therefore Hook’s song may have been performed as an additional item in a programme around this time. See McVeigh, ‘The Professional Concert & Rival Subscription Series in London 1783-93’, p. 116.

Piccolos, or ‘E Flutes’ are used in a few songs, though the parts are actually in D, transposing up a tone. They appear in ‘nature’ songs, in which they imitate pipes or bird song at a high pitch, giving the music something of an ethereal quality.⁴⁰

‘The Lass of Richmond Hill’ contains unusual viola writing.⁴¹ The Alberti Bass was common in keyboard writing by this time, but, as the name suggests, its use was normally confined to the bass line. Hook translates this figure to the viola part, using it as an internal textural feature, thus giving the instrument greater independence. The same figure also occurs in the earlier ‘Je Pense à Vous’ (c.1787), again adding depth to the middle of the texture.



Ex. 6.8a: ‘Je pense à Vous’, bars 1-4, Alberti figure. British Library, H.1651.c. (39.).



Ex. 6.8b: ‘The Lass of Richmond Hill’, bars 1-4, Alberti figure. British Library, H.1651.c. (33.).

‘The Lass of Richmond Hill’, also shows Hook’s ability to exploit what might be a rather restrictive structure. When performed with instruments and original ritornelli, the song reveals a rich range of colours and textures, more than that found in many nineteenth-century editions, which remove the ritornelli and only provide a keyboard accompaniment.⁴²

Although reasonably standardised, Hook’s scoring is by no means a slavish adherence to a formula, as he varies the model subtly to suit the mood of the poetry. An example is ‘Rejoice Britannia’s Sons, Rejoice’ sung by Charles Incledon in 1786, scored

⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that instrumental indications are most abundant in songs with ‘nature’ texts; there appears to be some connection between text and scoring that is not immediately obvious.

⁴¹ British Library, H.1651.c. (33.). The song is scored for 2ob, 2hn, 2vn, va (obl.) and Basso.

⁴² One recent performance was on 14 July 2008 by the Linden Baroque Orchestra, directed by Peter Holman. Comments passed after the performance included the word ‘refreshing’, from an audience probably more accustomed to the abridged version in various school song books. The song has also been recorded, with the original scoring, on *Fairest Isle*, Hyperion CDA 67115.

for oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, timpani and strings. The occasion was a thanksgiving “On account of the Assassination of his Majesty”, the attempt on the king’s life earlier that year. Royal events were usually marked by the use of the full orchestra, but its use in songs is far less consistent than in the symphonies by Haydn and Pleyel that were being performed alongside them.

It is difficult to summarise Hook’s contribution to the concert song, as he seems both conservative and experimental in equal measure. Perhaps he was the victim of his own creativity, in that he wrote too many songs, thus denying himself the opportunity to explore the possibilities of the instrumental accompaniment at leisure. According to Dorothea Jordan, he ‘wrote too fast’,⁴³ and though he could certainly produce copious numbers of songs with speed, it is uncertain whether this was detrimental to his development as a composer. The sheer volume of his output has gone against him, as well as his reliance on the strophic form – something that may have prompted McVeigh’s remark that he ‘was largely content to maintain an insipid *lingua franca*’.⁴⁴ Had he restricted his output he might have given himself more time to experiment with structure and to develop an orchestral accompaniment equal to that of contemporary symphony and opera composers.

Jonas Blewitt (1757-1805)

Blewitt is the only composer other than Hook to have made a significant contribution to the concert song repertoire during this period. Little is known about his early life, other than his employment at a series of churches in London.⁴⁵ In 1784, or 1785, he was appointed organist of Bermondsey Spa Gardens, which had been granted a licence for music in 1784, remaining in post until his death, coincidentally in the same

⁴³ James Boaden, *The Life of Mrs Jordan*, 2 vols. (London: Edward Bull, 1831), ii, p. 63. Also cited in Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 396. It is also noted that ‘in the *open air* he had no fellow’ (*ibid.*).

⁴⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 126.

⁴⁵ See BDA, ii, p. 171, and Dawe, *Organists of the City of London*, p. 80.

year the gardens closed (1805).⁴⁶ His songs were almost all written for Bermondsey, being sung by several named singers.

Blewitt's first songs appear to have been published in c.1778 as *Six Songs and a Cantata* Op 1. Although listed in both editions of *The New Grove*, the collection has not been traced, thus nothing further can be said, beyond noting its similarity to contemporary publications, the inclusion of a cantata being a standard sign of quality assurance.

Blewitt's other collection dates from c.1786, the mention of Bermondsey on the title page showing that he was already employed there. The songs are described on the title page as 'Favorite Ballads' and, with one exception, they adhere to the ballad style, with a strophic structure. The scoring appears to be for strings alone, with the violins either divided or in unison. As the music is published in short score, it is possible that pairs of treble winds, horns and bassoons were also used. Alternatively, Blewitt may have kept the scoring simple to reflect the ballad style of the music. Also, in the early days of music at the Spa Gardens there may have been only strings readily available, so the music may have been written to suit the 'known' performance forces.

Blewitt also published several single songs, also written for Bermondsey, mostly in the late 1780s.⁴⁷ Some are in full score, and thus give a better idea as to the composition of the gardens' orchestra. Those for strings alone again reflect the music's ballad nature, but treble winds and horns are added in others, showing that a larger orchestra was available for part of the gardens' lifetime. The oboe is apparently not used at all and the flute and clarinet are only specified twice each, thus the use of the winds is not as great as might be expected by this period in the development of the orchestra. 'To Woods and Dells where Eccho dwells' (c.1785) is scored for two clarinets and two horns, another

⁴⁶ See A.S. Foord, *Springs, Streams and Spas of London: History and Associations* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1910), p. 191, and Frank Keyes, *Thomas Keyes and the Bermondsey Spa* (Aberystwyth, Frank Keyes [printed privately], 1996), for further information on the Spa Gardens.

⁴⁷ A list of some of Blewitt's songs, together with other material on Bermondsey Spa Gardens, can be found at Southwark Borough Archives, Press Cuttings 725.75 Bermondsey Spa.

Harmonie accompaniment.⁴⁸

The title of ‘The Lass of Humber-side’ (c.1787) invites a comparison with ‘The Lass of Richmond Hill’. However, Blewitt’s song is a lament for a lost lover, rather than a song in praise of the beloved. Although the scoring is the same in both songs, Blewitt uses the orchestra to imitate waves breaking on the shore, the effect being enhanced by the use of sudden changes of dynamics. The first violin part is more independent from the voice than in many contemporary songs, serving as a descent to the voice.

Ex. 6.9: Blewitt, ‘The Lass of Humber-Side’, bars 17-21, British Library H.1653. (7.).

The horn was Blewitt’s favoured wind instrument, being used more than any other. Its role was primarily to fill in the middle of the texture, as in *galant* usage, but it has its moments of prominence in hunting songs, the most notable example being ‘What raptures ring around’ (c.1787), in which strategically-placed horn calls enhance the drama.⁴⁹

Two songs survive in manuscript, an autograph dating from c.1800, though Bermondsey is not mentioned.⁵⁰ Both have a simple accompaniment, intended for keyboard, but adaptable for ensemble. ‘Returned from the Battle’ (ff 25^f-26^v), dated 15

⁴⁸ British Library, H.1653. (14)

⁴⁹ British Library, H.1653. (16).

⁵⁰ GB-Lbl Add. MS 62677. At the end of each song are the words (edited): ‘Received of Mr Riley Feb 15th one guinea for the copyright of this song, Jonas Blewitt’.

February 1800, has a three-part accompaniment, and ‘Says Dolly to Richard’ (ff 73^v-74^v – also c.1800), has a two-part accompaniment; in both cases this scoring again reflects the ballad nature of the music. There is reference in both to a payment of one guinea for copyright by a Mr Riley, equivalent to forty-two copies at 6*d*, though if the songs sold well Riley would have had the better side of the bargain.

Blewitt’s output offers evidence of how the concert song fared in the face of competition from other genres. Opportunities for public performance were diminishing to the extent that songs were now being written (and certainly published) with an emphasis on circulation to the domestic audience. With this came a gradual reduction in the promotion of instrumental accompaniment, this in turn contributing to the beginnings of the genre’s decline.

Other London Composers

In addition to Hook and Blewitt, several London composers contributed to the concert song repertoire. Some already had experience with the genre, other were new to it. Table 6.3 shows their names and publications, which, in comparison to earlier decades, were remarkably few. It is also notable how few contain only solo songs; concerted music had encroached considerably on the concert song’s territory by the end of the 1780s.

Table 6.3: Other London Composers 1782-1800

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number of Collections</u>	<u>Content</u>
Callcott, John Wall	1	Songs, Duets, Glees
Dupuis, Thomas Sanders	1	Songs, Glees
Giordani, Tomasso	1	Songs
Hindle, John	1	Songs, Duets
Jarvis, Samuel (posth.)	1	Songs, 1 Glee
Moulds, John	1	Songs
Smith, John Stafford	2	Songs, Catches, Glees
Stevens, Richard John Samuel	1	Songs

Only two songs in Callcott’s collection (c.1790) have a definite association with concerts. ‘Tell me thou soul of him I love’ (No 3) was performed by Theodosia Abrams

at Freemasons Hall and at the Academy of Ancient Music;⁵¹ ‘Thee Best Beloved’ (No 4) is designated ‘As Sung at several Private Concerts’. The score suggests only two violins and basso as accompaniment, but this could be the publisher aiming to disseminate the music as widely as possible through a compressed format.

The 1785 collection of John Stafford Smith also contains only two solo songs. ‘The Lunatic Lover’ (No 8) is subtitled ‘After Purcell’s Style’ and is a multi-sectioned mad scene, similar to ‘Let the dreadful Engines’ from Purcell’s *Don Quixote* (1694-5). ‘Sophrosyne thou Guard unseen’ (No 9), a two-section song, is also reminiscent of a model used in earlier decades. Both songs appear to be deliberate imitations of ‘ancient’ music, reflecting Smith’s work as a musical antiquary.⁵²

The solo songs in Hindle’s collection (c.1792) have either continuo accompaniment or three-part strings, except for ‘The Sky Lark’ (No 3), scored for flute and four-part strings. The music is more through-composed than in many contemporary collections, with two- and three-section structures. These, however, are formal devices long extant, thus their use could, as with Smith, be a form of homage to ‘ancient’ music.

The songs in the collections of Jarvis (c.1785 – published posthumously), Moulds (c.1787) and Stevens (c.1788) have a stronger claim to be concert songs. Jarvis’s songs are mostly strophic and are scored for two violins and basso, but this may be a keyboard reduction of the score. There is an interesting use of the tonic minor in the C section of the rondo ‘False are all mankind cry’d Chloe’ (No 12), where the tonality emphasises the deep anger and bitterness of the protagonist portrayed in the song.

Moulds’ songs, written for Ranelagh, appear to be scored for flutes or oboes, horns and strings; directions in the score suggest that the winds double the strings, with occasional solo episodes. Horns are only indicated in the hunting song ‘The Blush of

⁵¹ See *BDA*, i, pp.24-25 for biographical information on Abrams.

⁵² See Nicholas Temperley, ‘Smith, John Stafford’, *The New Grove*, xxiii, p. 575.

Aurora' (No 1), though it is possible that they had a harmonic role in other songs.

Stevens' songs are either binary or strophic, though with one rondo and two cantatas. The structure of the cantatas, both formal and tonal, is noteworthy; the key does not change from movement to movement, suggesting that the cantata was now seen as more of a through-composed work. 'Hark, 'tis a Voice from the Tomb' (No 10) has an A-R-A structure, the first aria being through-composed and the second strophic, while 'Werter' (No 8), apparently based on Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774), is a variant on the R-A-R-A model, R-Ar-R-Ar; the arioso is repeated after the second recitative.

Dupuis' collection (c.1784) contains eight solo songs and six glees. The songs are scored for strings in four cases, with horns, the only wind instruments specified, added in 'My Fiddle I fain wou'd employ' (No 1) and 'The Spacious Firmament on high' (No 8). Addison's 'The Spacious Firmament', a non-liturgical devotional text, suggests a Masonic connection, and the accompaniment a secular performance. This song is an example of a secular genre drawing on sacred texts.

Although Arnold's monumental edition of the collected works of Handel was to occupy much of his time at the end of the century, he continued to write both theatre music and solo songs, the latter being published singly. Their scoring shows that his style was maintained throughout this period. 'Little Bess the Ballad Singer' (c.1794) is scored for flutes, bassoons, horns and strings; the bassoons have a melodic role and the horns provide the inner harmony, still in keeping with later *galant* writing.⁵³ The written-out viola part is further indication that notation was becoming increasingly necessary.

Some of Arnold's songs were published singly by Harrison & Co in the 1780s and 1790s.⁵⁴ Published in short score, these are more difficult to define as concert songs,

⁵³ British Library, H.1653.b. (40.).

⁵⁴ Most of these songs are listed in Hoskins, 'A Checklist of Samuel Arnold's Extant Songs, Vocal Ensembles and Odes', *Research Chronicle: New Zealand Musicological Society* 5 (1995), 27-31. Some other

though they may have been performed at the pleasure gardens. Harrison's publishing strategy was to issue works, both old and new, as periodicals in short score: this approach coupled with an accessible publication format gave the music additional appeal to the domestic market. As probable editor of *The New Musical Magazine*, Arnold may have made a concession on format in exchange for wider circulation.⁵⁵

Some songs are extracts from Arnold's theatre works, notably 'Smiling Nan', from *The Gnome* (c.1788), and two from *Inkle and Yarico* (1789). 'The Prince of Arcadia', also published by Harrison but with no serial number,⁵⁶ was written on the recovery of the king from illness, presumably George III's first attack of madness in 1788. A patriotic song such as this would almost certainly have been performed in public, probably with an enlarged orchestra; therefore a concert setting is likely.

Although Giordani was mainly based in Dublin by the end of the 1780s, he published a set of six songs in 1788, each of which was advertised for sale separately at 1s or 6d. The texts are supposedly taken from Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, though only one, 'Youth and Age', is attributed, to Shakespeare.⁵⁷ Only 'Teach me Chloe' (No 4), is scored for an orchestra (flutes, horns and strings); the remainder of the songs have a keyboard-only accompaniment, although orchestral accompaniment may have been used in concerts.

Philip Hayes (1738-97), son of William Hayes, published some single songs in the 1780s and 1790s. 'The Highland Laddie' (c.1780), contains a note explaining the use of the piccolo, stating: 'Two Small Germ[an] Flutes tuned to the Key of E as used at the Public Gardens'. This note implies that this instrument was unique to these venues,

songs are, however, not listed, which can be found in vol. 17 of Arnold's works at the Library of Congress, shelfmark M3.A75. These are: 'Chace away Care'; 'Contrition'; 'The Disconsolate Shepherd'; 'The Hobby Horse'; 'Sandy and Alice'; 'Zephyr and the Rose'.

⁵⁵ See Frank Kidson/William C. Smith/Peter Ward Jones, 'Harrison', *The New Grove* xi, pp. 60-61 & Charles Humphries & William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the earliest times until the middle of the nineteenth century*, 2nd edn. (London: Cassell, 1970), p. 173.

⁵⁶ There are at least twenty-three songs in the series of Arnold's songs, plus some that are unnumbered.

⁵⁷ Only four songs (nos. 1, 2, 5 and 6) have their texts included in Percy's collection.

although the term could also refer to military fifes.

Samuel Wesley's songs have survived almost exclusively in manuscript; many are located at GB-Lbl Add. MS 35005. These songs cover a large part of the composer's life and consequently provide information on the transition from orchestral to keyboard accompaniment. The songs written before 1800 have an orchestral accompaniment; those after that date are for keyboard, though displaying some signs of instrumental part-writing, one example being 'Think of Me' from 1837 (ff92^v-93^v). The two-movement (R-A) cantata 'What are the falling rills' (ff99^{r-v}) is scored for flutes (recit), oboes (aria), strings and basso, a combination which could easily be assembled for a concert, the oboists doubling on flute. 'Gentle Warblings in the Night' (ff73^r-74^v), for flutes, strings and basso, was positively appraised by Vincent Novello in the 1840s; a note in the margin (dated 20 October 1843), states: 'This charming Song has never yet been published – what a shame!'⁵⁸

Although these collections point to the concert song still enjoying a reasonable share of the market, it is also evident that it was being challenged by the catch and the glee, hence composers including these in their publications of vocal music. The small number of collections published during this period supports the notion of Hook's monopoly on the genre, something not beneficial to its wellbeing.

Music in the Provinces

Some evidence of the centralising influence of London can be found in archive material from provincial music societies. One example is the manuscript song book of Sophia Goodban (1754-98), whose husband Thomas (1752-c.1802) was one of the early luminaries of the Canterbury Catch Club, founded in 1779. As Thomas was also landlord of The Prince of Orange tavern, where the club met, it seems there was a *quid pro quo* in

⁵⁸ See Michael Kassler & Philip Olleson (eds.), *Samuel Wesley: a Sourcebook* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 568 for further information on Wesley's songs.

the leasing arrangements, Sophia singing at the concerts in exchange for use of the tavern's facilities.

Songs in provincial concerts, while offering a change from instrumental music, gave music societies opportunities to engage guest performers, often at considerable sums, as well as showcasing local talent.⁵⁹ Marsh, living near Canterbury in the early 1780s, records that Sophia was the only woman allowed into the club's company, usually singing her solo as the second item of the second half of the concert. He describes her as:

not a very tasty singer but with a powerful voice & sufficient execution. She had however so little musical knowledge that she was not to be trusted to sing, except in a very simple ballad that she well knew without her brother or husband standing behind & playing softly in unison with her upon the fiddle.⁶⁰

Although Marsh's remarks are amusing, they are of limited accuracy as in many songs the first violin part doubles the vocal line, not only in 'ballads' but as a general feature of *galant* scoring.

Many of the songs were originally sung by Mrs Weichsell, suggesting that Sophia modelled herself on the London singer. Arnold's 'Where no ripen'd Summer glows' (No 25), is actually transposed into a higher key, in this case a perfect fourth (F-B♭) – suggesting that Sophia was a *coloratura* soprano. Her book provides evidence of Weichsell's reputation reaching into provincial towns and cities: Canterbury's accessibility to London would have made the acquisition of music relatively easy.

There are fifty-four songs in the book, though only forty-nine have voice parts. Four of the other five can, however, be attributed from the material in the three attendant part-books, for two violins and basso. The book has no clear date: there is no binding date, and the paper's watermark date of c.1768 can only give a *terminus post quem*.⁶¹ The age of the paper in comparison to the date of the volume's use, along with the fact that the first

⁵⁹ See *The John Marsh Journals*, pp. 166-7, 204 & 209 for examples of guest singers at Salisbury and *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 154 & 194 for examples of his comments on local singers.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁶¹ See Edward Haewood, *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950), Plate 17 (no. 111).

two songs have not been attributed, suggests that the book was initially a form of tutor, subsequently adapted for concert use. The publication date of Skeats's 'Tho' from Place to Place I'm ranging' (No 46 – c.1784), means this song was copied after that date. It may have been necessary to compile a repertoire in haste to meet the requirements of both club and soloist in the early days, hence many songs pre-dating the club's foundation.

Although there are few composers' names in either book or parts, it has been possible to attribute the majority of songs by reference to sources elsewhere; those that remain unattributed may either have been written by local composers or belong to publications now lost.

From the book's contents it can be seen that Vauxhall was the dominant influence on the choice of songs, though some other songs are taken from theatre works. There was also some room for local composers, showing a desire for a distinctive repertoire. It is, however, difficult to say whether this book is truly representative of provincial musical life; Canterbury's location may have made the volume's collation easier than would have been the case further afield.

Despite London's dominance, provincial composers still contributed to the repertoire. The songs in Highmore Skeats collection (c.1784) are mainly accompanied by strings, but 'Could'st thou within this Breast discover' (No 12), is scored for oboes, bassoons and strings, another example of later *galant* orchestration.⁶²

Jeremiah Clark's collection of 1791 contains ten songs, the scoring of which varies considerably.⁶³ The symphonic model is apparent in 'The Moon had clim'd the highest hills' (No 8) and in 'When first the dear Youth passing by' (No 9), both scored for oboes, horns and strings, but Clark also exploits the instruments in other ways. 'Distress me with thy tears no more' (No 2), and 'Tell me Delia charming fair' (No 10), are scored for two

⁶² *A Collection of Songs* (London, [1784]).

⁶³ *Ten Songs* ([London], 1791).

Table 6.4: Contents of Sophia Goodban's Songbook and accompanying Orchestral Parts

<u>Title/First line of Text</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Song Type</u>	<u>Date of Publication</u>	<u>Venue / Theatre Work</u>
1 A Thousand Raptures fill my Breast	Anon	Binary Aria	-	-
2 From Flower to flower the wanton Bee	Anon	Ternary Aria	-	-
3 [Mortals Attend]	Bates	Cantata R-A	1776	Vauxhall
4 Now softly play ye Zephyrs round	Giordani	Ternary Aria	1776	Vauxhall
5 Fairy Song	Hook	Strophic (3vv)	1777 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
6 Since sweet love has had possession	Hook	Rondo	1777 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
7 Balmy Music leads the Gale	Giordani	Ternary Aria	1772 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
8 Waft O Cupid to Leander	Hook	Rondo	1777 (2 nd Collection)	Vauxhall
9 The Rosy Dawn	Hook	Strophic (3vv)	1777 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
10 The Captive	Hook	Strophic (3vv)	1777 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
11 Harry is my greatest Treasure	Hook	Strophic Binary	1776	Vauxhall
12 A Favourite Hunting Song	Hook	Cantata R-A	1777 (2 nd Collection)	Vauxhall
13 With Horns and with Hounds	Boyce	Through- composed Binary	1746	<i>The Secular Masque/ Lyra Britannica 1 Ranelagh?</i>
14 Gentle Damon cease to woo me	Barthélemon	Rondo	1775	
15 Ye friendly Pow'rs	Anon	Ternary Aria	-	-
16 Alexis, a Shepherd	Anon	Strophic?	-	-
17 Cruel Strephon	J.C. Bach	Rondo	1766	Vauxhall
18 Ah why should Love	J.C. Bach	Ternary Aria	1766	Vauxhall
19 On a Mountain's lofty Brow	Giordani	Binary Aria	1776	Vauxhall
20 [Beneath a Myrtle's fragrant Shade]	Giordani	Cantata R-A	1776	Vauxhall
21 Love and Resentment	T. Arne	Cantata A-R-A	1766	Vauxhall
22 Corn Riggs are Bonny	Hook	Strophic (3vv)	1774 (2 nd Collection)	Vauxhall
23 Cupid and Endymion	Giordani	Cantata R-A	1772 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
24 A thousand Ways to wean my Heart	Carter	Rondo	1777	Vauxhall
25 Where no ripen'd Summer glows	Arnold	Rondo	1767	Vauxhall
26 Forsaken my pipe	Hook	Strophic (3vv)	1775 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
27 Bonny Jamie, O	Hook	Strophic (3vv)	1778 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
28 Cruel Cupid	Hook	Rondo	1778 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
29 The Nightingale (1 st Setting)	Hook	Cantata R-A	1778 (2 nd Collection)	Vauxhall
30 O'er the Sea my Love is sailing	Hook	Rondo	1778 (3 rd Collection)	Vauxhall
31 See, see the kind indulgent Gales	J.C. Bach	Through- composed Aria	1777	Vauxhall ¹
32 To Flora's fragrant Bower	Hook	Through- composed Binary	1778 (3 rd Collection)	Vauxhall

33 Kitty	Hook	Strophic (3vv)	1778 (2 nd Collection)	Vauxhall
34 Damon (Sweet O sweet)	Hook	Rondo	1779 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
35 Beauty kind and Friend sincere	Hook	Strophic Binary	1777 (2 nd Collection)	Vauxhall
36 The Trumpet's loud Summons	Giordani	Through- composed Aria	1772 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
37 [Now gentle Spring]	Russel	Cantata R-A	c.1773	Bath?
38 Adieu, thou dreary Pile	T. Linley (elder)	DC Aria	c.1775	<i>The Duenna</i>
39 How happily past the sweet moments away	Anon	Strophic (3vv)	-	-
40 [See Aurora 'gins to rise]	T. Smith	Cantata R-A	c.1769	Vauxhall
41 Tho' the Winds are whistling round me	T. Smith	Rondo	c.1769	Vauxhall
42 Diana	T. Arne	Cantata R-A	1766/1774 ²	Vauxhall
43 Virtue may thy sacred Arms	Rauzzini	Rondo	c.1782	Bath?
44 Hush ye Birds	Giardini ³	Ternary	-	-
45 Yet awhile sweet Sleep	Giardini/ Marsh ⁴	Ternary	[1787]	Canterbury
46 Tho' from Place to Place I'm ranging	Skeats	Rondo	1784	Ely?
47 Bless the jolly jovial Swains	Anon	Rondo	-	-
48 'Tis not the Bloom on Damon's cheek	Hook	Rondo (ABA)	1783 (2 nd Collection)	Vauxhall
49 'Twas Spring, all Nature gently smiling	Anon	Strophic (2vv)	-	-
50 The Steed approaching	Anon	Through- composed	-	
51 Soft twining Woodbines	Hook	Rondo	1776	Vauxhall
52 Delia's Promise	Hook	Strophic (4vv)	1777 (1 st Collection)	Vauxhall
53 The Morning	Hook	Strophic (4vv)	1776	Vauxhall
54 Tho' Mountains High	Dibdin	Strophic (4vv)	1797	<i>Sphinx</i>

1. The later version of *Se Spiege...* from *Zanaïda*

2. See p. 247.

3. Attribution in Songbook.

4. A conflation of the text from Michael Arne's *Cymon* (1785) and the music to *Dimmi Amor* from Giardini's *Il Gelato in Cimento* (1770). See *The John Marsh Journals*, p. 396 for Marsh's own account of this.

