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‘So Much Neglected?’

**An investigation and re-evaluation of
Vocal Music in Edinburgh
1750 – 1800**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis gives a comprehensive account of the vocal music performed in Edinburgh between 1750 and 1800. One of its aims is to highlight the importance of vocal music to a contemporary audience, an area which has hitherto been neglected in investigations into the musical culture of the city in the eighteenth century. It also attempts to place the Edinburgh Musical Society in the wider context of the vibrant concert and musical culture which developed through the second half of the century.


The study attempts to demonstrate the importance of singing, not just within concerts, but as an integral part of many other social and cultural aspects of life, including: gentlemen's clubs, schools, and the city's churches. The careers of singers, as impresarios and teachers, and the influence they held over prevailing tastes and culture are examined. In addition to discussing the many foreign musicians active in the city this investigation also traces the impact of native born singers and teachers. It calls into question the assertions made by previous studies which suggested the primacy of instrumental music over vocal music and it attempts to demonstrate that the interest in, consumption of, and participation in vocal music grew over the course of the century. It also attempts to show that vocal music became a dominant influence following the demise of the Musical Society.

The information contained in this account has been drawn from previously neglected newspapers and other archival sources, such as diaries, personal letters, the archives of the Musical Society preserved by Gilbert Innes, the Sederunt Books of the Musical Society, the repertoire of the Harmonical Society and published works on music, culture and history. The repertoire itself has also been closely examined. By means of this work it has been possible to examine and expand the whole spectrum of musical life in the Scottish capital and thus establish the thriving vocal musical culture which existed at the time.

I certify:

- (a) that this thesis has been composed by me, and
- (b) either that the work is my own, or, where I have been a member of a research group, that I have made a substantial contribution to the work, such contribution being clearly indicated, and
- (c) that the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Signed:



Thomas Hayward Edwards
22nd April 2015

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	8
PART ONE: VOCAL MUSIC FOR ENTERTAINMENT AND EDUCATION	
Chapter 1	Public Concerts 1: Benefit Concerts 22
	1.1 Italian arias 31
	1.2 Airs from Handel's Oratorios 40
	1.3 Contemporary English songs and ballads 50
	1.4 Scots Songs 54
Chapter 2	Public Concerts 2: Subscription Concerts and other Concerts 61
	2.1 Subscription Concerts in Edinburgh 62
	2.2 Vocal Music in other concerts 76
	2.3 Vocal Music as a spur to Patriotism 82
Chapter 3	Music for Gentlemen's Leisure 87
	3.1 Vocal Music in the Edinburgh Musical Society's meetings 90
	3.2 Musical Society Catch Club 104
	3.3 The New Edinburgh Catch Club 105
	3.4 The Edinburgh Harmonical Society 114
	3.5 The Freemasons 128
Chapter 4	Music in the Theatre 133
	4.1 Incidental Music in Plays 136
	4.2 Ballad Operas and English Masques 145
	4.3 Italian Opera 151
	4.4 Oratorios at the Theatre Royal 157
Chapter 5	Music in the Pleasure Gardens 162
	5.1 Early attempts at Pleasure Gardens in Edinburgh 163
	5.2 Comely Gardens and Edinburgh's Ranelagh 167
Chapter 6	Vocal Music and Education 182
	6.1 Music and Gentlemen Amateurs 183
	6.2 Private Singing Teachers 185
	6.3 The Edinburgh Musical Society and Musical Apprenticeships 198
	6.4 Vocal Music and Education in schools 206

PART TWO: VOCAL MUSIC AS AN AID TO PIETY		
Chapter 7	The Edinburgh Musical Society and Devotional Concerts	216
	7.1 Funeral Concerts staged by the Edinburgh Musical Society	217
	7.2 The Musical Society and Oratorios	223
Chapter 8	Vocal Music in the Church	239
	8.1 Vocal Music in the Kirk	239
	8.2 Vocal Music in the Episcopal Church	254
CONCLUSION		262
Appendices	A Benefit Concerts 1751-1756	273
	B Benefit Concerts 1775-1780	275
	C Benefit Concerts 1778-1792	277
	D Musicians staging Benefit Concerts 1751-1756	279
	E Musicians staging Benefit Concerts 1775-1780	280
	F Musicians staging Benefit Concerts 1788-1792	281
	G Analysis of Handel's solo arias recorded in this thesis	282
	H Giuseppe and Christina Passerini's First Subscription Series	284
	I Giuseppe and Christina Passerini's Second Subscription Series	286
	J Index of Vocal Music belonging to Musical Society, 1782	288
	K Vocal Music copied for the Edinburgh Musical Society	295
	L Edinburgh Musical Society and the performance of Oratorios	297
BIBLIOGRAPHY		302

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

CM	Caledonian Mercury
d	penny (12d = 1s)
EA	Edinburgh Advertiser
EEC	Edinburgh Evening Courant
EHC	Edinburgh Herald and Courant
EMS	Edinburgh Musical Society
EWJ	Edinburgh Weekly Journal
gn	guinea (1gn = £1.1s or 21s)
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
n.d.	Not dated
s	shilling (1s = 12d; 20s = £1 sterling)
SM	Scots Magazine

All quotations from contemporary sources and documents are given with original spelling and punctuation

All references to money are expressed in pounds, shillings and pence.

Full names of all persons referred to are given where possible. If a first name is not known a title is used.

To Lovers of Music, particularly of singing

... I think it constitutes one of the purest, most innocent, and delightful entertainments. It gives a pleasing variety to the sweets of society, and renders a company cheerful and happy. It diverts the mind in a greater degree than any thing I know of from the important cares of business. As men, as men of business, and in all our relative situations, we have cares and anxieties which are not to be too much listened to, lest they make us melancholy, nor too little attended to, lest they bring on our ruin. To alleviate such, company is intended, and no part of our amusements in company seems to have a right to be called rational, by a better claim than music.

Caledonian Mercury, 11 April 1785

INTRODUCTION

In 1785 a group of gentlemen amateurs joined together to form the Edinburgh Harmonical Society. They existed, it was reported, to fill a gap in the musical life of the city:

The object this Society has in view is to promote the cultivation of Vocal Harmony in general, and of Sacred Music in particular... there is good reason to believe, that such an institution will be of great utility in this country, where vocal harmony has of late been so much neglected.¹

One purpose of this study is to try to discover whether the founders of the Harmonical Society were correct to summarise the performance of vocal music in the city as ‘so much neglected’ and to try and establish how important vocal music was to musical culture in Edinburgh. This will be the first study dedicated to the performance and propagation of vocal music within eighteenth century Edinburgh.

The eighteenth century history of Edinburgh has been well-documented, and the best overview of the development of the cultural and artistic life of the city in the Enlightenment can be found in *Edinburgh: the Golden Age* by Mary Cosh.² Despite its extensive analysis of the literary, theatrical and philosophical development in the city, Cosh has little to say about music and the part it played in cultural life: she even suggests that public musical performance at the turn of the nineteenth century was something of a rarity.³ Despite its many excellent features, Cosh’s study significantly underestimates the importance of music in the everyday cultural life of the city, and, I believe, fails to see how music, especially vocal music, penetrated into the daily lives of the citizens of Edinburgh. This may in part be because Cosh has followed the picture presented by David Johnson in *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*.⁴

No study of music in Scotland in the eighteenth century would be possible without reference to Johnson’s book, which was the first modern study to investigate the importance of musical culture in Scotland in that period. Johnson was the first to consider the Edinburgh Musical Society in the whole musical context of the times, including: folk music, music in the theatre, and music in aristocratic houses. Johnson’s work was in many ways ground-breaking

¹ *The Scots Magazine or General Repository of Literature, History and Politics* (hereafter SM), 47 (1785), 153.

² Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2002).

³ *Ibid*, 568.

⁴ David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

and replaced some of the misconceptions of previous studies, but I believe it has placed too great an emphasis on the weight of the Musical Society in terms of its contemporary importance. Historically, it cannot be denied that the Edinburgh Musical Society was ‘the outstanding musical institution in the country’,⁵ but I believe strongly that this pre-eminence would not have been obvious in the contemporary life of the city. The Musical Society was an elite society, which rarely informed the outside world of its activities, and to many would have been an unknown entity. Whilst not a secret society, it was undoubtedly a private one. My own studies have shown it was only one of a number of institutions and individuals, supporting and promoting the performance of music (not just vocal music) throughout the eighteenth century. The idea that musical performance ceased because the Musical Society dissolved is not the case, as was shown in John Cranmer’s thesis ‘Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh c. 1780-c.1830’ although he did suggest that there was a decline in public concerts staged in the city at the end of the eighteenth century.⁶

Cranmer gives an extensive and informative picture of Edinburgh’s professional musicians at the end of the ‘long’ eighteenth century. Cranmer’s notable contribution was an exploration of the wider concert life in Edinburgh, and especially the growth in publishing activity in the city. In his introduction Cranmer acknowledges his debt to Johnson and, in many ways, suggests that he is continuing the study where Johnson left it.

Jennifer Macleod’s thesis, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society: Its Membership and Repertoire 1728-1797’, was the first full length study of the Musical Society and remains the most complete picture of its activities.⁷ Macleod considers all the musical activities of the Society, including oratorios and vocal music, but her primary interest is in orchestral repertoire and much of her discussion is necessarily dedicated to the instrumental repertoire of the Society. This instrumental bias also appears in Jennifer Burchell’s study, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester and Newcastle 1730-1799*, which sought to put the orchestra of the Musical Society and its repertoire in context with other provincial musical centres.⁸

All of the above studies drew, to some extent, upon two older works which were in their own way revolutionary: Henry Farmer’s *History of Music in Scotland* was the first study to

⁵ Ibid, 41.

⁶ John Leonard Cranmer, ‘Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh, c.1780 – c. 1830’ (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1991).

⁷ Jennifer Macleod, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society: Its membership and repertoire 1728-1797’ (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2000).

⁸ Jennifer Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester and Newcastle, 1730-1799* (New York and London: Garland, 1996).

assume the context of a more national view, comparing music making in Edinburgh to Glasgow and Aberdeen.⁹ Farmer was quietly working a nationalist agenda, favourably comparing concerts in Scotland, particularly Edinburgh, to those of various musical institutions in London.¹⁰ Johnson was however not slow to illustrate the various dating errors, misconceptions and unsupported statements in Farmer's work.¹¹

David Fraser Harris' work, *St Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry's Wynd*, was the first attempt at a full account of the life of the Musical Society, but he also considered the concerts in the wider musical context of the city.¹² His book contains much valuable information about the musicians of the Society and their activities after the erection of St Cecilia's Hall but, as Macleod points out, he did not have access to the Society's Sederunt Books, which only became available after 1930.¹³ Fraser Harris' work has been augmented by the recent *The Temple of Harmony: A new architectural history of St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh*, which considers the origin of the Musical Society and the building of St Cecilia's Hall and the non-musical activities of the Society.¹⁴

Two other recent studies have put a greater emphasis on the world of music making outside the Musical Society and the entrepreneurial aspects of some of the musicians. Sonia Tingali Baxter's thesis, 'Italian Music and Musicians in Edinburgh c. 1720 – 1800: A Historical and Critical Study', does much to provide biographical information about Italian musicians of the period, and supports my assertions on the contemporary importance of the Musical Society.¹⁵ It is obvious from her research that musicians viewed the activities of the Musical Society as only a part of their professional lives (see Domenico Corri's activities at the pleasure gardens, the Theatre Royal, as a composer and as a publisher). It gives a fuller picture of the musicians' view of themselves as complete artists: not just performers, but composers, teachers, concert promoters and impresarios. It is clear from Baxter's work that musicians were involved in far more than just the activities of the Musical Society. Helen Goodwill's thesis, 'The Musical Involvement of the Landed Classes in Eastern Scotland, 1685-1760', provides much needed research about the views of the aristocracy towards music and music education, and

⁹ Sir Henry Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London: Hinrichsen, 1947).

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 311.

¹¹ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 48.

¹² David Fraser Harris, *St Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1899).

¹³ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 12.

¹⁴ Joe Rock, et al., *The Temple of Harmony: A new architectural history of St Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: The Friends of St Cecilia's Hall and Museum, 2011).

¹⁵ Sonia Tingali Baxter, 'Italian Music and Musicians in Edinburgh, c. 1720 – 1800: A Historical and Critical Study' (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 1999).

also gives significant and important details about the musical establishments the landed gentry maintained at their houses.¹⁶ One of the most interesting and striking accounts of the end of feudal patronage and the growth of free-lance musicians and impresarios is presented in Frederic M. Scherer's *Quarter Notes and Banknotes: The economics of musical composition in the eighteenth and nineteenth century*, which illustrates the effects of changing cultural and economic situations upon the livelihoods of musicians and composers particularly in the eighteenth century. This work is particularly valuable as it empirically demonstrates that to earn a living wage musicians had to engage in a wide range of musical activities.¹⁷

The important collection of essays *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Stana Nenadic, charts the important legacy of the Scottish diaspora on culture, society and science in London, and includes Mary Anne Alburger's essay 'Musical Scots and Scottish Music Patrons in London and Edinburgh' which considers the importance of Scottish music and songs for contemporary concert-culture in London. An important extension to this work, however, would be to trace how the musical experiences of such Scots in London (including Sir John Clerk and James Boswell) shaped the development of a parallel musical culture in Scotland.¹⁸ As yet, there has been no study of music solely in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century which seeks to put the Musical Society in its contemporary context, and there is no Edinburgh-based study comparable to Roz Southey's *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century*, which considers several large provincial centres (Newcastle and Durham) and smaller towns, and seeks to put music production there in a national context.¹⁹ Nor has there been any study similar to Brian Boydell's work in Dublin, studying the work of the Lying-in-Hospital, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth century Dublin*,²⁰ or the same author's *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700-1780*,²¹ or John C Greene's *Theatre in Dublin, 1745-1820: A Calendar of Performances*.²² Such a work for Edinburgh would be of the utmost utility to researchers of the period.

¹⁶ Helen Goodwill, 'The Musical Involvement of the Landed Classes in Eastern Scotland, 1685-1760' (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2000).

¹⁷ Frederic Michael Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Banknotes: The economics of music composition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).

¹⁸ Stana Nenadic (ed.), *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press: 2010).

¹⁹ Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

²⁰ Brian Boydell, *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Worcester: Irish Academic Press: 1992).

²¹ Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988).

²² John C. Greene. *Theatre in Dublin, 1745-1820, a Calendar of Performances* (Cranbury: Lehigh University Press, 2011).

Vocal Music and aesthetics

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century the primacy of vocal music over instrumental was largely accepted,²³ and the debate concerning the different schools was one of the great aesthetic questions of the century.²⁴ The idea was derived from Plato who labelled instrumental music ‘an unmeaning thing’ and ‘an abuse of melody’.²⁵ In an age when classical authors were widely re-discovered, read, discussed and disseminated amongst gentlemen of education, there is little doubt that throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, despite a gradual growth in the recognition of the legitimate importance of instrumental music, there were many who still rigidly held the Platonic line. In 1752 the composer Charles Avison wrote in agreement with Plato:

The finest Instrumental music may be considered an imitation of Vocal... [violins] with their expressive Tone and the minutest Changes they are capable of in Progression of Melody, show the nearest Approaches to the Perfection of the human Voice.²⁶

Over a decade before Avison, John Frederick Lampe wrote in *The Art of Music*:

A human Voice, strictly speaking is superior to all Sounds *in Musick*; I don't mean human Voices in general, but only such as exceed even the Sound of the Musical Instruments in Sweetness, Clearness and Equality... There is such Delicacy in the *Expression of a human Voice*, that instrumental Performers can't do more wisely then [*sic*] to imitate it, and endeavour to express its Beauties.²⁷

Even at the outset of the nineteenth century there were still many who argued for the expressive and instructive primacy of vocal music. In *The Singer's Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* Domenico Corri wrote ‘words probably first gave rise to music, and do you not think that if those words were assisted by musical sounds, they would express still more forcibly?’²⁸

²³ Eva Badura-Skoda, ‘Aspects of Performance Practice’ in *Eighteenth-century Keyboard Music*, ed. Robert Lewis Marshall (London: Routledge, 2003), 62.

²⁴ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 131.

²⁵ John Gregory, *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man, with Those of the Animal World* (London: J. Dodsley, 1777), 167.

²⁶ Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression, with alterations and large additions. To which is added a letter to the author concerning the music of the ancients, Likewise Mr. Avison's Reply to the author of Remarks on the Essay on musical expression. In a letter from Mr. Avison, to his friend in London*, third edition (London: Lockyer Davis, 1774), 103.

²⁷ John Frederick Lampe, *The Art of Musick* (London: C. Corbett, 1740), 7-8.

²⁸ Domenico Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor* (London: Chapell & Co, n.d. c. 1810), quoted in Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, Surrey: Ashgate, 2008), 32, footnote 1.

To many Enlightenment thinkers the point of art was to improve both the hearer and the society to which they belonged: music must have a moral purpose. This was a view popularised by the writer Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, whose work *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* appeared in 1711 and was widely read throughout Europe, being translated into German in 1776-7.²⁹ For Shaftesbury, morality (not in a restricted religious sense, but rather in a social context where it can be associated with taste) was the mainstay of a modern and progressive society. He wrote:

The familiarity and favour of the moral graces, are essential to the character of a deserving artist, and just favourite of the Muses. Thus are the Arts and Virtues mutually friends.³⁰

Beauty and morality were one and the same and to be exposed to beauty was a process of self-improvement: those with taste and discriminating judgement in art would surely bring this new found discernment to all facets of life:

No sooner the eye opens upon figures, the ear to sounds, than straight the beautiful result, and grace and harmony are known and acknowledged. No sooner are actions viewed... than straight an inward eye distinguishes, and sees the fair and shapely, the amiable and the admirable, apart from the deformed, the foul, the odious, or the despicable.³¹

It was the idea of morality and virtue triumphant after challenge and duress that led to the huge and popular success of Samuel Richardson's 'moralistic' novels *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1748). As Richardson's friend and mentor, Aaron Hill, declaimed 'Who could have dreamt, [you could] find, under the Disguise of a *Novel*, all the *Soul* of Religion, Good-Breeding, Discretion, Good-nature, Wit, Fancy, Fine Thought and Morality'.³² As with literature, so with music: Niccolò Piccinni's opera *La buona figliuola* (1760), which enjoyed significant success in Edinburgh, was based on a libretto adapted from Richardson's *Pamela* by Carlo Goldoni, and likewise had a moralistic message for its audience.³³

²⁹ Ibid, 12.

³⁰ Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, vol. 1, fourth edition (London: John Darby, 1727), 338.

³¹ Ibid, volume 2, 414-15.

³² John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, second edition (New York, Routledge, 2013), 114.

³³ Nicholas Till, *Mozart and the Enlightenment: Truth, Virtue and Beauty in Mozart's Operas* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993), 19-20.

The amateur musicians of Edinburgh appear to have taken the moralistic power of vocal music to heart. Song was used to foster community and to encourage the enlightened ideal of ‘brotherhood’. Singing was a social necessity: men and women joined together in the praise of their God in the Kirk, men sang ‘ancient’ polyphony and the work of Handel at the Musical Society and Harmonical Society and risqué glees in closed male society in the Catch Club and the various fraternal societies, which supported singing as a communal activity as part of their corporate identity. As will be shown in Chapter Six the positive discrimination against gentlemen acquiring instrumental proficiency (or at least displaying it in public), when considered with the contemporary ‘rage’ in the consumption of music, undoubtedly reinforced the view of singing as a social necessity amongst gentlemen of taste and refinement.

Not all vocal music was considered worthy: in Germany Johann Christoph Gottsched railed against the un-naturalness and excesses of Italian opera, which he considered was a ‘promoter of lust, and a corrupter of morals’.³⁴ In England his views would later be echoed by John Brown and Charles Avison, and it may well be these aesthetic considerations as much as the financial difficulties suggested in Chapter Four that contributed to the failure of Italian opera in Edinburgh’s theatres.

However, the seeds of the aesthetic revolution which vested a greater artistic purpose in instrumental music were sown in the late eighteenth century. David P. Schroeder argues convincingly that Haydn did much to raise the perceived aesthetic value of instrumental music in England with his late symphonies, which borrowed ideas from opera and other vocal forms to create works of dramatic clarity and moral purpose.³⁵ As Charles Rosen wrote, Haydn ‘understood the possibilities of conflict in music material within the tonal system, and the way it could be used to generate energy and create drama’.³⁶ However, it would not be until well into the nineteenth century that instrumental forms and institutions took precedence over vocal ones.

Edinburgh in the eighteenth century: a background

At the outset of the eighteenth century Edinburgh was a small capital city crowded along the narrow edge of a ridge of rock, sloping from its peak on the west, where a castle had been built, to the old Palace of Holyroodhouse at the eastern limit of the High Street. The length

³⁴ Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, 53.

³⁵ Schroeder, *Haydn and the Enlightenment*, 68-73.

³⁶ Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972), 120.

of the street which passed the Kirk of St Giles, the Tolbooth, and eventually the Canongate was only a mile long. Much of the activity of the medieval city was concentrated in the dark and narrow wynds and closes which sprung from the High Street. To the north the stagnant Nor Loch prevented the growth of the town, and to the south the limits of the city were delineated by the town walls.³⁷ By the dawn of the nineteenth century north of the Old Town the majestic, classical New Town extended towards the Firth of Forth and Edinburgh was a centre of culture and learning hailed as the ‘Athens of the North’. The growth of population and of trade in the second half of the eighteenth century had a direct and positive influence on the development of Edinburgh’s musical culture.

Following the Act of Union in 1707, having lost its political autonomy, Scotland maintained greater links with England than ever before. Some lingering distrust of the Scots remained in England following the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, despite the fact that Edinburgh and the lowland Scots had remained loyal to the Hanoverian monarchy. One result of the repressive measures taken against Episcopalians in the city, especially the non-juring Episcopalians, was that in general Episcopalian churches in Edinburgh were often unable to support musical establishments of any pretension until the nineteenth century.

Despite having lost its political significance by the second half of the eighteenth century Edinburgh had acquired a notable reputation as a place of learning and culture. The European Enlightenment developed a particular Scottish accent in Edinburgh, as the city produced leading figures in fields as diverse as philosophy, political economy, physics, chemistry, geology, medicine, and literature. Edinburgh’s Enlightenment did not develop in isolation and its leading thinkers were part of the ‘Republic of Letters’ who published their ideas throughout Europe and who maintained a discursive dialogue with the great European thinkers.³⁸ To the average citizen the Enlightenment became a quest for self-betterment, private cultivation and the development of good taste. Concerts and plays ceased to be isolated cultural events, but became part of a wider cultural repertory which included visits to the assembly rooms, picture galleries, libraries, museums and pleasures gardens, all of which appeared in Edinburgh during this period.³⁹ As the landscape of the city changed so did the cultural geography, as the cultural elite moved from the Old Town to the New Town, those who relied upon their patronage followed. Although the end of the Musical Society and the sale of St Cecilia’s Hall cannot

³⁷ Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age*, 1-2.

³⁸ Alexander Broadie, ‘The rise (and fall?) of the Scottish Enlightenment’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, ed. Thomas M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 371.

³⁹ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 57.

entirely be blamed on its now unfashionable and unlovely position it certainly did not help. With the advent of large individual houses, inhabited by the gentry, and the ‘middling sort’ who sought to emulate them, music moved away from the concert hall and into the private domestic realm. The Scottish Enlightenment had little to say specifically about music, although many would have agreed with Lampe:

Delight is certainly the Centre of every Man’s Wish, and that *Musick* has the Power to give it, by engaging our Attention, and working upon our Affections, must be allowed; it has such a transcendent Mastery over our Passions as to be able to turn us surprisingly from one to another.⁴⁰

The eighteenth century reader might also have agreed with the sentiments on the origin of song expressed in 1725 by Giambattista Vico: ‘Song arose naturally... under the impulse of most violent passions, even as we still observe men sing when moved by great passions, especially extreme happiness or grief’.⁴¹ Music and singing, then, were windows to the enlightened man’s soul and emotions.

In the 1770s Edward Topham could justifiably claim that music was one of the ‘principal entertainments’ in the city. The Musical Society, which had begun as a gentlemen’s playing club, attracted some of the finest international professional musicians to Scotland. Vocal Music was always an important part of the musical entertainments in the city and singing could be heard in the concert hall, the theatre, in the streets and in the Kirk. The Musical Society may have primarily been an instrumental group but as will be demonstrated its members spent significant sums of money on professional singers even suggesting that the Society’s appearance as ‘first rate’ depended upon securing famous foreign singers. The tri-annual performance of oratorio, by Handel and Italian composers, also confirms the continued importance of vocal music to the Musical Society and the city. It is noteworthy, also, that all of the amateur (often aristocratic) performing groups that were formed in the city in the second half of the eighteenth century revolved around singing and vocal music, not instrumental music. Groups such as the New Edinburgh Catch Club and the Harmonical Society came from a desire of private amateurs to perform and socialise together. This development of taste was also fostered by elite groups such as the Freemasons and drinking clubs such as the Cape Club and

⁴⁰ Lampe, *The Art of Musick*, 1.

⁴¹ Giambattista Vico, *The New Science*, trans. Thomas Bergin and Max Fisch from the third edition [1744] (New York: Cornell University Press, 1948), 229. This is elsewhere translated rather more poetically as ‘Men vent great passions by breaking into song, as we observe in the most grief-stricken and the most joyful’: Bruce Chatwin, *The Songlines* (London: Vintage, 1998) 269.

Revolution Club. The sentiments of the Academy of Ancient Music in London could well apply to many of the exclusive musical institutions in Edinburgh: ‘this exercise is undertaken solely for our study and pleasure, and not to provide the unappreciated nourishment for the ignorant.’⁴²

Thesis Objectives and Parameters

This study seeks to be a comprehensive survey of the production and performance of vocal music in Edinburgh between 1750 and 1800. The history of music in the eighteenth century has often been the history of instrumental music: the growth of the orchestra and the development of the symphony, often to the neglect of the study of vocal music. The wide acceptance of the nineteenth century view of music history as a succession of ‘great instrumental works’ by great composers, has understandably influenced modern views on repertoire and concert culture in the eighteenth century. As it has subordinated the role of performer to that of the composer it has neglected the view of singers as creative interpreters and the important position of vocal music in society in general. As this thesis demonstrates the history of eighteenth century music is not solely the history of the consumption of instrumental music, but also in the wide spread interest and participation in vocal music.

This study is the first to assume the equal importance of vocal music and seeks to support its suppositions by using previously neglected sources. The term ‘so much neglected’ could apply equally to modern research into vocal music and singing in Edinburgh during the second half of the eighteenth century, as it did in its original context. Over the course of this work I will address four major questions:

- How important was vocal music to the musical culture of Edinburgh at the period?
- How important was the performance of vocal music to successful concert planning and promotion?
- To what extent was the performance of vocal music ‘so much neglected’ up to 1785?
- Did the growth in the belief of the supremacy of instrumental music have a detrimental effect upon the performance of vocal music?

⁴² Letter from Nicola Haym to Agostio Steffani (13/24 February 1727), quoted in Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), 6.

Chapters One and Two considers the importance and position of vocal music within commercial concerts and speculative ventures staged throughout the second half of the century and demonstrates that much of the important 'exclusive' allure of the concerts was created by the imaginative and innovative planning of fashionable vocal repertoire. These chapters also comment on the various 'cultures of taste' that can be indicated from the consumption of different repertoire by differing classes. Chapter Three highlights the importance of vocal music to the elite social and clubbable world of the gentry in Edinburgh. The use of vocal music as a political tool to define and cement institutional unity is also discussed here. Chapters Four and Five investigate how music was utilised as an important and attractive part of other non-music specific entertainments, including the theatre and the pleasure gardens. It also discusses the failure of Italian opera in the theatre, despite the fashionable taste for the latest operatic arias in a concert context. Chapter Six surveys contemporary education theory and its implication for amateur musicians, and also investigates the educational climate of the city: teaching singing provided an important income for many musicians and many schools taught psalmody as approved by the Kirk and the Town Council. Chapter Seven investigates the performance of oratorio and other sacred music in events which assumed a 'quasi-religious' semblance in the minds of the audience and considers the growth in popularity of the form, and indeed its neglect towards the end of the century. Chapter Eight considers how the Kirk utilised the singing of psalms to create an 'emotional community' amongst its congregations. The effects of the reformation of psalmody, and the establishment of Kirk choirs, in the 1750s are also considered. These various aspects of vocal music, taken together, will show both the variety of contexts in which singing was experienced and the breadth of its reach into the lives of the citizens of Edinburgh in this period.

Needless to say, the dates 1750-1800 are extremely arbitrary and there will be examples that are drawn from both before and after the dates specified. In many ways the intellectual expanse of this study can be seen from the Jacobite uprising of 1745 until the victory at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, or even the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. An asymmetrical division of the period under consideration at 1785, seems appropriate not only because the Harmonical Society was founded in that year, but also because that was the year in which the Town Council passed an Act for the erection of the South Bridge, which would turn the once fashionable Cowgate into a 'dingy canyon'.⁴³ Once St Cecilia's Hall was dwarfed by the bridge, music-making in the Old Town was never the same again: fashionable society flocked towards James

⁴³ Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age*, 110.

Craig's New Town, begun in 1767, and musicians seeking fashionable clientele followed them. By 1800 the Musical Society was defunct and St Cecilia's Hall was no longer a temple of harmony, but music and concerts carried on in the classical New Town.

I have previously suggested that despite the undoubted importance of the Edinburgh Musical Society, it was not the only institution supporting and regularly performing vocal music.⁴⁴ I hope to prove that the activities of the Musical Society were only part of a growing and expanding musical culture in Edinburgh. In addition to its role in the exclusive Musical Society concerts vocal music was extensively and regularly performed in public at benefit concerts, pleasure gardens, in the theatre, in schools and in the city's churches: in private, vocal music was an important part of exclusive fraternal gatherings such as the Harmonical Society, the Catch Club, the Freemasons and many other similar groups who sang for recreation and to foster a sense of communal membership and association. Singers in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century were active in so many quarters of the city, unconnected to the Musical Society, that one should question whether an investigation centred on the Musical Society can lead to balanced conclusions on the musical culture of the city. Vocal music was probably the music with which most people in eighteenth century Edinburgh had regular contact or experience. It was often much more than just a poor relation of instrumental music; for many it was a pathway to the sublime and a way to identify themselves; socially, nationally and religiously.

Sources

The main sources of information used in this study are the relatively understudied and underused (for musicological research) contemporary newspapers. Advertisements in the local press are often now the only way of accurately recreating the musical life of the city, as hand bills or individual programmes have been lost. There were several newspapers published in Edinburgh throughout the eighteenth century: the *Caledonian Mercury* was published three times a week from 1720 to 1867, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* from 1718 to 1781, the *Edinburgh Advertiser* ran from 1764 to 1859, and other newspapers and journals existed for a shorter time, including the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, the short lived *Edinburgh Chronicle*, and the *Edinburgh Herald and Chronicle* founded at the end of the eighteenth century. Complete runs of each of the papers have not been preserved and coverage, especially in the early eighteenth century, is uneven. All of the above are available on microfilm in Edinburgh

⁴⁴ Tom Edwards, 'By the particular desire of several Ladies and Gentlemen: Concert Culture and Public Music Making in Edinburgh 1753-1763' (MMus diss., University of Edinburgh, 2009).

Central Library and the *Caledonian Mercury* is now available to search online at www.britishnewspaperarchives.com, which has proved invaluable.

In Chapter One I have adopted a ‘slice’ methodology pioneered by social historians (conducting a survey of a specified set of data within a much larger sample) isolating examples for three distinct periods within the era under consideration.⁴⁵ There were numerous benefit concerts staged throughout the second half of the eighteenth century in Edinburgh and a full investigation of their repertoire would require a more expansive analysis than would be possible in the context of the present doctoral research. To this end, I randomly isolated three time periods, two before 1785 and one after (1751-1756, 1775-1780, and 1788-1792) and used this restricted sample to draw conclusions in chapter one. As will be seen from Appendices A – C, despite only being a limited sample it nevertheless allows a commentator to establish changing fashions, tastes and above all the importance of vocal music to the concerts. Throughout the rest of the thesis examples are drawn from the entire period.

It is to be regretted that, as yet, there is no central index for musical events and articles in the eighteenth century press in Edinburgh, and this is perhaps one reason why a full study of the musical culture in Edinburgh has yet to take place. This is the first study to place an important emphasis upon contemporary newspapers in recreating the musical culture of the city. It should be noted that the conclusions of this study are drawn from the inferences of the extant and available archival material, but I am aware of the potential distortion of the facts which may occur due to the chance survival of archives. For example the run of *Caledonian Mercury* available on www.britishnewspaperarchive.com does not include the year 1757, meaning that at present we have no contemporary reaction, in Edinburgh, to the death of Nicolò Pasquali.

The sources concerning the Edinburgh Musical Society are well known: the Sederunt Books are housed in the Edinburgh City Library, George IV Bridge, with copies in Edinburgh University Library. The originals of the Plan Books are held in the Centre for Research Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library. There are microfilm copies of the Society’s music Index, produced in 1782, in the Edinburgh Room in the Central Library, and in Special Collections in the University Library. Much of Macleod’s research (which extends her work beyond Harris or Johnson) was drawn from the re-discovery of the papers of the Musical

⁴⁵ ‘Slice history’ was used in the *Concert Life in 19th-Century London*, database project, funded by the University of Huddersfield and Oxford Brookes University (1997-2001). It was found that as an exhaustive collation of all related newspaper material was impossible, 20 year representative samples between 1815 and 1895 were instead used.

Society in the archives of Innes of Stow, housed in the National Archives of Scotland, which concern the daily running of the Society.

The word book of the 1786 season of the Edinburgh Harmonical Society analysed for the first time here is in the Gerald Coke Handel Collection currently housed in the Foundling Museum in London, and is at present the only known indication of that Society's repertoire.

In addition to such primary sources in the eighteenth century a number of contemporary commentators recorded their views and opinions of music and culture in Edinburgh including Edward Topham's *Letters from Edinburgh* (1776) and John Stark's *A Picture of Edinburgh* (1806).⁴⁶ Other commentators including Charles Burney, Charles Avison, John Marsh and John Brown wrote extensively about the effects, purpose and use of music in the eighteenth century.

Sources for the discussion on the use of music in the church include two contemporary singing manuals, both published in Edinburgh: Robert Bremner's *Rudiments of music* (1756, second edition 1761) and Cornforth Gilson's *Lessons in the art of singing* (1759). Both collections include printed instruction on the art of singing and choir training, and also include repertoire which may have been useful to eighteenth century singers and choirs. This enables modern commentators to draw conclusions not only on how eighteenth century singers were taught, but also what repertoire they learnt.

Vocal music

Throughout this study the term Vocal Music is used in the eighteenth century sense to refer to all music using voices, solo and ensemble, sacred and secular. This modern division of music into sacred and secular would not have occurred to a contemporary audience: oratorios were often advertised as 'sacred music' in a way contrary to a twenty-first-century understanding of them, and so are considered in Part Two, 'Music as an aid to Piety', rather than in Part One: 'Music as Entertainment'.

⁴⁶ Edward Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh, written in the year 1774 and 1775, containing some observations on the Conversations, Customs, Manners and Laws of the Scotch Nation during a six month residence in Edinburgh* (London: J. Dodsley, 1776) and John Stark, *A Picture of Edinburgh, containing a History and description of the city* (Edinburgh: J. Stark, 1806).

PART ONE

VOCAL MUSIC FOR ENTERTAINMENT AND EDUCATION

Chapter One

Public Concerts 1: Benefit Concerts

Throughout the eighteenth century there was a growing enthusiasm for music and concerts. As Paul Lang noted ‘there was... a growing public for musical performances. Mercantile England was bringing into being large numbers of people who were strange to the use of their own wealth and leisure and who were eager to know how to live’.⁴⁷ One of the significant trends throughout the century was the growth of a public concert-culture, not only for the aristocracy and gentry, but also for the emerging ‘middling sort’.

There were two different types of public concert found in Edinburgh during this period: subscription concerts, where patrons purchased admission to a number of concerts (considered in Chapter Two), and benefit concerts. Roz Southey drew a distinction between the two types of concert. She considered that subscription series were for the real music lovers, with a broader repertoire and a more serious intent, and benefits stressed the entertainment angle; they were a light-hearted end to a busy day.⁴⁸ Benefits were private enterprises where individual musicians bore the cost and the resultant profit. Masters of the Musical Society were allowed one benefit a year as an increment to their salary: the Musical Society bore the expense and the Master the profit. The concerts were seemingly run along co-operative lines: some players gave their time in return for services at their own benefit later in the season, whilst others received a fee. Michael Tilmouth did not consider benefit concerts in his short essay, *The Beginning of Provincial Concert Life in Music in Eighteenth-Century England*, and concentrated solely on the Gentlemen’s concert and amateur players’ orchestras which erupted across England in the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ Simon McVeigh wrote that benefit concerts were ‘a reward for good service’, which came to be seen as a demeaning tip by the mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁰ It is certainly true that there was a notable decline in benefit concerts towards the beginning of the nineteenth century in Edinburgh: but throughout the middle period of the eighteenth century

⁴⁷ Paul Henry Lang, *George Frederic Handel* (New York: Norton, 1966), 474.

⁴⁸ Southey, *Music-Making*, 5.

⁴⁹ Michael Tilmouth, ‘The beginnings of provincial concert life in England’ in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Christopher Hogwood & Richard Lockett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1 – 18.

⁵⁰ Simon McVeigh, ‘The Benefit Concert in Nineteenth-Century London: from ‘Tax on the nobility’ to monstrous nuisance’ in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, 1, ed. Bennet Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 242-66.

benefit concerts were a major part of the musical life of the city, and one can gain a greater knowledge of the musicians then performing in Edinburgh by studying benefit concerts, than by studying the accounts of the Musical Society.

Benefit concerts allowed musicians to appeal to a wider audience than they would have encountered at the elite aristocratic meetings of the Musical Society. Benefits were open to anyone who could afford the 2s.6d (or later 3s.) admission fee. Whilst many of the aristocracy and gentry patronised benefit concerts it is likely that the concerts allowed members of the bourgeois and prosperous merchant classes access to live music. Attendance at concerts was out of the reach of the labouring classes: a maid of all work might earn £3.0s.0d a year,⁵¹ and in 1775 an Islington haymaker customarily made 1s.4d. a day,⁵² but for prosperous merchants earning £400 a year, lawyers earning an average of £154 per annum, and smaller traders and shopkeepers the occasional trip to a concert was within their means, and was possibly their only entrée into aristocratic musical society. The emulation of the upper classes in taste and activities was one of the defining features of the emerging middle class. As Adam Smith noted ‘merchants are commonly ambitious of becoming country gentlemen’.⁵³

Benefit concerts in Edinburgh have been over-looked by academics in favour of the activities of the Musical Society. Johnson admitted that there were concerts other than those supported by the Society, but suggested that the Society controlled benefits as they zealously guarded access to the venue and musicians felt themselves to be primarily employees of the Society.⁵⁴ However, the fact that many concerts were staged in venues not controlled by the Musical Society suggests that many musicians were active in their own concert promotion as private enterprises. Before the erection of St Cecilia’s Hall in 1763 musicians staged concerts in the Assembly Hall, New Canongate Concert Hall, Leith Grammar School, and Downie’s Dancing Academy (see Appendix A). Even after the opening of St Cecilia’s Hall musicians still utilised spaces in the Old Town such as Mary’s Chapel and the Lodge of Canongate Kilwinning, and venues in the fashionable New Town including the George Street Assembly Rooms and Dunn’s Assembly Rooms in West Register Street (See Appendix B and C). At the end of the century, and especially during the annual Race Week in July, concerts and entertainments became progressively more centred on the New Town.

⁵¹ Roy Porter, *English Society in the 18th Century* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 87.

⁵² *Ibid.* 89.

⁵³ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* [1776] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 258.

⁵⁴ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 42.

Benefit concerts in Edinburgh followed what appears to be a common pattern. Table 1.1 is a comparison between two benefit concerts, one given in 1753 and another in 1780: both are divided into three acts, which are then further divided into three sections, alternating instrumental and vocal works. The enduring appeal of Handel remains obvious in both concerts, as does the use of Scots songs. The more advanced and adventurous repertoire of the later concert possibly reflects the differences between the native Robert Hutton and the more widely travelled Giuseppe Puppo. Another notable alteration is the change of starting time from six o'clock to seven in the later concert, which reflected a growing trend of keeping later nights at the end of the eighteenth century.⁵⁵

Table 1.1: A comparison of two benefit concerts staged in Edinburgh, one in 1753, the other in 1780

<p><i>By desire of several Ladies and Gentlemen for the Benefit of Mr. Robert HUTTON at Mr Downie's dancing school in Niddry's Wynd, on Saturday 24th of March 1753, will be performed a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental Music</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Act One</p> <p>Overture in occasional Oratorio: Song Tweed-side: Scots Tune of the Violin by Robert Hutton viz. Up in the Morning early, with variations</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Act Two</p> <p>Overture of Otho for two Hautboys: Song Highland Ladie: A Solo on the Hautboy by Mr Crowne: Scots Tune on the Violincello by Robert Hutton viz. Up and war 'em a' Willie with variations</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Act Three</p> <p>Overture in Alexander's Feast: Overture in Ariadne, for two French Horns: Song The last Time I came o'er the Muir: Scots Tune on the Violincello by Robert Hutton viz. I'll never leave thee.</p> <p>NB. After the Concert is over, Ladies and Gentlemen may dance, if they please. Tickets to be had at Mr Balfour's Coffeeshouse, and at Robert Hutton's House in Toddrig's Wynd, at 2s.6d. Each. To begin at six o'Clock.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Edinburgh Evening Courant, 22 March 1753</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CONCERT HALL</p> <p><i>The Governors and Directors of the MUSICAL SOCIETY very earnestly recommend Mr PUPPO, whose concert is fixed for Thursday the 20th January, to the countenance of the Subscribers, and such Ladies and Gentlemen as frequent the weekly concert. The company may be assured, that Mr Puppo will do every thing in his power to render the entertainment agreeable to the company.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">PLAN OF THE CONCERT</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Act I</p> <p>New Overture, Giardini, from the Opera Starto – Song, Mrs Corri, 'Confusa abandonata' Bach – Wanhall Orchestra Piece, where the tune of Highland Laddie will be introduced.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Act II</p> <p>D'Auaux Battle, for two violins – Irish Song, Mrs Puppo 'My lodging is on the cold ground' – Solo, Mr Schetky, with the Rondo 'Paddy Wack'</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Act III</p> <p>Solo Concerto, Mr Puppo, Mrs Corri, composed by Mr Corri – To conclude with a Full Piece of Handell's</p> <p>Tickets to be had of Mr Elliot bookseller, at Balfour's Coffeeshouse, and of Mr Puppo, New Street, Canongate, price 3s. To begin at seven o'clock</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Edinburgh Evening Courant, 19 January 1780</i></p>
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Proof that the pattern used in Edinburgh is near-universal can be found in other advertisements of the period. Table 1.2 is a comparison of two further benefit concerts: one performed in Leeds in two acts for the benefit of Mr Tymms, in 1762, and another performed in Dublin in aid of the Rotunda Hospital in 1785.

⁵⁵ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 41.

Like Hutton, Tymms advertised a ball following the concert; this too, was popular and regular, although probably more so in the case of private enterprises than those supported by institutions such as the Rotunda or the Edinburgh Musical Society. For Southey, the inclusion of a ball ‘for the Ladies’ was a measure of musical intent: serious concerts, subscription concerts and music clubs, were unlikely to end with a ball, but benefit concerts, which often sought a more relaxed, pleasure-seeking audience, might stage a ball to attract those who primarily sought entertainment and diversion.⁵⁶ Although there may be a measure of truth in this, one should beware of generalisation as it would probably have been the same musicians performing. Certainly there is little to distinguish the four examples above in terms of musical repertoire, despite their different settings and circumstances.

Table 1.2: Comparison of two benefit concerts, one staged in Leeds in 1762, the other in Dublin in 1785

<p style="text-align: center;">For the BENEFIT of Mr. TYMMS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">On Wednesday the 21st of April Inst. will be perform'd at the ASSEMBLY-ROOM in LEEDS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A CONCERT of MUSIC Vocal and Instrumental</p> <p>The Vocal parts by Mr. TYMMS, from the York Concert; and the first violin, by a Gentleman of the same place.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ACT Ist OVERTURE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Love sounds the Alarm, a Song of Mr. HANDELL'S Italian Song, by SIGNIOR CIAMPI's French-Horn Concerto, by Mess. Key and Waterhouse</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ACT IId OVERTURE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Flora, a Cantata, of Mr WORGAN'S German-Flute Concerto, by Mr Waterhouse The Woodlark whistles thro' the grove – a Song of Dr Arne's French-Horn Concerto</p> <p style="text-align: center;">After the CONCERT, A BALL</p> <p>Tickets to be had at the Old and New King's Arms, and at the Printing Office, at 2s. 6d. each, The Concert to begin at Seven o'Clock</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">ROTUNDA</p> <p>TO-MORROW Evening, being Friday the 12th of August, will be a Grand Concert of Vocal, and Instrumental Music: conducted by Signior RAIMONDI</p> <p>The Vocal parts by Miss ARNOLD and Miss WHEELER</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ACT I</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Overture – Abel Overture – Bach</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ACT II</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Overture – Gretry Song – Miss Arnold Concerto – Corelli Song – Miss Wheeler</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ACT III</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Overture – Stamitz Song – Miss Arnold</p> <p>Violin Concerto, in which will be introduced the Air ‘The Lake of Killarney’ with Variations, composed and to be performed by Sig. Raimondi</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Song ‘Sel Caro Bene’ – Miss Wheeler</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MARCH – composed by Signior Raimondi</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The GARDEN will be ILLUMINATED</p> <p>And between the second and third Acts of the Concert will be exhibited a View of MOUNT VESUVIUS, designed by Mr. Kelly: the Fire-Work of Mons. Gayet, and the painting by Mr. Jolly.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Subscribers Tickets will not be admitted</p>
<i>Leeds Intelligencer</i> , 13 April 1762	<i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 9 August 1785, quoted in Boydell, <i>Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-century Dublin</i> , p. 131

The balls may have been ‘for the Ladies’, but so were the benefit concerts, as they were prohibited from the single-sex meetings of the Edinburgh Musical Society, and it should not be discounted how much this free-mingling of the sexes added to the appeal of the concerts. These extra opportunities to mingle might have come as a relief from the official Assemblies where it was so cramped only twelve couples could dance at a time and the Lady Directress busily

⁵⁶ Southey, *Music-making*, 5.

chaperoned unaccompanied ladies for most of the evening.⁵⁷ The balls associated with benefit concerts were likely to have been less officious occasions, perhaps allowing unattached men and women to mingle freely without chaperones. It is little wonder musicians in Edinburgh and elsewhere saw this as a means of increasing ticket sales. In 1753 Nicolò Pasquali wrote:

Whereas Signor Pasquali has observed, that after Mrs Storer's benefit the Company went to Dancing, he has engaged a proper Band to be ready for that Purpose, and also composed some Minuets to open the Ball after the Concert, if required.⁵⁸

Perhaps it was over-exuberance at one of these occasions that led to the Musical Society spending £1.8s.8d. 'for broken wax lights' at the Assembly Hall.⁵⁹

But to what extent can it be suggested that benefit concerts were a platform for the dissemination of new vocal music in Edinburgh? The suggestion that benefit concerts could actively influence the taste of the public is not new: in conjunction with Meredith McFarlane, McVeigh suggests that benefit concerts were key to the dissemination of string quartets throughout the London concert-going public at the end of the eighteenth century.⁶⁰ McVeigh and McFarlane propose that string quartets were originally included in benefits to show the virtuosity and skill of the lead violinist: surely the same is applicable to singers? Novelty played a large part in the planning and marketing of benefits: 'never before performed', 'eminent masters' and 'with the greatest applause' were regular selling points in advertisements. Rather than suggesting the repertoire of benefits consisted of old favourites played to ensure an audience, it could also be suggested that benefit concerts were a natural breeding ground for novel experimentation and new repertoire.⁶¹

The following information about the repertoire performed in this period is drawn from three sample periods: 1751-1756, 1775-1780 and 1788-1792.⁶² Appendices A-C give an indication of the large number of benefit concerts performed in Edinburgh throughout the second half of the eighteenth century and demonstrate that an entire survey of benefits in this period, although undoubtedly fascinating, would be outside the scope of this study. Whilst it is

⁵⁷ Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age*, 21.

⁵⁸ *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (hereafter EEC), 9 January 1753.

⁵⁹ Edinburgh Musical Society Sederunt Books, Edinburgh Public Libraries, Ref. qYML 28 MS (hereafter EMS Sederunt Books), April 1756.

⁶⁰ Meredith McFarlane and Simon McVeigh, 'The String Quartet in London Concert Life, 1769-1799', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg & Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 166.

⁶¹ For further discussion of how eighteenth century concerts were marketed see Rosamond McGuinness, 'Gigs, Roadies and Promoters: Marketing Eighteenth-Century Concerts' in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg & Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) 261-271.

⁶² See Appendices A: Benefit Concerts 1751-1756, B: Benefit Concerts 1775-1780 and C: Benefit Concerts 1788-1792 for full details of dates, venues and performers who were advertised taking part.

possible that many individual interesting performances will not be recorded and examined using this ‘slice’ methodology, it is likely that these periods distributed throughout the second half of the century will give enough examples to draw some generalised conclusions on popular repertoire of the period. In order to effectively discuss the claim that vocal music was neglected before 1785 it is important to investigate two periods before the claim and one at the end of the century to establish whether such a claim was justified, and whether there were any significant changes or developments throughout the second half of the eighteenth century.

Between 1751 and 1756 sixteen musicians organised and promoted over 50 concerts. None of the samples can claim to be exhaustive: musicians may have chosen to advertise their concerts in ways other than advertising in newspapers. It is likely that they also used hand-bills, posters and called personally on influential patrons.⁶³ In 1754 Leonardo Pescatore advertised his ‘Annual CONCERT by Subscription’,⁶⁴ but no advertisement appears to have been placed in the press since 1751. So there is reason to believe that many of these musicians may have staged a concert every year, even if at present the evidence does not directly support such a supposition. Between 1751 and 1756 two visiting musicians gave concerts in the city: Signor Carusi and ‘Mr’ Arne. Carusi gave concerts in the city in 1750 and 1754,⁶⁵ but has otherwise left little mark on the Scottish musical landscape. Thomas Arne’s music was popular in Edinburgh and a selection of his music had been advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury* in March 1752:

New Musick. Now in the press and will be ready by the beginning of April next, and delivered to subscribers. All the Songs, Duettos, and Trios in the Masque of Comus composed by Thomas Augustine Arne, as adapted to the Harpsichord and Voice... the proofs of the Plates have been revised and corrected by Mr. Arne.⁶⁶

Todd Gilman convincingly suggests it was unlikely that Thomas Arne would have made the twelve-day journey to Scotland in 1754 as it would have involved the composer missing the first performance of *Eliza* (1754) in London.⁶⁷ He suggests that it was the composer’s son, Michael, who performed in Edinburgh. Michael Arne had made his stage debut as a singer and a keyboard player in 1751, aged 11, in London.⁶⁸ Charles Burney noted his abilities:

⁶³ This was certainly an accepted and expected part of concert promotion in Norwich, if not in Edinburgh: see Trevor Fawcett, *Music in Eighteenth Century Norwich and Norfolk* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1979), 11.

⁶⁴ *Caledonian Mercury* (hereafter CM), 31 January 1754.

⁶⁵ CM, 22 February 1750 & CM, 14 February 1754.

⁶⁶ CM, 6 March 1752.

⁶⁷ Todd Gillman, *The Theatre Career of Thomas Arne* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013), 278.

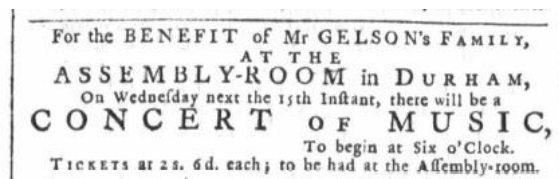
⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 266.

His father also tried to make him a singer; but he was naturally idle, and not very quick. However, he acquired a powerful hand on the harpsichord, and played with neatness and precision some of Scarlatti's most difficult lessons.⁶⁹

It is likely that Michael Arne was one of the first child prodigies to play in public in Edinburgh, and was probably well rewarded for his journey north. This early sample represents the beginning of a new musical age for Edinburgh: musicians in greater numbers were beginning to migrate towards the employment opportunities the city had to offer and in doing so made it a commercially viable venue for other musicians to travel to and to perform in.

Charitable benefit concerts had yet to catch on in the city. In Dublin the concerts at the Rotunda had been especially set up to support the work of the Lying-in Hospital in George's Lane. In 1747 Handel authorised a performance of *Judas Maccabeus* (1747) for 'the benefit of the said Hospital'.⁷⁰ In Durham following the dismissal of the singer Cornforth Gilson from the cathedral, the choir men held a benefit for the aid of his family.⁷¹

**Figure 1.1: Advertisement for a concert in aid of the family of Cornforth Gilson in Durham, 1755
Newcastle Courant, 11 January 1755**



It was the New Concert Hall, the theatre in the Canongate, rather than any specifically musical institution, which regularly advertised performances for the benefit of worthy causes, including: for 'Two Families in upmost Distress',⁷² 'a Gentleman, Lady and Three children in Great Distress'⁷³ and for the 'Benefit of Royal Infirmaries'.⁷⁴

Nevertheless, the benefit appears to have been an important part of the life of a professional musician. Pasquali in particular seems to have managed his well:

He had a Benefit Concert which by his obligeing [*sic*] behaviour turn'd out generally from twenty to thirty pounds [profit] and upwards.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Charles Burney, 'Arne, Michael', in *Cyclopaedia*, ed. Abraham Rees [1819] quoted in Gillman, *The Theatre Career of Thomas Arne*, 266.

⁷⁰ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, 18.

⁷¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 11 January 1755.

⁷² CM, 7 May 1752.

⁷³ CM, 10 September 1754.

⁷⁴ CM, 2 March 1752.

⁷⁵ EMS Sederunt Book, November 1757.

Edinburgh musicians were also keen to capitalise elsewhere. In their respective flights from Edinburgh both Christina Passerini and Clementina Cremonini held benefits in Newcastle on their way to London.⁷⁶

Between 1775 and 1780 there were at least 25 musicians staging benefits and the regular appearance of visiting musicians suggests that there was growing interest in the new breed of travelling celebrity musician, such as Appolonia Marchetti, Giuseppe Giustinelli, Johann Fischer and Giusto Tenducci. There is even a suggestion that the appearance of such celebrities detracted from the takings of local musicians. In 1779 a correspondent to the *Caledonian Mercury* wrote:

Sir, I Dare say you will agree with me, that merit, when very conspicuous, in every department of life, is not only deserving of praise but the encouragement and reward also of the public and that it is unreasonable to expect that great depths in any particular art, science, or profession will continue in a place, where the talents they possess and exhibit for the entertainment of the public, are not cultivated in a more essential manner that by mere approbation or applause. I am led to this observation, Sir, from seeing an advertisement in yesterday's paper of a concert to be performed for the benefit of Mr Puppo, which brought to my mind a very disagreeable remembrance of what happened last year.

As a lover of music, and a great admirer of the extensive abilities which that gentleman so abundantly possesses in his profession, the recollection of what I felt at going into his concert room on his first benefit last year, and seeing so little company, was really painful I beg leave therefore to second the recommendation of the governor and directors of the concert: and I hope all lovers of music will, on the approaching occasion, convince him of the high opinion they entertain of his abilities, by rendering it unnecessary for him to trouble himself or them a second time in one season, as was the case last winter

I would further beg leave to observe, that Mr Fischer, in the several times he has been here, for only a weeks' performance at a time, never cleared less than one hundred and thirty pounds at his benefit; and though it must be confessed, that Mr Fischer is deserving the highest encouragement yet surely it must also be allowed that a gentleman who has dedicated several years of his life to the entertainment of the ladies and gentlemen of Edinburgh, as Mr Puppo, has done, and seems willing to continue his residence among them, is also worthy of the utmost favour and position, which the public can shew [*sic*] him.⁷⁷

It was perhaps not just the presence of visiting musicians which led to Puppo's embarrassment: his own inability to cultivate a teaching practice in the city may have played a significant part.

⁷⁶ Southey, *Music-making*, 72.

⁷⁷ CM, 6 March 1779.

At his divorce in 1783 he claimed his wife was as wealthy as he was, if not wealthier, as she had a wide teaching practice:

a Branch of the profession the defender seldom or never practices and which is productive of very considerable profits.⁷⁸

William Douglas, the secretary of the Musical Society, claimed that a good return from a benefit depended on the ‘Number of scholars’.⁷⁹ Students brought captive audience members with them: in 1784 James Boswell attended one of Domenico Corri’s concerts to hear his daughter perform:

I was for the first time at Corri’s concert or academy for his scholars, and heard Veronica sing – admirably. I was delighted.⁸⁰

Between 1788 and 1792 the number of benefit concerts appears to have dropped: 20 musicians staged 41 concerts. This is not a consideration on the profitability of benefit concerts but reflects the fact that at the end of the eighteenth century most musicians were also involved in the promotion of their own independent musical entertainments, outside of the patronage of the Musical Society.⁸¹ The number of visiting musicians has again grown with concerts given by Johann Fischer, the counter tenor Nicolò Peretti, the violinists Giovanni Mane Giornovich and Madame Louisa Gautherot, who travelled from Dublin to Edinburgh with the clarinettist John Mahon, who also gave a benefit concert during his stay in the city.⁸²

Every advertised programme considered contains at least two pieces of vocal music or more, and it is almost certain that every benefit concert would have included at least some vocal music. In London, McVeigh suggested that in the 1750s the repertoire of singers in concerts mixed ‘Italian arias with Handel oratorio airs and English songs’.⁸³ These categories are identifiable in Edinburgh, but most concerts also included regular performances of Scots

⁷⁸ Leah Leneman, *Alienated Affections: The Scottish Experience of Divorce and Separation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 325.

⁷⁹ EMS Sederunt Books, March 1760.

⁸⁰ James Bowell, *Boswell’s Edinburgh Journals 1767-1786*, ed. Hugh Milne (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2001), 516.

⁸¹ See Chapter Two.

⁸² Nicolò Peretti sang the role the title role in Thomas Arne’s *Artaxerxes*, and would thus have been known to Tenducci – a connection which may have endeared him to the Edinburgh public. Giornovich was also known by his birth name Ivan Mare Jarnovic, hence the reference in the *Caledonian Mercury*, 19 July 1790, to ‘Mr Jarnovick’s Concert’. From Edinburgh Louisa Gautherot travelled to York where she gave a concert during Race Week, see Southey, *Music-making*, 171. For further details about John Mahon see Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, 219-20.

⁸³ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 180.

songs, which have been treated here as a separate category. The hitherto unresearched benefit concerts in Edinburgh demonstrate the important position of vocal music within musical culture.

1.1 Italian Arias

The opera was a conspicuous part of musical and social life in eighteenth century England, forming with the theatre, pleasure gardens, masquerades, libraries and art galleries, an essential part of the social calendar for the elite leisured classes and those who sought to emulate them.⁸⁴ Consequently, because of the elite connotations of the Italian opera, Italian music was widely patronised and appreciated. One foreign observer in 1755 could confidently claim that ‘Italian music is that which is most esteemed in England, where it is in some measure naturalized’.⁸⁵ Musicians in the provinces, then, were likely to draw upon the most fashionable music they could, offering to the aristocracy the allure of the ‘exclusive’, whilst also offering other patrons access not only to ‘elite’ music, but to the elite themselves.

Despite the commercial sense of performing arias extracted from the latest and most popular operas, there were musicians who objected for aesthetic reasons. John Brown criticised the use of emotionally intense arias, unacted out of context,⁸⁶ and Charles Avison objected to the *da capo* structure of many arias which confused the clear communication of text and emotion:

It has been justly alledged [*sic*], with regard to the *Italian* operas, that there are also many improprieties in these, which offend even the most common observer; particularly that egregious absurdity of repeating, and finishing many songs with the first part; when it often happens, after the passions of anger and revenge have been sufficiently expressed, that reconciliation and love are the subjects of the second, and therefore, should conclude the performance. But, as if it were unnatural to leave the mind in this tranquil state, the performer, or actor, must relapse into all that tempest and fury with which he began, and leave his hearer in the midst of it.⁸⁷

If Avison was harsh in his judgement of *da capo* arias, he was equally as dismissive of English *strophic* ballads as a poor marriage of music and expressive emotion. Despite the disapprobation of some writers, by 1750 Italian opera was one of the major artistic

⁸⁴ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 62.

⁸⁵ Jean André Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England* (London: J. Nourse, 1755), 111.

⁸⁶ John Brown, *Letters upon the Poetry and Music of the Italian Opera* (Edinburgh: printed for Bell and Bradfute, and C. Elliot and T. Kay, 1789), 88-9.

⁸⁷ Avison, *Essay on Musical Expression*, 72-3.

preoccupations and pretensions of the court and fashionable society in London, and taste was transmitted to the provinces by those who regularly visited the capital and by London musicians who began travelling through the provinces.

The Italian repertoire performed at concerts between 1751 and 1755 is displayed in Table 1.3 below. It has not been possible to identify all of the works advertised during this period, but where positive identification has been possible the works appear to span in date from 1728 at the earliest to 1744 at the latest, suggesting that musicians in Edinburgh cultivated a fashionable and current, but not entirely up to date repertoire.

Table 1.3: Italian Music advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1751-1756

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Cor di questo core	Palma	-	Rochetti	6.2.1753	CM 1.2.1753
Caro mio ben perdone	Lampugnani	cantata for soprano and strings ⁸⁸	Rodburn	17.1.1752	CM 2.1.1752
			Rodburn	17.1.1755	CM 9.1.1755
Dopo ch'io pratica	currently unidentified	-	-	13.12.1753	CM 6.12.1753
Fra dubbi affetti miei	Handel	<i>Siroe, Re di Persia</i> HWV 24 (1728)	-	24.2.1756	CM 21.2.1756
Là per l'ombrosa sponda	Ciampi	<i>Il trionfo di Camilla</i> (1750)	-	24.2.1756	CM 21.1.1756
Non accusarmi ingrata	Giacomelli	<i>Nitocri, regina d'Egitto</i> (1736)	Rochetti	6.2.1753	CM 30.1.1753
Non ha ragione, ingrata	Hasse	<i>Didone Abbandonata</i> (1742 revised 1743)	Rodburn	6.3.1755	CM 27.2.1755
O inespettate forte	Veracini	<i>Rosalinda</i> (1744)	Rodburn	15.1.1754	CM 8.1.1754
Qual nocchiero in mezze al mare	Pescatore	-	Bernard?	4.2.1755	CM 3.2.1755
Quando su l'erbe amene	Lampugnani	<i>Alceste</i> (1744)	Rochetti	6.2.1753	CM 30.1.1753
Quando mira il ciel sereno	Galuppi	<i>Scipione in Cartagine</i> (1742)	Rochetti	27.1.1753	CM 22.1.1752
Rasserena il mesto ciglio	Gluck	<i>Artamene</i> (1743)	Rodburn	15.1.1754	CM 8.1.1754
Se fosse il mio diletto	Hasse	cantata for voice and strings	Bernard?	4.2.1755	CM 3.2.1755
Se pace tu non vuoi	Galuppi	<i>Scipione in Cartagine</i> (1742)	Bernard?	4.2.1755	CM 3.2.1755
Torbido in volto e nero	Pergolesi	<i>Adriano in Serio</i> (1734)	Rodburn	17.1.1752	CM 2.1.1752
Va godendo vezzoso e bello	Handel	<i>Serse</i> HWV 40 (1738)	Rodburn	16.1.1753	EEC 9.1.1753
Verdi prati	Handel	<i>Alcina</i> HWV 34 (1735)	Rodburn	6.3.1755	CM 27.2.1755
Vo solcando un mar crudele	Vinci	<i>Artaserse</i> (1730)	Rodburn	15.1.1754	CM 8.1.1754

⁸⁸ The British Library Index records *Caro mio ben perdone se dubitati di te* as a cantata for soprano and strings. 'Repertoire International des Sources Musicales, United Kingdom' accessed on 9 September 2013, http://www.rism.org.uk/manuscripts/116717?peek=3&wheel=mnskpt_oh

The King's Theatre in the Haymarket in London was the capital's 'most glamorous and prestigious theatre'.⁸⁹ A satellite of the Court and a magnet for the rich and powerful, the theatre was the cradle of Italian opera in England. It has been suggested that, before his removal to Dublin in September 1748, Pasquali played in the orchestra of the King's Theatre,⁹⁰ and as he was concerned with the performance of many of the extracts above (see Appendix A), it is reasonable to propose that he was responsible for the introduction of much Italian music to the Edinburgh public. As there are no detailed records of the music performed by the Edinburgh Musical Society before 1768 the above table contains the only evidence for the performance of the majority of these pieces at this period in Edinburgh. Perhaps the fact that the pieces were advertised with their full title suggests that they were being performed for the first time, and if subsequent performances took place the pieces were not advertised. Jan LaRue has written that by 1760 the British musical public was as 'catholic and sophisticated' as any in Europe.⁹¹ Edinburgh, certainly, appears to have adopted the aristocratic appreciation of the Italian forms which was so prevalent in London at the period.⁹² The inclusion of works by Lampugnani, Giacomelli, Hasse, Gluck, Pergolesi, and Vinci demonstrates that Edinburgh was not lagging far behind London in the consumption of the new and most fashionable composers and styles, even if the repertoire did not include the very latest extracts. McVeigh suggests that the operas of Hasse and Lampugnani demonstrate the lighter, early galant manner of a transitional post-Baroque idiom.⁹³

The earliest work in this sample is Handel's 'Fra dubbi affetti miei' from *Siroe, Re di Persi* (1728) which remained in the repertoire long after the complete opera had been dropped from popularity. It is possible that at least two of the works performed in Italian during this period had their origins in Edinburgh, rather than on the continent or in London. The advertisement for Rochetti's benefit in February 1753 includes Palma's 'Cor di questo core'.⁹⁴ Filippo Palma was engaged by the Edinburgh Musical Society in 1743,⁹⁵ and during his stay in Edinburgh published several sets of songs: his first volume entitled *Six Italian Songs with their accompaniments* appeared in 1745 and two further volumes followed in 1749 and 1752.

⁸⁹ Curtis Price et al, *The Impresario's Ten Commandments* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1992), v.

⁹⁰ 'Nicolò Pasquali' accessed on 4 March 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/templates/article.jsp?articleid=67182&back=>

⁹¹ Jan LaRue, 'The English Symphony: additions and annotations to Charles Cudworth's published studies', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Christopher Hogwood & Richard Lockett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 214.

⁹² McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 73-118.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 120.

⁹⁴ CM, 1 February 1753.

⁹⁵ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 156.

The Musical Society bought collections of his music in 1752, 1754, and 1758, and it is possible that this aria was drawn from the earliest collection.⁹⁶ Likewise it is possible that Leonardo Pescatore's 'Qual nocchiero in mezze al mare' was composed in Edinburgh for one of his students. There is one other piece which has a Scottish connection: 'O inespettate forte' is taken from Francesco Veracini's opera *Rosalinda* (1744), based on Shakespeare's *As you like it*. The play ended with an aria which included a parody of the Scots song 'The lass of Patie's Mill'. The tune had been popularised in the *Beggar's Opera* (1728), and it was possibly from here that Veracini drew the tune. For a Catholic émigré the use of a Scots song at this point in history might have been politically indecorous, or even naive. Veracini's librettist Paolo Rolli (another Italian Catholic) had gently subverted the Shakespearean storyline and made the usurper, Martano (Duke Frederick), not only a central figure in the opera and but also an Italian Catholic, who leads an army and takes Rosalinda hostage. The theme of rightful monarchy displaced and exiled may have made the choice of a Scottish song to conclude the entertainment seem politically tactless given the 'Stuart Catholic sympathies of the Scots'.⁹⁷ Ten years after the 1745 rebellion, however, Pasquali probably believed that, removed from the plot of exiled monarchy, it would appeal to the public's taste for all the things that benefit concerts sought to draw on: novelty, continental appeal, and traditional songs. Through performing works he had played, or known, in London, Pasquali and other musicians were trying to appeal to the nobility and cultural elite in Edinburgh and to draw on their fashionable continental tastes to ensure that his benefit was successful. They, after all, knew that it was 'the People of fashion in this place who alone can make a good benefit'.⁹⁸

From the evidence presented in Table 1.4, which is of course limited, it would appear that after the 1750s the performance of Italian arias in benefit concerts in Edinburgh had gone into decline. Rather this can be accounted for by the fact that performers in general seem have taken less space in the newspaper to advertise their full programme. What is more striking is that none of the music performed in the earlier period, according to the limited evidence, with the possible exception of 'Verdi prati' from *Alcina* (1735), is still in the repertoire twenty years later.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 270.

⁹⁷ William Shakespeare, *As you like it*, ed. Juliet Dusinberre (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 388-9.

⁹⁸ EMS Sederunt Book, March 1760.

Table 1.4: Italian Music advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1775-1780

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Cefalo e Procri	J. C. Bach	WG19	A. Corri, D. Corri, ⁹⁹ Tenducci	25.7.1780	CM 4.7.1780
Confusa abbandonata	J. C. Bach	<i>La clemenza di Scipione</i> WG 10 (1778)	R. Puppo	20.1.1780	CM 5.1.1780
Ombra cara	Handel	<i>Radamisto</i> HWV 12 (1720)	D. Corri	17.7.1780	CM 5.7.1780
Ti seguirò fedele ombra	possibly J. C. Bach ¹⁰⁰	<i>L'Olimpiade</i> (1769?)	A. Corri	22.2.1780	CM 1.2.1780
An Italian chorus for four voices	Paisiello	-	A Corri, D. Corri, Giustinelli, Wood	4.4.1780	CM 1.4.1780
The favourite song from the opera Alcina [Verdi prati?]	Handel	<i>Alcina</i> HWV 34 (1735)	D. Corri	17.7.1780	CM 5.7.1780

This is perhaps unsurprising when one considers the restricted commercial life of opera in the eighteenth century. Charles Burney admitted to the composer Niccolò Piccinni:

The last new opera made the preceding soon forgotten; that only the *favourite* songs were printed and that for a small price, which nothing but the number sent to the shops and abroad by a dealer in music could make it worth while to publish.¹⁰¹

The second sample set shows a similar dependence upon the latest musical fashion: the taste for Pergolesi, Vinci and Lampugnani being supplanted by an enthusiasm for Giovanni Paisiello, J. C. Bach, and Felice Giardini. At his benefit in 1780 Tenducci performed the cantata *Cefalo e Procri* (1776) by J. C. Bach, a cantata for three voices and orchestra.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ The Corris were an important musical family in Edinburgh in the second half of the eighteenth century: Domenico Corri (1746-1825) and his wife Alice Bacchelli (d. c. 1800) arrived in August in 1771 and had several musical children, only their daughter Sophia Corri, later Dussek, (1775- c.1831) appears in this thesis. Domenico was joined in Edinburgh by his younger brother Natale (1765-1822) who in 1794 married Camilla Giolivetti, one of the displaced French musical sisters he had helped to spirit out of Paris following the revolution. To avoid confusion between the family members, in tables they will be referred to as: D. Corri, A. Corri, S. Corri, N. Corri, and C. Corri respectively.