Texts in square brackets signify the opening line of a cantata where no title is given in the printed source.

violas and basso, an unusual combination of instruments. The texts suggest a tenor voice, thus the texture becomes similar to that of a glee. Both viola parts are independent of the vocal line, the first acting as a descant and the second filling in the harmony, although there is some overlapping of parts. 'The Sun sets in Night' (No 1) has the enhanced

galant scoring of flutes, oboes or clarinets, horns, timpani and strings. Eight songs have a written-out viola part, another sign of a need to provide for amateur players. Older scoring conventions are still evident, however, with an obbligato oboe in two songs, and flutes and strings in two others.

Ex. 6.10: Jeremiah Clark, 'Distress me with thy Tears no more' bars 9-12.
British Library, G.362. (1.), No. 2. First viola part notated an octave lower from bar 10.3.

The songs' structures are mainly strophic or strophic binary. However, 'Ye verdant Woods' (No 3) is in ternary form and four songs are through-composed, even though the text is strophic: there appears to be a move towards the *scena*, with imaginative variations of tonality and accompaniment to each verse.

William Jackson published two further song collections, in c.1785 and c.1793. Most of the 1785 songs are strophic, with string accompaniment. The cantata 'Parent of blooming Flow'rs' (No 5) is the only song to have a larger orchestra (flutes, horns and strings), but many songs include a viola part. Possible evidence of the keyboard's increase in favour as the main means of accompaniment can be found in the final two songs, marked 'Cembalo solo', though this may be an attempt to widen the music's market.

The scoring in the 1793 collection contains a further variety in its scoring, the piano being the only form of accompaniment in five songs. The symphonic model is present, though only in 'From her whom ev'ry heart must move' (No 2). The older scoring of flutes and strings appears in 'Again returns the blushful May' (No 6), but the other songs

with instrumental accompaniment are scored for strings alone, though again with an independent viola part. The use of a viola da gamba in ‘When fond, you Damon’s charm recite’ (No 7) harks back to former times, but reveals an interest in this near-obsolete instrument, especially from adherents of the cult of sensibility. Jackson’s use of the instrument probably owes much to his association with Gainsborough in the 1780s, and the song may date from this time.⁶⁴ The gamba has an *obbligato* role, but the bass line can, according to the directions in the score, be provided by either a cello or a piano, an interesting combination of the old and new.

Of all later provincial composers, Jackson was perhaps the most individual, borrowing, but not merely copying, ideas from others. His willingness to look both forwards and backwards simultaneously suggests that he was acutely aware of audience taste in Exeter, and provided songs that catered for all.

A composer at Bath with a similar background to Marsh was Henry Harington, trained as a doctor, but better known for his catches and glees, performed at music societies all over the country.⁶⁵ His solo songs were published in three volumes of vocal music in the early 1780s, but are in a minority, there being only fifteen across all three volumes, demonstrating the competition to which the solo song was now being subjected. The three in the first volume require harpsichord accompaniment alone, and the twelve songs in the other volumes appear to be for strings and/or harpsichord. The majority of the songs in Volume Two are in either strophic or strophic binary form, but in Volume Three the songs are through-composed, showing some signs of experimentation with structure.

The abundance of musical life at Bath may have encouraged Rauzzini to compose for the various concerts there. Towards the end of the century he published *A Periodical*

⁶⁴ See Holman, *Life after Death*, pp.261-262.

⁶⁵ See James, ‘Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath’, pp. 659-664 for biographical information on Harington.

Collection of Vocal Music in two volumes, containing solo songs, duets, trios and concerted items. His intention appears to have been to appeal to all sections of the musical community, with texts in both English and Italian. Most of the solo songs have an accompaniment for piano or harp, and only in Volume One are other instruments specified. Of these, two are duets, the 'Duetto Notturmo' (No 1) and 'Forlorn I seek the silent Scene' (No 23), and in both the piano is offered as an alternative.

The scoring of the duets is adaptable to different venues. The 'Duetto Notturmo' is scored for horns, flutes or violins, bassoon or viola and basso; these alternatives create several possible permutations, though the instruments may have been used together. The use of the bassoon as an alternative to the viola in 'Forlorn I seek' is another example of *galant* exploitation of the instrument's tenor register. The only solo song with instruments, 'Ah how the hours on Golden plume' (No 9), uses a flute, two violins, bassoon and basso; the piano is again offered as an alternative.

One other collection of note is that of Thomas Wright of Newcastle (c.1785).⁶⁶ Described by Southey as a 'violinist, clarinettist, singer, composer, theatre musician, concert promoter',⁶⁷ Wright appears to have understood the nature of many types of music, this being reflected in his collection. Although three songs require only harpsichord accompaniment, the others have alternative indications for flute, violins and basso.

It is possible that these songs were performed in public concerts at Newcastle, although the publication format suggests otherwise. This collection is further evidence of a desire to publish the music aiming for the widest possible circulation.

The small number of publications containing exclusively solo songs by provincial

⁶⁶ *Six Songs* (Newcastle, [1785]).

⁶⁷ Southey, *Music-making in North-East England*, p.228. See also Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management & Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester & Newcastle 1730-1799* (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 280-282.

composers suggests a change in taste, with concerted music-making becoming increasingly popular. Although concert songs were still being written, the influence of the capital on provincial concerts and their programming had spread throughout the country, allowing composers fewer opportunities to make an impression unless favourably received in London. The fortunes of the concert song were in future going to be decided by metropolitan taste.

Conclusion

By 1800, the orchestral concert song was in decline. The diversity of structure which had characterised the genre had contracted, and, though no form had become obsolete, the emphasis was now on the strophic song. Opportunities for performance had also diminished, and fewer composers were using the genre as a vehicle for serious music. Many institutions that had formerly promoted solo song now preferred genres that gave more people an opportunity to participate. Although in music clubs this generally meant men singing together, female singers sometimes provided a soprano line in glees. Because of this change in preference the concert song became almost unique to the pleasure gardens, now past their heyday, thus the genre's foundation was further weakened.

Much of this decline can be attributed to the growth of the piano culture around this time. Publishers, aiming for as wide a circulation of their music as possible, appear to have encouraged a simple structure, an approachable melody and an accessible accompaniment. The proliferation of the short score, often a gross simplification of the autograph, also shows a desire to make music more widely available, but to the detriment of the music itself.

Although keyboard instruments had been used in many homes for much of the century, the orchestra had been the primary means of accompaniment in concerts, due to the limitations of the harpsichord and spinet. When the piano became a viable alternative, other instrumental accompaniments became more of a luxury and less of a necessity, thus

removing a central part of the orchestral concert song's *raison d'être*. Some publishers tried to compensate by issuing single songs in full score, but this was a short-lived attempt to compete with the keyboard.

Gillray's caricature of the farmer's daughter at the piano is another sharp insight into the musical culture of his time (see Fig. 6.3). The picture draws attention to the short score and the piano; both appear to be targets of satire, being emblems of a class with a cultural veneer, but without any depth of understanding. Betty is performing a simplified version of Dorothea Jordan's 'The Blue Bell of Scotland' (1800), which suggests a limited musical ability. The middle class is ridiculed as socially pretentious; their cultured façade is transparent, revealing the truth in its starkest form.⁶⁸ Gillray is also satirising the 'national song', given heightened prominence by the folksong arrangements of Haydn, Pleyel and Beethoven.



Fig. 6.3: Detail from Gillray, *Farmer Giles & his Wife Shewing off their Daughter Betty to their Neighbours, on her return from School* (1809)
www.pemberley.com/janeinfo/rgnclfil.html (Accessed 24 March 2010).

⁶⁸ See Leppert, *Music and Image*, pp. 47-48 for further discussion of this picture. See *Women Composers: Music Through the Ages*, Vol. 4 'Composers Born 1700-1799: Vocal Music', ed. Sylvia Gluckman & Martha Furman Schleifer (New York: Prentice Hall International, 1998), pp. 254-5 for a recent edition of this song.

Song texts now largely rejected the Classical and Arcadian themes featured in ‘garden’ songs, focusing instead on contemporary topics. This change had a detrimental effect upon the concert song, as topicality invariably led to the rapid displacement of one song by another, giving some credence to the ephemeral status of the genre today. The ‘national air’ is one example, although some of these songs retained their popularity into the following century. Compositional style also remained static, no longer reflecting changes in poetic taste, thus the genre became an anachronism beside more recent genres, such as the *Lied*.

There were, however, signs of development in the scoring of the accompaniments. Viola parts, though still partially tied to the bass line, showed signs of greater independence. The clarinet was now firmly established within the orchestra, though it was still being played by double- or even triple-handed musicians. The bassoon was more frequently heard as a melodic instrument, two independent parts being sometimes found. Trumpets became more regular members of the orchestra, though, as with horns, their use was still restricted by a lack of valves. Yet it has to be admitted that these developments in orchestration were minor compared to those taking place abroad, or even at the opera houses and subscription concerts in London, where music by foreign composers such as Gluck and Haydn made far greater use of the enlarged wind section, making it a key component of the orchestra.

Holman argues that the culture that had promoted the concert song now relegated it as other genres encroached on its territory, though substantial displacement did not take place until the following century:

Decline there certainly was; but it did not come substantially until around 1800-30, when most of the familiar institutions of the eighteenth century... were all at a low ebb or had more or less come to an end.⁶⁹

The use of the orchestra to accompany the solo song certainly continued until well

⁶⁹ Holman, ‘The British Isles: Private and Public Music’, p. 268.

into the nineteenth century, though publication practices suggest otherwise. Public performance was now followed by publication for voice and keyboard, possibly leading to composers writing at the piano, then orchestrating the music. Though this assertion cannot be readily substantiated, mainly due to a lack of manuscripts, songs published after 1820 have a decidedly pianistic feel to their sound and texture, one example being Horn's 'Cherry Ripe' (1823). This approach is a departure from eighteenth-century practices, and suggests that later generations of composers were more accustomed to the piano.

Instrumental music in England did not develop the generic models that appeared on the continent, especially in Vienna, though continental music had certainly influenced the accompaniments to songs. In particular, the symphonic style had not taken root, although some native composers had written symphonies or 'overtures'. Vocal music therefore remained strong for longer in Britain than in Europe, the Vocal Concerts of the 1790s demonstrating its popularity, although the catch and glee displaced solo song in many cases.

Temperley states that any lack of revitalisation of solo song at the end of the eighteenth century is simply a part of the ebb and flow of musical history:

English Art Song has renewed itself continuously from medieval times to the present day. A natural, indigenous musical tradition can be traced through the ages, linked to the characteristic forms and rhythms of English poetry. From time to time continental influences have impinged, to be met with a reassertion of national identity.⁷⁰

However, increasing continental influence meant there was little sense of need for genre renewal, which can only have been to the detriment of English music in general. Indeed, renewal had to wait until the emergence of Stanford, Parry and Elgar towards the end of the nineteenth century, the native voice being largely drowned by its foreign counterparts for many years. Rather than reinvigorating itself, the concert song stagnated, this stagnation leading to decline, across the first decades of the nineteenth century.

⁷⁰ *English Songs 1800-1860*, ed. Geoffrey Bush & Nicholas Temperley, *Musica Britannica* 43 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1979), p. xv.

Chapter 7

A lost Genre?

The Current Situation

If asked to name songs by eighteenth-century English composers, it is probable that even the musically well-informed might struggle. Likely suggestions would be songs associated with modern-day concerts, rather than those of Georgian times, but probable candidates might be:

Arne: 'Rule Britannia'
 Arne: 'Where the Bee Sucks'
 Boyce: 'Heart of Oak'
 Dibdin: 'Tom Bowling'
 Hook: 'The Lass of Richmond Hill'
 Michael Arne: 'The Lass with the delicate Air'
 Shield: 'The Ploughboy'

Of these, 'Tom Bowling' and 'Rule Britannia' can be readily associated with the Promenade Concerts: both are included in Sir Henry Wood's *Fantasia on British Sea Songs* (1905). 'Heart of Oak' has become a regular march tune for the Royal Marines, frequently played on ceremonial occasions. The others, for older generations, will have been encountered in school song books, such as the *'Daily Express' Community Song Book* (1927).

However, three of the above are from theatre works: 'Rule Britannia' is the finale to *The Masque of Alfred* (1740), 'Heart of Oak' is from *Harlequin's Invasion* (1759) and 'The Ploughboy' is from *The Farmer* (1797). 'Tom Bowling', from Dibdin's one-man show *The Oddities* (1789), is a personal utterance on the loss of his brother Thomas, but became one of the 'sea songs' performed regularly during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially during the Napoleonic Wars. Only three songs actually have their origins in the concert culture of their day, but these have come to be regarded as a part of England's ballad tradition with their true provenances almost forgotten.

A lack of immediate association with eighteenth-century concert culture is a

result of the transformations made to the music by the compilers of nineteenth-century anthologies. Hook's 'Bring me Boy' is one of many songs to have suffered this fate; the editors removed the instrumental ritornelli, either reducing the introduction to a fragment of the original or creating a substitute of their own. Such actions would certainly have contributed to a recasting of the song in an 'ancient' mould, it being subsequently perceived as a 'refined ballad', and therefore a 'national song'.

Dahlhaus's assertion that 'they [the songs] change character, acquire and discard meaning, and influence the further progress of the art' is pertinent here.¹ Later meanings attached to 'The Lass of Richmond Hill' have obscured its true origins to the point where they may be virtually irretrievable. Fitzgerald states that it was once attributed to George IV; McVeigh observes that it was a veiled satire on the future King's private life.² Jacobs dismisses any suggestion that the text is actually by Leonard McNally, in praise of his wife, from Richmond in Yorkshire, as 'absurd'.³ Although a factual and/or accurate knowledge of the song's background is not necessary for enjoyment of the music, added meanings may have whetted the listener's appetite, especially after the death of George IV, and contributed to the song's 'afterlife'.

Much of our knowledge of eighteenth-century English music is conditioned not only by our inherited concept of the canon, but also by changes to listening practices. The canon has become decentralised over the past hundred years; the music of Elgar, Vaughan Williams and Britten, among others, is now included, weakening the former geographical bias. Solo songs other than *Lieder* have also come to be seen as 'classics', songs by the above composers being merely a small section of the English Song repertoire. If more modern works have made the concept of canon more flexible, then it is time to reappraise

¹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, tr. J.B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. ix.

² S. J. Adair Fitz Gerald, *Stories of Famous Songs* (London: J. C. Nimmo, 1898), pp. 169-70; McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p. 112.

³ Arthur Jacobs, 'The Modern Period: The British Isles', *A History of English Song*, ed. Denis Stevens (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1960), p. 145, fn. 6.

Pomposo Vivace

Tpt

Strings

Ex. 7.1a: Hook, 'Bring me Boy, Original Introduction (1797). British Library, G.379. (10.), No. 3.

Con Spirito

f

Ex. 7.1b: Hook, 'Bring me Boy', Hatton's Introduction. *The Songs of England*, ii, p. 72.

those from before its inception, and to achieve that it is necessary to circumvent the conditions and practices of the intervening years. As Kerman remarks:

The skeleton may have not been bodied out with authentic flesh and blood, but it was made into a handsome waxwork which was quite real enough for the nineteenth century.⁴

Concert songs thus need to be (re-) clothed in authentic flesh, restoring the original ritornelli and scoring. This approach should encourage further investigation to be undertaken to enable the music to be seen in its correct light. Correctly clothed, they provide considerable insight into England's musical heritage.

⁴ Joseph Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations', *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1983), p.121.

Hines' and Rowlandson's paintings show, in their contrasting but complementary ways, how people listened to music in the eighteenth century. Both have music as the main attraction (in Hines it is the focal point), showing its importance, but also show other activities taking place around the performance. Weber argues that eighteenth-century practice was to combine listening to music with social and business activities, often from necessity. An account of a visit Vauxhall by Marsh in 1770 suggests that the singers were listened to attentively, but that the visitors promenaded during the longer instrumental pieces.⁵ This behaviour carries both associations of instrumental music with dance, and of active participation in the 'theatre' at Vauxhall, whereas singing was comparatively static, requiring greater attention to be given to the performer. Events such as 'Proms in the Park' have created some *rapprochement* between former cultural practices, and it should be remembered that single-minded listening may, for many, be the exception to the rule.

As Weber notes:

Our ideological construct of taste and proper listening dates, for the most part, from the early 19th century, and is not even shared by the whole musical world in our own day.⁶

It is true that without the social changes of the nineteenth century, much, if not all, of the eighteenth-century song repertoire would have been lost. Greater enfranchisement, especially after the Reform Bill of 1832, combined with increasing wealth, found the middle class in the ascendancy; this social stratum borrowed its culture from both above and below, and a song with both art song and ballad characteristics was likely to have appealed to this social group. Equally, 'national' music at a time of empire-building would have caught the popular mood.

Later social developments resulted in a demand for music to be accessible by a larger part of the population. The Education Act of 1870 made music a compulsory part of the curriculum, thus creating a need for appropriate musical literature. The Music

⁵ See *The John Marsh Journals*, p. 77.

⁶ Weber, 'Did People Listen in the 18th Century?', *EM* 25 (1997), p. 679.

Appreciation Movement, aided greatly by the advent of recording,⁷ and the popularity of parlour music also brought art music to a wider section of the population. Singing was encouraged, leading to a demand for more music to be available at affordable prices. This, coupled with nostalgic nationalism, encouraged the ‘discovery’ of ‘old’ songs, resulting in many song anthologies being published throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These anthologies sought primarily to offer a repertoire of ‘national’ songs to an audience that was probably more than receptive, and their focus on the music of the past helped reinforce national values, in particular the concept of the heroic, strong Christian seeking to convert heathen nations to the ‘correct’ way. It may also have been intended as a partial counterbalance to what Finzi calls the ‘Teutonic hegemony’ emanating from Germany in the wake of unification, encouraged through Wagner’s operas.⁸ Whatever their drawbacks, it is comforting to know that these anthologies gave eighteenth-century song some form of afterlife.

The ethos of these anthologies can be roughly divided into two periods: 1820-1870 and 1870-1925. Between 1820 and 1870 the emphasis was on creating a sense of national identity through an awareness of heritage. Although ‘The Lass of Richmond Hill’, the ‘Scots’ version of ‘O Nanny’ and other eighteenth-century songs are included in these publications, the main focus is on either music of the present or that from Elizabethan times; the recent past was largely overlooked, possibly because of contemporary attitudes towards George IV.

Although national sentiments are still present in publications after 1870, there is greater evidence of a historicist approach, showing a desire to represent music of all ages. However, the contents of many publications seem to have been selected almost at random, and a lack of prefatory material leaves little insight into the compilers’ choices.

⁷ See Catherine Dale, ‘Britain’s ‘Armies of Trained Listeners’: Building a Nation of ‘Intelligent Hearers’’, *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 2 (2005), 93-114 for further discussion of this subject.

⁸ Gerald Finzi, ‘The Composer’s Use of Words’, *Crees Lectures, Royal College of Music (Part One)*, 6 May 1955.

Nevertheless, it is reassuring to know that there was some investigation into, and dissemination of, the concert song in later times.

Bronson's concept of 'ballad as song' has effectively been inverted to become 'song as ballad' in these anthologies. Although it is difficult to imagine how a traditional tune might have been adapted to fit the nuances of an art song, eighteenth-century ballad sheets show that ballads and songs co-existed for some time, making the resurrection of an 'ancient' genre comparatively easy for later generations.⁹

Of these anthologies, only Warlock's retain the original ritornelli, stave layout and such instrumental indications as exist.¹⁰ In this respect he comes close to presenting facsimiles of the original scores, something for which he has not received sufficient credit. He points out deficiencies in eighteenth-century song, but argues that negative opinion is often due to our perspectives on the composer, rather than on the music itself:

it is still customary in some quarters to regard a mere song writer as a musician of necessarily smaller stature than a symphonist or a composer of opera.¹¹

Derek Scott's comment that the songs' characteristics, 'unaffected, realistic, while at the same time imaginative and polished',¹² show that they transcended class barriers when published, being readily accepted by all. Such traits might not appeal to those seeking depth in both music and text, but they do not devalue the genre *per se*, therefore it is important to examine the future possibilities for the concert song.

Opportunities for performance have increased in recent years, especially with the growth of the Early Music movement. Although primarily a move towards 'historically informed' performance, it has led to many works being revived and given a new lease

⁹ The words of a number of songs performed at Vauxhall, including items by Gladwin, Heron, Potter and John Worgan survive in the Madden Ballads collection at Cambridge University Library. An analysis of this collection can be seen at <http://microformguides.gale.com/Data/Introductions/30330FM.htm>

¹⁰ *Songs of the Gardens*, ed. Peter Warlock (London: Nonesuch Press, 1925) Some songs (e.g. 'The Distress'd Maid' (pp. 94-6)) have the voice part between the treble and bass staves of the accompaniment, copying eighteenth-century practices.

¹¹ Warlock, *Songs of the Gardens*, p. i.

¹² Derek Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989), p. 7.

	Original Publication	Hullah (1871)	Hatton (1873-[86])	Baring-Gould (1895-97)	Kidson & Moffat (1901)	Edmundstoune Duncan (1905)	Arkwright (1905-09)	Moffat & Kidson (1911)	Warlock (1925)
Hook									
The Gipsy's Hat	Single 1798							✓	
The Little Waist Defended	Single 1793							✓	
The Willow	Single 1798							✓	
Two bunches a penny Primroses	1793 (1st)							✓	
We Soldiers Drink	<i>The Convivial Songster</i> (1782)								✓
When the Morning peeps forth	1770							✓	
Howard									
The Lass of the Hill	<i>Musical Companion 3</i>					✓			
Myrtilla	<i>Musical Companion 4</i>							✓	
Jackson									
Ye Shepherds give ear	Op 4 (c.1765)						✓		
Linley (elder)									
Dear to my Soul	1780 Ballads						✓		
Ah dearest Maid	1780 Ballads						✓		
False Delia Adieu	1780 Ballads						✓		
Ah! Could you possibly know	Posth. Works (c.1800)							✓	
The live-long day forlorn I go	Posth. Works (c.1800)							✓	
Linley (younger)									
On every tree	Posth. Works (c.1800)							✓	
To heal the wound a bee had made	Posth. Works (c.1800)							✓	
Moulds									
Ground Ivy	Single c.1790						✓		
Moulines Maria (Twas near a thicket's calm retreat)	Single c.1785						✓		
Newton									
What's sweeter than the new-blown Rose	<i>Six Select Songs</i>							✓	
Percy									
Wapping Old Stairs	Single c.1795	✓							

	Original Publication	Hullah (1871)	Hatton (1873-[86])	Baring-Gould (1895-97)	Kidson & Moffat (1901)	Edmundstoune Duncan (1905)	Arkwright (1905-09)	Moffat & Kidson (1911)	Warlock (1925)
Shield									
The Plough-Boy	<i>The Farmer</i> (1797)			✓		✓		✓	
Tenducci									
Go Deceitful fair One	<i>6 New Songs</i>								✓
John Worgan									
Did you e'er see	<i>UMag</i> 1749							✓	✓
Nanny of the Hill	<i>The Agreeable Choice</i>							✓	
To the Nightingale	Single c.1745							✓	
Wynne									
Love and Musick	<i>Ten Songs</i> (1754)							✓	
Love's Bacchanal	<i>Ten Songs</i> (1754)							✓	
Pleasant Old Age	<i>Ten Songs</i> (1754)							✓	
<i>A.M.C. The Agreeable Musical Choices; G.Mag: Gentleman's Magazine; L.Mag: London Magazine; R.Mag: Royal Magazine; U.Mag: Universal Magazine</i>									

Collections are given by date, with numbering as appropriate

of life. Much has also been done to investigate the works of minor composers, whose music may have as much information to offer on the conditions and practices under which they worked as more well-known figures.

Haskell, however, warns that the revival ‘has brought to light vast quantities of inferior music that would better have been left buried’.¹³ The investigation of repertoires such as the concert song may have been avoided because of fears of an indifferent reception. Also, the potential for misinterpreting a short score might deter those concerned with replicating a performance ‘as the composer would have heard it’.

Certainly the need for an orchestra creates logistical difficulties, in terms of cost, performing space or both, and that some form of compromise, however undesirable, may be necessary. Pilkington offered a possible solution in the volumes of eighteenth-century songs he edited in the late 1970s.¹⁴ The accompaniments are published as piano transcriptions, but with some indications as to the original scoring. However, regular use of these collections appears, at present, to be limited to the graded practical examinations, and therefore aimed at singers who are still learning. It can only be hoped that working on these songs might stimulate a future interest in the wider repertoire.

More recently, Rhodes has published four volumes of Hook’s songs in full score with their original orchestration, with the various alternative versions for keyboard, flute or guitar also being noted.¹⁵ Although a presentation in full score limits opportunities for performance, these are a welcome addition to the available material, especially as study scores. Rhodes does not, however, answer all questions concerning scoring. In the two cantatas in Volume Four, *Nymphs be Kind* (c.1780) and *Diana* (c.1785), there is no mention of viola or bassoon parts, even though both cantatas were sung at Vauxhall, with

¹³ Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1988 R/1996), p. 194.

¹⁴ See, for example, Thomas Arne, *Twelve Songs*, ed. Michael Pilkington, 2 vols. (London: Stainer & Bell, 1979); James Hook, *Eight Songs*, ed. Michael Pilkington (London: Stainer & Bell, 1979); *Songs of the Linleys*, ed. Michael Pilkington (London: Stainer & Bell, 1979).

¹⁵ James Hook, *Vocal Music*, ed. David Rhodes, 4 vols. (Girvan: Piper Publications, c.1995-2000).

a full orchestra. Further reference therefore needs to be made as to how these instruments might have been included in performance. The publication approach employed in *Musica Britannica*, offering instrumental parts in addition to music printed in full score where appropriate, is also welcome, and, if maintained in the forthcoming volume of secular cantatas,¹⁶ will allow some of the repertoire to be heard using their imaginative and colourful orchestral accompaniments.

Other opportunities for the concert song lie in recording, which has been explored to some extent, as evidenced by the recordings cited, plus some high-profile broadcast performances of related music.¹⁷ However, the trend towards historically-informed performance has created a situation where performance other than that supposedly intended by the composer can arouse hostility within certain sections of the musical community. It needs to be remembered that most concert songs were performed in public by professionals, but published for amateurs, thus a wide range of ‘revival’ performances, historical or otherwise, should be encouraged, as this would provide more opportunities for the songs to be heard. Holman’s comment on the recording industry as ‘pluralistic, decentralised and at times almost anarchic’ offers hope that one day more neglected music might find its way back into the public consciousness.¹⁸

Music education may prove useful as a means of teaching the history of popular music through time. However, the ‘new contemporaneity’ of the current cultural climate might intervene. Whereas the eighteenth century was largely unaware of its musical heritage, today high art is, as Varcoe notes, apparently scorned as ‘elitist and unapproachable’.¹⁹ Add a general lack of interest in ‘classical’ music and this

¹⁶ (London: Stainer & Bell, Forthcoming).

¹⁷ One recent example was at the BBC Promenade Concerts on 21 August 2004, when three arias from Arne’s *Artaxerxes*, including ‘The Soldier tir’d’, were performed by The English Concert. In addition to the recordings already cited, recordings by The Broadside Band, *English National Songs* (Saydisc CD-SDL 400) and by the Parley of Instruments, *Fairest Isle: a New National Songbook* (Hyperion, CDA 67115) contain some songs from the repertoire, notably ‘The Lass of Richmond Hill’.

¹⁸ Holman, ‘Eighteenth-century English Music: Past, Present, Future’, pp. 12-13.

¹⁹ Stephen Varcoe, ‘European Art Song’, *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 122.

possibility would appear to be limited at present.

Although current prospects are few, revival is not beyond attainment. The concert song may never enjoy a significant renaissance, but its part of both the eighteenth-century repertoire and of England's national musical history and should be acknowledged. The piano may, understandably, be the favoured means of accompaniment today, but acquiring an understanding of the milieu from which orchestral song emerged, and the social background to its development, will, on current evidence, serve to enhance our appreciation of the genre.

Conclusions

The concert song, as represented by the period 1740-1800, enjoyed a relatively short lifespan, but has much information to impart to later generations. The genre reflects the musical and social influences that enabled it to emerge from private performance into a very public arena, that allowed its growth into arguably the greatest part of the native compositional output of its time, but that also caused its decline. The social background created an appetite for the music, but also, by not establishing a canon, allowed popular taste to let it be supplanted by other entertainments.

The vast amount of published music, collections, anthologies, single songs and items in periodicals, demonstrates the genre's contemporary popularity. Sadly, increased reliance on a populist format (the two-stave short score) has left few indicators as to the songs' orchestrations. Surviving manuscripts and markings in scores are an invaluable help, but in many cases the true picture may never be known. This study has attempted to provide some further insight into this matter.

The published collections also point to the increasing centralisation of culture upon London as the eighteenth century progressed. Initially, concert songs in the provinces originated from a need to create, but, as the century progressed, this need became more of a wish as London music became more readily available. That songs nevertheless

continued to be written by provincial composers shows some ongoing appetite for music from those who could respond to local conditions and practices, rather than having to import and adapt material from further afield.

Did the relationship between music and text suffer the breakdown Goodall asserts? This is probably true with regard to the cantata, which declined in both quality and quantity, especially towards the end of the century. Braham's *The Death of Nelson* (1809), with its strophic aria and text rich in pathos, shows how much the cantata had changed by the early nineteenth century. Rather than expressing sentiments reflecting the genre's 'aristocratic' origins, this cantata appeals to a more vulgar sense of mass patriotism, with a public lament for the hero of Trafalgar. This work is really a ballad styled as a cantata, but it demonstrates the fluidity of genre that developed during the era of the concert song.

The reasons behind composers' choices of poetry may be more complex than the fortunes of the cantata imply. Elgar once remarked that he chose to set second-rate poetry to music because 'the most immortal verse *is* music already';²⁰ this suggests that inferior poetry can be enhanced through music. In the eighteenth century, the best literature seems to have been reserved for higher musical genres (e.g. opera), though the use of lesser poetry in more populist music does not automatically mean that either was seen purely as 'entertainment'.

Both music and text therefore need to be appraised through the eyes of a contemporary audience for an accurate appraisal to be made. The song-writing ethos of the nineteenth century differed from that of the eighteenth in that it sought to inform and educate. Scott talks of a 'moral purpose', apparently absent until the emergence of the 'respectable entertainer' towards the end of the eighteenth century,²¹ Dibdin being one of

²⁰ Paraphrased by Jerrold Northrop Moore in Preface to *An Elgar Song Album* (Borough Green: Novello, 1984).

²¹ See Derek Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, pp. 32-39.

the earliest. Because this ‘entertainer’ could arouse the social conscience of the audience, works without an obvious message would be seen as slight by comparison. Also, an adherence to strophic forms by some composers afforded fewer possibilities for conveying messages through word-painting than in more extended structures. Nevertheless, it was possible, as seen in ‘The Lass of Richmond Hill’, that message and meaning could be read into strophic songs, audiences interpreting them as they saw fit.²² Put simply, eighteenth-century song could both inform and entertain; any underlying content was carefully veiled, therefore not immediately discernible by later commentators.

If the words and structures of many songs lean towards a stereotype, their orchestrations are perhaps the genre’s saving grace. There are many examples of imaginative accompaniments, often influenced by contemporary instrumental writing, and making full use of the resources the contemporary orchestra could offer. Although not all composers chose to mirror the development of the orchestra in their songs, their experiments were not confined to one particular form; examples of interesting scoring can be found in cantatas and strophic songs alike. The orchestration also compensated for any disconnect between music and text by providing an atmospheric background, against which the words could be delivered effectively. Performance in a suitable environment, especially at the pleasure gardens, would have further enhanced the atmosphere the music sought to create. However, as the use of instruments declined so this relationship weakened, being only reinvigorated by the emergence of the dramatic piano accompaniment, principally in the *Lied*, in the following century.

There is some evidence of orchestral development in England progressing beyond that on the continent. The most notable is in the use of the bassoon, especially by Hook, who gave the instrument melodic episodes in addition to exploring its tenor register and

²² See p. 336.

textural role. When two bassoons are specified, they sometime have independent parts, something more advanced than in contemporary symphonic writing. The clarinet also enjoyed a status in England above that in other countries, being played by both professionals and amateurs from the 1760s onwards; the concert song undoubtedly helped to bring the instrument to public attention.

There are also hints of a national style in the orchestrations. Though influenced by social, as much as musical, factors, the combination of flutes, horns and strings was popular for much of the genre's lifetime, the choice of flutes over oboes marking it as individual. Although the influence of the Mannheim School helped ensure the longevity of this scoring by giving it consistency, its foundation is decidedly English.

Any advances in the winds seem, however, to have been at the expense of the strings. From surviving evidence, the first violin part appears mostly to double the vocal line, with little independence except in ritornelli, and the second violin part is closely tied to the first. Viola parts generally doubled the basso, independent passages only occurring occasionally. This is far removed from the four-part scoring of Purcell, or of many contemporary instrumental works, so it is arguable that string writing, while not actually regressing, did not develop significantly in comparison with music from continental Europe.

The concert song, along with theatre music, provides an opportunity to trace the history and development of the *galant* style in England throughout the eighteenth century. In particular, the orchestrations show how the style's features, as gleaned from Hertz, are manifested in the music. There is ample evidence of *galant* part-writing, texture, melodic and harmonic structure, ornamentation and phrasing in the songs, these features being maintained throughout much of the century. However, it is also true that reliance on one style meant that the concert song did not develop at the same pace as more prominent genres, resulting in its being seen as stagnant by comparison.

It is now necessary to establish a fuller picture of the situation in England, in order to counterbalance the apparent lack of interest shown by Hertz and others. Any further work needs to investigate not only the genres in which English composers worked, and through which their output needs to be appraised, but also the literary background to the style, which differed significantly from that in other countries.

This study has explored the orchestrations of the songs' accompaniments in detail, and as a result it is possible to argue that reconstruction of a full score can be achieved in many cases. An understanding of how inner strings parts were constructed enables a four-part score to be created where appropriate, and knowledge of wind orchestration makes the addition of oboe or flute and horn parts equally feasible. The question then becomes not whether a score can be reconstructed, but whether a reconstruction should be attempted. Songs before 1760 may have been published with their original scoring, the ballad style requiring only a melodic instrument and bass line, therefore any attempt to provide a four-part accompaniment would be inaccurate. Songs after 1760 are more likely to have used a larger ensemble, thus parts for inner strings and winds need to be realised. Date, publication format and the composer's contemporary style all need to be taken into consideration when deciding how to proceed.

Finally, does the genre 'improve the understanding' or merely 'entertain the fancy'? Hawkins' statement, apparently supported by Avison and Brown, may have held sway in his day, but 'entertainment' music can enlighten; thus it should not be assumed that concert audiences simply listened and went away uninformed. In this respect the accompaniments probably played a significant part, imaginative orchestrations combining with the soloists' technical prowess in a way that made an impression on listeners, regardless of musical erudition.

It is because the culture surrounding the eighteenth-century concert song has disappeared that the music becomes difficult to appreciate, although this should not be a

deterrent to investigation. It is not possible to adopt an ahistorical perspective of the music, but one can, to an extent, circumvent attitudes from intervening eras, some of which are intrusive, and appraise the music accordingly. The songs may ‘entertain the fancy’ if we merely wish them to, but they can also inform.

Warlock advises us to follow our forbears, and enjoy the music for its own sake, rather than subjecting it to excessive critical scrutiny:

when all due admission has been made of the deplorably low level of the general standard in musical composition in England at that time, there remains for our purely aesthetic enjoyment a large number of very charming melodies which ought not to be forgotten.²³

Tempting as it may be to offer the music on the grounds of charm alone, it is insufficient. Today’s audiences are more critical, and our listening culture differs from that of Georgian times; people are more actively engaged with the music rather than having it as a backdrop to other activities. However, listeners’ acquaintance with concert songs may be through literature that does not do justice to the music – thus the restoration of original ritornelli and instrumentation will surely provide a more rewarding perspective. The scoring of the accompaniments is therefore the gateway to an accurate assessment of a genre now awaiting a wider public.

²³ Warlock, *Songs of the Gardens*, p. viii.

Appendices

Appendix A

Analysis of Word Books from Vauxhall Gardens

- 1) *A genuine Collection of all the new songs, Ballads, Cantatas and Chorusses, now singing at Vaux-Hall Garden. 1766* (London: Printed for F. Newberry, 1766).
British Library, 1078.e.12

	<u>Title (First Line)</u>	<u>Song Type</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Singer</u>	<u>Publication</u>
1	The Sycamore Shade	Ballad	Arne	Brent	<i>Summer Amusement</i>
2	The Invitation (Come Colin...)	[Song]	J.C. Bach	Weichsell	1 st Collection (1766)
3	The Shepherds Artifice	Ballad	Potter	Vernon	<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> 37(1767), p. 46
4	Gentle Damon	Rondeau	Barthélemon	Weichsell	1770 Collection?
5	Why Colin must your Laura mourn	Song	Potter	Weichsell	1766 Collection
6	The Petition Answered	Cantata	Yates	Vernon	
7	Ah why should Love	Song	J.C. Bach	Weichsell	1 st Collection (1766)
8	Ere Phoebus shall peep	Song	Arnold	Vernon	
9	By my Sighs	Song	J.C. Bach	Weichsell	1 st Collection (1766)
10	Summer (Now gay Summers' ripen'd bloom)	[Song]	Potter	Weichsell	1766 Collection
11	Rondeau (Cruel Strephon)	Rondo	J.C. Bach	Weichsell	1 st Collection (1766)
12	Advice to the Ladies	[Song]	M. Arne	Wright	<i>Royal Magazine</i> 15 (1766), 100
13	Last Week in the Grove	Ballad	Potter	Vernon	
14	By the Sky-Lark	Ballad	Arnold	Vernon	Single Song?
15	Love and Wine	Cantata	Potter	Vernon	1766 Collection
16	The Fairy (In days of Yore)	[Song]	Yates	Vernon	
17	Let Misers hug	Ballad	Potter	Vernon	1766 Collection
18	Like Wood-nymph in form	Ballad	Potter	Vernon	
19	Ye Ladies who drive	Ballad	Arne	Vernon	<i>Summer Amusement</i>
20	As Jockey was trudging	Ballad	Yates	Vernon	
21	Why should we of humble state	Song	M. Arne	Wright	
22	[Love and Resentment]	Cantata	Arne	Brent	<i>Summer Amusement</i>
23	Delia	Pastoral	Arne	Vernon	<i>Summer Amusement</i>
24	The Winter its desolate train	Song	M. Arne	Wright	<i>New Songs 1765</i>
25	Kingcup, Daffodil and Rose	Song	M. Arne	Wright	[<i>The Fairy Tale</i>]
26	The Yellow hair'd Laddie	[Song]	M. Arne	Wright	1773 Collection
27	Breathe soft ye Winds	Song	Arnold	Vernon	
28	The Sisters (Young Arabella...)	Ballad	Yates	Vernon	Single [c.1770]
29	Diana	Cantata	Arne	Brent	<i>The Vocal Grove</i>
30	The Laugh (Since Pleasures in fashion...)	[Song]	Arne	Vernon	<i>Summer Amusement</i>
31	Ode to Cheerfulness	Ode/Chorus	Arne	Vernon & Wright	
32	Ode to Pleasure	Ode/Chorus	J.C. Bach	Brent, Vernon Weichsell, Wright	
33	Ode to Summer	Ode/Chorus	J.C. Bach	As above	Lost

2) *A genuine Collection of all the new songs, Ballads, Cantatas and Chorusses, now singing at Vaux-Hall Garden. 1768* (London: Printed for F. Newberry, 1766).
British Library, RB.23.a.1857(8)

	<u>Title (First Line)</u>	<u>Song Type</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Singer</u>	<u>Publication</u>
1	Rondeau (Faithless Damon)	Rondo	Smith	Weichsell	
2	Ballad (What is Chloe to me)	Ballad	Yates	Vernon	<i>Universal Magazine</i> July 1768
3	Scotch Air (Simple Strephon cease complaining)	Ballad	Hook	Weichsell	1768 (2 nd Collection)
4	Hunting Song (Bright dawns the day)	Cantata	Worgan	Vernon	
5	Song (Soft breathing the Zephyrs)	Song	Arnold	Pinto	
6	The April Fool (One April Morn...)	Song	Yates	Vernon	1768 Collection
7	Rondeau (Would you Wish to gain a lover)	Rondo	Potter	Weichsell	1768 Collection
8	Patty of the Hill	Song	Hook	Vernon	1768 (2 nd Collection)
9	Song (Return'd the Season of delight)	Song	'A Gentlemen'	Vernon	
10	The Sparrows ('Twas in the pleasant month of May)	Song	Potter	Vernon	Published 1785
11	The Young Shepherd	Song	Potter	Vernon	1768 Collection
12	The English Padlock	Song	Bates	Vernon	<i>Universal Magazine</i> 43 (1768), p. 61
13	Song (when chilling Winter hies away)	Aria?	J.C. Bach	Weichsell	lost
14	Ballad (Let fops...)	Ballad	Dibdin	Vernon	
15	Song (Come hope...)	Song?	Arnold	Pinto	Dublin: J. Rice, [1780]
16	The Birks of Endermay	Ballad	Dibdin	Vernon	1770 Collection
17	Song (Pale fear shall n'eer)	Song?	Arne	Pinto	
18	Song (If music can charm)	Song?	Potter	Vernon	1769 Collection
19	Song (Love's a fever)	Song	Arnold	Pinto	1768 Collection
20	Song (Talk no more of Love to me)	Aria?	Arnold	Pinto	1768 Collection
21	Air (Go thou false deceiver)	Aria	Galuppi	Weichsell	
22	The Milkmaid	Song	Potter	Vernon	
23	Song (The sun succeeds)	Aria?	Arnold	Pinto	
24	Cantata (At Delia's feet)	Cantata	Arnold	Vernon	1768 Collection
25	The Fair Sex defended	Song	Bates	Vernon	London: c.1770
26	The Good Fellow	Song	Bates	Vernon	Single [c.1770]
27	The Shepherds Festival	Finale	Potter	Vernon, Weichsell, Pinto	1768 Collection
28	The Pastoral Invitation	Finale	J.C. Bach	as above	
29	The Shepherds: a trio	Finale	Worgan	as above	
30	Trio (Beauty's ever Smiling Queen)	Finale	Arnold	as above	

3) *The Songs, Duets, Choruses &c &c Now Singing at Vauxhall, Published by Authority, and under the Direction of Mr Hooke [sic.]* (London: Printed for W. Dale, 1793). British Library 643.e.21. (6)

<u>Title (First Line)</u>	<u>Song Type</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Singer</u>	<u>Publication</u>
1 The Silver Moon	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mr Upton	Miss Milne	1793 (1 st Collection)
2 Then say my Sweet Girl that you love me	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mr Upton	Mr Darley	1793 (1 st Collection)
3 Two bunches a penny Primroses	Strophic 3vv & refrain	Hook	Mr Upton	Mrs Franklin	1793 (1 st Collection)
4 Yarrow Vale	Strophic 3vv	Hook	-	Mrs Mountain	1793 (1 st Collection)
5 The Contented Shepherd	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mrs Robinson	Mr Darley	1793 (1 st Collection)
6 Never say No when You mean to say Yes	Strophic 3vv	Hook	-	Mrs Franklin	1793 (1 st Collection)
7 Let Others wreaths of Roses twine	Strophic 4vv	Hook	Mrs Robinson	Mrs Addison	1793 (1 st Collection)
8 My Dear Willy	Strophic 3vv	Hook	-	Miss Milne	1793 (1 st Collection)
9 Sweet Patty	Strophic 3vv	Hook	-	Mr Clifford	1793 (1 st Collection)
10 Hither Mary, Hither Come	Strophic 3vv	Hook	-	Master Phelps	Single (1793)
11 Serious Glee (O how sweetly Delia sings)	1v	Hook	-	3 voices	Single (1793)
12 Comic Glee (To but-belly'd Bacchus we bow)	1v	Hook	-	-	-
13 The Soldier's Adieu (To Arms! To Arms!)	Multi-section Finale	Hook	-	Addison, Darley, Franklin, Milne, Mountain, Phelps	-
14 The way to keep him	Strophic 3vv	Hook	'By a Lady'	Mrs Mountain	Single (1793)
15 When Lucy was kind	Strophic 3vv	Hook	-	Master Phelps	Single (1793)

4) *The Vauxhall Songs for the year 1795. Sung by Mrs. Mountain, Miss Milne, Mrs. Franklin, Mr. Dignum, Mr. Taylor, And Master Welsh.* (London: Printed and Sold by A. Macpherson, 1795). British Library, 11735.bb.24

<u>Title (First Line)</u>	<u>Song Type</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Singer</u>	<u>Publication</u>
1 The Fair of Britain's Isle	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Taylor	1795 (2 nd Collection)
2 We shall be married tomorrow	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mountain	1795 (2 nd Collection)
3 Then I fly to meet my Love	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Welsh	1795 (2 nd Collection)
4 The young Irish Captain's the Husband for me	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Franklin	1795 (2 nd Collection)
5 The Thrifty Wife	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum	1795 (2 nd Collection)
6 Indeed Young Men I must deny	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Milne	1795 (2 nd Collection)
7 O dearly I love somebody	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mountain	1795 (2 nd Collection)
8 The Soldier's Farewell	Duet/Scena	Hook	Dignum Franklin	1795 (2 nd Collection)
9 Likeness without Flattery	Strophic 4vv	Hook	Welsh	Single (1795)
10 Rosy Wine is the Key	Strophic 4vv	Hook	Dignum	1795 (1 st Collection)
11 Ah well a day poor Anna	Strophic 2vv	Hook	Welsh	1795 (1 st Collection)
12 How gaily Roll'd the Moments on	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Franklin	1795 (1 st Collection)
13 A Dance round the Maypole	Strophic 2vv	Hook	Mountain	1795 (1 st Collection)
14 Donald of Dundee	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Milne	1795 (1 st Collection)
15 So Dearly I love Johnny O	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Franklin	1795 (1 st Collection)
16 Lubin of the Hill	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Milne	1795 (1 st Collection)
17 Love thou strange capricious Boy	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum	1795 (1 st Collection)
18 Listen, listen to the Voice of Love	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Welsh	Single (1795)
19 Keep your Distance	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Franklin	Single (1795)
20 The little Waist Defended	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mountain	Single (1795)
21 Pleasure of Hunting and Drinking	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Taylor	Single (1795)
22 The true honest Heart	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Taylor	Single (1795)
23 For we shall both grow older	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Welsh	Single (1795)
24 Love shall be my guide	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Milne	Single (1795)
25 Kate of Dover	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum	Single (1795)
26 No Waist at all	Strophic 4vv	Hook	Taylor	Single (1795)
27 The Bonny Collier's Daughter	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum	Single (1795)
28 The Token	Strophic 4vv	Dibdin	Mr Sutton ^b	Single 1793 <i>Castles in the Air</i> (1794)
29 The poor Cabin Boy	Strophic 4vv	Moulds	Sutton	Single (1795)
30 When Icicles hang by the Wall	Strophic 2vv	Percy? ^a	Sutton	[1795]
31 Fanny of Exeter	Strophic 3vv	'A Young Lady'	Sutton	
32 The Wine Bibber	Strophic 4vv		Sutton	

a) Percy's setting was published as a glee for three voices in 1795, but may have originally been a solo song.

b) Thomas Sutton (*fl* 1794-5) was a bass singer who performed in oratorios at Drury Lane at this time. See *BDA*, xiv, 345.