¹⁰⁰ This aria is of significant interest it was advertised as 'the favourite Rondo, *Ti seguirò fedeli*': 'Ti seguirò fedele ombra' is taken from *L'Olimpiade* by Metastasio, and which was set by various composers throughout the eighteenth century including: Antonio Vivaldi (1734), Giovanni Pergolesi (1735), Baldassare Galuppi (1748), Johann Hasse (1756), Niccolò Jommelli (1761), Niccolò Piccinni (1761), Antonio Sacchini (1763), J. C. Bach collaborated with Piccinni to produce a *pasticcio* which was performed at the King's Theatre in 1769. The aria performed by Alice Corri in February 1780 could have been by any of the former composers: I have elected Bach solely because his setting of the text was the most recent and Corri was recorded singing his work elsewhere. The work was restaged in 1774 and extracts from it were published in London in 1779. It could equally have been Sacchini as he was in London between 1772 and 1781, and had a proven link to the musicians of Edinburgh: Rebecca Puppo (nee Gilson) received lessons from him in the winter of 1777/8.

¹⁰¹ Charles Burney, *Music, Men and Manners in France and Italy, 1770*, ed. H. Edmund Poole (London: Eulenburg Books, 1980), 162.

¹⁰² Ernest Warburton (ed.), *The collected works of Johann Christian Bach, 1735-1782*, vol. 13 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989).

Bach had been a pupil of Padre Martini and, like Handel, was instrumental in importing Italianate-style music to England. Emanuel Winternitz commented that even the handwriting of the autographs and the dynamic markings were characteristically Italian.¹⁰³ Burney certainly considered Bach more Italian than German:

The late excellent composer, Mr. J. C. Bach, son and brother of two of the greatest musicians that ever existed, is allowed to have been a fine player... before he went to Italy; but his vocal music is certainly more in the style of Italy than of his native country.¹⁰⁴

The part of Procri in the cantata was written for Bach's wife, the Italian prima donna Cecilia Grassi, and although Tenducci was not among the singers at the first performance in London, it is possible he had performed it with Bach in London, before the performance in Edinburgh.

Figure 1.2: Opening bars of the autograph score of *Cefalo e Procri* (1776) by J. C. Bach reproduced in Winternitz, *Musical Autographs*



Despite his Italian musical affections Bach also drew upon his nationality as he enjoyed the patronage and protection of Queen Charlotte, the wife of George III, who had a preference for modern music and German musicians, and built the Queen's Chamber Band around him

¹⁰³ Winternitz, *Musical Autographs from Monteverdi to Hindemith*, vol. 1 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), 70.

¹⁰⁴ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, vol. 2 (London: printed for the author, 1782), 470, footnote e.

and other German musicians such as Fischer.¹⁰⁵ With Royal patronage the music of the ‘London Bach’ became increasingly popular in Britain during the 1770s. Bach was also a successful opera composer and at least one extract from his opera *La Clemenza di Scipione* (1778) appeared in Edinburgh in 1780 sung by Rebecca Puppo. The opera was the last Bach composed for the London stage and was ultimately one of his most successful works. Rebecca Puppo later advertised that over the winter season of 1777 to 1778 she had been in London receiving lessons from Antonio Sacchini, so it is possible that she learnt the aria during her stay in London. These performances, especially when led by a celebrity like Tenducci, are an expression of the latest contemporary tastes and here there is little doubt that the advertisement of them sought to highlight the performance of something new and fashionable to an audience. In the mid-1770s the structure of new Italian arias began to differ markedly from those seen in concerts in the 1750s. The *da capo* structure, derided by Avison as a means of expression, underwent continued alteration and development: the A section reached herculean proportions, with instrumental *ritornellos* and dramatic entries. McVeigh cites the example of Paisiello’s ‘Cara fiamma’ which was sung at the Bach-Abel concert by Tenducci and which may well have been performed in Edinburgh, either at a benefit or at the Musical Society, during one of his visits.¹⁰⁶ J. C. Bach’s compositions combined a broadly Italianate style with an early Mannheim orchestral idiom, which represented the *lingua franca* of the early Classical style, and can be seen in his *Six Favorite [sic] Italian Songs*, performed by Tenducci in London, and possibly in Edinburgh too.¹⁰⁷ The latest Italian vocal fashions were not without their detractors in Edinburgh, however:

Thus disappointed in the opening of the entertainment, I was in hopes of being better pleased with what was to follow; when the prelude of the harpsichord called my attention to a song. The singer, a woman, had a very fine voice; but this, I am sorry to say it, was all that I found to praise in the performance, I soon found that here... the pleasure was limited to an admiration of the art of the performer. She run [*sic*] divisions which would have been admirable even upon an instrument; and in her cadences, the art with which she ranged through four or five different keys till she returned to the tone of the song, could not fail to surprise a novice in the fashionable style of composition. – You and I, my friend, have been in use to look for an expression of sentiment in music of a song... But how antiquated are our notions of music? The *Bravoura [sic]* of singing requires but one, talent in the performer; a power of throat to execute the most difficult passages. It is this that tickles the refined ears of the modern *Dillettanti [sic]*, and secures to the singer a thunder of applause to compensate for his wasted lungs.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 50.

¹⁰⁶ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 138.

¹⁰⁷ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 122.

¹⁰⁸ ‘A letter from Sir R --- A, to W. C. Esq; on the modern taste in Music’ in *SM*, 34 (1777), 169-171.

It is interesting to note that, in this sample, arias from Handel’s Italian operas are represented in greater number than from his oratorios (see Table 1.7): although this is possibly because the latter had become such a standard part of programming, they rarely needed advertising. The ‘favourite song from the opera Alcina’ is likely to be ‘Verdi prati’, which regularly appeared in concerts in Edinburgh and seemed to defy gender stereotyping, being performed by both sopranos and tenors regularly. ‘Ombra cara’, likewise, regularly appeared, and these arias retained a popularity with performers and audiences long after the rest of the operas, and many other arias, had fallen from concert programmes.

The third sample of concerts (Table 1.5) presents an enigma as few of the names of the arias were recorded: musicians rather relied upon appellations such as ‘favourite duet’, ‘buffa song’, ‘comic duet’ or ‘serious trio’. This sample implies more strongly than the first that comic, or buffa, opera had reached Edinburgh. Comic opera arrived in London in 1748,¹⁰⁹ and the evidence confirms that comic arias and duets appear to have been a firm part of the repertoire in Edinburgh by 1785, if not earlier. Works by Paisiello remain in the sample, but the Italian arias by Bach and Handel have been replaced by works by Niccolò Piccinni, Antonio Salieri, Pasquale Anfossi and Pietro Guglielmi.

Table 1.5: Italian Music advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1788-1792

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Care donne che bramante	Storace	insertion aria for Nancy Storace in Paisiello’s <i>Il re Teodoro in Venezia</i> (1787)	Sestini	21.2.1792	CM 20.2.1792
Cari figli un’altro amplesso	Sarti	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> (1781)	Urbani	21.4.1789	CM 13.4.1789
Chi mi mostra	Paisiello	<i>Gli schiavi per amore</i> (1786)	Sestini	21.2.1792	CM 20.2.1792
Con quelle tue manine	Cimarosa	<i>La locandiera</i> (1788)	-	14.2.1792	CM 11.2.1792
			Urbani and Sestini	21.2.1792	CM 20.2.1792
Crosie figliola	Piccinni	<i>La buona figliuola</i> or <i>La cecchina</i> (1760)	-	28.2.1792	CM 20.2.1792
Nel lasciarti	Salieri	<i>Daliso e Delmita</i> (1776)	Urbani	21.2.1792	CM 20.2.1792
Picche, cornacchie	Paisiello	<i>Gli schiavi per amore</i> (1786)	-	14.2.1792	CM 11.2.1791
			Urbani and Sestini	21.2.1792	CM 20.2.1792
			Urbani	28.2.1792	CM 20.2.1792

The editor of the *Scots Magazine* has appended the following note to the letter: ‘This piece of criticism, which in general regards the prevailing taste in Music in Britain, appears, in some things, to point more particularly at the Musical Society in Edinburgh’. It is possible that the author of this letter was Sir Robert Anstruther, 3rd Baronet of Wrae, Balcaskie, Fife and Braemore, (1733-1818) who was a member of the Musical Society between 1755 and 1759. Anstruther married a sister of the peer and composer, Thomas Erskine, 6th Earl of Kelly.

¹⁰⁹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 120.

			Urbani and Sestini	3.4.1792	CM 2.4.1792
Rendi ò cara il prence amato	Sarti	<i>L'Olimpiade</i> (1778)	N. Corri	21.4.1789	CM 13.4.1789
Tutto da voi dipende	Paisiello	<i>La locanda</i> (1791)	Sestini and Urbani	3.4.1792	CM 2.4.1792
Và crescendo il mio tormento	Bertoni	<i>Didone abbandonata</i> (1748)	Carline	21.4.1789	CM 13.4.1789
Waga mano [sic]	currently unidentified	-	Urbani, Torregiani, Sultani	26.2.1788	CM 23.2.1788
Whither my love	Paisiello arr. Storace	<i>The Haunted Tower</i> (1789)	Urbani	22.2.1791	CM 19.2.1791
			Sestini	13.3.1792	CM 8.3.1792
A Grand Duet	Anfossi	-	Urbani and an 'English Lady'	26.2.1788	CM 23.2.1788
			Urbani and Carline	26.2.1789	CM 23.2.1789
			Urbani and Stewart	18.2.1790	CM 15.2.1790
A serious trio [possibly 'Son prigionier lo vedo', published by Longman & Broderip, 1789]	Tarchi	<i>La generosità di Alessandro</i> (1789) revision of <i>Alessandro nelle Indie</i> (1788)	Stewart, N. Corri, and Urbani	18.2.1790	CM 15.2.1790
			Urbani, N. Corri, Sestini	31.2.1792	CM 10.3.1792
New comic trio... which was performed at the Pantheon this present season, with universal applause	Guglielmi	-	Urbani, N. Corri, Sestini	31.3.1792	CM 10.3.1792
Song [possibly 'Dovunque il guardo giro']	Jommelli	<i>La Passione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo</i> (1749)	Urbani	22.2.1791	CM 22.2.1791

As with the previous samples the introduction of new repertoire into concerts appears to have been the responsibility of musicians arriving in Edinburgh from other musical centres. Giovanna Sestini, who 'for many years was the delight of London', sang with the Musical Society and in concerts over the winter of 1791 to 1792.¹¹⁰ The concerts of Natale Corri, Domenico's younger brother, his wife, Camilla Giolivetti, and Pietro Urbani seem to have given a boost to the performance of Italian arias during this period, and the evidence suggests that these new immigrants were primarily responsible for the performance of the majority of the Italian vocal music performed at the end of the century.

Paisiello's 'Picche, cornacchie' proved to be a popular trio, performed twice within a week in 1792 and repeated in 1793 at Girolamo Stabilini's benefit and described as a 'comic duet'.¹¹¹ The duet was originally from the comic opera *La gare generale* (1786), staged in Naples and revived in London as *Gli schiavi per amore* (1787), directed by Paisiello at the

¹¹⁰ Quoted in Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 189, no original reference given.

¹¹¹ EA, 1 February 1793.

Kings Theatre.¹¹² The ‘duet in Crosie Figliola’ is extracted from *La buona figliuola* or *La cecchina* (1760) by Piccinni, who was one of the most celebrated and famous composers of opera buffa of his day. With a libretto by Goldoni, based upon Richardson’s *Pamela*, *La Cecchina* was Piccinni’s greatest work, and possibly one of the most successful opere buffe of the eighteenth century. William C. Holmes regarded *La buona figliuola* as containing the seed from which Mozart’s masterworks grew.¹¹³ It was certainly popular in Edinburgh, with complete performances staged in 1772 by John Collet¹¹⁴ and in the following year for the benefit of Domenico Corri,¹¹⁵ and a performance in 1774 at a concert staged by the Musical Society.

The evidence of performance of Italian arias in the third sample is restricted, but one can begin to see the birth of a repeated repertoire due to popular enthusiasm, developing later into the nineteenth century canon. The three samples illustrate that not only were Italian arias important to the production of benefit concerts, they were important indicators of the fashionability of the performers and ultimately the contemporary tastes of the audience.

1.2 Airs from Handel’s Oratorios

In the eighteenth century musical consumers became more aware of composers than ever before, even if they did rank some way behind star performers.¹¹⁶ To many in the contemporary audience there was only one composer who typified music in England in the eighteenth century:

I prefer Handel... for the greatness of his mind, the accuracy of his judgements, the variety of his styles & his skill in adopting the thought of preceding and coeval composers. – Bird [*sic*] might be as sublime, Hasse as beautiful – Haydn more ornamental – But Handel united grandeur, elegance & embellishment with the utmost propriety, & on this account I venture to pronounce him, upon the whole, the greatest of all composers.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, trans. Stewart Spencer, ed. Cliff Eisen (Bury St Edmunds: Yale University Press, 2007), 440.

¹¹³ William C. Holmes, ‘Pamela Transformed’ in *The Musical Quarterly*, 38/4 (1952) 581–594.

¹¹⁴ CM, 8 July 1772.

¹¹⁵ CM, 8 March 1773.

¹¹⁶ Price et al., *The Impresario’s Ten Commandments*, 1.

¹¹⁷ Letter from William Crotch to Charles Burney, dated 4 March 1805, quoted in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *Handel: Tercentenary Collection* (Hong Kong: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1987), 66.

Given the popular enthusiasm for Handel it is not a surprise that throughout the second half of the eighteenth century his works were regularly performed in benefit concerts in Edinburgh. From the early 1750s the Musical Society began a series of Handel performances at their St Cecilia's Day concerts, discussed in Chapter Seven, and it is perhaps predictable that many of the favourite extracts should have made their way into the benefit concerts: all of the works advertised at the benefit concerts during the 1750s had been or would be performed in context by the Musical Society. The extract from *Samson* (1741), 'My faith and truth', appeared in a benefit concert a month before the oratorio was performed, in its entirety, for the first time by the Musical Society in 1756.¹¹⁸

Table 1.6: Extracts from Handel's oratorios advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1751-1756

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Author of Peace	Handel	<i>Saul</i> HWV 53 (1739)	-	6.3.1753	EEC 1.2.1753
Chorus of Youths and Virgins [See the conquering hero comes]	Handel	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> HWV 63 (1746)	boys from Heriot's Hospital	20.1.1756	CM 15.1.1756
My faith and truth	Handel	<i>Samson</i> HWV 57 (1741)	-	24.2.1756	CM 21.2.1756
O liberty, thou choicest treasure	Handel	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> HWV 63 (1746)	Rochetti	27.1.1753	CM 22.1.1753
The flocks shall leave their mountains	Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> HWV 49 (1739)	Rodburn, Wilder, Gilson	13.4.1756	CM 10.4.1756

In London, following the death of Handel in 1759 interest in the performance of his oratorios lessened and attendance at complete oratorio performances declined sharply. In 1784 at a performance of *Acis and Galatea* (1739) at Drury Lane it was noted 'the House, to the Disgrace of our idle People, was very indifferent indeed'.¹¹⁹ John Marsh remembered 'the languor, with which the oratorios of Handel were carried on... a little more than twenty years ago'.¹²⁰ From the results shown in Table 1.7 it is possible to conclude that, likewise, by the mid-1770s the performance of Handel had become a rarity in Edinburgh. Certainly the Musical Society began to move away from the performance of entire Handel oratorios, and were instead developing a taste for Italianate works. But I suspect that in benefit concerts the taste for isolated arias remained and that favourite airs had become such an expected part of the musical fare produced at benefit concerts that they did not merit advertising.

¹¹⁸ See Appendix E.

¹¹⁹ Public Advertiser, 26 March 1784.

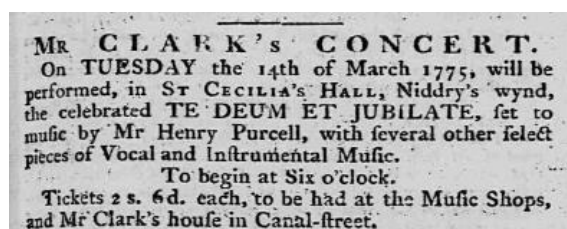
¹²⁰ John Marsh, 'Hints to Young Composer of Instrumental Music' [1807] ed. Charles Cudworth, *The Galpin Society Journal*, 18 (1965), 60.

Table 1.7: Extracts from Handel's oratorios advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1775-1780¹²¹

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
The celebrated Coronation Anthem [<i>Zadok the Priest?</i>]	Handel	HWV 258 (1727)	Chorus	1.2.1776	CM 27.1.1776

The suggestion that interest in isolated extracts of Handel's music lessened in Edinburgh can be quickly countered: in 1774 three musicians presented a joint benefit of 'Sacred Vocal and Instrumental Music' in St Cecilia's Hall. In addition to the overture to *Messiah*, the concert included the arias 'Comfort ye, my people' and 'I know that my redeemer liveth', and the choruses 'And the glory of the Lord', 'Worthy is the lamb' and 'Amen', and also included the 'Resurrection Hymn' in Jommelli's *La Passione* (1749),¹²² and William Croft's 'Praise the Lord, O my soul'.¹²³ Whilst the concept of an entire concert dedicated to sacred music is rare at this point, it contests the suggestion there was a decline in the popularity of isolated Handel extracts. Nor was this the only performance of sacred music within a concert setting in that year: Stephen Clark, then organist of St Andrew's Chapel in Carrubbers Close, used Purcell's setting of the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D as the centre piece of his benefit concert in the Chapel, which presumably also contained other 'sacred' pieces, in April 1774.¹²⁴ Clark gave a repeat performance of the *Te Deum* the following year in St Cecilia's Hall.¹²⁵

**Figure 1.3: Advertisement for Stephen Clark's benefit concert, 1775 including a performance of Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*
Caledonian Mercury, 13 March 1775**



Although the performance of liturgical music of this nature in public concerts in Edinburgh was rare, there is little to suggest that the performance of Handel's vocal music had become neglected during this period.

¹²¹ Although not an extract from an oratorio, isolated extracts from Handel's church music is also considered here.

¹²² For a full discussion of the origin of this work see Chapter Seven: The Edinburgh musical Society and Devotional Concerts: Funeral Concerts.

¹²³ CM, 14 March 1774.

¹²⁴ CM, 2 April 1774.

¹²⁵ CM, 13 March 1775.

Evidence from the third sample demonstrates not only the beginning of concerts entirely dedicated to Handel’s music, but also sees the introduction of music previously unperformed in Edinburgh (at least according to the available evidence). In 1784 the Concert of Ancient Music in London staged five concerts to commemorate, albeit a year early, Handel’s centenary. The concerts captured the imagination of audiences and professional musicians alike:

Impressed with a reverence for the memory of HANDEL, no sooner was the project known, but most of the practical Musicians in the kingdom eagerly manifested their zeal for the enterprise; and many of the most eminent professors, waving all claims to precedence in the band, offered to perform in any subordinate station, in which their talents could be most useful.¹²⁶

If there were no celebrations comparable in Edinburgh, Handel’s music was still an important part of miscellaneous benefit concerts.

Table 1.8: Extracts from Handel’s oratorios advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1788-1792

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Angels ever bright and fair	Handel	<i>Theodora</i> HWV 68 (1749)	Urbani	22.2.1791	CM 19.2.1791
As steals the morn upon the night	Handel	<i>L’Allegro ed il Penseroso</i> HWV 55 (1740)	Urbani, Shaw	26.7.1788	CM 24.7.1788
Comfort ye my people	Handel	<i>Messiah</i> HWV 56 (1741)	Urbani	11.3.1788	CM 8.3.1788
I know that my redeemer liveth	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Shaw	26.2.1788	CM 23.2.1788
			Shaw	26.7.1788	CM 24.7.1788
Mortals think that time is sleeping	Handel (assisted Smith Jn.)	<i>The Triumph of Time and Truth</i> HWV 71 (1757)	Urbani	26.7.1788	CM 24.7.1788
O Godlike youth, by all confessed	Handel	<i>Saul</i> HWV 53 (1738)	Shaw	26.7.1788	CM 24.7.1788
O sleep why do’st thou leave me?	Handel	<i>Semele</i> HWV 58 (1743)	Urbani	26.2.1788	CM 23.2.1788
			Urbani	26.7.1788	CM 24.7.1788
Softly swell in Lydian measure	Handel	<i>Alexander’s Feast</i> HWV 75 (1736)	Stewart	23.2.1790	CM 26.2.1789

Table 1.8 includes works which hitherto had not been recorded or advertised, including solos from *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (1757) and *L’Allegro ed il Penseroso* (1740). *The Triumph of Time and Truth* was assembled from Handel’s earlier work in 1757 by the composer’s amanuensis Christopher Smith, and to what extent the ageing and blind composer was actually

¹²⁶ Charles Burney, *An account of the musical performance in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon May 26th, 27th, 29th and June the 3rd and 5th, 1784. In commemoration of Handel* (London: Thomas Payne, 1784), 5.

involved in the revision is unknown.¹²⁷ *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso* was a pastoral composed in 1740 based on the poetry on John Milton. Both works appear to have arrived late into concerts in Edinburgh, although this may be a quirk of the advertisements. This sample also includes a performance of 'I know that my Redeemer liveth', known in Edinburgh since at least the mid-1740s, and performed by Urbani in 1786 at one of the Friday evening concerts of the Musical Society. Urbani and his pupil Maxwell Shaw were deeply involved in the performance of vocal music at the end of the eighteenth century, but they were not the only people concerned with the performance of Handel. In the last decade of the eighteenth century there were at least three concerts almost entirely dedicated to the vocal works of Handel.

In July 1796, Newcastle staged a Festival of Handel's music, with complete performances of *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabeus* and a further concert of arias extracts from Handel's English works, which was reported in the *Caledonian Mercury*.¹²⁸ In Edinburgh the Handel commemorations were more muted, but in 1795 and 1796 George Thomson, organist of St George's Chapel, Queen's Street, staged his annual benefit 'in the manner of HANDEL's COMMEMORATION, AS PERFORMED IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY'.¹²⁹ These two concerts appear to be the first almost entirely devoted to the performance of Handel's vocal music, outside the oratorios staged by the Musical Society. Thomson advertised his full programme for concerts in 1795 and 1796, and it is possible to reconstruct the repertoire sung over the two years: the concerts included much repetition: the overtures to the *Occasional Oratorio* (1746) and *Esther* (1718, revised 1732) were performed on both occasions.¹³⁰

Table 1.9a: Music advertised at George Thomson's benefit concert, St George's Chapel, Queen Street, 1795

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Overture	Handel	<i>Occasional Oratorio</i> HWV 62 (1746)	Instrumental	27.7.1795	CM 25.7.1795 ¹³¹
Arm, arm ye brave	Handel	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i> HWV 63 (1746)	Holland		

¹²⁷ For a fuller discussion of the origins of this piece see Anthony Hicks, 'The late additions to Handel's oratorios and the role of the younger Smith' in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Christopher Hogwood & Richard Lockett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 147-171.

¹²⁸ CM, 7 July 1796.

¹²⁹ CM, 23 July 1795.

¹³⁰ Advertisements to be found in *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 July 1795 and 2 April 1796.

¹³¹ Earlier programmes for the concert, advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 18 and 23 July 1795, made no reference to the counter-tenor Robert Marlör, from Durham Cathedral. Thomson had, however, advertised at the beginning of the month that 'The Choir will consist of above thirty persons aided by Mr Marlow, of the Cathedral, Durham'. It is likely that Marlör only informed Thomson of the repertoire he intended to perform after he had arrived in the city, sometime after 22 July (and the deadline for the edition of the *Caledonian Mercury* which appeared the following day). Marlör had previously performed in Edinburgh in 1790 for the Musical Society, although musically it was not a success. See page 230.

We come, we come in bright array	Handel	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	Chorus
Behold! A Virgin shall conceive	Handel	<i>Messiah</i> HWV 56 (1741)	Marlor
O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Marlor
In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth	currently unidentified	-	Urbani
Total eclipse	Handel	<i>Samson</i> HWV57 (1741/2)	Urbani
O send out thy light	currently unidentified	-	Urbani and Master Stuart
O praise God in his holiness	Arnold?	-	Chorus
Angels ever bright and fair	Handel	<i>Theodora</i> HWV 68 (1749)	Barnet
Hallelujah!	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Chorus
Overture	Handel	<i>Esther</i> HWV 50 (1718/1732)	Instrumental
He was despised	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Marlor
He layeth the beams of his chambers on the water [adapted from 'Nasce al bosco in rozza cuna' from <i>Ezio</i> HWV 29 (1732)]	Handel arr. Arnold	<i>The Redemption</i> (1786)	Holland
Comfort ye	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Urbani
Every valley shall be exalted	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Urbani
He gave them hailstones for rain	Handel	<i>Israel in Egypt</i> HWV 63 (1747)	Chorus
O had I Jubal's lyre	Handel	<i>Joshua</i> HWV 64 (1747)	Barnet
Worthy is the Lamb	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Chorus

Table 1.9b: Music advertised at George Thomson's benefit concert, St George's Chapel, Queen Street, 1796

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Overture	Handel	<i>Occasional Oratorio</i>	Instrumental	4.4.1796	CM 2.4.1796
This saith the Lord of hosts	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Holland		
But who may abide the day of his coming?	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Holland		
And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Chorus		
In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth	currently unidentified	-	Urbani		
Total eclipse	Handel	<i>Samson</i>	Urbani		
O send out thy light	currently unidentified	-	Urbani and Master Stuart		
O praise God in his holiness	Arnold?	-	Chorus		
I know that my redeemer liveth	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Barnet		
Hallelujah!	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Chorus		
Overture	Handel	<i>Esther</i>	Instrumental		
Why do the nations so furiously rage together?	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Holland		
He shall feed his flock	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Barnet		

Worthy is the lamb	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Chorus		
Pious orgies, pious prayers	Handel	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	Urbani		
Zadok the priest	Handel	HWV 258 (1727)	Chorus		

Thomson's choices show that Handel was still well received by audiences in Edinburgh, and in general was still the height of fashion in provincial concert centres. The most interesting items in the programmes are the pieces which cannot be positively identified. The joining of the recitative 'In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth' with the aria 'Total eclipse' from *Samson* (1743) is an interesting artistic pairing: the text of the former is presumably a setting of verses from Genesis chapter one.

¹ In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.

² And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters

³ And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.

⁴ And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divided the light from the darkness...¹³²

The comparison of heavenly ordained light and Samson's man-made blindness, would have inspired a pathetic reaction which would have appealed to an eighteenth century audience.

Total eclipse! No sun, no moon!
 All dark amidst the blaze of noon!
 Oh, glorious light! No cheering ray
 To glad my eyes with welcome day!
 Why thus depriv'd Thy prime decree?
 Sun, moon, and stars are dark to me!¹³³

The origin of 'In the beginning' is currently un-identified, but it is certainly not the setting which opens Haydn's *Creation* (1798), which was not begun until the following year. Similarly the duet 'O Send out thy light', a setting of psalm 43, has no immediately identifiable origin and appears not to have been an original composition of Handel. The chorus based on Psalm 150 'O Praise God in his holiness', may have been an adaptation of works by Handel, but it is more likely to be the chorus by Samuel Arnold,¹³⁴ which enjoyed a brief period in vogue in Edinburgh and was performed in the following year at John Aitken's benefit.¹³⁵ The

¹³² 'Genesis 1' accessed on 7 October 2013

<http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Genesis+1&version=KJV>.

¹³³ 'Georg Friedrich Handel Samson (1743)' accessed on 7 October 2013

<http://opera.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/samson.htm>.

¹³⁴ It is worth nothing that Johann Schetky also composed a chorus based upon Psalm 150.

¹³⁵ CM, 3 March 1796.

bass air 'He layeth the beams of his chambers on the waters' was an adaption of the popular aria 'Nasce al bosco in rozza cuna' from *Ezio* (1732) with an English text taken from Psalm 104, which was included in the *pasticcio Redemption* (1786), adapted from Handel's Italian works with new English texts, performed at the London Handel Commemorations.¹³⁶ Thomson was obviously pleased with the music and the financial return:

MR THOMSON, Organist of St George's Chapel, feels himself more deeply affected with gratitude for the countenance and liberality which he had the honour to experience last Monday, when his Selection of Sacred Music was performed, than he can possibly express; and hopes his sincere thanks will be accepted by the Nobility and Gentry who honoured him with their patronage on the above occasion.¹³⁷

The public's enjoyment cannot be doubted as an anonymous concert-goer recorded in the *Caledonian Mercury* his delight at the first concert:

Upon the whole, Sir, I cannot help giving this public testimony of my approbation of that truly sublime entertainment, and if it should again be repeated. I hereby engage (although at the distance of 53 miles) to come to town, and compliment a few friends with the means of admission.¹³⁸

In April 1799 Messrs. Cooke and Walpole revived the idea of a concert entirely devoted to the sacred choral music of Handel, at the Theatre Royal:

SACRED MUSIC for the Benefit of Mess. COOKE & WALPOLE at the THEATRE ROYAL tomorrow evening, FRIDAY April 5, 1799, will be performed a Grand Selection of Sacred Music for the works of Handel. Leader of the Band – Mr STABILINI – Grand Piano Forte – Mr CORRI.¹³⁹

Cooke and Walpole's concert is notable for the wide repertoire performed: like Thomson they employed a band led by Girolamo Stabilini, who had arrived in Edinburgh in 1784 to take over as lead violin at the Musical Society, and remained after the dissolution of the Society.¹⁴⁰ The mention of the piano raises some interesting questions of performance practice: did the piano act as the harpsichord had done, as a continuo instrument filling in harmony? Did it merely double the band, as certainly became usual in the nineteenth century? Or did it act

¹³⁶ William van Lennep (ed.), *London Stage 1660-1800* (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), 1230.

¹³⁷ CM, 30 July 1795.

¹³⁸ CM, 8 August 1795.

¹³⁹ *Edinburgh Herald and Chronicle*, (hereafter EHC), 4 April 1799.

¹⁴⁰ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 107.

independently, accompanying only a few pieces? Much of the repertoire was repeated from Thomson's concerts, and in many cases it was the same performers singing them. The inclusion of Corelli's *Concerto no. 5* is interesting as, in general, interest in Corelli and his contemporaries waned at the end of the eighteenth century as Haydn became the new fashion, although this concerto retained an appeal into the first years of the nineteenth century.

Table 1.10: Music advertised at Cooke and Walpole's concert of sacred music at the Theatre Royal, 1799

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Overture	Handel	<i>Occasional Overture</i>	Instrumental	5.4.1799	EHC 4.4.1799
Pleasure my former ways resigning	Handel (assisted by J. C. Smith Jr.)	<i>The Triumph of Truth and Time</i> HWV 71 (1757)	Walpole		
Honour and arms	Handel	<i>Samson</i> HWV 57 (1741/2)	Cooke		
Oh lovely peace	Handel	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>	C. Corri and Urbani		
Oh had I Jubal's lyre	Handel	<i>Joshua</i> HWV 65 (1747)	Bramwell		
I know that my redeemer liveth	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Urbani		
Concerto no 5 for Christmas Day	Corelli	-	Instrumental		
Sofly sweet the Lydian measure	Handel	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> HWV 75 (1736)	C. Corri and Schetky (vc.)		
My faith and truth	Handel	<i>Samson</i>	Bramwell and Walpole		
Comfort ye my people	Handel	<i>Messiah</i> HWV 56 (1741)	Urbani		
Arm, arm ye brave	Handel	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> HWV 63 (1746)	Cooke		
Zadok the Priest	Handel	HWV 258 (1727)	Chorus		
Overture and Dead March	Handel	<i>Saul</i>	Instrumental		
Lord, what is man? [from <i>Semele</i> , possibly 'Where're you walk']	Handel arr. Arnold	<i>Redemption</i> (1786)	Walpole		
He was despised	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Clen-Denning		
The flocks shall leave the mountains	Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	C. Corri, Urbani, Cooke		
Let the bright seraphim	Handel	<i>Samson</i> HWV 53 (1741/2)	C. Corri and Napier (tr.)		
God save the King	-	-	-		

The concert was in the tradition of miscellaneous selections from Handel's works which in London (and in Edinburgh) became more popular than the performance of complete oratorios at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁴¹ The concert included many of the favourites the devotees of Handel would have known and recognised including extracts from *Samson* ('Honour and arms', 'My faith and truth', and 'Let the bright seraphim'), *Judas Maccabaeus* ('O lovely peace' and 'Arm, arm ye brave'), *Messiah* ('He was despised', 'Comfort ye, my people' and 'I know

¹⁴¹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 31.

that my redeemer liveth'), the ever-popular *Acis and Galatea* ('The flocks shall leave the mountains'), and *Alexander's Feast* (1736) ('Sing softly sweet in Lydian measures'). By 1799 the concert-going public of Edinburgh had been hearing these pieces for over 50 years, but Cooke and Walpole also managed to include a few works which, if not unknown to the public, had seemingly been much more rarely performed: notably 'Pleasure my former ways resigning', taken from *Triumph of Time and Truth*, 'O had I Jubal's lyre', from *Joshua* (1748), and 'Lord, what is man?' an adaptation of an aria from *Semele* (1743) presented in *Redemption*, none of which appear to have had a previous performance recorded in Edinburgh.

The selection of Handel's work performed also demonstrates several aspects of the conflicting views of aesthetics in the eighteenth century: the debate of virtuosity against pathos was currently raging, notably in Charles Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* (1752). If the latest Italian arias, isolated from their context, were often viewed as virtuosic showpieces, devoid of affecting sentiment, Handel's arias often conformed to the preference, noted in London, for slow unadorned music, with profound sentimental expression. As McVeigh wrote 'an extraordinary number of those Handel airs favoured... are of this Largo or *Larghetto* type, often in triple time'.¹⁴² A full analysis of the Handel arias considered in this thesis (not just in benefit concerts), by tempo and tonality is presented in Appendix G, and strongly supports McVeigh's observations concerning the popularity of slow arias. Table 1.11 shows that nearly 60% of the arias performed during the periods under consideration conformed either to the *Largo* or *Larghetto* type: 'Total eclipse' and 'Farewell, ye limpid springs' performed at the end of the century in Edinburgh are deeply moving expressions of pathos. 'Angels, ever bright' is a 'beautifully restrained prayer in diatonic idiom, while 'Pious orgies' adds bitter-sweet minor-mode inflexions'.¹⁴³

Table 1.11: Analysis of Handel arias advertised or recorded in Edinburgh, 1750-1800, by tempo*

	Largo	Larghetto	Andante and Moderato	Allegro and Allegretto	Presto	Total
Titles	10	15	9	8	1	43
% of total	23.2	34.88	20.93	18.60	2.32	100

**This analysis includes the performance of Handel in all concerts considered in this thesis, not just in benefit concerts

'Verdi prati' and 'Dove sei amato ben' which were performed at the meetings of the Musical Society, convey a mood of the sublime and the serene which would have stood in

¹⁴² McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 141.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

contrast to the passion and coloratura nature of much of the Italian vocal music performed at this time.

At the outset of the 1750s enthusiasm for Handel’s music was high. It is possible to conclude that, as in London, until the Centenary Commemorations in 1784,¹⁴⁴ following the composer’s death there was a slump in the performance of Handel: it may, however, be a quirk of the evidence. As in other provincial centres, and indeed in London, at the end of the century public enthusiasm for Handel was once again on a high. In Edinburgh it appears that Handel’s vocal music was a major part of the musical culture, it appeared regularly in benefit concerts and helped to encourage the noble sentiments and emotions which, according to contemporary writers like Charles Avison and John Brown, was the ultimate purpose of music.

1.3 Contemporary English songs and ballads

In contrast to the fashionability of the latest Italian arias or the devotion towards Handel’s music, the interest in contemporary ballads and English songs seems more ephemeral. Undoubtedly English songs and ballads from this period concentrate on entertainment: light, gracious and slightly affected they represent the social tenor of the times. Many of these songs were drawn from London’s pleasure gardens or English ballad operas, and have been described as a ‘protest against the Italian conquest of the London operatic scene’.¹⁴⁵

Table 1.12: Contemporary English works advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1751-1756

Title of Work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date Performed	Source
An invitation to peace	Arne	<i>Comus</i> (1738)	Rodburn or Bernard	20.1.1756	CM 15.1.1756
As in the blooming spring	Worgan	<i>Flora, a cantata</i>	Rodburn	13.12.1753	CM 6.12.1753
			Rodburn	19.2.1754	CM 18.2.1754
If truth can fix thy wavering heart	Howard	-	Bernard?	4.2.1755	CM 3.2.1755
O what pain it is to part	Pepusch	<i>Beggar’s Opera</i> (1728)	Rochetti	14.6.1753	CM 11.6.1753
O ‘tis Elysium all	Pasquali	<i>Celia, a cantata</i>	-	16.1.1753	EEC 9.1.1753
Sweet echo	Arne	<i>Comus</i>	Bernard?	4.2.1755	CM 3.2.1755
			Rodburn or Bernard	20.1.1756	CM 15.1.1756
Tell me, pride of creation	currently unidentified	-	-	17.2.1753	CM 8.2.1753
The present hour	Stanley	-	-	16.1.1753	EEC 9.1.1753
When charming beauty	Pasquali	<i>Noah</i> (1750)	Rodburn	17.1.1755	CM 9.1.1755

¹⁴⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 31.

¹⁴⁵ Mark Lubbock, *The Complete Book of Light Opera* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), 467-8.

English ballad operas and masques were increasingly popular at this period: *The Beggar's Opera* was performed on at least fourteen separate occasions in Edinburgh between 1750 and 1756.¹⁴⁶ Filippo Rochetti's calculated use of the song 'O what pain it is to part' from *The Beggar's Opera* drew both on the popularity of the work and his personal popularity at his farewell concert in June 1753.¹⁴⁷ Arne's *Comus* (1738) was the composer's first major success: the score was printed in 1740 and from that period until his death, revivals and extracts were continually performed. Although his later work *Artaxerxes* (1762) made a greater impact in Edinburgh, extracts from *Comus* such as 'Sweet echo' and 'The wanton God' were regularly performed, especially following Michael Arne's benefit in 1754, and, as in London, were still in the repertoire in the 1770s.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that the popularity of Arne was that compositionally his works were distinct from the modern fashionable Italianate style, then in vogue:

Indeed, the melody of Arne at this time, and of his Vauxhall songs afterwards, forms an aera [*sic*] in English Music; it was so easy, natural and agreeable to the whole kingdom, that it had an effect upon national taste; and till a more modern Italian style was introduced... it was the standard of all perfection at our theatres and public gardens.¹⁴⁹

Pasquali's oratorio *Noah* (1750) was written in Dublin and received performances on 27 March 1750 and 21 January 1751 for the Fishamble Street Charitable Musick Society.¹⁵⁰ There is, as yet, no evidence to suggest that Pasquali attempted to stage either *Noah* or his other oratorio, *David*, in Edinburgh. This appears to be the only recorded performance of an extract from it in Edinburgh: although there were almost certainly other performances of 'When charming beauty', as the Musical Society held a copy in their library and Rodburn and Pasquali regularly performed together at their concerts. The score of *Noah* is lost and only the harpsichord part of *David* survives. In addition to two oratorios Pasquali wrote several cantatas which have not survived: *An Ode on the Hospital for poor Lying-in Women* (1749),¹⁵¹ the

¹⁴⁶ Advertisements for performances were placed in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 4 October 1750, 22 October 1750, 26 October 1750, 27 December 1750, 7 February 1751, 5 March 1751, 22 November 1752, 27 March 1755, 5 August 1755, 3 August 1756, 18 September 1756, 28 September 1756, 9 December 1756, and 21 December 1756.

¹⁴⁷ EEC, 11 June 1753.

¹⁴⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 137.

¹⁴⁹ Burney, *A General History of Music*, vol. 4 (London: printed for the author, 1789), 659.

¹⁵⁰ Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 147.

¹⁵¹ Boydell *Rotunda Music*, 26.

Temple of Peace (1749),¹⁵² *Celia*, and *Pastora*, the text of which was published in *Thorough-Bass Made Easy* (1757).¹⁵³

I have so far been unable to identify the cantata *The Present Hour* by John Stanley, but in addition to working in churches and theatres, Stanley regularly played the organ at the Vauxhall Gardens, and this composition may have had its origins in one of the cantatas composed for performance there. Cantatas for solo voice and instrumental accompaniment were a popular form throughout the eighteenth century for reasons identified by the composer Gerald Finzi in 1951: ‘The 18th century cantata carried within it the seeds of perfection: it was equally suitable for lyrical or dramatic expression and was the kernel of both opera and oratorio. Unity of subject-matter was conveyed in diversity of vocal treatment, the recitative, either stramentato or secco, and the aria... Boyce, Stanley and many others, evidently delighted in it, as did their public’.¹⁵⁴

Table 1.13: Contemporary English works advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1775-1780

Title of Work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date Performed	Source
Come, come with me	currently unidentified	-	D. Corri?	4.2.1777	CM 1.2.1777
Pyramus and Thisbe	Lampe	(1745)	A. Corri, D. Corri?	16.8.1775	CM 4.8.1775
The wanton God who pierces hearts	Arne	<i>Comus</i> (1738)	D. Corri?	4.2.1777	CM 1.2.1777
Water parted from the sea	Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i> (1762)	D. Corri?	4.2.1777	CM 1.2.1777
			D. Corri	17.7.1780	CM 15.7.1780

In addition to extracts from *Comus*, from 1762 extracts of Arne’s *Artaxerxes* became popular, especially after the engagement of Tenducci by the Musical Society in 1768 and the Edinburgh premiere of the opera in 1769.¹⁵⁵ In parts of *Artaxerxes* Arne used the most modern operatic style, which is reminiscent of the operatic work of J. C. Bach, and the score provided items for concerts for many years to come.¹⁵⁶ The minuet-aria ‘Water parted from the sea’ and the patriotic ‘The soldier tir’d’ proved to be particularly popular being regularly performed in Edinburgh, as was the three-movement overture. If ‘Water parted from the sea’ was performed with its original orchestration of prominent clarinets, bassoons and horns in benefit concerts, it

¹⁵² *ibid*, 149.

¹⁵³ Johnson also notes two further cantatas *Tweedside* and *Vineyard* which were listed in the EMS 1765 library catalogue, Johnson, *Music and Society*, 55.

¹⁵⁴ Gerald Finzi, speech to the Royal Musical Association, 1951, quoted in Tony Frost, ‘The Cantatas of John Stanley (1713-86)’ in *Music and Letters*, 53/3 (1972), 284.

¹⁵⁵ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 142

¹⁵⁶ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 125.

would have made a sharp contrast to the string and harpsichord dominated activities of the Musical Society.

John Frederick Lampe's mock opera *Pyramus and Thisbe* (1745) was first performed at Covent Garden in London and was restaged at the Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin in December 1746.¹⁵⁷ Lampe worked briefly at the New Concert Hall in the Canongate before his death in 1751. So far evidence for its performance in Edinburgh before 1775 has not come to light, but it was in the enterprising character of Domenico Corri to revive a work by a popular 'local' composer during the busy Race Week. As ever, Corri appears to have tried to make the evening as attractive as possible to his patrons:

The waiters will carry lemonade, tea and biscuits to the company between the acts, with which, the books of the Opera will be distribute gratis. The Hall is to be illuminated.¹⁵⁸

Many musicians found that, despite the elite associations of Italian opera, attracting a wider audience was easier if a selection of the work presented was performed in a vernacular language. This may account not only for the popularity of ballads but also the adoption of Scots songs by visiting Italian singers, such as Tenducci. The evidence suggests that towards the end of the century English ballads were discarded in favour of Scots songs (see below), as only one contemporary piece can be identified from advertisements published between 1788 and 1792.¹⁵⁹ This may represent the developing tastes of an audience keen to leave behind the 'delightfully crude and naughty' satirical ballads,¹⁶⁰ or it may represent the repertoire of the singers, who at the time were predominantly Italian and who had had little contact with the English theatrical tradition or the pleasure gardens. It may simply represent the fact that advertising such satirical and popular ballads, even if they were performed, might not appeal to the sentiments of the affluent and influential concert-goers, and may actually have discouraged the aristocracy from attending as sentiments towards morality and leisure changed amongst the elite in the last decade of the century.¹⁶¹

Performances of English ballads, songs and operatic arias were ephemeral in the same way as many of the popular Italian arias: they were popular for a season and then discarded.

¹⁵⁷ Roy Johnston, 'The Pleasures and Penalties of Networking: John Frederick Lampe in the Summer of 1750' in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg & Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 223.

¹⁵⁸ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, (hereafter EA), 15 August 1775.

¹⁵⁹ 'Celadon and Amelia' from Thomson's *Season* by Billington, performed in March 1789, (CM, 26.2.1789).

¹⁶⁰ Brian Boydell, 'Georgian Lollipops or the Lighter side of classical music' in *Popular Music in Dublin in the eighteenth-century*, ed. Hugh Shield (Dublin: Folk Music Society of Ireland, 1985), 7.

¹⁶¹ Porter, *English Society*, 291-7.

Only when a particular song became invested with an external cultural significance does it seem to have endured the test of eighteenth century fashion in benefit concerts.

1.4 Scots Songs

The position of Scots songs as both ‘folk music’ and ‘classical music’ within a concert setting is a fascinating one and one upon which David Johnson concentrated at length.¹⁶² The performance of traditional songs at the outset of the eighteenth century may have been a solely domestic activity:

The ladies of Edinburgh used to sing those airs [Scots songs] without any accompaniment... at tea and after supper, their position at table not being interrupted as now by rising to the pianoforte.¹⁶³

Scots songs soon assumed an importance in the concert-life of Edinburgh, and further afield.¹⁶⁴ Johnson described two genres of Scots song which existed in the eighteenth century: one ‘real’ folk music, the other ‘national’, borrowing Francis Collinson’s nomenclature.¹⁶⁵ ‘National songs’ were pseudo-folk songs ‘designed for a gentle class... who regard real folk-songs as crude and beneath their attention’.¹⁶⁶ Johnson’s category of national songs was created by taking an existing song, rewriting the text and adapting the melody until little of the original remained. He admits that the lines of distinction between the two are indistinct, especially as many of these later songs were transmitted by oral circulation, which to Johnson was the mark of ‘real’ folk music.¹⁶⁷ Like his comments on the Musical Society, I believe Johnson was thinking historically and retrospectively: few audience members would have made a differentiation between the two genres. At the same time as there was a burgeoning business in collecting and printing old songs, the composition of new ‘traditional’ tunes was also flourishing, as was the principle of using such tunes for the basis of novelty instrumental works.

¹⁶² Johnson, *Music and Society*, 3-19.

¹⁶³ Henry Mackenzie, *The anecdotes and egotisms of Henry Mackenzie 1745-1831* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 79.

¹⁶⁴ See Mary Anne Alburger ‘Musical Scots and Scottish Music Patrons in London’ in *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Stana Nenadic (Lewesburg: Associated University Presses, 2010), 186-204

¹⁶⁵ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 130.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ It should be noted that this study has not attempted to differentiate between ‘traditional/real’ or ‘national’ songs and refers to them uniformly as ‘Scots songs’ regardless of their origin.

Table 1.14: Scots songs advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1751-1756

Title of Song	Origin	Performer if known	Date Performed	Source
A dawn of hope	Scots song	-	17.2.1753	CM 8.2.1753
Allan water	Scots song	-	17.2.1753	CM 8.2.1753
Bannocks of barley meal	Scots song	-	30.3.1756	CM 27.3.1756
Bessy's haggis	Scots song	-	17.2.1753	CM 8.2.1753
Hoolly and fairly	Scots song	Rodburn	13.12.1753	CM 6.12.1753
Highland laddie	Scots song	-	24.3.1753	EEC 22.3.1753
Katherine Ogie	Scots song	Rodburn	17.1.1755	CM 9.1.1755
In cooling streams, sweet repose	Scots song	Bernard?	4.2.1755	CM 3.2.1755
Lochaber no more	Scots song	-	30.3.1756	CM 27.3.1756
My Patie is a lover gay	Scots song	Storer/Hamilton/ Corry or Bernard	16.1.1753	CM 9.1.1753
She rose and let me in	Scots song	Gordon	22.1.1753	CM 22.1.1753
The bush aboon Traquair	Scots song	C. Passerini	14.11.1752	CM 13.11.1752
		Rochetti	6.2.1753	CM 1.2.1753
		Rochetti	14.6.1753	EEC 11.6.1753
The lass of Patie's Mill	Scots song	-	30.3.1756	CM 27.3.1756
The last time I came over the Muir	Scots song	Gordon	22.1.1753	CM 22.1.1753
		-	24.3.1753	EEC 22.3.1753
The yellow-hair'd laddie	Scots song	-	17.2.1753	CM 8.2.1753
Tweedside	Scots song	-	24.3.1753	EEC 22.3.1753
		Rodburn	17.1.1755	CM 9.1.1755
When first my dear laddie	Scots song	Storer/Hamilton/ Corry or Bernard	16.1.1753	CM 9.1.1753

It is evident that the repertory of Scots songs was well represented in the benefit concerts and that they remained favoured. Of the sample of Scots songs that can be gathered by the advertisements in the popular press, Table 1.14, it is clear that folk music constituted an important part of the concert and was expected by an audience. Many songs would have been regularly repeated, despite the limited evidence above, and this sample does much to illustrate that there was a wide knowledge and appreciation of Scots songs and that they formed an important part of the repertoire of any eighteenth century singer, especially in Edinburgh. It is important to note too that the Scots songs were not, even then, performed only by native musicians: it appears that Rochetti, Pasquali, and Passerini were all aware of the appeal of these songs to their public and students.

Table 1.15: Scots songs advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1775-1780

Title of Song	Origin	Performer if known	Date Performed	Source
My lodging is on the cold ground	Irish song	R. Puppo	22.1.1780	CM 15.1.1780
		R. Puppo	15.2.1780	CM 14.2.1780
The bush aboon Traquair	Scots song	adapted for three voices A. Corri	22.2.1780	CM 21.2.1780

The small second sample, seen in Table 1.15, suggests that there was a lapse in the regular performance of traditional songs in contrast to the first set. A contemporary source suggested that the performance of Scots songs at the Musical Society had become less frequent from the late 1770s,¹⁶⁸ and this may well have been reflected in the benefit concerts. However, given the presence in the city of Alice Corri and occasionally Tenducci, who were both renowned singers of Scots songs it seems unlikely that this should have been the case. It may well be that the presence of Scots songs, like those of Handel, was so expected as to not need advertising.

‘The bush aboon Traquair’ evidently retained an enduring popularity, but also recorded for the first time is the Irish song ‘My lodging is on the cold ground’ sung by Rebecca Puppo. It is possible that this ballad was picked up by Cornforth Gilson in his stay in Dublin in 1764 and taught to his daughter Rebecca, who later married the violinist Giuseppe Puppo. Few other singers were recorded singing it, or with the frequency that she did. Also recorded here for the first time is the indication that the songs were adapted and arranged, not only as works for voice and instruments, but as vocal duets, trios and quartets. Towards the end of the eighteenth century traditional songs continued to be adapted and performed; perhaps this, coupled with a growing interest in pastoralism in music and poetry, might account for their continued longevity.

Table 1.16: Scots songs advertised in benefit concert programmes, 1788-1792

Title of Song	Origin	Performer if known	Date Performed	Source
An thou wert my ain thing	Scots song	Urbani	28.2.1792	CM 20.2.1792
Auld Robin Gray	Scots song	Shaw	26.7.1788	CM 24.7.1788
Baulk ye, baulk ye	Scots song	Urbani	26.2.1789	CM 23.2.1789
Gramachree Molly	Scots song	Urbani	21.2.1792	CM 20.2.1792
I'll never leave thee	Scots song	Urbani	15.2.1791	CM 12.2.1791
		Urbani	22.2.1791	CM 12.2.1791
Johnny and Mary	Scots song	Urbani	26.2.1788	CM 23.2.1788
Lochaber	Scots song arr. as a quartet by N. Corri	Stewart, Urbani, Kube, Corri	4.3.1790	CM 27.2.1790
		-	20.7.1790	CM 19.7.1790
Open the door, Lord Gregory	Scots song	Urbani	13.3.1792	CM 8.3.1792
She rose and let me in	Scots song	Urbani	18.2.1790	CM 15.2.1790
The birks of Invermay	Scots song	Carline	10.2.1789	CM 9.2.1789
The bush aboon Traquair	Scots song	Urbani	26.2.1789	CM 23.2.1789
	arr. as a duet	Urbani, N. Corri	4.3.1790	CM 27.2.1790
The last time I came o'er the Muir	Scots song	Urbani	18.2.1790	CM 15.2.1790
		Urbani	22.2.1791	CM 19.2.1791
		Urbani	28.2.1792	CM 20.2.1792
Mansion of peace	Scots song	Carline	10.2.1789	CM 9.2.1789
The yellow hair'd laddie	Scots song	Urbani, N. Corri	10.3.1791	CM 7.3.1791

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter Three, and CM, 24 December 1789.

The third set demonstrates the important influence of Urbani upon not only the concert-life of Edinburgh, but also the performance of traditional songs. Urbani was born in Milan in 1749 and sang in Glasgow in 1780 before moving to Dublin, where he arrived during the season of Italian opera in 1781-82 at the Smock Lane Theatre. After taking part in the first Irish performance of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762), in an English translation, he settled in Edinburgh in 1784.¹⁶⁹ Urbani became a celebrated interpreter of Scots songs and made arrangements of many of the most popular songs, and in 1792 began publishing his *Selection of Scots Songs, Harmonized, improved and with Simple and Adapted Graces*, described by Farmer as a 'highly meritorious piece of work', but dismissed by Urbani's contemporary rival George Thomson as 'a water-gruel collection'.¹⁷⁰ In the six volumes, Urbani composed twenty new 'Scots tunes' himself.¹⁷¹ Urbani's arrangements consisted of vocal lines with an accompaniment of strings and continuo, and gives an excellent indication of how songs like this may have been performed at the benefit concerts and at Musical Society meetings.

Figure 1.4: The opening bars of 'Ye banks and braes o'bonnie Doon' by Pietro Urbani reproduced from *A Selection of Scots Songs* published after 1795 by Urbani and Liston

The image shows a page of a musical score titled 'The Banks O' Doon' by R. Burns. The score is arranged for Violini, Viola, Canto, and Harps. The tempo is marked 'Largo Espresivo'. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The score includes a vocal line with the lyrics 'Ye Banks and braes o'' and instrumental parts for Violini, Viola, and Harps. The score is marked with dynamics like 'pp' and 'mf'.

At the same time as Urbani was producing his collection, Thomson was commissioning settings of Scots Songs, with modern accompaniments from some of the greatest contemporary composers. Between 1792 and 1804 Thomson enlisted Ignaz Pleyel, Leopold Kozeluch, Haydn

¹⁶⁹ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, 225.

¹⁷⁰ 'The Burns Encyclopaedia' accessed on 12 September 2013, <http://www.robertburns.org/encyclopedia/UrbaniPietro17491511816.871.shtml>

¹⁷¹ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 146.

and Beethoven to provide music for him. But as Johnson noted, the results were not always satisfactory. Few of the foreign composers understood the modes of the folk tunes: Kozeluch sent Thomson's first batch back from Vienna convinced they were full of copyist's errors, and the new words that Thomson's poets provided were often inferior to those they replaced.¹⁷² The practice of providing instrumental accompaniments to traditional songs, although it may have been wide-spread, was not universally popular. In the 1750s the diplomat Benjamin Franklin, then resident in London, had seen the Scottish musician, James Oswald, perform to great acclaim. In a letter to the Scots peer, Lord Kames, he recorded his view of accompanied Scots tunes:

Most Tunes of late Composition, not having the natural Harmony united with their Melody, have recourse to the artificial Harmony of a Bass and other accompanying Parts. This Support, in my Opinion, the old Tunes do not need, and are rather confus'd than aided by it.¹⁷³

Unlike many of the European composers who were retained to provide arrangements of the songs, Urbani appears to have had a real understanding and knowledge of the songs. Burns wrote of him 'entre nous, [he is] a narrow contracted creature, but he sings divinely'.¹⁷⁴ Urbani's arrangements of Scots songs probably give the most tangible evidence of how traditional songs were performed at the end of the century. It has become usual in the twenty-first century to expect folk songs to be unaccompanied in the search for an authentic performance experience, but such a thought would not have occurred to the concert-going public at the end of the eighteenth century.

There is the possibility that the performance of Scots songs had become less regular shortly before 1785 and that their neglect was commented upon by audiences at the Musical Society. Certainly by the end of the century Scots songs were a vital part of benefit concerts and the flourishing music-culture, and identity, of Edinburgh.

Conclusion

It appears that vocal music was of great significance in the production and promoting of benefit concerts, successful or otherwise. I have not discovered a single instance of a concert being produced which did not include at least some vocal music. This may be more of a comment

¹⁷² Ibid, 145

¹⁷³ Benjamin Franklin, *The Life and Miscellaneous Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (Edinburgh: William & Robert Chambers, 1839), 63.

¹⁷⁴ Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 57.

upon the evidence which has survived, rather than definitive proof of the importance of vocal music, but it is nonetheless suggestive. When discussing concerts in Chichester in his journals John Marsh displays the contemporary bias frequently seen when he records the singers and the vocal music often at the expense of the instrumental music.¹⁷⁵ Neither can it be suggested that it was only singers who staged benefits and who therefore made a greater use of vocal music than instrumental music. Appendices D-F demonstrate that the majority of musicians staging benefits in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century were instrumentalists rather than singers: however, as has been demonstrated above, benefit concerts were an important platform for the public commercial performance and the dissemination of vocal music in Edinburgh.

The audience at benefit concerts would have been wider, in terms of class, than those at the Musical Society meetings and, as has already been suggested, benefits probably attracted a different type of patron, although the admission fee would still have restricted the entrance to the middle and upper classes. Whilst the benefit concerts may have been the main vehicle for public music they were not ‘music for the people’ but were commercial exercises.

Table 1.17: Analysis of vocal music advertised in programmes for miscellaneous benefit concerts in the eighteenth century, by genre*

	Italian arias	Handel oratorio extracts	English ballads and songs	Scots song	Total
1751-1756	18	5	9	17	49
1775-1780	6	1	4	2	13
1778-1792	16	10	1	15	42
Total	40	16	14	34	104
% of total	38.46	15.30	13.46	32.69	100

*N.B. not including the Handel devoted concerts of George Thomson in 1795 and 96 or Cooke and Walpole’s concert in 1799

Table 1.17 highlights various interesting trends: most notably that in the period 1775-1780 fewer musicians advertised complete programmes in the press, often just announcing a date and venue, later announcing the detailed programme by other means. There is, however, no reason to assume that during that period fewer concerts were staged or less vocal music was performed. Whilst it is possible that benefit concerts catered to an audience expecting easy entertainment and that instrumental music reflected this trend, it does not appear that vocal music did. The music most often associated with hedonistic enjoyment and abandonment, the English ballads and songs performed in the theatres and in the pleasure garden, form only a tiny proportion of the vocal music performed (14 named items out of 104 pieces of music, only 13.46% of the total). Italian arias and Scots song seem to dominate the repertoire in benefit

¹⁷⁵ See John Marsh, *John Marsh Journals, The Life and Times of a Gentlemen Composer*, vol. 1 and 2, ed. Brian Robins (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2011-2013).

concerts. The social value and view of Italian arias has already been discussed and the rude simplicity of Scots songs was well known and appreciated in London concerts. As early as 1700 Dryden noted that ‘there is the rude Sweetness of a *Scotch* Tune... which is natural and pleasing, though not perfect’.¹⁷⁶ In the second half of the eighteenth century the pastoral-folk style was being assimilated into classical instrumental music and throughout the United Kingdom the folk song was becoming an important staple of the classical concert.¹⁷⁷ A notable absence from benefit concerts during this period are catches and glees, which became increasingly popular, especially at the end of the century, although this is likely to be more a quirk of the advertisements of the period, and the periods chosen, than a realistic reflection upon the vocal repertoire of the benefit concerts. The emergence of catches and glees as an important compositional form will be considered in Chapter Three.

Vocal music maintained an important position throughout the eighteenth century in benefit concerts: indeed, it is in the repeated performance of favourite arias at the end of the century that one can begin to see the beginnings of the development of the canon. This period represents the growth of Edinburgh into its musical maturity: in 1750 there were very few foreign musicians in the city, and most were associated with the Musical Society. By 1800 Edinburgh had become a recognised staging post on the concert route around the United Kingdom, which included London, Dublin, Scotland and the provinces. At the turn of the nineteenth century musicians were choosing to live and work in Edinburgh, amidst the musical and commercial opportunities which had opened up. It is possible to suggest that at the end of the eighteenth century benefit concerts were becoming less important to the welfare of musicians in Edinburgh, and that this period highlights the move of the musician from retained employee, of a patron or a musical society, to impresario, charged with his own destiny: in addition to benefits, musicians began arranging their own concerts and concert tours, working in collaboration with other musicians, forming co-operative unions and forging their profession.

From the evidence presented in this chapter the importance of vocal music appears to have grown rather than diminished at the end of the eighteenth century, and its regular performance and repetition in benefit concerts suggests that the audience retained an interest in the latest and most fashionable vocal music: they were not simply consumers of the latest operatic music and trends but were keenly aware of the social implications of repertoire and genre.

¹⁷⁶ John Dryden, *Fables Ancient and Modern; translated into verse* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1700), 7.

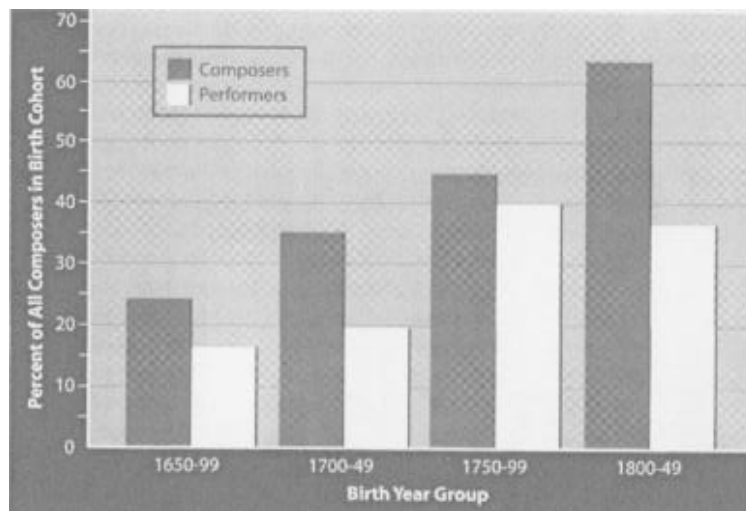
¹⁷⁷ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 135.

Chapter Two

Public Concerts 2: Subscription Concerts and other Concerts

It has been suggested that Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was the first composer to work as a true ‘free-lance’ musician, free from court or church-orientated patronage systems.¹⁷⁸ This statement has recently been challenged by Scherer who stated that throughout the eighteenth century a gradual transition from patronage-orientated to market-orientated ‘freelance’ music-making took place. Mozart was indeed an important figure in this movement, but entrepreneurial activities from musicians can be detected in the century before Mozart, and examples of the old patronage-based systems were still identifiable in the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁹ In an analysis of 646 composers born between 1650 and 1848, Scherer detected a significant rise in musicians undertaking freelance composition and performance between the early eighteenth century and the end of the century. He conservatively estimates that whilst 20% of the musicians surveyed undertook ‘freelance’ work between 1700 and 1749, 40% undertook entrepreneurial or ‘freelance’ work between 1750 and 1799.¹⁸⁰

Figure 2.1: bar chart demonstrating the percentage growth in freelance activity (composing and performing), 1650-1849 reproduced from Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes*



¹⁷⁸ Wolfgang Hildesheimer, *Mozart*, trans. Marion Faber (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1982), 19 and Norbert Elias, *Mozart: Portrait of a Genius*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993), 29.

¹⁷⁹ Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Banknotes*, 2.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 71.

It would appear reasonable to suspect that in Edinburgh, as a greater number of European musicians made the city their home, with no ruling court or powerful aristocratic families, throughout the second half of the eighteenth century there should be an increase in the number of speculative ventures from musicians. Entrepreneurship was an unreliable form of income: to stage events one had either to have capital or the expectation of healthy support from the wealthy leisured classes. Leopold Mozart was by no means the only musician to lament that ‘we have spent so much that there is little apparent hope of our being able to recover it’.¹⁸¹

2.1 Subscription Concerts in Edinburgh

In 1800, looking back over the history of the subscription concerts held at the Holywell Rooms in Oxford, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal* recorded that the concerts had provided ‘so much rational and elegant amusement, at an expence [*sic*] comparatively inconsiderable’.¹⁸² The same comment could equally apply to subscription concerts staged in Edinburgh. Southey has demonstrated that for many musicians concert promotion, outside of benefit concerts, was an attractive financial proposition.¹⁸³ The fact that in Edinburgh and Newcastle many musicians only attempted it once, however, suggests the realities of concert promotion were more complex. In Newcastle the main aristocratic consumption of music took place through subscription concerts, directed by Charles Avison, as there was no comparable institution to the Edinburgh Musical Society. It may have been that most musicians in Edinburgh found a comparable pecuniary wage in teaching, or it may have been that the elite of the city were unwilling to financially support two musical institutions: consequently subscription concerts were rare in Edinburgh. The elite taste for music was catered for by the Musical Society and as a result there was perhaps less impetus from musical consumers for subscription concerts in Edinburgh. The drive for subscription concerts in Edinburgh appears to have come from the speculative activities of the musicians themselves. So far research has only highlighted three separate series, one at the beginning of the period, one in the middle, and one at the end which extended into the nineteenth century.

In December 1751 Giuseppe Passerini, who had arrived in Edinburgh from St Petersburg earlier in the year, advertised that he intended to stage a series of subscription

¹⁸¹ Leopold Mozart, ‘Leopold Mozart to Lorenz Hagenauer, 30 January 1768’ in *Mozart: A Life in Letters*, ed. Cliff Eisen, trans. Stewart Spencer (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 66.

¹⁸² *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 8 February 1800.

¹⁸³ Southey, *Music-making*, 172.

concerts designated ‘SPIRITUAL CONCERT[s], after the manner of the Oratorios’. He advertised that:

Madam Passerini is to sing Cantatas and Music, with sacred lines, alternately, either in Latin, Italian or English, composed by the best Masters, such as Pergolesi, Marcello, Handel &c. with some English Songs that Madam Passerini is to intersperse, to render the whole more entertaining. Mons Passerini is to play Solos upon the Violin and Viole d’Amour... Such as incline to enter into the Subscription, which is to be one Guinea, shall have Ten Tickets for those Six Concert... if the said Mons. Passerini and his Spouse meet with Encouragement herein, they are hopeful afterwards to produce here at Edinburgh some Entertainments still far more accomplished.¹⁸⁴

What he meant by ‘in the manner of the oratorios’ is open to conjecture: advertisements published in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* on 8 January 1753 shows that Passerini did not intend to perform entire oratorios. It is most likely that he intended to indicate that, like the Musical Society’s Ladies Concerts and St Cecilia’s Day Concert, his concerts would consist of predominantly vocal music, a large amount of which would be sacred.¹⁸⁵ It is possible that he was referring to the fact that women were to be admitted, unlike the Friday meetings of the Musical Society which were single sex. Perhaps ‘in the manner of the oratorios’ simply meant the concerts were to be held in the Assembly Hall rather than in Mary’s Chapel, in the period before St Cecilia’s Hall was built. The use of the term ‘Spiritual Concert’ seems particularly designed as a reference to the *Concert Spirituel*, one of the first public concert series in the world, begun in Paris in 1725. Originally designed to be held in the weeks following Easter and upon religious holidays when the Paris Opera, Comédie Française and the Comédie-Italienne were closed, the programmes featured a mixture of sacred vocal music and virtuosic instrumental works.¹⁸⁶ The name was perhaps intended to distinguish the musical intent of the series from the more entertainment-based benefits, and also held out to its patrons the allure of the height of foreign fashionability. It appears certain that Passerini was trying to appeal to the elite and to make his series as exclusive as possible. His pricing structure alone saw that those without serious intent would be deterred. In Newcastle, in 1739, subscription to Avison’s series of twelve concerts cost half a guinea, rising to 15 shillings in 1760s.¹⁸⁷ By contrast, Passerini asked for one guinea (21 shillings) for ten tickets to six concerts: however, this is dwarfed by the prices in London where entrance to the concerts in Hickford’s Room in Brewer Street cost

¹⁸⁴ EEC, 17 December 1751.

¹⁸⁵ See Chapter 6 – it was unusual for the Musical Society to stage entire oratorios until the period after 1753.

¹⁸⁶ For further information on the Concert Spirituel see Rosalie McQuaide, ‘Le Concert Spirituel, 1725-1790: A Reflection of French Musical Taste’ (MA diss., University of Virginia, 1969).

¹⁸⁷ Southey, *Music-making*, 174.

6 guineas for entrance to twenty concerts.¹⁸⁸ Individual tickets at the London series were priced at 5 shillings and although individual tickets at Passerini's first series were not advertised, they are likely to have been sold at 2s.6d, or 3s. Passerini published detailed plans of his concerts and they contain little of the fashionable novelties found in the benefit concerts of the time.¹⁸⁹ Passerini's first series obviously met with success as, a week after the final concert, he published plans for an extended and more ambitious programme in the following season. Passerini advertised that in the eight concerts of the second series he intended 'to produce several agreeable and elegant Entertainments unknown in this City'.¹⁹⁰ Passerini revised his price structure: subscribers who gave two guineas received sixteen tickets and individual tickets cost four or five shillings, although Ladies Tickets were available at a half a crown (2s.6d), secure in the knowledge that no fashionable lady would dream of attending unaccompanied. The revised cost of admission possibly reflected a profitable experience promoting concerts in London.¹⁹¹ The success of the first series, and the revised pricing structure of the second, suggests that Passerini was aware of the social cachet of attracting an elite audience to an exclusive social event, but also the attraction of such events to those keen to emulate their social superiors. In *The Theory of the Leisured Classes* (1899), Thorstein Veblen suggested that the pursuit of good taste, and the spread and growth of social refinement, was due to the assiduous emulation and imitation of the tastes of the elite classes by the emerging middle classes.¹⁹² It is likely that Passerini's series, despite the restrictive pricing structure seen for the first time in Edinburgh, drew on these aspirations. The extra-ordinary single tickets, although representing a significant outlay, would have allowed entry to the emerging middle class who would have been unable to subscribe to the entire series.

Farmer was musically dismissive of Passerini's series, criticising the repertoire as restricted to 'a Handel overture, with instrumental solos and songs'.¹⁹³ However, as Baxter has suggested, this is an unfair dismissal of their activities: Passerini's concerts included works by Marcello, Pergolesi, Geminiani and Corelli, many presented for the first time in Scotland.¹⁹⁴ The Passerinis were key to the popularisation of Handel's work outside of London and Simon McVeigh draws attention to the fact that the Passerinis' travels were key to the dissemination

¹⁸⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 3.

¹⁸⁹ See Appendix H – I for full details of Concerts and Repertoire advertised.

¹⁹⁰ CM, 27 February 1752 and 2 March 1752.

¹⁹¹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 234.

¹⁹² Andrew B Trigg, 'Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption' in *Journal of Economic Issues*, 35/1 (2001), 99-115.

¹⁹³ Farmer, *History of Scotland*, 317.