5) *The songs, trios, glees, &c. &c. as sung by Mr. Dignum, Master Welsh, Mr. Denman, Mrs. Franklin, And Mrs. Mountain, this season at Vauxhall.* (London: Printed and published by George Cawthorn, 1797). British Library, 993.k.28. (3.)

	<u>Title (First Line)</u>	<u>Song Type</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Singer</u>	<u>Publication</u>
1	Maid of the Green Pretty Sally	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum	Single (1797)
2	The Linnet	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Welsh	1797 (1 st Collection)
3	What can a Lassy do?	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mountain	1797 (1 st Collection)
4	With Mary Dear I love to stray	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Denman	1797 (1 st Collection)
5	If a Body loves a Body	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Franklin	1797 (1 st Collection)
6	Here's the pretty Girl I Love	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Denman	1797 (1 st Collection)
7	T'other day as I sat in a Shady retreat	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mountain	1797 (1 st Collection)
8	Well away cruel Barbara Allen	Strophic 5vv	Hook	Welsh	Single (1797)
9	For you only my Dear	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Franklin	1797 (1 st Collection)
10	In a Vale far remov'd	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum	Single (1797)
11	Lucy of the Vale	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum	[Single 1797?] ^a
12	You're welcome as the Flowers in May	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Franklin	Single (1797)
13	Hunting Glee	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum Denman Franklin	Single 1797
14	Three weeks after Marriage	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mountain	Single (1797)
15	Anacreontic: Drink and fill the bowl again	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Denman	1797 (2 nd Collection)
16	Pastoral Glee	1v	Hook	Dignum Denman Franklin Mountain	[Single 1797?] ^a
17	The Fashionable Husband	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mountain	1797 (2 nd Collection)
18	The Fashionable Wife	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum	1797 (2 nd Collection)
19	Ben of Sheerness	Strophic 5vv	Hook	Dignum	Single (1797)
20	The Female Auctioneer	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Franklin	1797 (2 nd Collection)
21	Mary's kind Kiss	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum	1797 (2 nd Collection)
22	Prattling Echo (I lost my Love ...)	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Dignum	Single [c.1796]
23	The Punch-Bowl	Strophic 5vv	Hook	Dignum	1797 (2 nd Collection)
24	The Female Monitor	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mountain	1797 (2 nd Collection)
25	Shepherd, stay and do not leave me	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Mountain	1797 (2 nd Collection)
26	Jem of Aberdovy	Strophic 3vv	Hook	Franklin	Single [1795]

a) The words of both these items also appear in *A Garland of New Songs* (Newcastle upon Tyne, [1798]), but the music has not been traced.

Appendix B

Song Collections by provincial Composers 1735-1800

<u>Bath</u>		
Chilcot	<i>Twelve English Songs</i>	[1744]
Harington ¹	<i>A Favorite Collection of Songs</i>	[1780]
-	<i>A Second Collection of Songs</i>	[1780]
-	<i>A Third Collection of Trios, Duets</i>	[1780]
Linley (elder)	<i>Twelve Ballads</i>	[1780]
Rauzzini ²	<i>A Periodical Collection of Vocal Music</i> [1]	[1797]
-	<i>A Periodical Collection of Vocal Music</i> [2]	[1797]
Russel	<i>The Butterfly</i>	[1773]
 <u>Birmingham</u>		
Clark, Jeremiah	<i>Ten Songs</i>	1791
Harris, Joseph	<i>Eight Songs</i>	[1775]
-	<i>Twelve Songs</i>	[1783]
Pixell	<i>A Collection of Songs</i>	[1759]
-	<i>Odes, Cantatas, Songs etc</i>	1775
 <u>Boxford (Suffolk)</u>		
Carr	<i>The Grove</i>	[1760]
 <u>Caerhays (Truro)</u>		
Bennett	<i>Twelve Songs</i>	[1765]
 <u>Canterbury</u>		
Flackton	<i>The Chace</i>	[1743]
-	<i>A Cantata and Several Songs</i>	[1747]
 <u>Chelmsford</u>		
Taylor	<i>A Collection of Favorite Songs</i>	[1775]
 <u>Derby</u>		
Denby	<i>A Cantata and Six Songs</i>	[1760]
 <u>Doncaster</u>		
Miller	<i>A Collection of New English Songs</i>	[1755]
-	<i>Elegies, Songs and an Ode,</i>	[1770]
 <u>Durham</u>		
Clark, Jasper	<i>A Cantata and Five English Songs</i>	[1760]
-	<i>Twelve New English Songs</i>	[1765]
 <u>Edinburgh</u>		
Oswald	<i>Twelve Songs</i>	[1743]
 <u>Ely</u>		
Skeats	<i>A Collection of Songs</i>	[1784]

¹ These collections contain some solo songs, but are mainly devoted to vocal music for groups of voices.

² As above.

<u>Exeter</u>		
Jackson	<i>Twelve Songs</i> [Op 1]	[1755]
-	<i>Twelve Songs</i> , [Op 4]	[1765]
-	<i>Twelve Songs</i> [Op 6]	[1785]
-	<i>Twelve Songs</i> [Op 16]	[1793]
Langdon	<i>A Collection of Songs</i> [No 1]	1755
-	<i>A Collection of Songs</i> [No 2]	1755
-	<i>Ten Songs and a Cantata</i>	[1759]
-	<i>Twelve Songs and Two Cantatas</i>	[1770]
<u>Gloucester</u>		
Gunn	<i>Two Cantata's and Six Songs</i>	[1736]
<u>Hull</u>		
Hawdon	<i>An Ode on the King of Prussia</i>	[1760]
<u>Liverpool</u>		
Hale	<i>Social Harmony</i>	1763
Wainwright	<i>The Favourite Songs and Cantatas</i>	[1778]
<u>Newark-on-Trent</u>		
Alcock (younger)	<i>A Cantata and Six Songs</i>	[1765]
<u>Newcastle</u>		
Wright	<i>Six Songs</i>	[c.1785]
<u>Oxford</u>		
A Gentleman of Oxford	<i>A Collection of new French Songs</i>	[1750]
Hayes, William	<i>Twelve Arietts</i>	1735
-	<i>Six Cantatas</i>	[1748]
-	<i>Vocal and Instrumental Music (Part 2)</i>	1742
<u>Reading</u>		
Alcock	<i>Twelve Songs</i>	[1743]
<u>Salisbury</u>		
Corfe, James ³	<i>Twelve English Songs</i>	[1742]
<u>Wells</u>		
Broderip	<i>The Flower Garden</i>	[1745]
Perkins	<i>Ten Songs</i>	[1796]
<u>Worcester</u>		
Clark, Jeremiah	<i>Eight Songs</i>	[1763]
<u>York</u>		
Dixon	<i>Three Songs and a Cantata</i>	[1755]
-	<i>Two English Cantatas and Four Songs</i>	[1760]

³ Corfe was settled in London by the time of the songs' publication, but his family connections in Salisbury suggest that these songs were probably performed there at some time.

Appendix C

Critical Editions of Five Concert Songs

Introduction

The songs in this appendix are intended to demonstrate the breadth of material within the generic umbrella of the concert song, the wide range of orchestrations employed and to highlight the issues encountered when editing the music. They are representative examples of each song type. Two are strophic, but show a different treatment of the strophic structure through the scoring. The use of two bassoons in both songs is evidence of a constant in the use of this instrument. The other three songs are an aria, a cantata and a rondo.

The intention is also to attempt to present the songs in full score, with parts reconstructed where necessary, drawing on original sources and more recent critical writing. It is hoped that this follows the composers' intentions for performance; in as far as they can be ascertained. Although much music was published in short score, to ensure the widest possible circulation, it is possible to make a reasonably accurate reconstruction, by reference to other contemporary sources and Dart's guidelines in *The Interpretation of Music*.¹

Although these editions may not provide definitive answers to all questions on eighteenth-century scoring practices, they seek to explore the issues raised by a critical study of the orchestration of the period, and to demonstrate the flexibility of the music, which was often readily adaptable to suit different combinations of instruments and performance venues. Of the editions given here, Arne's cantata provides the best example.

Berg's 'Gentle Auth'ress of my Pain' (1759) was originally published in full

¹ See pp. 59-60 for a discussion of Dart's writings.

score, the only song in that collection to be so presented. Each bassoon part has a separate stave, though the two parts are often in unison. Other than a short passage in Arne's cantata *Lydia* (1754) this use of divided bassoons in native secular song may be unique to the period immediately prior the arrival of J.C. Bach (1762) in a surviving printed score, though directions in a number of John Worgan's songs from the 1750s suggest that the use of two bassoons may have been more common than the extant sources can reveal. The format of the score has been retained, though with the violin parts on separate staves and with a viola part realised from the basso.

The edition of Arne's cantata *The Lover's Recantation* (1761) has been compiled from both manuscript and printed sources, and shows clear differences between the two. The manuscript, being in full score, makes a reconstruction of the scoring in the *stromentato* recitatives possible; this is also true in the second aria ('How engaging, how endearing'). It is in the first aria ('To all the Sex deceitful') that the problems of editing are most evident. Does the use of oboes in the initial ritornello alone imply their inclusion in subsequent ritornelli, or should *tacet* markings, where present, be taken literally? Also, how much of the viola part should be realised when similar markings are present? Young's edition of this cantata only gives a partial reconstruction,² leaving a number of unanswered questions on the precise use of these instruments; therefore additional material has been included, as one possible solution to the problems posed by the sources. The oboe parts often doubled the violins, and this practice has been followed by adding them in the ritornelli at bars 32-4 and 65 to the end. These additions are offered as suggestions only, and may be omitted. The use of only one oboe in the B section (bars 35-48) is likewise offered as a suggestion should a more intimate sound be desired at this point.

² Arne, *The Lover's Recantation (Liebeshabers Widerruf)*, ed. Percy Young (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1985).

Arnold's rondo 'Where no ripen'd summer glows' (1767) was published in full score, and thus requires little reconstructive work other than realising the viola part. The *da capo* to the A section following the B section has been omitted, with the music given again in full, to avoid the performers having to read back and forth in the parts.

Giordani's aria 'The Trumpet's loud Summons' (1772) was also published in full score. This is an extended composition, lasting over five minutes in performance and calls for considerable technical display from the singer. The number of mistakes in the original score not only reflects the aria's length, but also suggests a degree of haste in the preparation of the plates, presumably to get the music into circulation as soon as possible after the end of the Vauxhall season. The viola part has been reconstructed using directions taken from indications in the basso, transposing the music up an octave where the original notes are written below the range of the instrument.

Hook's 'Willy of the Green' (1786) survives in both manuscript and printed forms, and, as in Arne's cantata, there is a marked contrast between the two. The use of multiple *obbligato* instruments (flute, oboe and bassoon) suggests the influence of the *sinfonia concertante* on the scoring of what is a short, strophic work. Again, the bassoon parts are on separate staves, which shows the differing functions of each instrument: the first part has an *obbligato* role with solo passages, while the second has a more accompanimental role.

Editorial Method

Accidentals: Unnecessary cautionary accidentals have been removed; accents in square brackets are editorial insertions. *Stromentato* recitatives often had no key signature; one has been added in the first recitative of Arne's cantata to obviate the need for accidentals.

Articulation: Crossed slurs, ties and phrase marks are editorial, and generally follow the phrasing suggested by the vocal line. Two marks of articulation were

common in the eighteenth century, the dot and the wedge. These have been retained for the most part, unless the source is either unclear or inconsistent. Although dots under a slur specifically mean *portato*, there is also sometimes a correlation with dynamics, wedges being used in louder passages, dots in quieter. This approach has been copied wherever there is any lack of clarity. Occasionally, an accent has been suggested as a possible alternative to a *forte* marking where it is deemed to be the more likely interpretation in performance.

Dynamics: Beyond *p* and *f* markings, few indications exist in many scores. All markings in square brackets are editorial and are suggested to avoid any unnecessary ‘terracing’ effects. Truncated words, such as *pia.* and *for.*, have been replaced by conventional symbols. ‘Implied’ markings (i.e. where they appear in the first violin part only) have been reproduced in the other parts without brackets. Crossed hairpins are editorial.

Ornaments: The use of grace notes (indicated by  and  respectively) is also inconsistent in the sources. These have been regularised where ever possible, taking note values and tempi into consideration. As with dynamics, implied markings have been inserted where appropriate. Trills, and their resolutions where present, have generally been left unchanged.

Scoring and Formatting: Full Score layout has been used throughout, with the order of the instruments adjusted in accordance with modern practice.

In all cases, it has been assumed that violas and bassoons were present, their parts not having been notated as this would have been unnecessary in contemporary performance. These parts have therefore been reconstructed, with alterations as required. Viola parts at the time were closely tied to the basso, and thus not notated except where necessary; the players would often read their part from a bass part, adapting as necessary to fit the range of their instrument. Editorial realisations are

shown in small notes except for passages present in the sources. In some cases the notation has been transposed up an octave where the given part goes below the range of the viola. It has been assumed that bassoon parts doubled the bass line unless otherwise indicated, thus this should be observed in performance.

Clarinet, horn and trumpet parts have been left in their original key.

Texts: Typographical errors have been corrected and modern capitalisation and spelling substituted where appropriate. However, words such as ‘ev’ry’ have been left unchanged as they can be useful guides to articulation in performance. Extraneous capitals on nouns have been removed in accordance with modern practice, and punctuation has been similarly modernised.

Gentle Auth'ress of my Pain

George Berg (1730s-1775)

Moderato (♩ = 48)

Oboe 1
Oboe 2
Bassoon 1
Bassoon 2
Voice
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Basso

6 6 4 3 6 5 6 6 6 4 3

5

Oboe
Bsn. 1
Bsn. 2
Voice
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Basso

Gen-tle auth'-ress of my pain, Ch-loe, pride of ev'-ry swain; Be my fair, no

6 6 4 5 6 6 6 5

2

10

Ob.

Bsn. 1

Bsn. 2

Voice

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

lon - ger coy, na - ture now is love and joy. Hark the birds their

[tr]

[mp]

[mp]

[mp]

[mp]

[mp]

6 5 7 # 8 6 6 5 4 3

14

Ob.

Bsn. 1

Bsn. 2

Voice

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

son - nets tune, to sa - lute the month of June. Hark the birds their son - nets tune,

6 8 6 6 5 # 6 5

19

Ob.

Bsn. 1

Bsn. 2

Voice

to sa- lute__ the month of June.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

6 9-8 6 5-6 6 5 4 3 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 5 4 3

2

In the sunshine of thine eyes,
 Hard my fate to pant and sigh;
 Tho' you kindly grant a kiss
 'Tis but tantalizing bliss.
 Grant my dear the further boon,
 Bless me in the month of June.
 (repeat last two lines)

3

Now the God of day on high,
 Bright illuminates the sky;
 Wakes in earth the genial pow'rs,
 Calling forth the fruits and flowers
 Goddess, melt to rapture soon,
 Love directs the month of June.
 (repeat last two lines)

4

Let me lead thee chaste and gay,
 Where pure fondness points the way;
 See the church o'er yonder plain,
 There would Chloe crown her swain.
 Life would be one honey moon,
 Ev'ry month the month of June.
 (repeat last two lines)

Cantata: The Lover's Recantation

T.A. Ame

Recit.

Voice: *[p]* The kind ap-point-ment Cae-lia made, and nam'd the myr-tle bower. There

Violin 1: *[p]* *Sym.* *[cresc.]* *sim.*

Violin 2: *[p]* *[cresc.]* *Sym.* *sim.*

Viola: *[p]* *[cresc.]* *Sym.* *sim.*

Basso: *[p]* *[cresc.]* δ 6 \flat 7

5

Voice: fret-ting *Sym.* long poor Da-mon stay'd, be- yond the prom-is'd hour.

Vln. 1: *[mf]* *Sym.* *[p]* *fp* *fp*

Vln. 2: *[mf]* *Sym.* *[p]* *fp* *fp*

Vla.: *[mf]* *Sym.* *[p]* *fp* *fp*

Basso: *[mf]* *Sym.* *[p]* *fp* *fp*

[mf] \flat 7 *[p]* \flat 6

9 **Allegro**

Voice: *[mf]* No lon-ger ab-le to con-tain this anx-i-ous ex-pec-ta-tion, **Allegro**

Vln. 1: *[cresc.]* *[Sym.]* *[mf]*

Vln. 2: *[cresc.]* *[Sym.]* *[mf]*

Vla.: *[cresc.]*

Basso: *[cresc.]* 6 6 δ \sharp 4 2 6

2

13

Voice

With rage he sought t'al-lay his pain, and ven-ted thus his pas-sion.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

f *f* *f* *f*

[Sym.] [Sym.] [Sym.] [Sym.]

4 6 6 *f*

Allegro (♩ = c.60)

Ob.

Voice

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

mf *p* *f* *p* *f*

Allegro (♩ = c.60)

mf *p* *f* *p* *f*

mf *p* *f* *p* *f*

mf *p* *f* *p* *f*

6 7 # 4 6 4 6 7 # 6 7-6 7 6

2 2

4

6

Ob.

Voice

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

p *f* *mf*₁₀

p *f*

p *f*

p *f*

p *f*

7 6 # 7-6 7 2 6

4

11

Ob.

Voice

all the sex de-keit-ful, a long and last a-dieu, a long, long and last a-dieu. Since

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

p

6 7-6 # 2 6 4 6 6 5

2 4 #

15

Ob.

Voice

wo - men prove un-grate-ful, un - grate-ful, un-grate-ful, as oft as men prove true.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

f *p*

6 6 6 6 *f* 6 6 *p*

18

Ob.

Voice

To all the sex de-keit-ful, a long and last a-dieu, a long

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

2 6-4 6 7

2

33 **Largo** [1. Solo] *p*

Ob. *p*

Voice *p* The pains they give are ma-ny, and Oh! too hard to

Vln. 1 **Largo** *p*

Vln. 2 *p*

Vla. *p*

Basso *p*

6 6 7-8

38

Ob.

Voice bear, the joys they give, if a-ny, few, short, short, and un-sin-

Vln. 1 *f* *p*

Vln. 2 *f* *p*

Vla. *f* *p*

Basso *f* *p*

4- # 6 7 6-5 4-# *f* 6 *p* 6 5 #

44 **Allegro (Tempo primo)**

Ob.

Voice cere, few, short, and un-sin-cere. *mf* To all the sex de-ceit-ful, a

Vln. 1 *f* [dim.] *p* **Allegro (Tempo primo)** *p*

Vln. 2 *f* [dim.] *p* *p*

Vla. *f* [dim.] *p* *p*

Basso *f* [dim.] *p* *p*

6 # 7 [dim.] 6 5 # *p* 6

6

50

Ob.

Voice

long and last a-dieu, since wo-men prove un-grate-ful, as oft as men prove true, un- grate - -

Vln. 1

fp

Vln. 2

fp

Vla.

fp

Basso

fp

[7] 6 [7] 6 [7] 6 [7] 6 *fp*

54

Ob.

Voice

Vln. 1

[sim.]

Vln. 2

[sim.]

Vla.

[sim.]

Basso

[sim.]

6 5 6 5

58

Ob.

Voice

ful, since wo-men prove un-grate-ful, as

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

6 5

61

Ob.

Voice

oft as men prove true. To all the sex de-ccit-ful, a long and last a-dieu, since

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

6 6 6

64

Ob.

Voice

wo - men prove un - grate - ful, as oft as men prove true.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

6 4 6 6 # f

66

Ob.

Voice

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

4 2 6 6 4 5 #

Recit. Allegro

Voice *Recit. Allegro* Now Cae-lia, from Ma-ma got loose,

Vln. 1 *p* *f*

Vln. 2 *p* *f*

Vla. *p*

Basso *p*

[6]
4

6

5

Voice had reach'd the calm re-treat, with mod-est blush, she beg'd ex-cuse, and chid her tar-dy

Vln. 1 *[p]* *[mp]*

Vln. 2 *[p]* *[mp]*

Vla. *[p]* *[mp]*

Basso *[p]* *[mp]*

6 6

9

Voice feet. The shep-herd from each doubt re-leas'd, his joy could not re-strain,

Vln. 1 *[p]*

Vln. 2 *[p]*

Vla. *[p]*

Basso *[p]*

4 6 4 6
2 2

13

Voice: But as each ten - der thought in - creas'd, thus chang'd, thus chang'd his rail - ing strain.

Vln. 1, Vln. 2, Vla., Basso: *f*

[4] [2] *f* #

Air Moderato (♩ = c. 52)

Fl. *p*

Voice: Howen - gag - ing, howen - dear - ing, is a lov - er's - pain and care, is a lov - er's pain and.