¹⁹⁴ Baxter, 'Italian Music and Musicians in Edinburgh', 114.

of novel repertoire from the European mainland to London in particular and probably to Edinburgh as well.¹⁹⁵

Table 2.1: Vocal music advertised in Giuseppe and Christina Passerini's second subscription series November 1752 - January 1753, repertoire divided by genre

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Italian arias					
Chi non ode, e chi non vede	Pergolesi	cantata for soprano and strings	C. Passerini	14.12.1752	CM 13.12.1752
Datum nunc fragori	Chinzer	Motet	-	14.12.1752	CM 13.12.1752
In hoc sacro	Vinci	motet?	C. Passerini	28.11.1752	CM 27.11.1752
Innocente e quel' affetto	K. H. Graun	<i>Fetonte</i> GraunWV B:1:21 (1750)	C. Passerini	5.12.1752	CM 4.12.1752
Luce degli occhi miei	Pergolesi	cantata for soprano and strings	C. Passerini	5.12.1752	CM 4.12.1752
Miserere mei	Cabalone	Motet	-	26.12.1752	CM 25.12.1752
Nel chiuso centro	Pergolesi	cantata for soprano and strings	C. Passerini	9.1.1753	EEC 8.1.1753
Non disperar mió bene	K. H. Graun	<i>Fetonte</i>	-	5.12.1752	CM 4.12.1752
O dei qual mi sorprende insolito terror	Terradellas	<i>Merope</i> (1743)	-	28.11.1752	CM 27.11.1752
Tu vuoi ch'io vivo o cara	Araja	<i>Artaserse</i> (1738)	-	28.11.1752	CM 27.11.1752
Unnamed cantata	Pergolesi	-	C. Passerini	17.11.1752	CM 7.11.1752
Contemporary English songs					
Hymn of Adam and Eve from the 5 th Book of Milton Paradise Lost	Galliard	(1728)	C. Passerini, Meyer	12.12.1752	CM 7.12.1752
Airs from Handel's oratorios					
After long storms	Handel	<i>Occasional Oratorio</i> HWV 62 (1746)	-	28.11.1752	CM 27.11.1752
Every joy that wisdom knows	Handel	<i>Solomon</i> HWV 67 (1748/9)	-	9.1.1753	EEC 8.1.1753
Happy we	Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> HWV 49 (1739)	-	9.1.1753	EEC 8.1.1753
Heart and soul of soft delight	Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	-	28.11.1752	CM 27.11.1752
Hush, ye pretty warbling choir	Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	-	9.1.1753	EEC 8.1.1753
Jehovah, to my word give ear	Handel	<i>Occasional Oratorio</i>	C. Passerini F. Pasquali (vc)	9.1.1753	EEC 8.1.1753
Pious orgies, pious airs	Handel	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> HWV 63 (1746)	C. Passerini	5.12.1752	CM 4.12.1752
To fleeting pleasures make your court	Handel	<i>Samson</i> HWV 57 (1741)	Meyer	5.12.1752	CM 4.12.1752
To song and dance	Handel	<i>Samson</i>	Meyer	28.11.1752	CM 27.11.1752
Duet	Handel	<i>Occasional Oratorio</i>	-	14.12.1752	CM 13.12.1752
English song	Handel	<i>Samson</i>	F. Pasquali (vc)	14.12.1752	CM 13.12.1752
Scots songs					
One day I heard Mary say [also known as 'I'll never leave thee']	Scots song	-	C. Passerini	5.12.1752	CM 4.12.1752
The bush aboon Traquair	Scots song	-	-	14.11.1752	CM 13.12.1752

¹⁹⁵ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 94, 113.

The lass of Patie's Mill	Scots song	Set in parts by Geminiani (1749)	-	9.1.1753	EEC 8.1.1753
Through the wood laddie	Scots song	-	-	28.11.1752	CM 27.11.1752
Tweedside	Scots song	-	-	14.11.1752	CM 13.12.1752
Unnamed Scots song	Scots song	Set in parts by Geminiani (1749)	-	14.11.1752	CM 13.12.1752

Table 2.1 contains the vocal music advertised for the second series, omitting pieces referred to only in generic terms, unless the reference includes either composer or context. This list appears to suggest a greater variety of music and repertoire than hitherto seen in Edinburgh during this period. There seems to be some suggestion that Passerini's claim that he would present 'Entertainments unknown in this City' was justified and this accords with McVeigh's opinion of the importance of the Passerinis' influence in the dissemination of new music throughout the provinces.

The only vocal work identifiable from the first series, other than an unnamed cantata by Pergolesi, is Galliard's *Hymn of Adam and Eve* (1728) which listed Handel amongst the subscribers.

Figure 2.2: The opening bars of *The Hymn of Adam and Eve* (1728) by Johann Ernst Galliard published in London by John Pine in 1728

The image shows the opening musical score for 'The Hymn of Adam and Eve, out of MILTON.' by Johann Ernst Galliard. The score is written for two soloists, Adam and Eve, and a continuo. The music is in G major and 6/8 time. The lyrics are: 'These are thy glorious works, Parent of Good, Almighty; thine this universal Frame, Thus wondrous fair; thy self how wondrous then! Unspeakable, who sitst above these Heavens to us invisible or dimly seen In these thy lowest works, yet these declare Thy Goodness beyond Thought, and Power Divine: speak ye who best can tell, ye Sons of'.

The piece is a cantata set for two soloists, a tenor and a soprano, who respectively sing the roles of Adam and Eve, and continuo. The German composer Johann Ernst Galliard was chapel-master at Somerset House in London and joined Handel's Italian opera as an oboist in 1713. Galliard published several operas and pantomimes which were popular in the first half of the eighteenth century in London. That this piece was performed in each of the subscription

series suggests that it was popular, and that the audience welcomed it as a respite from works in Italian and Latin.

Christina Passerini's performance of Pergolesi's cantatas was clearly one of the defining features of the series: Pergolesi's popularity at this point in the eighteenth century was at its height and it is clear that Madam Passerini was key to the popularity of the composer in Edinburgh. There was, at the time, a popular enthusiasm for Pergolesi which many singers, Madam Passerini included, capitalised on: Madam Mazzanti (later Mrs Stamper) performed works by Pergolesi, 'Il Sassone', and Handel in concerts in Newcastle, Sunderland, Durham, and presumably Edinburgh as well in 1759 and 1760.¹⁹⁶

A correspondent for the *Scots Magazine* in 1760 summed up the common enthusiasm for Pergolesi:

Musicians seem agreed in making only three principal schools in music: namely the school of Pergolesi in Italy, of Lully in France, and of Handel in England: though some are for making Rameau the founder of a new school, different from those of the former, as he is the inventor of beauties peculiarly his own.

Without any doubt, Pergolese's [*sic*] music deserves the first rank. Though excelling neither in variety of movements, number of parts, or unexpected flights: yet he is universally allowed to be the musical Raphael of Italy. The great master's principal art consisted in knowing how to excite our passions, by sounds which seem frequently opposite to either passion they would express. By slow solemn sounds he is sometimes known to throw up into all the rage of battle; and even by faster movements he excites melancholy in every heart that sounds are capable of affecting. This is a talent which seems born with the artist.¹⁹⁷

It is possible that the unnamed cantata performed on 29 January 1752 was *Orfeo* (1735), which was advertised at Rochetti's benefit on 3 February 1752 as 'The famous cantata of Pergolesi, called, Orpheus seeking after Eurydice'.¹⁹⁸ *Orfeo* is more usually known by its alternate title *Nel chiuso centro* after the opening words. The performance of this cantata in January 1752 may well have been the first performance of this work in Scotland and may even have been the first performance of any of his works in Edinburgh. For the second series Passerini retained an additional singer: Miss Meyer. The combination of two female soloists would have been advantageous for a performance of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* (1736), which

¹⁹⁶ Southey, *Music-making*, 51.

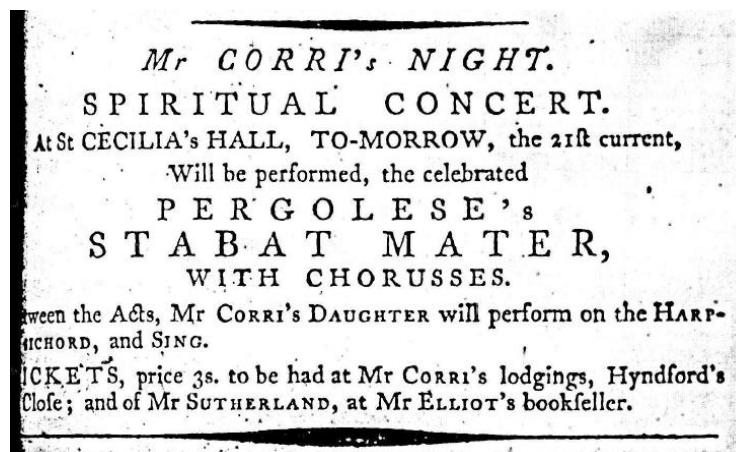
It is likely that pseudonym 'Il Sassone' (the Saxon) here refers to Johann Adolph Hasse (1699-1783), rather than Handel who, like Hasse, acquired this by-name during his time in Italy. For Handel's time in Italy, see Donald Burrows, *Handel*, second edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 31-79.

¹⁹⁷ SM, 22 (1760), 13-14.

¹⁹⁸ EEC, 28 January 1752.

was popular in London at this time. The *Stabat Mater* was purchased and copied by the Musical Society in 1754.¹⁹⁹ The catalogue of the Musical Society library also lists an overture to *Stabat Mater* by Pasquali, written to introduce performances of Pergolesi's work.²⁰⁰ There were probably several performances of the *Stabat Mater* unrecorded during this period, but it is only in March 1780 that an advertisement makes a specific reference to the piece, performed by Alice Corri and presumably one of her students.²⁰¹ Following Christina Passerini, Alice Corri was probably the second greatest exponent of Pergolesi in Edinburgh during this period, although it should be noted that the evidence does not suggest that her repertoire of Pergolesi was as great: *Nel chiuso centro* appears to have been her show piece of choice.

Figure 2.3: Advertisement of a performance of the *Stabat Mater* (1736) by Pergolesi with choruses by Giardini (1756) for the benefit of Domenico Corri, 1780
Edinburgh Evening Courant, 20 March 1780



The aria *Datum nun fragori* is taken from a work by the Italian trumpeter, Giovanni Chinzer, who published an oratorio and several operas before his death. Passerini's performance of the extract seems to be the first mention of the composer in Edinburgh and it was not until December 1762 that Robert Bremner advertised a collection of violin duets by Chinzer, newly printed and available at his shop.²⁰² The performance of two arias by the Italian opera composer Francesco Araja was almost certainly the first performance of this composer in Edinburgh, and appears at present to be one of the only advertised performances of his music in the city during the eighteenth century.²⁰³ It seems likely that the composer, Ninci, referred to in the concert on

¹⁹⁹ EMS Sederunt Books, expenses 2 August 1754.

²⁰⁰ Baxter, 'Italian Music', 45.

²⁰¹ At Corri's concert in March 1780 the *Stabat Mater* was performed with choruses, possibly the four choruses written to augment the work by Felice Giardini in 1756, see McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 151.

²⁰² CM, 4 December 1762.

²⁰³ The Italian composer Francesco Araja (1709-after 1775) spent the majority of his working life as Court Kapellmeister at the Russian Court at St Petersburg. Araja arrived in Russia in 1735 and was in charge of the

28 November 1752, is a misprint for Vinci. The *Miserere* advertised is likely to be one of the sacred works of Michele Cabalone, whose early works displayed a similar Neapolitan style to that found in Pergolesi.²⁰⁴ It was almost certainly his setting of Psalm 51 which the Passerinis performed in 1752, and which, according to the available archives, was not repeated in the eighteenth century. It is clear that as Giuseppe Passerini travelled in Europe he collected manuscripts and acquired an extensive repertoire which helped him to form the innovative programmes he produced in Edinburgh. McVeigh gave a further example: ‘Passerini brought over from Berlin a pastoral named *Charlottenburgh Festeggiante*, composed by the King of Prussia and composers of his court’.²⁰⁵

Passerini advertises two arias by Carl Heinrich Graun, chief composer to the Berlin Court, which may have been acquired on the same occasion as the *Charlottenburgh Festeggiante*. Graun composed six operas performed in Brunswick, and a further 26 which appeared in Berlin. The arias ‘Innocente è quel’ affetto’ and ‘Non disperar mió bene’ were taken from the opera *Fetonte* (1750), premiered in Berlin on 29 March 1750. Graun is considered, alongside Johann Adolph Hasse, the most important German composer of Italian opera in the early eighteenth century.²⁰⁶ Like many of the other composers considered above, his performance and dissemination in the Scottish capital appear to have been the work solely of Giuseppe and Christina Passerini.

The inclusion of extracts from Handel is not surprising, but what is, perhaps, is that nowhere else in this period is this variety of extracts seen. On their slow journey from St Petersburg to Edinburgh, the Passerinis had taken a diversion to meet Handel, who was much impressed with Christina Passerini’s voice. The composer wrote to George Philipp Telemann:

I was on the point of leaving The Hague for London when your most agreeable letter was delivered to me by Mr Passerini. I had just enough time to be able to hear his wife sing... I was soon convinced of her rare quality. They are leaving for Scotland to fulfil concert engagements there for a season for six months. There she will be able to perfect herself in the English language; after that (as they intend to remain some time in London) I shall not fail to be of service to them in all ways that may depend on me.²⁰⁷

music of the court until 1759. Between 1748 and 1750 Giovanni and Christina Passerini had been resident in St Petersburg, where they had promoted a series of subscription concerts, during which time they would probably have become acquainted with Araja and his music.

²⁰⁴ Bertil van Boer, *Historical Dictionary of Music of the Classical Period* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 107.

²⁰⁵ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 113.

²⁰⁶ E. Eugene Helm, ‘Graun, Carl Heinrich’ in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, vol. 2, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), 519.

²⁰⁷ Quoted in Baxter, ‘Italian Music’, 105.

The continued popularity of *Acis and Galatea* is evident. Rochetti was one of the singers employed by Passerini in his series: Rochetti had sung the role of Acis under Handel twice and had performed it several times in Edinburgh.²⁰⁸ The appearance of at least three extracts from the masque suggests that the Passerinis may have also been involved in an unrecorded performance of the work in Edinburgh. ‘Jehovah, to my word give ear’ and ‘After long storms’ were taken from Handel’s *Occasional Oratorio*, which was also in the library of the Musical Society, and although the overture was regularly performed, there is no record of an entire performance in Edinburgh between 1750 and 1800. The duet ‘Every joy that wisdom knows’ was drawn from the oratorio *Solomon*, and was performed by the Passerinis some five years before the Musical Society performed the oratorio in 1757. ‘To fleeting pleasures’ and ‘To song and dance’ were extracted from *Samson* and ‘Pious orgies, pious airs’ was taken from *Judas Maccabeus*. Almost all of these performances occurred before the Musical Society purchased the full scores of the oratorios, and it appears that the Passerinis were instrumental in presenting this repertoire to the Edinburgh musical public for the first time.

As almost a matter of course, Passerini would have had to include several Scots songs in his concerts. Both ‘The bush aboon Traquair’ and ‘The lass of Patie’s mill’ enjoyed lasting popularity throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, as can be seen by the evidence presented in Chapter One, and were both featured in the Passerinis’ concerts. The Passerinis utilised Francesco Geminiani’s *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (1749),²⁰⁹ published in London. Geminiani arranged four Scots songs for performance with a small instrumental band: ‘The lass of Peaty’s [*sic*] mill’, ‘The night her sable wore’, ‘When Phoebus bright’, and ‘O Bessy Bell’. Geminiani’s setting of ‘The lass of Peaty’s [*sic*] mill’ was written for singer (presumably soprano at these concerts), two violins, flute, tenor (viola) and continuo. The concert included another of Geminiani’s settings from the same collection, ‘The bush aboon Traquair’, arranged solely as an instrumental work. Passerini may have borrowed the idea of using these arrangements from the Musical Society: in 1752 the treasurer of the Musical Society paid £2.4s.6d. for ‘Geminiani’s Scots Tunes’.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Ibid, 100.

²⁰⁹ Passerini’s advertisement for the eighth concert specified ‘*The Bush aboon Traquair*, set in parts by Signor Geminiani...[and] *The Lass of Patie’s Mill*, set in Parts by Signor Geminiani’, see Appendix I. CM 8.1.1753.

²¹⁰ National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh: Papers of the Innes Family of Stow, (hereafter NAS, Innes of Stow) ref: GD113/5/208/6.

Figure 2.4: ‘The Lass of Peaty’s Mill’ arranged by Francesco Geminiani
 Reproduced from *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick*, published by Geminiani in London in 1749



It is possible that until Urbani’s arrangements were published in the late 1790s, Geminiani’s arrangements were those most often used in concerts. Many concerts in the second half of the eighteenth century included a performance of ‘The bush aboon Traquair’, ‘The lass of Patie’s mill’ or one of the dozen or so Scots songs that enjoyed real popularity and longevity in the period.

Table 2.2: Analysis of the vocal music advertised in Giuseppe and Christina Passerini’s second subscription series, November 1752 - January 1753, by genre

	Italian arias	Oratorios (English)	Contemporary English songs	Scots songs	Total
Titles	11	11	1	6	29
% of total	37.93	37.93	3.44	20.68	100

Like the benefit concerts considered in Chapter One, a significant proportion of the programme was given over to the performance of Italian arias, but what is significant in Passerini’s second series is that Italian music seems to have shared the limelight with extracts from Handel’s oratorios. Perhaps this, coupled with the small number of contemporary English works advertised, highlights Passerini’s series as having a more serious musical intent than the benefits. His series was not for devotees of novelty entertainments, but for those who cultivated the highest and most fashionable musical tastes, and were, most importantly, willing to pay for it. With equal honours given to English oratorio and Italian opera in the series there is little surprise that Handel’s music was pre-dominant. Passerini left Edinburgh as soon as the second series finished, having argued with the directors of the Musical Society.

Table 2.3: Analysis of the vocal music advertised in Giuseppe and Christina Passerini's second subscription series, November 1752 - January 1753, by composer

	Handel	Pergolesi	Graun	other composers*	unidentified composers*	Total
Titles	11	4	2	6	6	29
% of total	37.93	13.79	6.89	20.68	20.68	100

*other composers: Chinzer, Vinci, Cabalone, Terradellas, Araja, Galliard

*unidentified composers: six Scots songs

His concerts must have been financially successful, however, as he delayed leaving until the end of the series: likewise he would have been unlikely to stage a second enlarged series of concerts if there had been no audience or enthusiasm for it. It seems that, particularly in this case, the choice and production of vocal music was a major contributor to Passerini's success. He perhaps expected it to be: the fact that he advertised the vocal music, often at the expense of fully advertising the instrumental music, suggests that Passerini was well aware of the importance of vocal music in the successful promotion of a concert, and indeed a larger series.

Following the Passerinis' series it was almost twenty years before professional musicians in Edinburgh attempted to stage a similar series. In 1779 Giuseppe Puppo advertised that he would stage three morning concerts, by subscription, to be held during Race Week.²¹¹ No information about the music performed was advertised, but it appears to have been successful as in the following year six subscription concerts were staged under the direction of Puppo, Giusto Tenducci, and Domenico Corri at Poole's Rooms in Princes Street.²¹² Likewise there is no evidence of the music performed at these concerts, but these appear to have been some of the first public concerts staged in the New Town.

In 1797, apparently pre-empting the demise of the Musical Society a group of professional musicians planned a series of public concerts which, following the lead of the musicians in London, they called the Professional Concerts. The continuation of the Society meant that the series did not take place in that year. In December 1798 the proposers advertised that:

The PROFESSIONAL CONCERT which was proposed last season, but prevented by the continuation of the Gentlemen's Concert at St Cecilia's Hall, is now to take place in the George Street, Assembly Rooms.²¹³

²¹¹ CM, 24 July 1779.

²¹² CM, 15 July 1780.

²¹³ CM, 24 December 1798.

The promoters were all musicians, and formerly the employees of the Musical Society: Natale Corri, Girolamo Stabilini, Pietro Urbani and Johann Schetky. Gentlemen subscribers were asked to pay two guineas for entrance to six concerts. In addition to the resident musicians the series retained a harpist from Berlin.²¹⁴ The concerts were to begin in January and continue on alternate weeks until the end of the series.

Despite beginning at a later hour, in terms of concert planning little had changed since the beginning of the 1750s: concerts still consisted of an eclectic mix of instrumental and vocal music. The promoters of the concert decided to abandon the three-act structure which had predominated throughout the eighteenth century and to adopt a simpler two-act plan. A rehearsal of the instrumental music was advertised in January 1799,²¹⁵ but no similar rehearsal of vocal music was advertised: perhaps it was the responsibility of the singer to arrange a rehearsal with their accompanist. From the mid-1780s, the piano had been gaining importance in concerts, and it is possible that instead of the former instrumental accompaniment, singers performed with the piano, or other single instrumentalists.²¹⁶ An advertisement for one of Natale Corri's concerts staged in St Cecilia's Hall at the same time shows the accepted use of the piano as a method of accompanying singers.²¹⁷ Programmes were advertised in the *Edinburgh Herald and Chronicle* allowing a partial list of the vocal music performed at the Professional Concerts to be drawn up. The small sample available, Table 2.4, is in stark contrast to the music known to have been presented in the Passerinis' series: the repertoire appears to have been predominantly contemporary English works, with few Italian arias. Although one should be wary of drawing too many inferences from the small sample it does appear that extracts from popular operas, both English and Italian, retained their popularity with the concert going public.

Table 2.4: Vocal Music advertised in the programmes of the Professional Concerts, January-April 1799

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
To all you ladies, now on land	Callcott	-	Walpole, Cooke Urbani	16.4.1799	EHC 15.4.1799
The Friar of orders grey	Callcott	-	C. Corri, Cooke, Walpole	12.3.1799	EHC 11.3.1799
The Red Cross knight	Callcott	-	C. Corri, Cooke, Walpole	12.3.1799	EHC 11.3.1799
				26.3.1799	EHC 25.3.1799
				16.4.1799	EHC 15.4.1799

²¹⁴ CM, 24 December 1789.

²¹⁵ CM, 12 January 1799.

²¹⁶ At the foundation of Harrison and Knyvett's Vocal Concert in London in 1791 the piano was the only accompaniment used, probably to avoid the cost of an orchestra rather than as an aesthetic choice: an orchestra was later retained, see McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 173.

²¹⁷ EHC, 18 February 1799.

The season of love is no more	Hindle	-	C. Corri, Perrelet (harp)	12.3.1799	EHC 11.3.1799
The soldier tir'd of war's alarms	Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i> (1762)	C. Corri	26.3.1799	EHC 25.3.1799
A Russian duet, with Italian words	-	-	C. Corri, Urbani	12.3.1799	EHC 11.3.1799
Scots duet	[possibly <i>I'll never leave thee</i>]	-	C. Corri, Urbani	26.3.1799	EHC 25.3.1799
Duet	[possibly by Paisiello]	[possibly comic duet from <i>La Frascatana</i>]	C. Corri, Urbani	22.1.1799	EHC 19.1.1799
Song	-	-	C. Corri, Perrelet (harp)	22.1.1799	EHC 19.1.1799

The duet performed by Camilla Corri and Urbani on 22 January 1799 was possibly a duet from Paisiello's opera *Elfrida* (1792), which the same singers performed a few weeks later on 19 February 1799 at a concert in St Cecilia's for the benefit of Natale and Camilla Corri. The opera opened in Naples and reached England in 1798, and was rapturously received with sixteen performances at the King's Theatre.²¹⁸ It received a further sixteen performances in London in 1799, after the performance of a small extract from it in Edinburgh. Alternately the duet performed could be another piece of Paisiello, a comic duet from *La Frascatana* (1774) which the pair performed at a benefit on 7 February 1799.²¹⁹ Once again Edinburgh can be seen to have been barely behind London in the performance of fashionable music and arias from Italian operas.

The emergence of the glee as a popular art form is one the defining features of vocal music in the late eighteenth century and was, in a time of the European domination of music, a rare example of a native genre created with little reference to outside influences.²²⁰ The growth and development of glees and glee clubs in Edinburgh will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three, but the popularity which glees and catches had developed by the end of the eighteenth century is evident. The glee 'The Red Cross knight' by the prodigious Dr John Wall Callcott was performed three times within eight concerts. Callcott also wrote 'The Friar of orders grey', which enjoyed popular success in the 1790s, and was performed on 19 February²²¹ and 5 March 1799,²²² in addition to its appearance in the professional concerts with the glee 'To all you ladies now on land'. Callcott, who had received lessons from Haydn, produced over 100 glees and won several prizes from the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club in

²¹⁸ Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830* (USA: Southern Illinois University, 1994), 122.

²¹⁹ EHC, 7 February 1799.

²²⁰ Brian Robins, 'The Catch and Glee in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England' in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* ed. Susan Wollenberg & Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 141.

²²¹ CM, 18 February 1799.

²²² EHC, 2 March 1799.

London.²²³ But he was, by no means, the only composer to produce a prodigious number of glees as the interest in the genre exploded in the latter decades of the eighteenth century.

The Professional Concerts appear to have been a success, as the promoters advertised a similar series in the following year, effectively disputing Cosh's notions about the scarcity of live performance in Edinburgh at the turn of the nineteenth century:

From the universal approbation with which this favourite Entertainment was received by the Public last season, and in compliance with the wish of a great majority of the Subscribers, it is proposed by the Conductors of the PROFESSIONAL CONCERT, that it shall be renewed next Winter on a similar plan: and they flatter themselves their anxious endeavours to please the Public will meet with the same encouragement by which they were formerly honoured.²²⁴

Despite the changing times and fashion, it is clear that vocal music retained an important place in the concert culture of eighteenth century Edinburgh, and was an important part of successful concert planning. It is true that in public concerts the performance of vocal music was necessarily driven by the public taste, but that surely goes to prove what an important component vocal music was to a financially successful venture. There seems to be little evidence that vocal music was ever 'so much neglected' in the public concerts in the eighteenth century. If anything, at the end of the century one can even detect a movement towards entire concerts dedicated towards vocal music. In April 1799 a group of singers joined together and indicated their intention to stage a vocal concert:

having been suggested by several Amateurs, that a VOCAL CONCERT in the style of Messrs. HARRISON AND KNYVETT's in London (which succeeded so eminently there for several seasons) would be acceptable. The same plan is intended to be brought forward here should applications be sufficiently numerous to warrant the undertaking. It is proposed to take place... in the TEA-ROOM of the ASSEMBLY -ROOM, GEORGE STREET. The performance will principally consist of CANZONETTAS, Songs, Duets, Glees, Elegies, &c. by Mrs CORRI, Mr URBANI, Mr COOKE, and Mr. WALPOLE, with an accompaniment only for the Grand Piano Forte by Mr CORRI. Further particulars may be known and TICKETS at 3s. each had of Messrs. Corri, Dussek & Co. and Mess. Urbani and Lifton.²²⁵

This advertisement demonstrates the beginnings of the separation of instrumental and vocal music, which would become complete in the mid-nineteenth century and also confirms the

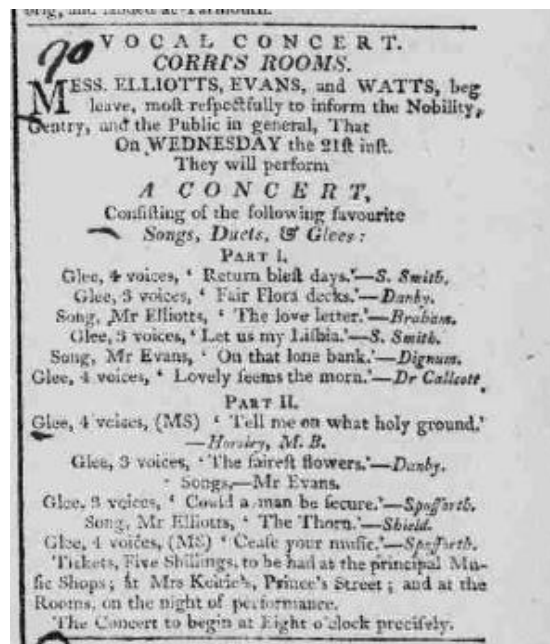
²²³ John Rowe Parker, *Musical Biography or Sketches of the Lives and Writings of Eminent Musical Characters* (Boston: Stone & Fovell, 1825), 121.

²²⁴ EHC, 1 August 1799.

²²⁵ EHC, 20 April 1799

suspicions suggested above, whereby the piano was becoming an accepted way to accompany singers, although the progenitors of the concert may have only been attempting to save the expense of hiring an orchestra. Whether or not the proposals were adopted is unknown as there are no further advertisements for a solely vocal concert until 1804 when Messrs. Elliott, Evans and Watts staged series of vocal concerts ‘with much respectability and care’ at Corri’s Rooms.²²⁶

Figure 2.5: Advertisement for the concert of Vocal Music staged 1804 in Elliott, Evans and Watts Caledonian Mercury, 19 November 1804



Subscription concerts may have been rare in Edinburgh, but there appears to be no doubt that vocal music, and its performance, was a vital part of their success.

2.2 Vocal Music in other concerts

If musicians were unwilling to chance their arm at staging entire concert series, they were often more willing to indulge in single speculative ventures, either as individuals or with the support of an institution.

Leonardo Pescatore obviously had some connection with the Honourable Company of Hunters and gave an annual breakfast concert under their patronage in the 1760s.²²⁷ As a

²²⁶ Stark, *A Picture of Edinburgh*, 376.

²²⁷ CM, 1 March 1762, CM 26 February 1763, 23 March 1765.

singing teacher as well as harpsichordist, it is likely that vocal music played a significant part in his concerts. Public breakfast concerts were more usually associated with the Comely Gardens and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

In July 1772, during race week, the violinist John Collet promoted a series of musical performances featuring marionette puppets (also known as Fantoccini).²²⁸

To-morrow and Saturday there is to be performed at Mary's Chapel, Niddery's Wynd, By FANTICINI, the celebrated opera of La BUONA FIGLIUOLA; which has so long been the favourite at the Hay-Market. The merit of this musical entertainment is well known, and the character of the author SIGNOR PICINNI [*sic*] is inferior to none of the most distinguished composers.

The vocal parts are to be performed by the most celebrated musicians of this city, and the Orchestra with the proper accompaniments [*sic*], will be conducted by Mr COLLET. THE FANTICINI will be dressed in the most elegant manner, agreeable to their several characters. The stage is completely illuminated and ornamented by all the variety of scenery, necessary for the performance of this celebrated piece. Copies of the opera, price 6 d. and tickets for performance, price 2 s. 6 d. to be at Mary's Chapel. The entertainment to begin at eight o'clock.²²⁹

Ten days later Collet staged the English adaption of the piece, called *The Accomplished Maid*, which he advertised was to be 'sung in English'.²³⁰ The performance is too soon after the first to suggest that the English version was only staged at the last minute following the failure of the Italian version, and that Collet was trying to recoup his lost finances by staging it in English. It appears to have always been Collet's intention to stage it twice, once in Italian and once in English. His thoughts may have been influenced by the fact that race week began on Monday 20 July, the same day as his English version was staged, and there would have been lots of people in town seeking easy and novel entertainment, people who possibly would not have gone to the Italian version. This idea is further supported by the fact that the English version was performed at midday on Monday, so people could attend the races, the opera, and still attend the Assembly advertised for that evening. The fact that Collet detailed the music to be performed between the acts also heightens the view of the English performance as something of a light-hearted novelty:

²²⁸ John Collet was a violinist and composer who had married the singer Catherine Rodburn (see Chapter Six). He and his wife were engaged by the Edinburgh Musical Society between 1762 and 1764. They returned to Edinburgh from London in 1769. These performances, either side of Race Week 1772, may have been staged following a brief period in Aberdeen. John Collet died in 1775. See Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 164.

²²⁹ CM, 18 July 1772.

²³⁰ CM, 18 July 1772.

Between the acts of the opera, will be sung, by an entertainer and his wife, two favourite Scotch songs. Likewise, a song by Lazzarone Napolitano accompanied upon different instruments, by the Fanticini.²³¹

It is possible that the ‘entertainer and his wife’ were Domenico and Alice Corri, who were then the only married professional singers in Edinburgh, and who had only recently arrived from Italy: this would seem to be a strong supposition as the following year the Corris staged the Italian version of the opera for their benefit.²³² A month later the marionettes performed Pergolesi’s *La Serva Padrona* (1733) as an afterpiece to the comedy *The Mistake or the Wrangling Lovers* in Mary’s Chapel. This performance was likely aimed at the more relaxed theatre-going audience as seats at the front of the hall cost two shillings and those at the back one. The advertisement also suggested that Collet was seeking to heighten the entertainment element of the evening ‘there will be artificial fire-works, and many other curious things... In the burletta will be introduced some favourite arias and duetto’.²³³

There is no doubt about the importance of vocal music to Collet’s venture and his skilful use of the same piece to appeal to different audiences highlights how aware contemporary musicians were of the appeal of vocal music to their audiences, and how careful they were to tailor their programmes to appeal to audiences in different situations. It is possible that the operas were not a great financial success as Collet does not appear to have repeated the experiment in Edinburgh, and there is no further mention of marionette theatre: however, Collet’s singers can probably claim the accolade of being the first Scottish-based opera company.

In 1791 the professional musicians of the town banded together to form a Society for the well-being of financially struggling colleagues, their widows and children. The society perhaps drew its inspiration from the Royal Society of Musicians in London, or more particularly the New Musical Fund, which was established in the same year as the Edinburgh series. Both groups staged concerts for the support of ‘Decayed MUSICIANS, their WIDOWS and ORPHANS’. Perhaps the greatest inspiration for the Scottish group was the fact the New Musical Fund advertised its charity was only for those ‘living in England’.²³⁴ The title ‘professors’ used in the adverts denotes ‘professional’ rather than any academic claim,²³⁵ and

²³¹ CM, 18 July 1772.

²³² CM, 3 March 1773.

²³³ CM, 12 August 1772.

²³⁴ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 74.

²³⁵ It is interesting to note that in these concerts one sees a greater range of musicians than in other concerts from: Urbani, Natale and Camilla Corri, and Stabilini (former EMS employees) to Mrs Stuart, Miss Ryder, and Holland

it appears that the majority of the professional musicians resident in the city took part in the benefit concert staged once a year in the closing decade of the century:

The Nobility and Gentry are most respectfully informed that the Professors of Music in Edinburgh have formed themselves into a SOCIETY, after the Plan of the Musical Fund in London, in order to provide relief against distress for their Widows and Orphans. The Patronage the Nobility and Gentry are pleased to confer upon arts and science in general, and withal their well-known benevolence, emboldens the Society most humbly to solicit the same protection for this undertaking. The hopes of the Society are the more encouraged by knowing that the greatest part of the Scottish Nobility and Gentry are supportive of the Musical Fund in London. The Society propose to have a CONCERT once a-year, on an enlarged plan, and have submitted this to the inspection of a generous public... The whole of the singers have generously offered the assistance from all the public places in town: and the Managers hope the Concert will meet with the approbation of all those who wish to support this charitable institution.²³⁶

In addition to the vocal music, detailed in Table 2.5, the first concert also included the Overture to the *Occasional Oratorio*, a piano solo by T. H. Butler, an organ concerto by Stephen Clark, and a violin concerto by Stabilini: it is likely that all three of these performers were also the composers of the works presented.²³⁷ The emphasis, however, was clearly on the vocal music: the table below contains only vocal music named in the advertisements, generic titles having been omitted.

Table 2.5: Vocal music advertised in the programmes of the Edinburgh Musical Fund concerts, 1791-1797

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Italian arias					
Verdi prati	Handel	<i>Alcina</i> HWV 34 (1735)	Urbani	24.1.1797	CM 14.1.1797
Airs and Choruses from Handel's oratorios					
Angel's ever bright and fair	Handel	<i>Theodora</i> HWV 68 (1749)	Urbani Clark (org)	20.5.1794	CM 26.4.1794
			Urbani Clark (org)	24.5.1796	CM 21.5.1796
Comfort ye, my people	Handel	<i>Messiah</i> HWV 56 (1741)	Urbani	19.4.1791	CM 14.4.1791
			Urbani	26.3.1793	CM 18.3.1793
Hallelujah	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Chorus	19.4.1791	CM 14.4.1791
			Chorus	26.3.1793	CM 18.3.1793
I know that my redeemer liveth	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Stuart	19.4.1791	CM 14.4.1791
Let the bright seraphim	Handel	<i>Samson</i> HWV 57 (1741)	C. Corri Napier (tr.)	20.5.1794	CM 26.4.1794
O the pleasure of the plains	Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> HWV 49 (1739)	Chorus	19.4.1791	CM 14.4.1791
			Chorus	26.3.1793	CM 18.3.1793

(singers from the Theatre Royal). T. H. Butler was organist to the Episcopal congregation in Blackfriars Wynd, and Stephen Clark was organist of the Episcopalian Chapel in the Cowgate.

²³⁶ CM, 16 April 1791.

²³⁷ CM, 16 April 1791.

See, the conquering hero comes	Handel	<i>Joshua</i> HWV 64 (1747) later added to <i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> HWV 63 (1746)	Chorus	27.1.1795	CM 10.1.1795
Sweet bird, that shun'st the noise of folly	Handel	<i>L'Allegro, il Penseroso</i> HWV 55 (1740)	Stuart	19.4.1791	CM 14.4.1791
The flocks shall leave the mountains	Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Stuart, Urbani, Kube	19.4.1791	CM 14.4.1791
			-	24.4.1792	CM 23.4.1792
			C. Giolivetti, Urbani, N. Corri	27.1.1795	CM 10.1.1795
			C. Corri, Urbani, Holland	27.5.1796	CM 21.5.1796
Volunteers fly to arms [adapted from 'Let the bright seraphim' from <i>Samson</i>]	Handel	-	C. Corri and Napier	27.1.1795	CM 10.1.1795
Ye sacred priests & Farewell, ye limpid springs	Handel	<i>Jeptha</i> HWV 70 (1751)	Urbani	27.1.1795	CM 10.1.1795
Contemporary English Songs					
Fly, soft ideas, fly	Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i> (1762)	Ryder	19.4.1791	CM 14.4.1791
God save the King	-	-	Chorus	27.1.1795	CM 10.1.1795
O Lord, our governor	Marcello arr. Garth	<i>The First Fifty Psalms set to Music</i> (1757-65)	Urbani Clark (org)	26.3.1793	CM 18.3.1793
The soldier tir'd of war's alarms	Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i> (1762)	C. Corri	24.5.1796	CM 21.5.1796
To arms, Britain!	Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i> Z 574/15 (1695)	Chorus	27.1.1795	CM 10.1.1795
Britons strike home	Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i>	-	27.1.1795	CM 10.1.1795
Scots Songs					
I'll never leave thee [also known as 'One day I heard Mary say']	Scots song	-	C. Corri and Urbani	24.1.1797	CM 14.1.1797
Oh open the door, Lord Gregory	Scots song	-	Urbani	20.5.1794	CM 26.4.1794
Roy's wife of Aldevallach	Scots song	-	C. Corri and Urbani	24.5.1796	CM 21.5.1796
Within a mile of Edinburgh	Scots song	-	Urbani	24.5.1796	CM 21.5.1796

The advertisement for the second concert in 1792 relied on generic titles, possibly giving the professors room to change their minds and the only piece of vocal music which can be positively identified is 'The flocks shall leave the mountains' from *Acis and Galatea*. The fund continued into the nineteenth century,²³⁸ but their concerts in 1798 and 1799 appear to have not been advertised in the press.

²³⁸ Cranmer, 'Concert Life', 103.

Table 2.6: Analysis of the vocal music advertised in the programmes of the Edinburgh Musical Fund concerts by genre

	Italian arias	Oratorio (English)	English songs	Scots Songs	Total
Titles	1	11	6	4	22
% of the total	4.54	50.00	27.27	18.18	100

The vocal music performed at the concerts of the Musical Fund seems to have been designed to appeal to the tastes of the gentry and the nobility who would have patronised St Cecilia’s Hall. It is worth noting that, from the list that can be compiled, it appears the concerts lacked the novelty elements of the benefit concerts, perhaps in keeping with the serious intent of the concert, or perhaps as a draw to the more seriously-musically-minded patrons. However, it appears that the concerts of the Edinburgh Musical Fund also lacked the large proportion of Italian music seen elsewhere. This cannot be a reflection on the performers, who elsewhere performed the latest and most fashionable extracts from the opera house in London, but must have been instead a considered programming choice. Although an appeal to the gentry and aristocracy was vital to the success of any charitable venture, the promoters presumably wished to reach the widest possible audience, and so encouraged by the taste of the ‘middling sort’ for Handel, constructed programmes that would appeal to a large majority of their audience. As can be seen in Table 2.7, over 50% of the vocal music advertised was by Handel, and the majority of the music was by English composers or music that appeared in English translations (such as Marcello’s *Psalms* edited by John Garth and Charles Avison).

Table 2.7: Analysis of the vocal music advertised in the programmes of the Edinburgh Musical Fund concerts by composer

	Handel	Purcell	Arne	Marcello	other composers*	Total
Titles	12	2	2	1	5	22
% of the total	54.54	9.09	9.09	4.54	22.72	100

* One unidentified composer (God save the King) and four Scots Songs

Vocal music here is once again of vital importance to the musical-culture of the city and also to the successful financial running of a concert, and there appears little evidence that, in this context, vocal music was neglected in favour of instrumental music.

2.3 Vocal Music as a spur to Patriotism

During the last decades of the eighteenth century the British government was almost continually at war with America and France, and an entire host of minor countries which opposed Britain's imperialistic intentions. Whilst the loss of the American colonies may have been of grave importance in London, it was of little significance to the average concert-goer in Edinburgh when compared with the French Wars of the 1790s. From the French Revolution in 1789, there had been growing tensions between the two governments and in 1793 war was declared and the militia raised. From the early 1790s until the end of the century concert programmes were peppered with the performance of patriotic music, both composed locally and by those further afield, designed to stimulate the patriotic sentiments of the audiences.²³⁹ This may in some way explain the enduring appeal of 'The soldier tir'd of war's alarms', from *Artaxerxes*, which was often included in programmes of patriotic and military music. Arne's soldier may wish to 'forswear the clang of hostile arms' but should the need arise he is ready, willing and burning to 'dare again the field'.²⁴⁰

Table 2.8: Advertised performances of 'The soldier tir'd' from *Artaxerxes* (1762) by Thomas Arne

Date Performed	Performer if known	Staging Institution and Purpose	Source
1.4.1776	McPherson	Theatre Royal	CM.3.3.1776
19.4.1779	Bottarelli	Theatre Royal – evening for the benefit of Mrs Bottarelli and Miss Moore	CM 14.4.1779
29.1.1782	A. Corri	Benefit for the Edinburgh Defensive Band	CM 16.1.1782
18.12.1782	A. Corri	Benefit for the Edinburgh Defensive Band	CM 11.12.1782
21.2.1783	A. Corri	EMS members' concert	EMS Plan Book
20.1.1786	Stewart	EMS members' concert	EMS Plan Book
14.3.1786	Stewart	Benefit for John Mahon	CM 13.3.1786
9.4.1787	Iliff	Theatre Royal	CM 7.4.1787
23.4.1787	Iliff	Theatre Royal – evening for the benefit of Mr Moss	CM 21.4.1787
7.5.1787	Iliff (?)	Theatre Royal (added to Tom Thumb)	CM 7.5.1787
29.1.1793	C. Giolivetti (later Corri)	Benefit for Mme. Giolivetti	CM 24.1.1793
11.3.1793	Billington	Theatre Royal – evening for the benefit of Mrs Billington	CM 7.3. 1793
24.3.1795	Barnet	Volunteer Concert for the band of music of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers	CM 17.3.1795
22.6.1795	Barnet	Morning Concert staged by the band of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers	CM 18.7.1795
22.2.1796	Barnet	Theatre Royal	CM 20.2.1796
24.2.1796	Barnet	Theatre Royal – by desire of Col. Rooker and Officers of the Windsor Foresters	CM 22.2.1796
19.3.1796	Barnet	Theatre Royal	CM 17.3.1796
26.3.1799	C. Corri	Professional Concerts	EHC 25.3.1799

²³⁹ Southey, *Music-making*, 152.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 159.

It is, perhaps, significant that the first performance of ‘The soldier tir’d’, noted in Table 2.8, came a year after the beginning of the American Revolutionary War and only a few months before the colonies joined together as the United States of America.

In 1795, in response to the fears of French invasion, Volunteer Corps were raised and militias and military bands were moved to places of strategic importance along the coast of Britain. In July 1795 Miss Barnet was recorded singing ‘The soldier tir’d’ in the Assembly Rooms, with the band of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers.²⁴¹ On 20 March 1799 the band of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers performed a ‘Grand Military Concert’ in which Camilla Corri sang ‘Volunteers fly to arms: with a Trumpet Obligato, by Mr W. Napier – HANDELL’.²⁴² This work, adapted from ‘Let the bright seraphim’, was performed regularly by William Napier and Camilla Corri.²⁴³

Table 2.9: Sample of vocal music with patriotic sentiments performed in Edinburgh, 1790-1800

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Date performed	Performer if known	Staging institution and purpose	Source
Britons, strike home	Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i> Z 574 (1695)	5.11.1793	-	Addition to the play <i>The Land we live in or British Loyalty</i>	CM 4.11.1793
			27.1.1795	-	Fifth Annual Concert of the Edinburgh Musical Fund	CM 26.1.1795
Rule Britannia	Arne	<i>Alfred</i> (1753)	16.7.1790	-	Theatre Royal	CM 15.7.1790
			9.7.1791	Bede	Theatre Royal	CM 4.7.1791
			5.11.1793	-	Addition to the play <i>The Land we live in or British Loyalty</i>	CM 4.11.1793
			10.7.1794	-	Benefit Concert for the sufferer in the late Glorious Victory under the Gallant Commander Lord Howe	CM 5.7.1794
To arms, Britain!	Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i> Z 574 (1695)	27.1.1795	-	Fifth Annual Concert of the Edinburgh Musical Fund	CM 26.1.1795
Volunteers fly to arms [adapted from ‘Let the bright seraphim’]	Handel	<i>Samson</i> HWV 57 (1741/2)	16.3.1796	C. Corri and Napier (tr.)	Benefit for the band of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers	CM 14.3.1796
			20.3.1799	C. Corri and Napier (tr.)	Benefit for the band of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers	CM. 9.3.1799

²⁴¹ CM, 18 July 1795.

²⁴² EA, 15 March 1799.

²⁴³ Alexander McGrattan, ‘The Solo Trumpet in Scotland, 1695-1800’ in *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historical Brass Symposium, Amherst 1995*, ed. Stewart Carter (New York: Pendragon Press, 1997), 88.

‘The soldier tir’d’, however, was by no means the only extract from an opera to be used for rousing or patriotic purposes. Table 2.9 shows the use of four arias in the 1790s: in the theatre they were usually appended to a patriotic play or used in a concert of military music. From their raising in 1795, the Band of the Edinburgh Volunteer Corps held an annual benefit until the end of the decade. The first was held on 22 July 1795 in race week, and in addition to patriotic songs included martial instrumental music noticeably absent from other benefits of the period including: *British Loyalty*, *The Honourable Henry Dundas of Melville’s March and Quick Step* by Johann George Schetky.²⁴⁴ In 1799 the Shropshire Militia was also stationed at Edinburgh and performed concerts in the city.²⁴⁵ The quasi-nationalist sentiments of Purcell’s *Bonduca* (1695) were popular in London and extracted arias were adopted into the public oratorio series in 1780s.²⁴⁶

In this instance vocal music was not only a vibrant part of the musical culture of the city but also a useful political tool, inspiring the population to the defence of the realm against an outside oppressor, albeit one with whom Scotland had traditionally been more closely associated than England.

Conclusion

Roz Southey has highlighted the financial perils and pitfalls of promoting concerts for professional musicians in English provincial musical centres: however, she also concludes that if public concerts were correctly managed and the fickle wishes of the public correctly anticipated they could be a lucrative form of extra income for a musician.²⁴⁷ The success of these ventures depended solely upon the goodwill of the audience. The concert promoters of eighteenth century Edinburgh were well aware of their obligations to their patrons. In 1791, Pietro Urbani advertised his sincere gratitude to his public:

MR URBANI is impressed with the liveliest gratitude to the very numerous and brilliant Company who honoured him with their patronage at his Concert last night; and requests they will accept his warmest thanks for so flattering a mark of public attention. It will ever be his endeavour to merit the favour of a generous Public.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ CM, 18 July 1785.

²⁴⁵ CM, 9 March 1799.

²⁴⁶ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 107.

²⁴⁷ Southey, *Music-making*, 172-7, and 187-19.

²⁴⁸ CM, 24 February 1791.

Likewise in 1771 the singer Cornforth Gilson appealed to the concert-going population to forgive his many indiscretions. He was, he wrote, mindful of the:

Kind reception he met with at first in this country, and of the repeated good offices and favours conferred on him by the many of the first rank and character in it, [and] was more distressed by the thought of not being able, from a tedious indisposition, to make suitable return, than by all the other inconveniencies it subjected him and his family to: But now being entirely recovered, and having firmly resolved to give all his time to the steady prosecution of his business and the service of his friends, he humbly hopes they will forget his past foibles, and give him another opportunity to regain their favour and protection.²⁴⁹

Whether the concert-going audience would have distinguished between the professionally promoted concerts described above and benefit concerts is an interesting, but ultimately unanswerable point. Audiences would have had to have been assured of hearing music that would suit their tastes. The surest way to achieve this was to plan concerts which reflected the current tastes and trends. The value of an analysis of vocal music in public concerts of this period is in showing that vocal music, of all types, had an enduring popularity with the concert-going public and that the judicious choice of repertoire would do much to aid returns at a concert. The continued popularity of Handel is evident from performances throughout the period culminating in performances of the Edinburgh Musical Fund in the 1790s. It was possible that the music of Handel, rather than the latest Italian music, was used at these events to appeal to the widest possible paying audience. It will be discussed below how the taste for Italian opera and oratorio in London, and possibly in Edinburgh, became associated with the upper echelons of Society to the exclusion of the bourgeois middle class, something which would have been disastrous for a charity venture which, in Edinburgh with its smaller audience, relied on appealing to a wide cross section of society.

The growth of professionalism, already discussed, can also be seen in these concerts. The Passerinis' subscription series of the early 1750s appears to have been the first such concerts in Edinburgh, demonstrating how far the musical culture of Edinburgh lagged behind England in the middle part of the century. When not in Edinburgh the Passerinis staged concerts in London in 1752-3 and 1753-4, and were among a number of musicians promoting similar ventures.²⁵⁰ The Passerinis later attempted to stage concerts in Bath,²⁵¹ before moving to

²⁴⁹ CM, 11 March 1771.

²⁵⁰ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 234

²⁵¹ Ian C. Bradley, *Water Music: Music Making in the Spas of Europe and North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 39-40.

Dublin.²⁵² By the end of the century musicians were regularly staging their own concerts, concert series, and events as commercial propositions. The Passerinis, as frustrating as they were to the directors of the Musical Society, represented the new breed of musicians who were able to bargain for higher fees, and free to seek employment elsewhere. The close and easy contact with London, which did so much to expand the repertoire of music in Edinburgh, also led to the professionalisation and ultimately, in events like the Musical Fund and the Professional Concerts, the collectivisation of the music industry.

Vocal music remained an important consideration in the staging of independent concerts throughout the eighteenth century. Indeed at some concerts, including the proposed vocal concerts and the Handel concerts at the Theatre Royal, vocal music was the primary attraction. Far from being eclipsed by instrumental music, at the end of the eighteenth century the surviving evidence suggests that although vocal music was beginning to be separated from instrumental music on occasions, it retained an equal importance.

²⁵² Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, 73.

Chapter Three

Music for Gentlemen's Leisure

Writing in the *Spectator* in 1711, Joseph Addison commented upon the eighteenth century enthusiasm for constituting clubs and societies:

Man is a sociable animal and... we take all occasions and pretences of forming ourselves into those little nocturnal assemblies which are commonly known as *clubs*. When a set of men find themselves agree in any particular, though never so trivial, they establish themselves into a kind of fraternity, and meet once or twice a week, upon the account of such a fantastic resemblance.²⁵³

Throughout the eighteenth century clubs for like-minded gentlemen sprung up in every corner of the kingdom.²⁵⁴ Over 2,000 clubs and societies were said to exist in Georgian London alone: some were social, some enquiring, and others artistic.²⁵⁵ Some were aristocratic groups intent on exerting political pressure, others were plebeian societies concerned with education and self-improvement. Many had a musical element and there were many clubs dedicated to making music in all levels of society. In London the aristocracy sang in the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, founded in 1761, whilst those of humbler origin sang with the Madrigal Society, founded in 1741.²⁵⁶ Lancashire weavers patronised singing societies which met during their scant leisure hours.²⁵⁷

The world of amateur aristocratic music-making was an exclusively male one. Daughters of society's elite were taught to sing for friends and family whilst accompanying themselves at home, or at parties. Gentlemen appear to have favoured singing in groups, acting as an extension of their business hours, talking, meeting, networking and dealing, but also enjoying the conviviality of their peers and an association with a cultural elite. As Brian Boydell points out in *Popular Music in Eighteenth-century Dublin* it is possible that the surviving evidence gives a biased image of vocal music at the time.²⁵⁸ It is not to be supposed that the performance of vocal music in the eighteenth century was a preserve of the elite, but

²⁵³ Joseph Addison, 'Birds of a feather flock together' in *The Spectator*, 11 (1711), 1.

²⁵⁴ Porter, *English Society*, 156-7.

²⁵⁵ Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 37.

²⁵⁶ Viscount Gladstone, et al., *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays towards its History* (London: The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, Cypher Press, 1996), 11.

²⁵⁷ Porter, *English Society*, 154-156.

²⁵⁸ Boydell, *Georgian Lollipops*, 5.

rather than the vocal music performed on the street, in the tavern in loose convivial groups, and in people's homes is harder to accurately reconstruct.²⁵⁹

Roy Porter has convincingly suggested that the growth of convivial societies was a reaction against the faceless anonymity of developing urban spaces,²⁶⁰ and Robins has suggested that the foundation of clubs and societies bound newly-emerging urban communities together: institutionalisation led to collectivisation and the genesis of a middle class.²⁶¹ In Edinburgh, unlike the already extant Musical Society, the musical societies founded in the second half of the eighteenth century were primarily concerned with the performance of vocal music, often catches and glees. The view of the aristocracy towards music education and performance will be discussed in Chapter Six, but it is worth remembering the aristocratic bias against obtaining great proficiency as a musician. Sir John Clerk said of his brother 'he play'd on the violencello [*sic*] with all the perfection of the Greatest Master, and rather too well for a Gentleman'.²⁶² If instrumental practice and professional-standard performance was not appropriate for a gentleman, is it any wonder that a musically-educated elite would turn to singing groups rather than instrumental ensembles? The foundation of Gentlemen's clubs for the performance of glees in the eighteenth century also had a social element, which societies such as the Edinburgh Musical Society lacked. They were, according to Robins, 'gentlemen's clubs formed for the express purpose of combining conviviality with performance'.²⁶³ Catches and glees were a uniquely British genre which, beyond their debt to Italian madrigals, developed isolated from European influences.²⁶⁴ Johnson wrote that the glee mainly derived its part-writing and word-setting techniques from English church music and sixteenth century madrigals, which were reprinted and performed throughout the eighteenth century.²⁶⁵ Roger North described the popularity of singing groups amongst the working classes following the Restoration:

²⁵⁹ Isolated accounts of singing in labouring class communities do exist. Porter quotes Samuel Bamford's *Passages in the Life of a Radical*, 'whole nights would be spent at the loom, the weavers occasionally striking up a hymn or Christmas Carol in chorus... Before Christmas we frequently sang to keep ourselves from sleep, and we chorused 'Christians, awake' when we ourselves were almost gone to sleep'. Porter, *English Society*, 154

²⁶⁰ Porter, *English Society*, 141.

²⁶¹ Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 141.

²⁶² Sir John Clerk, *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik baronet, baron of the Exchequer, extracted by himself from his own journals, 1676-1755* (Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1892), 222.

²⁶³ Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 141.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ David Johnson, Introduction to *The Scholars Book of Glees* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), iv..

Some shopkeeper and foreman came weekly to sing in consort; and to hear, and injoy [sic] ale and tobacco; and after some time the audience grew strong... and their musick was chiefly out of Playford's Catch Book.²⁶⁶

In addition to this collection of workers, catches also proved popular with gentlemen and men of substance. In January 1660/61 the musical naval clerk and diarist, Samuel Pepys, recorded:

and so to Mr. Turner's house, where the Comptroller, Sir William Batten, and Mr. Davis and their ladies; and here we had a most neat little but costly and genteel supper, and after that a great deal of impertinent mirth by Mr. Davis, and some catches, and so broke up, and going away.²⁶⁷

In London, in 1761 the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club was founded with the objective to 'encourage the efforts of rising composers'.²⁶⁸ One of the leading figures in its instigation appears to have been John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich, and its subsequent membership included royalty, peers of the realm, political figures, and leaders from the armed services and the world of business. The exclusivity of the club was preserved by firmly controlling membership and developing a strict set of rules including fines and expulsion for non-attendance. The foundation of an annually-awarded prize for the best new catches, glees and canons ensured that their repertoire was current, fashionable and diverse.²⁶⁹ Robins quotes Porter's opinions in *Science, Provincial Culture and Public Opinion in Enlightenment England* that the manners and institutions of eighteenth century London were quickly adopted in provincial towns. He concludes that it was hardly surprising that the foundation of the aristocratic and political London Catch Club was quickly imitated in provincial centres throughout Britain.²⁷⁰ Many major population centres had an institution dedicated to the performance of catches and glees: Lichfield (founded in 1772), Bristol (founded by 1774), Salisbury (founded before 1776), Canterbury (founded in 1779), Bath (founded sometime before 1784), and Chichester (founded in 1787) and Robins uses these as the principal sources for his study *The Catch and Glee in Eighteenth-Century Provincial England*. The Edinburgh Catch Club was formally constituted in 1771, before the examples considered by Robins. Once again, fashion seems to have travelled faster to Scotland's capital city than it did to the outlying areas of the English provinces. This was undoubtedly due to the constant movement of

²⁶⁶ Roger North, *Roger North on Music*, ed. John Wilson (London: Novello & Co., 1959), 351.

²⁶⁷ 'Diary of Samuel Pepys' accessed on 25 September 2013, <http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1661/01/29/>

²⁶⁸ Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 142.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 143.

influential and affluent Scots between the two capital cities.²⁷¹ Much of the impetus for the performance of vocal music in Edinburgh in the second half of the eighteenth century undoubtedly came from the musical clubs and societies which were formed in imitation of similar groups in London. Before considering gentlemen's singing clubs, the city's pre-eminent aristocratic musical association, the Edinburgh Musical Society, and its use of vocal music will be explored.

3.1 Vocal Music in the Edinburgh Musical Society's meetings

The Edinburgh Musical Society is probably the most studied and analysed musical institution in Scotland in the eighteenth century and has featured in numerous studies and articles. The origin of the Society was probably in the last decade of the seventeenth century. The earliest detailed record of the society was generally presumed to date from St Cecilia's Day 1695,²⁷² but in recent years Peter Holman has convincingly argued that this concert has been misdated, and probably took place in about 1710.²⁷³ The informal music club was formally constituted as a society in 1728 and began (or continued) to hold regular Friday evening concerts in Mary's Chapel at the top of Niddry's Wynd.²⁷⁴ In the second half of the eighteenth century the Society did much to foster and encourage vocal music: singing seems to have played a part in the Society from its early origins as John Steill, the landlord of the Cross Keyes where the music club first met, was 'a great lover of musick, and a good singer of Scots songs'.²⁷⁵

It is arguable that the vocal music performed at the Friday evening concerts was more a professional concern than an amateur one, but I would contend that as the professional musicians were employed by the directors of the Society, there must have been some dialogue between directors and singers regarding repertoire.²⁷⁶ In the early days of the Society the directors took steps to carefully plan the instrumental repertoire, but considered that it should be left to the singer 'to sing what songs he pleases'.²⁷⁷ I suspect that this situation did not last long and as the directors began to spend greater sums on singers, they became more interested

²⁷¹ See *The Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* ed. Nenadic.

²⁷² Johnson, *Music and Society*, 11.

²⁷³ Peter Holman, 'An Early Edinburgh Concert' in *Early Music Performer*, 13 (2004), 9-17.

²⁷⁴ For a full discussion of the origins of the Musical Society see: Johnson, *Music and Society*, 33-34, and Macleod.

²⁷⁵ Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: W. Creech, 1779), 379.

²⁷⁶ Professional musicians acting as impresarios on their own behalf have already been discussed in Chapters One and Two.

²⁷⁷ EMS Sederunt Books, 3 July 1733.

in the repertoire performed. Certainly the directors were not slow to remonstrate when a singer did not live up to their expectations. In 1760, William Douglas entered into correspondence with Marianna Mazzanti (also known as Mrs Stamper) who had complained about the poor returns from her benefit:

The Company who frequent [*sic*] the Concert as well as the Members... not only expect good musick but variety, especly [*sic*] in the singing part... You gave the Concert avery [*sic*] night a repetition of the same. You brought to this place about a Doz[e]n. Songs and since that you have acquired about half a Doz[e]n. more and these we got from you over and over so that everybody knows what they are to expect.²⁷⁸

Whilst this may not support the theory that the directors were intimately involved in the planning of the vocal music at the concerts, it demonstrates what was expected from the singers. Other sources give the impression that the directors wished to be more actively involved with the choice of vocal music performed. In 1771, when Domenico Corri and his wife Alice, ‘La Minitrice’, were engaged by the Musical Society, the secretary wrote:

Mr Core shall perform on the Harpsichord or Violin as occasion requires... and Sigr Core shall sing such Songs as she shall be required.²⁷⁹

Not *when* required but as she *shall* be required. Likewise, earlier in 1763, when renewing their contract with the erratic Cornforth Gilson, the directors had specified that they would augment his salary to £20.0s.0d. per annum if he was prepared:

to sing when desired what songs, duets, or choruses shall be appointed him by any of the directors, and to attend the concert and rehearsals regularly on these conditions.²⁸⁰

The fact that the surviving plans of the Society rarely specify vocal repertoire has, I believe, led commentators to suppose that the choice of repertoire was largely that of the singer. I suggest, on the contrary, that the directors and members were intimately involved of the choice of vocal music. The sparse records in the Plan Books may simply reflect the fact that much of the vocal music performed was performed with only keyboard, rather than instrumental, accompaniment. Jennifer Macleod believed that the lack of detailed records of vocal music

²⁷⁸ EMS Sederunt Books, February 1760.

²⁷⁹ EMS Sederunt Books, July 1771.

²⁸⁰ EMS Sederunt Books, November 1763.

meant that directors interfered little with the choices of the singers, but the evidence presented here indicates that this was not the case.²⁸¹

There are three surviving Plan Books, covering the years 1768-1771, 1778-1782, and 1782-1786. The books dedicate a page to each concert and were clearly written in advance of the concert as alternatives were given if players were absent. Macleod suggests that concerts were planned in large blocks in advance of each season, citing the fact that each concert from 10 March 1768 to 23 June 1769 began successively with one of the series of *Periodic Overtures* published by Robert Bremner.²⁸² If Macleod's suggestion of large-scale advance planning is accepted, it would certainly explain why the vocal music was often not specified but it would not explain why individual singers were often still named: I think it more likely that once the Society had found a pattern that worked it was easy to stick to it. Table 3.1 gives an indication of the formulaic concert programming at use in the Plan Books.

Table 3.1: Comparison of two concerts from the Edinburgh Musical Society Plan Books, April 1769

14 April 1769	21 April 1769
1 Act 8 Overture Periodicall Song Madam [name not given] Song Tenducci	1 Act 9 Periodicall Overture Song Mr Tenducci Treo Stamitz
2 Act 4 Overture Abell 2 op Song Madam [name not given] Stamitz Treoos Song Tenducci	2 Act 5 Overture Abell 2 op Song Tenducci Notourno Martini Song Tenducci
3 Act 4 Overture Richter Song Madam [name not given] Song Tenducci Overture by Lord Kellie	3 Act 5 Overture Richter Song Mr Tenducci Overture Lord Kellie

It is clear that each concert contained at least two or three vocal items: occasionally the Plan Books specify the repertoire to be sung. This, I believe, is a further indication of the active involvement of the directors in concert planning as, although some of the works specified required orchestral accompaniment, not all do.

Like most inquiring societies the Musical Society maintained its own library, which was open to its members. The Society produced two Indexes of their musical holdings: the first in 1765 and a second in 1782, the second being largely a copy of the first, with a few

²⁸¹ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 91.

²⁸² Ibid, 90-91.

additions.²⁸³ A full transcript of the vocal music recorded in the 1782 Index, can be seen in Appendix J. The Index lists 68 volumes of vocal music, containing 129 titles with a few repetitions, presumably as music was lost and replaced. Without repetitions the Index contains 121 individual titles, most of which probably contained at least ten separate arias: so it appears that the singers and chorus of the Society had access to over 1,000 individual arias and vocal pieces (at a conservative estimate). The Index lists titles so far not detected elsewhere in Edinburgh including many of Handel's Italian operas, such as *Scipio* (1725), *Admeto* (1727) and *Flavio* (1723), as well as music by Terradellas, Galuppi, Hasse, Lampugnani, Cocchi and Vinci. Most of these operatic scores appear to have been the 'selected favourite' arias printed by John Walsh in London, in the months following the successful premiere of an opera. The library included some of the first experiments in pasticcio Italian opera in London, *Camilla* (1706), *Thomyris* (1707), and *Clotilda* (1706).²⁸⁴ Most of the library, based on publication dates, seems to have been assembled before 1761, but it also includes later purchases such as J. C. Bach's *La Clemenza di Scipione* (1778) and Sacchini's *L'Amore Solidato* (1778). As can be seen by Table 3.2, extracts from Italian opera made up by far the greatest section of the library, with 63.63% of the holdings being in Italian or derived from Italian works.

Table 3.2: Analysis of the 1782 Edinburgh Musical Society Music Index by genre

	Italian opera extracts or songs	Oratorio (English or Italian)	Sacred Music	English secular works or songs	Scots songs	French songs	Total
Titles	77	16	16	8	2	2	121
% of total	63.63	13.22	13.22	6.61	1.65	65	100

Of the identifiable titles in the Index it is possible to see a definite trend in the purchasing habits of the Society. The Musical Society showed a preference for those composers and works who had achieved popularity in the Italian opera in London. It is perhaps not surprising, given his pre-eminent position in London and the popular acclaim for Handel during his lifetime, that Handel's vocal compositions should make up 50% of the identifiable vocal music held by the Musical Society. The actual total maybe somewhat higher as many of the unattributed Italian or English songs in the Index may have also been his compositions.

²⁸³ For a detailed discussion of the Indexes see Jennifer Macleod, 'The Repertoire of the Edinburgh Musical Society, with reference to the Indexes of 1765 and 1782 and other Society papers: an initial computerisation of the material' (MMus diss., University of Edinburgh, n.d.).

²⁸⁴ For the origin and importance of these works in the history of Italian opera in London in 1706-1707 season, see Burrows, *Handel*, 81-83.

Table 3.3: Analysis of the 1782 Edinburgh Musical Society Music Index by composer. Composers with only one title recorded in the Index have been omitted.^a

	Handel	Galuppi	Hasse	Pergolesi	J. C. Bach	Cocchi	Bononcini	Jommelli	Other composers*	Total
Titles	33	6	5	4	4	4	3	3	2 each 4 in total	66
% of total	50.00	9.09	7.57	6.06	6.06	6.06	4.54	4.54	3.03 each 6.06 in total	100

^a Where the work of a composer was included in a pasticcio opera, their name has only been included when there were credited in the London edition published by John Walsh.

*Other composers with two titles recorded in the Index: Stanley and Boyce.

It is possible that over the course of its existence the Musical Society performed most of the works in the library: certainly there appear to have been few additions in the twenty years between the first catalogue and the second. It is, however, likely that a large proportion of the vocal music in the library was never performed in the concerts, but existed to be consulted and borrowed by members.

If the music performed in the concerts followed the patterns seen in the volumes in the library, over 60% of the music performed would have come from Italian operas, and 50% would have been by Handel. The fact that only three Plan Books survive (and that vocal music was only sporadically recorded) make it difficult to draw any firm conclusions, but it is possible to identify patterns.

Table 3.4: Performance of Italian music at the Friday evening concerts of the Edinburgh Musical Society, recorded in the Plan Books of 1768-1771 and 1778-1786.

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Ah, non lasciarmi	Perez	<i>Didone Abbandonata</i> (1752)	A Corri	12.4.1782	EMS Plan Books 1768-1771 1778-1782 1782-1786
			-	8.8.1783	
Cara ti lascio addio [not in EMS song index]	J. C. Bach	Scena composed for Tenducci, WG 36b	Tenducci	26.8.1768	
Dove sei, amato ben?	Handel	<i>Rodelinda</i> HWV 19 (1725)	A. Corri	14.2.1783	
			-	27.6.1783	
Dovunque il guardo	Jommelli	<i>La Passione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo</i> (1749)	A. Corri	12.5.1780	
			-	3.5.1783	
L'onda del mar	Vinci	<i>Artaserse</i> (1730)	A. Corri	21.4.1780	
			A. Corri	5.1.1781	
			A. Corri	21.4.1782	
			-	10.5.1785	
			-	17.5.1782	
Nel chiuso centro	Pergolesi	cantata for soprano and strings	-	8.8.1783	
			A. Corri	28.4.1780	
			A. Corri	5.5.1780	
Non ha ragione ingrati	Perez	<i>Didone Abbandonata</i>	A. Corri	12.5.1780 (recit and 1 st aria only)	
			-	3.5.1782	

Ombra cara	Handel	<i>Radamisto</i> HWV 12 (1720)	A. Corri	14.4.1780
			-	21.4.1780
			-	28.4.1780
Quel volto amabile quel core	Perez	<i>Aria Duetto à 6 in Due Soprani, Del Sig[ri]e Perez</i>	D. and A. Corri	5.5.1780
Rasserena il vago ciglio	Rauzzini	<i>L'eroe cinese</i> (1782)	-	14.6.1782
Rendi ò cara il prence amato	Sarti	<i>L'Olimpiade</i> (1778)	-	18.6.1784
Tre la vittime di amore [recorded as 'Pria la vittima'] ²⁸⁵	Terradellas	<i>Mitridate</i> (1746)	A. Corri	14.4. 1780
			A. Corri	12.1.1781
			A. Corri	19.1.1781
			A. Corri	1.3.1783
Verdi prati	Handel	<i>Alcina</i> HWV 34 (1735)	-	9.1.1781
			D. Corri	21.2.1783
			-	12.11.1784
Voi dolci aurette	Handel	<i>Tolomeo, re d'Egitto</i> HWV 25 (1728)	A. Corri	12.5.1780
Song with Horns	Galuppi	-	A. Corri	21.4.1780

As will be seen from later discussion of music in the theatre, complete Italian operas only enjoyed a brief vogue in Edinburgh despite their popularity in London, and it was only favourite extracts that came into the consciousness of the provincial concert going-public.²⁸⁶

The aria 'Rasserena il vago ciglio' is a good example of how up to date the fashions in Edinburgh could be. Macleod suggests that the record of the aria is a mistake for 'Rasserena il mesto ciglio' from *Artamene* (1746) by Gluck,²⁸⁷ which had previously been performed in Edinburgh. I suggest, however, that the aria is correctly recorded and is drawn from *L'eroe Cinese* (1782) by Venanzio Rauzzini, which was premiered in London at the King's Theatre in Haymarket only three months before its appearance in Edinburgh. This effectively demonstrates the fast musical transmission between the two cities, which relied upon a steady stream of musicians and patrons travelling between the two centres.

The only definite evidence which, at present, shows the Musical Society's involvement with an entire Italian opera comes in 1774, when it was advertised that:

We are informed, that the Gentlemen of the MUSICAL SOCIETY are to have the Opera of LA BUONA FIGLOULA [*sic*] performed at their Concert on FRIDAY the 4th of March current.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ This aria is recorded in the Plan Books as 'Pria la vittima' on three separate occasion. Macleod notes that the EMS song index did not contain a piece by this title (Macleod, 135) and I have found no evidence of existence of an aria by this name. I believe this is likely to be a consistent error of the part of the scribe as Terradellas' music had been performed in Edinburgh since at least 1752, and had been known since 1749. As shown below, however, in 1762 (table 3.6) the Society's library included 'the favourite songs from Terradellas' and in 1749 (table 3.7) the Society paid a copyist to create a set of part for Terradellas' *Merope* in ten parts.

²⁸⁶ Helen Berry, *The Castrato and his Wife* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 65.

²⁸⁷ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 135.

²⁸⁸ CM, 2 March 1774.

This performance of Piccinni's music was not unique: Robert Bremner published the complete score in 1767²⁸⁹ and, as had already been discussed, there had been at least two performances of the complete opera in Edinburgh before: one staged by John Collet in 1772,²⁹⁰ and another by Domenico and Alice Corri in 1773.²⁹¹ The Musical Society performance of the opera was probably directed by Corri, and probably had many of the same performers as the earlier productions. If the work was performed in its entirety (and in Italian, which is possible given that Bremner's score was published in that language) it would provide the only instance of a Friday evening concert being replaced by an operatic work. It is debatable to what extent this performance would have included any amateurs, as the piece contains only eight roles and no choruses. This restricted size would have made it an easily staged piece for the professional musicians in Edinburgh. Although it is possible that some of the orchestral players were amateurs, I think it unlikely that the performance at the Friday concert in March 1774 included any amateur singers.

Figure 3.1: An extract from *La Buona Figliuola* (1760) by Niccolò Piccinni printed in London in 1767 by Robert Bremner

The image shows a page of a musical score for the opera *La Buona Figliuola*. The title is written in a cursive hand at the top center, with the number '3' in the top right corner. The score is written on five staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. It contains the lyrics: "pia. f. p. for. pia. for". The second staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature, marked "v. 2?". The third staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature, containing the lyrics: "che bel di letto e potere all'erba di fiori dir son io coi freschi umori che vi vengo ad affiar". The bottom staff is a bass line in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature, containing figured bass notation: "6 8 6 7# 4# 7 6 5 8 f. 6 p. 6 4 8 for.". The score is printed in black ink on aged paper.

A performance which supplanted an entire evening's concert was rare and must have only occurred with the permission and support of the directors: it is highly likely that it was even a

²⁸⁹ CM, 25 March 1767.

²⁹⁰ CM, 8 July 1772.

²⁹¹ CM, 8 March 1773.

request from one of the directors as, if it had been a financial favour to Corri, it would likely have taken the form of an extra benefit and would have been advertised as such.

Likewise, there must have been a special reason why the performance of particular pieces of vocal music were recorded in the Plan Books: were they special requests by directors or members? This would support the theory that the directors were actively involved in the support of vocal music in the society. There is always the possibility that some of the extracts were recorded to mark their first performance, as is almost certainly the case with the performance of *Caro ti lascio addio*, a scena composed by J. C. Bach especially for the singer, Tenducci. However, the Plan Books are clearly not just lists of first performances, as otherwise the recording of subsequent repetitions would have been unnecessary. There is the possibility that the Plan Books record specific requests or recommendations from members who had heard repertoire in London or elsewhere on their travels.

If the performance of Italian arias was often a reflection of the latest tastes and fashions, then the performance of extracts from Handel's oratorios shows that the members of the Edinburgh Musical Society were also not adverse to the Handel mania which swept England in the late eighteenth century.

Table 3.5: Performance of extracts from Handel's oratorios at the Friday evening concerts of the Edinburgh Musical Society, recorded in the Plan Books of 1768-1771 and 1778-1786.

Title of work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date performed	Source
Angels, ever bright and fair	Handel	<i>Theodora</i> HWV 68 (1749)	Shaw	23.12.1785	EMS Plan Books 1768-1771 1778-1782 1782-1786
Comfort ye, my people	Handel	<i>Messiah</i> HWV 56 (1741)	Urbani	23.12.1785	
			Urbani	21.4.1786	
			Mrs Stewart	9.6.1786	
Would you gain the tender creature [recorded as 'Could you gain']	Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> HWV 49 (1739)	Masterton	30.6.1786	
Father of Heaven	Handel	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i> HWV 63 (1746)	D. Corri	5.5.1780	
			D. Corri	26.4.1782	
			D. Corri	8.8.1783	
			D. Corri	12.3.1784	
			D. Corri	24.12.1784	
I know that my redeemer liveth	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Urbani	28.4.1786	
If God is for us	Handel	<i>Messiah</i>	Urbani	12.5.1786	
Kings Anthem	Handel	probably <i>Zadok the Priest</i> HWV 258 (1727)	Chorus	4.6.1784	
My faith and truth	Handel	<i>Samson</i> HWV 57 (1741)	A. Corri	4.8.1780	
O sleep, why dost thou leave me	Handel	<i>Semele</i> HWV 58 (1743)	Urbani	23.12.1785	
O the pleasure of the plains	Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Chorus	2.4.1770	
				18.2.1780	

				8.3.1782
Pious orgies, pious airs	Handel	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	D. Corri	24.12.1784
The many rend the skies	Handel	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Chorus	2.3.1770

These extracts from Handel mirror the patterns seen elsewhere in Edinburgh (discussed in Chapters One and Two) and as suggested by the library Index. As there was no financial reward to be made through popular programming choices at the meetings of the Musical Society, the choices must represent the genuine enthusiasm of performers and spectators. The Plan Books cover a period when the Society staged fewer complete oratorios than previously, and the Ladies Concerts often took the form of miscellaneous concerts, but the plans show that extracted oratorio arias retained their popularity, isolated from their context. ‘Father of Heaven’ appears to have been popular, with probably many more unrecorded performances, whilst *Judas Maccabeus* only received two or three complete performances in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. The introduction of extracts from *Semele* (1744) and *Theodora* (1750) in Edinburgh appears to have been the responsibility of Pietro Urbani. It is notable that there are fewer extracts from contemporary English works recorded, and this possibly supports Southey’s view about the disparate audiences at concerts in the eighteenth century (discussed in Chapter One), demonstrating the serious musical intent of the Musical Society. The patriotic implications of ‘The soldier tir’d’ have already been discussed, but its performance here possibly suggests a less martial context.

Table 3.6: Performance of contemporary songs and ballads at the Friday evening concerts of the Edinburgh Musical Society, recorded in the Plan Books of 1768-1771 and 1778-1786.

Title of Work	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Performer if known	Date Performed	Source
Colin and Lucy	Giordani	(1780)	-	12.12.1783	EMS Plan Books 1768-1771 1778-1782 1782-1786
I sigh and lament me	Giordani	<i>Queen Mary's Lamentation</i>	Tenducci (?)	9.5.1783	
I of new recommend	currently unidentified	-	Urbani	30.12. 1785	
New song [probably ‘Death is now my only Treasure’]	Kelly	-	Tenducci	26.8.1768	
O Lord, our governor	Marcello arr. Garth	<i>Psalm 8</i>	Shaw	23.12.1785	
Song from The Morning Hymn [possibly a setting of ‘Now Morn her rosie steps’ by Milton from Paradise Lost, Book 5]	Pasquali	-	Shaw	23.6.1786	
The soldier tir’d of war’s alarms	Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i> (1762)	A. Corri	21.2.1783	
			Stewart	20.1. 1786	

Marcello's 'O Lord, our governor' enjoyed success in churches, musical societies and public concerts throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. The English version of Marcello's collection of psalms, *Estro Poetico-Armonico*, was produced in Durham in eight volumes between 1757 and 1765 by John Garth and was quickly adopted by organists across the country: the organists of Durham, Ripon, Winchester, Carlisle, King's College Cambridge and Worcester all purchased the publication.²⁹² The Edinburgh Musical Society purchased all eight volumes from Robert Bremner from 1759 onwards.²⁹³ The psalms were also often copied suggesting that they were regularly performed. They were also performed outside the Society: in 1764 Gilson advertised a concert devoted to sacred vocal music and performed works by 'Palestini,²⁹⁴ Marcello, Bird, Purcel and others',²⁹⁵ and a month later Leonardo Pescatore advertised that his benefit in St Paul's Chapel, Skinner's Close would consist of 'Marcello's Psalms... accompanied by Signor Pescatore on the organ'.²⁹⁶ John Aitken also regularly performed the psalms: in 1785 he advertised he would perform the *Eighth Psalm*,²⁹⁷ which included the aria 'O Lord, our governor' and in 1796 he performed the same psalm in concert of sacred music in the Lodge of Canongate Kilwinning.²⁹⁸

Table 3.7: Performance of Scots and Irish songs at the Friday evening concerts of the Edinburgh Musical Society, recorded in the Plan Books

Title of work	Origin	Performer if noted	Date of Performance	Source
My lodging is on the cold ground	Irish song	R. Puppo	9.2.1781	EMS Plan Books 1768-1771 1778-1782 1782-1786
Will you go to ewe bughts, Marion?	Scots song	A. Corri	9.2.1781	
		-	8.8.1783	
		-	28.5.1784	
'Gaelick' Song	Scots song	D. Corri	7.3.1783	
O the brooms	Scots song	A. Corri	4.6. 1784	

There is little evidence derived from the Plan Books of the regular performance of Scots songs, although this is suggested by other sources. George Thomson recorded his impression of hearing Scots songs sung at St Cecilia's Hall in the 1780s:

²⁹² Southey, *Music-making*, 10.

²⁹³ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 106.

²⁹⁴ If Palestini can be assumed to be Palestrina, this is almost certainly one of the first records of a performance of his work at a public concert in Scotland. It is possible that the work advertised here may be the motet 'Illumina oculos meos' referred to below, which was copied for the Musical Society in 1755/6 (See Table 3.12 and Appendix K).

²⁹⁵ CM, 11 Jan 1764.

²⁹⁶ CM, 25 Feb 1764.

²⁹⁷ CM, 17 June 1785.

²⁹⁸ CM, 3 March 1796.

At the St Cecilia concerts I heard Scottish songs sung in a style of excellence far surpassing any idea which I had previously had of their beauty, and that too, from Italians, Signor Tenducci the one, and Signora Domenica Corri the other. Tenducci's 'I'll never leave thee' and 'Braes of Ballenden' and the Signora's 'Ewe-Bughts, Marion' and 'Waly, Waly' so delighted every hearer that in the most crowded rooms not a whisper was to be heard. Tenducci's singing was full of passion, feeling and taste, and... his articulation of the words was no less perfect than his expression of the music. It was in consequence of my hearing him and Signora Corri sing a number of our songs so charmingly that I conceived the idea of collecting all our best melodies and songs, and of obtaining accompaniments to them worthy of merit.²⁹⁹

On his visits to Edinburgh, and elsewhere, Tenducci made a habit of acquiring and performing traditional songs:

About 1770, the Italian singer Tenducci made a great success in introducing ['One day I heard Mary say'] to his Edinburgh audiences; and so lately as 1848, the editor had the pleasure of hearing a representation of that great vocalist's manner of singing this song, from a Gentleman who not only remembered it well, but could imitate it with tolerable effect.³⁰⁰

George Thomson further recalled 'If I were to live ever so long I could not forget the effect of his performance of 'Roslin Castle', 'Lochaber' or 'The Braes of Ballenden''.³⁰¹ It appears, however, that the performance of Scots songs at the concerts was not continuous, and the performance of songs seems to have suffered during the prolonged illness of Alice Corri and following her eventual removal from the city in 1788. A correspondent to the *Caledonian Mercury* lamented this state of affairs:

THE Scottish Songs, though every where admired for the simplicity and beauty of their melodies, were for sometime almost wholly neglected at the Edinburgh Concert; a circumstance that was often regretted and complained of, particularly by those unacquainted with Italian music. Perhaps this neglect is to be accounted for by the difficulty which foreigners may be supposed to have in giving these songs the character and effect, required to please a Scots audience. – Signor Urbani, however, possessed of a chaste and refined taste, united with great experience and a thorough knowledge of music, sings these melodies in a stile [*sic*] of peculiar excellent, and equally well with his native music. The marked attention which he always commands in these songs, and the satisfaction with which they are received, will, it is hoped, induce the Directors to continue their present plan of putting one of them in each bill of fare: - And, while they gratify the *Cognoscenti* with the elegant productions of a Sarti, and the original and

²⁹⁹ John Wilson & Robert Chambers, *The land of Burns: a series of landscapes and portraits*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Blackie & Son, 1840), 39-40.

³⁰⁰ Robert Chambers, *The Songs of Scotland prior to Burns* (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1862), quoted in Johnson, *Music and Society*, 143.

³⁰¹ J. Cuthbert Hadden, *George Thomson, the Friend of Burns* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1898), 21.

fanciful strains of Haydn and of Pleyel, they will give equal delight to the admirers of MUSICA CALEDONIA.³⁰²

As already discussed, however, following the arrival of Pietro Urbani and the re-kindled interest in the collection and publication of the genre, performances of Scots songs were regular outside the Society at the end of the century, and it is perhaps permissible to assume that the case was the same at the Society's meetings.

Vocal music was clearly an integral part of the St Cecilia's experience and the limited sample drawn from the Plan Books broadly supports the expectations drawn from the library Index.

Table 3.8: Analysis of the repertoire recorded in the Edinburgh Musical Society Plan Books by genre

Vocal Music identified in the Plan Books	Italian opera extracts or songs	English oratorio	English secular songs	Scots songs	Total
Titles	15	12	7	4	38
% of total	39.47	31.57	18.42	10.25	100%

Despite the fact that Scots songs form a greater percentage of the total than would have been suggested from the library catalogue, it is clear that Italian arias, even in this small sample dominate the repertoire performed at the concerts. As expected, even in the period before the 1784 Commemoration Handel continues to dominate the repertory, with 50% of the recorded music performed being from his compositions, more than the collected totals of J. C. Bach, Jommelli, Vinci, Pergolesi, Rauzzini, Sarti, Terradellas, Galuppi, Arne, Kelly and Marcello.

Table 3.9: Analysis of the repertoire recorded in the Edinburgh Musical Society Plan Books by composer

	Handel	Perez	Giordani	11 other composers	Total
No. of titles performed	16	3	2	1 each	32
% of total	50	9.37	6.25	3.12 each or 34.37 of the total	100%

The picture of the repertoire performed at the Friday night concerts can be augmented by the list of repertoire prepared and copied for use in the concerts. Appendix K represents the first systematic attempt to highlight the range of the Musical Society's vocal repertoire through the analysis of copyists' payments. This list suggests that much vocal music was accompanied by the orchestra, as parts were regularly copied to replace damaged or lost ones. This further

³⁰² CM, 24 December 1789.

raises the question why so few vocal works were recorded in the Plan Books? The copyists list gives an indication that music, which was not owned by the Society, was introduced by visiting musicians. In 1769 and 1770 arias from Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* were copied, and presumably performed by Tenducci, then performing in the city. The regularity of the accounts suggest that the music copied formed a regular part of their activities, rather than being copied for a singular special purpose.³⁰³

Table 3.10: Analysis of the repertoire copied by the Edinburgh Musical Society by genre

	Italian opera extracts or songs	Sacred Music (excluding oratorios)	English songs	Scots songs	Total
Number of titles	38	7	15	0	6
% of total	63.33	11.66	25	0	100%

N.B. Copying of material for oratorios has been omitted as it can be assumed that the majority of copying of those pieces was done in preparation for the Musical Society's oratorio performances discussed in Chapter Seven, and not the Friday night meetings.

Given the number of printed volumes and scores of the works of Handel in the library it may be expected that he would not dominate the number of works copied (especially given that the copying of extracts from oratorios is not under consideration here).

Table 3.11: Analysis of the repertoire copied by the Edinburgh Musical Society by composer

Composer	Handel	Pergolesi	Marcello	Arne	Gluck	Jommelli	Purcell	10 other composers	Total
Titles	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	1 each	40
% of total	15	12.50	12.50	10	10	7.5	7.5	2.5 each or 25 of total	100%

Even with the removal of oratorios from the copyist's lists Handel's works still made up a greater percentage of the total than any other composer, although in this case his was not the greatest overall figure.

It appears that although there is only limited evidence that much of music in the Musical Society's library was performed, the trends detected in the available repertoire supports the purchasing trends seen in the library. The supremacy of the Italian aria is clear to see, as is the devotion to Handel. Entire Italian operas may not have been popular or financially viable in Edinburgh but the popular extracts from the latest and most fashionable operas in London

³⁰³ The copyists named in the accounts are David Nevay (1749), James Dallas (1753-1758), John Philip Kearcher (1759-1768), and Robert Ross (1769-1790) all of whom were professional musicians. Neither Nevay nor Dallas appear regularly in the payments to the musicians employed by the Society. John Philip Kearcher was employed by the Society as a 'cellist between 1754 and 1769 and was replaced by Robert Ross who stayed with the Society until 1794. Kearcher was also recorded playing in the band of the Canongate Theatre. It is likely that the copying work undertaken by these musicians formed an important part of their income.

appear to have been performed regularly by the Edinburgh Musical Society throughout their existence.

The repertoire contained in the library was clearly weighted towards solo singers as there is comparatively little sacred music for chorus not including oratorios. However, in the mid-1750s it would appear that in addition to solo works the Musical Society also had a chorus which regularly sung sacred liturgical works at the Friday night meetings.

Table 3.12: Sacred Music copied, or in the library, of the Edinburgh Musical Society

Composer	Title	Date of composition if known	Source
currently unidentified	Cantantibus organis	-	Copyist's Account 1755
currently unidentified	Laudate Dominum	-	Copyist's Account 1755
Allegri	Miserere	published 1771 by Robert Bremner	EMS Index 1782
Palestrina?	Illumina [oculos meos]	-	Copyist's account 1755
Croft	Psalm 139	1701	Copyist's account 1756
Handel	Coronation Anthems	1727	EMS Index 1782
Hasse	Salve Regina (with added choruses?)	-	EMS Index 1782
Leo	Miserere for eight voices	March 1739	Copyist's account 1755 EMS Index 1782
Marcello arr. Garth	First Fifty Psalms in eight volumes (in English)	1757-65	EMS Index 1782
Marcello	Psalms in eight volumes (in Italian)	-	EMS Index 1782
Nares	Anthem for two voices	-	EMS Index 1782
Perez	Funeral Service [Mattutino de Morti]	composed 1770 published 1774 By Robert Bremner	EMS Index 1782
Pergolesi	Stabat Mater (with added choruses)	1736	Copyist's account 1754 EMS Index 1782
Pergolesi	Salve Regina	-	EMS Index 1782
Purcell	Te Deum and Jubilate in D	1694	EMS Index 1782

In 1755 the polyphonic settings of *Illumina*, *Cantantibus organis*, *Laudate Dominum*, and Leo's *Miserere* for eight voices were all copied, presumably for performance. In the following year Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D, and Handel's *Coronation Anthems* were also copied, but the regular performance of sacred liturgical music does not seem to extend much beyond this period, save for the isolated purchase of Burney's edition of Allegri's *Miserere* in 1771, and the purchase of Perez's *Matutino de Morti* in 1773, both published by Robert Bremner. It is possible that the performance of the 'King's Anthem' recorded in the Plan Books on 4 June 1784 can be tentatively identified as 'Zadok the Priest', which was often recorded by that name or as 'God save the King' after the extended third section, showing that the *Coronation Anthems* remained in repertoire after other sacred music had been dropped. It seems likely that

it was this move away from the amateur performance of sacred music throughout the 1770s that led some of the members of the Musical Society to form the Harmonical Society in 1785.

Despite this the performance of vocal music clearly remained of great importance to the Musical Society, and its audience and members, and the performance of highly fashionable Italian arias and works by Handel allowed the Society to maintain its exclusive position as the arbiters of musical taste in Edinburgh.

3.2 Edinburgh Musical Society Catch Club

The first unofficial institution dedicated solely to the performance of vocal music in the city of Edinburgh appears to owe its origin, like that of the Musical Society, to the enthusiasm of gentlemen-amateurs. Because of the unofficial nature of this first club, there is little documentary evidence of its existence beyond the recollections of contemporary commentators. Hugo Arnot recorded an *ad hoc* group from the Musical Society who, although not formally constituted, met regularly to sing:

Formerly some of the members of this Society instituted a catch-club which met after the concert. Of the great concert in honour of St Cecilia's the governor and directors were used to invite a few of the friends and strangers of fashion to an entertainment of this kind after the concert, where select pieces of vocal music were performed intermingled with Scots songs, duets, catches and glees. There were many excellent voices in the catch-club who each sung their part at sight, and the easy cheerfulness which reigned in this select society rendered their meetings delightful.³⁰⁴

Arnot suggested that this had been the state of affairs since at least 1746 when 'the Prince of Hesse, the Duke of Wolfenbuttle's [recte Wolfenbüttel] Son, and several Persons of Distinction were present' at a concert at Mary's Chapel, and were entertained by Lord Drummore, the Governor of the Society, and the gentlemen of the Catch Club, when 'the Scots songs and English catches were to him [the Prince] a new and agreeable entertainment'.³⁰⁵ The Musical Society 'Catch Club' appears to have been an informal affair, probably like the club run at Oxford described by Robins.³⁰⁶ As the members of the Edinburgh group were already bound by their membership of the Musical Society, there would have been little point in constituting the club as a separate entity. Due to the already exclusive nature of the Musical Society, the

³⁰⁴ Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh*, 381.

³⁰⁵ CM, 25 February 1746.

³⁰⁶ Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 143.

singing of glees and catches was an extension of their musical activities and more of a pastime for gentlemen of quality than a separate club. It was presumably for this group that the Musical Society bought two books of catches in 1755.³⁰⁷ This group seems to have ceased meeting sometime before 1771 (and the foundation of the New Catch Club) and certainly before Arnot published his survey of Edinburgh in 1779:

The selection of company which for some years gave high spirit and repute to this joyous and convivial club by degrees relaxed: it of course became numerous and expensive, and at last broke up.³⁰⁸

As this group existed to support the performance of vocal music, albeit in a convivial fashion, there can be little doubt as to how important that music was to its members. Nor how important vocal music was to the musical, and social, culture of the city and its gentry. This first catch club was made up of some of the most influential people in the city; they were the elite members of an already exclusive society.

3.3 The New Edinburgh Catch Club

The rise in the popularity of glees and catches can be seen in the publication of various collections advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury*. As has been already stated, the growth in the performance of glees became one of the defining features of English music at the end of the eighteenth century. Table 3.13 shows the expansion in the publication of collections of glees and catches, advertised in Edinburgh, over a twenty-year period.

Table 3.13: Collections of catches and glees advertised in the Caledonian Mercury, 1765-1785

Date Published	Title	Price	Publisher	Source
March 1767	The Third Number of the Harmonists Magazine being a collection of Catches, Canons, Glees and Canzonets	2s.	Robert Bremner, London	CM 18.3.1767
April 1776	The Merry Companion: a select collection of new Songs, with Catches and Glees, set to music	3s.	William Creech	CM 17.4.1776
1779	St Cecilia: or the Lady's and Gentleman's Favourite Songster: being a collection of Old and New songs, Scots and English... together with a fine set of catches and glees	2s(sewn) 2s.6d. (bound)	James Dickinson and Charles Elliott	CM. 13.2.1779
June 1780	A Collection of Catches, Canons, Glees and Duettos &c, selected from the works of the most eminent masters ancient and modern – Dedicated to the	1s.	Neil Stewart	CM 21.6.1780

³⁰⁷ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/5/208/8/26.

³⁰⁸ Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh*, 381.

	CATCH CLUB, instituted at Edinburgh, June 1771			
December 1781	Number 1 of the Second volume of a Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES and DUETTOS... Containing near One Hundred of the most celebrated and fashionable Catches and Gleees, &c. particularly all the best of those published by Warren and Webbe	1s.	James Sibbald At the Edinburgh Circulating Library	CM 9.12.1781
March 1782	Number III and IV of the Second Volumes of A COLLECTION OF CATCHES, CANONS, AND GLEES	7s.	James Sibbald	CM 4.3.1782
April 1782	A COLLECTION of CATCHES, CANONS and GLEES, 2 vols.	14s.	James Sibbald	CM 24.4.1782
October 1782	Mr Cranmer... has composed six Catches and three Gleees, which are to be published by subscription price 2s.6d. Subscriptions taken in at Messrs. Bremner's and Stewart's Music Shops.	2s.6d.	Robert Bremner? Neil Stewart?	CM 6.10.1782
December 1782	This day is published... The largest musical work ever printed in Great Britain being a Select Collection of the most admired SONGS, DUETS, &c... In THREE VOLUMES... The Third of Airs, Rondeaus, Canzonets, Duetts, Terzettes, Catches, Gleees &c... By Domenico Corri	£2.12s.6d.	Printed by John Corri, Edinburgh, Sold by him and C. Elliot, Edinburgh, G. Robinson, London T. Haxby, York, Joseph Tylee, Bath Richard Moncrieff, Dublin	CM 6.12.1782
August 1783	The VOCAL ENCHANTRESS containing an elegant Selection of the most popular and favourite Songs, Cantatas, Catches, Gleees &c	3s.6d.	Printed by John Fielding, London Sold by James Sibbald, Edinburgh	CM 2.8.1783
October 1783	Number 1 (to be continued Monthly) of the NEW MUSICAL MAGAZINE... Intended to contain every piece of Music worth preserving, from the best English and foreign Masters... [containing] copious and pleasing selection of the best... catches & Gleees	5s.	Harrison and Co, Pater-Noster Row, London	CM 29.10.1783
January 1784	Volume III and Last of A Collection of Catches Canons Gleees, & Duets	7s.	James Sibbald	CM 28.1.1784
September 1785	Messrs. Harrison and Co, have also purchase all the posthumous works of Dr Arne; the Catches, Canzonettas, and Gleees to Dr Hayes, Musical Professor in the University of Oxford... all of which are preparing for publication		Harrison and Co., Pater Noster Row, London	CM 10.9.1785

In *For the Encouragement of Learning* Cadell and Matheson stated that the origins of the New Edinburgh Catch Club were in select gatherings discussed above.³⁰⁹ Although the initial inspiration may have come from the Musical Society Catch Club, it is clear that the two organisations were separate entities, and that the New Catch Club was not merely an official continuation of the Musical Society's unofficial meetings, even if many of the singers were the same. It is even possible that the foundation of a new club was a reaction to the elitism of the unofficial club: as one member wrote, its members 'worshipped at another shrine in addition

³⁰⁹ Patrick Cadell and Ann Matheson, (eds.), *For the Encouragement of Learning: Scotland's National Library 1689-1989* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1989), 101.

to that of St Cecilia'.³¹⁰ Even the designation of the club as the 'New Edinburgh Catch Club' seems to suggest a new beginning.³¹¹ Clearly there would have been men who were members of both the Musical Society and the New Catch Club, but the Musical Society appears to have been entirely uninvolved with the foundation of the new club. Evidence of its aristocratic membership may be taken from the fact that the minutes of the society from its foundation are still held in the private archives of the Earls of Rosebery.³¹²

There remains little evidence of the structure of the Catch Club, but it probably closely followed the traditions of the London club and its many imitators. John Marsh left a detailed plan of the Canterbury Catch Club, which he attended for the first time in November 1783:

About half past 6, an overture was played by the band... after which follow'd a glee: then a quartetto, trio or concerto: after which follow'd another glee & then a catch, which constituted the first act: the second of w'ch after a short cessation began with another overture, next to w'ch Mrs Goodban generally made her appearance & sung a song, after which another glee or catch or chorus concluded the concert. The generality of the audience and performers however commonly remained 'till 11 or 12 o'clock, smoking their pipes (which they did all the time of the concert except during Mrs Goodbans song, immediately preceding w'ch the company were always desired by the president to lay down their pipes) during which time single songs were sung, as called for by the president.³¹³

Robins explains the highly unusual presence of a woman by the fact that she was the landlord's wife.³¹⁴ Certainly the Edinburgh Catch Club was likely to have been an all-male society. The presence of an orchestra will be discussed below in connection with the Harmonical Society, but it seems unlikely that the New Catch Club would have retained an orchestra. The pattern found at the Bath Harmonical Society may have been more recognizable to the members of the Edinburgh Club:

The President shall be absolute during the meeting...On his taking the Chair the MUSICAL PERFORMANCE shall commence, which shall consist of Catches, Glees, Chorusses [*sic*], Songs &c. which shall continue until nine o'clock... a cold supper, at Four shillings each, (Port Wine and Sherry included) shall then be placed upon the table; before which the grace of 'Sodales Caenantes' shall be sung, the whole Society standing up; and in like manner the Canon of 'Non nobis, Domine!' shall be sung. Three Toasts only shall be given... after which, such Catches, Glees or Songs, shall be sung as may

³¹⁰ Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), 94.

³¹¹ 'Catalogues of the National Archives of Scotland' accessed on 25 September 2013, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/nra/searches/subjectView.asp?ID=O27688>

³¹² NAS: NRA 10461 Primrose/NRAS2244.

³¹³ Marsh, *The John Marsh Journals*, vol. 1, 302.

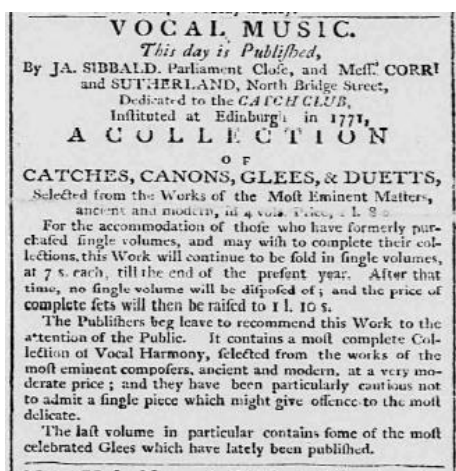
³¹⁴ Robins *The Catch and Glee*, 147.

be called for by the PRESIDENT, or VICE-PRESIDENT. At Eleven o'clock the bill shall be brought in, when the PRESIDENT shall quit the choir.³¹⁵

The majority of these clubs met in inns and taverns, where catering was easy. The Chichester Club was the exception: they met in the Old Concert Room in East Pallant, and had their refreshments consisting of 'oyster & Welch rabbits' brought in from outside.³¹⁶ The gentlemen of Edinburgh would have wished to create an atmosphere of the utmost conviviality. It is likely therefore that they followed this lead and met in one of the local inns: a letter from George Aikman to Gilbert Innes, a former member of the Catch Club in 1806, records that Aikman had been a servant at the Gun Tavern, 'where the Catch Club used to meet'.³¹⁷

Musically, the Edinburgh Catch Club was not short of items to perform, as seen in Table 3.8. In 1788 James Sibbald dedicated his four volume *Collection of Catches, Canons, Glees and Duetts, selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Master; ancient and modern in 4 vols* to the Catch Club.³¹⁸

Figure 3.2: Advertisement for James Sibbald's 1788 Collection of 'Catches, Canons, Glees and Duetts' Caledonian Mercury, 26 July 1788



His first volume appeared in 1780, bearing the dedication to the Catch Club, presumably ensuring that his publication, and subsequent volumes, found a ready market. Collections of catches and glees had been appearing in Edinburgh since at least 1767 when Robert Bremner advertised:

³¹⁵ *A Selection of Favourite Catches, Glees &c. as Sung at the Bath Harmonic Society with the Rules of the Society, and a List of Members. Second edition with considerable additions* (Bath: R. Cruttwell, 1799), 9.

³¹⁶ Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 153.

³¹⁷ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/5/455 letter from George Aikman to Gilbert Innes, 13 March 1806.

³¹⁸ CM, 26 July 1788.

Just published, A THIRD NUMBER of The HARMONIST MAGAZINE BEING A COLLECTION of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES, and CANZONETS, price 2s.³¹⁹

Before this, advertisements for new music in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* and the *Caledonian Mercury* made no mention of catches and glees, but from this point onwards the latest compositions and acquisitions of the music shops were often advertised (see Table 3.13 above).

In 1779 James Dickson and Charles Elliot, in collaboration with the printer William Darling, advertised a proposal for printing by subscription *The Lady's and Gentleman's Favourite Songster*. The group proposed to print a collection of songs covering 384 pages, for a subscription of 2s. for a severed copy and 2s.6d. for a bound copy. The publishers promised that the collection would include 'old and new songs, Scots and English, together with a fine set of catches and glees'.³²⁰ They also indicated that they wished to include any new compositions:

Those who are possessed of any good Original Song or Songs, and would love to see them in print will be so kind as address them (carriage paid) to W. Darling, printer, Advocate's Close, and they shall be carefully inserted.³²¹

The collection was published in Edinburgh in 1779 and included Scots and English songs, and toasts for use in gentlemen's clubs in addition to catches and glees, but it serves to illustrate how deeply the genre had penetrated into the consciousness of society and into domestic music-making.

In 1780 the publisher Neil Stewart published the first volume of his collection of catches, canons, glees and duets. He claimed his undertaking was 'the first of the kind of this country' and he hoped that it would meet 'with encouragement from all lovers of Music'.³²² He proposed to publish the second volume in July, the same month as Sibbald's first volume appeared, and continue regularly from that time. His first volume was dedicated, like Sibbald's, to the members of the 'CATCH CLUB, instituted at Edinburgh, June 1771'.³²³

³¹⁹ CM, 18 March 1767.

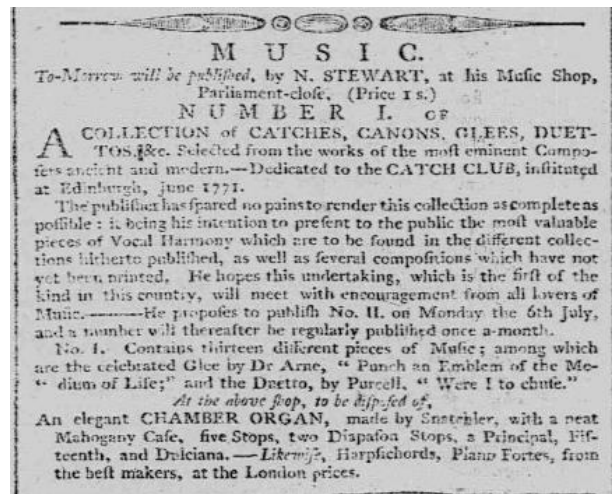
³²⁰ CM, 13 February 1779.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² CM, 21 June 1780

³²³ *ibid.*

Figure 3.3: Advertisement for Neil Stewart's 1780 collection of 'Catches, Canons, Gleees, Duettos' Caledonian Mercury 21 June 1780



Stewart's first volume contained thirteen pieces, including Arne's 'Punch an Emblem of the Medium of Life' and Purcell's duet 'Were I to choose'. Arne's composition, also known as 'You ask me dear Jack', is a catch for three voices (TBB), which would have suited the single-sex Catch Club. The subject matter was also well suited to the convivial atmosphere of the meetings:

You ask me, dear Jack, for an emblem that's rife
And clearly explains the true medium of life
I think I have hit it as sure as a gun
For a bowl of good punch and the Medium are one.
When lemon and sugar so happily meet,
the acid's corrected by mixing the sweet;
The water and spirit so luckily blend,
That each from th' extreme does the other defend.
Then fill up the bowl, rot sorrow and strife.
A bumper, my boys, to the medium of life,
Which keeps our frail state in a temper that's meet
Contented in blending the sour and the sweet.³²⁴

Arne's music was eminently saleable. His catches were first published in the second volume of *Catches, Canons and Gleees* (1762) by Edmund Thomas Warren, secretary to the London Catch Club.³²⁵ 'You ask me, dear Jack' was only one of a number of drinking songs Arne

³²⁴ Eric Frederick Gollanek, 'Empire Follows Art: Exchange and the Sensory Worlds of Empire in Britain and its colonies 1740-1775' (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2008), 176.

³²⁵ Gilman, *The Theatre Career of Thomas Arne*, 452.

produced: ‘Which is the properest day to drink’ won the Golden Prize Medal in 1765 and both were continuously in print from their first publication.³²⁶

Figure 3.4: The opening bars of ‘Were I to choose’ by Henry Purcell reproduced from *Orpheus Britannicus*, Book 1, (1698)

182 *Orpheus Britannicus.* BOOK I.

A Two Part SONG.

W Ere I to choofe the grea--test Blifs, were I to choofe the grea--test Blifs, that

Werc I to choofe, were I to choofe the grea--test Blifs, that

Henry Purcell’s duet ‘Were I to choose the greatest bliss’ (Z517) was included in the first volume of *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698). The second volume followed in 1702. The Edinburgh Musical Society purchased a copy of *Orpheus Britannicus* in 1767.³²⁷ Thus it is possible that many of Purcell’s secular songs were known in Edinburgh: it may have been these songs that were sung by the unofficial Musical Society Catch Club. Purcell’s vocal lines would have been difficult to read accurately at sight for amateurs, but the vocal range and nature of the duet makes it perfect repertoire for the Catch Club, if someone present were able to provide an instrumental bass. The fact that Stewart highlighted these two compositions in particular in his advertisement might reflect that these compositions had already obtained popularity in Edinburgh, or that the composers were already well regarded and he was recommending them to his patrons.

In 1765 William Hayes, professor of music at Oxford, set down his advice for the performance of catches in a correct manner and gives a valuable insight into the interpretation

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/5/209/3 – 26.

which might be expected from some Catch Clubs. It suggests a more musical approach than the descriptions of convivial drinking parties, given above, might suppose:

Few I should imagine, need be informed, that the Manner of performing Catches, is, by one Persons' leading off and singing so much as one of the Number of Parts whereof the Catch consisteth, before the Second begins... But I must beg leave to suggest that, so often, as it is repeated, an Alternancy of Forte and Piano or Loud and Soft, in imitation of the Chiaro Oscuro, or Light and Shade in painting, has an agreeable effect: except in such, where the humour of the Subject requires a certain Jollity to be kept up throughout the whole, which the Performer will very easily distinguish. And if, amongst the following any should be worthy of being pathetic, or to have any thing delicate in the Taste or Construction, I would recommend Mezzo Piano (at least sometimes under the full Tone of Voice) as being more expressive of Tenderness... I have been very sparing in arbitrarily prescribing Graces, and in putting Marks for Expression: being persuaded that a Redundancy of such Marks not only perplex the Performer, but if his Taste in the Executive Part be better than the Composer's (a very possible case) will certainly give him disgust, tho' calculated with the utmost Care and Precision. To such a One, the best Guide will be a true Perception of the Sense and Drift of the Design: and that Expression the most proper, resulting from his own instantaneous Feeling.³²⁸

The suggestion that catches were usually performed without rehearsal might suggest a more rough and ready approach to performance than perhaps was Hayes' ideal. His ideas were clearly not unique: John Marsh and the composer Dr Henry Harrington attended a meeting of the Bath Harmonic Society where Marsh recorded that the singing was 'very accurately done, tho' in not quite so good a style as I had expected, as they sung rather too loud & in too boisterous a manner'.³²⁹

There remains no indication of the size of Edinburgh Catch Club, neither when it was first constituted nor throughout its existence. The later nineteenth century Edinburgh Harmonist Society had somewhere in the region of over 30 voting members, one of the most important and influential of whom was Gilbert Innes.³³⁰ Prospective members of other eighteenth century Catch Clubs had to face a ballot of existing members and it is likely that the Edinburgh Catch Club instituted a similar system. At Bath, those who wished entry had to be elected by at least nine members, and a ratio of one black ball to two white would result in rejection.³³¹ Shortly following its foundation, the London Catch Club resolved to restrict its members to 21, although by 1764 there were 31. Conversely the Lichfield Cecilian Society restricted its non-

³²⁸ William Hayes, *A supplement to the Catches, Gleees and Canons lately published by Dr. Hayes* (Oxford: privately printed, 1765) quoted in Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 144-5.

³²⁹ Marsh, *John Marsh Journals*, vol. 1, 707.

³³⁰ 'New Edinburgh Catch Club, National Museum of Scotland' accessed on 15 October 2013, <http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-100-103-827-C>.

³³¹ Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 154.

performing members to 60, which perhaps reflects the differing purposes of glee clubs: some were gentlemen's musical clubs, whilst others were fledgling concert societies.³³² As yet, I have discovered no evidence to confidently suggest the New Catch Club was one or the other. Given its aristocratic patronage, and the exclusivity of the membership of the Musical Society (with which, although it was not associated, it would have shared many members and ideals), it is most likely that the Catch Club, like many clubs, was a private and exclusive affair for Gentlemen.³³³

John Marsh and others in London were of the decided opinion that catches and glees should be sung by one person to a part. Marsh was scandalised when the organist of Canterbury Cathedral brought him three boys, and offered him more if he needed them. Upon hearing glees performed in Portsmouth he recorded 'they might indeed with as much propriety have been termed chorusses [*sic*] there being about 9 or 10 singers & of course 2 or 3 to a part'.³³⁴ There is no evidence to prove how many singers were involved in the activities of the Catch Club in Edinburgh, but it is probably safe to assume there was more than one singer per part.

When James Johnson published his six-volume work *The Scots Musical Museum Consisting of Six Hundred Scots Song with proper Basses for the Piano Forte*, the first five volumes were dedicated to the Catch Club. The first volume was issued in May 1787, and the fifth in 1796. When Volume Six was published in June 1803, and in all subsequent reissues, the dedication was altered to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.³³⁵ So it appears likely that the New Edinburgh Catch Club disbanded between 1796 and 1803, at much the same time at the Musical Society. The Catch Club's library was sold to Gilbert Innes, who preserved it and presented it to the Edinburgh Harmonists Society upon their foundation in 1826,³³⁶ and his subsequent installation as their first president.³³⁷

There is still much work to be done on the repertoire of the New Catch Club and its relationship to the Musical Society and the other musical institutions of the city, but its existence proves that Edinburgh was as fashionable and vibrant as any other provincial centre in the performance of vocal music, and in many cases more advanced. The importance of vocal music to the New Catch Club is obvious, but it may have been their concentration on the latest

³³² *ibid.*, 155. For more information about the rules of the Lichfield Cecilian Society see Timothy J. Rishton, 'An Eighteenth-Century Lichfield Music Society' in *The Music Review*, xlv (1983), 83-86.

³³³ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 41.

³³⁴ Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 159.

³³⁵ James Hogg, *The Forest Minstrel* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 385.

³³⁶ Norman Hyde, *Four Faces of British Music* (West Sussex: Churchman Publishing, 1985), 96 and 'Edinburgh Harmonists Society' accessed on 25 September 2013, <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/snpc/list.cfm?letter=E>.

³³⁷ Cadell and Matheson, *For the encouragement of Learning*, 101.

secular compositions, coupled with a dissatisfaction at the neglect of sacred music at the Musical Society, that led a group of influential amateurs to break away to found the Edinburgh Harmonical Society.

3.4 The Edinburgh Harmonical Society

The dominance of the Edinburgh Musical Society and the near universal acceptance of the picture painted in Johnson's *Music in Lowland Scotland* has meant that the Edinburgh Harmonical Society has almost entirely disappeared from the musical history of Edinburgh. Johnson fails to make a single reference to its existence, it merits only a single mention in Farmer's *A History of the Music in Scotland*, and Harris in *St Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry's Wynd* laboured under the misconception that the Musical Society 'occasionally called itself the Harmonical Society'.³³⁸ Peter Clark included the Harmonical Society in *British Clubs and Societies 1500 – 1800* but only as one of a number of examples of how 'new elite and middle class societies' sprung up in Edinburgh.³³⁹ This is the first research to identify the real purpose of the society and to attempt to place it in its context within the vibrant musical life of Edinburgh.

The Edinburgh Harmonical Society met for the first time on Monday 14 March 1785, an occasion that was reported in the *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Scots Magazine*. The founders announced that:

The object this Society has in view is to promote the cultivation of Vocal Harmony in general, and of Sacred Music in particular. Their subscription is already very numerous, and there is good reason to believe, that such an institution will be of great utility in this country, where vocal harmony had of late been so much neglected.³⁴⁰

The meaning of 'so much neglected' has already been considered, and it seems likely that the Harmonical Society was a reaction against the solely secular and contemporary repertoire of the New Catch Club and the Musical Society, which had given up its regular performance of sacred music by amateurs in its weekly meetings, rather than a reflection on the whole of Edinburgh's musical culture. The inaugural meeting of the Harmonical Society took place in St Cecilia's Hall. The extract from the *Scots Magazine* began with a list of the Governors and

³³⁸ Harris, *St Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd*, 24.

³³⁹ Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1500 – 1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 131.

³⁴⁰ SM, 47 (1785), 143.

directors of the new club.³⁴¹ The directors of the new Society were overwhelmingly also members of the Musical Society: some such as Haddington, Forbes, Russell, Mitchelson, Tytler, and Innes were even influential directors of the latter.

Table 3.14: Connections between the Harmonical Society, the Musical Society and the Free Masons

Name	Position within Harmonical Society	Membership of the Musical Society	Masonic affiliation
The Earl of Haddington	Governor, 1785	Governor 1761-1794	-
Sir William Forbes, Bart.	Deputy Governor, 1785	1762-1797 Deputy Governor 1781-96	Canongate Kilwinning
John Russell	Director, 1785	Director 1727-1793?	-
Hon. Henry Erskine	Counsellor, 1785	1783-1797	Canongate Kilwinning
Alexander Wight	Counsellor, 1785	1750-1793 Director 1768-93	Holyrood House
Samuel Mitchelson	Counsellor, 1785	Treasurer 1739-44 Director, 1738, 1744-66, 1771-1788	Lodge St Giles
William Tytler	Counsellor, 1785	1737 – 1792 Director 1742, 1745-66, 1771-1792 Treasurer 1747-48/9	-
George Cuming	Counsellor, 1785	1778-1792	-
John Wauchope	Counsellor, 1785	1767-1792	-
David Balfour	Counsellor, 1785	1781-1797	-
Gilbert Innes	Counsellor, 1785	1771-1797 Director 1781-96	-
Alexander Anderson	Counsellor, 1785	1781-1792	-
John Hutton	Counsellor, 1785	1771-1793	Canongate Kilwinning
James Sibbald	Counsellor, 1785	-	-
George Thomson	Counsellor, 1785	-	-

As can be seen with only two members of the governing committee not members of the Musical Society, the establishment of the Harmonical Society was not an attack on the Musical Society but an attempt to complement it, by men who were primarily singers. George Thomson remembered Gilbert Innes, Alexander Wight, John Russell Jun, and himself cultivating that ‘sacred and sublime music’.³⁴² Macleod has taken this to be a reference to the group singing in the chorus for the oratorios,³⁴³ which it almost certainly is, but I suspect that it is also a reference to the Harmonical Society which has been hitherto overlooked. Certainly that the men were keen singers, rather than instrumentalists, is shown by their involvement here.

The Harmonical Society met fortnightly on Monday evenings in St Cecilia’s Hall. Like the Musical Society, in 1787 the demolition of a tenement in Niddry’s Wynd forced the

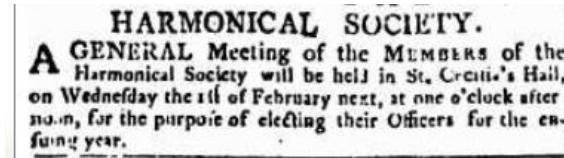
³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: W & R. Chambers, 1847), 241.

³⁴³ Macleod, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society’, 133.

Harmonical Society to vacate St Cecilia's Hall. The Society continued to meet at St John's Lodge in the Canongate throughout the season.³⁴⁴

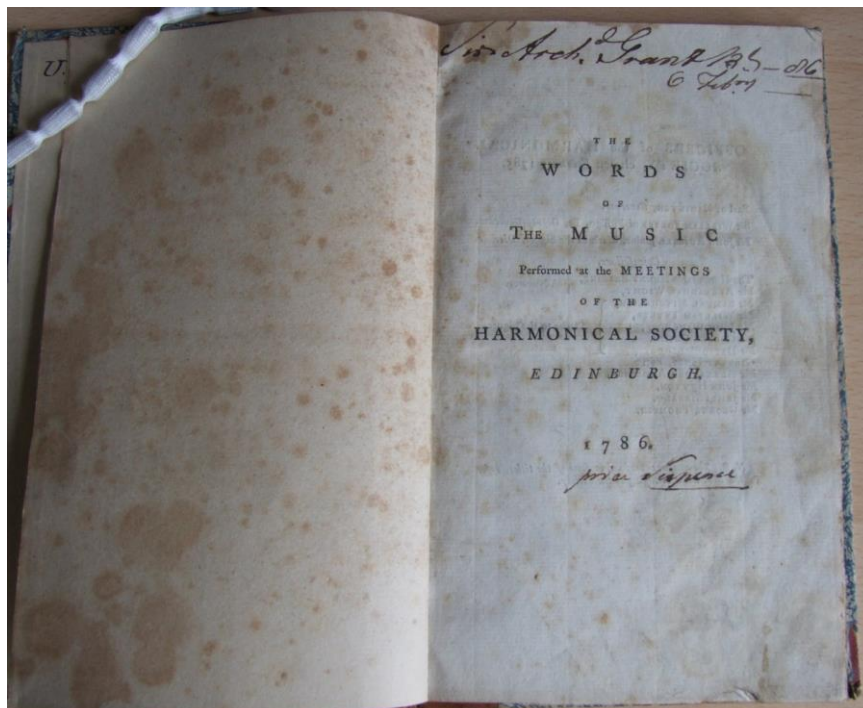
Figure 3.5: Notice of a General Meeting of the members of the Harmonical Society, 1786
Edinburgh Advertiser, 24 January 1786



HARMONICAL SOCIETY.
A GENERAL Meeting of the MEMBERS of the Harmonical Society will be held in St. Cecilia's Hall, on Wednesday the 1st of February next, at one o'clock after noon, for the purpose of electing their Officers for the ensuing year.

In 1786 the Society published a catalogue of the *Words of the Music performed at the meetings of the Edinburgh Harmonical Society, 1786*, which contained the text of 31 items of music.³⁴⁵ The purpose of this catalogue is, as yet, unknown as there is no indication that the Society staged public concerts or even permitted visitors into their meetings, the Harmonical Society appears rather to have staged private meetings at which its exclusive members sang. Was the programme produced for members as a memorial of a year's music-making or as a plan at the outset of the season?

Figure 3.6: The title page of the programme printed by the Edinburgh Harmonical Society for their 1786 season



³⁴⁴ Harris, *St Cecilia's Hall*, 24 – 5.

³⁴⁵ In the catalogue the composers of music in English are identified, whilst the composers of the Latin works are not recorded.

The copy which is preserved in the Gerald Coke Handel Collection³⁴⁶ bears the signature of Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire, who was a member of the Musical Society from 1751 and a Director from 1772-90,³⁴⁷ and was also presumably a member of the Harmonical Society. He was certainly interested in singing and it was his move to improve the standards of singing on his estates that gave the impetus to the reform of church music in Edinburgh in 1755.³⁴⁸ Written on the opening page of the collection are the words ‘price sixpence’; does this suggest the collection was sold to the public, although there is no indication that the collection was publicly printed? Was it privately produced by subscription by the publisher James Sibbald? Whatever caused the catalogue to be printed, it is now the only indication of the activities, vision and repertoire of the Harmonical Society.

Table 3.15: The repertoire of the Edinburgh Harmonical Society in 1786 as listed in the programme preserved in the Gerald Coke Handel Collection

	Title	Composer	Voices
1	Laudate dominum	currently unidentified	Four
2	O dulcis	currently unidentified	Four
3	Cantantibus organis Cecilia domino decantabat, dicens, fiat cor meum immaculatum, ut non confundar	currently unidentified	Six
4	Te deum	Purcell	Three solo voices and chorus
5	Let ambition fire thy mind	Weldon	Four voices
6	104 th Psalm	Croft	Three Voices
7	Jubilate	Purcell	Two solo voices and Chorus
8	139 th Psalm	Croft	Three voices
9	I am the resurrection and the life	Tudway	Four Voices
10	Zadok the priest	Handel	Eight voices
11	See the conquering hero comes	Handel	Duet and chorus
12	47 th Psalm	Hayes	Four voices
13	48 th Psalm	Hayes	Four voices
14	Call the remembrance	Farrant	Four voices
15	Hide not thou thy face	Farrant	Four voices
16	O praise the Lord	Batten	Four voices
17	Deliver us, o Lord our God	Batten	Four voices
18	Behold, now praise the Lord	Rogers	Four voices
19	Music in the Tempest	Purcell	-
20	Non nobis domine	Byrd	Three voices
21	We be three poor mariners	Ravenscroft	Three voices
22	Gather your rose buds	Lawes	Three voices
23	Here in cool grot	Earl of Mornington	Four voices
24	The glories of our birth	Coleman	Four voices
25	Hark! hark! The lark	Cooke	Four voices
26	Turn, Amaryllis, to thy swain	Brewer	Four voices
27	A generous friendship	Webbe	Five voices
28	Hark, the hollow woods resounding	Stafford Smith	Four voices
29	Flora gave me fairest flowers	Wilbye	Five voices
30	Every bush new springing	Cavendish	Five voices
31	Amidst the myrtles as I walk	Battishill	Five voices

³⁴⁶ Gerald Coke Handel Collection, accession number: 5037, format: programme, shelf reference: 7/E/Edinburgh, Foundling Museum, London.

³⁴⁷ Macleod, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society’, 175.

³⁴⁸ Ibid. See Chapter Seven below.

The index page of the catalogue announced ‘the numbers prefixed to some of the titles, refer to the MS books belonging to the Society’, but it is unclear whether the Harmonic Society maintained its own library or utilised the existing collection of the Musical Society. The manuscripts were catalogued by letters, and sometimes numbers: ‘Laudate dominum’ was in manuscript A, Purcell’s ‘Te Deum’ in A2, and Handel’s ‘See the conqu’ring hero comes’ in B. These last three had been copied by the Musical Society in the 1750s and it is likely that these references referred to the Musical Society library.

Of the metrical psalms, Croft’s setting of Psalm 104 was probably the three-voice setting of verses 1 and 2 which appeared in Henry Playford’s *The Divine Companion* (1701), the first book to provide ‘anthems for country choirs’.³⁴⁹ Croft’s original was set for cantus, altus and bassus so could have been performed by a variety of different groups. Hayes’s settings of Psalms 47 and 48 were presumably drawn from his *Sixteen Metrical Psalms* (1773). Hayes set each psalm for four voices with interludes for organ, which would have been played on the Snetzler organ in the Concert Room of St Cecilia’s Hall. The singing of metrical psalms within the meetings of the Harmonical Society probably served a dual purpose: while at once paying homage to the liturgical and musical traditions of Scotland, they were short, easy to learn and could be performed by a group of varying sizes and of varying voice parts.³⁵⁰

Like the Musical Society, the Harmonical Society obviously had an interest in the oratorios of Handel although, unlike the Musical Society, the Harmonical Society does not appear to have staged entire oratorios. Presumably as a performing society they were less interested in the florid warbling of paid musicians which had come to dominate the Friday meetings of the Musical Society. In 1786 the Harmonical Society appears to have only performed two pieces of Handel – the famous chorus from *Judas Maccabeus* and ‘Zadok the Priest’. The scores of *Judas* and the *Coronation Anthems* had been purchased and copied for the Musical Society in the 1750s,³⁵¹ and both were listed in the catalogue of their library that they produced in 1782, and it is possible that these scores were used by the Harmonical Society (see Appendix J and K).

Another work which was almost certainly borrowed from the Musical Society was the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D composed by Henry Purcell for St Cecilia’s Day in 1693. The impetus to perform the work may have come from Gilbert Innes who in 1779 had purchased a

³⁴⁹ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 136.

³⁵⁰ The performance of sacred music will be further discussed in Chapter Eight.

³⁵¹ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/5/208/10.

copy of the *Te Deum* for his library, along with catches by Arne, Hay, Giardini, Purcell, Blow and Warren, and Purcell's song collection *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698-1702), from Robert Bremner in London.³⁵² By that point it had already been performed in public at benefit concerts for Stephen Clark twice, so it is likely that it was well known in Edinburgh. The performance of Purcell's *Te Deum* raises interesting questions about the meetings of the Harmonical Society: most of their repertoire was clearly intended for unaccompanied chorus, but the Purcell required an orchestra. Were soloists drawn from the chorus or did the Society retain professional singers for the meeting? As already noted there was no shortage of singers who could have taken part. Clearly it was not the norm for the activities of the Harmonical Society to be accompanied by an orchestra, but were the Purcell canticles performed with an orchestra or accompanied on the organ? It is even possible that the Harmonical Society maintained its own orchestra. The Catch Clubs of Canterbury and Bath both maintained orchestras. At the period around 1785 the Canterbury Catch Club employed an orchestra of about 14 players (three violins, one viola, five 'basses', three oboes and two horns).³⁵³ John Marsh's comments given above show how the orchestra interacted with the singers and how the concerts were planned. However, neither Bath nor Canterbury had musical societies of the same pretension as Edinburgh, and it is unlikely that the Harmonical Society would have retained an orchestra permanently, when they could have utilised players from the Musical Society as required. Surely, given the music listed, if an organist or keyboard player was present for most of the meetings that would have sufficed, with an orchestra only retained to perform the larger concerted works of Purcell and the other unidentified settings which suggest an orchestral accompaniment. It would appear that the directors had a large say in the repertoire, but was there also a concert master who was charged with the rehearsal and direction of the performances? By the 1780s there was perhaps only one man in the city with an appropriate knowledge of choral music and the ability to rehearse and accompany the singers: Stephen Clark, the organist of the Episcopal Chapel in the Cowgate.³⁵⁴ Certainly Clark was often engaged to provide singers for important civic occasions, so if such a position existed within the Harmonical Society, he would have been the obvious choice. Circumstantially Clark appears to be a good candidate as his benefit in 1787 was attended by three boys 'of the Harmonical Society'.³⁵⁵ Whoever musically directed the Harmonic Society it is fairly certain

³⁵² NAS, Innes of Stow, GD113/5/130a.

³⁵³ Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 146.

³⁵⁴ See Chapter Eight for further discussion of Stephen Clark.

³⁵⁵ CM, 3 March 1787.

that, like the Musical Society, it imported its trebles and counter-tenors, possibly from Heriot's Hospital. There remains evidence of three of the trebles retained by the Harmonic Society: 'Masters Schaw, Masterton, and Mckenzie'.³⁵⁶ Maxwell Shaw was later described as 'formerly a boy singer with the Harmonic Society who has lost his voice'.³⁵⁷ Masterton was recorded singing 'Would you gain' from *Acis and Galatea* at one of the Musical Society's concerts in June 1786,³⁵⁸ and was probably a relative of Allan Masterton, the writing master, composer, and friend of Robert Burns.³⁵⁹

It is possible that the Harmonical Society retained only three trebles: the Musical Society did not retain many more for their oratorio performances. It is also possible that there were a greater number used, either all the time or as the occasion demanded, but the three named were the best and thus were used by Clark at his benefit. There is, as yet, no definite evidence for the size of the choir at the Harmonical Society, or even whether all subscribers were performing members.

The more usual fare of the Harmonical Society appears to have been the simpler English anthems performed in the Anglican Church throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, which could satisfactorily be performed by a small ensemble. Richard Farrant's anthems 'Call to remembrance' and 'Hide not thou thy face from us, O Lord' date from the late sixteenth century, when Farrant held various posts at court. The simplicity of the settings and straight-forward declamation of the text might suggest a composition date during the reign of Edward VI, when Farrant was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, but could equally easily date from his time as Master of the Children at Windsor (1564-1569) or from his final appointment as Master of the Chapel Royal following the Elizabethan reforms of the church. Adrian Batten's anthems 'O praise the Lord' and 'Deliver us, O Lord our God' were probably composed in the early years of the seventeenth century and typify the homophonic style of the English composers before the French Style became prevalent at the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. Together with the three-part round 'Non nobis Domine' attributed to William Byrd, which was already well known in Scotland following its first appearance in Bremner's *Rudiments of Music* (1756, second edition 1762), this gave the Society a repertoire of five English Renaissance anthems.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/4/159.

³⁵⁸ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 144.

³⁵⁹ James C Dick (ed.), *Notes of Scottish Song by Robert Burns written in an interleaved copy of the Scots Musical Museum with additions by Robert Riddle and others* (Edinburgh: Henry Frowde, 1908), 27.

The next generation of composers was also well represented in the Society's repertoire. Thomas Tudway's 'I am the resurrection' from his *Funeral Service* dated from the turn of the eighteenth century and was also included in Bremner's *Rudiments*. Benjamin Roger's setting of Psalm 134 'Behold, now praise the Lord' probably dated from the latter half of the seventeenth century and his incumbency at Magdalen College, Oxford. All of the English works are in four parts, largely homophonic with only occasional polyphonic sections, and can easily and effectively be doubled by organ without making too many demands upon amateur singers. Crucially, compared to a work like the Purcell *Te Deum* they required little rehearsal and would have been easy to sing at sight: presumably this was of great importance for a group who only met every fortnight.

The repertoire also includes two extracts from masques, John Weldon's 'Let ambition fire thy mind' is an aria and chorus from *The Judgement of Paris* (1700). The second operatic extract came from the incidental music for Dryden and Davenant's production of the *Tempest* (1695) attributed to Henry Purcell. As was common the composer provided dances and songs to be inserted into the existing spoken text. The Edinburgh Harmonic Society performed a large section of the music, and, the word-book suggests that it was all sung at one meeting.

Table 3.16: Extracts from the incidental music for the *Tempest* attributed to Henry Purcell, performed by the Edinburgh Harmonical Society in 1786

Bass duet	Where does this black fiend ambition reside?
Chorus	Care their minds when the wake unquiet will keep
Song	Arise, ye subterranean winds
Song	Come unto the yellow sand
Chorus	Hark, hark
Song	Full fathom five thy father lies
Chorus	Sea-nymphs hourly his knell
Song	Dry those eyes which are o'erflowing
Song	Kind fortune smiles
Song	Dear pretty youth
Recit – Amphitrite	Great Neptune, now no more
Song	Fair and Serene
Chorus	The Nereids and Tritons shall sing and shall play
Recit – Neptune	Eolus, you must appear
Song	While these pass o'er the deep
Recit – Eolus	Your awful voice I hear, and I obey
Song	Come down, my blusterers, swell no more
Song – Amphitrite	Halcyon days, now wars are ending
Song – Neptune	See, See the heavens smile
Duet and chorus	No stars again shall hurt you

Like the Purcell *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* the incidental music for the *Tempest* would have represented a serious and extensive undertaking for the Harmonic Society. It is the inclusion of this music which further points towards the involvement of Stephen Clark. In April 1785 he

advertised that his concert on 2 May would include ‘the celebrated Music in the TEMPEST composed by Henry Purcel’.³⁶⁰ Clark was obviously relying on singers from outside the city as the date of the concert was changed twice before Clark advertised in July that the date was fixed and that ‘Mr MEREDITH from the Choir of Durham will sing a principal part’.³⁶¹ In the end the performance replaced with the ‘songs and choruses, selected from the Oratorios of Samson, and Acis and Galatea... instead of the Music in the Tempest, which was formerly advertised’.³⁶² His soloists included Edward Meredith, Giusto Tenducci, Pietro Urbani, John Aitken, Domenico and Alice Corri. Two years later, and a year after the Harmonical Society performance, Clark staged extracts from *The Tempest* at his benefit concert in 1787, when the aria ‘Come unto the yellow sand’ was performed by Maxwell Shaw, suggesting he also might have done so a year earlier at the Harmonical Society. The coincidence of Clark’s association with performances of *The Tempest* and the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* unconnected with the Harmonical Society strongly suggests that he was in some way involved with the training of the members of the Society, and possibly the selection of repertoire.

The contemporary taste for catches and glees was not neglected, as the catalogue lists ten secular part-songs. The Society was obviously self-consciously interested in the antiquity of some of the items, including dates in their programme for the older items. These dates are unlikely to be composition dates as only one date corresponds directly to the date of first publication, but the date perhaps refers to the publication date of the editions the singers were using. Robins comments that it had been an interest in the English songs of the previous generation which had first fired the interest of the London Catch Club, and was initially one of the defining features of the early Gentlemen’s singing clubs. William Hayes wrote, in the preface to his *Catches, Glees and Canons* (1757), that:

In the following Composition I have endeavoured to imitate the simplicity of Style with distinguishes the Works of those Masters who are allowed to have excelled in the Species of Music: particularly those of our Countrymen HILTON, LAWES, BREWER, FORD and others of the last Century; But above all, the famous PURCELL; whose incomparable Humour can never be outdone if equalled.³⁶³

The list of dates given presents us with an interesting statement on the editions used by the Harmonical Society and, perhaps, as a result, the dissemination of this music from London.

³⁶⁰ CM, 16 April 1785.

³⁶¹ CM, 16 July 1785.

³⁶² CM, 25 July 1785.

³⁶³ William Hayes, preface to *Catches, Glees, and Canons for Three, Four and Five Voices* (Oxford: printed for the author, 1757).

It is likely that these editions belonged to one of the gentlemen members, possibly even Gilbert Innes, who amassed a vast private library of music during his life-time. The date given for Ravenscroft's 'We be three poor mariners' is 1614, it was first published in London in *Deuteromelia* (1609). William Lawes's 'Gather your rosebuds', dated 1673 in the catalogue, was first published in Playford's second set of *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* (1652). 'Flora gave me fairest flowers' is dated 1609 but first appeared in Wilbye's *1st Set of Madrigals* (1598). Michael Cavendish's lute song 'Every bush now springing' is the only piece in the collection apparently sung from the first edition of *14 Ayres in tablature* (1598). One glee not dated is Thomas Brewer's 'Turn Amaryllis to thy swain'. The text was often set by composers: John Hilton published a version in *Catch that can Catch* (1658), whilst Brewer's version appeared in the following year in Playford's *Select Musicall Ayres* (1659). The diarist, and keen musician, Samuel Pepys purchased Playford's volume and recorded singing Brewer's setting on 24 April 1660:

after supper my Lord and we had some more very good musique and singing of 'Turne Amaryllis,' as it is printed in the song book, with which my Lord was very much pleased. After that to bed.³⁶⁴

The other part-songs were drawn from later eighteenth century sources and contemporary composers. As ever, innovations in London were quickly mirrored by the fashionable in Edinburgh. The madrigal 'Here in cool grot and mossy cells' was composed in the latter half of the 1770s and won the Gold Medal presented by the Catch Club in 1779, and is an interesting example of an aristocratic composer, Garret Wesley, 1st Earl of Mornington, writing for an aristocratic institution and audience.³⁶⁵

'Here in cool grot' achieved notable popularity and was performed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Other recorded performances of it in Edinburgh include Stephen Clark's benefit in 1787,³⁶⁶ and a concert in St Cecilia's Hall in 1796 when it was performed by Miss Barnet, Mr Barnet, Mr Urbani, and Mr Holland.³⁶⁷ Towards the end of the century glees made the transition from amateur domestic performance to professional performance in public concerts and achieved considerable popularity with amateur and professional singers.

³⁶⁴ 'Diary of Samuel Pepys' accessed on 11 December 2013, <http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1660/04/24>.

³⁶⁵ Charles Knight, (ed.), *English cyclopaedia: a new dictionary of universal knowledge*, vol. 4 (London: Bradbury, Evans & Co., 1867), 349.

³⁶⁶ CM, 3 March 1787.

³⁶⁷ CM, 11 April 1796.

Figure 3.7: The opening bars of ‘Here in cool grot’ by Garret Wesley, 1st Earl of Mornington
 Published in *The British Minstrel, and Musical and Literary Miscellany*, vol.1,
 printed in Glasgow by William Hamilton (undated)

HERE IN COOL GRO T. Mornington.

AIR. *Slow. p* Here in cool Grot and mos-sy Cell, *Vivace* We ru-ral Fays and Fai-ries, We

ALTO. We ru-ral Fays and

TENOR. Here in cool Grot and mos-sy Cell, We ru-ral Fays and

BASS. We ru-ral Fays and

Edward Coleman’s ‘The glories of our birth’, for three voices (although the Harmonical Society Catalogue says four) was published in *The European Magazine and London Review* in April 1783.

Figure 3.8: The opening bars of Edwards Coleman’s ‘The glories of our birth’,
 published in *The European Magazine and London Review* in April 1783.

FOR APRIL, 1783. 297

SET BY MR. EDWARD COLEMAN.

The glories of our birth and state are shadows

The glories of our birth and state are shadows

The glories of our birth and state are shadows

Dr Benjamin Cooke’s largely homophonic setting of text from Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline*, ‘Hark! hark! The lark’ appears to have been published in 1774 and enjoyed considerable

contemporary success, being reprinted by Novello throughout the nineteenth century.³⁶⁸ Samuel Webbe's 'A generous friendship' won second prize in the Catch Club's competition of 1768.³⁶⁹ Stafford Smith's popular hunting song 'Hark, the hollow woods resounding' went through various incarnations following its publication in 1780: as a four-part glee (presumably how it was performed in Edinburgh), as a duet and as a solo song.³⁷⁰

The last song in the collection, Jonathan Battishill's 'Amidst the myrtles as I walked', had, like many other of the texts, had various settings over the course of the centuries: an earlier setting by Henry Lawes may have been known to the men of the Harmonical Society. Battishill's setting in five parts, in binary form, was a little more complicated than the other glees and madrigals recorded at the meetings of the Harmonical Society. Emmanuel Rubin wrote that:

It provides a clear example of the fluidity with which his [Battishill's] contrapuntal voices move in support of a lyrical unpretentious melody. What appears at first to be naiveté, emerges on repeated hearing to be a little jewel in which the concertante of the two outer voices (soprano and bass) is filled in with a web of constantly moving inner counterpoint, gliding through secondary and dissonant chords so smoothly as to make them melt into a seemingly richer harmony than is actually there. Neither is Battishill afraid of dissonance in this piece. The very first phrase reaches the tonic by passing through strong beat appoggiaturas that produce a full supertonic triad imposed of the tonic in the bass and second tenor.³⁷¹

The Harmonical Society had a diverse and well established repertoire of secular songs: they either performed madrigals of the previous century, or part-songs and glees either newly published or written within the previous ten years. This self-consciously historic approach continued to gain favour throughout the eighteenth century: the foundation of the Madrigal Society in London marked an important milestone in the revival and performance of old music.³⁷²

Possibly the most interesting items in the repertoire of the Harmonical Society in 1786 are the three Latin motets, which had previously featured in the repertoire of the Musical Society: 'Laudate dominum', 'O dulcis' and 'Cantantibus organis Cecilia'. 'Cantantibus' was another oft-set text, a proper for the Feast of St Cecilia, the patron saint of music,

³⁶⁸ Enrique Alberto Arias, *Comedy in music: a historical bibliographical resource guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 47.

³⁶⁹ *Music Library Monthly*, supplement no. 5, (August 1834), 1.

³⁷⁰ Strictly *Hark, the Hollow Woods* could be categorised as a harmonised song rather than a glee.

³⁷¹ Rubin, *The English Glee*, 275.