Vln. 1, Vln. 2, Vla., Basso: *p*

p 6 6 5 6 7 7 6 6 5
4 4 3

6

Fl. *Sym.*

Voice: care. *Sym.* And what joy the nymph's ap - pear - ing, af - ter ab - sence or _ des -

Vln. 1, Vln. 2, Vla., Basso: *Sym.* *[p]*

[p] 6 5 6 6 5
4 3 4 3 4 #

10

12

Fl. *[p]*

Voice pair. What joy

Vln. 1 *f* *p*

Vln. 2 *f* *p*

Vla. *f* *p*

Basso *f* *p*

17

Fl. *[p]*

Voice — the nymph's ap-pear-ing, what joy the nymph's ap - pear-ing, af - ter ab-sence or_ des - pair, af - ter

Vln. 1 *[p]* *[tr]*

Vln. 2 *[p]* *[tr]*

Vla. *[p]*

Basso *[p]*

23

Fl. *f* *[dim.]* *[p]*

Voice ab-sence or_ des - pair. *Sym.*

Vln. 1 *f* *Sym.* *p*

Vln. 2 *f* *Sym.* *p*

Vla. *f* *Sym.* *p*

Basso *f* *Sym.* *p*

28

Fl. *f* *p*

Voice *p*
Wo-menwise in-crease de - sir-ing, by con - tri-ving kind de - lays, and ad-vanc-ing, or re

Vln. 1 *f* *p*

Vln. 2 *f* *p*

Vla. *f* *p*

Basso *f* *p*

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

34

Fl.

Voice *p*
tir - ing, all they mean is more to please. Wo-men

Vln. 1 *f* *p*

Vln. 2 *f* *p*

Vla. *f*

Basso *f*

8 6 6 5 6 5
4 # 4 #

39

Fl. *p*

Voice *p*
wise in-crease de - sir-ing, by con - tri - ving kind de lays, by con - tri-ving kind de - lays, and ad-

Vln. 1 *p*

Vln. 2 *p*

Vla. *p*

Basso *p*

6 5 6 6-5
4 3 4 3 4-3

12

45

Fl.

Voice

vanc-ing, or re-tir-ing, all they mean is more to please, ad-van-

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

6 6 6 6 7 *f* [*p*] 6

51

Fl.

Voice

cing, ad van-cing or re-

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

6 6 6

56

Fl.

Voice

-tir-ing, all they mean is more to please, all they mean is more to please.

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

6 6 6 7 *cresc.* [*f*] 6 5 4 3

61

Fl.

Voice

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

6 6 6 6 6 6 5 4 3

64

Fl.

Voice

Vln. 1

Vln. 2

Vla.

Basso

Where no Ripen'd Summer Glows

Rondo

Samuel Arnold (1740-1802)

Andante
(♩ = c. 72)

Flute 2
Clarinet in C₂
Horn in F₂
Soprano
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Basso

mf [*p cresc.*] *f*



9

Fl.
Cl.
Hn.
S.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Basso

p [*cresc.*] *f* *p*

[*p*] [*f*] [*p*]

p [*cresc.*] [*f*] *p*

[*p*] [*cresc.*] [*f*]

[*p*] [*cresc.*] [*f*]

[*p*] [*cresc.*] [*f*]

Where no rip-en'd sum-mer glows, in the lap of north-ern_ snows; on-ly let my nymph be there, jo-cund

4

41

Fl. *mf* [*p*]

Cl.

Hn. [*p*]

S. *mf* [*p*]
treads, ev - ry flower that nat - ure spreads, ris - ing where the char - mer treads; ris - ing where the char - mer treads. Where no

Vln. I *mf* [*p*]

Vln. II *mf* [*p*]

Vla. *mf*

Basso *mf*



48

Fl. [*cresc.*] *f* [*p*]

Cl. [*p*] [*f*] [*p*]

Hn. [*p*] [*f*] [*p*]

S. [*cresc.*] [*f*] [*p*]
rip-en'd sum - mer glows, in the lap of north - ern snows; on - ly let my nymph be there, jo-cund spring would soon ap -

Vln. I [*cresc.*] [*f*] [*p*]

Vln. II [*cresc.*] [*f*] [*p*]

Vla. [*p*] [*cresc.*] [*f*] [*p*]

Basso [*p*] [*cresc.*] [*f*] [*p*]

55

Fl. *[cresc.]* *f* *p* *tr*

Cl. *[p]* *tr*

Hn. *f* *[p]*

S. pear: Des - erts gloo - my, cold and drear, wreaths of bud - ding sweets would *[p]* *tr*

Vln. I *[cresc.]* *f* *[p]* *tr*

Vln. II *[cresc.]* *f* *[p]* *tr*

Vla. *[cresc.]* *f* *[p]*

Basso *[cresc.]* *f* *[p]*



61

Fl. *f* *tr* *[ten.]*

Cl. *[f]* *tr* *[ten.]*

Hn. *f* *[ten.]* *[p]*

S. wear. Zep - hyr on his wan-ton wings will the loves and gra - ces *[mp]* *[ten.]*

Vln. I *[f]* *tr* *[ten.]* *[mp]*

Vln. II *[f]* *tr* *[ten.]* *[mp]*

Vla. *[f]* *[ten.]* *[mp]*

Basso *[f]* *[ten.]* *[mp]*

6

67

Fl. *[mp cresc.]*

Cl. *[p]*

Hn. *p*

S. bring, dry - ads deck'd with myr - tles. green dan - cing would at - tend their queen. *[f]* *[p]* Ev' ry

Vln. I *[cresc.]* *f* *p*

Vln. II *[cresc.]* *f* *p*

Vla. *[cresc.]* *f* *p*

Basso *[cresc.]* *f* *p*



72

Fl. *[mf cresc.]* *[p]* **D.S al Fine**

Cl. *[cresc.]*

Hn. *[cresc.]* *f*

S. flower that nat - ure spreads, ris - ing where the char - mer treads; *[f]* Where no **D.S al Fine**

Vln. I *[cresc.]* *f* *[p]*

Vln. II *[cresc.]* *[f]* *[p]*

Vla. *[cresc.]* *f*

Basso *[cresc.]* *f*

The Trumpet's Loud Summons

Tommaso Giordani (c.1733-1806)

Spiritoso (♩=c.66)

Oboe 2: *f*, *mp*, *Soli*
Horn in D: *f*
Trumpet in D (Obligato): *[Solo]*, *[p]*
Soprano: -
Violin I: *f*, *p*
Violin II: *[f]*, *[p]*
Viola: *f*, *p*
Basso (Cello, Double Bass, Bassoon): *f*, *p*



Ob: *f*
Hn: *[mp]*, *[mf cresc.]*, *f*
Tpt: *[mp]*, *[mf cresc.]*, *f*
S: -
Vln. I: *f*
Vln. II: *f*
Vla: *f*
Basso: *f*



Ob: *[mp cresc.]*
Hn: *[mp cresc.]*, *[mp]*
Tpt: *[mp]*
S: -
Vln. I: *[mp cresc.]*
Vln. II: *[mp cresc.]*
Vla: *[mp cresc.]*
Basso: *[mp cresc.]*

Fingerings: 4, 3, 8, 5, 3

2

21

Ob. Hn. Tpt. S. Vln. I Vln. II Vla. Basso

mp Solo *mp* *p* *f* *sciol.* [*sciol.*] [*p*] [*f*] *p* *f*

Detailed description: This system covers measures 21 to 26. The woodwinds (Ob., Hn., Tpt.) and strings (Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Basso) are shown. The horn part has a 'Solo' marking. Dynamics range from mezzo-piano (mp) to forte (f). The strings play a rhythmic pattern with some 'sciol.' (sciolero) markings.

27

Ob. Hn. Tpt. S. Vln. I Vln. II Vla. Basso

f *p* *f* *p cresc.* [*f*] *p cresc.* *f* *p cresc.* *f* *p cresc.* *f* *f*

Detailed description: This system covers measures 27 to 32. The woodwinds and strings continue. Dynamics include forte (f), piano (p), and piano crescendo (p cresc.). The strings have some triplet markings (6/4, 3) and a 'p cresc.' marking.

33

Ob. Hn. Tpt. S. Vln. I Vln. II Vla. Basso

mp *mp* *mp* *mp* *p* [*p*] *p* *p*

The trum - pet's loud sum - mons, the trum - pet's loud sum - mons all her - oes o - bey, all her - oes o -

Solo *mp* *mp* *mp* *p* [*p*] *p*

Detailed description: This system covers measures 33 to 38. It includes vocal lines for Soprano (S.) and Tenor (Tpt.). The lyrics are: 'The trum - pet's loud sum - mons, the trum - pet's loud sum - mons all her - oes o - bey, all her - oes o -'. The woodwinds and strings provide accompaniment. Dynamics are mostly mezzo-piano (mp) and piano (p). There are 'Solo' markings for the woodwinds.

4

60

Ob.

Hn.

Tpt.

S.
- ten a - way... Fame wakes them, to glo - ry, to glit - ter, in sto - ry and

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

66

Ob.

Hn.

Tpt.

S.
hails them with shouts, with shouts from the toils of the day

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

71

Ob.

Hn.

Tpt.

S.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

76

Ob. *mf*

Hn. *mf*

Tpt.

S. *[cresc.]* from the toils of the *mf cresc.* day

Vln. I *f p* *mf cresc.*

Vln. II *f p* *mf cresc.*

Vla. *f p* *mf cresc.*

Basso *f p* *mf cresc.*

81

Ob. *mf cresc.*

Hn.

Tpt.

S. from the toils of the day, and hails them with

Vln. I *f p* *mf cresc.*

Vln. II *f p* *mf cresc.*

Vla. *f p* *mf cresc.*

Basso *f p* *mf cresc.*

86

Ob. *mf cresc.*

Hn. *mf*

Tpt. *mf*

S. shouts from the toils of the day.

Vln. I *f* *rf*

Vln. II *f* *rf*

Vla. *f*

Basso *f* *rf*

111

Ob *mf* *f*

Hn *mp* *mf* Solo *[cresc]* *f*

Tpt *mf* *dolce*

S *[mp cresc]* *mf* *[cresc]* *f*
 va - liant hearts sub - due the fair, va - liant hearts sub - due the

Vln. I *[cresc]* *mf* *[cresc]* *f*

Vln. II *[cresc]* *mf* *[cresc]* *f*

Vla *[cresc]* *mf* *[cresc]* *f*

Basso *[cresc]* *mf* *[cresc]* *f*

119

Ob *Solo* *mp* *f*

Hn *mp* *f* *mp*

Tpt *mp* Solo *f* *f* *mp*

S *mp* *f* *f*
 fair. The trum - pet's loud sum - mons, the trum - pet's loud sum - mons all her - oes o - bey, all her - oes o -

Vln. I *p*

Vln. II *p*

Vla *p*

Basso *p*

127

Ob *mp* *tr*

Hn *mp*

Tpt *mp*

S *mf* *tr*
 bey.

Vln. I *tr*

Vln. II *tr*

Vla *tr*

Basso *tr*

154

Ob.

Hn.

Tpt.

S.
hails... them... with...

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

159

Ob.

Hn.

Tpt.

S.
shouts... from the toils of the day. The trum-pet's loud... sum-mons all her-oes o-

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

165

Ob.

Hn.

Tpt.

S.
bey. From sweet dow-ny plea-sures they has-ten, they has-ten a-way... Fame wakes them to glo-ry, to

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

10

173

Ob.

Hn.

Tpt.

S.
glit - ter in sto - ry, and hails

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

179

Ob.

Hn.

Tpt.

S.
them with shouts from the toils of the day, and hails

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

184

Ob.

Hn.

Tpt.

S.
them with shouts from the

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Basso

189

Ob. *mf cresc.* *f* *tr*

Hn. *f*

Tpt. *mf cresc.* *f* *tr*

S. *tr*
toils of the day.

Vln. I *f*

Vln. II *f*

Vla. *f*

Basso *f*

Willy of the Green

James Hook (1746-1828)

Andantino (♩ = c.100)

Solo

Flute (Obbligato) *[mp]*

Oboe (Obbligato) *[mp]*

Bassoon 1 (Obbligato) *[mp]*

Bassoon 2 *[mp]*

Horn in F 1 *[mp]*

Horn in F 2 *[p]*

Soprano

Violin 1 *[mp]*

Violin 2 *[mp]*

Viola *[mp]*

Basso *[mp]* *p* *pp*



6

Fl. *f* *[p]*

Ob. *f* *[p]*

Bsn. *f* *[p]*

Bsn. *f*

Hn. *f*

S. *[mp]*

Vln. 1 *f* *p*

Vln. 2 *f* *p*

Vla. *f* *[p]*

Basso *f* *[p]*

On Tweed's sweet pleas-ant banks, how hap-py ha' I stray'd, they.
 At kirk or on the green, he looks so like a laird, No_
 He dan - ces wi' each lass, he sports wi' mick - le glee, But_

11

Fl. *f* *p*

Ob. *f* *p*

Bsn. *f* *p*

Bsn. *p* *f* [*p*]

Hn. [*p*] *f* [*p*]

S. *f* [*p*]

ca'd me bon-ny Belle, the win-some laugh-ing maid. My days I danc'd a-way, I sung fra morn till e'en. Till
 oth - er lad wi' him, can ev - er be com-par'd. The las - ses like him weel, they praise his spark - ling e'en. And
 when he sings of love, he sighs and looks on me. He loves but me a - lone, I may bel-ieve his e'en. And

Vln. 1 *f* *p*

Vln. 2 *f* *p*

Vla. *f* [*p*]

Basso *f* [*p*]



15

Fl. [*p*]

Ob. [*p*]

Bsn. [*p*]

Bsn. [*p*]

Hn. [*p*]

S. [*p*]

first I hear'd the charms of Wil-ly of the Green. His e'en sae bright, his smile's de-light, non-dance or pipe like Wil-ly, The
 set their caps to gain young Wil-ly of the Green.
 I shall soon be blest, wi' Wil-ly of the Green.

Vln. 1 [*p*]

Vln. 2 [*p*]

Vla. [*p*]

Basso [*p*]

Commentaries

Berg: 'Gentle Auth'ress of my Pain'

Source: *A/ Collection of new/ English Songs/ sung by Mr Beard & Miss Formentell/ at Ranelagh/ Composed by George Berg/ Book IV* (London: Printed for the Author and sold by John Johnson, 1759).

Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 210, pp 22-24 (No 7). Full score. Staves (descending): Ob (2), Bsn1, Bsn2, Vln (2), Voice, Basso.

MUSIC: Violin parts on separate staves throughout, Viola part realised from basso.

Bar 5: End repeat mark at end of previous bar/ 9.2: Bsn 1 d_4 / 12.1: Ob1 & Vln1 double

voice part on first four notes – a written-out ornament/ 16.1 Bsn 1b-b-c \sharp / 18.1: Ob 1 d_4 "/

19.1 Bsn 1 c \sharp ' on \downarrow .

With the exception of Ob 1 bb 12-13.1, voice bb 13-14, Ob1 b 19.1 all slurs are editorial.

TEXT: V1, bar14: 'Sonnetts'.

Arne: The Lover's Recantation

Source: **A:** GB-Lbl Add. MS 29370, ff 8^r-19^v; autograph. Pages numbered 1-24. Title: 'Cantata'. Full Score. Staves (descending): Oboe/Flute1, Oboe/Flute2, Violin1, Violin2, Viola, Voice, Basso.

B: *The Winter's Amusement/ Consisting of Favourite Songs and Cantatas/ Performed by/ Mr Tenducci, Mr Lowe, Mr Mattocks, Mrs Lampe, Miss Stevenson and Miss Brent/ At the/ Theatre Royal in Covent Garden/ Vaux-Hall and Ranelagh/ The whole composed by/ Thos Augne Arne Mus Doc* (London: Printed for the Author, [1761]), pp. 16-20 (No 6). British Library, G.320. (4.). Title: 'The Lover's Recantation: A Cantata, Sung by Miss Brent at Vaux-Hall Gardens'. Short Score (Treble and Bass (figured)).

Also consulted:

C: Arne, *The Lover's Recantation (Liebhabers Widerruf)*, ed. Percy Young (Leipzig: VEB Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1985). Full Score, with keyboard reduction.

MUSIC: The viola part is absent for much of Aria 1, and entirely absent in Aria 2, although a blank staff is present in **A**. It has been fully reconstructed, even where there are *tacet* markings, to allow for all possible performance situations.

The oboe parts in Aria 1 have been given additional material as suggestions, in accordance with the contemporary practice of sustained notes doubling the violin parts.

The 'Sym.' Markings are present in **B** only, but have been retained as a guide to the orchestra for their solos.

Recit 1: Bar 1: No key signature. **C** dynamic *mf*/ 3.4, 4.2, 8.2, 8.4: crotchets marked as repeated quavers in **B**/ 11-12: articulation markings added in **C**/12.2: Tempo 'All[egr]^o in **B**/

14.3-15.1: ritornello  in **B**

Aria 1: Bar 1: Tempo over basso line in **A**/ 2: Vla marked 'col basso'/ 2.2, 3.2: figuring δ /

3.2: superfluous \sharp before f' in Vln 2/ 3.4: Ob 1/2 'col [violini] 1^{mo}/2^{do}/ 7.2-3: no tie in **A**,

rhythm \downarrow \downarrow in **B**, *tr* on 2nd beat in **B**/ 8.1: Ob 2 in unison with Ob 1 in **C**/ 14.1: **C** states voice part has b' in **A**, but g' clearly written. No pause in basso; pause on 2nd beat in Vln 2/

15-31: rests in Vla part to 43.4 in A/ 19.2: figuring 6-²/₅/ 22.4: slur added to appoggiatura in C/ 24.4: C states appoggiatura missing in A, visible but unclear/ 26.4: C gives original rhythm in A as  with appoggiatura on first note, but rhythm clearly /27.4-28.3:

ritornello in **B**  / 33-4: Vla rests. C gives part 8^{ve} higher, following written  in **A** at end of 32, but lower 8^{ve} is equally possible/ 34.3: C states b' missing in Vln 2 in **A**, but clearly visible/ 35: Vla 'tacet'. Tempo *Larghetto* in **B**/ 36: C states basso part missing in **A**, but clearly visible/ 36.3: g'' in voice part/ 38: slur in voice part in **B** only/ 40.2: clef change (to bass) in basso in both **A** & **B**/ 43.3: clef change (to bass) in **B**, **A** has change at beginning of following bar/ 44.1: *f* moved to following bar in **C**/ 45-6: *staccato* marking inserted in **C**/ 47.1: *p* on last quaver of preceding bar/ 49: Ob 'tacet', Vla no marking; dynamic *mf* in **C**/ 50-51: figuring on 1st & 3rd beats of each bar **6**; corrected to **7** in **C**/ 50.4, 51.4: *fp* added to Vln 2 only in **C**/ 57.1: figuring **7**/ 63.3: clef change (to bass) in basso/ 66.4: C states last two quavers are b' in **A**, but no correction necessary.

Recit 2: Bar 1: 'Allegro' in **B** only/ 2.3-4: C states *staccato* in **A** at this point, but this is merely a lengthening of the tails on the notes/ 3.4, 4.3, 5.2: C adds *pf* at these points/

6.3: q g'' in Vln 1 in **B**/ 9.2: *f* added in **C** / 12.4-13.1: ritornello  in **B**
Aria 2: Bar 1: Tempo over basso line in **A**. Fl unison on one staff: Young suggests that only one flute is necessary, but this is dependent on the circumstances of a performance; for example, an outdoor setting may require two instruments for the sound to carry. Also, the sound of two flutes in unison is characteristic, and should not be changed if specified.
Vla part not written – reconstructed from basso/ 11.4: *tr* in **B** only/ 13-15: slurs in **B** only/ 18: pause on 3rd beat in **B**/ 21.4: *tr* in **B** only/ 24: Although both sources omit the ritornello from the first time bar, its inclusion creates a better sense of balance at this point/ 26 & 28: slurs added to triplets in Vln parts in **C**/ 29.4: slur added to both Vln in **C**/ 36.3-4: *tr* in **B** only/ 40.1: f#'/ 45.1: *tr* in **B** only/ 56.3-57.1: *tr* in **B** only/ 59.2: *cresc.* in **A** only/ 61.2: Fl marked 'con Viol 1^{mo}' in **A**
TEXT: Recit1: 11.2: 'this' in **A** & **B** changed to 'his' in **C**.

Arnold: 'Where no Ripen'd Summer Glows'

Source: **A** *A Collection of the/ Favourite Songs/ Sung at Vaux Hall/ by Mrs Pinto. Mrs Weichsell and/ Mr Vernon/ composed by Samuel Arnold* (London: Printed by Welcker, 1767), pp. 19-22 (No 4). British Library, G. 378.a. (1.). Original title 'Rondo'. One of eight songs, all printed in full score. Staves (descending): Horns (in F), Clarinets (in C), Flutes, Violin 1, Violin 2, Voice, Basso.

B: Cambridge University Library, MRA.290.75.156 – identical to **A**.

C: Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 178 (1) – identical to **A**.

MUSIC:

17.1: *f* in Hn1 bar earlier (also 57.1)/ 23.1: Vln 2 a only (also 61.1)/ 35.2: Vln 1 & Basso , Vln 2 *f* on both crotchets; also at 36.1/ 37.1: Vln no accidental on grace note/

f p
39.2: Fl & Vln markings , Basso  / 41.1: Fl 2 & Vln 2 no accidental on grace note/

f p *fp*
42.1: Fl 1 grace note  / 42-44.1: Vln 2 semiquavers written out in full/ 44.2-45.1: Vln 2 phrase mark  / 47.1: Fl 1 no accidental on grace note/ 61.1: Basso  / 63.1: pause on all parts (repeat of 25.1)/ 65.2: Vln 2 no accidental on grace note/ 71.1: Basso marking *fe po*

on first 2 semiquavers/ 71-3: Basso semiquavers written out in full/ 74.2: Vln 2 1st semiquaver *g*'/ 75.2: Vln 1 *f*/ 76.2: Fl & Vln grace notes / 77.2: Vln parts omitted.
TEXT: 19.2: 'Desarts'; 31.1: no comma after 'green'

Giordani: 'The Trumpet's Loud Summons'

Source: **A:** *Three/ Songs/ and a/ Cantata. Sung by/ Mrs Weichsell/ at/ Vaux-Hall/ composed by/ Thomas Giordani/ An 1772* (London: Printed and Sold by John Johnson, 1772), pp. 23-31 (No 4). British Library, H.1652.ee. (14.). Staves (descending): Violin 1, Violin 2, Oboes, Trumpet (in D - obbligato), Horns (in D), Voice, Basso ('Viola, c, Basso').

B: Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 291 – identical to **A**, with additional handwritten page numbers (58-66).

The viola part has been realised from the Basso, except where there for fragments in the source (in large type).

The trumpet part is marked *sol*i on several occasions. This may be an engraving error.