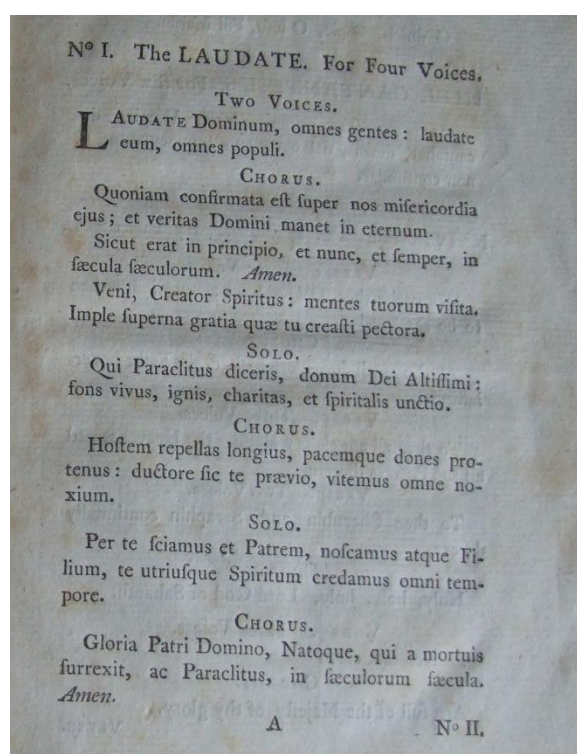
³⁷² Robins, *The Catch and Glee*, 142.

Cantantibus organis Caecilia virgo in corde suo soli domino decantabat dicens: 'Fiat domine cor meum et corpus meum immaculatum ut non confundar'.

While the musicians played, Cecilia the virgin sang in her heart only to the Lord, saying: 'Lord, let my heart and body remain without stain, that I be not put to shame.'

Versions for five voices exist by Lassus, Marenzio, Palestrina and Peter Philips, but at present I have been unable to find a version which I can confidently suggest was performed by the members of the Harmonic Society in 1786, or the members of the Musical Society before them. The setting of the 'Laudate dominum' is of a larger scale, with the text divided into solos, choruses and duets, which would suggest a baroque concerted setting, with orchestra, in the style of Purcell's *Te Deum*.

Figure 3.9: Text of the 'Laudate Dominum' as printed in the Edinburgh Harmonical Society's programme published in 1786



The text is an unusual marriage of the 'Laudate Dominum' (psalm 117) with the psalm 'Veni Creator Spiritus'. Given the status of the 'Veni Creator' as a hymn of invocation to the Holy Ghost used at ordinations and chapter meetings, the composition, twinning a joyful text 'Sing unto God' with 'Come, Holy Ghost our souls inspire', may have been a sung blessing asking for approval and sanction upon the Society's association, their purpose and their members. It

is possible that this work was the first sung by the Society, and one with which they began every season, hence its position at the opening of the collection.

Although its foundation may have been a response to a very definite set of circumstances in Edinburgh, the Harmonical Society seems to have been closely modelled upon two similar institutions in London: the Academy of Ancient Music and the Concert of Ancient Music. Both groups had an exclusive membership primarily drawn from the aristocracy and their repertoire appears to have been a direct model for the Edinburgh Society. Both organisations performed multi-movement choral anthems, Latin liturgical works, and lengthy extracts from Purcell's theatrical scores.³⁷³ The Harmonic Society, likewise, had a wide range of interest in vocal music, and its catalogue probably represents the greatest variety of vocal music, old and new, performed in a single year in the eighteenth century by one group of people. The catalogue of the works performed is remarkable and it gives an insight into the musical aims and ambitions of the Harmonical Society: although as already mentioned some of the repertoire was certainly inspired by the repertoire of the Musical Society in the 1750s. It was the move away from performing such material that led to the formation of the Harmonical Society and the suggestion that the performance of such works had been 'so much neglected'. The Harmonical Society was trying to re-establish the supposed 'halcyon days' of amateur singing within the activities of the Musical Society.

In 1787 the Society subscribed to Dr Samuel Arnold's edition of the complete works of Handel.³⁷⁴ It appears that the Harmonical Society was disbanded soon afterwards as no further reference to their activities can be found. Despite its short existence, the foundation and activities of the Harmonical Society ably and amply demonstrate the importance of vocal music, not only to the elite members of the Musical Society but also to the wider musical-culture of Edinburgh. It should be noted that beyond reviving the former works of the Musical Society the existing catalogue of the Harmonical Society's performances is not particularly innovative and owes much to the repertoire of similar societies in London. The members of the Harmonical Society were not seeking to perform new works, but were rather regretting that the Musical Society no longer performed the music they used to. It is possible that the failure of the Harmonical Society was due to a falling interest in vocal music, or it may have been the death of Samuel Mitchelson in 1788 removed a driving force behind its creation. It may simply have been that with emerging difficulties of the Musical Society it was difficult to maintain interest in two separate societies.

³⁷³ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 102.

³⁷⁴ *Daily Universal Register*, 3 March 1787.

3.5 The Freemasons

Throughout the eighteenth century Freemasonry gained in popularity: it had the appeal of combining the all-male conviviality of the club, a trade fraternity, and ‘non-denominational lay piety’.³⁷⁵ Freemasons were bound together in an exclusive society by initiation rites and a respect and understanding of the mystery of the sect. Like many societies in the eighteenth century Masonic Lodges contained many ideological tensions: the Masons combined social exclusivity with a degree of egalitarianism, and a commitment to education and rationalism whilst indulging in a taste for ritual and mystery.³⁷⁶ Between 1717 and 1768 over 300 Masonic Lodges were founded throughout Great Britain.³⁷⁷ In common with the growth of Freemasonry in England, in the eighteenth century in Edinburgh several Lodges were established.³⁷⁸ Macleod has done much to highlight the links between Freemasonry, the Edinburgh Musical Society, and the cultural elite of the city.³⁷⁹

The Masons made extensive use of music and musicians in their meetings: whether it was the singing of hymns for ceremonial purposes, or for recreation following the close of business.³⁸⁰ Professional musicians were at one point admitted to the Lodge gratis provided they were prepared to ‘play to the lodge on any necessary occasion’,³⁸¹ as there was much ‘instrumental music and songs to fill in the intervals between speeches’.³⁸² Robert Lindsay noted:

Between 1756 and 1772 the music of the lodge during its working and after at Harmony was greatly strengthened by the accession of brother Alexander Fyfe, George Tecklenburg, John Barstaffe Rankerman, James Marine and Joseph Reinagle sen., who are all mentioned in the roll of members... In addition to them there were Robert Hutton, violinist, performer at St Cecilia’s Hall 1758... 7 members of the ‘Musick Band’ of the 23rd, 21 August 1767... John Aitken, precentor of St Andrew’s Church, Anchor Close, honorary member from Canongate Kilwinning. 18 December 1767.³⁸³

³⁷⁵ Porter, *English Society*, 157.

³⁷⁶ Porter, *Enlightenment*, 38.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid*,

³⁷⁸ For an overview of Masonry in Scotland in the eighteenth century, see Mark Coleman Wallace, ‘Scottish Freemasonry 1725-1810: Progress, Power, and Politics’ (PhD diss., University of St Andrews, 2007).

³⁷⁹ Jennifer Macleod, ‘Freemasonry and Music in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh’ in *Freemasonry on Both Sides of the Atlantic*, ed. William Weisberger et al. (New York: 2002), 123-152.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 189.

³⁸¹ Robert Strathern Lindsay, *A History of the Mason Lodge of Holyrood House (St Luke’s)*, no. 44 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1935), 106.

³⁸² *Ibid*, 106.

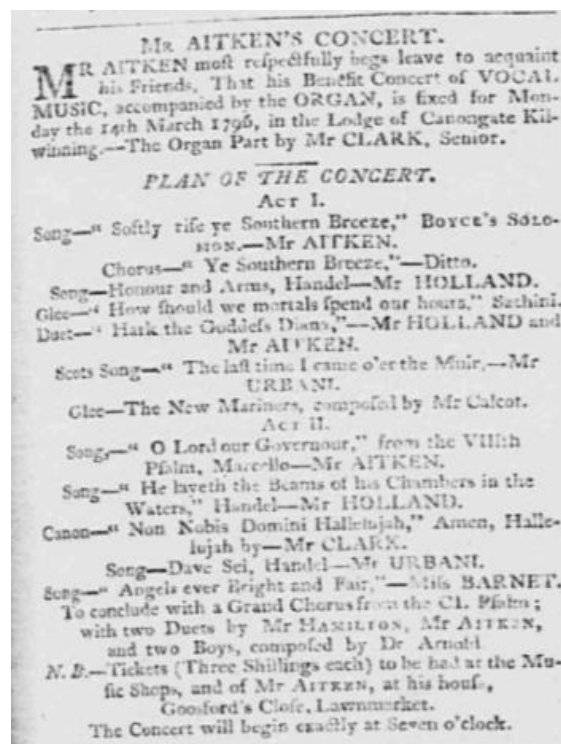
³⁸³ Lindsay, *op cit*, 172.

Songs and music became an integrated part of institutional life in most Masonic Lodges, as at many meetings singing was an important part of the social identity of the masons:³⁸⁴

What with eating and drinking and appropriate conversation... [they] passed the time with much good humour and sparkling wit till past eight o'clock in the evening: Finally, after several songs in Latin, French, Italian, English, and Gaelic, the Lodge was closed in the usual manner.³⁸⁵

In 1788 Gavin Wilson published *A Collection of Masonic songs, and entertaining anecdotes for use in all the Lodges*, which included many of the songs used at Lodge meetings. It seems likely that many of the musicians who were also masons were supported in a benefit concert by the lodge: hence the regular appearance of the Freemason's Anthem in contemporary programmes, either as a mark of respect or thanks for support received. James Marine's concert in 1753 was advertised as 'on behalf of the Free and Accepted Masons in Scotland'.³⁸⁶

Figure 3.10: Advertisement for John Aitken's benefit concert held at the Lodge of Canongate Kilwinning, 1796
Caledonian Mercury 3 March 1796



³⁸⁴ For a more detailed overview of the use of Masonic songs for ceremonial purposes see Katherine Campbell, 'Masonic Song in Scotland: Folk Tunes and Community' in *Oral Tradition*, 27/1 (2012), 85-100.

³⁸⁵ No. 160 Roman Eagle Lodge Minutes, 1 August 1785 quoted in Wallace, 'Scottish Freemasonry', 108.

³⁸⁶ EEC, 22 January 1753.

The Lodge of Canongate staged concerts known as ‘Select Mason’s Concerts’ during the winter season on Tuesday evenings, from at least 1790, if not earlier. The evenings included dinner and were predominantly for members only: visitors being admitted upon the ‘recommendation of the members’.³⁸⁷ In 1796 John Aitken staged his benefit, consisting of all vocal music, in the Lodge of Canongate Kilwinning which appears to have been opened to the public for the occasion.³⁸⁸

In addition to supporting musicians who were members in their benefits, using music in their meetings and staging their own concerts, the Masons staged musical commemorations for departed brothers. At the death of prominent brethren, Funeral Lodges were held when ‘solemn pieces of Musick were performed proper and suitable to the mournful occasion of this meeting’.³⁸⁹ Macleod has investigated the similarities between these Funeral Lodges and the Funeral Concerts of the Musical Society, which will be considered in Chapter Seven. Lindsay records the music performed at the Funeral Lodge in 1785 for the late master, William Smith:

Paraphrase 8 vv 1, 29 tune ‘London’
 A funeral concerto
 Non nobis, Domine.
 Dead March in Saul
 A Composition for the occasion, tune ‘Lochaber’
 O Absalom, my son
 Paraphrase 4 vv. 1, 4, 5 tune ‘Dundee’
 Resurrection Hymn
 A composite psalm in metre, tune ‘St. Mary’s’.³⁹⁰

This certainly appears to suggest a more inclusive, and quasi-religious, event than the Funeral Concerts staged by the Musical Society. It also suggests that the Masons were using Bremner’s *Rudiments* as their principal source of sacred music, as ‘Non, nobis Domine’, ‘O Absalom, my son’, and the ‘Resurrection Hymn’ are all included in the 1762 reprint of Bremner’s book: which also included the psalm tunes ‘London’ and ‘Dundee’. Music was of key importance to the Masons’ public ceremonial image: in 1754 a procession from Mary’s Chapel up the High Street to the High School was accompanied by a band of oboes and a band of French horns, parading in the procession.³⁹¹ The full musical establishment of the Lodges in Edinburgh was

³⁸⁷ CM, 26 January 1792.

³⁸⁸ CM, 3 March 1796.

³⁸⁹ Macleod, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society’, 197.

³⁹⁰ Macleod, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society’, 197.

³⁹¹ CM, 2 December 1754.

demonstrated in November 1789, at the laying of the foundation of the new college buildings on South Bridge (now known as Old College). The Principal, Professors and students of the University, together with the Magistrates, the Lord Provost, the Worshipful Grand Master of the Masons in Scotland, and representatives of all the Masonic lodges in Edinburgh met in Parliament Square to process to the foundations. Included in the celebrations were a ‘Band of Singers, under the direction of Signor Schetky’ and ‘A Band of Instrumental Music’.³⁹² Unusually the *Caledonian Mercury* listed all the music performed at the ceremony in detail:

Upon arriving at the spot where the Stone is to be laid, the Instrumental Band will play, *Come let us prepare...* On this being finished, the Instrumental Band will play, *On, on, my dear brethren*, till the Substitute Grand Master conducts the Most Worshipful to the Stone... When he has taken his place, *Gloria Patri* is to be sung; and, immediately after... the *Masons Anthem* to be played and sung. The Procession will then return... The Instrumental Band will play, and the Singers will sing, on the processions returning, *Let Ambition Fire thy Mind*, - and *Britannia*.³⁹³

The Procession then retreated singing, and the *Caledonian Mercury* printed the text and order of the works to be sung in procession.

Table 3.17 Music sung in procession following the Masonic ceremony at the laying of the foundation stone of the new college buildings of South Bridge, 16 November 1789

Title	Text	Tune	Composer	Origin if from larger work
The King’s Anthem [Zadok the priest?]	-	-	Handel?	<i>Coronation Anthems?</i>
See he comes: his way prepare	Rev John Armstrong ³⁹⁴	The conquering hero	Handel?	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i> HWV 63 (1746)?
Long, long, dishonour of our Isle	Rev John Armstrong	The hero comes	Handel?	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i> HWV 63 (1746)?
Gloria Patri	-	-	-	Printed in Bremner’s <i>Rudiments</i> (1762)?
Mason’s Anthem	-	-	-	-
Now, now the glorious work’s begun	Rev John Armstrong	Let ambition fire thy mind	Eccles	<i>Judgement of Paris</i> (1701)
The stone we’ve seen first placed by Napier’s hand	Rev John Armstrong	Rule Britannia	Arne	<i>Alfred</i> (1740)

From the report of the event there is no clear implication that the musicians and singers were all masons, or were even associated with Lodges in any way at all, but it is worth noting that Handel’s ‘See, the conquering hero comes’ and Eccles ‘Let ambition Fire they mind’ were both

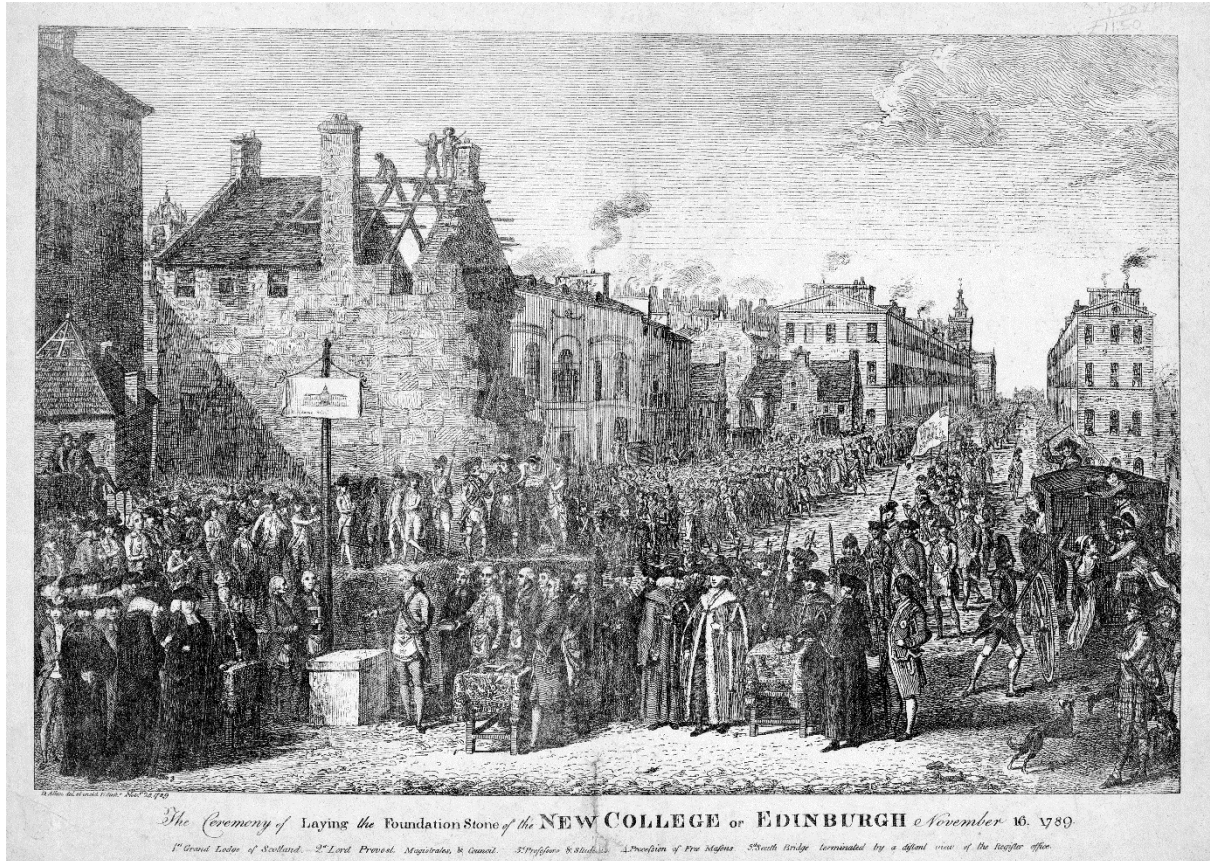
³⁹² CM, 12 November 1789.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ *An Asylum for fugitive pieces in prose and verse*, vol. 4 (London: J. Debrett, 1793), 120.

in the repertoire of the Harmonical Society in 1786, possibly further highlighting connection between the institutions.

Figure 3.11: ‘The Ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the New College Edinburgh, November 16, 1789’
Engraving by David Allan, © courtesy of RCAHMS (SC 1233386)



Whether the musicians were associated with the Lodges, or were merely paid for their performance, it is obvious that the Masons were in the position to stage musically spectacular civic and ceremonial events when the occasion arose. It is evident that music was important to the Masons: they cultivated vocal music as a form of corporate expression with anthems and hymns appropriate to their Lodge and ceremonies, as a means of recreation, and as an important part of developing their public image at civic occasions.

Conclusion

The importance of singing, as opposed to instrumental proficiency, will be discussed in Chapter Six, but it appears from the evidence available that amateur singing amongst the members of elite groups and societies was just as vibrant and vital as was professional singing in public concert and commercial enterprises. The motivation behind the production of vocal music in

each case might be different, but there is little doubt that there was no shortage of music being performed in private in the city. Even if one takes the view of the founders of the Harmonical Society concerning the neglect of music in the Musical Society seriously, as they obviously did, from 1750 the Musical Society performed a huge range of vocal music from fashionable Italian arias to polyphonic Latin motets.

At these exclusive societies the performance of vocal music also had a social element, as was commented upon by a correspondent to the *Caledonian Mercury*:

I think [*singing*] constitutes one of the purest, most innocent, and delightful entertainments. It gives a pleasing variety to the sweets of society, and renders a company cheerful and happy. It diverts the mind in a greater degree than any thing I know of from the important cares of business.³⁹⁵

In addition to the social and convivial element, singing also had an important attraction to these exclusive societies. Singing together was an expression of corporate identity, an expression of brotherhood, and solidarity of class and caste. Singing reaffirmed the bonds and the fraternal element of the masons, in the same way that the singing of psalms, in the Kirk, served as a communal expression of faith. In private clubs singing was a demonstration of refinement, taste and ability. In many ways, even more than the public concerts, the performance of vocal music in private elite societies by enthusiastic amateurs demonstrates the importance of such music to the wider musical, and cultural, life of the city.

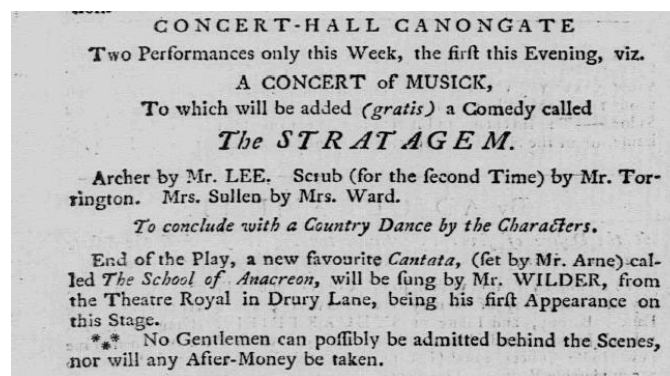
³⁹⁵ CM, 11 April 1785.

Chapter Four

Music in the Theatre

In Edinburgh, the theatres utilised and supported vocal music in almost every performance: Cosh's assertion about the scarcity of live music cannot be seriously entertained when one considers the amount of music regularly performed at the town's theatres.³⁹⁶ The Theatre Licensing Act of 1737 prohibited the performance of the spoken word except in licensed theatres: it was not illegal to act, merely to charge admittance, so managers began advertising concerts during which a play would be presented free of charge.

Figure 4.1: Advertisement for an evening at the Concert Hall in the Canongate, showing the use of a concert to by-pass the 1737 Theatre Licensing Act
Caledonian Mercury, 25 November 1755



Before 1767 there were no licensed theatres in Edinburgh,³⁹⁷ and given the high antagonism of the clergy and magistrates it seemed unlikely one would be licensed. One particularly virulent attack on the theatre said:

It is agreed upon by sober pagans themselves that play actors are the most profligate wretches and the vilest vermin that Hell ever vomited out: that they are the filth and garbage of the earth, the scum and stain of human nature, the excrement and refuse of all mankind... the debauchers of man's minds and morals, unclean beats, idolatrous papist or atheists, and the most horrid and abandoned villains that ever the sun shone upon.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁶ For more information about the musical establishments, and repertoire, of the theatre in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century see David W. S. Todd, 'Music in the Theatre in Edinburgh in the eighteenth-century' (MMus diss., University of Edinburgh, 2003) held in the Special Collections of the Library of the University of Edinburgh: also see Johnson 45-48 for a discussion of the personnel of the orchestra and details of the strike of 1757-8.

³⁹⁷ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 45.

³⁹⁸ Robb Lawson, *The Story of the Scots Stage* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1917), quoted in Baxter, 'Italian Music', 28.

As a result the theatre in Edinburgh was under-developed and precarious compared with its counterparts in London. According to Cosh ‘struggling against the stigma of moral turpitude and illegality, a theatre had managed to maintain itself in one hovel-like hall after another, off the High Street in Carrubers Close, the Cowgate, and the Canongate, bedevilled by quarrels among the companies as well as by the thundering of the clergy’.³⁹⁹

During the second half of the eighteenth century there were at least three establishments which regularly presented theatrical entertainments: Taylor’s Hall in the Cowgate, the Canongate Theatre, known as the New Concert Hall to maintain the side-step of the 1737 regulation, which existed from 1747 until 1769,⁴⁰⁰ and the Theatre Royal, in Shakespeare Square. The third was opened in 1768 and was the first theatre in Edinburgh to be licensed in accordance with the 1737 Act, hence its name. Taylor’s Hall appears to have closed in the mid-1750s and the Canongate Theatre in 1769, presumably as fashionable company decamped to the Theatre Royal.

There is no evidence of the ‘concerts’ that were performed in Taylor’s Hall and the Canongate Concert Hall, although much information about music performed in plays exists in contemporary advertisements. As yet, no evidence of the musical establishment at Taylor’s Hall has been found, but it is known that the Concert Hall maintained an orchestra of at least eight musicians, who were paid between 2s. and 5s. per night.⁴⁰¹ Presumably the concert acted as an overture to the real entertainments, but the orchestra also played between acts and covered scene changes: but what of singers in the theatre? Southey points out that an actor would have been expected to sing and dance as well as to perform:

Singing was an accepted part of an actor’s required skills and, more particularly, of an actress’s. Musical ability was frequently commented upon in newspaper reviews... So popular were many of these actress/singers and so widely acknowledged their musical abilities (as well as their personal charms) that it was a common practice for them to hold benefits.⁴⁰²

Certainly there remains strong evidence that vocal music was regularly performed in the theatre and that its presence, and performance, greatly added to the success of a production, and also contributed to the vibrant wider musical culture of the city.

³⁹⁹ Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age*, 10.

⁴⁰⁰ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 45.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁴⁰² Southey, *Music-making*, 50.

4.1 Incidental Music in Plays

In 1750, Henry Thomson and Thomas Davies took over the management of the New Concert Hall, and advertised substantial alterations before a grand opening at the end of November.

Whereas Hen. Thomson and Thomas Davies have purchased of the proprietors of the NEW CONCERT HALL all their Rights, Title and interest in the same, together with cloaths [*sic*], scenes and everything else thereunto belonging, they humbly beg leave to inform the Nobility and Gentry that having engaged several new Actors, Singers, Dancers &c. they shall open the said Hall under their direction on Mon 29 October with a concert of music, after which will be given gratis THE BEGGARS OPERA: Polly, Mrs Storer; Lucy, Mrs Lampe; with several new entertainments of dancing. NB: The Orchestra will be enlarged, and the Voice accompanied with a Harpsichord on which Mr Lampe is to perform.⁴⁰³

The management employed Charles and Elizabeth Storer and John and Isabella Lampe, who had enjoyed considerable success at the Smock Lane Theatre, in Dublin. The party were delayed leaving Dublin, however, due to Mrs Lampe contracting a serious illness, and did not arrive in Edinburgh until November 1750.⁴⁰⁴ Storer did, however, assure his new employers that he had ‘secured all the Musick of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Tempest* &c. &c.’⁴⁰⁵ Thus the music performed at the production of *Romeo and Juliet* in January, *Othello* in February, *The Merchant of Venice* in March 1751 and probably others at the New Concert Hall were scores which had originated in Dublin. The score for *Romeo and Juliet* in particular appears to have been elaborate:

With the Funeral Procession of Juliet to the Monument of the Capulets, attended with solemn Musick; the Vocal Parts to be perform’d by Mrs STORER and Mrs LAMPE; and a new Scene of a Monument painted by the greatest Master in Edinburgh.⁴⁰⁶

In Dublin, at the time when Lampe and Storer were performing, there was one composer who had written scores for many of the Shakespearean plays staged there, including *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*: Nicolò Pasquali.⁴⁰⁷ Therefore it seems likely that Pasquali’s incidental music arrived in Edinburgh a year before

⁴⁰³ Johnston, *John Frederick Lampe*, 235.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Johnston, *John Frederick Lampe*, 235.

⁴⁰⁶ CM, 17 January 1751.

⁴⁰⁷ Baxter, ‘Italian Music’, 59.

he did. A review of the January 1751 performance of *Romeo and Juliet* said the ‘Musick was very solemn, and had a proper Effect. The last Scene between Romeo and Juliet was extremely affecting, and drew Tears from the greatest part of the Company’.⁴⁰⁸ This review seems to suggest that this production was new, and so was the music, perhaps supporting the view that the music used was that which Storer had brought from Dublin with him. It is worth mentioning that in 1750 Thomas Arne published incidental music for *Romeo and Juliet* and Southey cites occasions of this music being used in conjunction with Pasquali’s in the North-East,⁴⁰⁹ so it may have been Arne’s music which appeared in Edinburgh in 1750. I prefer to assume that Pasquali furnished Storer with a complete score before he left Dublin.

It may even have been Pasquali’s association with the music produced in January 1751 that led to his subsequent employment at the Canongate Concert Hall. Lampe died of fever on 25 July 1751 and was buried in the churchyard of Canongate Kirk, with a substantial gravestone emblazoned with tributes. In June 1752, Charles Storer announced he had taken on the management of the concert hall following the bankruptcy of Henry Thomson,⁴¹⁰ and that he was:

Engaging a good and regular Company of Performers from LONDON and DUBLIN, the Entertainments of the NOBILITY and GENTRY in EDINBURGH next Winter. The CONCERT-HALL will be enlarged, made more commodious, and entirely new painted. Signor PASQUALI is engag’d to conduct the OPERA’S and other MUSICAL Entertainments, who for his elegant Composition and fine Taste on the VIOLIN is justly esteem’d ONE of the first Performers in EUROPE.⁴¹¹

In the introduction to the 1974 edition of Pasquali’s *Thorough-Bass made Easie* John Churchill wrote, ‘It would be interesting to know what turned [Pasquali] ... to make a permanent home in the northern capital but I have not come across anything that suggests a reason’.⁴¹² It would now seem definite that Pasquali travelled to Scotland at the invitation, or at least instigation, of Charles Storer, with whom he and his brother had worked in Smock Alley in Dublin.⁴¹³

The first performance following Storer’s announcement was a performance of the *Orphan, or The Unhappy Marriage*, which included a performance of two Scots songs, at the

⁴⁰⁸ CM, 22 January 1751.

⁴⁰⁹ Southey, *Music-making*, 52.

⁴¹⁰ An advert to Thomson’s creditors was inserted in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 30 November 1752.

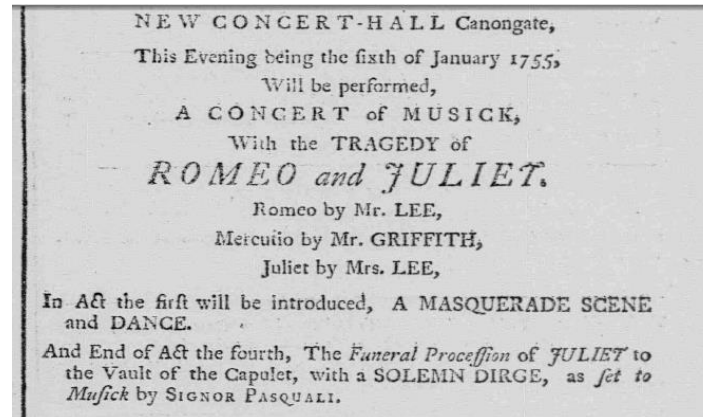
⁴¹¹ CM, 18 June 1752.

⁴¹² Nicolò Pasquali, *Thorough-Bass Made Easy*, ed. John Churchill (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), iii, quoted in Baxter *Italian Music*, 56 ft. 4.

⁴¹³ Johnston, *John Frederick Lampe*, 225, where he describes a performance of Pasquali’s *Temple of Peace* with ‘Machinery and Scenes... contrived and executed by Pasquali Junior, brother to Signor Pasquali’.

end of the second and fourth acts: ‘One Day I heard Mary say’ and ‘Farewell to Lochaber’ sung by the company’s male vocalist Robert Corry [not to be confused with the Domenico Corri].⁴¹⁴

Figure 4.2: Advertisement for a performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, with incidental music by Nicolò Pasquali Caledonian Mercury, 6 January 1755



Pasquali arrived in Edinburgh in November 1752 and was advertised directing a performance of *The Beggar’s Opera* on Friday 24 November 1752:

The whole Musick will be conducted by SIGNOR PASQUALI; who will also play a grand CONCERTO for the Violin Solo between the second and third Act.⁴¹⁵

Elizabeth Storer sang the part of Polly, but her husband had given the management of the Concert Hall to a Mr Lee in September, only a few months after advertising his new enterprise.⁴¹⁶ As Pasquali’s first experience of the theatre was on a Friday night, one wonders whether he had noticed the demographic of his audience, particularly as many of the elite musical patrons of the city would have been attending the meeting of the Musical Society. In the following year *Romeo and Juliet* was repeated, advertised with Pasquali’s music, and as before he performed a violin solo between the Acts.⁴¹⁷

Pasquali’s ‘Solemn Dirge’ often used in the final scene of *Romeo and Juliet* includes seven choruses (presumably sung by the company) and solos.⁴¹⁸ The ‘Dirge’ was published by Bremner in London, c. 1771, but it is likely that this was only part of the incidental music written for productions in Dublin and Edinburgh: Baxter suggests other music would have been

⁴¹⁴ CM, 30 June 1752: see Boydell *Rotunda Music*, 214, for his subsequent career in Dublin.

⁴¹⁵ CM, 23 November 1752.

⁴¹⁶ CM, 19 September 1752.

⁴¹⁷ CM, 14 December 1752.

⁴¹⁸ Baxter, ‘Italian Music’, 62.

interspersed throughout the rest of the play.⁴¹⁹ She also notes that the ‘Dirge’ alternates solo and choral sections, and begins and ends with a chorus derived from the same material. The vocal lines double those of the continuo and first violin throughout: even in the solo arias the voice is doubled by the violinist.⁴²⁰ This cannot be taken to be a reflection on the standards of music in the Canongate Theatre as it is clear that the ‘Dirge’ or any other incidental music were not written for the Edinburgh establishment. Perhaps it is actually an indication of Pasquali’s realistic understanding of the purpose of his compositions: in the theatre he could not always be guaranteed first class singers and wrote music that could be performed with a maximum of support to wavering singers. The simple scoring of the ‘Dirge’ for first and second violins and continuo suggests another compromise. Pasquali’s greatest interest appears to have been in ensuring that his compositions remained playable and accessible in a variety of situations and to singers and instrumentalists of varying quality. When he had more instrumentalists at hand, it is possible the instrumental accompaniment would have been filled out, and possibly when he had first-class singers he would have allowed them a greater freedom.

Figure 4.3: Opening bars of the *Solemn Dirge* by Nicolò Pasquali
Published by Robert Bremner (c. 1771), reproduced in Baxter, vol. 2, 398.

This Chorus to be repeated till the Proceffion is ended 7

Chorus

Bell

Largo

Hark! hark! to the Sullen Bell, with Awful pause, in deathlike Sound,

Hark! hark! to the Sullen Bell, with Awful pause, in deathlike Sound,

Largo

One should be wary of making too many assumptions on the basis of Bremner’s printed edition of the ‘Dirge’, which was published over ten years after Pasquali’s death and may have been edited for saleability and commercial appeal. Most of Pasquali’s unpublished works, including

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Baxter, ‘Italian Music’, 62.

the work he composed during his employment at various theatres, have been lost. Writing in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* Johnson notes that Pasquali was a ‘fluent, prolific writer, accustomed to working in the theatre’.⁴²¹ It has been noted elsewhere what a prolific teacher and performer Pasquali was, and it is hard to doubt that he did much to improve the quality of the vocal music, that formed an essential and everyday part of life at the Edinburgh theatres of the eighteenth century.

A performance of *Macbeth* in March 1771 at the Theatre Royal advertised that the music performed comprised ‘the original songs and music composed by Purcell’.⁴²² Southey notes that in Newcastle ‘*Macbeth* was virtually inseparable from Purcell’s music whose singing witches seems to have been an ever popular trio’.⁴²³ In Edinburgh, music attributed to Purcell was performed regularly through-out the eighteenth century: a performance in 1762 was advertised with ‘the original music’,⁴²⁴ which was probably Purcell’s and in 1774 the Theatre Royal presented the *Tempest*, as altered by Davenant and Dryden, with music by Purcell.⁴²⁵ A performance of the same play in 1750 at the Canongate Concert Hall had included a ‘Grand Singing Demon’.⁴²⁶ Elsewhere, the incidental music of *Macbeth* was often attributed to Matthew Locke, but is generally now accepted as the work of Richard Leveridge and the music to the *Tempest* has been tentatively identified with John Weldon.

Figure 4.4: Advertisement for *The Tempest* with music by Henry Purcell
Caledonian Mercury, 22 January 1774



⁴²¹ David Johnson, ‘Nicolo Pasquali’ in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, vol. 6, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 263.

⁴²² CM, 6 March 1771.

⁴²³ Southey, *Music-making*, 52.

⁴²⁴ ECC, 10 May 1762.

⁴²⁵ CM, 22 January 1774.

⁴²⁶ CM, 13 March 1750.

It is also clear that songs, old and new, were often interpolated into existing plays. In March 1751 an advertisement for a performance of the *Merchant of Venice* indicated that the performance would include additional songs performed by Isabella Lampe.⁴²⁷

Figure 4.5: Advertisement for *Merchant of Venice* followed by a performance of *Tom Thumb the Great* (1733) by John Frederick Lampe Caledonian Mercury, 9 March 1751

By particular Desire,
For the BENEFIT of Mademoiselle DE FRENE,
At the Concert-Hall in the Canongate, on Wednesday
next being the 20th of March, after a CONCERT of
MUSICK will be presented (*gratis*), a PLAY, called
The Merchant of VENICE.
The Part of the Merchant to be perform'd by Mr. Davies,
Shylock (the Jew) by Mr. Storer, Portia by Mrs. Storer,
and the Part of Jessica (with the Songs in Character) to
be perform'd by Mrs. Lampe.
To which will be added (*gratis*), the OPERA of
OPERAS, called *TOM THUMB the Great*; the Musick
composed by Mr. Lampe. The Part of King Arthur
to be perform'd by Mr. Corry, Princess Huncamunca by
Mrs. Davies, Queen Dollalolla by Mrs. Storer, Glauco

Additional songs were also inserted between acts: an advertisement for a 1751 performance of *Othello* included songs after the first and second act, and ‘the Cuckoo Concerto of Vivaldi to be perform’d by Mr Reynolds’ after the third.⁴²⁸ The advertisement for the *Muse of Ossian* in 1763 noted that in addition to incidental music:

The most admired and favourite pieces of anitent [*sic*] Scots music will be played before the curtain draws up: and, after the first act, a select Scots song will be sung.⁴²⁹

It was not only ancient or national music that was added to plays however: it also gave the performance a chance to ape and mock the latest musical trends. In 1787, the Theatre Royal staged what must have been a spectacularly long evening of entertainment, even by eighteenth century standards. Entertainments at Covent Garden in London regularly lasted over five hours and it is likely that this evening in Edinburgh was similarly gargantuan.⁴³⁰ The evening began with a musical pasticcio in four scenes. The first was set in a forest where Mr Bell sang a haunting song and in the second scene Mr Hallion and Mr Michell sang ‘the celebrated Skaiting [*sic*] Duet’.⁴³¹ The third scene was set in an army camp, allowing Mrs Iliff to sing Arne’s ‘The soldier tir’d of wars alarms’, while in the fourth scene Mrs Kemble sang either ‘Sandy’s ghost’

⁴²⁷ CM, 9 March 1751.

⁴²⁸ CM, 26 February 1751.

⁴²⁹ EEC, 16 April 1763.

⁴³⁰ John Brewer, *Sentimental Murder: Love and Madness in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins Publishing, 2005), 20.

⁴³¹ CM, 7 April 1787.

or ‘Mary’s dream’. The last scene was set in a barber’s shop where Mr Wilson sang ‘A twiggle and frizz’ for what the management promised would be ‘positively the last time’.⁴³² The pasticcio was then followed by a play called *I’ll tell you what* in which, although no music was noted, it is likely that some occurred. The play was followed by ‘a Poetical Address to the Audience called THE JUDGE’S CHARGE TO THE JURY’. This was in turn followed by John O’Keefe’s comic opera called *Patrick in Prussia* or *Love in a camp*, which included ‘all the Original Songs, as performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden’. Even this, however, was not the end of the evening:

After the Farce the Scene will draw up, and discover the Stage fitted up exactly in the Oratorio stile, when a Musical Performance will commence, called, The SONS OF ANACREON: or the HARMONICAL SOCIETY.

Given that the Edinburgh Harmonical Society was only just two years old, and that catch clubs and singing groups were extremely popular at this point, the satire would not have been lost on the audience. The performance included seven glees sung by the company: Benjamin Cooke’s ‘Hark, the lark at Heaven’s gate sings’, the unidentified ‘How sweet, how brave’, Felice Giardini’s popular drinking song ‘Beviamo tutti tre’, Thomas Ravenscroft’s ‘We be soldiers three’, Thomas Linley’s ‘Drink to me only with thine eyes’ and ‘an entire New GLEE’.⁴³³ This last scene of the evening would have caused the stage management some difficulty:

The Vocal and Instrumental Performers will be arranged on the Stage – To make the Band complete, there will be an Organ on the Stage.⁴³⁴

As discussed earlier it was not unknown for glee clubs to maintain their own orchestra, but I think we should be wary of assuming that the satire recreated the real activities of the Edinburgh society.⁴³⁵ The singers listed, Messrs Wilson, La-Mash, Hallion, Bell, Bland jun. and Michel, and the Mesdames Iliff, Sparks, Wilson, Villars, Bland and Kemble, were all actors who had

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ CM, 7 April 1787.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ This was probably one of a number of comedies such *The Ugly Club. A Dramatic Caricature in One Act* (Theatre Royal, London 1798) produced in the eighteenth century which sought to satirise the activities of such exclusive and private clubs. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 4.

It is possible that in addition to presenting caricatures of the figures found in such clubs, the ‘antiquarian’ interests of such groups may have been open to ridicule. It is even possible that much of the singing was done deliberately badly to appeal to the audiences’ prejudice of such elite groups. If the work can be seen in those terms (and if it originated in Edinburgh), then it is one of the only contemporary comments on elite musical activities in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century to have originated outside that exclusive group.

portrayed various roles throughout the evening, supporting the view that singing was an essential skill for an actor.

If one also considers the instrumental music played at various points throughout the evening (with the construction of the Theatre Royal the need to disguise theatres as concert halls had lapsed), there was a prodigious amount of music, especially vocal music, performed in one evening: far more than would be found in almost any other institution in Edinburgh, at that period. While the example given above might seem to have been exceptional, it would appear not: in the following week, after the play *The Count of Narbonne*, Mr Ward and Mrs Kemble read select passages from the ‘most approved authors interspersed with SINGING by Mrs ILIFF and MRS KEMBLE’.⁴³⁶ The music performed on that occasion was ‘See fair Clorina by a Gentleman of Edinburgh’, ‘Tally O’, a hunting song, ‘Oran Gaoil’, a Gaelic song, ‘being the first Erse Song ever attempted on any Stage’, ‘Shepherd I have lost my love’ and the ‘Scotch Air On the green sedgey bank’.⁴³⁷ On the following day the company performed the ‘celebrated OPERA of ROBIN HOOD’.⁴³⁸ Due to the extended length of theatrical productions at the end of the eighteenth century the audience was often less than attentive:

During the representation of a play, the quality in their boxes are totally employed in finding out, and beckoning to their acquaintances, male and female; they criticize on fashions, whisper cross the benches make significant nods, and give hints of this and that, and t’other body.⁴³⁹

Mr Lovel in Fanny Burney’s *Evelina* (1778) summed up a fashionable attitude towards the theatre:

For my part, I confess I seldom listen to the players: one has so much to do, in looking about and finding out one’s acquaintance, that, really, one has no time to mind the stage. One merely comes to meet one’s friends, and show that one’s alive.⁴⁴⁰

Patrons came and went during the evening: in 1779 when the Reverend James Hackman shot the Earl of Sandwich’s mistress, Martha Ray, as she left the theatre, Hackman had time to enter and leave the theatre several times.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁶ CM, op cit.

⁴³⁷ CM, 7 April 1787.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ *The Theatrical Monitor*; (1768) quoted in Brewer, *The Pleasures of Imagination*, 284.

⁴⁴⁰ Frances Burney (published anonymously), *Evelina, or a young lady’s entrance into the world*, second edition, vol. 1 (London: T. Lowndes, 1779), 134-5.

⁴⁴¹ Brewer, *Sentimental Murder*, 20.

Not all patrons were so uninterested in the action on the stage, however, and favourite songs, characters and scenes were cheered and encored.⁴⁴² The theatre was an interactive occasion; in addition to maintaining a dialogue with the actors, the audience was vocal in expressing its pleasure or otherwise. The inclusion of popular songs would have done much to draw the attention of a wavering audience, and to mollify any disgruntled elements.

The incidental music added much to a play in terms of theatricality, but singing within the theatre was not approved of by everybody: John Brown was against this subversive misuse of music. He considered the singing of recitatives and songs in plays as:

A circumstance so repugnant to modern Manners and therefore so far out of Nature, that no Audience can be much affected by the Representation, or take part in an Action so improbably feigned.⁴⁴³

Not that this view had an effect on the audience, who crammed the theatre at every available opportunity. The Edinburgh New Concert Hall remained hugely popular, and runs were extended to accommodate growing audiences:

many people having been turn'd away from the doors of the theatre last week for want of room, to satisfy public curiosity, and in obedience to the request of several persons of distinction, the house will continue open, one week longer.⁴⁴⁴

In the crowded theatre confusion of seats and the stealing of unattended seats was rife. The management had to advise patrons that:

To prevent mistakes or confusion, ladies are desired to send their servants to keep their seats by half an hour after four.⁴⁴⁵

That is two and a half hours before the music began. There can be little doubt that vocal music used as incidental music in the theatres was of great importance during the eighteenth century, and was of vital importance to the success of the production. Although the theatre may not have been to the taste of everyone in Edinburgh, it could not be claimed that vocal music was 'so much neglected' in the theatre at any point in the eighteenth century.

⁴⁴² Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 285-6.

⁴⁴³ John Brown, *A Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separations and Corruptions of Poetry and Music, as they are found to exist in their several kinds and Gradations amongst Mankind...* (London: L. Davies, C. Reymers, 1763) quoted in Southey, *Music-making*, 129.

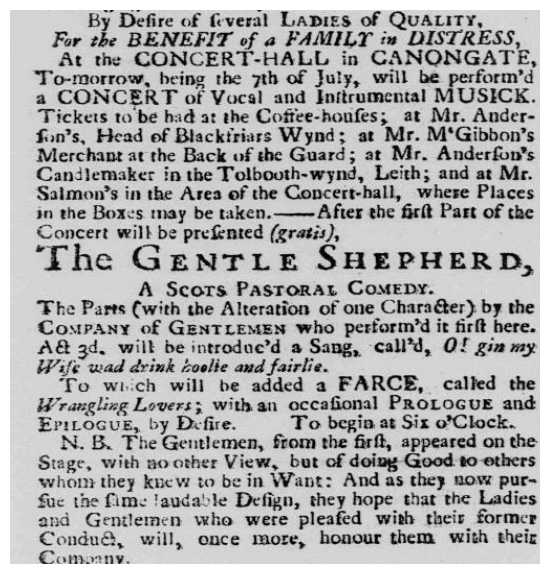
⁴⁴⁴ EEC, 10 May 1762.

⁴⁴⁵ EEC, 13 September 1762.

4.2 Ballad Operas and English Masques

One of the forms which enjoyed the greatest popularity in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century was the ballad-opera, where songs were contrasted with spoken text, distinguishing it from through-composed opera. From its publication Allan Ramsay's Scottish ballad opera, *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725), enjoyed huge success and was performed many times across the century.⁴⁴⁶ Johnson dismisses *The Gentle Shepherd's* claim to pre-eminence as a proto-type Scots opera due to its lack of newly composed music, and further stated that, as it consisted solely of arrangements of folk songs, it barely counted as 'classical music at all'.⁴⁴⁷ This statement is arbitrary and didactic, especially considering the assimilation of folk music into art music forms seen at the end of the eighteenth century.

Figure 4.6: Advertisement for an amateur performance of *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725)
Caledonian Mercury, 6 July 1752



By Desire of several LADIES of QUALITY,
For the BENEFIT of a FAMILY in DISTRESS,
At the CONCERT-HALL in CANONGATE,
To-morrow, being the 7th of July, will be perform'd
a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK.
Tickets to be had at the Coffee-houses; at Mr. Ander-
son's, Head of Blackfriars Wynd; at Mr. M'Gibbon's
Merchant at the Back of the Guard; at Mr. Anderson's
Candlemaker in the Tolbooth-wynd, Leith; and at Mr.
Salmon's in the Area of the Concert-hall, where Places
in the Boxes may be taken. — After the first Part of the
Concert will be presented (*gratis*),
The GENTLE SHEPHERD,
A SCOTS PASTORAL COMEDY.
The Parts (with the Alteration of one Character) by the
COMPANY of GENTLEMEN who perform'd it first here.
Act 3d. will be introduc'd a Sang. call'd, *O! gin my
Wife wad drink boolie and fairlie.*
To which will be added a FARCE, called the
Wrangling Lovers; with an occasional PROLOGUE and
EPILOGUE, by Desire. To begin at Six o'Clock.
N. B. The Gentlemen, from the first, appeared on the
Stage, with no other View, but of doing Good to others
whom they knew to be in Want: And as they now pur-
sue the same laudable Design, they hope that the Ladies
and Gentlemen who were pleas'd with their former
Conduct, will, once more, honour them with their
Company.

During the 1750s in particular *The Gentle Shepherd* enjoyed a vogue as a set-piece in benefit concerts. It also appears to have been regularly performed by amateurs. An amateur group performed it twice in April 1752, when it was advertised that no one:

Will be admitted behind the Scenes during the Performance, as the YOUNG GENTLEMEN are unacquainted with the Stage.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ CM, 21 June 1725.

⁴⁴⁷ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 47.

⁴⁴⁸ CM, 23 April 1752.

Repeat performances by the company were staged in May,⁴⁴⁹ June,⁴⁵⁰ July,⁴⁵¹ and in August.⁴⁵² In 1754 it was restaged by a similar group (or possibly the same group) at the New Concert Hall, when it was advertised that the play was performed:

By a Company of young Gentlemen for their Diversion, with singing and Dancing between the Acts. The whole to conclude with a Dance, by the Characters of the Play.⁴⁵³

The Gentle Shepherd was performed throughout the second half of the eighteenth century and performances were recorded in 1790,⁴⁵⁴ 1796,⁴⁵⁵ and 1798.⁴⁵⁶ Although Johnson easily dismissed the work, it does have a claim to being one of the most continuously staged works in Edinburgh throughout the eighteenth century. Possibly, part of its appeal was its continued adaptability: songs were updated, scenarios changed and favourite songs and satires were added. *The Gentle Shepherd* was similar to *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) in that its constant adaption gives indicators not just about its reception, but also changing society. Written by John Gay, with music arranged by Johann Christoph Pepusch, the first recorded performances of *The Beggar's Opera* in Edinburgh, although there may have been earlier ones, took place in 1733, when the *Caledonian Mercury* reported:

We are assured, that the Edinburgh Company of PLAYERS will open their House Wednesday next the 6th inst. with the Beggars Opera.⁴⁵⁷

It has already been mentioned that it was intended that a performance of the *Beggar's Opera*, would celebrate the arrival of the Storer and the Lampes in Edinburgh in October 1750.⁴⁵⁸ It was eventually performed in February 1751 with Elizabeth Storer as Polly, and Isabella Lampe as Lucy,⁴⁵⁹ and was performed again in November to celebrate the arrival of Pasquali. Performances of *The Beggar's Opera* continued into the 1790s, when it obviously retained some of the fascination of *The Gentle Shepherd* for amateur performers: in May 1790 the part of Captain Macheath was played by a 'GENTLEMAN of this City, For his amusement, being

⁴⁴⁹ CM, 7 May 1752.

⁴⁵⁰ CM, 18 June 1752.

⁴⁵¹ CM, 6 July 1752.

⁴⁵² CM, 17 August 1752.

⁴⁵³ CM, 5 August 1754.

⁴⁵⁴ CM, 24 July 1790.

⁴⁵⁵ CM, 29 September 1796.

⁴⁵⁶ CM, 22 September 1798.

⁴⁵⁷ CM, 4 June 1733.

⁴⁵⁸ CM, 26 October 1750.

⁴⁵⁹ CM, 7 February 1751.

the first appearance on any Stage'.⁴⁶⁰ It also displayed the adaptability so beloved in Ramsay's work. *The Beggar's Opera* was regularly advertised with additional songs and in 1778 it was advertised 'with a NEW SCENE, representing the Convict Hulks upon the River Thames'.⁴⁶¹

There was no shortage of plays advertised as ballad or comic operas performed throughout the eighteenth century in Edinburgh and all, as a matter of course, relied heavily on vocal music and singers. It is highly probable that many of the plays performed contained elements of 'ballad operas', or had music and songs especially composed for them by the theatre's musicians. Each production was also clearly not immune from adaptation: a 1782 performance of *The Devil to Pay* was advertised with the addition of 'the favourite Hunting Song' of 'The moment Aurora peep'd into my room'.⁴⁶² The term 'comic opera' was also used and probably denoted much the same thing as 'ballad opera' with a proportion of the text and plot revolving around singing.

Johnson suggests the first opera especially composed for performance in Scotland was Pasquali's *The Enraged Musician; or, the Tempest Rehearsed* (1753). Pasquali advertised his 'whimsical Farce' based on the Hogarth print, which shows a distraught violinist distracted from his practice by a crowd calling, crying, banging and playing outside his window. Pasquali played the musician himself, 'this being the first Time of his attempting to speak on any Stage'.⁴⁶³ Johnson considered that if, as is likely, the work contained newly-composed music then it could be rated as the 'first home-grown Scottish opera ever'.⁴⁶⁴ It may have been the first work composed especially for the Scottish stage, but it was not the only work specifically composed for performance in Edinburgh. In 1776 Johann Schetky composed a choral ode for the benefit of 'the WIDOW and CHILDREN of a Citizen of Edinburgh, lately deceased'. Schetky's *Triumph of Virtue* (1776) was performed at the Theatre Royal:

The TRIUMPH of VIRTUE an ODE (written by a Member of the Pantheon) The Recitative to be spoken by Mr Woods of the Theatre Royal; the Vocal Parts by Mr Gilson, Mr Aitken, Mrs Puppo &c; with a grand Chorus, set to music by Mr Schetky. The doors to be opened at six. The concert to begin precisely at seven o'clock. Copies of the ode, with an essay upon benevolence prefixed, to be had at the door, price sixpence.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁰ CM, 3 May 1790.

⁴⁶¹ CM, 21 November 1778.

⁴⁶² CM, 26 April 1784.

⁴⁶³ CM, 1 February 1753.

⁴⁶⁴ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 47.

⁴⁶⁵ EA, 22 November 1776.

Johnson also notes a piece called *Britannia Triumphant; or, the Spanish Disappointment* (1778) by Alexander Dasti, a composer who lived, according to Farmer, in Glasgow and Aberdeen.⁴⁶⁶ These, together with Pasquali's work, 'are the only known examples of eighteenth century operas composed especially for the Scottish stage'.⁴⁶⁷

Figure 4.7: *The Enraged Musician* (1741) etching by William Hogarth the inspiration for Nicolò Pasquali's 1753 farce of the same name



English opera appears to have reached Edinburgh in 1751 with the arrival of Lampe: his *Tom Thumb* (1733), *The Dragon of Wantley* (1737), and *The Dragoness* (1738) were all promised in his first season at the Canongate Concert Hall.⁴⁶⁸ *The Dragon of Wantley* was performed six times in 1751 and was still in the repertoire of the Theatre Royal in 1776.⁴⁶⁹ Lampe's *The Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great* also proved popular in Edinburgh, with performances recorded until 1799.⁴⁷⁰ Lampe's operas had often been performed in Dublin, in collaboration between Lampe and Pasquali, and so it is possible that after Lampe's death Pasquali kept them in repertoire at the theatre until his own death in 1757, by which time they

⁴⁶⁶ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 48.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 240.

⁴⁶⁹ CM, 20 March 1776.

⁴⁷⁰ CM, 24 January 1799.

had become standard items. Lampe's work *The Dragoness* appears never to have been performed in Edinburgh, despite its initial advertisement:

We hear that Mrs Storer and Mrs Lampe are now fully recovered, and that the Proprietors of the New Concert-Hall are making great Preparation for entertaining the Town, particularly with the Mask of Comus written by Milton, the celebrated Dragon of Wantly [*sic*], The Dragoness, Tom Thumb, and many other musical entertainments which are in Rehearsal, and will be exhibited in the Month of January next.⁴⁷¹

Arne's *Comus* arrived in Edinburgh at the same time and was performed several times before March 1751.

Figure 4.8: Advertisement for a performance of *Comus* (1738) by Thomas Arne
Caledonian Mercury, 19 March 1751

By particular Desire,
(Positively the last Time of Acting it this Season)
For the BENEFIT of Mrs. ROBERTSON,
On Friday next, the 22d of this instant March, will be
perform'd (at the Concert-Hall in the Canongate) the ce-
lebrated MASQUE of
C O M U S.
The Part of Comus by Mr. Davies, the Part of the Lady
by Mrs. Davies, the Part of Euphrosine by Mrs.
Lampe, and the Part of Sabrina by Mrs. Storer.
To which, by Desire, will be added a FARCE, not
acted here this Season, called *The LYING VALET*.
The Part of the Lying Valet by Mr. Robertson, and the
Part of Kitty Pry by Mrs. Robertson.
Tickets to be had at the Coffee-houses, &c. as usual.

It has already been noted how extracts from *Comus* remained in vogue throughout the century and versions of the entire masque were revived in 1760,⁴⁷² 1772 (with alterations by Mr Colman),⁴⁷³ 1773,⁴⁷⁴ 1776,⁴⁷⁵ 1778,⁴⁷⁶ 1786,⁴⁷⁷ and 1791.⁴⁷⁸ Evidently the masque as a whole remained popular and profitable.

Circumstantially it appears that Edinburgh audiences were in sympathy with John Brown's views on *recitative*. In December 1756 at a performance of J. C. Smith's opera *The Tempest* (1756) the advertisement announced that *recitative* had been omitted from the production. Nevertheless, a rare report of the occasion which appeared in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* suggests a polite, but hardly rapturous, reception:

⁴⁷¹ CM, 24 December 1750.

⁴⁷² CM, 20 February 1760.

⁴⁷³ CM, 2 December 1772.

⁴⁷⁴ CM, 13 January 1773.

⁴⁷⁵ CM, 19 February 1776.

⁴⁷⁶ CM, 16 March 1778.

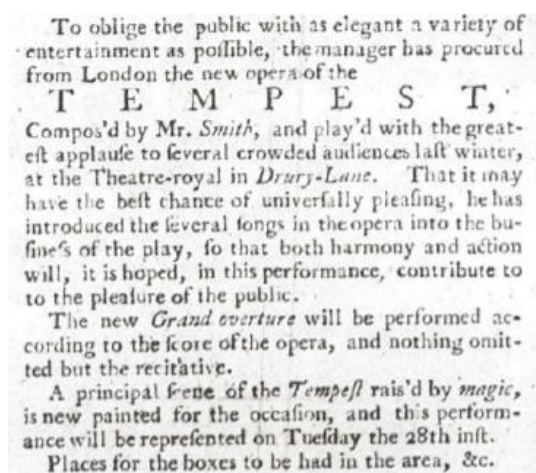
⁴⁷⁷ CM, 22 July 1786.

⁴⁷⁸ CM, 30 June 1791.

On Tuesday last the opera of the *Tempest* was acted at our Theatre here, to a very polite and overcrowded audience. The scenery and excellent regulation of the drama gave universal satisfaction.⁴⁷⁹

The Tempest had run for five performances in London, but appears not to have been restaged in Edinburgh.⁴⁸⁰

**Figure 4.9: Advertisement for a performance of *The Tempest* (1756) by John Christopher Smith
Edinburgh Weekly Journal, 23 December 1756**



To oblige the public with as elegant a variety of entertainment as possible, the manager has procured from London the new opera of the
T E M P E S T,
Compos'd by Mr. Smith, and play'd with the greatest applause to several crowded audiences last winter, at the Theatre-royal in *Drury-Lane*. That it may have the best chance of univerally pleasing, he has introduced the several songs in the opera into the business of the play, so that both harmony and action will, it is hoped, in this performance, contribute to the pleasure of the public.
The new *Grand overture* will be performed according to the score of the opera, and nothing omitted but the recitative.
A principal scene of the *Tempest* rais'd by magic, is new painted for the occasion, and this performance will be represented on Tuesday the 28th inst.
Places for the boxes to be had in the area, &c.

The aversion to *recitative* does not appear to have affected the popularity of the first through-composed English opera, however. Arne's *Artaxerxes* was premiered in 1769 at the instigation of Tenducci, then resident in the city:⁴⁸¹

Theatre-Royal. On Monday next, the 31st instant, Will be performed, for the benefit of Mr TENDUCCI, the celebrated Opera of ARTAXERXES. Arbaces, Mr Tenducci, Artabanes, Mr Philips, Artaxerxes, Mr Taylor, Rimenes, Mrs Collet, Semira Miss Alphey, and Mandane, Mrs Taylor (With new dresses and decorations).⁴⁸²

The premiere of the opera had been planned for Monday 24 July 1769, but had been postponed due to Tenducci's 'indisposition'.⁴⁸³ Tenducci also advertised that he had added some Scots songs to the score: he promised to 'introduce some favourite Scotch Air', and Sarah Taylor⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁹ *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, (hereafter EWJ), 30 December 1756.

⁴⁸⁰ Donald Burrows, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Papers of James Harris 1732-1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 309.

⁴⁸¹ CM, 28 January 1769.

⁴⁸² CM, 29 July 1769.

⁴⁸³ CM, 19 July 1769.

⁴⁸⁴ For discussion of the identification of Rayner Taylor's wife, see Nicholas Temperley, *Bound for America: Three British Composers* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 57-8.

sang ‘Roslin Castle’.⁴⁸⁵ It is remarkable, given the popularity of *Artaxerxes* in Edinburgh, that the premiere should have occurred so long after that in London: perhaps this can be put down to Johnson’s theory about the lack of a stable and commercially viable opera company in the city. The fact that this experimental opera, being the first fully sung opera in the English language, should have had to wait until a member of the original cast was present is, perhaps, understandable. *Artaxerxes* had in many ways been the making of Tenducci’s career in London,⁴⁸⁶ and it certainly marked him out as a virtuoso in Edinburgh.

There was evidently a taste in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century for plays with English songs and, as we have seen, plenty of enthusiasm for isolated Italian arias, but what of through-composed Italian operas? There were a number of experiments combining continental music with English words as the performance, in April 1799, of Stephen Storace’s pasticcio opera *The Siege of Belgrade* (1791) at the Theatre Royal shows.⁴⁸⁷ This comic opera was compiled, with a libretto by James Cobb, from works by Mozart, Salieri, Paisiello and Martini. It premiered at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane with great success: enthusiasm for Italian opera in London had always come and gone in waves, euphoria suddenly overcome by back-biting xenophobia. Italian musicians lived and flourished in Edinburgh throughout the eighteenth century, as Baxter ably demonstrates in her thesis, but how did the performance of entire Italian operas fare in Edinburgh?

4.3 Italian Opera

The first appearance of Italian opera in Edinburgh appears to have been not in 1763, as suggested by Johnson,⁴⁸⁸ but some four years earlier in 1759 when Martino Olivieri advertised that his benefit was to include:

... an Opera called *La serva Padrona*, composed by Pergolise [*sic*], being a very fine Entertainment.⁴⁸⁹

It is possible that this was the first performance, not only of *La Serva Padrona* in Edinburgh and Scotland, but also the first Italian opera to be performed in Edinburgh. It is probable that it was given in the new English translation by Stephen Storace, which had encountered success

⁴⁸⁵ EEC 29 July 1769.

⁴⁸⁶ Berry, *The Castrato*, 64.

⁴⁸⁷ CM, 29 April 1799.

⁴⁸⁸ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 47.

⁴⁸⁹ CM, 10 Feb 1759.

in other provincial centres, such as Norwich in 1758.⁴⁹⁰ The Italian score was published by Bremner and advertised in Edinburgh in 1777.⁴⁹¹ Given the enthusiasm for Pergolesi it is surprising that it was not performed earlier: the single-act opera, with two solo voices and orchestra, seems tailor-made for performance in benefit concerts. It is even possible that one of the unidentified works sung by the Passerinis in the early 1750s was in fact *La Serva Padrona*, suggesting that the arrival of Italian opera might pre-date Johnson's estimates by more than ten years, and the current evidence by six or seven.

Johnson derived his statement that Italian opera dated from 1763 from the arrival of Signor and Signora Gurrini, and their company, in Edinburgh in the summer of that year. The managers of the Concert Hall advertised in the *Courant*:

The Managers, studious to gratify the town with every new entertainment which comes within the compass of their abilities, have the pleasure of informing the public that they have prevailed on some eminent Performers of the ITALIAN BURLETTA; OR COMIC OPERA To visit this metropolis for a short time. The band of music will consist of the very best hands the managers can procure; and the Orchestra enlarged accordingly. The first representation will be, of that universally admired composition, called LA SERVA PADRONA OR THE MAID THE MISTRESS: Tickets are printed for the occasion: And altho' the expenses are large, yet to gratify that curiosity which must arise, in regard to a performance never before exhibited in this country, the entertainments will be only at the Common Price. Books, in which the opera is translated into English, will be sold at the doors of the house.⁴⁹²

The managers' claims as to the novelty of the entertainments may have been unfounded, but the performances nevertheless appear to have given satisfaction:

On Tuesday evening was performed at the Theatre, the famous Burletta of Parglesi [*sic*], called LA SERVA PADRONA, to a most crowded and polite audience. The band of music was the finest ever heard there; and the whole entertainment gave universal delight and satisfaction. The action of Signior [*sic*] Gurrini, who play'd the part of the old man, was particularly excellent; and Signora Gurrini, who play'd the part of his maidservant, sung several songs with uncommon approbation; the duets in particular were remarkably fine; and the last, where humour and harmony were so happily blended, was encored and repeated to the general applause of every person. The overtures were admirably performed. – Signor Arrigoni conducted the band, and Signor Santo Lapis played the harpsichord. It was allowed by the best judges, that no musical entertainment could be better executed.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹⁰ Fawcett, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Norwich and Norfolk*, 24.

⁴⁹¹ CM, 23 July 1777.

⁴⁹² EEC, 18 June 1763.

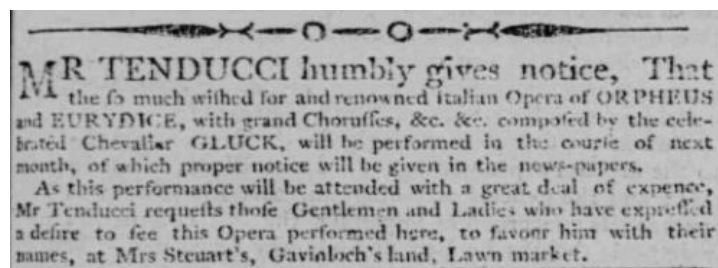
⁴⁹³ EEC, 22 June 1763.

Their successful performance of Pergolesi was followed with a performance of Carbonini's *Il Giocatore*, with three overtures: one by Jommelli, one by Abel, and the third, programmed with canny commercial sense, by the Earl of Kelly.⁴⁹⁴ Further performances followed: including *Il Tracollo*,⁴⁹⁵ which was probably Pergolesi's *Livietta e Tracollo* (1734), *The Beggar's Opera*,⁴⁹⁶ and Jommelli's *L'Ucellatrice* (1750).⁴⁹⁷ The summer of 1763 was a golden one for the performance of Italian opera in Edinburgh: never again in the eighteenth century did a foreign company visit Edinburgh. Perhaps there really was not the taste for complete Italian opera in Edinburgh or perhaps the experiment was too expensive to repeat.⁴⁹⁸ In July 1763 the *Public Advertiser* gave its advice to those impetuous enough to try and stage Italian opera:

Requisites necessary for those who would undertake to exhibit excellent Italian Operas... The Requisites are, Money, Time, Money, A Trip to Italy, Money, Singers, Money, Musical Composers, Money, Poet, Money, Painter, Money, Ballet Master, Money, Dancers, Money, Scenes, Money, Dresses, Money, Orchestra, Money, Patience (not a little), Money *in saecula seculorum*.⁴⁹⁹

It was not the last attempt to stage an Italian opera in the city, however: on a visit to Edinburgh in 1779 Tenducci proposed staging Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* at the Theatre Royal.

Figure 4.10: Giusto Tenducci's proposal to stage *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762) by Christoph Willibald Gluck
Caledonian Mercury, 27 December 1779



Tenducci had performed in a critically acclaimed production in Florence in the 1770-1 season,⁵⁰⁰ and had performed isolated arias from it at the meetings of the Musical Society. The

⁴⁹⁴ EEC, 25 June 1763.

⁴⁹⁵ EEC, 9 July 1762.

⁴⁹⁶ EEC, 16 August 1763.

⁴⁹⁷ EEC, 18 August 1763.

⁴⁹⁸ It is worth noting that in the months following the Gurrini's performance in Edinburgh, Felice Giardini, manager of the Kings Theatre in London, 'the cradle of Italian opera in England', mismanaged his affairs so badly that the 1763-4 season left him financially ruined and in a long-running and very public feud with his former agent Gabriel Leone. See Price et al., *The Impresario's Ten Commandments*.

⁴⁹⁹ *The Public Advertiser*, 3 June 1763.

⁵⁰⁰ Berry, *The Castrato*, 177.

response was not entirely positive, however, and an anonymous correspondent, signing himself ‘Anti-Castrata’ wrote to the editors of the *Caledonian Mercury*:

SIR, HAVING observed in your last, an advertisement proposing the performance of an Opera, it naturally struck me to make some enquiries, how it could be performed, and where exhibited?

With regard to the first, I have not been able to learn, that any one of the Singers, at present belonging to the Theatre, have been so much as spoke to on the subject; nor have I met with any better success as to the second, except that the Theatre itself, which is the only proper place for exhibiting an Opera, has not be engaged.

I am an enemy to impositions of every kind, especially against the Public, by those who are, or pretend to be, their servants. I will not positively affirm the advertisement alluded to is of this nature; but surely carries very strong appearances of it, from the total silence observed as to the two capital requisites hinted at above. The Nobility and Gentry of this kingdom are therefore respectfully left to judge for themselves, whether it is in any degree probable, that, in the course of the next month, Orpheus and Eurydice will be performed under the auspices of the person who proposes it; or, whether there may not be some private reason of conveniency for publishing so extraordinary an advertisement.

At any rate, Sir, give me leave to observe, that, if we have the favours to give, they ought rather to be bestowed on those of our own country, than on such as have thought proper to intrude themselves upon us from foreign climes. We have an established theatre. It is now upon the most respectable footing. The present Manager has given convincing proofs, that neither pains to nor expense will be wanting to render it worthy the protection and encouragement of the Public; and, while that is the case, I should be extremely sorry to see any interloper allowed to build upon its ruin; because I am certain, it is now in a situation of affording more rational entertainment, and natural music, than could be exhibited, were all the eunuchs in Italy collected together for this purpose. ANTI-CASTRATA.⁵⁰¹

Whoever the author was, they were exploiting a rich vein of both xenophobia and deep seated unease at the precarious sexual nature of the castrati.⁵⁰² The reference to ‘natural music’ appears particularly pointed. His main concern, however, appears not to be the sexuality or nationality of Tenducci, but rather the perceived threat to the playhouse (the Theatre Royal), and the financial security of its manager. This was not ill-informed gossip: In 1778 Domenico Corri had taken over the management of the Theatre Royal and was already in financial trouble.

⁵⁰¹ CM, 29 December 1779.

It is possible that the writer was also inspired by the anti-Catholic feeling which was then especially in vogue in Edinburgh. In January 1779 the Catholic Chapel had been burned down, seemingly in response to the Catholic Relief Bill. In the following year the destructive Gordon Riots broke out in London. See Christopher Hibbert, *King Mob*, second edition (Stroud, Gloucester: Sutton Publishing, 2004).

⁵⁰² In strict linguistic terms the correspondent should have signed themselves ‘Anti-Castrato’. The redundant female form ‘castrata’ may have been used here to highlight the contemporary view of the ambiguous sexual nature of the castrati, and to comment upon their unnatural emasculation and resultant ‘effeminacy’. See Berry, *The Castrato*, 73-77.

In 1779 Corri wrote to the directors of the Musical Society, appealing about the ‘embarrassed State of his affairs’.⁵⁰³ The directors replied they were:

Extremely sorry for the embarrassed situation to which you are reduced; and we cannot but much approve of your resolution of doing justice to your Creditors, by appropriating your Salary from time to time for the extinction of your debts – We are concerned, however, that the situation of the society’s funds, does not permit us to give you any hopes of making a Salary more than £200 per Annum.⁵⁰⁴

Perhaps Corri adopted the voice of the bigoted, xenophobic ‘Anti-Castrata’ to lash out at his own countryman, who was more successful, famous, and much richer. Perhaps the thought of a competitor was too much to stand. In April 1779 another correspondent, signing himself ‘Benevolus’, addressed the state of Theatre Royal in the *Evening Courant*,

... How far an Italian musician can be a proper judge of the English drama is a paradox not easily solved... None will deny, that the Theatre is beneficial to the town; under good government, and proper regulations there is no place of amusement so calculated for instruction and delight.⁵⁰⁵

Whatever Tenducci’s promises in December 1779, or the support he received from the citizens of Edinburgh, no evidence has been discovered to suggest that such a performance took place, and Tenducci was not recorded performing in the city again until July 1780.⁵⁰⁶ By then, however, Corri’s failure at the Theatre Royal was complete, and he had already re-established himself as a music-seller and publisher, in the firm Corri & Sutherland.⁵⁰⁷

There is no denying that complete Italian operas in Edinburgh did not flourish: perhaps Johnson is correct, and the environment was not stable enough to maintain and cultivate an opera company capable of producing home-grown Italianate style opera. Perhaps, it was something more basic in the psychological makeup of the Edinburgh populace: In Edinburgh the theatre lacked the social cachet it achieved in London, where the opera was a social hub for London elite, which demonstrated the patrons’ cosmopolitan, continental tastes and where young men could swap tales of their Grand Tours.⁵⁰⁸ Perhaps also subconsciously the Calvinist

⁵⁰³ Baxter, ‘Italian Music’, 161.

⁵⁰⁴ EMS Sederunt Books, April 1779.

⁵⁰⁵ EEC, 28 April 1779.

⁵⁰⁶ CM, 17 July 1780.

⁵⁰⁷ Baxter, ‘Italian Music’, 161.

⁵⁰⁸ David Starkey and Kate Greening, *Music and Monarchy: A History of Britain in Four Movements* (London: BBC Books, 2013), 216.

soul remained wary of ‘popery in wit’⁵⁰⁹ in the form of opera. As the theatre itself admitted in a satirical prologue written by Allan Ramsay, its main opposition came from the Kirk:

... O mighty Crimes! – to speak and act.-
Stage-Plays, quoth Dunce, are unco’ Things indeed! –
He said – he gloom’d – and shook his thick boss Head.
They’re Papery, Papery! Cry’d his Nibour neist
Contriv’d at Rome, by some malignant Priest,
To witch away Fowks Minds frae doing well...⁵¹⁰

It was not only the clergy who opposed Italian operas and the theatre in general. At the outset of the eighteenth century, the essayist Richard Steele, attacked Italian opera:

Let those derision meet, who would advance
Manners or speech, from Italy or France.
Let them learn you, who would favour find,
And English be the language of mankind.⁵¹¹

Steele was not alone in his condemnation of opera. In *A Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separation and Corruptions of Poetry and Music* (1762) John Brown laid out his stall for the civilizing influence of music. As Southey said, ‘moral purpose was to Brown the *raison d’être* of music’.⁵¹² Brown considered amusement and idleness to be the enemy of a moral society:

In a great and powerful Kingdom, where additional Degrees of Wealth should flow in every Tide, these, especially in a Time of Peace, must inevitable be followed by new Degrees of Inventive Luxury and an unwearied Passion for Dissipation, and Amusement.⁵¹³

Brown considered opera to be ‘gaudy, flaunting, and unnatural’.⁵¹⁴ One should not, of course, discount plain racism and xenophobia, which as is clear from ‘Anti-Castrata’s’ letter was alive and very evidently present, ironic considering the mania for all things foreign. Southey’s comments on the situation in the North East of England are worth reproducing at length:

⁵⁰⁹ Richard Steele, ‘The Tender Husband’ in *The works of Sir Richard Steele* (Dublin: P. Wilson, J. Exshaw and H. Bradley, 1756), 56.

⁵¹⁰ Allan Ramsay, prologue to the ‘Orphan’ and ‘Cheats of Scapin’, staged on 31 December 1719, quoted in James C Dibdin, *Annals of the Edinburgh stage with an account of the rise and dramatic progress of dramatic writing in Scotland* (Edinburgh: R. Cameron, 1888), 41.

⁵¹¹ Steele, ‘The Tender Husband’, 56.

⁵¹² Southey, *Music-making*, 85.

⁵¹³ Brown, *Dissertation*, 241, quoted in Southey, *Music-making*, 85.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*

The fashion for all things continental, ironic and unexpected as it was in the light of British xenophobia, extended itself to the repertoire played in concert, and even to the dances taught to eager assembly-goers... where vocal music was concerned [in the North-East] however, the opposite was true; by far the majority of those songs for which composers were named were written by British composers... the only Italian songs sung in the original language are associated with the London singers from time to time brought north to lend their glamour to the [concerts].⁵¹⁵

This can have been only partly true in Edinburgh. There was no shortage of isolated Italian arias performed in benefits and concerts in Edinburgh. It is perhaps true that in the theatre it was English works which triumphed and remained popular. The failure of Italian opera in Edinburgh may be accounted for by many disparate reasons, but the main reason may simply be that it was never financially viable to import another series, and that the theatrical climate of the city was never financially secure enough to encourage the composition and production of Italian operas.⁵¹⁶

4.4 Oratorios at the Theatre Royal

In London, from the mid-1740s until the end of the eighteenth century, oratorios were staged in the theatre in Drury Lane on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent, when traditionally they would have otherwise been closed.⁵¹⁷ Historically, oratorios in Edinburgh have been seen as the exclusive domain of the Musical Society and in general this was true, apart from 1775, when the manager of the Theatre Royal, West Digges, attempted to emulate the trends in London. There are several reasons why Digges may have entered into the world of concert promotion: he was certainly trying to make money over the barren Lent season, before the influential patrons moved to their country houses after Easter, but he may have also been reacting to a need of the emerging middle classes. In London, McVeigh developed a theory of music consumption based on class: the gentry and aristocracy were to be seen regularly at the Italian opera, whereas the middle-class bourgeois citizen retained a solid enthusiasm for the English works of Handel.⁵¹⁸ It is likely that such divisions could be seen in Edinburgh and it is worth noting that between July 1773 and December 1774 the Musical Society had performed

⁵¹⁵ Southey, *Music-making*, 146-7.

⁵¹⁶ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 47.

⁵¹⁷ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 28.

⁵¹⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 11-13, 21, 158, 204. McVeigh is at pains to point out that although such general trends are detectable, one should be aware of the over simplification of such trends: also see Helen Berry, 'Gender, Sexuality and Consumption of Musical Culture' in *Remaking English Society, Social Relations and Social Chamber in Early Modern England*, ed. Steve Hindle et al. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 66.

four oratorios, only one of which, *Samson*, was by Handel, whilst the others were contemporary fashionable Italianate oratorios: J. C. Bach's *Gioas, Re di Giuda* (1770), Jommelli's *La Passione*, and Corri's *Bethulia Liberata* (1774). If the devotees of Handel's work were put out, this may have given Digges the inspiration to stage his own oratorios in the London style.

In early 1775 it was advertised in bills that the Theatre would stage several of Handel's works. The first mention of the series in the *Caledonian Mercury* comes in March 1775, when it was noted that:

Great Preparations are making for the ensuing ORATORIOS at the Theatre Royal – Chorus Singers are expected from the Cathedral of Durham – The Band of Music will be enlarged, and an organ erected for that purpose on the stage. The first oratorio will be that of ALEXANDER'S FEAST, on Thursday the 30th of this month. A box book is opened at the Ticket-office for the occasion, where places may be taken.⁵¹⁹

Digges clearly intended his series to be short as 30 March was already four weeks into Lent. Eight days before the performance of the first oratorio Digges advertised that the series had had to be postponed due to 'unexpected difficulties and delays'. Digges blamed the musicians in his employment stating that his intentions had been overtaken by the 'Sloth, inattention, or unreasonable expectations of performers he may have occasion to employ'.⁵²⁰ As Easter fell on 16 April, there was little chance for Digges to re-arrange his performances and he informed his public through the columns of the *Caledonian Mercury* that he had suffered heavy losses through the venture. Digges' accusations were not allowed to pass unchallenged. Five days after Digges' announcement a letter from an anonymous musician was published:

Sir, There appeared in your paper of the 22nd instant, a pompous paragraph from the Manager of the Theatre Royal, setting forth the unexpected difficulties arising in getting up the proposed Oratorios. Had this gentleman contented himself with his usual enigmatical expressions, with which the various addresses he offers to the public are so plentifully larded, I should have allowed him to enjoy the merit of this precious morsel of eloquence without reply. But when, to amuse the public he has loaded others with that blame, which is chargeable on himself alone, silence would be criminal. I have made it my business to enquire into this matter and have been credibly informed that one of his principal performers, who he lately discharged, told him several times, at the beginning of the season, to prepare early for the oratorios. This advice, however, was totally disregarded by the Manager. The season was allowed to advance so far as to render it impracticable to get them done before the usual time of shutting up the theatre, when the Manager, instead of apologising to the public for the disappointment, throws a torrent of abuse against the performers, who were entirely innocent.

⁵¹⁹ CM, 18 March 1775.

⁵²⁰ CM, 22 March 1775.

Before I conclude, I must be permitted to observe, that the generality of chorus singers in this country know but little of music, and consequently must be long under tuition before they can be properly qualified to perform. In England the case is very different. An oratorio can soon be got up there by the assistance of the chorus singers from the Cathedrals.⁵²¹

The last paragraphs marks the writer out, not as a disinterested observer, but as a musician with a keen knowledge of oratorios and choir training, in England and in Scotland. The nom-de-plume chosen by the writer was 'A Performer'. I suspect the writer had been intimately involved with the production at the Theatre Royal, and was probably the 'principal performer' mentioned. In March 1775 the secretary of the Musical Society noted that Cornforth Gilson had been 'engaged at the Play House for oratorios'.⁵²² It seems fairly certain that the writer of the letter was Gilson, and he was certainly the most qualified musician in Edinburgh to comment on the staging of oratorios. If Digges had wanted to stage oratorios only as a money-spinner during the low Lent period, he would have been unwilling to spend time and money on rehearsals, even with the costly promise of singers from Durham, with the result that Gilson was dismissed and the series collapsed.

This was the only occasion in the eighteenth century when a series comparable to that found in London was attempted, and the difficulty of recruiting and training chorus singers, without the recourse to institutions outside of Edinburgh may well have been a reason why a similar series was never again attempted.

Conclusion

Whatever the reasons for the failure of Italian opera in Edinburgh, it is clear that the theatre was the impetus for much music in the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly vocal music, with regular and sustained performance and presumably composition over the period under investigation. Throughout the eighteenth century it is possible to see the latest trends replicated in the Theatre: the latest popular English songs were interspersed throughout the performance and at the end of the century glees were regularly sung on stage by the theatre's singers. English 'ballad opera' continued to enjoy popularity throughout the century. Music in the theatre was undoubtedly helped by the presence of famous actors and singers who regularly toured through the kingdom and drew an expectant audience to hear them. The soprano Ann

⁵²¹ CM, 27 March 1775.

⁵²² EMS Sederunt Books, March 1775.

Catley arrived in Edinburgh in 1776 and Boswell wanted to see the effect of her singing upon the audience: he wished to be there when she opened her mouth ‘I want to see the thunder break – to see the sun rise’.⁵²³ Margaret Kennedy, the statuesque but clumsy actress, famous for her ‘breeches’ roles in which she played male parts, sang in Edinburgh several times in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁵²⁴ Her performance was always highly anticipated:

Mrs. Kennedy, whose musical powers have been so much admired and followed arrived here yesterday. We cannot help observing, therefore that the Theatrical amusements provided for our entertainment this summer, have greatly exceeded that in any other city in the three kingdoms.⁵²⁵

The presence of such actresses greatly increased the social cachet of the theatre in Edinburgh:

The performance of Mrs Kennedy and Mrs Jordan drew more company than has been seen since the first season of Mrs Siddons’s engagement. Mrs Jordan stands unrivalled in her line, and Mrs Kennedy has long been followed and admired for her wonderful musical abilities. Her fort [*sic*] is the pathetic... [She] sung two charming airs, which were universally encored. – There was afterwards an application made from the boxes to her, to request she would sing the song of ‘*When bidden to the wake or fair,*’ which she cheerfully did, and was received with such bursts of applause as must have amply gratified her.⁵²⁶

The theatre would have been an interesting mix of the population, as in London, with boxes for the nobility, the stalls for the middle classes and the galleries for the more affluent working classes. The failure of Italian opera may have been a reflection upon the tastes of the middle and lower classes, as suggested earlier, and Digges’ attempt to stage English oratorios may have stemmed from this anti-Italian bias. Like the patrons of concerts followed by dances, it is possible that the patrons were primarily interested in entertainment and diversion, which would not have easily been satisfied by the attempts to stage Italian operas.

Music, however, was clearly an integral part of the performances at the Canongate Concert Hall, and its later replacement in the New Town, the Theatre Royal, although Johnson lamented that fact that:

It cannot be said that the Edinburgh theatre did as much for classical music as could have been hoped. It was too chancy, too dependent for its success on the individual

⁵²³ Boswell, *Edinburgh Journals*, 272.

⁵²⁴ Brewer, *Sentimental Murder*; 16.

⁵²⁵ CM, 15 July 1786.

⁵²⁶ CM, 12 August 1786.

efforts of a few managers and star performers, to provide the solid continuity which classical music seems to need in order to flourish.⁵²⁷

I believe here that Johnson is once again thinking of historical importance and legacy. He is, rightly, lamenting the fact that no theatrical institution in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century was stable and secure enough to foster a company dedicated to the performance of Scottish operas: but this view undermines the contemporary importance of vocal music within the theatre. Like the pleasure gardens, the lower admission prices at theatres would have allowed a great deal more people access to live music than the Musical Society or other elite societies could. With the continued interest in the latest London plays, operas and music, the theatre was key not only to the dissemination of vocal music throughout the country, but also to the formation of popular taste.

⁵²⁷ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 47.

Chapter Five

Pleasure Gardens

In London, an important point of musical consumption for fashionable and popular society was the pleasure gardens, Ranelagh and Vauxhall, where managers offered orchestras and vocalists, picture galleries, illuminated transparencies and fireworks, sculpture and jugglers, dancing and equestrian performances.⁵²⁸ To be seen at the gardens was the height of fashionability. The most prestigious gardens in London were the Ranelagh Gardens, located in Chelsea, where exclusivity was maintained by an admission fee of 2s.6d. more than double the cost of the older and less exclusive venue, Vauxhall, south of the river.⁵²⁹ Ranelagh opened its Rotunda and Gardens in 1742, and quickly attracted the elite of London society. Horace Walpole wrote half mockingly:

you can't set foot without treading on a Prince of Wales or Duke of Cumberland. The company is universal; there is from his Grace of Grafton down to the children out of the Founding Hospital – from my Lady Townshend to the kitten.⁵³⁰

Ranelagh's garden was dominated by a vast rotunda whose interior was ringed with fifty-two boxes. The orchestra played, and singers and organists performed, as the people of fashion promenaded across the floor.⁵³¹ Ranelagh had enough musical cachet to attract artists of the calibre of Arne, Stanley and Tenducci, who performed there repeatedly in the 1760s and 1770s.⁵³² Given the fashionable pretensions of many provincial towns and cities it is unsurprising that pleasure gardens were established across Great Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁵³³ Bath, Bristol and Newcastle maintained gardens in the second half of the eighteenth century,⁵³⁴ and at one point, Norwich supported four competing entertainments.⁵³⁵

⁵²⁸ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 61.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁰ Horace Walpole, 'Letter to the Hon. Henry Conway, 29 June 1744' in *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, including numerous letters now first published from the original manuscripts*, vol. 1 (London: Samuel Bentley, 1840), 353.

⁵³¹ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 61.

⁵³² Berry, *The Castrato*, 61.

⁵³³ Porter, *English Society*, 224.

⁵³⁴ Stanley Sadie, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-century England' in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 85/1 (1958), 17-30.

⁵³⁵ Fawcett, *Music in Norwich and Norfolk*, 29.

5.1 Early attempts at Pleasure Gardens in Edinburgh

Evidence of the first attempt to hold outdoor concerts in Edinburgh dates from 1747, when an outdoor entertainment was held in the gardens of Heriot's Hospital, possibly for the benefit of the Hospital:

On Saturday next... will be performed, in Heriot's Garden's, a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK, with French Horns &c. after the manner of the celebrated Fauxhall [*sic*], and Ranelagh [*sic*] Gardens at London. To begin precisely at Six in the Evening, and every Person to pay a Shilling at the outer Garden-Door before Admittance.

As Signor KNERLER leaves this Place in a few Days, he was desirous to give the Ladies and Gentlemen an Entertainment of this sort, as it is the first that has been given here, and will be the last that he can attend, he humbly hopes they will favour him with their Company. In case the Weather proves unfavourable, the Company will be accommodated within the Hospital.⁵³⁶

The gardens at Heriot's were open to the public and were a popular place of recreation: the gardens contained a green where games of bowls took place.⁵³⁷ Entertainments in Heriot's Gardens evidently continued in the early 1750s, as in July 1750 an advertisement for a black silk capuchin 'found at the Concerts in Heriot's Garden on Wednesday last' was inserted into the *Caledonian Mercury*.⁵³⁸ These concerts may have been the same as the entertainments advertised in Lauriston Gardens in 1750, which included music and a public breakfast. Entrance to the entertainments in Lauriston Gardens was only sixpence, half the price of admission to the concert in 1747.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁶ EEC, 6 August 1747.

The violinist Knerler was described by Charles Avison as playing 'with great execution and a fine tone, but unsusceptible of the powers of expression. Avison, *An essay on musical expression*, 104.

He promoted concerts in London in 1744, York in 1745-1746, Edinburgh in 1747, and Dublin in 1747-1749.

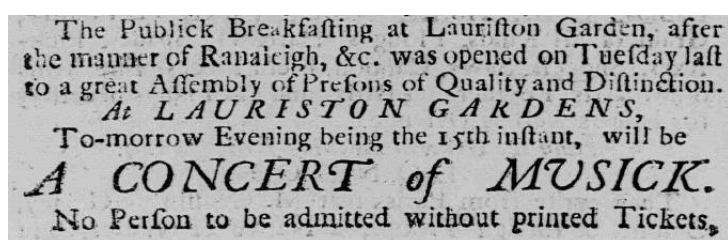
Catherine Harbor, 'The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London, 1660-1750' (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2013), 586, 587 and Roz Southey, 'Commercial Music-Making in Eighteenth Century North-East England: A Pale Reflection of London?' vol. 2 (PhD diss., University of Newcastle, 2001), 88.

⁵³⁷ Boswell, *Edinburgh Journals*, 125 fn. 64.

⁵³⁸ CM, 31 July 1750.

⁵³⁹ CM, 14 July 1750.

Figure 5.1: Advertisement for entertainments staged in Lauriston Gardens
Caledonian Mercury, 14 June 1750



The Publick Breakfasting at Lauriston Garden, after
the manner of Ranaicigh, &c. was opened on Tuesday last
to a great Assembly of Persons of Quality and Distinction.
At LAURISTON GARDENS,
To-morrow Evening being the 15th instant, will be
A CONCERT of MUSICK.
No Person to be admitted without printed Tickets.

Perhaps the admission price of one shilling, although significantly lower than the price of admission to the concerts, did not attract enough customers to make the gardens financially successful. It is probable that the lowering of the fees and the increase in the attendance of the lower classes would have done even more to discourage the elite from giving the gardens their patronage. At the outset of the century few of the exclusive set would have visited pleasure gardens as they were regarded as dangerous and disreputable, and therefore unfashionable. Before the 1730s gardens were associated with drunkenness and prostitution, and those who attended the entertainments were neither ‘polite nor respectable’.⁵⁴⁰ In the second half of the century managers were keen to shake this image and tried to assure polite patrons that ‘the greatest regularity and decency will be observed’.⁵⁴¹

In 1751 John Frederick Lampe advertised he was staging a ‘concert of vocal and instrumental music to be held in Heriot’s Gardens on Tuesday the 4th inst’,⁵⁴² but he was prevented from doing so. The Lord Provost obtained an interdict from the Court of Sessions stating that any concert in the grounds of George Heriot’s would be ‘hurtful to the city in general and greatly prejudicial to the Hospital in particular’.⁵⁴³ This would suggest that the entertainments at Heriot’s continued and were supported by the magistrates as a fund-raising measure for the Hospital. Lampe was not to be put off by the magistrates, however, and simply moved venue:

Tomorrow, being the 11th of June, will be performed at Mr Fyfe’s Gardens, commonly called the QUAKERS GARDENS, near the Abbay [*sic*] A GRAND CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK. The Vocal parts by Mrs LAMPE and Mr CORRY. The instrumental parts by the best Masters in Town will be conducted by Mr LAMPE. If the Weather proves foul, it will be deferr’d to next Thursday – Ladies or Gentlemen

⁵⁴⁰ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 60.

⁵⁴¹ CM, 9 July 1760.

⁵⁴² William Steven, *History of George Heriot’s Hospital: with a memoir of the founder, together with an account of the Heriot Foundation Schools* (Edinburgh: John Baxter, 1859), 308.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*

who are pleased to subscribe for the Season, have a Ticket which will admit three Ladies, or one Gentleman and two Ladies, each Evening at a price of One Guinea. A single Ticket One Shilling each. Subscriptions are taken in... at the said Gardens. Tickets given out for Heriot's Garden will be admitted. To begin at Six o'Clock.⁵⁴⁴

If Lampe intended to hold another series the following year, it was prevented by his illness and death. Advertisements for Lauriston and Heriot's gardens do not appear after 1750, but it is obvious that the entertainments in Heriot's continued at least until 1751. Circumstantially, it appears that these gardens had ceased trading by 1753, when Leonardo Pescatore advertised an attempt to resurrect Lampe's series in Fyfe's Gardens. It is possible that Pescatore had been one of the instrumentalists retained by Lampe, and that he had been involved in the running of the first series. Pescatore was possibly emboldened by the success of the Passerinis' subscription series and their subsequent removal from Edinburgh, and indeed the death of Lampe. In June 1753 he advertised in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*:

On Saturday the 30th June at Mr. FIFE's Garden, will be performed A GRAND CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC. The whole to be conducted by Signor PESCATORE, and to be continued Weekly on the Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays without further Advertisement. The Door to be opened at Five and to begin precisely at Six o'Clock. As Signor Pescatore had been informed by several Ladies and Gentlemen, that such an Entertainment would be vastly agreeable, he has therefore saved no Expencc [sic] to give all Manner of Satisfaction, and has procured an Organ for that Purpose, on which he is to accompany the Music and to perform Voluntaries between the Acts. Tickets One Shilling.⁵⁴⁵

The suggestion that his entertainments would be 'vastly agreeable' might imply that at that time, and perhaps since 1751, there had been no other similar entertainments: equally, however, there is no evidence that the venture was successful, as Pescatore does not appear to have repeated the experiment despite living in Edinburgh for the next thirty-five years.

It is impossible to make any definite suggestions about the vocal music performed at these early occasions. Lampe's series was presumably staged with musicians from the Canongate Concert Hall, as the inclusion of Isabella Lampe and Robert Corry shows, so it is likely that the repertoire was similar to that found in the theatre: popular English songs and ballads. A comparison with collections of songs sung at the Spring Gardens at Vauxhall between 1746 and 1750 might give an indication of the types of songs performed in Edinburgh.

⁵⁴⁴ CM, 10 June 1751.

⁵⁴⁵ EEC, 28 June 1753.

Table 5.1: Publications containing songs performed at Vauxhall Gardens, London 1746-1750

Publication Date	Title of the Collection	Containing the songs	Publisher
1746	The Second Volume of Lyric Harmony Consisting of Eighteen entire new Songs and Ballads The Words collected from the best Poets ancient and modern with Damon and Cloe in Score as perform'd at Vauxhall Gardens by Mrs Arne, Mr Lowe & Mr Rheinhold, Compos'd By Thomas Augustine Arne Opera quinta	Philis, The tout-ensemble, Dione, Nature beyond art, Ariel's songs, The caution, A from Shakespeare's Cymbeline, Love and wine in alliance, The Syren's song to Ulysses, The despairing Shepherd, The scholar's relapse, The rose bud, To Chloe, On Cloe sleeping, Love and reason inconsistent, On a young lady, Why so pale and wan, Damon and Cloe	William Smith Reprinted Simpson 1748
1746-52	Vocal Melody: An entire new collection of English songs and a cantata Compos'd by Mr Arne. Sung by Mr Beard, Mr Lowe, and Mr Baker, at Vaux-Hall, Ranelagh and Marylebone-Gardens [Books i-iv, 1746-1752] T A Arne		Not known
1748	Lyra Britannica, Books 3d A Cantata and English Songs Set to Musick by Mr Boyce, in which is inserted the Songs of Johnny and Jenny, To make the Wife kind, you say you Love &c. Sung at Vaux-hall and Ranelagh Gardens	John & Jenny a dialogue, To make the wife kind, Ah Chloe! Thou treasure, You say you love me and twenty more, Blest in Maria's friendship, Cantata III	John Walsh

The subject matter of such songs and ballads would certainly be light, concerning love, pleasure and intoxication: a visit to the gardens was an escape from mundanity. In 1751, John Lockman described the music at Vauxhall:

Whilst *Songs*, &c. are performing, Multitudes croud [*sic*] round the *Organ*, and the *Musical Temple*, in this *Grove*... In short, when the Night is warm and serene; the Gardens fill'd with fine Company, and different Parts of them are illuminated, the Imagination cannot frame a more enchanting [*sic*] Spectacle. A Person of an elegant turn of Mind, who had never heard of *Vaux-hall* Gardens, and should be conveyed to them in his Sleep, might, at his being awaked by the Music and the Company, be suppos'd to break into the following Exclamation:

Where am I? O what Wonders rise?
What Scenes are these that glitter round.
Some Vision, sure, must bless my Eyes;
Or this must be enchanted [*sic*] Ground!⁵⁴⁶

The popular repertoire of the pleasure gardens was, however, not to the tastes of all serious musicians: in 1752 Charles Avison railed against the music performed in Gardens as a 'flood of nonsense', containing 'shallow and unconnected Compositions'.⁵⁴⁷ Whatever the view of

⁵⁴⁶ John Lockman, *A Sketch of the Spring Gardens, Vaux-Hall, in a letter to a Noble Lord* (London: G. Woodfall, 1751), 15-16.

⁵⁴⁷ Avison, *Essay on Musical Expression*, 71-72.

the serious concert-promoters, pleasure gardens relied heavily on vocal music, and it would have been here, with lower admission fees, that many people in Edinburgh would have heard the majority of the music they encountered outside of their own homes.

5.2 Comely Garden and Edinburgh's Ranelagh

'It may be vulgar, but I rather enjoy the music at Comely Gardens and on a night as mild as this... with a full moon as well... we should enjoy ourselves, don't you think?'⁵⁴⁸

Edinburgh's longest surviving pleasure gardens, Comely Garden, were set behind Holyrood House on Abbey Hill: the gardens had been worked by the nurseryman William Boutcher since at least the early 1740s,⁵⁴⁹ and the Garden opened to the public, with entertainment, for the first time in May 1755:

On Wednesday the 28th, and on Saturday the 31st Instant, and on every Wednesday and Saturday during the Summer Season, COMELY GARDEN is to be opened exactly from Six o'Clock in the Evening. Several Ladies and Gentlemen have desired that Subscription Tickets should be made out for the Season, as is customary in other Places: in Obedience hereto, Ladies Tickets are to given out at a Guinea each, and Gentlemen at a Guinea and a Half each, by which (the first Night inclusive) they may have Forty Nights Entertainment. As many People of Distinction have approved of this Undertaking, the Plan of both the House and Garden is enlarged much beyond the first Design, and consequently could not be entirely finished at the Time first proposed, tho' very near the Matter. And as many Tickets have been sold for the appointed Day (May the 28th) the Undertaker is under Necessity of opening at the Time, least any should be disappointed; and therefore hopes the Company will pardon any Defects that may appears.⁵⁵⁰

Concerts seem to have begun shortly after the Garden opened to the public:

As a rehearsal of the music that play on Wednesday and Saturdays in Comely Garden may be agreeable to many ladies and gentlemen, next Monday, and every Monday during the session, a concert of vocal and instrumental music will begin at exactly ten o'clock in the morning; and in case any of the company incline to breakfast there will be tea, coffee, and chocolate ready.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁸ Ciji Ware, *Island of the Swans* (New York: Bantam Books, 1989), 159: a fictional account of the life of Jane Maxwell, the 4th Duchess of Gordon (1749-1812).

It should be noted that in general the garden was referred to as 'Comely Garden' and only rarely as 'Comely Gardens' in contemporary archives. This practice has been followed throughout this chapter.

⁵⁴⁹ CM, 19 January 1741.

⁵⁵⁰ CM, 27 May 1755.

⁵⁵¹ CM, 26 June 1755.

The Garden was immediately popular, although the paying public did detect some faults in the Garden and in the music: a correspondent to the *Scots Magazine*, only a few months after the opening wrote:

Nor do I regret my jaunt, being not a little surprised to find an elegance, both in design and conduct, far surpassing my expectation: insomuch that I dare, from my own remembrance, affirm, the infancy of these new gardens to be no way inferior to what Vaux-hall was in the same state. Yet... there are some faults in the scheme... Dancing in the evening is most certainly absurd. This spoils the music of the orchestra entirely, the dancing-rooms being contiguous to it... To persons who are fond of dancing, the breakfasting mornings would certainly be most proper, as they would then run less risk of impairing their health... Good music and singers are indispensably required in undertakings of this sort; in both these I would recommend it to the undertaker to be better provided next season.⁵⁵²

The higher admission prices may have been an attempt to appeal to exclusive society, and to avoid the lewdness and debauchery found in Vauxhall and other gardens. However, it was felt the admission prices were too high:

As many Ladies and Gentleman have given the Opinion that the Price at COMELY GARDEN should be the same Terms with Vauxhall; in Obedience thereto, the Garden opens on Wednesday and Saturdays, at Six o'Clock in the Evening, during the Remainder of the Summer Season, at One Shilling each: Except to Gentlemen who dance, they pay a shilling more, in order to help defraying the Expense of a Band of Ball Musick purposely kept for them. And as great Part of the Company leave the Town the breaking up of the Summer Session, Monday Morning Amusements cease, unless particularly-desired....Tickets are given out at the King's Arms at Luckenbooths.⁵⁵³

In the following year the Garden reopened with a slightly altered timetable: a breakfast was offered on Monday morning, and the Garden was opened on Tuesday and Saturday evenings from five o'clock. The most important innovation, however, was the retention of two separate bands, one to provide music for the customers who walked in the Garden and another for those who wished to dance. This was the situation described by Edward Topham in his *Letters from Edinburgh* in 1774:

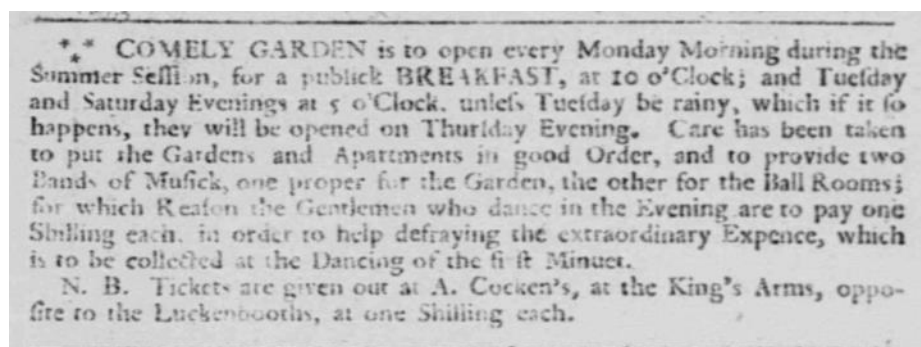
In summer, another kind [of entertainment] takes place. This is an humble and very distant imitation of Marylebone Gardens, and is held in a place called Comely Gardens: not that they have any relation to the name; for there is not the least beauty about them... Having nothing to do one evening, at the end of last summer, I went there with the intention of seeing what was to be seen. I walked up and down the Gardens, but nobody

⁵⁵² SM, 17 (1755), 293-294.

⁵⁵³ CM, 11 August 1755.

appeared. I then approached the orchestra, which was the ruins of an old pigeon-house, with no other alteration but that of removing the pigeons, and making room for four or five musicians, who were playing a composition, most musical, most melancholy, out of one of the windows. They continued this for some time; but finding there was no one to listen to them, and that ‘they were wasting their sweetness of the desert air,’ they gave over the playing and retired for the evening.⁵⁵⁴

**Figure 5.2: Advertisement for the opening of Comely Garden, 1756
informing the public two bands of music are being retained for the season
Caledonian Mercury, 22 June 1756**



He continued that he had since found that the Garden was considered unfashionable and was only frequented by the ‘bourgeois’. This picture is at odds with an account written in July 1769 by Boswell:

I then went with the Duke, Douglas, &c., to the Lord Advocate’s, from whence Mrs Montgomery, Lady Mary Hay, and her aunt, Miss Lockhart, were attended by us to Comely Garden. Lady Mary was a fine, good-humoured young lady of a noble carriage, stately person, and the daughter of the Lord High Constable of Scotland... We walked some time in the garden, then went in and drank tea... [Douglas and Lady Mary] danced a country dance, and I stood with my black clothes and my cane... There was a good company... We were all friends and very good company.⁵⁵⁵

It is likely that much of the instrumental repertoire was made up of reels and dances. Daniel Dow’s *Twenty Minuets and Sixteen Reels* (1775) included a reel named ‘Comely Garden’,⁵⁵⁶ and this, with the comment about country dances above, seems to support this supposition. The level of society described by Boswell does not appear to sustain the suggestion that ‘nobody appeared’, but it is true that the low admission price allowed a wider section of the population access to the entertainments and the music, although the cost was still well above that that could be afforded by any of the labouring classes.

⁵⁵⁴ Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh*, 133-134.

⁵⁵⁵ Boswell, *Edinburgh Journals*, 90.

⁵⁵⁶ George S. Emmerson, *Rantin’ Pipe and Tremblin’ String: a History of Scottish Dance Music* (New York: J. Dent and Sons, 1971), 58.

Figure 5.3: Advertisement for the concerts at Comely Garden, 1760
Caledonian Mercury, 9 July 1760

By particular desire of several persons of distinction.
Comely Garden will open on Saturday the 12th instant, with an ELEGANT CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSICK, performed by the best hands, after which will be a ball: the concert to begin precisely at six afternoon, and end at eight, when the ball will begin, and continue till ten o'clock; after which, it is hoped, none will attempt to stay, as it is determined the greatest regularity and decency will be observed in this intertainment.
In case the evening is rainy, the intertainment will be delayed till the Monday following.
Tickets to be had at Balfour's and Forrest's coffee-houses, John Millican at the cross, and Mr. Lancashire's, head of the Canongate. Price 2 shillings each.
N. B. Tickets given out for the 5th inst. will be received, as the house and garden could not be got in proper order till the 12th.

From this period there are few definite indications of the music performed, although it appears that weekly concerts and balls continued during the season. In April 1766 the manager Alexander MacKenzie assured the public that vocal and instrumental music was to 'be performed by the best hands'.⁵⁵⁷ An advertisement of April 1768 named the singers performing in the coming season as Hester Woodman, John Aitken and a Mr Watson.⁵⁵⁸ The Garden opened on 21 April, and on the following Thursday a public breakfast, with music, was given.⁵⁵⁹

Figure 5.4: Advertisement for a concert held at Comely Garden, 1768
Caledonian Mercury, 25 April 1768

BY particular desire of a Lady of the first distinction, on Thursday the 28th of April, 1768,
At COMELY GARDEN,
There is to be a
PUBLIC BREAKFAST
AND A
CONCERT of MUSIC.
The vocal parts by
Mrs. Woodman, Mr. Aitken, and Mr. Watson.
To begin precisely at ten o'clock forenoon.
Tickets, at two shillings each, to be got at Balfour's coffeehouse, and at the garden.

John Aitken's contribution to the Musical Society and the general concert life of Edinburgh in the second half of the eighteenth century can be seen throughout this thesis. Hester Woodman was a local singer who in April 1768 had been given a contract by the directors of the Musical Society for £15.0s.0d. to sing when required.⁵⁶⁰ She was also regularly

⁵⁵⁷ CM, 30 April 1766.

⁵⁵⁸ CM, 18 April 1768.

⁵⁵⁹ CM, 25 April 1768.

⁵⁶⁰ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 175.

employed as a singer and actress at the Theatre Royal.⁵⁶¹ In March 1768 she was granted a benefit night at the theatre, when she performed a duet with John Aitken.⁵⁶² It appears that the two regularly performed together, and it may well be that both had been retained at the Garden in the previous season. The songs Woodman performed at her benefit in March 1768 may give an indication of the repertoire she and Aitken performed at the concerts in the Garden.

Table 5.2: Music advertised in the programme of Hester Woodman’s benefit concert in the Theatre Royal, 28 March 1768

Title	Composer	Origin	Performer	Source
Where chaste Dian keeps her court	Arne	<i>Eliza</i> (1754)	Woodman	CM 19.3.1768
Lovely yet ungrateful swain	J. C. Bach	<i>A second collection of Favourite Songs sung at Vauxhall by Mr Pinto and Mrs Weichsel composed by John Christian Bach</i> , pub. Welcker, London n.d. c. 1768 [WH 31]	Woodman	
Love’s the tyrant of the heart	Arne	<i>Alfred</i> (1740)	Woodman	
Cruel Strephon will you leave me	J. C. Bach	<i>A collection of Favourite Songs sung at Vauxhall composed by John Christian Bach</i> , pub. Welcker, London n.d. c. 1766 [WH 25]	Woodman	
The early horn [for voice and German flute]	Galliard	<i>Calliope or English Harmony</i> vol. 4 pub. Henry Roberts, London, 1739	Aitken	
A favourite hunting duet	-	-	Aitken and Woodman	

A wider selection of the repertoire she performed elsewhere might also give further examples of the pieces which may have been performed in the Garden during the 1768 season: see Table 5.3. She was clearly highly regarded as Tenducci sang at her benefit in April 1769, which was supported by the directors of the Musical Society.⁵⁶³

⁵⁶¹ Hester Woodman’s time at the Theatre Royal does not appear to have been entirely without incident. During her time at the Theatre she published a pamphlet entitled: *Answers from Hester Woodman, spouse of Thomas Woodman, residenter in Edinburgh, and the said Thomas Woodman, her husband, for his interest: to the petition of David Ross, Esq. manager of the Theatre Royal of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: 1770). In 1771 she made her Covent Garden debut as Juno in *The Judgement of Paris* after which time she remained in London. In 1775 she was imprisoned over her debts following the death of her husband, a school master. She was last recorded singing at Astley’s Amphitheatre in 1789.

Philip Highfill, et al, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London 1660-1800*, vol. 16 (USA: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 240-1.

⁵⁶² CM, 19 March 1768.

⁵⁶³ CM, 12 April 1769.

Table 5.3: Hester Woodman's repertoire 1768-1769, taken from programmes published in the Caledonian Mercury

Title	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Date Performed	Institution	Source
A song	Handel	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> HWV 75 (1736)	14.3.1768	Theatre Royal	CM 12.3.1768
A new song	music by Mr Emanuel the words by Mr Sowdon	-	14.3.1768	Theatre Royal	CM 12.3.1768
When Phoebus the tops of the hills did adorn [duet with Aitken]	Handel	<i>English Songs</i> HWV 228 (1730)	13.4.1768	Theatre Royal, evening for the benefit of the charity workhouse, Canongate	CM 11.4.1768
Ellen a Roon	Scots Song	-	23.2.1768	Benefit concert for John Fyfe, St Cecilia's Hall	CM 18.2.1769
Rise, glory rise	Arne	<i>Rosamond</i> (1733)	23.2.1768	Benefit concert for John Fyfe, St Cecilia's Hall	CM 18.2.1769

The first definite evidence of the music performed at the Garden comes in June 1769, when the management granted Hester Woodman a benefit and she published the evening's programme in the *Caledonian Mercury*.⁵⁶⁴

COMELY GARDEN. Mrs WOODMAN's Night. On Wednesday the 28th instant, will be performed A CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC. The following songs by Mrs WOODMAN, viz. *O what joy*, with trumpet &c., A Cantata, set by Dr. Arne, *Rise, Glory rise*, with kettle drums, trumpet, &c., Songs by Mr Phillips, A new cantata, a new song, Set by Dr Arne. *The trumpet of fame*, with trumpet, &c., To conclude with a favourite Trio.⁵⁶⁵

Although this was a special night, rather than an ordinary concert, it does appear to bear out the suppositions made above about the repertoire performed in the Garden: contemporary ballads and songs, in English, especially designed for popular performance by the fashionable composers of their day. At least one of the works Mrs Woodman performed at the Garden can be found in Table 5.3 so it seems likely that others from that list were also performed at Comely Garden in the 1768 season. 'Rise, glory rise' from Arne's *Rosamond* (1733) appears to have been one of Mrs Woodman's show pieces, and the inclusion of other works by Arne echoes the tastes in London: 'O what joy does conquest yield' is a song for trumpet, soprano and orchestra from *Alfred* (1740 revised 1753). 'The trumpet of fame' may be a translation of Galuppi's aria

⁵⁶⁴ CM, 19 June 1769.

⁵⁶⁵ CM, 19 June 1769.

‘Alla tromba della fama’ which is also scored for orchestra, soprano and trumpet. It is likely that Mrs Woodman was accompanied at this benefit by the trumpeter Joseph Reinagle, who also worked for the Musical Society.⁵⁶⁶ So far this limited sample appears to support the supposition that the repertoire of the Garden had more in common with the English contemporary music performed at the theatre, than the Italian-influenced music found at the Musical Society. Mrs Woodman was not the only female soloist to appear in 1768: in July 1768 Miss Morini, formerly a pupil of Thomas Augustine Arne, was billed as appearing.⁵⁶⁷

Figure 5.5: Advertisement for a concert at Comely Garden, July 1768
Caledonian Mercury, 16 July 1768

On Monday, being July 13, 1768, at Comely-Garden there will be a PUBLIC BREAKFAST a CONCERT, and a BAL... — For the further entertainment of the company, besides the ordinary performers, Mr. M^rKenzie has engaged, for Monday only, Miss Morini, lately Pupil of the celebrated Dr. Arne, who is to sing the following songs, *The thrush and blackbird*, a new ballad; *Sweet passion of love*, from *Cymon*; *Vain is beauty's gaudy flower*, from *Judith*; *The sweets of May*, a new ballad; and a new duct, addressed to the town, by Miss Morini and Mr. Aitken. — Breakfast to be on the table at eleven o'clock. — Tickets 2 sh. each, to be got at Balfour's coffeehouse, and at the Garden.

As no further evidence of Miss Morini performing in England, Scotland or in Ireland, has come to light, her name may have been a pseudonym, or even possibly an Italianisation of an English name, which would have conformed to the contemporary mania for everything Italian and foreign.⁵⁶⁸ The music she performed, however, seems to confirm the suspicions already cited about the use of contemporary ballads and English songs in the Garden. ‘The thrush and the blackbird’ may have been a setting of the ballad which tells of a young girl who hears two birds rejoicing because they are ‘single and free’. The girl goes to meet her lover, but ‘the dearer I loved him, the saucier he grew’. This sort of faintly vulgar but pleasing ballad would have been appreciated by the customers of the garden. ‘The sweets of May’ is the name of a traditional Irish Reel, and this work may have been associated with the traditional tune, another novelty for the concert-goers of Comely Garden, as was the new duet, possibly written by Aitken, which would have included specific references to the town and its inhabitants. ‘The sweet passion of love’ was an aria from *Cymon* (1767) by Michael Arne and was performed widely

⁵⁶⁶ Macleod, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society’, 151.

⁵⁶⁷ CM, 16 July 1769.

⁵⁶⁸ The adoption of Italianised names appears to have been common: in 1740 in York John Hebden had designated himself *Signor Hebdeni*, in Bath Tate Wilkinson had gone under the name *Wilkinsoni*, and in Newcastle as late as 1780 Charles Avison junior was advertised performing under the name *Carlos Avisonsini*. Southey, *Music-making*, 145-6.

by Michael Arne's wife, the singer Elizabeth Wright, in London and Dublin.⁵⁶⁹ The oldest piece performed was 'Vain is beauty's gaudy flower' from Arne's oratorio *Judith* (1761). If, as she was claimed, she was a pupil of the composer it is not unlikely that she might have learned and performed this piece with him.

It is possible, in addition to the performers already mentioned, that the singer, composer and keyboard player, Rayner Taylor (resident at the Theatre Royal in 1769 and 1770) was involved in the music of the gardens. After leaving the Chapel Royal in 1763, Taylor made his living singing, composing and performing at the fashionable Marylebone Gardens in London and it is possible that he sought to augment his income from the Theatre with work in the fashionable gardens in Edinburgh.⁵⁷⁰

Between 1769, when Boswell described the Garden, and 1774 when Topham recorded his damning verdict, the Garden and its music appears to have entered a period of decline:

I now find that these Gardens are considered by fashionable people here, as a very unfashionable place, and only frequented by the Bourgeois. It is possible that even this place, under the direction of a man of taste, with proper improvements, might in some measure resemble the public gardens in London. But the range of diversions is here so much more moderated, and they have in general so little ready money to throw away upon articles of amusement, especially as the better sort of people are in the country at the season of the year, that I am persuaded they will never have any imitation of Vauxhall at Edinburgh. The climate would be no obstruction during the summer season, as they walk out at all hours in the evening without the least inconvenience. But the greatest objection is, that it has been thought unfashionable; and when that is the case, it is effectively condemned for ever.⁵⁷¹

It was this decline that was seized upon by Domenico Corri, who in response set up competing Gardens near the West Kirk, Kirkbraehead, which he christened the New Ranelagh Gardens. The new Gardens opened on Tuesday 21 May 1776, and were warmly received:

The Edinburgh Ranelagh which opened, for the first time, last night, was visited by a very brilliant and respectable company, who appeared highly satisfied with their entertainment. Every thing was conducted with the utmost propriety, taste, and elegance, and did great credit to the manager, whose assiduities to please were particularly conspicuous in the choice of the music, the disposition of the transparent machinery, and variegated lamps; the beautiful appearance of the ball-room, the natural pleasing effect of the cascade, and the grandeur of the fire-works.

The only part of the entertainment which did not succeed, was the dancing. Notwithstanding there was a sufficient company, both of ladies and gentlemen, there

⁵⁶⁹ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, 99.

⁵⁷⁰ Temperley, *Bound for America: Three British Composers*, 56.

⁵⁷¹ Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh*, 135.

was only one reel danced. Whether it was, that the ladies were bashful, or that they were not properly solicited by the gentlemen we were not informed. We have, however, no doubt of the Edinburgh Ranelagh meeting with that favourable encouragement from the public which, from the specimen already given, it seems to merit.

Among the principal ladies who honoured this new species of amusement, were the following: Countess of S. and daughter, Countess T. Lady E. and daughter, Lady L. Miss O. Mrs Colonel P. of S. Mrs W. of N. Miss S. of N. Miss A. Miss M. of M. Mrs Gov. W. of the I. of M. and daughters.⁵⁷²

It appears that the fashionable elite of Edinburgh quickly moved to Corri's Gardens, something Edward Topham might have appreciated. The *Scots Magazine* also commented on the opening of the Gardens:

On Tuesday evening, May 22. was opened, and is continued twice or thrice a week, at Kirkbraehead, near the West church, Edinburgh, Ranelagh garden, a new kind of entertainment, prepared by Signor Corri, consisting of musical entertainments, transparent machinery illuminated with upwards of 400 lamps of various kinds, jets-d'eau, a cascade, fire-works, and a ball-room illuminated with spermaceti candles; the tickets to ladies 1s. and to gentlemen 2s. each; for which every person in the garden is admitted into the ball-room, but those who chose to dance pay 1s. additional; an annual ticket, for which two ladies or one gentleman have admission, costs a guinea: tea, coffee, jelly, ice-creams, fruits, confections, wines, negus, &c. &c. are to be had it called for. On some occasion there are grand exhibitions of fire-works, and concerts of vocal and instrumental music.⁵⁷³

Figure 5.6: Advertisement for a concert at Domenico Corri's Ranelagh Gardens, 1776
Caledonian Mercury, 29 May 1776

To-morrow, being Thursday, May 30, and Saturday June 1st,
At EDINBURGH RANELAGH GARDEN,
At the Kirkbraehead, a little west of this city, will be
A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music.
The vocal parts by Mess^{rs} GILSON and AICKEN.
The door will be opened at Five; the instrumental music to begin
at six, and the vocal music at seven. Half after eight the Water
Work will play.—The room will be illuminated with sper-
maceti candles, in a most brilliant manner; and assumes a form
totally different from what it bore the preceding part of the e-
vening, when the dancing will begin. At nine the whole Gar-
den will be illuminated with Transparent Machinery, to the
number of four hundred.
Admittance to the whole entertainments of the evening, Ladies,
1 s. each; Gentlemen, 2 s.—Each person who chuses to dance,
pays an additional shilling.
The company may have, if called for, Tea, Coffee, Jelly, Ice-
creams, Fruits, Confections of every kind, Wines, Negus, cold
meat, &c.
Tickets to be had at the Garden, at Mr Steele's confectioner,
and at Mr Elliot's bookshop, Parliament-square.—Tickets for
the Ball may also be had as above, at 1 s. each; and these not u-
sed, may be returned, and receive their money back.
The door to be shut at eleven o'clock.
The garden and room may be seen every day (Sundays excepted)
at Sixpence each.

The first concert at the new gardens took place in the week after its opening: unusually the instrumental and vocal music were split up, possibly for audiences with differing tastes, with the instrumental music beginning at six and the vocal music at seven. At half past eight the

⁵⁷² CM, 22 May 1776.

⁵⁷³ SM, 38 (1776), 339.

water works began, though whether the singers performed until this (and for a longer period than the orchestra), or even continued during this performance is unspecified.⁵⁷⁴ Corri had secured two colleagues as his vocal soloists: Cornforth Gilson and John Aitken. Whether the latter was still connected to the music at Comely Garden is unknown. Whilst there is no evidence of the repertoire performed during this period at the Gardens, it is possible to make some assumptions from the repertoire of Cornforth Gilson. Gilson was recorded singing at Vauxhall Gardens in London in the summers of 1764 and 1765, and it is possible that he also sang at the Comely Garden before the opening of Corri's Ranelagh. It was traditional that the latest ballads and songs that were performed in London were often published soon afterwards, bearing the name of the singer; thus we can gain some impression of Gilson's repertoire in London, and also the songs he may have brought back to Edinburgh with him in 1767.

Table 5.4: Publication of songs sung at Vauxhall Gardens by Cornforth Gilson 1764-1765

Publication Date	Title of the Collection	Containing the songs	Publisher
1764	The new songs sung by Miss Wearman, Mr Vernon and Mr Gilson at Vauxhall, set by Mr. Yeates, Robert Bremner, Felice Giardini	Farewell ye green field and sweet groves Ye virgins attend, believe me your friend Shepherd would you hope to please us When Fanny to woman is growing apace Bacchus deity divine! (A bacchanalian)	R. Bremner
1765	The New Songs sung at Vaux-Hall by Mr Gilson, with the Favourite Scots Air sung by Miss Brent. Thomas Augustine Arne	Phillis to whom none dare be rude Hapless lovers who sue in vain When lately I offer'd fair Laura to kiss When Hobbinol entreated doll, within the grove to enter Shall I wasting in despair Young Damon perceiving Flirtilla pass by	R. Bremner
1765	The new songs, sung by Miss Wearman, Mr Vernon and Mr Gilson at Vaux-hall. William Yates, Robert Bremner, Felice Giardini	Gentle gales in pity bear – Giardini Assist me ye fair, ye sisters, divine – Yates The grave and the gay enjoy life how they may (Friendship and wine) When youth mature to manhood grew (Love and affection) – Yates To tell I'm in love (The tell-tale) – Yates	R. Bremner

In addition to the songs above, Gilson's repertoire included his own compositions, including those published in *Twelve Songs for Harpsichord and Voice* (1769). He was also recorded singing the song 'Bacchus deity divine: a bacchanalian' in January 1766 in the collection *The Tavern Haunter*.⁵⁷⁵ The text typifies many popular ballads of the period with mirth, friendship and drink as the centre of society. Given its subject, it is hard to believe it would not have received several performances in Edinburgh in the taverns and in the gardens:

⁵⁷⁴ CM, 29 May 1776.

⁵⁷⁵ Highfill, et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, vol. 6, 215.

Bacchus, deity, deity, divine!
Kindly pluck the bending vine;
Bacchus, deity, deity divine!
Kindly pluck the bending vine;
Kindly pluck the bending vine;
Of rich grapes, the choicest, cull,
Squeeze this mighty goblet full,
Squeeze this mighty goblet fill;
Of rich grapes, the choicest, cull,
Squeeze this mighty goblet full.

On the table see it smiles,
Wine, that all our care beguiles:
Sons of Galen, leave you strife,
This alone can lengthen life.

Come, my lovely flowing bowl,
Let me drink without control,
Till my rose checks proclaim,
Bacchus rules the human frame.⁵⁷⁶

Other repertoire Gilson might have sung (or taught) in Edinburgh may have included selections from *The Choice of Apollo*, which he sang at the Haymarket Theatre on 11 March 1765,⁵⁷⁷ or ‘Ye belles and beaux, attend my song’ by John Potter, which was also sung at Vauxhall and published in the 1760s.

Ye beaux and ye belles pray attend my song
‘Tis new, I assure you, and will not be long.
From the camp I’m arriv’d, the scene of delight
Where they romp, sing, and dance all the day and the night
To the camp then all repair
Gallant swains, and blooming fair;
Gaily laughing, let us tramp
To the merry, merry camp.

Well, who could have thought that war was so charming!
Nothing there’s in it that can be alarming;
Nor Margate, nor Bath, nor the fam’d Tunbridge Wells,
Like the camp all our sorrow so sweetly dispels.
To the camp, &c.

With parson, squires, clowns, there is such intrusion

⁵⁷⁶*The Ark being a collection of the most celebrated and newest Songs, Scots and English* (Edinburgh: W. Gordon, 1765), 322.

⁵⁷⁷ Highfill, et al., op cit, 215.

The camp is a type, sure, of Babel's confusion;
There hautboys and trumpets, brisk fifes and bassoons,
Both charm you and stun you with fifty old tunes.
To the camp, &c.

E'en Cupid, gay Cupid, to Coxheath is come,
For love he's recruiting with fife and with drum!
A thousand sweet damsels he had in his train,
A heart he now offers each marital young swain.
To the camp...⁵⁷⁸

Popular ballads of the eighteenth century were rarely profound either in music or in sentiment: performances at pleasure gardens demanded modern, catchy and enjoyable novelties. Could anything typify this more than the second line of the song quoted above 'Tis new, I assure you, and will not be long'? Few of these songs would have achieved longevity, and it is not surprising to see that few were recorded or advertised in Edinburgh: within a season the songs would have lost their satire and their fashionable status. The ballads of the eighteenth century equate in many ways to contemporary popular music: shortly after their arrival and initial dissemination they lost their commercial and popular appeal. A few would have entered the repertoire, but most would have been lost after their first performance, making it difficult now to gain an accurate picture of the contemporary importance of ballads and songs in the gardens, in the tavern, in the street or in the house.

On Wednesday 5 June 1776 Corri staged a Concert followed by a ball with fireworks to celebrate the King's birthday,⁵⁷⁹ and a week later he advertised that he proposed:

to continue his Entertainment through the Summer Season, on the following days: -
Monday, a public breakfast with Musical Entertainments.-Admittance 2s. 6d.
subscribers at 1s. 6d. each: Tuesday and Saturdays, will be a Concert of Music, Ball;
Illuminations, Jet d'Eau as formerly... The Vocal part in the Concert will be performed
by Mrs Puppo and Mr Gilson.⁵⁸⁰

Rebecca Puppo seemingly acted as soprano soloist at the end of the season, if she had not done so before. There is no evidence to suggest whether Aitken was still performing or not, but there is strong evidence that Corri was drawing on his contacts within the Musical Society: in June 1776 Joseph Reinagle, Alexander Napier, George Muschet and Alexander Stewart were all fined half a guinea each by the directors of the Musical Society for 'leaving the Concert in

⁵⁷⁸ *The Vocal Magazine: or Compleat British Songster*, vols. 1 – 9 (London: Harrison and Co, 1781), 242.

⁵⁷⁹ CM, 3 June 1766.

⁵⁸⁰ CM, 10 June 1776.

order to attend Corri's Garden'.⁵⁸¹ The success of the Ranelagh Gardens only lasted one season. In 1777 Corri advertised that he had taken over the management of Comely Garden:

MR CORRI, having now compleated [*sic*] his Decorations of COMELY GARDEN, in such stile as, he flatter himself, will meet Approbation, begs leave to inform the Public That IT WAS OPENED THIS EVENING, being the 10th instant, and to continue every lawful day thereafter (FRIDAYS excepted) during the season.

The *Entertainments* are: A CONCERT of MUSIC, the Vocal Parts by Mrs JOHNSTON; and A BALL. *Diversions*: CARDS, BILLIARDS, TROW-MADAW, &c., The House and Garden will be Grandly Illuminated, Admittance One Shilling each Person. Gentlemen who dance, pay an Additional Shilling. The door will be opened at SIX, the CONCERT begin at SEVEN, the Ball at HALF-AFTER EIGHT, and to end at ELEVEN o'clock. A Subscription-Ticker, price ONE GUINEA, admits One Gentleman or Two Ladies, the whole season; and gives them a privilege [*sic*] to walk in the Garden, and of bringing their friends along with them. Subscriptions received at the garden.

BREAK FAST, DINNERS, SUPPERS; with WINE, FRUITS, &c. always ready, at the ORDINARY RATES.⁵⁸²

A similarly worded advertisement was given out at the beginning of the 1779 season,⁵⁸³ which proves that, although no soloists were named in 1779, concerts on Saturday, Tuesday and Thursday continued throughout the season. In addition to concerts, Comely Garden also became associated with the staging of novelties: in 1774 Mrs Astley 'so well known for her great Command over the Bees' performed,⁵⁸⁴ and in 1786 James Tytler exhibited a fire balloon, a model of one in which he would 'attempt the Navigation of the Atmosphere'.⁵⁸⁵ In 1776 Signor Rossignol, from Naples, entertained the Garden visitors with bird imitations and a violin concerto on a violin without strings,⁵⁸⁶ imitating the sound using 'his throat' to accompaniment

⁵⁸¹ EMS Sederunt Books, June 1776.

⁵⁸² EEC, 10 May 1777.

⁵⁸³ CM, 26 May 1779.

⁵⁸⁴ CM, 19 Dec 1774.

⁵⁸⁵ William E. Swinton, 'Dr James Tytler: author, balloonist, encyclopaedist', in *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 124 (1981), 216-223

⁵⁸⁶ John Marsh described an unidentified musician (who must surely have been Rossignol) giving a similar performance at a concert in Winton, Dorset on 8 September 1774: 'after the concert, a fellow of a most consummate impudence mounted the orchestra to perform an imitation of diff't birds, as introduced in & accompanying a symphony played by the orchestra, which he appeared to lead having a solid piece of wood shap'd like a fiddle & struck with a stick instead of a bow, with w'ch he imitated the manner of a leader of the band at the same time he introduced the notes of different birds with his voice. This as something new seem'd to please much during the 1st movement... some of his imitations, particularly a screeching in some of the forte parts being so comical as to make Dr. P. Hayes... shake his fat sides... This however being succeeded by a slow movement, the audience in general seem'd to have had enough of it & to begin a chattering all over the room. But when another movement still succeeded, & that of a light trifling nature, many of the audience began to express their disapprobation by hissing, hootings etc. whilst another party clapt. The man however seem'd quite undaunted & persever'd to the last... concluding amidst a tumult of applause and disapprobation'.

Marsh, *The John Marsh Journals*, vol. 1, 125. Also see Baxter, 156 for a fuller description of Rossignol's activities in Edinburgh and Southey, 52 for a description of his activities in Newcastle in February 1776.

by Signor Puppo and the ‘whole Orchestra’.⁵⁸⁷

Table 5.5: Singers recorded performing at pleasure gardens in Edinburgh 1750-1800

	Singer	Institution	Other musical connections in Edinburgh
1751	Isabella Lampe	Lampe’s Concerts, Fyfe’s or Quaker’s Gardens	New Concert Hall, Canongate
1751	Robert Corry	Lampe’s Concerts, Fyfe’s or Quaker’s Gardens	New Concert Hall, Canongate
1768	John Aitken	Comely Garden	EMS, Canongate Kilwinning, George Heriot’s Hospital, precentor, private teacher
1776		Ranelagh Gardens	
1768	Hester Woodman	Comely Garden	EMS, Theatre Royal
1768	Mr Watson	Comely Garden	EMS
1768	Miss Morini	Comely Garden	-
1776	Cornforth Gilson	Ranelagh Gardens	EMS, George Heriot’s, Theatre Royal, Precentor of the New Kirk, private teacher,
1776	Rebecca Puppo	Ranelagh Gardens	EMS, private teacher
1777	Mrs Johnston	Comely Garden	-

Following Corri’s financial collapse, Comely Garden was taken over by Alexander Williamson, who in 1784 advertised the opening of the season with a ball, with no mention of a preceding concert.⁵⁸⁸ Throughout the last decades of the eighteenth century mention of music at Comely Garden in the local press become very rare, but it is perhaps permissible to assume that while the Garden continued there was some music, and whilst music continued most probably vocal music was also to be found there.

Conclusion

Evidence of the music in Edinburgh’s pleasure gardens is sparse, but it is possible to partially reconstruct the repertoire which may have been found in the gardens by examining the repertoire of singers known to have sung there. It appears that there was a strong connection between the music played in the town’s theatre and music performed in pleasure gardens: Lampe’s series in 1751 must have reproduced many of the favourite tunes and songs performed in the New Concert Hall that year, and from his travels in Dublin and London before that. It is also likely that this series contained much of his own music. Hester Woodman continued the link between the gardens and the theatre and, as I have suggested, it is possible that much of her vocal repertoire was shared between the stage and the gardens. Woodman is remarkable as she is the only singer whom we know appeared at the meetings of the Musical Society, acted

⁵⁸⁷ EEC, 20 March 1776.

⁵⁸⁸ CM, 8 May 1784.

on the stage and sang at Comely Garden.⁵⁸⁹ If one accepts Southey's supposition about the multiple-purposes of concerts and their audience, in the eighteenth century, discussed in Chapter One in association with benefit concerts then this pluralism reflects well on a singer's ability to perform what their audience wanted to hear on an occasion by occasion, institution by institution, basis.

Some musicians and music-lovers may have looked down on the contemporary songs and ballads which constituted the repertoires of the gardens in London and, presumably, Edinburgh: but to many who could not afford entrance to benefit concerts, and who were not in the social elite of the Musical Society, the gardens were their only ready and easy access to live music and to the latest musical fashions and trends from London. As the anonymous correspondent in 1755 wrote, 'Good music and singers are indispensably required in undertakings of this sort',⁵⁹⁰ and there is no reason to suppose that the ambitions of the Edinburgh-based impresarios were anything short of a full blown recreation of London's pleasure gardens in Scotland. Vocal music was imperative to the life of the pleasure gardens, and whilst there is currently little evidence to support it, I believe that the musical activities of the gardens were an important part of the wider musical culture of the city.

⁵⁸⁹ The other possible candidate who may have sang in both the theatre and at the meetings of the Musical Society is Mariana Mazzanti (later Stamper). Mazzanti was employed by the Musical Society between 1757 and 1765. She married the actor Francis Stamper, who died in Edinburgh in 1766, and whilst there is as yet no evidence of her performing on the stage, she did organise her concert tours to coincide with her husband's tour of the provinces. On 18 October 1760 the 'Edinburgh Comedians' performed at The New Theatre in Newcastle, and on 22 October 'Mrs Stamper (Late Signora Mazzanti)' performed a concert at Parker's Long Room in the city. *Newcastle Courant*, 18 October 1760. Presumably the Mrs Stamper recorded singing regularly at the Canongate Concert Hall until 1756 was Francis Stamper's first wife.

⁵⁹⁰ SM, 17 (1755), 293-294

Chapter Six

Vocal Music and Education

It is allowed, even by Foreigners, that no Country in Europe abounds with good natural Voices more than England [Britain];⁵⁹¹ but it is well known that many a good Voice is lost for want of Cultivation.⁵⁹²

The second half of the eighteenth century was a period of Enlightenment when man began to question everything relating to his humanity and development. Thomas Paine questioned the rights of monarchy and imperialism in the *Rights of Man* (1791-2) and *Common Sense* (1776) and the supremacy of the church in *The Age of Reason* (1794): Mary Wollstonecraft questioned the inferior position of her sex in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1790) and Adam Smith questioned the accepted ideas of mercantilist economy, promoting free trade over protectionism in manufacturing and production in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). The Enlightenment was a time to question ideas and to seek scientifically and methodically for new answers.⁵⁹³ The Scottish Act for Setting Schools of 1696, which established a school in every parish, ensured that Scotland, by the middle of the eighteenth century, was one of the most literate and numerate countries in Europe: it may have been for this reason that the Scottish Enlightenment was said to have been less concerned ‘with changing the world, and more with understanding and classifying it’.⁵⁹⁴

The ultimate end of the enlightened education was a mind that was informed, analytical, but above all, open.⁵⁹⁵ Improvements in printing and the lapse of censorship in England in the eighteenth century led to a huge increase in the publication and dissemination of pedagogical and improving printed materials.⁵⁹⁶ In Britain this scientific bent resulted in works which considered the history and origin of music: Burney’s *A general History of Music from the earliest Ages to the present Period* (1776-1789) and Hawkins’s *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776); works which considered the aesthetics and ultimately

⁵⁹¹ In the eighteenth century the term ‘England’ was often used to refer to the nation-wide context of the United Kingdom, see Porter, *Enlightenment*, xviii-xix. It is in this light that I have decided to interpret Burney’s comments.

⁵⁹² Charles Burney, *Sketch of a Plan*, (1774), in Jamie Croy Kassler, ‘Burney’s Sketch of a Plan for a Public Music-School’ in *The Musical Quarterly*, 58/2 (1972), 230.

⁵⁹³ For a general introduction to Education in the Enlightenment see Geraint Perry ‘Education and the Reproduction of the Enlightenment’ in *The Enlightenment World*, ed. Martin Fitzpatrick et al. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 217 – 234.

⁵⁹⁴ Kieron O’Hara, *The Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2010), 34.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 63-65.

⁵⁹⁶ Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 111-140, and Porter, *Enlightenment*, 73.

the purpose of music: Avison's *An Essay on Musical Expression* (1758), Brown's *A Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Powers, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music* (1763), and Hayes' *Remarks of Musical Expression* (1753); works which questioned the notions of beauty such as Burke's *A philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) and works which investigated the effects of music upon the body such as Richard Browne's *Medicina Musica; or, a Mechanical Essay on the Effects of Singing, Musick, and Dancing, on Human Bodies* (1729). The period also saw the publication of the great lexicographical definitions of Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de musique* (1768). It was an era of observation, experimentation and iconoclasm: it was the era of the Grand Tour, of Burney's musical tours throughout Europe and of the supposed ennobling effect of Art upon the gentleman of taste and refinement. It was the birth of music as a science, a phenomenon to be observed, dissected, commented upon, and categorised.⁵⁹⁷

6.1 Music and Gentlemen Amateurs

In 1774, Edward Topham described the interest in music amongst the polite elite with whom he associated in Edinburgh:

The degree of attachment which is shewn to Music in general in this country exceeds belief. It is not only the principal entertainment, but the constant topic of every conversation; and it is necessary not only to be a lover of it, but to be possessed of a knowledge of the science, to make yourself agreeable to society... Music alone engrosses every idea. In religion a Scotchman is grave and abstracted; in politics serious and deliberate: it is in the power of harmony alone to make him an enthusiast.⁵⁹⁸

Helen Goodwill's thesis 'The Musical Involvement of the Landed Classes in Eastern Scotland 1685-1760' concluded that the aristocracy of Scotland provided 'considerable patronage' to musicians and music teachers in eighteenth century Scotland.⁵⁹⁹ She found that this was not in the way traditionally associated with European patronage but as 'consumers' of concerts, preferring to attend concerts and subscribe to publications rather to retain musicians for their

⁵⁹⁷ For a full discussion of music as science, and its implications for musicians and talented amateurs see Maria Semi, *Music as a Science of Mankind in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, trans. Timothy Keates (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012)

⁵⁹⁸ Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh*, 378.

⁵⁹⁹ Goodwill, 'Musical Involvement', 115.

amusement.⁶⁰⁰ Their retention of local musicians as tutors to their children could also provide a significant percentage of a musician's income.

Eighteenth century educational theory appears to support Topham's observation that music was not only taught as an entertainment but as a science:

As Gentlemen should be *Scholars*... they may look into Ptolemy, published by Dr. Wallis, or the five Greek writers on Music, by Meibomius. This is the study of *Music* really as a science, and will facilitate the knowledge of its *Practice*, especially as to *Through-Bass*, and the *principles* of composition. This is the pursuit worthy a Gentleman's attention; and this knowledge which alone distinguishes the *Musician* from the *Fidler* [*sic*].⁶⁰¹

Young gentlewomen, on the other hand, were not required to undertake any serious theoretical study:

Our daughters [should]... be taught *Music* so as to *understand* what they *perform*; and *Perform* no more than what fall within the *easy* compass of their *execution*; nor ever attempt anything but *select pieces* of *familiar, easy, simple* construction, such as may delight the *ear* of their friends, and contribute to improve their own *Hearts* by directing its influence to the proper object.⁶⁰²

A sexual division built up in the eighteenth century, with females 'allowed' to study keyboard instruments and the guitar, while gentlemen studied stringed instruments. Wind instruments, with the exception of the flute, in general remained the province of professional musicians.⁶⁰³ Although a gentleman might aim at accomplishment on his instrument, he should never strive towards professionalism. Goodwill dedicates several pages to the discussion of whether music was really a suitable pastime for a gentlemen. In his *Memoirs*, Sir John Clerk, 2nd Baronet of Penicuik, wrote, 'I understood pictures better than became my Purse, and as to Musick, I rather performed better, particularly on the Harpsecord [*sic*], than became a Gentleman'.⁶⁰⁴ Following the death of his brother, Hugh, in 1750 Clerk wrote that despite his skill on the 'cello, he played 'too well for a Gentleman'.⁶⁰⁵ The implication is clear: the cultivation of music and

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ C. J. Dorant, *Euterpe; or, Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music, as Part of modern Education* (London: J. Dodsley, c. 1778), published anonymously.

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ See the Edinburgh Musical Society's need to import wind players from the Regimental Band stationed at the castle at various points in the eighteenth century and John Marsh's dependence on regiments stationed nearby to stage concerts in Chichester. For the importance of Regimental Musicians to provincial concerts and music making see Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 444.