MUSIC: Bar 8.1: Vln 1 appoggiatura / 10.1: Vln 1 wedge/ 13: *ff*/ 15: Hn *unis.*/ 19.1: Ob, Vln *p*/ 19.4: Basso figuring on previous quaver/ 20.1: Vln, Ob *forz.* on 1st quaver/ 20.4: Ob 2 cautionary $\frac{1}{4}$ on d''/ 21.1: Ob, Basso *f*/ 21.4: Ob cautionary $\frac{1}{4}$ on d''/ 23.1: Hn *ten.*/ 23-5: Vla 8^{ve} lower/ 32.2-33.3: Vln 2 marked 'col Vln 1'/ 36.2-3: Basso slur/ 38: Vln phrasing / 48.4: Tpt  in large type/ 50.1: Basso *f*/ 52.1: Basso c on second beat ($\frac{1}{4}$) / 54.3-4: Voice sextuplet/ 55.1 & 57.1: Ob appoggiatura / 56-58: Basso slur between beats 2 & 3/ 60.2-3: Voice grace notes / 60.3: Vln grace note / 61.1: Basso figuring on following note/ 62: Vln sextuplets/ 63.1: Vln 2 3rd quaver *g*'/ 64.3-4: Vln sextuplet/ 65.3-4: Vln 1 sextuplet/ 66.1: Vla $\frac{1}{4}$, Basso figuring (f) on 3rd beat/ 67: Vla $\frac{1}{4}$ *g* - $\frac{1}{4}$ *a* \sharp / 69: Basso *ten.*/ 84.1: Vln, Basso *pfor*/ 87.1: Vln & Basso *fortis*/ 89.2 Ob $\frac{1}{4}$, part marked 'CVV' (col violini' for next 4½ bars/ 97: Voice rhythm / 98.2: Vln 1 *forz.*, Hns *sforz.*/ 99.2: Vln 1 cautionary $\frac{1}{4}$ on *g*'/ 101: Voice phrasing / 101.2: Voice cautionary $\frac{1}{4}$ on *g*'/ 102.2: Basso *f*/ 110.1: Vln 2 (lower) cautionary $\frac{1}{4}$ on *g*'; Voice cautionary $\frac{1}{4}$ on *e*'/ 113.1: Vln, Basso *f*/ 114.1: Vln, Basso *p*/ 116: Tpt *dolce*/ 116-7: Vla 8^{ve} lower/ 118: Tpt $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ / 123: 'Tromba' marking two bars later/ 132.4: Ob, Voice no trill marked, resolution / 134.4: Tpt, Voice  in large type/ 137.1: Vln, Basso *f* in previous bar/ 138.1: Tpt, Voice c on fourth beat ($\frac{1}{4}$) / 141.1: Voice appoggiatura / 141.2-3: Basso slur/ 144.1: Vln, Basso *pfor*/ 145: A in Basso marked 'Viola' suggesting overlap of parts/ 146-8: Vla 8^{ve} lower/ 150.2: Vln 2 *c* \sharp / 152: Voice phrasing / 153.2: Vln 1, Basso *f* on 1st beat/ 153.1: Vln 1 appoggiatura , Vln 2 appoggiatura / 155: Vln *staccato*/ 162.3: Voice appoggiatura / 163.1: Voice appoggiatura / 164.1: Voice *d*'/ 167.1: Basso figuring 3-6/ 167.3-4: Basso figuring $\frac{7}{3}$ / 174.1: Vln 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ / 180.1-2: Voice slur on semiquavers only/ 180.3: Vln, Basso *p*/ 181.1: Ob, Hn *p*/ 181.3: tutti *f*/ 181.4: Voice $\frac{1}{4}$ *e*'/ 188.1-2: Voice slur on semiquavers only/ 190.1: Basso figuring 3/ 193: Vln 2 same as Vln 1; altered to copy Ob 2.
TEXT 143.4: 'and'.

Hook: 'Willy of the Green'

Source: **A**: GB-Lcm MS 295, ff 27^f-30^v; full score. Title: 'I Sigh for Bonny Willy'. Staves (descending): Violin 1, Violin 2, Flute (Obbligato), Oboe (Obbligato), Horns (in F), Viola, Bassoon 1 (Obbligato), Bassoon 2, Voice, Basso. Text of v1 in music, vv 2 & 3 on separate page.

B: *A Second Collection of Songs Sung by Mr Incedon, Mrs Wrihten, Mrs Martyr & Miss Leary at Vauxhall Gardens Composed by James Hook* (London: Printed and Sold by Preston, 1786), pp 10-11 (No 5). Cambridge University Library, MR290.a.75.114 (5). Printed in Short Score (♭).

The original system layout in **A** has been retained. The Violin 1 part is omitted in **A** where it doubles the voice and has been completed; brackets — indicate added passages.

MUSIC: Bar 2.4 Bsn 1 'Oblig.' / 17: Bsn 1 & 2  (page break).

TEXT: Bar 11.3 v1 'Bell'.

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Composer's dates are taken from information in *BDA*; *The New Grove*; Dawe, *Organists of the City of London*; Betty Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians List of Members 1738-1984* and online catalogues, principally COPAC.

The dating of musical works follows that used in *The New Grove*, viz:

1760 or (1760): definite date, often appearing on the title page of a work

[1760]: date subsequently given to a work from information elsewhere

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A Cantata and Six Songs compos'd by John Alcock Junr Organist & Master of the Chorister at Newark upon Trent (London: Printed for the Author, [1765]). A785

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- *Pharnaces: an English opera: perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane composed by William Bates* (London: Printed by Welcker, [1765]). B1249
- *The Favourite Songs sung at Marylebone Gardens &c composed by William Bates 1768* (London: Printed for J. Longman & Co, 1768). B1254
- *A Collection of Songs Sung at Vauxhall by Mr Vernon in which is a favourite hunting song etc composed by William Bates 1769* (London: Printed and Sold by Longman, Lukey & Co, 1769). BB1254b
- *A Collection of Songs Sung at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by William Bates 1770* (London: Printed by Peter Welcker, [1770]). B1257
- *The Favourite Songs Sung at Vaux-Hall Gardens &c composed by William Bates,* (London: Printed for J. Longman, Lukey & Co, 1770). B1255
- *The Favourite Songs Sung at Sadlers Wells 1770* (London: Engrav'd, Printed & Sold by Longman, Lukey & Co, 1770). GB-Ob Harding Mus. E 197
- *A Collection of Songs Sung at Vauxhall by Mr Vernon, Miss Jameson & Mrs Weichsell composed by William Bates 1771* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co, 1771). B1256

- *Songs sung at the Grotto Gardens by Mr Barnshaw, Mr Smith, Master Suet, Miss Cantrel & Miss Dowson 1771 composed by Mr Bates* (London: Printed and Sold by Longman, Lukey & Co, 1771). B1258
- *Flora, or, Hob in the Well: the overture, duet and principal songs* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co, [1775?]). B1244
- *The Favourite Songs sung at Vaux-Hall Gardens compos'd by Mr Bates 1776* (London: Pr. for William Randall, 1776). B1259
- *The Favourite Songs Sung at Ranelagh by Mr Meredith and Miss Sharpe composed by Mr Bates*, (London: Printed for William Randall, 1777). B1260

Battishill, Jonathan (1738-1801)

A Collection of Favourite Songs sung at the publick gardens and theatres compos'd by Mr Jonathan Battishill (London: To be had of the Author, [1765]). B1302

Bennett, Charles (d.1790)

Twelve Songs and a Cantata sett to musick in score and are most humbly inscribed to Mrs Trevanion, Lady of William Trevanion Esqr of Caerhays Carmwall, Member of Parliament for Tregory in the said County by her most obedient and most humble servant Charles Bennett (London: Printed for the Author & Sold by J. Johnson, [1765]). B1953

Berg, George (1730s-1775)

A Collection of New English Songs sung by Mr Beard & Miss Formentell at Ranelagh composed by George Berg Book IId, (London: Printed for John Johnson, 1757). B2000

- *Twelve Songs set to music by George Berg* (London: Printed for John Johnson, [1757]). B2005
- *Twelve Songs set to music by George Berg Book 3* (London: Printed for John Johnson, [1757]). B2001
- *Twelve Songs set to music by George Berg Book V* (London: Printed for John Johnson, [1758]). B2003
- *A Collection of New English Songs sung by Mr Beard & Miss Formentell at Ranelagh composed by George Berg Book IV* (London: Printed for the Author and Sold by John Johnson, 1759). B2002
- *A Collection of New English Songs sung by Mr Beard & Miss Formentell at Ranelagh composed by George Berg Book VI* (London: Printed for the Author and Sold by John Johnson, [1759]). B2004
- *The New Songs Sung by Miss Davis and Mr Lowe at Marybone compos'd by George Berg No II* (London: Printed for and sold by J. Johnson, [1760]). B2006

Blewitt, Jonas (1757-1805)

A Collection of Favorite Ballads sung with universal applause by Mrs Piercy, Mrs Thompson, Miss Stephenson and Mr Harris at the Spa Gardens Bermondsey composed by Mr J. Blewitt (London: Printed by Longman & Broderip, [1786?]).
B2907

Bowman, Thomas (fl 1750-1768)

A Collection of English Odes, Cantatas, Songs &c set to musick by Mr Thomas Bowman (London: Printed by Wm Smith, [1750]). B4039

- *Two Cantatas and Eight English Songs set to musick by Mr Thomas Bowman NB the whole are proper lessons for the German flute* (London: Printed for & Sold by John Tyther, [1750]). B4040
- *Vocal Harmony, a collection of new songs set to music by Mr Bonman [sic]* (London: Printed by Robert Thompson, [1768]). B4038

Boyce, William (1711-1779)

Lyra Britannica, being a collection of songs, duets and cantatas on various subjects compos'd by Mr Boyce (London: Printed and Sold by J. Walsh, [1747]).
B4112

- *Lyra Britannica being a collection of songs, duets and cantatas on various subjects compos'd by Mr Boyce* (London: Printed and Sold by J. Walsh, 1747).
B4112
- *Lyra Britannica, Book 3rd a cantata and English songs set to musick by Mr Boyce* (London: Printed and Sold by J. Walsh, 1748). B4112
- *Numb. IV Lyra Britannica a collection of English songs compos'd by Dr Boyce in which are inserted some songs in Latin* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, 1754).
B4112
- *Numb. V Lyra Britannica a collection of English songs and cantatas compos'd by Dr Boyce* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [1756]). B4112
- *Numb. 6 Lyra Britannica a collection of English songs and cantatas compos'd by Dr Boyce* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, 1759). B4112

Brewster, Henry (c.1747-1788)

A Collection of Songs sung at Vaux-Hall &c by Mr Vernon, Mrs Forbes, Mr Baker, Miss Froud & Mr Lowe composed by Henry Brewster Organist of St Bennet Finch behind the Royal Exchange (London: Printed and Sold by Longman, Lukey and Co, 1769).
B4436

- *1771 Vauxhall and Grotto Songs (with an Ode to Summer) sung by Mrs Weichsell, Miss Dowson, Miss Cantrell, Mr Barnshaw & Master Suett compos'd by Henry Brewster Organist of St Bennet Finch* (London: Engrav'd, Printed & Sold by Longman, Lukey & Co, 1771). B4437

- *1772 Vauxhall and Marybone Songs sung by Mr Vernon and Mrs Forbes composed by Henry Brewster Book 3* (London: Printed and Sold by Longman, Lukey and Co, 1772). B4438

Broderip, John (1719-1770)

The Flower Garden, a collection of songs, duets and cantatas set to musick by Mr John Broderip Organist, Vicar and Master of the Choristers of the Cathedral Church of Wells (London: Printed for and sold by John Simpson, [1745]) B4532

Bryan, Joseph (fl 1749-1769)

The Muse's Choice, a favourite collection of songs set for the violin, German flute & harpsichord by Mr Joseph Bryan Book 1st (London: Printed and sold by Francis Waylett, [1756]). B4839

- *The Muse's Choice a favourite collection of English songs sung by Mr Kear and Miss Thorne at Marybone Gardens set to music by Mr Joseph Bryan Book 2d* (London: Printed by Henry Waylett, 1758). B4840

Burgess, Henry (fl 1740-1780)

A Collection of English Song and Cantatas set to musick by Mr Henry Burgess Jun. (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [1749]). B5014

Callcott, John Wall (1766-1821)

A Collection of Five Songs, Four Duets & Three Glee's as sung at the Academy of Antient Music, Catch Club, Glee Club &c &c composed and dedicated by permission to her Grace the Duchess of Leeds by J. W. Callcott Bac. Mus. Organist of St Paul's Covent Garden & the Assylum Op 6 (London: Printed for G. Goulding, [1790]). C78

Carey, Henry (1687-1743)

Cantatas For a Voice with Accompaniments together with songs on various subjects, for one, two & three voices: a thorough bass to the whole and all the songs transposed for the flute the words & musick by Henry Carey (London: Printed for the Author, 1724). C1055

- *Six Ballads on the Humours of the Town, suited to all voices, instruments and capacities the words and musick by Mr Carey Vol. II part II* (London: Printed in the Year 1728. Sold at the Musick Shops, 1728). C1053
- *Six Songs for Conversation the words by divers hands the tunes contrived to make agreeable little lessons for the harpsichord, viol, violin, and hautboy transposed into proper keys for the German, or common flute offer'd in all gratitude, as a New Year's gift to the publick by Henry Carey Vol. II Part I* (London: Printed in the Year 1728 and Sold at all the Musick Shops, 1729). C 1052

- *Six Cantatas humbly dedicated to the Rt Hon Sackville Earl of Thanet the words and music by H. Carey* (London: [n.p.], 1732). C1054
- *A Choice Collection of Six Favourite Songs never before publish'd the words by several authors set to music by Mr Carey* (London: Printed for the Author, 1742). C1059

Carr, John (1701-1784)

The Grove, or Rural Harmony containing The Huntsman, a cantata with symphonies accompanied with the French horn, An Address to Flora, a cantata with symphonies and a chorus for three voices an eccho dialogue and a variety of other songs set to musick for one, two and three voices with symphonies for German flute or violins and a thorough bass to which are added three catches for three voices composed by John Carr of Boxford in Suffolk (Ipswich: Printed for the Author and sold by Mr Josh Gibbs; London: John Johnson, [1760]). C1255

Carter, Richard, (fl 1728-1757)

An Ode on the late Earthquake, to which are added a cantata and song sung by Master Thurmoth at Ranelagh Gardens set to musick by Mr Carter (London: Printed by William Smith, [1756]). C1271

Carter, Charles Thomas (c.1740-1804)

A Collection of Favorite Songs sung at Vaux-Hall by Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Hudson & Mr Vernon composed by Thos Carter 1773 (London: Printed and Sold by Wm Napier, 1773). C1299

- *A Collection of Favorite Songs sung at Vaux-Hall By Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Hudson and Miss Jameson composed by Thos Carter 1774* (London: Printed by Longman, Lukey & Co, 1774). C1300
- *A Favourite Collection of Songs sung by Mrs Weichsell & Mrs Wrihten at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by Thomas Carter 1777* (London: Printed for Wm Randall, 1777). C1301
- *A Favourite Collection of Songs sung by Mrs Wrihten at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by Thomas Carter Book I* (London: Printed for Wm Randall, 1779). C1302
- *A Favourite Collection of Songs sung by Mrs Wrihten & Mrs Weichsell at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by Thomas Carter Book II* (London: Printed for Wm Randall, 1779). C1302

Chilcot, Thomas, (c.1700-1766)

Twelve English Songs with their symphonies the words by Shakespeare and other celebrated English poets set to musick by Mr Thomas Chilcot Organist at Bath (London: Printed & Sold by John Johnson, [1744]). C2048

Clark, Edward (d. 1789)

The Amusement, a favourite collection of English songs never before printed composed by Mr Clark (London: Printed by Henry Waylett, [1755]).
C2572

- *The Amusement a favourite collection of English songs never before printed composed by Mr Clark Book II* (London: Printed by Henry Waylett, [1755]).
C2572

Clark, Jeremiah (c.1743-1809)

Eight Songs with the instrumental parts set to musick By Jeremiah Clark of Worcester (London: Printed for the Author and Sold by Chas Thompson, 1763).
C2619

- *Ten Songs with instrumental parts in dcore composed & most humbly inscribed To the Marquis of Donegal by Jeremiah Clark Organist of Birmingham* ([London]: Printed for the Author, 1791).
C2620

Clarke, Jasper (d.1767)

A Cantata and Five English Songs set to musick by Mr Jasper Clarke of the Cathedral of Durham humbly inscrib'd To the Honble & Revd Dr Cowper Dean of Durham (London: Printed for the Author by Thompson & Son, [1760]). C2573

- *Twelve New English Songs with instrumental parts humbly inscribed to the most Noble and Right Honble Henry Arundel Lord Arundel of Wardour & Count of the Sacred Roman Empire by his Lordship's most obliged and most obedient servant Jasper Clarke [Op 1a]* (London: Printed for the Author by Robt Thompson, [1765]).
C2574

Corfe, James (b.1713)

Twelve English Songs with their symphonies the words by several authors set to musick by Mr James Corfe (London: Printed for, and sold by John Johnson, [1743]).
C3902

Curtis, Thomas (d.1806)

The Jessamine, a collection of six new songs composed by Mr Thomas Curtis Organist of St Mildred's Bread Street set for the violin, German flute, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord or organ (London: Printed for the Author by J. Cox, [1755]),
C4603

- *The Jessamine a collection of six songs with accompaniments for two violins and a thorough-bass for the organ or harpsichord composed by Thomas Curtis organist of St Mildred's Bread Street Book II* (London: Printed for the Author, 1767). C4604
- *The Jessamine a collection of songs for the voice and harpsichord within the compass of the German flute and transpos'd for the Guitar compos'd by Thomas Curtis organist of St Mildred's Bread Street Book the 3rd* (London: Printed for the Author by Messrs Longman & Broderip, [1781]).
C4605

Defesch, Willem (1687-1761)

The Songs in The Tempest or the Enchanted Isleland as they were perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane by Mrs Clive and Mrs Mozeen set to musick by Wm. Defesch (London: Printed for Wm Smith..., [1746]).

- *VI English Songs with violins and German flutes and a thorough bass for the harpsichord sung by Miss Falkner at Mary-Bone Gardens set to musick by W. Defesch* (London: Printed for and Sold by the Author, [1748]). D549
- *Six New English Songs for the year 1749 fitted for the violin & German flute with a thorough bass for the harpsichord sung by Miss Falkner and Mr Baker at Mary le bon Gardens set to musick by Wm Defesch* (London: Printed for the Author, 1749). D551
- *[The Temple of Love] Mr Defesch's songs sung at Marybon Gardens* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [1753]). D552

Denby, William (d.1771)

A Cantata And Six Songs set to music by Willm Denby Organist in Derby (London: Printed for the Author, [1760]). D1630

Dibdin, Charles (1745-1814)

A Collection of English Songs and Cantatas compos'd by Mr Chas Dibdin Opera Prima (London: Printed for the Author, [1761]). D2897

- *The Ballads sung by Mr Dibdin at Ranelagh and a conclusion piece properly transposed for the German flute and guitar composed by Mr Dibdin* (London: Printed for the Author, [1769]). D2895
- *Six Favourite Songs and a Cantata sung at Ranelagh House the words by Shenstone and other celebrated authors the music composed by Charles Dibdin* (London: Printed for John Johnson, 1770). D2901
- *Vaux-Hall Songs For 1773 sung by Mr Vernon and Miss Wewitzer composed by Charles Dibdin* (London: Printed by John Johnson and Longman, Lukey & Co, 1773). D2909

Dixon, Christopher (fl 1755-1760)

Three Songs and a Cantata set to musick by Mr Christopher Dixon of York (London: Printed for the Author by J. Johnson, [1755]). DD3290a

- *Two English Cantatas and Four Songs set to musick by Christopher Dixon of York Book 2nd* (London: Printed for Francis Waylett, [1760]). D3289

Duncalf, Henry (d. 1762)

Six English Songs one in particular in praise of that glorious Hero, the King of Prussia set to music by Henry Duncalf Organist of St Mary at Hill & St Bartholomew's Exchange (London: Printed and Sold by the Author, [1758]). D3717

Dunn, John (fl 1745-1763)

Twelve English Songs set to musick by Mr John Dunn (London: Printed & Sold for the Author by J, Simpson, [1745]). D3808

- *Six English Songs And a Dialogue as they are perform'd at the publick gardens set to musick by Mr Dunn* (London: Printed for J. Oswald, [1753]). D3810
- *Six English Songs and a Dialogue as they are performed at Marybone Gardens set to music by Mr Dunn* (London: Printed for the Author, [1763]). D3809

Dupuis, Thomas Sanders (1733-1796)

A Collection of Eight Songs for a single voice with accompaniments to which is added six glees or songs for three or four voices composed by Thos Sanders Dupuis Organist & Composer to His Majesty Op V (London: Printed for the Author, [1784]). D3893

Festing, Michael Christian (1705-1752)

An English Cantata call'd Sylvia The Morning Fresh and four other English songs set to musick by Michael Christian Festing (London: Printed and Sold for the Author by J. Simpson, [1744]). F646

- *Milton's May Morning and several other English songs set to musick by Michael Christian Festing* (London: Printed & Sold for the Author by J. Simpson, [1746]). F650
- *An Ode upon the Return of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland from Scotland Milton's May Morning and four other English songs set to musick by Michael Christian Festing* (London: Printed and Sold for the Author by J. Simpson, [1746]). F649
- *Six English Songs and a Dialogue with a duet sung at Ranelagh House by Mr Beard and Miss Storer composed by Michael Christian Festing* (London: Printed for the Author and Sold by J. Simpson, [1748]). F644
- *A Collection of English Cantatas and Songs sung by Mr Beard at Ranelagh House composed by Michael Christian Festing* (London: Printed and sold (for the Author) by J. Johnson, [1750]). F645

Fisher, John Abraham (1744-1806)

The Favourite Cantata of Diana and Cupid and a collection of songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell & Mr Owenson at Vaux-Hall 1770 compos'd by A. Fisher (London: Printed by Welcker, 1770). F1066

- *Two Cantatas and a Collection of Songs sung at Vaux-Hall and Ranelagh composed by A. Fisher Book IId* (London: Printed by Welcker, 1771).
F1060
- *The Songs and Cantatas as sung at Vauxhall Gardens by Mr Vernon, Mrs Hudson, Miss Wewitzer & Mrs Weichsell composed by A. Fisher* (London: Printed and Sold by Longman, Lukey and Co, 1773).
F1062
- *1774 Vauxhall and Marybone Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell and Mr DuBellamy composed by A. Fisher Book 3* (London: Printed and Sold by Longman, Lukey and Co, 1774).
F1063
- *Vaux-Hall Songs for 1775 sung by Mrs Hudson, Miss Jameson and Mr Vernon composed by A. Fisher Book IV* (London: Printed for Longman, Lukey and Broderip, 1775).
F1064

Flackton, William (1709-1798)

The Chace Selected from the celebrated poem of William Somerville Esq. set to musick for voice accompanied with a French horn, two violins, a tenor & throughbass for the harpsichord to which is added Rosalinda with several other songs in score (London: Printed for the Author, 1743).
F1105

- *A Cantata and Several Songs set to musick by William Flackton* (London: Printed for the Author and Sold by J. Simpson, [1747]).
F1104

Gaudry, Joseph (d.1782?)

A Collection of Songs sung at Ranelagh composed by J. S. Gaudry to which is added the Free Mason's Anthem (London: Printed by Welcker, [1775]). G582

Giordani, Tomasso (c.1733-1808)

Three Songs and a Cantata sung by Mrs Weichsell at Vaux-Hall composed by Thomas Giordani An 1772 (London: Printed and Sold by John Johnson, 1772).
G2148

- *A Collection of Favourite Songs sung by Mrs Weichsell at Vauxhall 1772 Composed by Sigr Giordani* (London: Printed for William Napier, 1772).
G2147
- *A Collection of Songs & Cantatas sung at Vauxhall Gardens by Mrs Weichsell and Mrs Hudson compos'd by Tomaso Giordani 1773* (London: Printed & Sold by Welcker, 1773).
G2149
- *The Favourite Cantatas and Songs sung at Vaux-Hall by Mrs Weichsell composed by Sigr Giordani* (London: Printed & Sold by Welcker, 1773). G2150
- *The Favourite Songs sung this season at Vaux-Hall composed by Sigr Giordani* (London: Printed by Longman, Lukey & Broderip, [1776]). G2151

- *1778 The Favorite Songs sung this season by Mrs Weichsell at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Sigr Tomaso Giordani Book II* (London: Printed by Longman & Broderip, 1778). G2151
- *1779 The Favorite Songs sung this season by Mrs Weichsell at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Sigr Tomaso Giordani Book I* (London: Printed by Longman & Broderip, 1779). G2152
- *Six Favorite Songs the words taken from the Reliques of Ancient English Poetry composed by Sigr Giordani* (London: Printed for Birchall & Andrews, [1788]). G2153

Goodwin, Starling (d.1774)

A Collection of Songs with a Cantata from Anacreon If gold could lengthen life I swear sung by Mr Champness at Ranelagh to which is added two favourite songs for two voices compos'd by Mr Starling Goodwin (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, [1770]). G2999

Granom, Louis (c.1725-c.1791)

XII New Songs and Ballads with their symphonies, for the German flute, or violin sung by Miss Maria Bennett, at Cuper's Gardens set by Lewis Granom Esq Opera Quarta (London: Printed for **** and Sold by Richard Bennett & Co, [1752]). G3504

- *A Second Collection of Favourite English Songs with their full accompaniments composed by Lewis Christian Austin Granom Esq Opera XIII* (London: Printed for & Sold by Thomas Bennett, [1753]). G3506
- *A Second Collection of The Favourite English Songs which were sung at the publick gardens by Miss Maria Bennett compos'd by Lewis Granom Esq Opera VI* (London: Publish'd and Sold by Mary Bennett, [1756]). G3505

Greene, Maurice, (1696-1755)

A Cantata and Four English Songs set to musick by Dr Greene Book I (London: Printed for J. Walsh, 1745). G3747

- *A Cantata and English Songs set to musick by Dr Greene Book II* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, 1746). G3748

Handel, George Frideric (1685-1759)

A Choice Collection of English Songs set to music by Mr Handel (London: Printed for J. Walsh, 1731). H1078

Harrington, Henry (1727-1816)

A Favorite Collection of Songs, Glees, Elegies & Canons for one, two, three, for and five voices composed by Mr Harrington of Bath (London: Printed by Longman & Broderip, [1780]). H2042

- *A Second Collection of Songs, Glees, Elegies, Canons and Catches for one, two, three, four, five and thirty-six voices Composed by Mr Harrington of Bath* ((London: Printed by Longman & Broderip, [1780]). H2043
- *A Third Collection of Trios, Duets, Single Songs & Rotas selected from authentic MSS of the author of Turn Fair Clora, How Sweet in the Woodlands, The Egyptian Love Song, Sing old Rose & other favourite pieces* (Bath, Printed for & Sold by J. Lintern, [1787]). HH2043a

Harris, Joseph (c.1745-1814)

- Eight Songs, set to music by Joseph Harris Bac. Mus. Opera Prima The Second Edition* ([London]: Printed in London and Sold by the Author in Birmingham and at the Music Shops, [1775]). H2115
- *Twelve Songs set to music by Joseph Harris Bac. Mus. Opera Terza* ([London]: Printed in London and sold by the Author in Birmingham, [1783]). H2116

Hawdon, Mathias (1732-1784)

An Ode on the King of Prussia and six songs set to musick by Mr Matts Hawdon Organist of Trinity Church in Kingston upon Hull (London: Printed by John Johnson, [1760]). H2412

Hayden, George (fl 1710-1746)

Three Cantatas Composed by Mr G. Hayden (London: Printed for & Sold by John Walsh, 1717). H2441

Hayes, William (1708-1777)

- Twelve Arietts or Ballads And Two Cantatas composed by William Hayes Bac. Mus. Organist of Magdalen College Oxon* (Oxford [n.p.], 1735). H4897
- *Vocal and Instrumental Musick in Three Parts containing... II: a sonata or trio and aongs of different kinds, viz. ballads, airs and cantatas... the whole compos'd by William Hayes B.M. Organist of Magdalen College and Professor of Musick in the University of Oxford* (Oxford: Sold by the Author, 1742). H4899
- *Six Cantatas Set to Musick by William Hayes Bac. Mus. Organist of Magd. Coll. and Music Professor in the University of Oxford* (London: Printed & Sold for the Author by J. Simpson, [1748]). H4898

Heron, Henry (c.1745- 1794)

- A Collection of Six English Songs to which is added one in honour of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough compos'd by Mr Heron* (London: Printed for Thompson & Son, [1759]). HH5174b
- *The Songs and Ballads sung at Mary-Bone Gardens set to music by Mr Heron Book the 2d* (London: Printed for John Johnson, [1760]). HH5169a

- *The Songs and Ballads sung at Ranelagh Gardens set to music by Mr Heron Book the 3d* (London: Printed for John Johnson, [1760]). H5170
- *A Collection of Songs sung at Marybone Gardens by Mr Rennoldson set to music by Mr Heron* [Book 4] (London: Longman, Lukey & Co, 1769). HH5171
- *A Collection of Songs sung at Marybone Gardens by Miss Thomas set to music by Mr Heron* [Book 5] (London: Printed & Sold by Longman, Lukey & Co, 1771). H5172
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon & Mrs Weichsell at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by Henry Heron Organist of St Magnus London Bridge and to the Rt Hon^{ble} The Earl of Peterborough Book VI 1778* (London: Printed for T. Skillern, 1778). H5173
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon & Mrs Weichsell at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by Henry Heron Organist of St Magnus London Bridge and to the Rt Hon^{ble} The Earl of Peterborough Book VII 1779* (London: Printed for T. Skillern, 1779). H5174
- *A Collection of Songs singing by Mr Vernon, Mrs Wrihten and Mrs Weichsell at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by Henry Heron Organist of St Magnus London Bridge to which is added Delia a favourite cantata sung by Mr Rennoldson & New Jockey a favourite Scotch song, sung by Miss Thomas at several public concerts* [Book 8] (London: Printed for T. Skillern, 1780). HH5174a

Hindle, John (1761-1796)

A Collection of Songs for one and two voices composed and humbly dedicated to Lady Vernon by J. Hindle Mus. Bac. Oxon (London: Printed for the Author, [1792]). H5606

Holcombe, Henry (c.1693-1756)

The Garland, a collection of songs and cantatas compos'd by Mr Holcombe (London: Printed for J. Simpson, [1748]). H6264

- *The Musical Medley, or a collection of English songs and cantatas set to Musick by Henry Holcombe* ([n.p.], [1750]). H6265

Hook, James (1746-1827)

A Collection of New English Songs sung at the New Theatre at Richmond by Mr Fawcett, Mr Smith and Miss Slack and also a song sung at Ranelagh by Mr Fawcett composed by James Hook Opera Prima (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, [1767]). H6608

- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon and Mrs Weichsell at Vauxhall and Mrs Vincent at Marybon Gardens composed by James Hook Book I* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, [1767]). H6525

- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon and Mrs Weichsell at Vauxhall and Mrs Vincent at Marybon Gardens composed by James Hook Book II* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, [1768]). H6526
- *A Collection of Favourite Songs sung at Marybone Gardens By Miss Froud and Mr Taylor composed by James Hook Book IV* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, 1768). H6528
- *A Collection of Favourite Songs sung at Vauxhall By Mr Vernon and Mrs Weichsell composed by James Hook Book V* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, 1768). H6529
- *A Collection of Favourite Songs sung at Marybone Gardens By Miss Froud & Mr Phillips composed by James Hook Book VI* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, 1769). H6532
- *A Collection of Favourite Songs sung at Vauxhall by Mrs Weichsell composed by James Hook* (London: Printed by Welcker, 1769). H6530
- *The Favourite Songs sung at Vaux Hall By Mr Vernon & Mrs Weichsell to which is added ye celebrated hunting song sung at Marybone Gardens by Mr Reynhold composed by James Hook* (London: Printed by Welcker, [1770]). H6533
- *A Collection of Songs and a cantata sung at Vaux-Hall and Marybone Gardens composed by James Hook* (London: Printed by Welcker, 1772). H6534
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell and Miss Wewitzer at Vaux-Hall Gardens to which is added the favourite cantata of Amphitriton xomposed by James Hook 1773* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, 1773). H6535
- *A Fourth Collection of Vauxhall Songs and Cantatas in which collection are the favourite songs Under the Greenwood Tree and Down the Burn Davy Love composed by James Hook* (London: Printed for and Sold by Welcker, [1773]). H6536
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Hudson and Miss Jameson At Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by James Hook 1774* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, 1774). H6537
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Hughes & Miss Jameson at Vaux-Hall, and Mr Du Bellamy & Mrs Ward at Marybone Gardens composed by James Hook* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, 1774). H6538
- *A fifth Collection of Songs and a Cantata sung at Vauxhall by Mrs Weichsell & Mrs Hudson compos'd by James Hook 1774* (London: Printed for and Sold by Welcker, 1774). H6539
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell and Miss Jameson at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by James Hook 1775* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, 1775). H6540

- *A Sixth Book of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell and Miss Jameson at Vaux-Hall in which are the favourite ballad of Hook or by Crook and the hunting song composed by James Hook* (London: Printed for and Sold by Welcker, 1775).
H6541
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell and Mrs Hudson at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by James Hook* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, 1776).
H6542
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten and Mrs Warrel at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by James Hook 1777* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, 1777).
H6543
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell and Mrs Wrihten at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by James Hook 1777* (London: Printed for W. Randall, 1777).
H6544
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten & Miss Thornton at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by James Hook 1778* (London: Printed for S. & A. Thompson, 1778).
H6545
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten & Miss Thornton at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by James Hook 1778* (London: Printed for S. & A. Thompson, 1778).
H6546
- *A Third Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten & Miss Thornton at Vaux-Hall-Gardens likewise the favorite Song of The Yellow hair'd Laddie sung by Mrs Farrell at Ranelagh composed by James Hook 1778* (London: Printed and Sold by James Blundell, 1778).
H6547
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten & Miss Thornton at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by James Hook 1779* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1779).
H6548
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Miss Thornton and Mrs Wrihten at Vauxhall Gardens composed by James Hook 1779* (London: Printed for Wm Napier, 1779).
H6549
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten & Mrs Kennedy at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by James Hook 1780* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1780).
H6550
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten & Miss Thornton at Vauxhall-Gardens composed by James Hook 1780* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1780).
H6551
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten & Mrs Kennedy at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by James Hook 1781* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1781).
H6552
- *1781, A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Vernon, Mrs Wrihten, and Mrs Kennedy at Vauxhall-Gardens composed by James Hook* (London: Printed for T. Skillern, 1781).
H6553

- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten & Mrs Kennedy at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by James Hook 1782* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1782). H6554
- *1782 A Collection of Songs sung by Mr Cubitt, Mrs Wrihten, Mrs Weichsell & Mrs Kennedy at Vauxhall-Gardens composed by James Hook* (London: Printed for T. Skillern, 1782). H6555
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten & Mrs Kennedy at Vaux-Hall-Gardens and by Mr King at Ranelagh composed by James Hook 1783* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1783). H6557
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten and Mrs Kennedy at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by James Hook 1783* (London: Printed & Sold by J. Preston, 1783). H6556
- *A Favourite Collection of Songs sung by Mr Arrowsmith, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten and Mrs Kennedy at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by James Hook 1784* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1784). H6558
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Mr Arrowsmith, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten and Mrs Kennedy At Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by James Hook 1784* (London: Printed & Sold by J. Preston, 1784). H6559
- *A Favourite Collection of Songs sung by Mr Arrowsmith, Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten and Mrs Kennedy at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by James Hook 1785* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1785). H6561
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Mrs Weichsell, Mrs Wrihten and Mrs Kennedy at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by James Hook 1785* (London: Printed & Sold by J. Preston, 1785). H6560
- *A Favorite Collection of Songs sung by Mr Incledon, Miss Leary, Mrs Wrihten, Mrs Martyr and Miss Barnett (a child under ten years of age) at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by Mr Hook 1786* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1786). H6562
- *A Favorite Collection of Songs sung by Mr Incledon, Miss Leary, Mrs Wrihten, Mrs Martyr and Miss Barnett (a child under ten years of age) at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by Mr Hook 1786 [Book 2]* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1786). H6563
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Mr Incledon, Mrs Wrihten, Mrs Martyr & Miss Leary at Vauxhall Gardens composed by James Hook 1786* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston, 1786). H6564
- *A Favorite Collection of Songs sung by Mr Incledon, Miss Poole, Miss Bertles, Miss Newman and Miss Leary at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by Mr Hook 1787* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1787). H6565

- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Miss Leary, Miss Bertles, Miss Newman & Miss Poole at Vauxhall Gardens composed by James Hook 1787* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston, 1787). H6566
- *A Favorite Collection of Songs sung by Mr Incedon, Miss Poole, Miss Bertles Mrs Stewart, Mrs Iliff and Miss Leary at Vaux-Hall-Gardens compos'd by Mr Hook 1788* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1788). H6567
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Miss Leary, Miss Bertles, Miss Poole, Mrs Stuart, Mrs Iliff and Mr Incedon at Vauxhall Gardens compos'd by Mr Hook 1788* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston, 1788). H6568
- *A Favorite Collection of Songs sung by Mr Incedon, Miss Leary, Miss Poole, Mrs Martyr and Mr Darley at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by Mr Hook 1789* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1789). H6569
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Mr Incedon, Mr Darley, Mrs Martyr, Miss Poole and Miss Leary at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook 1789* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston & Son, 1789). H6570
- *A Favorite Collection of Songs sung by Mrs Leaver, Miss Leary, Miss Newman, Mr Page and Mr Darley at Vaux-Hall-Gardens composed by Mr Hook 1790* (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1790). H6571
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Miss Leary, Miss Newman, Mrs Leaver, Mr Page and Mr Darley at Vauxhall composed by Mr Hook 1790* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston, 1790). H6572
- *A Collection of favorite Songs sung by Mr Darley, Mr Duffey, Miss Leary, Miss Milne & Mrs Addison at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 1st 1791* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland's, 1791). H6573
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Miss Leary, Miss Milne, Mrs Addison, Mr Duffey & Mr Darley at Vauxhall composed by Mr Hook* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston & Son, 1791). H6574
- *A Third Collection of Songs sung by Miss Milne, Mrs Addison, Mr Darley & Mr Duffey at Vauxhall composed by Mr Hook* (London: Printed & Sold by Harrison & Co, 1791). H6575
- *A Collection of favourite Songs sung by Mr Darley, Mr Clifford, Miss Leary, Miss Milne & Mrs Addison at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 1st 1792* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland's, 1792). H6576
- *A Second Collection of Songs sung by Miss Leary, Miss Milne, Mrs Addison, Mr Clifford, Mr Darley and Master Sheppard at Vauxhall composed by Mr Hook* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston & Son, 1792). H6577
- *A Collection of Favorite Songs sung by Mr Darley, Mr Clifford, Mrs Franklin, Miss Milne, Mrs Addison & Mrs Mountain at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 1st 1793* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1793). H6578

- *The Favorite Songs sung at Vauxhall Gardens by Mrs Mountain, Miss Milne, Mrs Addison, Mr Franklin, Mr Clifford, Mr Darley and Master Phelps composed By Mr Hook Book 2nd 1793* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston & Son, 1793).
H6579
- *A Collection of Favorite Songs sung by Mr Dignum, Mr Taylor, Mrs Franklin, Miss Milne, Master Phelps & Mrs Mountain at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 1st 1794* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1794).
H6580
- *The Favorite Songs sung at Vauxhall Gardens by Mrs Mountain, Mrs Franklin, Miss Milne, Master Phelps, Mr Taylor & Mr Dignum composed by Mr Hook Book II 1794* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston & Son, 1794). H6581
- *A Collection of Favorite Songs sung by Mr Dignum, Mr Taylor, Mrs Franklin, Miss Milne, Master Welsh & Mrs Mountain at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 1st 1795* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1795).
H6582
- *The Favorite Songs sung at Vauxhall Gardens By Mrs Mountain, Miss Milne, Mrs Franklin, Mr Dignum, Mr Taylor and Master Welsh composed by Mr Hook Book 2nd 1795* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston & Son, 1795). H6583
- *A Collection of Favorite Songs sung by Mr Dignum, Mr Denman, Mrs Franklin, Master Welsh & Mr Mountain at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 1st 1796* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1796).
H6584
- *The Favorite Songs sung at Vauxhall Gardens By Mrs Mountain, Mrs Franklin, Master Welsh, Mr Denman & Mr Dignum composed By Mr Hook Book II 1796* (London: Printed & Sold by Preston & Son, 1796). H6585
- *A Collection of Favorite Songs sung by Mr Dignum, Mr Denman, Mrs Franklin, Master Welsh & Mrs Mountain at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 1st 1797* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1797).
H6586
- *[A] Second Collection of Favorite Songs sung by Mr Dignum, Mr Denman, Mrs Franklin & Mrs Mountain At Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook 1797* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1797). H6587
- *A Collection of Favorite Songs sung by Mr Dignum, Mr Denman, Mrs Franklin, The Two Miss Howells & Mrs Mountain at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 1st 1798* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1798).
H6588
- *[A] Second Collection of Favorite Songs sung by The Two Miss Howells, Mr Dignum, Mr Denman, Mrs Franklin & Mrs Mountain at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1798).
H6589
- *A Collection of Favourite Songs sung by Mr Dignum, Mr Denman, Mrs Franklin, Master Gray, Miss Howells & Mrs Mountain at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 1st 1799* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1799). H6590

- *[A Second Collection of Favorite Songs sung by Mr Dignum, Mr Denman, Mrs Franklin, Master Gray, Miss Howells & Mrs Mountain at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 2nd 1799]* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1799). H6591
- *A Collection of Favourite Songs sung by Mr Dignum, Mr Denman, Mrs Franklin, Master Gray, Miss Howells, Miss Sims & Mrs Cooke at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1800). H6592
- *[A Second Collection of Favorite Songs sung by Mr Dignum, Mr Denman, Mrs Franklin, Master Gray, Miss Howells, Miss Sims & Mrs Cooke at Vauxhall Gardens composed by Mr Hook Book 2nd 1800]* (London: Printed & Sold at A. Bland & Weller's, 1800). H6593

Howard, Samuel (1710-1782)

- *The Musical Companion a collection of twelve English songs set to musick by Mr Saml Howard* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [c.1740]). H7482
- *[The Musical Companion a collection of English songs set to musick by Mr Samuel Howard Book II]* ([London: Printed for J. Walsh, 1740-50]). H7482
- *A Cantata and English Songs set to musick by Mr Howard* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [1745]). H7484
- *The Musical Companion a collection of English songs compos'd by Mr Samuel Howard Book III* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [c.1750]). H7482
- *The Musical Companion a collection of English songs compos'd by Mr Samuel Howard Book IV* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [1756]). H7482
- *A Collection of Songs sung by Miss Davies at Vaux-Hall never before publish'd compos'd by Mr Samuel Howard Book V* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [1765]). H7487

Hudson, Robert (1730-1815)

- The Myrtle, a collection of new English songs for the violin, German flute or harpsichord compos'd by Mr Robert Hudson* (London: Printed for Peter Thompson, 1755). HH7615a
- *The Myrtle, a collection of new English songs for the violin, German flute or harpsichord composed by Mr Robert Hudson Book IId* (London: Printed for Peter Thompson, [1755]). H7616
- *The Myrtle, a collection of songs sung at Ranelagh composed by Mr Robt Hudson Book 3d* (London: Printed for C. & S. Thompson, [1767]). H7617

Jackson (of Exeter), William (1730-1803)

- Twelve Songs set to music by William Jackson of Exeter* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, [1755]). J68

- *Twelve Songs set to music by William Jackson of Exeter Opera Quarta* (London: Printed for the Author, [1765]). J96
- *Twelve Songs set to music by William Jackson of Exeter Opera Settima* (London: Printed by Longman & Broderip, [1785]). J113
- *Twelve Songs composed by William Jackson of Exeter Opera XVI* (London: printed by Longman & Broderip, [1793]). J191

Jarvis, Samuel (c.1742-1784)

Six Songs and a Cantata for the harpsichord, violin and German flute composed by Samuel Jarvis organist of St Sepulchre's (London: Printed for the Author by Thorowgood and Horne, [1764]). J491

- *Twelve Songs to which is added an Epitaph for three voices composed by the late Mr Samuel Jarvis* (London: Published by John Groombridge, [1785]). J490

Lampe, John Frederick (1702/3-1751)

A Cantata and Four English Songs set to musick by Mr J. F. Lampe (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [1748]). L468

- *The Ladies Amusement, being a new collection of songs, ballads &c with symphonies and thorough bass the music by John Frederick Lampe* (Dublin: printed by James Hoey, [1748]). L466
- *Lyra Britannica, a collection of favourite songs set to musick by Mr John Frederick Lampe* (London: Printed for & Sold by Jno Simpson, [1750]). L467

Langdon, Richard (c.1729-1803)

A Collection of Songs set to music by Richard Langdon Organist of Exeter Cathedral (London: Printed for John Johnson, 1755). L567

- *A Collection of Songs set to music by Richard Langdon Organist of Exeter Cathedral Book 2nd* (London: Printed for John Johnson, 1755). L568
- *Ten Songs and a Cantata set to musick by Richard Langdon Organist of Exeter Cathedral* (London: Printed for the Author by J. Johnson, [1759]). L565
- *Twelve Songs and Two Cantatas dedicated to George Pitt Esqr His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Turin by Richard Langdon M.B. Succentor and Organist of the Cathedral at Exeter Opera IV* (London: Printed for the Author by Messrs Thompsons, [1770]). L569

Linley, Thomas (the elder) (1733-1795)

Twelve Ballads set to music by Thomas Linley (London: Printed for Ab. Portal, [1780]). L2536

Linley, Thomas (the elder) and Thomas the younger (1756-1778)

The Posthumous Vocal Works of Mr Linley and Mr T. Linley, consisting of songs, duetts, cantatas, madrigals, and glees, in two volumes (London: Printed & Sold for the Proprietors, by Preston at his Wholesale Warehouse, [1800?]). L2538

Lockhart, Charles (1745-1815)

Four Songs and a Hunting Cantata set to music for the voice and harpsichord by Charles Lockhart Organist of the Lock Hospital Chapel near Hyde Park Corner and St Katharine Cree-Church Leadenhall Street (London: Printed for and Sold by the Author, [1775]). L2652

Miller, Edward (1735-1807)

A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata set to music by Edward Miller (London: Printed & Sold by John Johnson, [1755]). M2777

- *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr Pope's with instrumental parts dedicated to the Revd Mr Mason the music composed by Edward Miller of Doncaster Opera Terza* (London: Printed for the Author & Sold at Bremner's Music Shop, [1770?]). M2775

Moulds, John (fl 1784-1798)

A Collection of Favorite Songs sung by Mr Wilson at Ranelagh composed by Mr Moulds (London: Printed for G. Goulding, [1787]). M3829

Newton, James (? - ?)

Six Select Songs And One Cantata with accompaniments for a violin, German flute and violoncello with a thorough bass for the harpsichord set to music by James Newton M. A. (London: Printed for the Author and Sold by John Johnson, [1768]). NN552a

Oswald, James (1710-1769)

Twelve Songs Composed in the Scotch Taste for A Person of Distinction humbly inscribed To Her Grace the Dutchess [sic] of Hamilton by James Oswald (London: Printed for & Sold by John Simpson, [1743]). O184

- *Ten Favourite Songs sung by Miss Formantel at Ranelagh set to music by James Oswald* (London: Printed for the Author, [1750]). O185

[Oxford, A Gentleman of]

A Cantata and Six Songs set to musick by A Gentleman of Oxford (London: Printed by John Johnson; Oxford: Printed by Wm Cross, [1750]). GB-Lbl H.1652.vv. (6.)