⁶⁰⁴ Clerk, *Memoirs*, 36.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid, 222.

a sound knowledge of theory was the duty of a gentlemen, but time spent on diligent practice was time wasted for a serious man of the world. This sentiment is amplified by an undated pamphlet entitled *Advice to a Young Man who is Desirous of Making a Great Figure in the World*:

Some young men take it in their heads that they wou'd be very happy and accounted fine Gentleman if they cou'd perform well on any Instrument of Musick. Believe me, this is a mean turn of mind by which a great deal of pretious [*sic*] time is wasted... leave the excellency of the Trade to such mean spirits as never soar higher.⁶⁰⁶

This is a trend also discussed by Goodwill who found that while the gentry took every opportunity to encourage the musical development of their sons on the Grand Tour, they were not active in encouraging music teachers in Scotland to attend their sons, while taking every effort to assure that their daughters gained proficiency in the gentle art of music.⁶⁰⁷

If instrumental virtuosity was not the thing for a gentlemen is there little wonder that throughout the second half of the eighteenth century societies cultivating singing and vocal music grew in popularity? The clubs were social entities where one could perform, entertain and be entertained with one's peers. Such societies were fashionable; not only in terms of their elite membership, but in terms of the music they performed. Catch clubs performed the latest glees hot off the press and concert societies heard the latest fashionable pieces from London and the continent. Most importantly the cultivation of amateur singing required little effort or practice outside of the society, giving a gentlemen more time to dedicate to his business.

6.2 Private Singing Teachers

Throughout the eighteenth century mistrust in the 'birch, boorishness, buggery and the bottle' of the established public school and university system grew amongst liberal families, who instead put their trust in private tutors.⁶⁰⁸ These academic tutors were often augmented by visiting music teachers and dancing masters, and private tuition became a major part of the income of such performers.⁶⁰⁹ Brewer has highlighted the important part dancing masters often played in the musical life of provincial centres, as they often were also musicians who in addition to providing music on the violin for their own classes contributed to, and staged

⁶⁰⁶ NAS GD 18/2323 section 5 (undated).

⁶⁰⁷ Goodwill, 'Musical Involvement', 154.

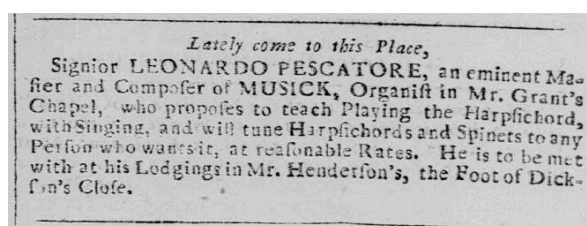
⁶⁰⁸ Porter, *English Society*, 163.

⁶⁰⁹ Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Banknotes*, 63-67

concerts.⁶¹⁰ An investigation of the contribution of dancing masters to the musical life of Edinburgh, is outside the parameters of this investigation, but it would undoubtedly highlight another important point of musical consumption outside the elite activities of the Musical Society.

One of the first private music teachers to advertise his services in the *Caledonian Mercury* was the violinist, singer, and keyboard player, Giovanni Angelo Battista Putti, concert master to the Musical Society (1733-34), who advertised that he would teach ladies and gentlemen singing, the violin and the harpsichord ‘all after the best and most graceful Manner’.⁶¹¹ The next advertisement for a teacher of singing appears to date from almost twenty years later in 1750, when Leonardo Pescatore, newly arrived in Scotland, advertised his services as a singing and harpsichord teacher.⁶¹²

**Figure 6.1: Leonardo Pescatore’s advertisement for private pupils, 1750
Caledonian Mercury, 13 November 1750**



Even if Pescatore was the only professional musician teaching in Edinburgh in 1750, within two years there were at least three professional musicians, all Italian, teaching singing. In November 1752 Giuseppe Passerini advertised that he would ‘once again’ open his school, suggesting that he had taken on students in the previous year, teaching singing, ‘violin, the thorrow [*sic*] bass and the harpsichord... from Nine o’Clock in the Morning ‘till Two Afternoon’.⁶¹³ At the same time, the newly arrived Nicolò Pasquali advertised that he, and his brother, Francis, would be available to students:⁶¹⁴

Whereas SIGNOR PASQUALI has heard that it has been often enquired, whether he and his Brother are willing to take any Scholars this Winter, and on what Terms: This

⁶¹⁰ Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 436, 444.

⁶¹¹ CM, 13 December 1733.

⁶¹² CM, 13 November 1750.

⁶¹³ CM, 2 November 1752.

⁶¹⁴ Francis Pasquali probably arrived in England with his brother in 1743: he was active in Dublin and briefly Edinburgh, before returning to London. In 1785 he was one of the three double-bassists in the orchestra of the King’s Theatre, Haymarket and from around 1760 ran a music publishing business and concert rooms in Poland Street. In 1772 he built a suite of concert rooms in Tottenham Street, which became the home of the Concert of Ancient Music.

‘Nicolò Pasquali’ accessed on 12 August 2014 at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/67/101067182/>.

is to inform the Publick, that he will teach (at his own Lodgings) on such Terms as are usual in this Country, the following Branches of MUSICK, viz. THE ART OF SINGING: Playing of the VIOLIN: Playing the Thorough Bass and Lessons, on the HARPSICHORD, and his Brother Playing on the VIOLONCELLO [*sic*]. He lodges at Mrs. Coustin's in Shoemakers Land, facing the Earl of Murray's Lodgings, in the Canongate; where Letters and written Messages will be punctually answered.

At the same Place may be had, some few remaining Copies of his printed MUSICK, i.e. Twelve English SONGS in Score, Twelve OVERTURES in Parts, and six SOLOS for the violin and the Harpsichord, or Violoncello. As likewise some Cremona and other good FIDDLES.

NB. If there should be any poor GIRL, with an extraordinary good strong Voice, willing to be instructed in Singing, and not able to afford the Charges, by calling at Mrs Coustin's, as above, if her Voice be approved of, will hear of something much to her Advantage.⁶¹⁵

In the *Evening Courant* he advertised more frankly that he would teach 'gratis any poor girl with an extraordinary good strong voice'.⁶¹⁶ There is no evidence of how many students the three men cultivated. William Douglas, secretary to the Musical Society, suggested that, without the patronage of the Society, Pasquali found it difficult to earn a living wage or take on students:

Pasquali was engaged to come from Dublin here by the managers of the playhouse, and continued here for six or eight months without any scholar, but no sooner did he appear in the Musical room that he had every hour employed and continued so till his dying day.⁶¹⁷

One should be wary of taking this at face value, however, as to explain away Pasquali's small salary Douglas later claimed 'Pasquali was a sickly man and did not give himself much trouble in teaching'.⁶¹⁸ The description of Pasquali as a sickly man who did not trouble himself with teaching does not sit particularly well with the evidence: he played in both the orchestras of the Musical Society and the Canongate Theatre, he composed extensively and produced two pedagogical books which were required reading in their day: *Thorough bass Made Easie* (1757) and its sequel *The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord* (1758 published posthumously). By the time of his death Pasquali had also acquired several pupils from the aristocracy, including Lady Harriet, the daughter of the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun, to whom he taught singing and harpsichord.⁶¹⁹ At the time of Pasquali's death, the Earl owed his widow £1.02s.6d. for nine

⁶¹⁵ CM, 28 November 1752.

⁶¹⁶ EEC, 27 November 1752.

⁶¹⁷ Alexander Law, *Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: T & A Constable, 1965), 174.

⁶¹⁸ EMS Sederunt Book, letter from William Douglas to Ferdinando Arrigoni, 6 January 1761.

⁶¹⁹ Goodwill, 'Musical Involvement', 114.

lessons. Fees received by Pasquali, Bremner, and Gilson from aristocratic families suggest that musicians received between 1s. and 2s.6d. per lesson in the last years of the 1750s.⁶²⁰ Like Pasquali, Pescatore appeared to have had little trouble in recruiting pupils, and in 1751 advertised his intention to open an academy:

That Signior Pescatore intends to open a SINGING SCHOOL on Monday the 18th Current in the Afternoon at the Meeting house in Skinners Close, and proposes to teach all Sorts of Vocal Musick that shall be required. – Any person that inclines to learn the Musick by the Ear, needs not take the Trouble to come to him, for he teaches with the Grounds of Musick only, and by the Book, which is the best and easiest Way for all Learners. He only intends to teach thrice in the Week, viz. Monday Afternoon, Tuesday and Thursday, beginning each of these Days at Two o’Clock.⁶²¹

His success quickly came to the notice of the Gentlemen of the Musical Society: Pescatore was paid £3.3s.9d. for his attendance at the St Cecilia’s Concert in 1753, as were ‘his boy and girl’, elsewhere named as ‘Miss Clarkson and Mr Bernard’,⁶²² for their performance in *Alexander’s Feast*.⁶²³ In January 1753 Pescatore had advertised his benefit as ‘being the first Time of [Miss Clarkson’s] Appearance in Public’.⁶²⁴ In 1756 Pescatore, again, received a fee from the directors of the Musical Society as ‘allowance for his boy’,⁶²⁵ probably Harry Bernard. The use of a master’s pupils had advantages for all: it cost the Society less to use ‘tame’ soloists than to draw a professional soloist from London or Durham, if the performance was bad they had the master to blame, and it allowed a master to advertise his practice and acquire new students. Pescatore was dismissed from the Society in February 1761 for ‘insolent and impertinent behaviour’⁶²⁶ and seems to have been a volatile character: he appeared in court at least five times between 1750 and 1773.⁶²⁷ In the months before his dismissal from the Musical Society Douglas had described him as a ‘Harpichord player that pretends to teach singing’.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁰ Ibid, 128.

⁶²¹ CM, 12 March 1751.

⁶²² NAS Innes of Stow: GD113/5/208/7 – 9.

⁶²³ EMS Sederunt Books, December 1753.

⁶²⁴ EEC, 16 January 1753.

⁶²⁵ EMS Sederunt Books, 26 April 1756.

⁶²⁶ EMS Sederunt Books, 26 February 1761.

⁶²⁷ NAS: CS271/35566 Pescatore v. Giuseppe Passerini, 1753: CS271/13769 Pescatore v. John Sommerville, 1761: CS271/71677 Pescatore v. John Sommerville, 1762: CS271/43316 Pescatore v. Thomas Wood, 1762: CS271/4611 Pescatore v. John Simpson & another, 1773.

In 1770 John Simpson, journeyman coppersmith, brought a criminal action against Pescatore for having ‘fired a gun or pistol at him, loaded with small shot, by which he was grievously wounded’. Simpson sued for £500 damages and requested Pescatore be ‘corporally punished, by pillory, whipping, imprisonment or otherwise’. Robert Boyd, *The Office, Powers and Jurisdiction of His Majesty’s Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: printed for the author, 1787), 731-2.

⁶²⁸ EMS Sederunt Books, 6 January 1761.

His teaching practice, however, appears to have been unaffected and, like Pasquali, he courted the aristocracy: in 1776, he was retained by the daughter of a Count. She was later revealed to be a fraud: if she had really had aristocratic connections, Pescatore may have been less brutal about her musical skills ('indeed she could sing three or four songs by rote, but knew nothing of time, nor could she play upon the harpsichord or guitar, nor had she a good ear').⁶²⁹

Table 6.1: Advertisements for singing teachers placed in the Caledonian Mercury 1750-1800
Subsequent advertisements by the same teacher have been omitted.

Year of advertisement	Name	Years active in Edinburgh	Other instruments taught	Price per lesson if specified	Specified teaching times	Source
1750	Leonardo Pescatore	1750-1776	Harpsichord	-	-	13.11.1750
1752	Giuseppe Passerini	1751-1753	Violin, harpsichord, thorough bass	-	Monday, 9.00am-2.00pm	2.11.1752
1752	Nicolò Pasquali	1752-1757	Violin, harpsichord, thorough bass	-	-	28.11.1752
1759	Richard Eales	1759-c.1760	-	-	-	7.4.1759
1760	Jacobina Gordon	c.1750-1764	Guitar, viola da gamba	-	-	1.12.1760
1762	Santo Lapis	1762-1763	Harpsichord	-	-	13.11.1762
1768	Giusto Tenducci	1768-9, 1779, 1785	-	-	Monday 21 November 1768	14.10.1768
1771	John Aitken	1765-1813	-	-	-	9.1.1771
1775	Giuseppe Puppo	1773-1783	Harpsichord	-	-	4.3.1775
1777	Rebecca Puppo	c.1767-1783	Harpsichord	-	8.00am-8.00pm daily	26.11.1777
1780	F. Bottarelli	1780	Harpsichord/ Italian and French	-	-	19.1.1780
1782	James (?) Thomson	1782	Guitar	-	-	19.10.1782
1782	William Cranmer	1782	Harpsichord, guitar and flute	10s.6d. per quarter 4s per month	Public classes from Monday 4 November 1782, at midday	26.10.1782
1789	Signor Kube	1789	Violin, viola, 'cello, harpsichord, piano	-	-	28.11.1789
1790	Mr Parsons	1790	Piano	-	-	6.11.1790

Pescatore was active as a singing teacher in Edinburgh for over a quarter of a century, from 1750 until at least 1776 and, as such, was probably the one of the longest serving singing

⁶²⁹ *She is and she is not: a fragment of the true history of Miss Caroline de Grosberg alias Mrs Potter* (London: J. Bew, 1776), 88.

teachers in the city in the eighteenth century, the other being John Aitken, active from 1765 until the turn of the century. Before he found eminence as a publisher, Robert Bremner augmented his income by teaching: however successful his practice, it was his *Rudiments of Music* (1756, second edition 1762) that was his greatest contribution to singing-teaching in Edinburgh, as it revolutionised the teaching of singing in Kirk choirs in the 1750s (see Chapter Seven). In addition to his work as a performer, writer and publisher, he clearly still had time to instruct individual pupils: in January 1756 a payment is recorded to ‘Smeton, Mr Bremner’s boy for performing in the oratorio, Judas, 5s’.⁶³⁰ ‘Bremner’s boy’, John Smeiton, became a regular performer at the Canongate Theatre.⁶³¹ He also regularly performed at the Musical Society: in 1775 he was given £5.5s.0d ‘as a present for singing Scots Songs’.⁶³² Smeiton was also a social and clubbable figure who augmented the musicians’ ranks (alongside Robert Hutton and Cornforth Gilson) in the Cape Club and adopted the heraldic pseudonym, Sir Stair.⁶³³ Like his teacher, Smeiton would have almost certainly sought to augment his salary by teaching, although little evidence remains to suggest that this was the case.

Probably the most important singing teacher, and certainly the most influential in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century was Cornforth Gilson. Born in 1722 and trained at Durham Cathedral, Gilson arrived in Edinburgh to take up the position of Master of Church Music in 1756 (see Chapter Seven). There is evidence to suggest that in addition to his duties in the Kirk and for the Musical Society, Gilson took private pupils: in 1759 he inherited Lady Harriet Hope as a singing pupil from Robert Bremner who had taken her on following the death of Pasquali. He gave Harriet at least six lessons, for which he was paid one shilling per lesson.⁶³⁴ Elizabeth Rose, daughter of the 17th Baron of Kilravock, owned a manuscript which contained several of Gilson’s songs and several of his lessons for guitar, which appear unique.⁶³⁵ There are strong suggestions that Gilson was involved in the tuition of at least these two aristocratic pupils and given his palpable lack of financial sense, circumstances would suggest more. Throughout most

⁶³⁰ EMS Sederunt Books, January 1756.

⁶³¹ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 46.

⁶³² EMS Sederunt Book, Expenses 1774/5.

⁶³³ The Cape Club was one of the large number of gentlemen’s groups which flourished in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. The Cape Club was organised in 1763 and like many similar groups were interested in discussing contemporary politics, literature, art and science. Again like many other groups after business ‘beer and porter were the usual liquors’ and ‘conversation and song’ their amusement. The Cape Club also adopted many of the Masonic rituals associated with the admission of new members and other ceremonial events. With many professional musicians members, the music-making must have been of a good standard. See D. D. McElroy, ‘The Literary Clubs and Societies of Eighteenth Century Scotland and their influence on the literary productions of the period 1700 to 1800’ (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1952), 530-540.

⁶³⁴ Goodwill, ‘Musical Involvement’, 123.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid*, 134.

of the late 1760s and 1770s he was ridden with debt and it is probable that he took private pupils to augment his income. Certainly Gilson appears to have given tuition to his children, at least two of whom became professional singers: Gilson's youngest son, Charles Cornforth Gilson, born in Edinburgh in October 1768, who was recorded singing tenor at the Handel Commemorations in Westminster Abbey in London in 1785, and his daughter Rebecca (see below).

The Campbell brothers, Alexander and John, also made a significant impact as singing teachers in Edinburgh. John Campbell was born in Tombea, in Perthshire, and upon his removal to Edinburgh became, with his brother, a student of Tenducci. John Campbell became Precentor of the Canongate Kirk and Alexander the organist of the non-juring Episcopal congregation in Carrubbers Close.

John Campbell presumably cultivated a number of private students and, as will be discussed below, opened a private school which taught church music and vocal music, with the support of the town magistrates and ministers.⁶³⁶ His brother, Alexander Campbell, taught the harpsichord and singing, and was renowned for his singing of 'plaintive Scotch ballads'⁶³⁷ and was retained by the mother of Sir Walter Scott to teach her sons the techniques of psalmody. Scott, who had little talent for music, remembered him as a 'warm hearted man and an enthusiast in Scottish music, which he sang most beautifully... of many accomplishments, but dashed with a bizarrerie of temper'.⁶³⁸ Scott continued:

When he attended us in George Square our neighbour, Lady Cunningham, sent to beg the boys might not all be flogged precisely at the same hour, as, though she had no doubt the punishment was deserved, the noise of the concord was really dreadful.⁶³⁹

Scott commented that his brother Robert was the only member of the family with musical talent, although his father had played 'cello with the Musical Society. Alexander Campbell published his *Twelve Songs set to Music* in 1785.

Their teacher, Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, was never permanently resident in Edinburgh, but included it in his regular rounds of London, Dublin and other cultural centres where he could be lionised. He was, however, a fashionable and prolific teacher, with students in every port. In 1768 he advertised that 'Mr Tenducci begs leave to inform the public that he

⁶³⁶ CM, 17 December 1785.

⁶³⁷ James Marshall, *A winter with Robert Burns, annals of his patrons and associates* (Edinburgh: Peter Brown, 1856), 111.

⁶³⁸ Donald A Low, *Robert Burns: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1974), 129.

⁶³⁹ John Gibson Lockhart, *Memoirs of the life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart*, vol. 1 (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1837), 42, footnote.

intends to teach singing, and will attend ladies and gentlemen at their own houses'.⁶⁴⁰ Tenducci was probably the most famous musician ever to have taught singing in the city, and certainly the most famous castrato to perform in Edinburgh. In 1769 he founded a Ladies Academy:

THIS is to give notice, That the LADIES ACADEMY, will begin on Monday the 20th of November next, the subscribers are desired to send for their tickets at Mr TENDUCCI's house, Miln's [*sic*] square, back court: and upon receiving their tickets to pay their subscription, and then shall be acquainted of the place where it will be held. The subscription being almost full, it is requested of those ladies and gentlemen, that have not answered the circular letter, to acquaint Mr Tenducci of their intention by the end of this month, otherwise their places will be used up.⁶⁴¹

Tenducci was showing a canny understanding of eighteenth century society and his place in it. Without a doubt some would attend his academy for singing tuition: some to be in the presence of a celebrity, which Tenducci was, as had been many of the castrati who had preceded him to England, yet possibly more attended to gawk at the figure of a castrated man. As Berry wrote, considering the popularity of the castrati: 'In an era when the Royal Society encouraged speculation and enquiry into strange phenomena in the natural world and greater scientific understanding of human anatomy, the anomalous bodies of the castrati aroused much speculation'.⁶⁴² The nature of these men as sexual beings caused great consternation and alarm: Tenducci's marriage to one of his pupils caused much comment,⁶⁴³ as had the conduct of Elizabeth, wife of George, Baron Lyttleton, who had 'made herself the Talk of the Town by writing Love letters to Signor Tanduchi [*sic*], a Eunuch, one of which has been shewn to several people'.⁶⁴⁴ It is surely unlikely that such a celebrity would have struggled to find subscribers. Tenducci's sojourn in Dublin had severely depleted his fortune, and together with a contract from the Musical Society and his private initiatives, the singer was looking to rebuild his finances.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴⁰ EEC, 20 July 1768.

⁶⁴¹ CM, 14 October 1768.

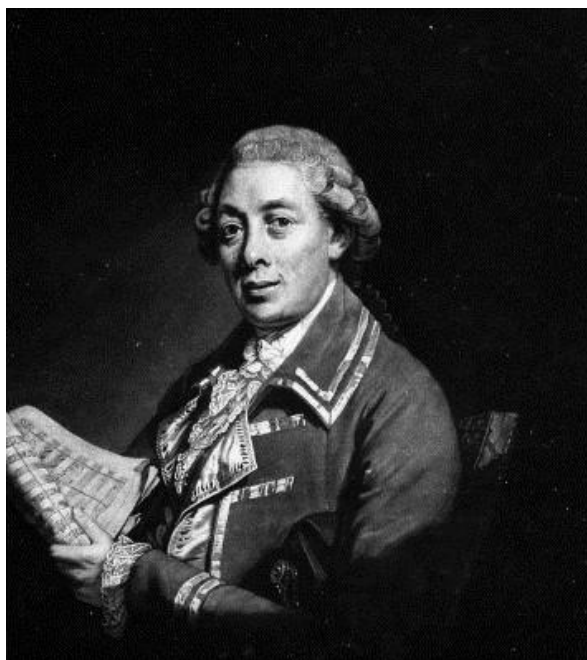
⁶⁴² Berry, *The Castrato*, 44. In regards to the dubious sexual nature of the castrati also see the same author's 'Gender and Sexuality', 66 and 'Queering the History of Marriage: the Social Recognition of a Castrato Husband in Eighteenth-Century Britain' in *History Workshop Journal*, 74/1 (2012), 27-50.

⁶⁴³ Highfill, et al, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, vol. 14, 394.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 54.

⁶⁴⁵ Berry, *The Castrato*, 147.

Figure 6.2: Giusto Tenducci (1782), engraving by William Dickinson



David Fraser Harris expressed surprise that of the list of nine professional musicians printed in *Williamson's Directory of Edinburgh* (1774) none were recorded as singers. He assumed that as there were no specific reference to singing teachers 'the majority of them we may therefore conclude were instrumentalists who earned their daily bread by playing for it'.⁶⁴⁶ The evidence in Table 6.1 and commentary above should prove that to be a professional musician in the eighteenth century was to be a master of many different skills, and it should not be assumed that a musician would define themselves simply by one of their many and varied activities.

Giuseppe Puppo was primarily known as a violinist, but he advertised in 1775 that he intended to teach singing and the harpsichord.

He proposes to teach SINGING, in the Italian taste, and the HARPSICHORD, which he had practised with success in some of the principal cities of Europe.⁶⁴⁷

Puppo founded an academy in Mary's Chapel, at the head of Niddry's Wynd, supported by the Edinburgh Musical Society, who paid out 6s.0d 'for the use of Marys Chappel [*sic*] for Puppas Academy'.⁶⁴⁸ They paid for three men, non-members, to attend: John Grahame received '£3.9s.0d', Tom Heriot '£1.8s.0d.' and James Forress '£1.2s.5d' as re-imbusement of the

⁶⁴⁶ Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall*, 106.

⁶⁴⁷ CM, 4 March 1775.

⁶⁴⁸ EMS Sederunt Books, expenses 1777-8.

entrance fees for ‘attending Puppo’s Academy’.⁶⁴⁹ In 1779 Puppo travelled ‘through the counties of Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire’,⁶⁵⁰ intending to supplement his income by acting as a dealer of Haxty’s of York who produced harpsichords and pianofortes. He brought a piano back to Edinburgh and advertised that he would be pleased to show it to anyone who called at his house,⁶⁵¹ and also advertised that he was ready to resume his teaching activities:

Now recovered from the bad state of health which obliged him to discontinue teaching for these three years past, respectfully begs to acquaint the Public, That he has now begun to teach Ladies Singing and playing on the Harpsichord, as before, upon as moderate terms as any other teacher. Mr Puppops’ Musical Classes for Practice, which he opened for such Gentlemen as had some knowledge of the violin, being only attended for one hour, from twelve to one o’clock, there are two hours from one to three, still vacant for any Gentlemen who would chuse [*sic*] to attend them.⁶⁵²

Puppo left Edinburgh in 1783 and died in Rome in 1837. Teaching had obviously taken up a significant proportion of his time, and so it is reasonable to suggest that some of his income was also derived from the teaching of singing.

Although the list of singing teachers has thus far been exclusively male, it was not only men who made a living as musicians and who augmented their income by teaching. It is likely, however, that a female musician would have been restricted to only teaching females, as society was unlikely to have tolerated a female instructing a male, however excellent her musicianship.⁶⁵³ Certainly to the secretary of the Musical Society there was nothing unseemly about a woman teaching her art. In an attempt to attract Mariana Mazzanti (also Mrs Stamper) to Edinburgh, Douglas wrote:

I know Pasquali made about £300 a year and Passerini much more... her duty in our Society is very easie only to attend the Concert every Friday night and sing four songs and to attend the rehearsals and perform in the oratorios... we would give a salary of £100 a year, this with her benefit concert and the advantage of teaching would be very considerable.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ EEC, 29 January 1780.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

⁶⁵² EEC, op cit.

⁶⁵³ For a general discussion of women as professional musicians, especially composers, in the eighteenth century see Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*.

Despite initially pleasing the Musical Society,⁶⁵⁴ Mazzanti and Douglas were soon in discussions about money after she complained about the ‘neglect of her benefit’.⁶⁵⁵ Douglas replied that he blamed her for not cultivating the favour of the company and for not dedicating herself to teaching:

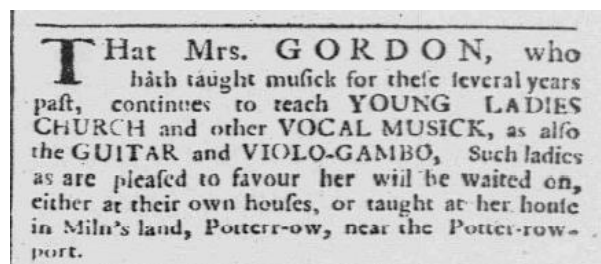
When you were told that by teaching and a benefit you might make a hundred a year, it was likewise told you that both these would depend upon yourself & the favour of the Publick ... a good benefit most alwise [*sic*] depend on the Number of scholars and you must be sensible that you never was really inclined to teaching or gain scholars....⁶⁵⁶

To one musician Douglas wrote ‘there are many more Scholars for the Harpsichord and Singing than can get masters here’,⁶⁵⁷ and to another he wrote:

There are young Gentlemen and Ladies Every day wanting to be taught the Harpsichords and cant get masters, all the masters for that Instrument here have their hours wholly taken up... Pasquali... to his dying day had as many Schoalers [*sic*] as he could teach.⁶⁵⁸

There were other women who successfully maintained careers as singing teachers in the eighteenth century. The first was Jacobina Gordon, who, in addition to working as a performer and a teacher, was also one of the city precentors. She also occasionally performed at the oratorios staged by the Musical Society.⁶⁵⁹ According to Bulloch in the *House of Gordon*, Jacobina was the daughter of Robert Gordon of Balcomie, who was in receipt of a pension from the Faculty of Advocates, which on his death in 1752 passed to Jacobina.⁶⁶⁰

Figure 6.3: Jacobina Gordon’s advertisement for private pupils, 1760
Caledonian Mercury, 1 December 1760



THat Mrs. GORDON, who hath taught musick for these several years past, continues to teach YOUNG LADIES CHURCH and other VOCAL MUSICK, as also the GUITAR and VIOLLO-GAMBO, Such ladies as are pleased to favour her will be waited on, either at their own houses, or taught at her house in Miln’s land, Potterrow, near the Potterrow-port.

⁶⁵⁴ EMS Sederunt Books, 22 December 1757, letter from Samuel Mitchelson to John Stewart in Bruges.

⁶⁵⁵ EMS Sederunt Books, 18 March 1760.

⁶⁵⁶ EMS Sederunt Books, 18 March 1760, letter from William Douglas to Mariana Mazzanti.

⁶⁵⁷ EMS Sederunt Books, 22 December 1757, letter for Samuel Mitchelson to John Stewart in Bruges.

⁶⁵⁸ EMS Sederunt Books, letter from William Douglas to Joseph Mahoon, 5 April 1759.

⁶⁵⁹ Macleod, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society’, 225.

⁶⁶⁰ John Malcolm Bulloch, *The House of Gordon*, vol. 2 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1907), 90.

According to Bulloch, Gordon claimed the pension until 1792, suggesting she died in that year. In 1784, she was reckoned to be 70, suggesting a birth date of 1714. Bulloch also states she never married, so the appellation ‘Mrs Gordon’ must be a professional title. Jacobina Gordon staged a benefit concert every year from 1753 until 1764, but only once does the *Caledonian Mercury* refer to the performer as ‘Miss Binie Gordon’ rather than ‘Mrs Gordon’.⁶⁶¹ In 1760 she advertised that she taught singing, the guitar and ‘violo-gambo’.⁶⁶² She appears to have stopped performing at some point after 1764, when there are no further advertisements for her as a teacher of singing.

The other important female singing teacher in the city in the eighteenth century was Signora Puppo. Both Baxter and Macleod state that there is little information known about this singer: both assumed that she was Italian and arrived in Edinburgh in 1774 with Puppo and his brother. In fact she was English, although she had lived in Scotland since the age of four. Signora Puppo was the daughter of the musician Cornforth Gilson.⁶⁶³ Rebecca Gilson was born in Durham in 1754 and received tuition from her father from an early age. The first record of her employment with the Edinburgh Musical Society was in 1772 when she was 17.⁶⁶⁴ She performed the role of Charmis in the Society’s performance of Corri’s *Bethulia Liberata* (1774), and in November that year Gilson concluded a deal with the directors of the Aberdeen Concerts that Rebecca would sing there for a salary of £40 per annum, ten pounds of which was to be ‘remitted immediately’.⁶⁶⁵ She and Puppo married in the New Kirk, in St Giles, Edinburgh on 29 October 1775.⁶⁶⁶ Far from putting an end to her performing career, Rebecca performed regularly in partnership with her husband. In addition to being highly-strung, Puppo was something of a martyr to illness and in only the first few months of his marriage he announced that:

Mr Puppo (being recovered for his late dangerous illness) begs leave to acquaint his friends and the public, that his Concert is now fixed for MONDAY the 4th March, when tickets dated the 6th instant will be also be admitted. ST CECILIA’S HALL, NIDDERY’S [*sic*] WYND, Monday the 4th March, 1776, will be performed, For the Benefit of Signor Puppo, A CONCERT of VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC. The VOCAL PARTS by CORRI and Mrs PUPPO.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶¹ CM, 25 February 1764.

⁶⁶² CM, 1 December 1760.

⁶⁶³ ‘Rebecca Gilson’ accessed on 18 February 2014, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JMTL-HHF>.

⁶⁶⁴ EMS Sederunt Books, expenses 1772.

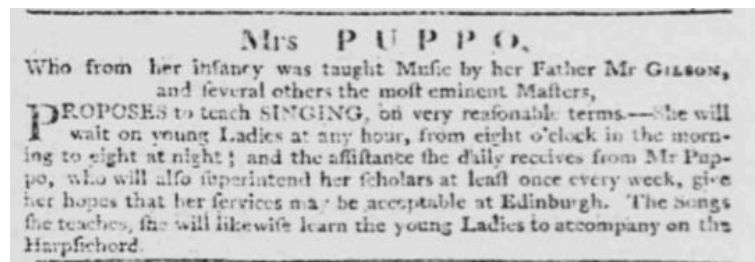
⁶⁶⁵ Henry Farmer, *Music Making in the Olden Days: The Story of the Aberdeen Concerts* (New York: Peters-Hinrichsen Edition, 1950), 47.

⁶⁶⁶ ‘Don Joseph Puppo’ accessed on 18 February 2014, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/XYMJ-J8N>.

⁶⁶⁷ EEC, 27 February 1776.

In March, the Puppос were retained by the directors of the Subscription Concert in Glasgow and the benefit concert which they afforded the couple in March 1776 was one of Rebecca’s last performances before she fell pregnant. She gave birth to a son, Christian Daniel Puppo in June 1777.

Figure 6.4: Rebecca Puppo’s advertisement for private pupils, 1777, which notes her musical pedigree, ‘who from her infancy was taught Music by her Father MR GILSON, and...the most eminent Masters’.
Caledonian Mercury, 26 November 1777



Rebecca returned to teaching in November 1777 and in the following year received lessons from Antonio Sacchini, in London.⁶⁶⁸ In August 1779 Rebecca announced that she had gone to Musselburgh, where she would be found at Mrs Christy’s at Fisherrow, and was prepared to teaching singing to ladies. In January 1780 Rebecca advertised that:

She has now begun to teach as formerly and has three hours in the day yet vacant for such Ladies and would chuse [*sic*] to learn, Singing, and Playing on the Harpsichord under her direction.⁶⁶⁹

Following their return from London Rebecca Puppo appears to have been more successful at teaching than her husband and managed to assimilate herself back into the Edinburgh musical scene and by February she once again received a fee from the Musical Society ‘for performing in the chorus. 18 Feb, £2.2s.0d’.⁶⁷⁰ In 1783 she petitioned for divorce from her husband: in Scotland, divorce for adultery committed by *either* partner could be obtained from 1560 onwards.⁶⁷¹ When Rebecca petitioned her former husband for expenses in bringing the case, he responded:

⁶⁶⁸ CM, 21 March 1778.

⁶⁶⁹ EEC, 3 January 1780.

⁶⁷⁰ EMS Sederunt Book, Expenses 1779 – 80.

⁶⁷¹ Leneman, *Alienated Affection*, 2.

Mrs Puppo is in much better circumstances than her defender she herself following the same profession with him and being as often engaged by the managers to perform in the Concert hall as the defender himself and her emoluments thence are little inferior to his. Besides she is also very much employed in private teaching which is a Branch of the profession the defender seldom or never practices and which is productive of very considerable profits.⁶⁷²

Giuseppe Puppo returned to the continent spending some years in Paris as leader of the orchestra at the *Concert Spirituel* at the end of the decade.⁶⁷³ After her divorce, aged only 27, I have discovered no further mentions of Rebecca performing in Edinburgh, and the only evidence I have discovered after that period is her involvement in a court case in the following year, when she was referred to by both her maiden and married name.⁶⁷⁴ Her divorce would have made continuing with the Musical Society an impossibility and as a divorced woman, and a singer (and hence already slightly morally suspect), she would have been unacceptable to most of the polite society in Edinburgh.

Despite William Douglas's claim that it was only the respectability conferred by the Musical Society that attracted students, musicians who plied their trade throughout the second half of the eighteenth century in Edinburgh had little difficulty in securing students. Furthermore there seems to be little to support Harris's supposition, quoted earlier, that just because none of the musicians listed in the Directory of 1774 called themselves solely singing teachers, there were no singers or teachers active within the city. Indeed, as has been shown above, throughout the latter half of the century Edinburgh was constantly supplied with musicians able, and willing, to teach singing, and a public who continued to cultivate an interest in singing.

6.3 The Edinburgh Musical Society and Musical Apprenticeships

In their dealings with professional musicians the directors of the Musical Society were often generous and lenient, and always acknowledged requests for additional tuition and personal improvements from their employees. Despite the predilection for foreign musicians,

⁶⁷² Ibid, 325.

⁶⁷³ Warwick Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 133-4. Puppo maintained his contacts in Edinburgh: in 1792 Natale Corri used him as a correspondent and aid in his efforts to extricate the Giolivetti sisters from Paris in 1792 (NAS: Innes of Stow, GD 113/4/160-328).

⁶⁷⁴ NAS: CS271/46838 Rebecca Gibson (Gibson) [recte Gilson] or Puppo v William Greigh, 1784.

it is also apparent in their dealings with native musicians. In 1752 the directors approved a 'reasonable and modest proposal' from the violinist John McDougall:⁶⁷⁵

He would engage to... [play] on the violin every Friday for the space of Five years... For the payment of £15 and (in order to improve) allowance to go to London from March to October this and next year.⁶⁷⁶

In 1753, for the first time, the directors of the Musical Society developed the idea of supporting the training of a native musician in Edinburgh. The impetus probably came from Nicolò Pasquali: it has already been noted that in November 1752 he had advertised that he would teach 'gratis any poor girl with an extraordinary good strong voice'.⁶⁷⁷ It seems highly likely that Catherine Rodburn was one of those girls. Rodburn was the daughter of Roger Rodburn, a musician in Glasgow, who was unlikely to be able to afford the fees required by an Italian singing master. Rodburn was probably one of the town Waits in Glasgow, and he regularly received a £5.0s.0d. salary from the Glasgow Corporation for 'playing on the bells'.⁶⁷⁸ Rodburn himself had been sent to Edinburgh in 1736 to learn how to play the new peal of nineteen bells which had been installed in the Tollbooth Steeple in Glasgow at a cost of £311.1s.9d.⁶⁷⁹ Presumably Rodburn had travelled to Edinburgh to receive tuition from the musician who presided over the twenty-one bell Carillon which hung in the tower of St Giles and which played for an hour daily from 11.00am.

If Rodburn had applied to Pasquali in November 1752 based upon the potential of his daughter's voice, Pasquali was obviously impressed and perhaps suggested a scheme to the directors of the Musical Society. In mid-1753, Roger Rodburn signed a contract with the directors of the Edinburgh Musical Society for the accommodation and education of his fourteen-year old daughter.⁶⁸⁰ The contract ran from 1 August 1753 for three years: in the first year she was to receive £18.0s.0d. worth of education and an allowance of £12.0s.0d. for board, in the second year £15.0s.0d. for teaching and £15.0s.0d. for board, and in the final year £5.0s.0d. for teaching and £25.0s.0d. for board.⁶⁸¹ Pasquali had been teaching her since the

⁶⁷⁵ EMS Sederunt Books, 18 February 1752.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁷ EEC 27 November 1752.

⁶⁷⁸ Sir James David Marwick and Robert Renwick (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1911), 564.

⁶⁷⁹ 'The History of Glasgow' accessed on 25 September 2013, http://www.electricscotland.com/history/glasgow/glasgow3_20.htm.

⁶⁸⁰ 'Family search data' accessed on 24 September 2013, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/XYSL-645>: records the baptism of 'Katrin Rodburn, daughter of Roger Rodburn and Mary Reid' in Glasgow on 30 November 1738.

⁶⁸¹ EMS Sederunt Books, 1767.

beginning of the year, as on 26 July 1753 he drew a salary for ‘teaching Miss Rodburn, last moiety of the present to her, £3.3s’⁶⁸² and she was recorded performing for the Society in February and April 1753. Her first recorded appearance in public was in December 1753 at Pasquali’s benefit.⁶⁸³ In the following year, Pasquali drew a salary of £17.6s.6d for teaching, whilst Catherine paid in ‘full to 1st May 1754’, received only £9.0s.0d. The teaching Pasquali gave Catherine must have been intensive as he ‘always got a guinea and a half for twelve lessons’.⁶⁸⁴ In March 1755 the treasurer paid out £19.5s.0d. for her board, and a further £15.15s.0.d to Pasquali for his tuition.⁶⁸⁵ By 1756, the third year, the amount for her board had risen to £20.0s.0d, although the amount Pasquali charged for teaching was only £12.12s.0d.⁶⁸⁶ In 1754 the Society even paid £2.2s.0d. to a Mr Reman for ‘teaching Miss Rodburn Italian’.⁶⁸⁷ Presumably Pasquali felt this didn’t come under his salary: possibly this tuition came at the point she was learning arias from *Artaserse* and *Artame* (see Table 6.2 below). Under Pasquali’s direction Catherine, in addition to basic singing technique, would have existed on a diet of Handel arias, Italian arias, and Scots songs: it is possible to recreate a representative sample list of the repertoire she performed during her association with the Society and her training from Pasquali.

Table 6.2: A representative illustration of Catherine Rodburn’s repertoire 1752-1756

Title	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Date performed	Source
An Invitation to peace	Arne	<i>Comus</i> (1738)	20.1.1756	CM 15.1.1756
As in the blooming spring: Flora, a cantata	Worgan	-	13.12.1753	CM 6.12.1753
			19.2.1754	CM 18.2.1754
Caro mio ben perdone	Lampugnani	-	17.1.1752	CM 2.1.1752
			17.1.1755	CM 9.1.1755
Hooly and fairly	Scots Song	-	13.12.1753	CM 6.12.1753
Katherine Ogie	Scots Song	-	17.1.1755	CM 9.1.1755
Non ha ragione, ingrata	Hasse	<i>Diodone Abandonata</i> (1742 revised 1743)	6.3.1755	CM 27.2.1755
O inespettate forte	Veracini	<i>Rosalinda</i> (1744)	15.1.1754	CM 8.1.1754
Rasserena il mesto ciglo	Gluck	<i>Artamene</i> (1746)	15.1.1754	CM 8.1.1754
Sweet echo	Arne	<i>Comus</i>	20.1.1756	CM 15.1.1756
The flocks shall leave the mountains	Handel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i> HWV 49 (1739)	13.4.1756	CM 10.4.1756
Torbido in volto e nero	Pergolesi	<i>Adriano in Serio</i> (1734)	17.1. 1752	CM 2.1.1754

⁶⁸² EMS Sederunt Books, 26 July 1753.

⁶⁸³ CM, 6 December 1753.

⁶⁸⁴ EMS Sederunt Books, 22 December 1757.

⁶⁸⁵ EMS Sederunt Books, 8 March 1755.

⁶⁸⁶ EMS Sederunt Books, 26 April 1756.

⁶⁸⁷ EMS Sederunt Books, 8 March 1755.

Tweedside	Scots Song	possibly a cantata by Pasquali ⁶⁸⁸	17.1.1755	CM 9.1.1755
Verdi prati	Handel	<i>Alcina</i> HWV 34 (1728)	6.3.1755	CM 27.2.1755
Vo godendo vezzoso e bello	Handel	<i>Serse</i> HWV 40 (1738)	16.1.1753	EEC 9.1.1753
Vo sol cando un mar crudele	Vinci	<i>Artaserse</i> (1730)	15.1.1754	CM 8.1.1754
When charming beauty	Pasquali	<i>Noah</i> (1750)	17.1.1752	CM 9.1.1755

Evidently, however, the directors of the Musical Society were less than impressed with the progress she had made during the four years, commenting in 1757 ‘to be sure we cannot Expect a first rate Singer for what we can afford’.⁶⁸⁹ The notion of what the directors considered a ‘first rate’ singer is interesting to consider: Rodburn had apparently received excellent tuition, her voice must have been pleasant, if immature, and if they had perceived she had no talent at all, they would not have entered into a contract with her father, much less kept her on beyond the initial period. The sample of her repertoire would suggest that she was able, as many of the arias make great demands on the singer in terms of range, flexibility and showmanship. There can also be no suggestion that her repertoire was not sufficiently in vogue as the small sample aligns exactly with the popular trends noted earlier. Is it possible that with foreign singers causing a fashionable sensation in London, the retention of a local talent looked less like nurturing home-grown ability and more like provincialism? It is probable that in this instance ‘first rate’ simply meant foreign: someone exotic to lend the Society a sheen of ‘first rate’ respectability and influence, equal to any music club in the kingdom. Certainly the expenses of Catherine’s apprenticeship were far greater than they had first bargained for. Perhaps it was Pasquali who persuaded the directors not to dismiss Catherine, as teaching her proved very profitable for him. It was probably due to him that she was retained past the initial three year period of her apprenticeship. In March 1757 the directors purchased 18 tickets to her benefit concert, as ‘a present’.⁶⁹⁰ As ‘presents’ of this nature are not a common feature of the dealings of the directors perhaps they believed she was unlikely to attract much of an audience, having few of her own students or family in Edinburgh. She must have realised that, following Pasquali’s sudden death on 13 October 1757, her days might be numbered.⁶⁹¹ Her final appearance appears to have been in the weeks following the performance of *Samson* on 10 March 1758. A month later William Douglas wrote to her father in Glasgow:

⁶⁸⁸ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 55. Johnson records a cantata of this name by Pasquali in the EMS library catalogue of 1765.

⁶⁸⁹ EMS Sederunt Books, 10 November 1757.

⁶⁹⁰ EMS Sederunt Books, 29 March 1757.

⁶⁹¹ SM, 19 (1757), 557.

We shall have no further occasion for your daughter's performance in the concert after the year is out in August next... Some of the members made a good dale [*sic*] of Difficulty [*sic*] about continuing her, but the Directors who have alwise [*sic*] been her friends made a point of staying out the year at least. [We suggest by] going to London to get in the Gardens where she may improve herself by hearing other singers.⁶⁹²

It is unlikely that at this point the directors knew that she was two months pregnant. By June 1758 Catherine's salary for three-quarters of the year had risen to £26.15s.6s., an amount the directors were clearly unhappy to continue paying. The treasurer advanced her £5.0s.0d. for her board, presumably to find lodgings elsewhere. She returned to Glasgow and on 15 October 1758, seven months pregnant, married the violinist John Collet. Their first child, Ann, was baptised in Glasgow in January 1759. Her father died in 1760, leaving £11.0s.0d and a bequest of clothing to support his remaining family.⁶⁹³ This is the first study to positively identify Catherine Rodburn and Catherine Collet as the same person: like Rebecca Gilson and Signora Puppo, the failure to recognise this fact has led to an uneven evaluation of the position of native female singers within the Edinburgh Musical Society. Macleod for instance, suggested that the Society's dealings with Catherine Rodburn ended in 1758, but this was not, in fact, the case.

Evidently their experiences with 'first rate' singers, including Mariana Mazzanti and Clementina Cremonini, were not entirely satisfactory. In May 1762 the Society retained John and Catherine Collet for a period of two years. Almost certainly this was on the strength of the husband's playing (and composing) rather than on the strength of the wife's musical talents, but it was not until 1763 that Signora Doria arrived in Edinburgh, and it is more than likely that during that period Catherine Collet (nee Rodburn) acted as principal vocalist for the Society. In 1764 she was recorded performing the Handel trio, 'The flocks shall leave the mountains' from *Acis and Galatea*, with Cornforth Gilson, with whom she had first performed the piece ten years earlier.⁶⁹⁴ In 1764 the Collets left Edinburgh for London, but obviously kept in close contact with their colleagues in Edinburgh. It was from the Collets' house in London in September 1765 that Cornforth Gilson wrote to Douglas asking to be taken back by the Society.⁶⁹⁵ Later Catherine Collet similarly wrote to Douglas asking if it were possible for the couple to return, and he replied with encouragement, although it was not until January 1769

⁶⁹² EMS Sederunt Books, 4 April 1758, letter from William Douglas to Roger Rodburn.

⁶⁹³ Stana S. Nenadic, 'The Middle Ranks and Modernisation' in *Glasgow, volume 1: Beginnings to 1830*, ed. Thomas M. Devine & Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 303.

⁶⁹⁴ CM, 18 January 1764.

⁶⁹⁵ EMS Sederunt Books, 5 September 1765, letter from William Douglas to John Collet.

that they arrived in Edinburgh.⁶⁹⁶ Macleod suggests that the couple stayed in Edinburgh from this point, although both may have had some connection with musicians in Aberdeen, as in 1770 and 1771 two daughters, Ann and Isabelle, were baptised in the city.⁶⁹⁷ In 1775 the Society bore the expenses of John Collet's funeral.⁶⁹⁸ Catherine Collet had an association with the Edinburgh Musical Society that lasted over twenty years, and she was last mentioned in the Sederunt Books in the same year as her husband's funeral, when she claimed £6.11s.6d for individual engagements. Although clearly not a favoured foreign performer, she was obviously a useful musician who performed regularly in the St Cecilia's Day oratorios during her time in Edinburgh. With knowledge of Catherine Collet's later life, it enables us to draw a picture, which is otherwise incomplete, of the Society's opinions towards one it had fostered and trained. The Society was always generous with its employees, even when musicians treated them poorly. It would appear that the Society was an important influence in Catherine Collet's life, although it is perhaps telling that the Society stopped employing her after her husband's death.

With the exception of the support and patronage of Puppo's Academy in 1778, there is only one further recorded instance of the Musical Society actively engaging in the education and training of singers. In 1788 the Society entered into an agreement in sharing the employment and education of a boy singer, William Maxwell Shaw, 'formerly a boy singer with the Harmonic Society who [had] lost his voice'.⁶⁹⁹ Shaw was born in 1776 and it is remarkable to consider that his voice had broken by the age of twelve, several years earlier than Cornforth Gilson who continued singing treble into his late teens. In 1788 the directors of the Musical Society met to settle an:

allowance for cloaths for Maxwell Shaw & to prepare an indenture to be entered into with him for the Musical Society and Vestry of the Episcopal Church for such a number of years as can be agreed on to secure his services for the assistance he has already received from them in clothing, maintaining and educating him.⁷⁰⁰

This suggests that the Society and the Church had taken some part in the education up to this point. Shaw was placed under the tuition of the singer Pietro Urbani. They even paid John

⁶⁹⁶ Macleod, 'Edinburgh Musical Society', 164.

⁶⁹⁷ 'children of John Collet and Catherine Rodburn', accessed on 24 September 2013, https://familysearch.org/search/record/results#count=20&query=%2Bsurname%3ACollet~%20%2Bfather_givename%3AJohn~%20%2Bfather_surname%3ACollet~%20%2Bmother_givename%3ACatherine~%20%2Bmother_surname%3ARodburn~.

⁶⁹⁸ Macleod, op cit, 164.

⁶⁹⁹ EMS Sederunt Books, 2 November 1789.

⁷⁰⁰ EMS Sederunt Books, 27 June 1788.

Hutton to copy a selection of songs for Shaw.⁷⁰¹ The Vestry of the Episcopal Church was less willing to enter into a binding agreement, however, and the directors reported that:

The vestry of the English Chapel disapprove of taking any share in Maxwell Shaw's indenture but will give ten pounds sterling per annum to the Musical Society for his performances while he continues useful to them – The Gentlemen of the Concert cannot undertake the Indenture without the vestry assistance therefore all thought of binding Maxwell Shaw as formerly agreed on is given up but the Musical Society will pay for the boys board, Cloaths and Education, not exceeding the same sum allowed by the English Chapel.⁷⁰²

The Edinburgh Musical Society of the 1780s and 90s was not the same rich and pre-eminent organisation it had been in previous decades. Trapped in the Old Town while the rich and glamorous creatures of Edinburgh decamped to the New Town, the Society faced competition from the Assembly Rooms, The Circus, and The Theatre Royal. The Society existed on a delicate financial balance: gone were the days of the substantial funds allowed to Pasquali for the training of Catherine Rodburn, and Urbani was allowed only '£10 per annum to commence from 1st Feby. last for teaching Maxwell Shaw one half of which is to be paid by the vestry of the Episcopal Chapel'.⁷⁰³ Shaw, as a talented young singer, clearly felt this pull too. In 1790 he wrote to the treasurer, Gilbert Innes, that he regretted:

that his engagements at the Circus have prevented him from attending the Society as regularly as he would have wished, [he] promised to attend whenever he is wanted if his mother's house rent is paid and she is not in distress.⁷⁰⁴

The Society's response is not recorded. Like Catherine Rodburn, Shaw became a regular contributor to benefit concerts and it is possible to suggest some of the repertoire he studied under Urbani.

Table 6.3: Representative sample of the repertoire of William Maxwell Shaw 1785-1788

Title	Composer	Origin if from larger work	Date performed	Source
Angels ever bright	Handel	<i>Theodora</i> HWV 68 (1749)	23.12.1785	EMS Plan Book December 1785
As steals the morn upon the night (duet with Urbani)	Handel	<i>L'Allegro ed il Pensero</i> HWV 55 (1740)	26.7.1788	CM 24.7.1788
Auld Robin Gray	Scots Song	-	26.7.1788	CM 24.7.1788

⁷⁰¹ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/4/164/212 (July 1789).

⁷⁰² EMS Sederunt Books, 12 December 1788.

⁷⁰³ EMS Sederunt Books, 27 June 1788.

⁷⁰⁴ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/4/164/216, (22 May 1790).

Come unto those yellow sands	Purcell	<i>Tempest</i> Z631 (1695)	8.3.1787	CM 3.3.1787
Here in cool grot and mossy cell	Mornington	-	8.3.1787	CM 3.3.1787
I know that my redeemer liveth	Handel	<i>Messiah</i> HWV 56 (1741)	26.2.1788	CM 23.2.1788
			26.7.1788	CM 24.7.1788
O godlike youth, by all confessed	Handel	<i>Saul</i> HWV 53 (1739)	26.7.1788	CM 24.7.1788
O Lord, our governor Psalm 8	Marcello arr. Garth	<i>The First Fifty Psalms,</i> <i>set to music by</i> <i>Benedetto Marcello,</i> <i>and adapted to the</i> <i>English version by</i> <i>John Garth (1757)</i>	23.12.1785	EMS Plan Book December 1785
song from the Morning Hymn	Pasquali	-	23.6.1786	EMS Plan Book June 1786

There is little surprise that Shaw's repertoire included Handel and Scots songs – especially considering Urbani's pre-eminent position as an arranger and publisher of such songs. Although the omission of Italian arias from this table is striking, it may be a quirk of the evidence. Certainly given Urbani's Italian repertoire, seen elsewhere, it is unlikely that Shaw would not have learned any, even if he rarely performed it. Shaw remained in Edinburgh for only a few years before moving to Dingwall. It is possible that he is the 'Mr Shaw' advertised teaching music at the Inverness Academy in 1793.⁷⁰⁵ On 13 December 1797, following competitive trials, Shaw was elected Precentor of the West Kirk, Aberdeen.⁷⁰⁶ In Aberdeen it was said that:

His manner of singing the psalms was characterised by a fine simplicity, blended with sparing ornament; and his taste was so much admired that the congregation accompanied him very softly, that they might be able to hear his beautifully round and manly voice, which appeared to fill the church without any exertion or disagreeable loudness.⁷⁰⁷

Shaw emigrated to America and died in July 1806, aged only 30, and was buried in Boston, Massachusetts.⁷⁰⁸

The Edinburgh Musical Society's attempts to support and foster native singers were commendable, although neither had an entirely satisfactory outcome for the Society. It does, however, prove that there were native singers who were capable of performing the most complex and fashionable music of the day, and it was, perhaps, in Catherine Rodburn's case,

⁷⁰⁵ CM, 22 July 1793.

⁷⁰⁶ Alexander Moir, *Moir Genealogy and Collateral Lines* (USA: Union Printing Co: 1913), 296.

⁷⁰⁷ Duncan Fraser, *The Passing of the Precentor* (Edinburgh, W. J. Hay: 1906), 62 – 63.

⁷⁰⁸ His grave stone reads, 'William Maxwell Shaw, from Scotland. He was well known here and in his native country for his distinguished abilities as a Musician. His widow caused this stone to be erected in memory of her regard for a tender and affectionate Husband'

only the over-whelming taste for all things foreign which stopped her developing into a highly-regarded singer, living, educated and performing in Scotland.

6.4 Vocal Music and Education in schools

In 1774, following his observation of schools on the continent,⁷⁰⁹ Charles Burney published a *Sketch or a Plan for a Public School in England After the Manner of an Italian Conservatorio*. He wrote:

At a Time when the British Empire seems to be arrived at its Zenith of Glory & Power... it is not easy to account for the Neglect of Music, as a *Profession*; a Profession which not only requires great private application but Public encouragement, and a well digested System of Education to render its Students at once useful to themselves, & an Ornament to their Country.⁷¹⁰

The chief motivation behind Burney's scheme was more financial than patriotic:

It is certain that the Art of Music was never more favoured or Expensively Supported in this Country than at present; but the pleasure it afford[s] us is chiefly [*sic*] derived from the productions and performances of Strangers... And if [it] is an indisputable Fact that the most Expensive Musical Exhibitions of this Country during the present Century have been supplied with Composers & Performers from the Continent [then] if the Money paid to & usually carried out of the Kingdom... could be thrown into the Hands of our indigent Natives, and by that means remain circulating in the Kingdom, would it not be a National Benefit?⁷¹¹

This economic argument may have been primarily designed to appeal to funders and backers, but also demonstrates Burney's wider knowledge of his society: similar economic ideas were to be systematically codified and explained only two years later in the publication of Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). Burney's suggestion included the re-organisation of the Foundling Hospital in London along the Venetian model, an idea which, although not ultimately successful demonstrates the belief in teaching the poor and lower classes music as part of their education.

In London it was the hospitals which were often at the forefront of musical education: The Foundling Hospital, founded in 1738, was famous for its annual performances of *Messiah*, and the Asylum for Female Orphans and Magdalen Hospitals, both founded in 1758, developed

⁷⁰⁹ Burney, *Music, Men and Manners*, 76-77, 163-165, 184-185.

⁷¹⁰ Burney, *Sketch of a Plan*, 210-234, 228.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid*, 229.

girls' choirs, drawn from their residents which performed regularly in their chapels. The Lock Hospital, founded in 1746 as a place for the treatment of venereal disease, developed a unique and influential style of hymn singing throughout the eighteenth century.⁷¹² Edinburgh's oldest orphan hospital, George Heriot's, was much older than its London counterparts, but to what extent did it and other hospitals in the city cultivate the performance, and teaching of vocal music?

Throughout the eighteenth century, Edinburgh maintained four Hospital schools: the Merchant Maiden's Hospital (opened in 1795 or 6), the Trade Maiden's Hospital (opened in 1704), George Watson's Hospital (opened in 1734) and George Heriot's.⁷¹³ George Heriot's Hospital for orphaned boys opened in 1628, under the direction of the city magistrates. The boys from Heriot's regularly attended worship at Greyfriars Kirk in addition to attending daily services in their chapel. Music tuition, however, appeared not have been a regular part of their education. In 1684 Lewis de France petitioned the magistrates to allow him to teach to the pupils of the hospital:

Therefor [sic] seeing theer [sic] are a great number of boyes [sic] in Heriot's Hospitall [sic]... many whereof may have a good dispositione [sic] for musick, the petitioner is readie [sic] and willing to attend at the school... and their to teach and instruct the schoolards [sic] in the grounds of musick, and the four parts of the psalms, at least a competent number that may be fit and able to attend the severall [sic] precenters [sic] in the churches of Edinburgh.⁷¹⁴

De France had arrived in Edinburgh in 1683 from Aberdeen, where he had been in charge of the *sang schule*, and left in 1691 to take up a similar position in Glasgow.⁷¹⁵ Following the reformations in church music in Edinburgh in 1755-57, the magistrates also moved to reform the teaching of music in the Hospital (see Chapter Eight). Cornforth Gilson was officially engaged at the Hospital on 14 January 1757. Like later music masters, he was probably required to attend the pupils three times a week to teach vocal music.⁷¹⁶ Gilson seemingly began work at the Hospital before the public singing classes opened in May 1757, as it appears that at the

⁷¹² Nicholas Temperley, 'The Lock Hospital Chapel and Its Music' in *Journal of Royal Musical Association*, 118/1, (1993), 44-72.

⁷¹³ Law, *Education in Edinburgh*, 105.

⁷¹⁴ Lewis de France, 'Application by Lewis de France to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, as Governors of HERIOT'S Hospital, to be allowed to teach the boys there church music. 8 September 1684' quoted in *Analecta Scotica: collections illustrative of the civil and ecclesiastical, and Literary History of Scotland*, ed. James Maidment (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1837), 263.

⁷¹⁵ *Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow: Selected from the Minute Books of the Burgh* (Glasgow: Printed for Private Circulation, 1835), 380.

⁷¹⁶ Steven, *History of George Heriot's*, 193.

first public performance of the classes the adult singers were supported by the children, who had had a longer period of instruction: ‘Mr Gilson’s scholars, aided by several children in the hospital sang ten of the common tunes in four parts without reading the lines’.⁷¹⁷ From at least 1755 some of the most promising boys from the Hospital had been used to provide the treble and alto parts for the Musical Society’s performance of oratorios. James Dallas received a wage of £5.5s.0d in June 1755 for training the boys. Gilson was officially employed by the Musical Society as singer in October 1756,⁷¹⁸ but it was probably only after January 1757 that he also started training the boys for the Society as Dallas received payments until December 1756. There is no evidence of the number of boys Gilson attended at the Hospital, although the number used by the Society seems to have been low: in March 1755 only five boys were paid to perform in *Alexander’s Feast*. Gilson clearly felt that this was an insufficient number, especially considering that the boys were required to carry both treble and alto parts. In August 1757 he took 11 boys to the performance of *Acis and Galatea* and, shocked by his profligacy, the Treasurer only gave the boys a shilling each instead of the customary half crown. Throughout his appointment at Heriot’s, it appears that Gilson insisted on the greater number of boys in the Musical Society choruses. In March 1759 the boys were again given their traditional half crown. After his resignation from the Hospital and the Musical Society in 1764, the number of boys taught seems to have quickly reverted to fewer than ten.

In 1759, Gilson’s *Lessons on the Practice of Singing* was published: the choice of hymns and psalm tunes will be discussed below, but his pedagogical writing may give an indication of how Gilson taught his choristers, and probably how he, in turn, was taught in Durham.

Figure 6.5: The Table of Rhythms from *Lessons on the Practice of Singing* (1759) by Cornforth Gilson⁷¹⁹



⁷¹⁷ John Spencer Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music* (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1885), 157.

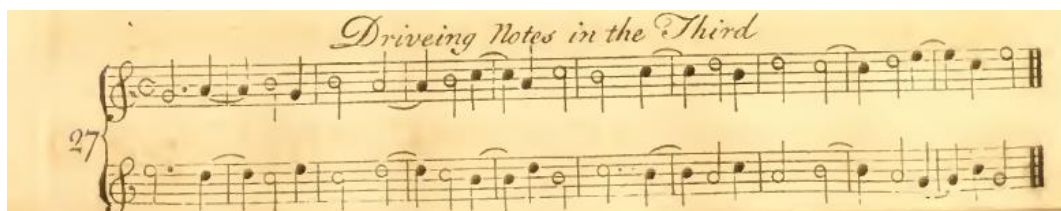
⁷¹⁸ EMS Sederunt Books, 18 October 1756.

⁷¹⁹ ‘Cornforth Gilson, *Lessons on the Practice of Singing*, (1759)’ accessed on 6 June 2014, [http://imslp.org/wiki/Lessons_on_the_Practice_of_Singing_\(Gilson,_Cornforth\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Lessons_on_the_Practice_of_Singing_(Gilson,_Cornforth))

Before introducing his choice of psalm tunes, Gilson provides 46 exercises for teaching different aspects of singing. Gilson begins his treatise with an explanation of the gamut and the clefs, of keeping time, the performance of *appoggiaturas* and other grace notes. His first illustration is a table demonstrating the inter-relationship of rhythms, such as remains in pedagogical use (see Figure 6.5).

His exercises progress from easy to more difficult, and include different rhythms and the singing and understanding of different intervals and pitches. One exercise, which he described as ‘Driveing [*sic*] notes in the Third’ is an exercise technically in common time, which repeatedly uses syncopations to subvert the natural rhythm, that would test the rhythmic strength and pulse of many modern-day choir boys.

Figure 6.6: Lesson 27 ‘Driveing [*sic*] notes in the Third’ from *Lessons* (1759) by Cornforth Gilson



The idea for this exercise may have had its genesis in Gilson’s education as a choir boy in Durham, where the singing of polyphonic music by sixteenth century composers relied not on bar lines but on word stress and their imitative qualities: the compositions of Byrd and Child were both to be found in the part-books in the Cathedral library during Gilson’s time there.⁷²⁰

One of the most interesting lessons in terms of performance practice is ‘Of Graces in Singing’ (Figure 6.7). Gilson first presents a simple tune in triple time in ‘plain notes’. He then reproduces the same piece with ‘such graces as is used in Singing Church Music’, where *appoggiaturas* are introduced before almost every crotchet. Whether here Gilson is talking about reformed church music and the common tunes then in use, or he is talking about the former embellishment of the tunes, which had so annoyed Robert Bremner as discussed below, is debatable. The final example uses ‘such graces as are used in singing songs’. The third example is almost unrecognisable from the first simple piece and the introduction of semi-quavers and triplets does much to transform this seemingly simple piece into a florid and virtuosic show of vocal control. Again what is not clear is in which situations Gilson, as a performer, would have applied such ornaments: would he have so decorated a Handel *da capo*

⁷²⁰ Brian Crosby (ed.), *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 119-125.

aria, or was this used for ornamenting traditional songs, or both? If one considers these ornamental practices in relation to Scots songs, one can more readily understand the florid performances and arrangements notated by Peter Urbani in the 1790s, already discussed.

Figure 6.7: Lesson 44 – 46 ‘Of Graces in Singing’ from *Lessons* (1759) by Cornforth Gilson



Gilson appears to have been convinced that in addition to teaching choristers to read music, they should be taught to perform without scores. Gilson’s principal duty at the Hospital was to prepare the children to sing an anthem at June Day, when the Founder’s birthday was celebrated.⁷²¹ In the afternoon of June Day the scholars from Heriot’s Hospital processed to Greyfriars Kirk, usually preceded by the ‘trumpets and hautboys’ of the town waits and there joined with the boys of George Watson’s Hospital and the girls of the Merchant and Trade Maiden’s Hospital. The assembled shuffling mass of bored boys and girls was then preached at by the ministers of Edinburgh in annual rotation before an anthem was sung. The size of the choir is open to conjecture, as is the repertoire. Did the town waits attend the service and provide accompaniment for the anthem, as there was no organ in Greyfriars in the eighteenth century? Gilson probably economised: Handel was universally popular, he had access to scores in the Musical Society’s library and his boys already knew the parts. Whether he also attended Watson’s and the Trade Maidens’ Hospital in preparation is unknown. The girls of the Trade

⁷²¹ Law, *Education in Edinburgh*, 141.

Maidens' were at least allowed to learn to sing: the rules drawn up in 1734 state the mistresses of the Hospital were to teach them to:

Work stockings, lace and coloured and white seam, spinning, carding, washing and dressing of lines, dressing of meat, cleaning of house and all sorts of needlework... and if they can to teach the girls also writing, arithmetic, and the common parts of vocal music.⁷²²

Gilson soon tired of the duties of a schoolmaster: in 1761 when he formulated his plan to move to London, Pescatore deputised for him and received payments from the Musical Society for 'teaching the Heriot's boys'. By 1762 Gilson was so often absent that the Governors warned him that, unless he attended to his duties more regularly and assiduously, he would be dismissed. Gilson replied by petitioning for an arrears of salary which he said he had not claimed.⁷²³ Gilson left Edinburgh in 1764 resigning all his appointments. The Hospital evidently reverted to their unofficial agreement with the Musical Society, as in 1766 Thomas Franks, Gilson's replacement as Archprecentor of the city Kirks, received a sum from the Musical Society for teaching the boys, although he was not officially appointed music master at the Hospital until 20 February 1767.⁷²⁴ Possibly under the direction of the Musical Society, Franks reduced the number of boys involved in the singing of oratorios to eight, as it continued to be until the 1780s when the Society stopped regularly staging oratorios.

In 1770 James Hamilton was appointed to the position at the Hospital instead of Gilson who returned to Edinburgh in 1767 and was canvassing for the return of his previous positions. Hamilton may have had the stability Gilson lacked, but he apparently lacked the latter's talent. Hamilton was said to be so unsatisfactory that the governors of George Heriot's thought it was unlikely that the choir would be able to sing an anthem on June Day 1776. Presumably he had been similarly disastrous at the Musical Society as in June 1776 one of the precentors, William Cranmer, received the fee for teaching the boys, despite the fact that Hamilton still drew a full year's salary. On 15 April 1776 Gilson was reappointed as music master. The Foundation Day service was reported in newspapers in Scotland and England:

The boys on this occasion were all newly cloathed [*sic*], and were at no small pains in decorating the statues of their patron, with flowers etc. Two anthems, one before and another after the sermon, were sung by the boys, accompanied by the Girls from the Merchant and Trade Maiden's Hospitals, and conducted by Mr. Gilson. The music

⁷²² Trade Maiden Hospital Rules, 1734 quoted in Law, *Education in Edinburgh*, 122.

⁷²³ Law, *Education in Edinburgh*, 127.

⁷²⁴ Steven, *History of George Heriot's*, 308.

which gave universal satisfaction to a very polite and crowded audience, and was acknowledged by the best judges to be superior to anything exhibited in this church for many former years.⁷²⁵

Despite the accolade, Gilson was dismissed, probably through his own inattention, on 7 October 1776.⁷²⁶ There appears to have been no rush to fill the vacancy: the Governors even moved to restrict the times when a visiting music master could attend the boys. In 1780 they decreed the master was not to attend during the ordinary school day but at midday, late afternoon, or after evening prayers.⁷²⁷ In 1788 Archibald Macdonald was elected as the next visiting master: he held this position for 19 years before splitting its responsibilities with his son Alexander.⁷²⁸ From the appointment of Macdonald until the end of the century the Hospital's relationship with the Musical Society appears to have drifted into abeyance as did the performance of oratorios.

The girls of the Merchant Maiden's Hospital appear, at least, to have had a more stable provision of music and singing teaching: the *Scots Magazine*, in 1785, recorded that:

There is likewise a proper master who attends two hours every day to teach them writing, arithmetic, church music and songs: and by his attention they will soon be great proficient as they now begin these branches of education at twelve years of age and continue until they go out of the hospital.⁷²⁹

In 1795 Alexander Aitken was appointed singing master to the Hospital,⁷³⁰ this was possibly a relative of the singer John Aitken who according to his obituary, printed in the *Scots Magazine* in 1813, had also taught music at Heriot's at the end of the century:

11 March – In Gillespies Hospital, Mr John Aitken, aged 79, who for a long series of years, was justly celebrated as a teacher and singer of Scots music. He, for several, years had the lead and direction of the vocal band at George Heriot's anniversaries.⁷³¹

It is unclear how many professional musicians this early training in Edinburgh's schools produced: the Governors' of Heriot's Hospital were clearly not averse to letting the boys

⁷²⁵ *The North British Intelligencer: or constitutional miscellany*, 1 (1776), 319.

⁷²⁶ Law, *Education in Edinburgh*, 127.

⁷²⁷ Ibid.

⁷²⁸ Steven, *History of George Heriot's*, 309.

⁷²⁹ SM, volume 47, (1785), 575.

⁷³⁰ *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 29 (1956), 114.

⁷³¹ SM, 75 (1813), 319.

become musicians if there was no reasonable alternative. In 1743, a scholar at the Hospital had been struck blind:

When the Governors were made aware of this mournful visitation, they directed that the poor youth should be placed under the best master in the town, to prepare him for becoming a teacher of instrumental music.⁷³²

Whether or not the boy was a success is unknown, but the Governors clearly felt they had done their duty by finding him a suitable apprenticeship and profession. It is clear, however, that the Hospitals did promote singing, albeit often in the limited way attached to worship. It would seem to suggest that here very clearly the emphasis was on the cheaper and more economical teaching of vocal music over instrumental music, and there is no suggestion that any instrumentalists attended the Hospital until much later in its history.