Pasquali, Nicolo (c.1718-1757)

XII English Songs in Score collected from several masques and other entertainments composed by Nicolo Pasquali and printed for the author with His

Majesty's Royal Licence and Privilege London MDCCL ([London]: Sold by the Author, also by John Walsh, 1750). P982

Pepusch, Johann Christophe (1667-1752)

Six English Cantatas humbly inscrib'd to the Most Noble the Marchioness of Kent compos'd by Mr J. C. Pepusch (London: Printed for J. Walsh... and J. Hare, 1710). P1240

- *Six English Cantatas for one voice four for a flute and two with a trumpet and other instruments compos'd by J. C. Pepusch Book ye Second* (London: Printed for J. Walsh... and J. Hare, 1720). P1245

Perkins, Dodd (d. 1820)

Ten Songs written by the Honorable Francis Seymour Esqr set to music and inscribed to The Right Honorable and Reverend Lord Francis Seymour Dean of Wells by his most obliged Humble Servant D. Perkins (London: Printed for the Author at Smart's Music Warehouse, [1796]). P1437

Pixell, John (1725-1784)

A Collection of Songs with their recitatives and symphonies for the German flute, violins etc with a thorough bass for the harpsichord set to musick by Mr Pixell to which is added a chorus for voices and instruments (Birmingham: Printed for the Author, [1759]). P2484

- *Odes, Cantatas Songs etc divine, moral, entertaining set to music by Mr Pixell Opera seconda* (Birmingham, Printed and Sold for the Author by William Fletcher, 1775). P2485

Potter, John (c.1734-after 1813)

The Comic Tunes to the principal scenes in The Rites of Hecate, or Harlequin from the Moon : as they are perform'd at the Theater Royal in Drury lane. set for violins, ye tenor, the guittar German flute or harpsichord compos'd by John Potter. (London: J. Johnson, [1764]). P5257

- *A 2d Collection of the favourite new Songs and ballads sung at Vaux-Hall Gardens compos'd by John Potter* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, 1765). PP5263a
- *A Collection of New Songs and Ballads sung at Vauxhall Gardens by Mr Vernon & Mrs Weichsell compos'd by John Potter 1766* (London: Printed for W. Randall & I. Abell, 1766). P5258
- *A Collection of New Songs and Ballads sung at Vauxhall Gardens composed by John Potter* (London: Printed for Messrs Randall and Abell, 1767). P5259

- *A Favourite Collection of New Songs with the Shepherds Festival A Trio sung at Vauxhall Gardens by Mrs Pinto, Mrs Weichsell and Mr Vernon composed by John Potter 1768* (London: Printed for Messrs Randall and Abell, 1768). P5260
- *A Favourite Collection of New Songs sung at Vaux-Hal Gardens composed by John Potter 1769* (London: Printed for William Randall, 1769). P5260a
- *A Favourite Collection of New Songs sung at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by John Potter (1771)* (London: Printed for William Randall, 1771). P5261
- *A Favourite Collection of New Songs sung at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by John Potter (1772)* (London: Printed for William Randall, 1772). P5261a
- *A Favourite Collection of New Songs sung at Vaux-Hall Gardens compos'd by John Potter* (London: Printed for William Randall, 1773). P5262
- *A Favourite Collection of New Songs sung at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by John Potter (1774)* (London: Printed for William Randall, 1774). P5262a

Rauzzini, Venazio (1746-1810)

A Periodical Collection of Vocal Music (never before printed) consisting of Italian and English songs, duetts terzetts, recitatives, canzonetts, ballads etc composed by Venazio Rauzzini and dedicated by permission to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of York in two Volumes Vol. 1 (London: Printed for the Author, by Geo Stead..., [1797]). R382

- *A Periodical Collection of Vocal Music (never before printed) consisting of Italian and English songs, duetts terzetts, recitatives, canzonetts, ballads etc composed by Venazio Rauzzini and dedicated by permission to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of York in two Volumes Vol. 2* (London: Printed for the Author by A. C. Farthing and Sold at Messrs Lintern's, Bath, [1797]). R382

Reading, John (younger) (c.1685-1764)

A Book of New Songs (after the Italian manner) with symphonies & a through-bass fitted to the HARPSICHORD &c all within ye compass of the FLUTE and fairly engraven on copper plates, compos'd by Mr JOHN READING Organist of St John's Hackney educated in the Chappel-Royal under ye late famous Dr JOHN BLOW (London: Printed for ye Author..., [1710]). R489

Russel, Davidson (fl 1742-c.1773)

The Butterfly, being a variety of songs, elegies, a double canon, a catch and cantata on spring entirely new, composed by D. Russell Professor of Music, Bath (London: Printed & Sold by Longman, Lukey & Co, [1773]). R3213

S., R.

Eight Songs with a Thorough Bass for the harpsichord set to music by R.S. most humbly inscribed to the Right Honble Lady Lenox (London: Printed and sold by Mrs Johnson, [1763]). GB-Lbl E.601.q. (8.)

Sheeles, John (fl 1700-1730)

A Collection of Songs with a thorough bass to each song for the harpsichord compos'd by Mr John Sheeles (London : Printed for and sold by J. Walsh ... and Jno & Joseph Hare ..., [1722]). S2913c

Shield, William (1748-1829)

A Collection of Favourite Songs adapted for the voice, harpsichord, violin, guitar or German flute, to which is added a duett for two violins composed by William Shield Book 1st (London: Printed for the Author at Mr Thorne's, Durham and Sold by Longman, Lukey and Broderip, 1778). S3284

- *A Collection of Songs sung at Vauxhall by Mrs Weichsell to which is added Johnnie and Mary a ballad introduced by Miss Catley in Love in a Village and Oxfordshire Nancy written by the late David Garrick Esq composed by Wm. Shield* (London: Printed for Wm Napier, [1780]). S3285

Skeats, Highmore (1757-1831)

A Collection of Songs composed by Highmore Skeats Organist of the Cathedral at Ely (London: Printed for the Author, [1784]). S3564

Smith, John (?-?)

Songs In The New Opera call'd Wonders in the Sun or The Kingdom of the Birds (London: Sold by J. Walsh..., 1706).

Smith, John Stafford (1750-1836)

A Collection of Songs of various kinds, and for different coices composed by John Stafford Smith (London: Printed and Sold by J. Preston, [1785]). S3687

- *A Miscellaneous Collection of New Songs, Catches and Glee's for one, two, three, four & five voices particularly an occasion sung after dinner at the Pantheon, which gained the Premium the year and a cantata entitled The Frantic Lady the whole compos'd by John Stafford Smith* (London: Printed and Sold by James Blundell, 1781). S3688

Smith, Theodor (c.1740-c.1810)

The Favourite Songs Sung at Vaux-Hall by Mrs Smith with the celebrated Hunting Song sung by Mr Vernon composed by Theodor Smith (London: Printed by Welcker, [1769]). S3726

- *A Collection of Favourite Songs sung at Marybone Gardens by Miss Harper composed by Theodor Smith* (London: Printed for Straight & Skillern, 1774). [S3730]

Stanley, John (1713-1786)

Six Cantatas for a Voice and Instruments set to musick by John Stanley M.B. Organist of the Temple and St Andrew's in London (London: Printed for John Stanley, 1742). S4639

- *Six Cantatas for a Voice and Instruments set to music by John Stanley M.B.* (London: Printed for John Stanley, 1748). S4640
- *Three Cantatas and Three Songs For a Voice and Instruments set to music by John Stanley M.B.* (London: Printed for the Author, 1751). S4641

Stevens, Richard John Samuel (1757-1837)

Ten Songs with and Accompaniment for Two Violins composed & most humbly inscribed to The Right Honorable Lady Anna Maria Bones by R. J. S. Stevens Opera II (London: Printed for the Author by S. A. & P. Thompson, [1788]). S6048

Taylor, Raynor (1747-1825)

A Collection of Favorite Songs and an overture adapted for the harpsichord composed by R. Taylor Book 1st (London: Printed for the Author by Messrs Longman, Lukey & Co, [1775]). T308

Tenducci, Giusto Ferdinando (c.1735-1790)

- *Six New English Songs composed by Ferdinando Tenducci and to be sung by him at Ranelagh* (London: Printed for the Author, 1763). T479
- *A Collection of new French Songs with a thorough bass for the harpsichord set to music in a pleasing taste by Sigr Tenducci* (London: Printed for Cha[rle]s & Sam[ue]l Thompson, [1770]). T477
- *Three English Songs with an accompaniment for the harp, piano forte or harpsichord set to music by Sigr Tenducci* (London: Printed by Longman & Broderip, [1786]). T480

Travers, John (c. 1703-1758)

Eighteen Canzonets for Two, and three Voices (the eords chiefly by Matthew Prior Esq.) set to musick by John Travers Organist of his Majesty's Chapel Royal and of St Paul Covent Garden (London: Printed for the Author by John Simpson..., [1745?]). T 1102

Turner, Elizabeth (d.1756)

Twelve Songs with Symphonies and a thorough bass for the harpsichord set to music by Elizabeth Turner (London: Printed for the Author, [1750]). T1400

- *A Collection of Songs with symphonies and a thorough bass with six lessons for the harpsichord compos'd by Miss Eliza Turner* (London: Printed for the Author, [1756]). T1401

Wainwright, Robert (1748-1782)

The Favourite Songs and Cantatas sung by Mrs Weichsell at Vaux-Hall Gardens composed by Dr Wainwright (London: Printed by Longman & Broderip, [1778]).
W71

Webbe, Samuel (c.1770-1843)

Six Ballads with an accompaniment for the piano forte or harp composed & dedicated to the Right Honorable the Countess of Oxford by Saml Webbe Jun (London: 'To be had of the Author', [1792]).
GB-Lbl H.1652.aa. (10.)

Wesley, Charles (1757-1834)

VIII Songs by Charles Wesley Op 3 (London: Printed for the Author, [1784]).
W898

Worgan, James (1713-1753)

Three New English Cantatas: set to musick for a voice, violins and violoncello; with a thorough bass for the harpsichord [compos'd by Mr Ja^s Worgan Organist of St Dunstans in y^e East & St Botolph Aldgate] (London: Sold by John Walsh... and at all the Musick Shops, [1744]).
W1868

Worgan, John (1724-1790)

- *An English Cantata (sung at Vaux-Hall by Mr Lowe) and three English songs set to musick by Mr Worgan* (London: Sold by J. Walsh... & J. Simpson, [1745]).
W1899
- *The Agreeable Choice, a collection of songs sung by Miss Burchell, Miss Stevenson and Mr Lowe at Vaux-Hall set by Mr Worgan* (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [1751]).
W1897
- *A Collection of new Songs and Ballads sung by Miss Burchell, Mr Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux-Hall set by Mr Worgan* (London: Printed for the Author & Sold by J. Johnson, 1752).
W1881
- *A Collection of new Songs and Ballads particularly the favourite dialogue (No Never) sung by Mr Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vauxhall set by Mr Worgan* (London: Printed for and Sold by J. Johnson, [1753]).
W1882
- *A Collection of new Songs and Ballads sung by Miss Burchell, Mr Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux-Hall set by Mr Worgan* (London: Printed for and Sold by J. Johnson, 1754).
W1884
- *The Favourite New Songs that have been sung in Vaux-Hall Gardens by Miss Burchell never before publish'd set to Music by John Worgan Batchelor of Music* (London: Printed for the Author, [1756]).
W1895
- *The New Ballads sung by Mr Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux-Hall set by Mr Worgan Book the 4th 1755* (London: Printed for the Author by J. Johnson, 1755).
W1885

- *The New Ballads sung by Mr Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux-Hall set By Mr Worgan Book the 5th 1756* (London: Printed for the Author by Jn. Johnson, 1756).
W1886
- *The New Ballads sung by Mr Lowe & Miss Stevenson at Vaux-Hall set by Mr Worgan Book the 6th* (London: Printed for the Author by J. Johnson, 1757).
W1887
- *The New Ballads sung by Mr Lowe and Miss Stevenson at Vaux-Hall set by Mr Worgan Book the VII* (London: Printed for the Author by John Johnson, 1758).
W1888
- *The Songs and Ballads sung by Mr Lowe and Miss Stevenson at Vaux-Hall set by Mr Worgan Book the VIII 1759* (London: Printed for the Author by John Johnson, 1759).
W1889
- *A Collection of the new Songs sung at Vaux-Hall by Mrs Vincent & Mr Lowe set to music by Mr Worgan Book the IX* (London: Printed for the Author by John Johnson, 1760).
W1890
- *A Collection of the new Songs sung at Vaux-Hall by Mrs Vincent & Mr Lowe set to Music by Mr Worgan Book the X* (London: Printed for the Author by John Johnson, 1761).
W1891
- *The New Ballads sung this summer at Vaux Hall set by Mr Worgan Book the 11th* (London: Printed by Mrs. Johnson, 1770).
W1892
- *A Second Book of the New Ballads sung this summer at Vaux-Hall set by Mr Worgan Book the 12th 1770* (London: Printed by Mrs. Johnson, 1770).
W1893
- *A Collection of the Favourite Songs sung this season in Vaux-Hall Gardens by Mrs Weichsell, Miss Jameson & Mr Vernon set by Mr Worgan Book the 13th 1771* (London: Printed by Mrs. Johnson, 1771).
W1894

Wright, Thomas (1763-1829)

Six Songs with a Thorough Bass for the harpsichord humbly dedicated to Miss Carr of Dunston-hill composed by Thomas Wright Newcastle upon Tyne (Newcastle: [Hunter Sculpt], [1785]).
W2167

Wynne, John (fl c.1754-1779)

Ten English Songs set to musick by Mr John Wynne (London: Printed for the Author and Sold by him, 1754).
W2200

Yates, William (d. 1769)

A Collection of Moral Songs or Hymns for a voice, harpsichord and guittar set to musick by William Yates (London: Printed for Thompson and Sons, [1762]),
Y24

- *The New Songs sung by Miss Wearman, Mr Vernon and Mr Gibson at Vaux-Hall set by Mr Yates* (London: Printed and Sold by R. Bremner, [1764]).
Y25
- *The New Songs sung by Miss Wearman, Mr Vernon and Mr Gibson at Vaux-Hall [Book 2nd 1764]* (London: Printed and Sold by R. Bremner, [1765]).
Y22
- *A Collection of Songs sung at Vaux-Hall by Mr Vernon compos'd by William Yates Book III* (London: Printed for the Author and Sold by Chas and Saml Thompson, 1768).
Y23
- *A Collection of Songs sung at Vaux-Hall and Mary Bone Gardens compos'd by William Yates* (London: Printed for the Author and Sold by Chas and Saml Thompson, [1770]).
Y24

b) Anthologies published before 1800 (listed chronologically)

XII Cantatas in English for a voice and thorough bass for the harpsichord being a curious collection of the compositions of several authors (London: Printed for J. Walsh... & Jno & Joseph Hare, [1723]).
B/II, p.120

The Monthly Collection of Songs for [August/September/October] compos'd by several masters (London: Printed for and Sold by Daniel Wright, [1726]).
GB-Ob Harding Mus. E 124 (August & October), E 125 (September)

The Vocal Musical Mask, a collection of English songs never before printed set to musick by Mr Lampe, Mr Howard &c [Book IV] (London: Printed for J. Walsh, [1746?]).
B/II, p. 398

A Collection of Songs sung at the publick gardens composed for the Society of the Temple of Apollo Opera 2da Book 3rd (London: Printed for James Oswald & Sold at his Music Shop, [1756]).
GB-Ob Harding Mus. E 555

Six Songs compos'd for The Temple of Apollo to which is added a favourite cantata set to musick by Mr Charles Burney Opera II Lib. I (London: Printed for and Sold by J. Oswald, [1756]).
GB-Ob Harding Mus. E 557 (1)

A Collection of English Songs sung by Miss Falkner at Marybon-Gardens, Mr Beard, Mr Lowe, Mrs Arne &c at Ranelagh and Vaux-Hall Gardens compos'd by the most eminent masters ([n.p.], [1760]).
GB-Lbl H.1660.11. (2.)

Four Favourite Songs sung by Mr Beard at Ranelagh Gardens (London: Printed for John Johnson, [1760]).
GB-Lcm D854/3

A Second Collection of the most celebrated English Songs which are now in vogue neatly adapted for the guittar and voice (London: Printed and Sold by David Rutherford, [1762]).
GB-Ob Harding Mus. E 518

No 1 A Favourite Collection of Songs sung by Miss Brent, Miss Wright &c at Vaux-Hall Gardens &c (London: J. Walsh, 1765).
GB-Ob Harding Mus. E 532

Thalia, a Collection of Six Favourite Songs (never before publish'd) which have been occasionally introduced in several dramatic performances at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane the words by David Garrick Esqr and the music compos'd by Dr Boyce, Dr Arne, Mr Smith, Mr M. Arne, Mr Battishill and Mr Barthélemon (London: Printed & Sold by John Johnson, 1765). B/II, p.385

A Collection of Favourite Airs in Score sung at Haberdashers Hall By Singr Tenducci and dedicated by him to the Gentlemen of the Castle Society (London: Printed by Welcker, [1770]). B/II, p. 65

The Vauxhall, Marybone & Grotto Songs as sung by Miss Jameson, Mr Vernon, Mr Barnshaw purposely adapted for the guittar 1st Book (London: Printed & Sold by Longman, Lukey & Co, [1771]). GB-Lbl G.359.a

A Choice Collection of XII of the most favourite songs for the guitar sung at Vaux Hall and in the Deserter now performing in the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane with an addition of the overture in the Deserter, two favorite rondeaus & six cottillons properly adapted for that instrument with an easy bass by D. Ritter (London: Printed for the Author, [1774]). R1754

A Fourth Collection of the most celebrated English Songs which are now in vogue properly adapted for the guittar and voice (London: Printed and Sold by John Rutherford, [1775]). GB-Ob Harding Mus. E 519

The New Songs sung by Mrs Vincent and Mr Squibb at Marybone Gardens with a song sung by Miss Wearman at Vaux-Hall (London: Printed and Sold by R. Bremner, [1775]). GB-Lbl G.359.b

Six Favorite Italian Songs performed at Mr Bach's concert and humbly inscribed to her most Excellent and Sacred Majesty The Queen of France by Count Ferdind Tenducci ([London]: [n.p.], [1778]). B/II, p. 173

c) Single-author Editions Published after 1800 (including facsimile editions)

Arne, Thomas Augustine

- *Twenty Songs*, ed. W. Alexander Barrett (London: Novello, c.1900).
- *Nine Shakespeare Songs by Thomas Augustine Arne*, ed. Percy Young (London: Chappell & Co Ltd, 1963).
- *Twelve Songs for High Voice*, ed. Michael Pilkington, 2 vols. (London: Stainer & Bell, 1979).
- *Lyric Harmony*, introduction by Christopher Hogwood, Music for London Entertainment F2 (Tunbridge Wells: Macnutt, 1985).
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Bach, Johann Christian

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- Vol. 2, *Catone in Utica*, ed. Ernest Warburton (New York: Garland, c.1987).
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- Vol. 9, '*La Clemenza di Scipione and Music from London Pasticci*', ed. Ernest Warburton (New York: Garland, 1990).
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- Vol. 30, '*Sinfonia Concertantes part 1*', ed. Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1985).
- Vol. 31, '*Sinfonia Concertantes part 2*', ed. Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1988).
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Boyce, William

Lyra Britannica, introduction by Robert J. Bruce, Music for London Entertainment F3 (Tunbridge Wells: Macnutt, 1985).

- *Solomon: A Serenata*, ed. Ian Bartlett, Musica Britannica 68 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1996).
- *Overtures*, ed. Gerald Finzi, Musica Britannica 13 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1957).
- *Three Birthday Odes for Prince George 1749 or 1750, 1751, 1752*, introduction by Robert J. Bruce, Music for London Entertainment F4 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1989).

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Dibdin, Charles

The Sadler's Wells Dialogues, ed. Peter Holman (Wellington, NZ: Artaria Editions, 2007).

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An Elgar Song Album, introduction by Jerrold Northrop Moore (Borough Green: Novello, 1984).

Gay, John (1685-1732) with Johann Christophe Pepusch

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Handel, George Frideric

Acis and Galatea and L' Allegro, Il Penserioso ed Il Moderato, ed. Friedrich Chrysander, *The Works of George Frideric Handel* 3 & 6 (Leipzig: Printed for the German Handel Society, 1859; Republished Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press Inc., 1965).

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3) Manuscriptsa) Music

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Brief Description</u>
GB-Ckc Rowe MS 7	Three cantatas by Stanley
GB-Ckc MS 251	Music believed to have been copied by Edward Miller (c.1760), as examples of the use of thorough bass. Includes Pepusch's cantata <i>Alexis</i> (1739).
GB-Cul Add. MS 6635	Songs by Hook in full score, c.1794-c.1815
GB-Cul Add. MS 6636	Vocal and Instrumental music by Hook (mainly songs), c.1802-1819
GB-Cul Add. MS 6637	Vocal and Instrumental music by Hook (mainly songs), c.1773-c.1819
GB-Cul Add. MS 6638	Vocal music by Hook, 1776-c.1813
GB-Cul Add. MS 6639	Vocal and Instrumental music by Hook, 1800-1810
GB-Cul Add. MS 6640	Vocal and Instrumental music by Hook, early 1800s
GB-Lbl Add. MS 5238	Stanley, <i>The Choice of Hercules</i>
GB-Lbl Add. MS 19647	Songs by Hook, 1786-89
GB-Lbl Add MS 28971	Vocal and instrumental music by Hook, early 1800s
GB-Lbl Add. MS 29370	Songs by Arne, including the cantata <i>The Lover's Recantation</i> (1761) in score
GB-Lbl Add. MS 32435	Includes Giordani's 'Let Soft Desires' (1773)
GB-Lbl Add. MS 35005	Songs by Samuel Wesley, 1785-1837
GB-Lbl Add. MS 62677	Includes two songs by Blewitt (1800)
GB-Lbl R.M.21.c.43 (1-3),	Ballad Operas, <i>Damon and Phillida</i> ; <i>The Lottery</i> ; <i>The Devil to Pay</i>
GB-Lcm MS 93	Boyce, <i>The Secular Masque</i> (c.1746)
GB-Lcm MS 342	Score of <i>Love in a Village</i> (1762), possibly in Arne's hand

GB-Lcm MS 643	Yates, <i>The Choice of Apollo</i> (1764)
GB-Lcm MS 782	Songs by Boyce, some of which were published in <i>Lyra Britannica</i>
GB-Lcm MS 812	Greene's <i>Spenser's Amoretti</i> ; songs by Arnold and Shield
GB-Lcm MS 1172	Late seventeenth-century London Theatre music
GB-Lcm MS 2232	Eighteenth-century theatre music, including Galliard's 'With early horn salute the Morn' (c.1740)
GB-Lmt IV/162/9	Songs by Hook, 1783-1819
GB-Ob MS Mus. c.3	Miscellaneous songs, including some cantatas by Boyce
GB-Ob MS Mus. d.52	Italian cantatas, odes and duets by Greene
GB-Ob MS Mus. e. 41	A volume of miscellaneous songs and cantatas, probably copied for performance in the home
GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch.c.105	Boyce, Birthday Ode, <i>Another passing year is flown</i> (1752)
GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch.d.264	Boyce, Birthday Ode, <i>Let Grief Subside</i> (1751)
GB-Ob MS Mus. Sch.Ex.d.70	Langdon's anthem <i>O be Joyful in the Lord</i> (1761); submission for the Oxford BMus degree.
GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1283	Boyce, cantata 'Long with undistinguish'd flame' (c.1747)

b) Other

GB-CA Add. MS 30	Documents relating to William Flackton, including letters and press cuttings.
GB-Lbl Add. MS 33965	Includes a letter from Arne to Mr Woodfall 'by the corner of Paternoster Row', c.1768? [Henry Woodfall, bookseller, see Humphries & Smith, <i>Music Publishing in the British Isles</i> , p. 341]

INDEX

A

Aristotle, 3

F

From a Galaxy, 2

G

Geocentric theory, 2

H

Heliocentric theory, 3

M

Mariner space mission, 2

Mercury, 3

Milky Way, 2

O

Orbit

Mercury, 3

P

Planets and Moons, 2

R

Rotation

Mercury, 3

S

Solar system

creation, 2

geocentric theory, 2

heliocentric theory, 3

Mariner mission, 2

Voyager mission, 2

T

The Solar System, 2

V

Voyager space mission, 2