Following the lead of the Hospital schools, private academies and charity organisations, not to mention private teachers, began to provide training in singing and church music as a matter of course. Before the 1750s the aspiring schoolmaster needed only to be conversant with writing, arithmetic, Greek and Latin, but now he was expected to have knowledge of music and its application within the Kirk, as is shown by an advertisement in 1780 for a master at George Wilson's Charity School in Glasgow:

He must be a person of good reputation, well qualified to instruct the children in the principles of religion, and to teach them reading English, writing, the common rules of arithmetic, and church music.⁷³³

The proprietors of private institutes had to follow suit, or risk losing their business to more fashionable establishments. John Dunsmuir ran a private academy in Bailie Fyfe's Close and in 1785 acquainted the public that he had:

Opened his SCHOOL, after the vacation, where he teaches, as usual, ENGLISH LANGUAGE and CHURCH MUSIC. Mr Dunsmure continues to board Young Gentlemen. The strictest regard is paid to their morals, and every attention to private preparation for public classes.⁷³⁴

⁷³² Steven, *History of George Heriot's*, 105.

⁷³³ EEC, 15 July 1780.

⁷³⁴ EEC, 26 October 1785.

Dunsmuir had been master of the one of the town's English Schools, which were controlled by the town council who set the fees: English could be learnt for 3s.0d, and writing and arithmetic for 2s.6d. per quarter. The Presbytery had expressed displeasure in the early days of the English Schools, following their foundation in 1759, that the catechism was neglected and so recommended that the school day was to open and close with a psalm. Dunsmuir had taken over the school run by John Watson in Drummond's Land in Blackfriars Wynd and when he moved with his pupils to Chalmers Close, his house had to be inspected and passed by the council before he could receive any paying pupils.⁷³⁵ Dunsmuir resigned in 1772, citing that the low fees attracted the wrong type of pupils. The fees, he said, were:

The objection of all ranks above the very lowest class of the inhabitants [which led to]... the introduction of mean ill-dressed company into their schools.⁷³⁶

Dunsmuir presumably founded his own establishment shortly following his resignation: his advertisement of 1785 makes it clear that his academy had existed for several years, teaching the same syllabus, in the same place.

The teaching of vocal music, and indeed church music, was clearly an accepted part of these smaller schools, which catered to the less affluent in Edinburgh. Their repertoire may have been limited to metrical psalms, but it does demonstrate that the singing of psalms was part of the collective identity of the Presbyterian population in Edinburgh.

Conclusion

Teaching was an accepted part of a professional musician's life, especially in the provinces. Southey and McVeigh have both outlined the impossibility of earning a living wage from concert promotion and performance alone. Musicians did, however, require an enthusiastic and willing public to instruct. The 'rage for music' in the latter half of the eighteenth century has often been described, and in Edinburgh with its few professional musicians and active gentry, it appears that this 'rage' often provided employment opportunities for the city's singing teachers, as described by Goodwill.

The eighteenth century idea of instrumental proficiency being the preserve of aristocratic daughters may have meant that few gentlemen, especially towards the end of the century, took instrumental lessons or performed regularly. Gentlemen were, however, regularly

⁷³⁵ Law, *Education in Edinburgh*, 51.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid*, 53.

required to sing in gentlemen's clubs, drinking clubs, and at Masonic meetings. Whilst it may have been unseemly for a gentlemen to perform in public, in private the ability to sing was a social necessity. As yet there is little evidence of aristocratic men employing singing teachers to further their vocal skills, but I suspect some informal tuition did take place.

The provision of vocal training in the schools meant that singing and singing lessons were not only the preserve of the leisured classes in Edinburgh, and the lessons supported by the Magistrates, discussed in Chapter Eight, suggest that there was a significant enthusiasm for singing among the lower classes. Although there can be little indication as to the general quality of the music education available in the eighteenth century, it appears that singing was an important part of education in Edinburgh.

PART TWO

MUSIC AS AN AID TO PIETY

Chapter Seven

The Edinburgh Musical Society and Devotional Concerts

The taste for extracts from Handel's oratorios has already been extensively discussed, but the psychological feelings of a contemporary audience towards the music should not be ignored. To Handel's contemporaries his sacred music was 'refined, refining and exalting'.⁷³⁷ There was also a belief that the performance of extracts from oratorios was only acceptable in certain situations: in 1764, Tenducci was criticised for singing excerpts from *Messiah* at Ranelagh due to the 'Impropiety and Indecency of performing this solemn Piece of Musick' at a pleasure garden.⁷³⁸ Oratorios were loaded with psychological references to the church and to scripture, which to an eighteenth century mind could not have helped but make the experience of an entire oratorio quasi-devotional. One of the reasons for the success of the oratorio in the eighteenth century as a form of entertainment was that it was somewhere between a religious service and a theatrical performance, whilst also being morally improving.⁷³⁹ To the enlightened society, who sought moral and spiritual improvement but also entertainment, oratorios were manna from Heaven:

Verse of the stature of the Old Testament seizes and shakes the reader with almost unbearable emotion... There is a sense that here, with relief and abandon, men of letters who were morally idealistic as well as linguistically sensitive, at last found the arena, truly heaven sent, for emotional release. The same enthusiastic emotion, expressed in identical works, was evoked in the audiences of the oratorios. Its music, they testified, had the divine powers of the true sublime, rousing the mind, piercing the soul, and sweeping the listener to heavenly joy.⁷⁴⁰

Therefore the performance of oratorios in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century cannot be considered in the same way as ordinary concerts: because of the works performed the concerts adopted a more formal and devotional, if not religious, significance. One contemporary Scottish commentator wrote of a performance of Handel in Edinburgh in 1795:

⁷³⁷ Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 85.

⁷³⁸ *Public Advertiser*, 15 June 1764, quoted in Berry, *The Castrato*, 63.

⁷³⁹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 64-65.

⁷⁴⁰ Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 125.

The choruses were indeed truly affecting, because, exhibiting a combination of voices and instruments, every note of which harrowed up the soul in rapture to their heavenly sound, and in language the most expressive, conveyed the sublime sentiments of the sacred passages they were justly celebrating.⁷⁴¹

The Shrewsbury-based organist and composer Thomas Tomlins summed up the continuing enthusiasm for Handel's oratorios and choruses in 1807: 'it may be said without extravagance, that the sublime strokes they abound with, look more like the effect of illumination, than of mere natural genius'.⁷⁴² Forty years after his death Handel had become a God of music and his English sacred music had assumed a religious significance.

7.1 Funeral Concerts staged by the Edinburgh Musical Society

The performance of occasional Funeral Concerts by the Musical Society has yet to receive extensive academic study. Arnot was the first historian to record the existence of Funeral Concerts and Macleod was the first to examine the two programmes that are still extant.⁷⁴³ As yet, however, there has been no complete study of the genre in Edinburgh, or exploration as to whether it had wider similarities with other concert societies or Masonic groups. Macleod's suggested link between the Funeral Concerts and the Masons has already been mentioned, but so far it is impossible to discover which group was copying which. Funeral Concerts developed in the second half of the eighteenth century as a way of marking the death of an important and respected governor or director of the Musical Society. The concerts may not have had any overt religious significance but, as suggested above, their devotional aspect would have been evident:

An occasional concert is sometimes given upon the death of a governor or director. This is conducted in the manner of a concerto spirituale. The pieces are of sacred music, the symphonies accompanied with the full organ, French horns, clarinets, kettledrums. Upon these occasions the audience is in deep mourning which, added to the pathetic solemnity of the music, had a noble and striking effect upon the mind.⁷⁴⁴

It was an occasion for corporate devotion and mourning through music. From a comparison of Musical Society Sederunt Books, the archives of Innes of Stow, and advertisements in the

⁷⁴¹ CM, 8 August 1795.

⁷⁴² *The Monthly Magazine*, 24 (1807), 110.

⁷⁴³ Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh*, 380 and Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 197-199.

⁷⁴⁴ Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh*, 380.

Caledonian Mercury, it is possible to identify nine funeral concerts which took place in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Table 7.1: Funeral Concerts by the Edinburgh Musical Society, 1750-1800

Date	Concert in memory of	Venue	Music Performed	Source
28 Dec 1751	John Douglas	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 17.12.1751
27 Jun 1755	Hew Dalrymple, Lord Drummore	Mary's Chapel	Handel <i>Dead March</i> from <i>Saul</i> , Handel 'Ye sons of Israel' from <i>Samson</i> : Handel 'I know that my redeemer liveth' from <i>Messiah</i> : Handel 'Mourn, ye afflicted' from <i>Judas Maccabeus</i> .	Marr, <i>Music for the People</i> , xiii, Macleod, 198, CM 24.6.1755
Aug/Sep (?) 1756	Peter Wedderburn, Lord Chesterhall	Mary's Chapel	-	NAS: GD113/5/208/10/4
19 Dec 1766	George Drummond	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 20.12.1766
22 Nov 1771	Sir Robert Murray and William Douglas	St Cecilia's Hall	Act One: Earl of Kelly 'Dead March': Jommelli 'Vorrei dirti il mio dolore' from <i>La Passione</i> : Tudway (?) 'The Resurrection Hymn' from Bremner's <i>Rudiments</i> . Act Two: Handel <i>Adagio and Musette</i> : Handel 'Angels ever bright and fair' from <i>Theodora</i> : Croft <i>Hear our prayer; O Lord</i> . Act Three: Corelli <i>The Eighth Concerto</i> : Jommelli 'Dovunque il girato giro' from <i>La Passione</i> : Handel 'Mourn all ye muses!' from <i>Acis and Galatea</i> .	CM 25.11.1771
21 Dec 1781	Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kelly	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 17.12.1781
18 Jul 1788	Samuel Mitchelson	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 14.7.1788
15 Feb 1793	William Tytler	St Cecilia's Hall	Handel 'Hallelujah!' from <i>Messiah</i>	CM 9.2.1793 CM 28.2.1793
30 Jan 1795	Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Haddington	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 22.1.1795

Of the nine funeral concerts which took place only two have complete programmes surviving.⁷⁴⁵ In *Music for the People*, R. A. Marr quotes some of the works performed at the concert on 27 June 1755, following the death of Lord Drummore: Handel's 'Dead March' from *Saul*, 'Ye Sons of Israel' from *Samson*, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth' from *Messiah* and

⁷⁴⁵ National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh: ML25M98.7 (1755 concert on the death of Lord Drummore) and ML25M98.7 (1771 Concert for Douglas and Murray).

‘Mourn, ye afflicted’ from *Judas Maccabeus*.⁷⁴⁶ In 1793 at the concert in memory of William Tytler, the ‘Hallelujah’ chorus was performed⁷⁴⁷ and it is likely that other extracts from *Messiah* were also performed on that occasion and at other times.

In addition to the devotional aspect of Handel’s oratorios, it should be noted that the choice of repertoire had practical resonance as well: most pieces were in the current repertoire of the Musical Society and the boys from Heriot’s, and would not have needed extensive rehearsal. Jommelli’s *La Passione* was performed in its entirety in 1772 and a performance of *Messiah* took place in 1792, so there is a strong suggestion of a correlation between the repertoire of the Funeral Concerts and that prepared for the St Cecilia’s Day concerts.

The staging of the Funeral Concerts was obviously a serious undertaking and they occasion comments in the press in a manner which the St Cecilia’s Concerts never elicited, although this was arguably more a mark of respect to a deceased member of the nobility. Following the concert for Lord Drummore the *Caledonian Mercury* reported:

Friday last a Grand Funeral Concert was performed at Mary’s Chapel by the Gentlemen of the Musical Society, on Occasion of the Death of Lord Drummore their Governor. The Company, which was very numerous, appeared in deep Mourning, and were greatly pleased and affected with the Solemnity of the Musick and Elegance of the Performance.⁷⁴⁸

Similarly, after the death of George Drummond, former Provost of Edinburgh, the *Scots Magazine* reported:

Last night a grand funeral concert was performed at St Cecilia’s Hall, by the gentlemen of the Musical Society, on the death of George Drummond, Esq; (late Lord Provost of Edinburgh), their Deputy-Governor. – The music was solemn and plaintive, finely adapted to the occasion, conducted with dignity, and performed with taste. – The numerous and elegant appearance of ladies and gentleman of distinction, dressed all in mourning; the solemn silence and attention which reigned during the whole performance; the mournful air impressed on every face, together with the remembrance which this solemn ceremony so expressively recalled of the venerable, worthy, and much esteemed gentleman, to whose memory there honours were paid, formed all together a mournful, yet noble scene.

PS. A funeral meeting of the lodge of Canongate Kilwinning, of which Drummond had been master, was held on the 7th January, likewise in honour of his memory, at which several pieces of music, suitable to the occasion were performed.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁶ Robert A. Marr, *Music for the People* (Glasgow: James Love, 1889), xiii, and Macleod, *The Edinburgh Musical Society*, 198.

⁷⁴⁷ CM, 28 February 1793.

⁷⁴⁸ CM, 30 June 1755.

⁷⁴⁹ SM, 28 (1766), 669.

The most comprehensive newspaper coverage occurred in the case of the Musical Society's Funeral Concert for Sir Robert Murray and William Douglas in 1771, when extracts from Jommelli's *La Passione* were performed. Unusually, and uniquely in the case of the Funeral Concerts, the entire programme (the same as the printed programme) was published in the *Caledonian Mercury*. The publishers wrote:

As the Musical Society of Edinburgh has long been esteemed to afford the highest, and most polite entertainment of this kingdom, to oblige our readers who reside at a distance from the metropolis, we shall give the plan of the late Funeral Concert, performed in honour of the memory of two late respectable members, of that honourable Society, which for the grandeur, taste, and propriety, of the words and music; the solemnity and appearance of the company, of the first rank and distinction, all dressed in deep mourning is said to have been very fine entertainment.⁷⁵⁰

The paper also included the text of the songs in Italian and also English translations. The concert ran as follows:

Act One

Dead March – Earl of Kelly
Aria: Vorrei dirti il mio dolore – Jommelli
The Resurrection Hymn

Act Two

Grand Adagio and Musette – Handel
Song for one voice: Angels ever bright and fair – Handel
Anthem for two voice: Hear our prayer, O Lord – Croft

Act Three

The Eighth Concerto – Corelli
Aria: Dovunque il guardo giro – Jommelli
Chorus: Mourn all ye Muses! – Handel

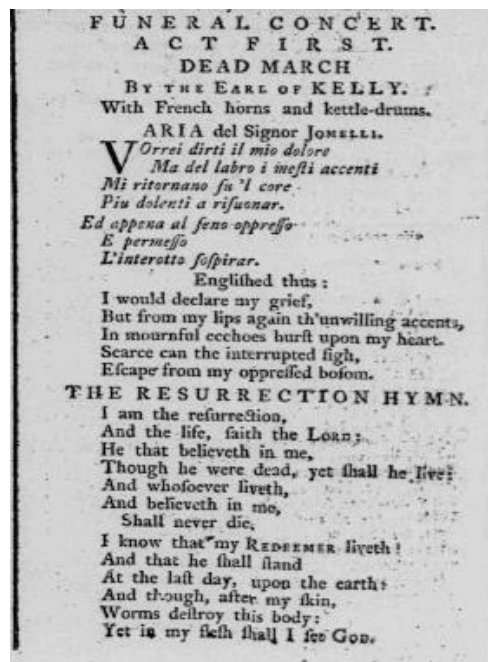
The original intention was to begin the performance with Handel's Dead March, but at the last moment the Earl of Kelly's, possibly new, version was substituted.⁷⁵¹ The two Jommelli arias are extracted from *La Passione*, which was performed three times in the months following the funeral concert. Handel's 'Angels ever bright and fair' was extracted from *Theodora* and 'Mourn, all ye muses!' from *Acis and Galatea*, and would thus have been well known to the

⁷⁵⁰ CM, 25 November 1771.

⁷⁵¹ The programme which includes the Handel is handwritten on a sheet at the end of the third volume of the EMS Sederunt Books, the printed versions only name the Earl of Kelly (see Macleod, 198).

choir boys. Macleod comments that the arias were followed by ‘the Resurrection Hymn, also by Jommelli from his work *La Passione*’.⁷⁵² There is a similar statement in the advertisement for a concert in 1775 which contained the ‘Resurrection Hymn in Jommelli’s *La Passione*’.⁷⁵³ Jommelli’s setting of *La Passione*, which was in Italian, does not contain any text which coincides with the English translation given in the *Caledonian Mercury*, nor does Metastasio’s original libretto.⁷⁵⁴

Figure 7.1: The text of the ‘Resurrection Hymn’ as performed at the Funeral Concert of Sir Robert Murray and William Douglas, St Cecilia’s Hall, 22 November 1771
Caledonian Mercury 25 November 1771



I have found no other reference to the ‘Resurrection Hymn’ in connection with Jommelli’s oratorio. I suspect that the evidence points towards the fact that Edinburgh Musical Society added a setting of ‘I am the Resurrection and the life’ to the end of the oratorio either to augment the music for the chorus, or to end the passion on the theologically more promising note of the resurrection.⁷⁵⁵ The text quoted in the *Caledonian Mercury* is drawn from the 1662 version of

⁷⁵² Macleod, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society’, 198.

⁷⁵³ CM, 14 March 1774.

⁷⁵⁴ ‘Libretto by Metastasio’ accessed on 1 October 2013 <http://www.pietrometastasio.com/passioneGesù.html>.

⁷⁵⁵ The insertions of additional text into Metastasio’s opera libretti was by no means uncommon in the eighteenth century. The addition of ‘supernatural’ scenes, involving witches, daemons and fairies, designed to frighten, awe, and heighten the audience’s sense of the ‘sublime’, were made to many of his libretti by musicians and poets. The occurrence of extra-textual insertions can be found in Hasse’s *Cleofide* (1731), *Artaserse* (1740), Jommelli’s *Artaserse* (1749) and Mozart’s *La Clemenza di Tito* (1791). The addition of the ‘Resurrection Hymn’ is a further example in this tradition.

Clive McClelland, *Ombra, Supernatural Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Plymouth: Lexington Books 2013), 51, 134, 139, 145.

the Book of Common Prayer, which points towards an English composer. Croft's setting of the *Funeral Sentences* was published in *Musica Sacra* (1724) by John Walsh, and it is possible that the other Croft piece performed here was an extract or adaption of another piece published in the same collection, 'Hear my prayer, O Lord' for six voices. It was not until 1773 that the Musical Society purchased a copy of Perez's *Funeral Service*, so that setting can be tentatively discounted.⁷⁵⁶ There is, however, one setting of the *Resurrection Hymn* which was well known in Edinburgh at this period: Thomas Tudway's setting which, as already discussed was reproduced in Robert Bremner's *Rudiments of Music* (1762). I have already suggested that the Masons used this setting in their funeral lodges and that the Harmonical Society performed it in their 1786 season, and I think it likely that it is the same setting which is referred to here.

The implication is that the production of funeral concerts were significant undertakings, which appear to have been arranged in a short amount of time. In addition to the musical considerations there were endless practical arrangements which had to be made. Before the building of St Cecilia's Hall, there were only sufficient chairs in Mary's Chapel for funeral concerts if they used some of the chairs owned by the masons, hence expenditure for 'drink money to the officer of the Mason's Lodge, for use of seats, 1s'.⁷⁵⁷ With the fashionable elite about to descend upon Mary's Chapel in their finest mourning, the boys of Heriot's hospital required some attention as the following prove: 'sugar candie [*sic*] to the boys and for dressing their hair, 4s.6d'⁷⁵⁸ and 'to dressing the boys for Lord Chesterhall's funeral concert and sugar candie [*sic*]'.⁷⁵⁹

It is a pity that, at present, evidence about funeral concerts in the second half of the eighteenth century remains so scant. The funeral concerts are fascinating musically and socially: perhaps because of their rarity, they seem to have been considered more worthy of reporting in the press than any other musical entertainment in the second half of the eighteenth century. Perhaps there is more than a little to suggest that these concerts were primarily ceremonial and social occasions with solemn and sober music to remind the guests why they were gathered. Musically the concerts reflected the popular tastes of the time: Handel and Italian opera and oratorio arias, even if those pieces chosen were in keeping with the sober, and above all devotional, theme. These concerts were, perhaps, the closest the city could come to a state funeral or remembrance for some of their leading citizens. The writers of the *Edinburgh*

⁷⁵⁶ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/5/210/3.

⁷⁵⁷ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/5/208/9.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁹ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/5/209/10.

Magazine certainly seemed to believe that these concerts were the very height of elegant sophistication both musically and socially:

It was a fine performance, conducted with propriety and decorum. The elegance of the audience, in mourning dress, the performance itself, consisting of a proper selection of pieces of Sacred Music: the pathetic airs, grandeur of the choruses, with the full accompaniment [*sic*] of instruments, all together, formed one of the most solemn entertainments that a rational mind is capable of enjoying.⁷⁶⁰

Although the surviving evidence suggests that some instrumental music was performed, the emphasis at these concerts was very clearly on sacred vocal music. These concerts were probably the only occasions, other than the complete performances of oratorios and a few exceptional benefits, where the vocal music which made up the programme was exclusively sacred. Due to their sporadic nature, it is not possible to make any assumptions about the effects of these concerts on the wider music culture of the city; but it is clear that in the production of these secular, yet devotional, requiems vocal music was not only important, but vital to the success of the remembrances.

7.2 The Musical Society and Oratorios

The performance of Handel's oratorios by the Musical Society, the first society to do so in Scotland, was a matter of great pride to the directors and members and became one of the things by which the Society defined itself. In 1759 the secretary wrote:

Our concert here consists of a very pretty little band, part masters, and part gentlemen who perform for their pleasure, some play, some sing, and one of the chief entertainments unto us is Handells oratorios, two or three are performed here in winter and one in summer.⁷⁶¹

It is, perhaps, the performance of oratorios which can be most identified with the statement of 'so much neglected': oratorios were evidently popular amongst members and audiences. There was an explosion of performance in the 1750s but, despite a brief revival in the 1770s, the Society was quickly reduced to staging miscellaneous concerts which contained well-known extracts from only a small number of oratorios. By the last decades of the eighteenth century

⁷⁶⁰ *Edinburgh Magazine*, 8 (July 1788), 102.

⁷⁶¹ EMS Sederunt Books, 19 April 1759.

the Society was unable to stage entire performances without the aid of institutions from outside the city.

In the early eighteenth century, the Society began the practice of celebrating St Cecilia's Day in November.⁷⁶² In 1701 the *Edinburgh Gazette* recorded a meeting:

Edinburgh, November 22. This being St Cecilia's Day the Society of Musicians of the Kingdom, Noblemen and Gentlemen met at the Skinners Hall, where they had an Excellent performance of Musick of all kinds before a great number of Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes: And thereafter went to the Ship Tavern, where they had a Noble Entertainment, elected their Stewards for the ensuing year and closed the day with Musick.⁷⁶³

The notion of the St Cecilia's Day Concert open to both sexes was retained once the Society was formally constituted; two other concerts were later designated as Ladies nights. The desire to perform complete oratorios on these occasions seems only to have been formalised in the late 1740s: the first definite evidence dates from November 1749 when *Saul* was performed in Mary's Chapel.⁷⁶⁴ Having learned that Handel had granted the rights of performance of his music to the Musical Society at Oxford, the Edinburgh Society approached Handel for similar rights in December 1753:

The gentlemen of our musical society who have been greatly indebted to your excellent compositions, for their success in pleasing the public these many years past, have lately attempted two of your entertainments, *Acis and Galatea* and *Alexander's Feast*. The first in July last and the other on St Cecilia's Day. The great satisfaction expressed by the audience on both these occasions, as it did justice to the inimitable genius and expression of the composer, has encouraged these Gentlemen to Exhibit in this place a further Specimen of these admirable Works, that have so long been the delight and Wonder of those who have been so happy to hear them, performed under your own management and direction. This Design, however, it is impossible for our society to carry into Execution without being obliged to you for a copy of the Recitatives and Choruses of some of your oratorios, which indeed they would not ask, were the[y] not informed that you have allowed such copys, to other Society that have applied for them. The Performances of our society here, hitherto, have been confined to the compositions of Corelli, Geminiani and Mr. Handel. We are already possest [possessed] of most of your oratorios and other works that are published... and therefore could we obtain your

⁷⁶² Concerts in honour of St Cecilia, the patron saint of music, have generally been assumed to have begun in the last years of the seventeenth century. Sometime around 1683 a musical society in London arranged the first public concert and feast on St Cecilia's Day. The music club in Oxford held a St Cecilia's Feast annually from 1696. It is likely that the Edinburgh Musick Club's celebration on St Cecilia's Day was part of the same expansion, and expression of 'national' culture. Clark, *British and Clubs and Societies*, 63.

⁷⁶³ *Edinburgh Gazette*, 24 November 1701

⁷⁶⁴ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 287.

order to Mr. Smith for writing out for us... the recitative and choruses of any other of your works...⁷⁶⁵

Christopher Smith, the composer's amanuensis, replied 'the Gentlemen of the Musical Society at Edinburgh [may] have any of his compositions that they want'.⁷⁶⁶

But what was the importance of the oratorio to Edinburgh society? Was it an attempt to demonstrate that Edinburgh, despite its position in the rebellious North and despite its political non-significance since 1707, was a vibrant part of the creeping republic of culture that defined the United Kingdom in the eighteenth century? Edinburgh was possibly not only comparing itself to London and Dublin, but was also trying to prove its place in the pantheon of British culture.⁷⁶⁷ Annual performances of *Messiah* began in London at the Foundling Hospital in 1749,⁷⁶⁸ and continued regularly in Dublin where it had been first performed in 1742.⁷⁶⁹ By 1747 Dublin had also staged performances of *Esther*, *Alexander's Feast* and *Judas Maccabeus*;⁷⁷⁰ it is possible that when the musical society at Oxford signalled their intentions to begin performing oratorios, the directors of the Musical Society in Edinburgh were aware they were beginning to look decidedly provincial. This may have been further highlighted by the increasing presence of musicians who had travelled widely through the British Isles and the continent: Passerini, Pasquali, and Pescatore. Here, vocal music was a real and important reflection on the wider life of the city: if the music of the social elite in Edinburgh was so far behind the fashion of London, surely the same assumptions would be made about its literature, its education, and its cultural taste generally. The beginnings of oratorios in Edinburgh may have been spurred by a few Handel enthusiasts who heard performances in London and certainly there were no shortage of influential Scots travelling between the cities, but the performance of oratorios in Edinburgh ultimately had a wider civic meaning for the city of Edinburgh.⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁵ EMS Sederunt Books, December 1753.

⁷⁶⁶ EMS Sederunt Book, February 1754.

⁷⁶⁷ In a similar vein Brewer writes 'The regional and national cults of the late eighteenth-century... should not therefore be seen as an attempt at cultural separation. They asserted the spirit of Wales or of the Highlands within a British framework rather than the desire... for a [separate] state'. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 519. It is in this light I believe the expansion of musical culture in Edinburgh should be seen: concert-goers and gentlemen amateurs were not trying to replace London as a musical centre, nor slavishly to emulate it, but rather to take their place in a wider cultural landscape.

⁷⁶⁸ Alfred Mann, 'Handel's successor: J. C. Smith the younger' in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Christopher Hogwood & Richard Luckett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 139.

⁷⁶⁹ Boydell, *Rotunda Music*, 17.

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 18.

⁷⁷¹ There is some discussion of this nature to be found in Mary Anne Alburger, 'Musical Scots and Scottish Patrons in London and Edinburgh', 186-203 in *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Stana Nenadic (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 186-203, but it mostly revolves around Scots in London and the propagation of

In the years following Handel's reply Douglas requested Smith to copy *Deborah* (1733) in 1754,⁷⁷² *Judas Maccabeus* in 1755, and *Messiah* and *Samson* in 1756.⁷⁷³ What, or rather who, suggested which oratorios to purchase? Nicolò Pasquali arrived in Edinburgh in November 1752, and on 14 March 1753 was engaged by the Musical Society for one year for £55.0s.0d.⁷⁷⁴ Given that the Society's interest in acquiring additional oratorios began in December 1753, I suspect it is highly likely that Pasquali was able to inform the directors of the current state of music and oratorios in Dublin, whence he had just arrived, in London, where he had worked before moving to Ireland, and in Norwich, where he had stayed in 1743.⁷⁷⁵ Pasquali had directed performances of *Messiah* in 1748, in collaboration with Lampe, *Acis and Galatea* in 1749, *Judas Maccabeus* in 1750, *Esther* in 1750 and his own *Noah* in 1750 and 1751 in Dublin,⁷⁷⁶ and it seems likely that Pasquali was the driving force behind the production of oratorios in Edinburgh from 1753. In 1757, shortly before his death, the directors gave him 'ten guineas as a present from the Directors in consideration of conducting oratorios'.⁷⁷⁷ The years 1755 to 1760 were the most important in historical terms for the Society's performance of oratorio, as in those years the band and chorus introduced the Scottish concert-going audience to the first performances of *Samson*, *Deborah*, *Solomon*, and *Messiah*. It has to be worth noting that after Pasquali's death no further English oratorios were introduced into the Musical Society's repertoire and that the majority of works introduced to Edinburgh between 1753 and 1757 were originally produced in London before October 1748 when Pasquali moved to Dublin (the exception being *Solomon*, which was composed in 1748 and first performed in 1749). Could it be for this reason that Handel's later oratorios *Theodora* (1749) and *Jeptha* (1752) never made it into the library of the Edinburgh Musical Society?

It is possible that Pasquali was in charge of the rehearsal of the singers and the orchestra, although later violinists were not expected to lead the choir as well. In 1760 William Douglas wrote to Ferdinando Arrigoni:

We have an Oratorio, three of which we commonly hold in a year and to perform these right some few rehearsal are necessary at such entertainments you led the Band.⁷⁷⁸

Scots Folk Music in England. The influence of these Scots musical experiences in London on the wider Edinburgh musical culture has yet to be widely researched.

⁷⁷² NAS Innes of Stow: GD113/5/209/6.

⁷⁷³ EMS Sederunt Books, June 1755-Jan 1756.

⁷⁷⁴ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 142.

⁷⁷⁵ Fawcett, *Music in Norwich and Norfolk*, 6.

⁷⁷⁶ John C. Greene *Theatre in Dublin, 1745-1820*, vol. 1, 101, 162, 166, 169, 211.

⁷⁷⁷ NAS Innes of Stow: GD113/5/208/10-29.

⁷⁷⁸ EMS Sederunt Books, 6 January 1761.

As there is no mention of the choir here, it must be assumed that at the later Edinburgh performances the band was led by the first violin and the choir led by one of the singers. This is not as unusual as it might first appear: in analysing a drawing preserved in the British Museum, Max Seiffert was the first to draw attention to the fact that in London the direction of oratorios was divided between three conductors.⁷⁷⁹ A concertmaster and organist assisted the principal conductor (who was often also the composer): the organist was in charge of the singers, supplying whatever discreet doubling would be required to rectify the deficiencies of the chorus, the concertmaster would lead the band, and the conductor controlled the soloists from the harpsichord. In London, at the Academy of Ancient Music's oratorio performances in Freemason's Hall, it was usual for the chorus to be placed in front of the orchestra, further highlighting the need for more than one director.⁷⁸⁰ There is no record of the regular presence of an organ in Edinburgh in the pre-1763 oratorios, except a performance of *Messiah* in 1760 when an organ was installed in the Assembly Hall and Mr Johnston paid for 'tuning the organ for the oratorio'.⁷⁸¹ Therefore it seems likely that Edinburgh followed the London method, with a concertmaster leading the band and a singer directing the chorus possibly from an organ: such a situation was probably more likely after 1763 and the erection of St Cecilia's Hall, which housed its own organ.

From 1756 until 1763 Cornforth Gilson was retained to 'teach the Herriot's Hospital Boys the choruses... and also to attend and teach the gentlemen performers the chorus's of any oratorio they are to perform'.⁷⁸² Despite this, others continued to draw wages for teaching the boys: James Dallas, John Pearson and Leonardo Pescatore were all paid for attending the hospital. Gilson was replaced by Thomas Franks in 1766, although by June 1767 Gilson was once again receiving fees for taking the rehearsals and attending the choristers.⁷⁸³ From 1760 until 1767 there was a lull in the production of oratorios: there were only two presented in 1760 and 1761, and only one a year from 1763 until 1768, when three were again performed. The golden age of oratorio performance was between 1753 and 1760, when more new Handel works were presented in their entirety than at any point following.

⁷⁷⁹ Mann, *J. C. Smith*, 139.

⁷⁸⁰ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 206-213.

⁷⁸¹ EMS Sederunt Book, 7 March 1760.

⁷⁸² EMS Sederunt Book, 16 March 1757.

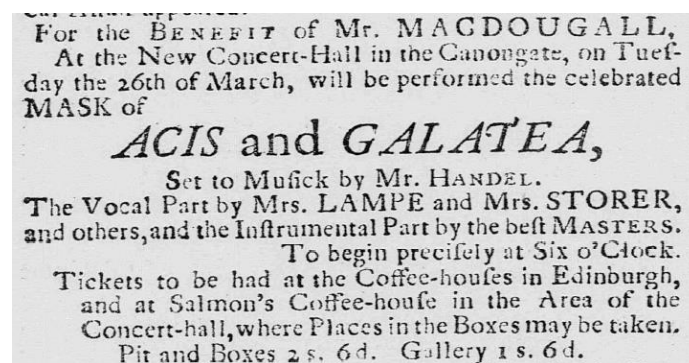
⁷⁸³ EMS Sederunt Books, 23 June 1767.

Table 7.2 Recorded complete performance of Handel's oratorios by the Edinburgh Musical Society, 1750-1800

Title	Performances in Edinburgh
<i>Acis and Galatea</i> HWV 49 (1739)	3 Aug 1753, 8 Aug 1755, 5 Aug 1757, 10 Aug 1759, 7 Aug 1767, 11 Aug 1769, 24 Jul 1772, 12 Mar 1773, 28 Feb 1777, 22 Dec 1780, 8 Mar 1782, 20 Dec 1782, 19 Feb 1790
<i>Alexander's Feast</i> HWV 75 (1736)	22 Nov 1753, 8 Mar 1755, 5 Aug 1756, 16 Dec 1757, 15 Dec 1758, 18 Feb 1768, 6 Dec 1776, 17 Dec 1778, 13 Dec 1784
<i>Deborah</i> HWV 51 (1733)	3 Dec 1754, 23 Mar 1759, 14 Dec 1759
<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> HWV 63 (1746)	5 Dec 1755, 16 Dec 1768, 22 Dec 1774
<i>Messiah</i> HWV 56 (1741)	3 Dec 1756, 7 Mar 1760, 4 Dec 1772, 22 Mar 1782
<i>Samson</i> HWV 57 (1741/2)	5 Mar 1756, 10 Mar 1758, 21 Dec 1770, 23 Dec 1774, 29 Jul 1785
<i>Solomon</i> HWV 67 (1749/59)	11 Mar 1757, 11 Aug 1758, 26 Feb 1761

Ironically, the most popular work, or at least the most regularly performed, of Handel's was not an oratorio but a masque.⁷⁸⁴ The regular appearance of *Acis and Galatea* in August during Race Week was possible due not only to its popularity, but also to the restricted nature of the forces needed to perform it: smaller than many of Handel's works, it only needs four soloists (Galatea, soprano, Acis, tenor, Damon, tenor, and Polyphemus, bass) and a small orchestra, which could easily be substituted by organ or harpsichord. The four soloists could also assume the voices of the chorus if the highest tenor sang the alto part: at the work's premiere at Cannons the soloists had augmented the chorus. *Acis and Galatea* possibly arrived in Edinburgh in 1751 when Lampe performed it at the New Concert Hall.⁷⁸⁵

**Figure 7.2: Advertisement for a performance of *Acis and Galatea* by Handel at the Canongate Concert Hall, 1751
Caledonian Mercury, 18 March 1751**



The fact that the two principal vocalists advertised were women has interesting implications for its performance: did one of the two women assume the role of Acis? A soprano (or castrato)

⁷⁸⁴ Ben Finane, *Handel's Messiah and his English Oratorios* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009).

⁷⁸⁵ CM, 18 March 1751.

hero would not, after all, have appeared strange to eighteenth century theatre goers who would have been well acquainted with masculine roles sung by castrati and falsettists. This flexibility might have further added to its appeal to the musicians who staged it. Equally, however, there can be no denying that it remained popular throughout the season (see Appendix L for full details) and was always well attended. Being often performed in August it was timed to coincide with Race Week, when the town was flooded with people looking for easy entertainment. *Acis and Galatea* would certainly have qualified here: it is short, tuneful and with a classical subject so admired by eighteenth century audiences. *Alexander's Feast* was similarly popular with eight performances over the second half of the century. *Deborah*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, and *Solomon* were each performed three times over the century and *Samson* five times. Macleod records three performances of *Messiah*, in 1756, 1760 and 1772.⁷⁸⁶ There was at least one further performance of *Messiah* in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, in 1792 (with which the Society may not have been directly concerned),⁷⁸⁷ and one further attempt to stage it in 1790 which directly involved the Musical Society. The repertoire of the Edinburgh Musical Society here directly mirrors the taste in London: McVeigh notes that by the 1780s the only Handel oratorios in regular performance were *Messiah*, *Samson*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Acis and Galatea* and *Alexander's Feast*,⁷⁸⁸ whilst his other biblical dramas were quickly forgotten after Handel's death.⁷⁸⁹

The decline of the oratorio in Edinburgh began after 1775; three were performed in 1776, two in 1777, one in 1778 and none in 1779. From 1782 the oratorios were sporadically replaced with miscellaneous concerts, similar in design to the Friday night concerts. At the concert on 8 March 1782 *Acis and Galatea* was performed in conjunction with Schetky's *Epode of Horace* and Purcell's 'Briton's strike home'. The concert on 23 December 1785 was a collection of works by Handel, Corelli and Schetky.⁷⁹⁰ Only one Ladies Concert was recorded in 1786, and in 1787 the Society decamped to the Assembly Rooms in George Street to avoid the construction of the South Bridge. It is possible that the decline of the oratorio dates from

⁷⁸⁶ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 287-289.

⁷⁸⁷ The only references I have discovered concerning this performance come from archives of the Innes Family of Stow in the National Archives of Scotland: GD113/4/58 is a printed advertisement giving the words of *Messiah* as 'performed in St Peter's Chapel Edinburgh'; the note includes the direction that the audience is expected to stand for the Hallelujah Chorus, dated 1 March 1792. The other evidence which supports the suggestion that this performance was at least sponsored by the Musical Society can be found in GD113/5/8, which includes a receipt for monies disbursed for the purchase of 'The Messiah (in parts)', dated August 1792. Macleod does not include this performance in her list of oratorios performed by the Society, nor have I found any contemporary comment on it in the local press.

⁷⁸⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 97

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 31.

⁷⁹⁰ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 128.

the illness and death in 1778 of Cornforth Gilson, who despite his many eccentricities and failings was clearly an excellent musician, and a gifted choir trainer and singer.

By the last decade of the eighteenth century it appears that the Society's chorus could no longer perform competently: in 1789 Gilbert Innes confided to a friend that he did not think it was 'feasible to attempt a performance of Alexander's Feast'.⁷⁹¹ In 1790, Innes entered into negotiations with Thomas Ebdon, organist of Durham Cathedral, with a view to engaging some choristers for an oratorio performance. He wrote frankly 'the chorus singers are very bad'.⁷⁹² Presumably, the Durham singers would augment the few chorus singers who remained. Innes suggested that the singers should perform *Messiah* on one evening and another unnamed oratorio on the following evening. Ebdon replied that the alto and bass soloists would attend for 18 guineas each, and that the boys would only need to have their expenses covered and a small present if they were 'thought to merit this'.⁷⁹³ Innes presumably also gained the permission of the New Episcopal Chapel in the Cowgate to offer the singers extra fees if they would perform on the following Sunday at morning service. Two trebles, the alto Robert Marlor and Mr Reynolds the bass, were granted a leave of absence to attend Edinburgh. Ebdon warned that Marlor had 'an excellent voice but is fond of liquor'.⁷⁹⁴ By February 1790 the plans had changed and the Musical Society now intended to produce *Acis and Galatea* instead of *Messiah*. The soloists from Durham were not a success and on 1 March Ebdon wrote to Innes apologising for the conduct of the counter-tenor, Robert Marlor:⁷⁹⁵ 'when perfectly sober he is possessed of abilities to afford highest satisfaction'.⁷⁹⁶

This performance of *Acis and Galatea* is the last recorded performance of an oratorio or masque by the Edinburgh Musical Society.

⁷⁹¹ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/4/158/379, 15 February 1789, letter from Gilbert Innes to John Russell.

⁷⁹² NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/4/164/43-217 104.

⁷⁹³ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/4/164/43-217 109.

⁷⁹⁴ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/4/159: 132.

⁷⁹⁵ Marlor was in fact, notorious for his drunken behaviour although the cathedral were often obliged to overlook his behaviour in return for his vocal powers: despite being regularly admonished for drunkenness during 1791 – 2, the treasurer of the Cathedral even made a payment of £5.5s.0d. 'To Mr. Marlor to hire a Substitute for ye Militia' (Durham Cathedral Audit Books, 1791-2) He was once again censured in 1792 and was finally suspended in 1795: 'In consequence of gross and disorderly behaviour at Church in a state of great intoxication by loud Talking and the most shocking imprecations, by which the Reader was Prevented for a considerable time from proceeding in the Service on Friday April 10th 1795, Robt. Marler [sic] one of the Singing Men (who was under the Censure of the Chapter Dec^r 1st 1792 ...) was ordered to appear in the Chapter Room ...' (Durham Cathedral Minute Book, 11 April 1795). Brian Crosby, e-mail message to the author, 28 August 2011.

⁷⁹⁶ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/4/159: 132.

Figure 7.3: Advertisement for a miscellaneous concert and an oratorio staged by the Edinburgh Musical Society
Edinburgh Advertiser, 9 February 1790

By Order of the GOVERNOR and DIRECTORS of the
MUSICAL SOCIETY.
A MISCELLANEOUS CONCERT will be Performed
at St. Cecilia's Hall, on Friday the 12th current, and an
ORATORIO on the Friday following. Four Celebrated
Vocal Performers from the Choir of Durham will assist in
the performance.
The Members of the Society will please send for their
Ladies' Tickets on Thursday preceding the Concerts; and
Gentlemen who wish admittance to either Concert, must put
down their names in the lists at the usual place, before one
o'clock on the Friday forenoon.

The Ladies Concerts were abandoned in 1791 and in 1792 the weekly meetings of the Musical Society were opened to females.⁷⁹⁷ The directors sought ways to increase membership and attendance and tried to take refuge in the repertoire which had been popular fifty years earlier:

...they are sensible that the performance has of late much fallen off particularly in the Musick of Handel, Geminiani, and others of the old Composers, which is much complained of by the Society.⁷⁹⁸

The Society was losing money and fewer aristocratic gentlemen were interested in playing in the orchestra or singing in the chorus. The transition from gentlemen's playing club to concert society was one the finances of the society could not stretch to, and the expensive staging of oratorios, with extra costs for soloists, choristers, wind and brass players as well as advertisement and the printing of the libretto, was one of the first things to be economised upon. The beginnings of the demise of the Musical Society can perhaps be seen in their giving up of oratorio performances. However, Edinburgh was not unique: performances of entire Handel oratorios in London dropped throughout the 1790s and the concert season became dominated by miscellaneous concerts, containing the most popular selections from Handel's oeuvre.⁷⁹⁹ In London, however, this was undoubtedly a reflection of popular and fashionable demand rather than a comment on the city's ability to produce adequate chorus singers and soloists.

The number of the boys used in oratorio performances in Edinburgh has already been mentioned in the previous chapter, but there is less evidence concerning the total size of the choir. In 1768 a performance of *Alexander's Feast* attracted '440 ladys, 80 members, 50

⁷⁹⁷ CM, 26 November 1792.

⁷⁹⁸ EMS Sederunt Books, 20 April 1791.

⁷⁹⁹ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 31.

stranger gentlemen, and 70 performers'.⁸⁰⁰ These numbers were quoted by Marr, who was looking for the genesis of the development of choral societies in Scotland, and he believed that he had found it. Marr assumed of the '70 performers there 40 must have been choristers'.⁸⁰¹ This view is contrary to the modern understanding of eighteenth century performance practice. Johnson suggested that the alto, tenors, and basses were members of the Society and that the trebles were brought in from Heriot's Hospital.⁸⁰² Given that between 1750 and 1756 the Society Sederunt Books usually record payments to six or seven choristers, it appears possible that the choir might have numbered 40; however, the boys were required to sing two parts. In 1759 Douglas wrote to a prospective employee:

Your duty here will be to attend regularly our Friday concerts... and play as required, we have also generally three oratorios in the year at which you'll bear a part and also instruct the gentlemen singers in their parts and a few hospital boys whom we take in for counter tenors and cantors.⁸⁰³

This seems to suggest a small choir of perhaps four trebles and three altos, and by extension only a small number of tenors and basses, probably numbering no more than twenty in total. This would agree with the size of choirs known from contemporary performances: at the 1759 performance of *Messiah*, directed by Christopher Smith at the Foundling Hospital in London, there were four soloists, six boys, and twelve gentlemen who drew fees for the performance, totalling £28.17s.6d.⁸⁰⁴ The cost of the singers was £10.0s.0d, more expensive than the cost of the orchestra. I suspect that at this London performance the boys only sang the treble part, as adult male altos from cathedrals and the Chapel Royal would have been more readily available in London than in Edinburgh.⁸⁰⁵ Either way a small choir would appear to have been the norm.⁸⁰⁶ From the mid-1760s the number of boys used in the oratorios rose from five or six to

⁸⁰⁰ 'Music in Scotland: A Brief Historical Survey' in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 42/ 705 (1901), 723. Emerson and Macleod reference this performance in 'The Musick Club' but give the incorrect date of 1759; However, in her thesis Macleod gives the correct date of 19 February 1768 (see Appendix L). Macleod 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 125 and Roger L. Emerson & Jenny Macleod, 'The Musick Club and the Edinburgh Musical Society' in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 10 (2014), 48.

⁸⁰¹ Marr, *Music for the People*, xviii.

⁸⁰² Johnson, *Music and Society*, 36.

⁸⁰³ EMS Sederunt Books, 19 July 1759.

⁸⁰⁴ Mann, *J. C. Smith*, 142.

⁸⁰⁵ Donald Burrows, 'Lists of Musicians for Performance of Handel's *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital, 1754-1777' in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 43 (2010), 85-109.

⁸⁰⁶ In the advertisement for his benefit in July 1795 George Thomson advertised that the 'Choir will consist of above thirty persons... He therefore flatters himself that this undertaking will excel in sublime and solemn effect any thing of the kind that has been attempted in Scotland'. This would circumstantial support the view that choirs before this generally consisted of fewer than thirty singers. CM, 4 July 1795.

eight.⁸⁰⁷ There is limited evidence that the chorus was sometimes augmented by women: in 1779, Rebecca Puppo received £2.2s.0d. ‘for performing in the chorus’, presumably for more than one occasion.⁸⁰⁸ There are several examples, outside of Edinburgh, of women singing in the chorus in the eighteenth century: at a performance of *Messiah* in Halifax 1764, all the top line were women,⁸⁰⁹ and there were several women who sang in the chorus of the Handel Commemorations in 1784.

From 1770 there were deviations from the diet of Handel. The popularity of Jommelli’s *La Passione* has already been discussed: in 1761 John Philip Kearcher received £7.8s.3d. for copying the score,⁸¹⁰ and Macleod records a performance of it on 18 December 1761.⁸¹¹ *La Passione* was a serious departure for the Musical Society, being in Italian and having undoubted Roman Catholic influences and Jacobite connections. *La Passione* had been commissioned by Cardinal Henry Benedict, the duke of York and the grandson of James II, the deposed king of England and Scotland. The oratorio is set for four solo voices: Peter (tenor), John (alto), Magdalene (soprano) and Joseph of Armathea (bass), and a chorus of Jesus’ followers (SATB). It is interesting to conjecture what effect Jommelli’s work had on an audience used to the English dramas of Handel. Following the failure of Italian opera in Edinburgh,⁸¹² Jommelli’s *La Passione* was probably the most often performed Italian vocal work in the eighteenth century in Edinburgh. It was probably at this first performance in 1761 that the addition of the English *Resurrection Hymn* was made: performances were repeated on 5 August 1768, 24 January 1772, 6 March 1772, 11 February 1774, 31 March 1774 (in conjunction with Holy Week)⁸¹³ and 11 August 1775. With seven complete performances over the period *La Passione*, despite its Jacobite Catholic origin, was the third most popular oratorio performed in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. *La Passione* was also popular in London and it may have been this that led to its adoption into the repertoire, but it may also have been the arrival of Domenico Corri in Edinburgh in 1771 that provided the impetus behind the Society’s regular performance of Italianate vocal music.

In July and December 1773 the Musical Society performed J. C. Bach’s *Gioas, Re di Giuda*; it had not been well received in London and Bach composed no further examples in

⁸⁰⁷ EMS Sederunt Books, expenses 1767/8 and expenses 1768/9.

⁸⁰⁸ EMS Sederunt Books, Expenses 1779 – 1780.

⁸⁰⁹ Rachel Cowgill, ‘Disputing Choruses in 1760s Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel and the Messiah Club’ in *Music in the British Provinces*, ed. Rachel Cowgill & Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 104.

⁸¹⁰ NAS Innes of Stow: GD113/5/208/15.

⁸¹¹ Macleod, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society’, 289.

⁸¹² Johnson, *Music and Society*, 47.

⁸¹³ CM, 26 March 1774.

this genre. A selection from the score had been published in London by Welcker in 1773 as *The Favourite Songs and Duett in the oratorio Gioas*. The Edinburgh Musical Society, however, had by then already purchased the complete score from Robert Bremner at a cost of £10.16s.0d.⁸¹⁴ In May 1773 Stephen Clark was paid £6.15s.3d for copying the second part of the oratorio (as a score for directing from the organ?) and in June claimed £3.16s.0d. for copying out the chorus parts.⁸¹⁵ Further parts were copied in January 1774.⁸¹⁶ At the same time the printer Robert Fleming was paid for creating 500 copies of the libretto (and presumably the translation) of *Josiah, King of Judah* in June 1774. Unlike *La Passione*, *Gioas* seems to have been more popular in Edinburgh than in London: the fact that it was repeated at the next opportunity shows that there must have been a popular taste for it. Like *La Passione*, *Gioas* was restaged in 1775.

Figure 7.4: Advertisement for the Edinburgh Musical Society's performance of *Gioas, Re di Giuda* (1770) by J. C. Bach
Edinburgh Advertiser, 15 August 1775

The GOVERNOR and DIRECTORS of the MUSICAL SOCIETY have appointed the famous Oratorio of
J O S I A H
 to be performed at St. CECILIA'S HALL, on
 Friday next the 18th of August curr.
 The members will please to send for their
 Tickets to the usual place upon *Thursday*.

It was possibly this revived interest in oratorio, and especially Italian oratorio that led Corri to compose *Bethulia Liberata* or *Bethulia Delivered* for the Musical Society. The libretto was published by Metastasio in 1734 and had been set many times by the time Corri came to it, including most recently by the fifteen year-old W. A. Mozart. Corri's setting was published in 1774 by R. Fleming and A. Neil with the inscription:

BETHULIA DELIVERED. A SACRED NAMA [sic]. Acted for the first time in the Hall of the Musical Society at Edinburgh on Friday the 18th February 1774. The POETRY by the Celebrated SIGNOR METASTASIO. SET TO MUSIC BY SIGNOR DOMENICO CORRI, Composer to the Society.⁸¹⁷

⁸¹⁴ EMS Sederunt Books, Expenses 1772-3.

⁸¹⁵ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/5/210/2.

⁸¹⁶ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/5/210/3.

⁸¹⁷ The appellation 'Composer to the Society' begs some interesting questions: there was never an official position of 'composer to the Society', but Corri would presumably have sought permission to use the title from the Directors of the Musical Society in the dedication. Does this perhaps imply that there was an expectation that the employees of the Society, and particularly the concert-master, should regularly compose works for use by the Society? There is little evidence to support this theory and the only one of Corri's predecessors who regularly and

The dramatis personae of the first performance of Corri's work was published and gives us some insight into the performing forces of the Society at the time. The five solo parts were taken by the Society's professional singers: Corri sang the role of Ozias, Alice Corri sang the role of Judith, Signor St Giorgio (who was visiting Edinburgh) sang the role of Amital, whilst Gilson sang the role of Charbis, and his daughter Rebecca, Charmis. The chorus provided the exclamations of the Inhabitants of Bethulia.⁸¹⁸ It is possible that Corri intended the performance to be the first of many more compositions designed specifically for the Musical Society.⁸¹⁹ It was well received by the public:

Last night the new Oratorio, called *Bethulia [sic] Liberata*, a sacred drama, the poetry by the celebrated Metastasio with a poetical English translation, and set to music by Signor Domenic Corri, composer to the Musical Society in Edinburgh, was performed in the hall of the Society, before a splendid and elegant audience with great applause. The Dilettanti in that fine science were greatly pleased with the composition, and likewise the performance: the songs and choruses were expressive, and admirable executed by the several performers: Signora Corri, particularly, sung several songs *all bravura* to admiration: On the whole, it may be said, that music is now carried to a very great degree of excellence by the Honourable Musical Society of this place.⁸²⁰

Whatever the excellence of the composition and performance, *Bethulia* was only performed once by the Society, and apparently only repeated once in March 1774 for Corri's benefit.⁸²¹ Corri's other operas *La Raminga Fedele* (1770), performed in Rome, and *Alessandro nell'Indie* (1774), performed in London, never appear to have been staged in Edinburgh.

Table 7.3: Italian oratorios performed by the Edinburgh Musical Society 1750-1800

Title	Composer	Performances in Edinburgh
<i>La Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo</i> (1749)	Jommelli	18.12.1761, 5.8.1768, 24.1.1772, 11.2.1774, 24.7.1772, 11.8.1775
<i>Gioas, Re di Giuda</i> W.D1 (1770)	J. C. Bach	23.7.1773, 17.12.1773, 18.8.1775

extensively composed, according to the available evidence, was Pasquali; of Corri's contemporaries Schetky was probably the most prolific in terms of vocal composition.

⁸¹⁸ 'Metastasio on the British Stage 1728 – 1850 a catalogue' accessed 30 March 2012, <http://ora.ouls.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid%3A3153fb16-2775-488a-9ea97a80d84871/datastreams/ATTACHMENT06>

⁸¹⁹ Johnson correctly identified *Bethulia Liberata* as only 'home-composed oratorio' of the period. He, however, suggests that the Society 'forewent their usual performance of Handel' to stage it. As I have discussed above this is an inaccurate reflection: I believe Corri composed the work in response to the desire for Italianate vocal music from the Society, not that the work was performed as a favour once it had been composed. Johnson, *Music and Society*, 65.

⁸²⁰ EEC, 12 February 1774.

⁸²¹ CM, 5 March 1774.

<i>Bethulia Liberata</i> (1774)	D. Corri	11.2.1774, 8.3.1774 (for Corri's benefit, by permission of the Directors of the Musical Society)
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As previously suggested it may well have been that this interest in Italianate oratorios in the early-1770s left the devotees of Handel's works dissatisfied and this in turn may have led to West Digges' abortive attempt to stage English oratorio at the Theatre Royal in 1775, in an attempt to capitalise on this feeling.

It is perhaps telling that without the consistent effort of dedicated foreign choir trainers, despite having proved itself to be part of the commonwealth of culture that stretched from London to Scotland, Edinburgh was unable to maintain its performance of entire oratorios. It is notable that in 1784, when other cities indulged their passion for Handel's oratorios and the Centenary Commemorations were held in Westminster Abbey, Edinburgh made no attempt to emulate these activities, and only performed one oratorio in that year in Race Week. Even the traditional St Cecilia's Day Concert was abandoned.

Neither of the two works that were performed most frequently, *Acis and Galatea* and *Alexander's Feast*, are mentioned in Finane's survey of Handel's oratorios, *Handel's Messiah and his English Oratorios*. *Acis and Galatea* is considered a masque and *Alexander's Feast* is classified as an ode with music. Perhaps the popularity of these two is derived from the fact that neither has a biblical theme, celebrating instead a classical love story and an ode to music: it may be that the Presbyterian bias of the Kirk against elaborate church music within worship did after all affect the choices of the Musical Society. Or it may simply be, as Southey suggests, that the popularity of these two works was due to their shorter duration and easier rehearsal.⁸²²

Despite their pre-eminent position as the producers of oratorio in eighteenth century Edinburgh, the Musical Society was not the only group interested in the performance of devotional music: as already noted, in 1775 West Digges planned an oratorio series at the Theatre Royal. If Digges' series had taken place and proved financially successful, there is little reason to doubt that this would have opened an important avenue for the consumption of Handel's devotional music outside the activities of the elite Musical Society. The series at the Theatre Royal may have been more financially motivated than the activities of the Musical Society, but it is likely that the audience would have been attracted by the same quasi-devotional attitudes seen towards oratorio elsewhere in century. The Harmonical Society was also concerned with the performance of liturgical works, in English and Latin, although it is possible to argue here that repertory choices came from a self-consciously historical approach, rather than any

⁸²² Southey, *Music-making*, 62.

devotional feeling. Indeed the impetus for the foundation of the Harmonical Society can be seen in neglect of such repertory and the oratorio, especially in 1784, by the Musical Society.

Conclusion

The devotional concerts of the Musical Society were key, not only to the contemporary activities of the Society, but also to the general musical culture of the city. The performance of oratorios and Funeral Concerts were designed to appeal to the noble, enlightened sentiments of the eighteenth century thinking man, and woman. Vocal music and the thoughtful choice of pathetic and solemn airs were key to the success of such ventures. It is difficult to judge the importance of the sporadic Funeral Concerts to the wider musical life of the city, but it is clear that for several years the performance of the oratorios was a high point of the year for the musical elite. It was also through oratorio performances that one can judge the overall health and confidence of the Society. The 1750s, with its influx of foreign talent, was a period of confidence when new works were learnt and performed. The 1770s can be seen as when the influence of Italian music reached its zenith in Edinburgh amongst the fashionable elite, referred to in London as the *bon ton*, or the *Beau monde*, literally the ‘fashionable world’, central to all important and fashionable issues.⁸²³ The period after this saw the Society lose much of its confidence as finances became tight and political worries beset the country: the pioneering spirit was replaced by the conservative staging of well-known works, and ultimately the St Cecilia’s Day concerts were replaced with cheaper and easier-to-arrange miscellaneous concerts.

The demise of the Musical Society oratorios also reflected upon the attitudes of the gentlemen members towards performing and singing. The collapse of the Musical Society chorus actively demonstrates the move of gentlemen from active participants in public music-making to musical consumers. The neglect of the oratorios at the end of the century was keenly felt: with reference solely to the oratorio there is reason to believe that their performance had been ‘so much neglected’ in the city. It was perhaps not only the musical experience that the founders of the Harmonical Society missed but also the ennobling and refining element of

⁸²³ For a fuller exploration of the influence of the *beau monde* in London, see William Weber, ‘Musical Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the *beau monde* in London, 1700-1870’ in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg & Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 71-93.

sacred music which were the best 'solemn entertainments that a rational mind is capable of enjoying'.⁸²⁴

⁸²⁴ *Edinburgh Magazine*, 8 (1788), 102.

Chapter Eight

Vocal Music in the Church

In England, David Starkey identified the last decades of the seventeenth century as the period when the democratisation, and the public life, of music began. He suggests that with the successive lack of interest in the Chapel Royal of James II and then the joint monarchs William and Mary, the finest musicians left the service of the church and instead moved towards the more profitable area of the theatre.⁸²⁵ It was this movement, he suggests, that led to the vibrant public musical life of London in the eighteenth century. Scherer likewise highlights the decline of ecclesiastical and aristocratic patronage across Europe as the impetus that led to musicians developing an interest in personally-motivated commercial ventures.⁸²⁶

In Scotland, the movement of musicians away from the church had occurred centuries earlier. In 1560 Scotland had broken its allegiance to Rome, and the Catholic faith, and had begun its Calvinist-influenced Presbyterian reform. Traditionally, like the Catholic Church in England, the church had encouraged the composition of polyphony, and the works of Robert Carver and David Peebles point to a polyphonic proficiency which indicates a significant school of pre-Reformation composers. The gradual emergence of Presbyterianism as the dominant religion throughout the sixteenth century removed the need for such compositions and such composers. The established Kirk decided that unaccompanied congregational psalms, using biblical texts, were the musical expression most suitable in the service of God. Psalms created a truly corporate expression of faith for worshippers; the Presbyterians needed no intercessor, be it a priest or a choir, between themselves, as the gathered faithful, and their Deity. In addition to being a shared musical expression psalms became part of the identity of those who sang them weekly. The Psalm book became the great treasury of musical praise, whose contents were equal to every occasion.

8.1 Music in the Kirk

In 1582, upon the return to Edinburgh of the popular, yet banished minister, John Durie, a large congregation accompanied him up the High Street to St Giles in procession, singing

⁸²⁵ Starkey and Greening, *Music and Monarchy*, 202.

⁸²⁶ Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Banknotes*, 38-42.

Psalm 124 ‘till heaven and earth resounded’.⁸²⁷ The post-Reformation dominance of psalmody was further heightened by the work of the Edinburgh Sang Schule. Before his move to London in 1603, James VI secured the future of the sang schules in the medium term by making their maintenance the responsibility of individual burghs by an Act of Parliament.⁸²⁸ The Master of the Sang Schule was required to teach adults and children alike, and to act as Precentor in the burgh churches. The master was expected to demonstrate a wider musicality as well: the master of the schule in Haddington in 1583, in addition to teaching singing, was expected to teach ‘Virginali, lute, gutherene [cittern]... Instrument qrvpon [whereupon] he can play’.⁸²⁹ By the end of the seventeenth century, however, the sang schules in Edinburgh were in decay as noted by the musician Lewis de France, who, as already discussed, suggested a scheme for their improvement to the Town Magistrates. With the demise of the sang schules, by the middle of the eighteenth century the psalmody of the Kirk had deteriorated. The standard repertoire of psalm chants had reduced to about twelve, and in places with incompetent precentors the number of chants dropped to three or four.⁸³⁰ The precentor lined out the words on a monotone (Johnson suggests the dominant) before the congregation began the tune. After years of singing only a few chants, the tune became mangled by decorations known as ‘quavers’.⁸³¹ At the same time the congregations lost the art of singing in time with one another and large *heterophonic* time lags between the members of the congregation appeared. Eventually this practice was so wide-spread that it became labelled as the ‘church’ style. One contemporary writer described the practice sympathetically:

this horrid discord with which a Presbyterian congregation assails the ears – a discord to me now more pious in its sounds of willing praise than all the organs or hired choir singers in the world.⁸³²

Not everyone agreed. Robert Bremner considered psalm singing within the Kirk:

⁸²⁷ John Hill Burton, *The History of Scotland*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1873), 89. For more information concerning Durie and the evidence for psalm singing in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Scotland see Timothy Duguid *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice. English ‘Singing Psalms’ and Scottish ‘Psaom Buiks’, c. 1547-1640*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), chapter six.

⁸²⁸ David J. Smith, ‘Keyboard music in Scotland: Genre, gender, context’ in *Defining Strains: the Musical Life of the Scots in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. James Porter (Glasgow: Peter Land, 2007), 101.

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁰ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 172.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*

⁸³² Alexander Crawford Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays, or a memoir of the houses of Crawford and Balcarres*, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1849), 307.

The tenor [the tune]... which was conveyed only by the Ear and from one Generation to another, was now so corrupted by Graces and Quavers, as they called them, that the Tune was entirely defaced... Had these nonsensical Graces been the same every where it would have been the less matter, but, on the contrary... every Individual, had different graces to the same note which were dragged by many to such an immoderate Length, that one corner of the Church, or the People in one Seat, had sung out the Line before another had half done; and from the whole there arose such a Mass of Confusion and Discord as quite debased this the noblest part of Worship.⁸³³

In 1746, Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire employed the soldier and musician Thomas Channon to reform the singing on his estates.⁸³⁴ Grant was a regular and influential visitor to Edinburgh: in 1751 he became a member of the Musical Society and served as a director from 1772 until 1790.⁸³⁵ It may well have been his presence in Edinburgh, and his discussions and associations with the important members of the town, that led to the suggestion of reforms in Edinburgh, similar to those that had taken place in Aberdeen and were beginning in Glasgow:

[It] opened the eyes of those in Power here: upon which there was a Committee appointed, consisting in a Number of Ministers, Lords of Session, Barons of Exchequer, Musical Society and the whole town council. The first Step this Honourable Committee took, was to appoint a proper Number of Church-tunes: and afterwards they were carefully examined by the best Masters.⁸³⁶

In November 1755 the Edinburgh town council met and agreed that:

Whereas the teaching of church music in private has of late been very much neglected and the manner in it which it has been performed in public very indecent and offensive... a master skilled in both the theory and practice of church music should be immediately employed to teach in the city.⁸³⁷

The council's plans were wide-ranging: they announced they would appoint a teacher of church music to affect an Aberdonian-like revival, publish a collection of tunes and open schools for the teaching of these tunes under the city precentors, which the poor could attend without payment. The production of a psalm book was entrusted to the printer Robert Bremner. His *Rudiments of Music* appeared in 1756, and appears to have been the first collection of

⁸³³ Robert Bremner, *Rudiments of Music: or a short and easy treatise on that subject*, second edition (Edinburgh: Robert Bremner, 1762), xii.

⁸³⁴ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 176.

⁸³⁵ Macleod, 'The Edinburgh Musical Society', 166.

⁸³⁶ Bremner, *Rudiments*, xii.

⁸³⁷ Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh, 26 November 1755 quoted in Law, *Education in Edinburgh*, 175.

Presbyterian psalms published in Edinburgh since Thomas Bruce's *The Common Tunes, or Scotland's Church Music made plain* (1726). Bruce's collection had added a few new tunes to the standard repertoire of 12, but the inclusion of a selection of secular songs suggests strongly that the publication was intended for home and not church use. Bremner's collection included eight of the standard Presbyterian psalm tunes, twenty-two new non-repertory tunes, and a selection of anthems and sacred canons. Reforms in Glasgow were clearly in advance of those in Edinburgh: the Master of Church Music in Glasgow, Thomas Moore, published his *Psalms Singers Compleat Tutor, and Divine Companion, in two Volumes*, in early 1755, and a second edition was produced later in the same year.⁸³⁸ In December 1755 the Edinburgh City Council published an extended version of its plans which continued:

That the Knowledge and Practice of Church-Musick may be more universal, and that every Person may have an Opportunity to learn, six or more Schools shall be established and opened in different Quarters of this City – That those Schools shall be taught by such City Precentors, or others as shall be best qualified... That they shall teach all such Scholars, *gratis*, as are poor and not able to pay – That after a competent Number of Scholars have been taught at these Schools, and made Proficient in singing Psalm Tunes, they shall meet once a Week in a convenient Place, where, in the presence of their Masters, and some of the Members of the abovementioned Committee, they shall publickly [*sic*] sing Church Music.⁸³⁹

What was it, however, that led the committee to make such expensive reforms at this point? Civic pride must have surely paid a part: the Edinburgh council could not be seen to ignore something Aberdeen and Glasgow had already started upon. The continuing developments in Aberdeen were reported in the *Caledonian Mercury* and may have highlighted the difference further:

They write from Aberdeen, that St Nicholas' Church being now elegantly rebuilt and fitted out, Divine Service was performed therein on Sunday last; as also, the Singing after the new Method and true Time, to the great Satisfaction of a very numerous Congregation.⁸⁴⁰

With increasing travel had the magistrates become aware of the different styles of performance elsewhere? Did the regular visits of people of influence to London and their churches cast the Kirk in a bad light? Although church music in England's parish churches was in an equally

⁸³⁸ CM, 20 December 1755.

⁸³⁹ CM, 6 December 1755.

⁸⁴⁰ CM, 15 November 1755.

unrefined state, places like the Lock Hospital in London developed a reputation for innovative and musically-stimulating congregational hymn singing.⁸⁴¹ It is possible that the magistrates believed in the general eighteenth century educational theory, that children, rich and poor alike, were born into a state of original sin⁸⁴² and the primary goal of education was to instil the first principles of religion and morality. By investing in the education of children and workers today, they were securing a better future: the ultimate Enlightenment aim. In 1774 Charles Burney wrote ‘the Singing in many [English] Parish Churches, is a disgrace to our Religion & to our Country. But the good effects of a well directed Music School would soon extend even to these’.⁸⁴³ The Edinburgh town magistrates evidently agreed with these sentiments and set about reforming the music in the Kirk, twenty years before Burney suggested it in England. The committee to choose the musician to orchestrate the reforms sat in April 1756, and on 8 April 1756 the *Caledonian Mercury* announced:

Yesterday, Mr CORNFORTH GILSON, from Durham, was elected by the Honourable Magistrates and Town-council, Master and Teacher of Church-musick in this City- We hear he is to begin to teach immediately, and that the Precentors of this City are to attend him.⁸⁴⁴

Aware of the proposed changes, the city musicians had attempted to establish schools dedicated to Psalm singing before the arrival of the new musician. In November 1755 Archibald Letham had advertised he would teach ‘those who are inclined to learn the tunes that are sung in the churches of Scotland and Presbyterian meetings in England’⁸⁴⁵ in Baxter’s Hall. Robert Hutton noted that ‘as there is a proposal for singing with propriety the psalm tunes commonly used’ he would be available to teach students.⁸⁴⁶ In February 1756 David Bowie opened a school at St Paul’s Chapel, Skinner’s Close to teach psalmody, which he described as ‘that useful and delightful science’.⁸⁴⁷ In the same paper John Fyfe, a former pupil of Thomas Mountier, advertised that he was ‘now approved of by the Committee for the introducing the new Method of Singing in the Churches’.⁸⁴⁸ The committee had obviously already reviewed the city’s

⁸⁴¹ Temperley, *The Lock Hospital Chapel*, 53.

⁸⁴² Kassler, *Burney’s Sketch of a plan for a Public Music School*, 211.

It is worth mentioning that despite the Calvinist belief in predestination, unconditional and otherwise, the view of original sin was still supported by the Kirk authorities, meaning that Anglican education theory still had a relevance in Scotland.

⁸⁴³ *Ibid.*, 232,

⁸⁴⁴ CM, 8 April 1756.

⁸⁴⁵ EEC, 4 November 1755.

⁸⁴⁶ EEC, 20 November 1755.

⁸⁴⁷ CM, 17 February 1756.

⁸⁴⁸ CM, 17 February 1756.

cantors before the appointment of Gilson. Soon after his appointment, at an initial salary of 20 shillings a month,⁸⁴⁹ Gilson began to teach the cantors. Johnson suggested that the reforms were fast and far reaching: he assumed that between January 1755 and December 1756 heterophonic singing disappeared in Edinburgh's churches.⁸⁵⁰ This seems unlikely, as it was not until December 1756 that the Town Council had agreed upon a scheme of instruction.⁸⁵¹ Seven singing schools were established under the direction of the city cantors 'Messrs. Lauries, Elder and Younger, Christy, Dallas, Fife, Lethem, and Mrs Gordon'. The committee intended that poverty should not prevent people from attending:

That the poor as well as the Rich may have an Opportunity to learn the above mentioned Masters are to teach at the low Price of 20 pence per Month. And in order to render this Benefit as extensive and universal as possible the Committee have resolved, that those who are not able to pay for it, shall be taught gratis.⁸⁵²

The committee appealed to heads of families to set a good example and to encourage their children and servants to attend. Jacobina Gordon was especially tasked to teach domestic servants:

And whereas it may often happen, that those who are engaged to Families, such as Housekeepers, Servants, maids &c. will be strained for want of Time to learn, Mrs Gordon is therefore directed by the Committee to accommodate her Hours of teaching in such a Manner as shall be most convenient for them.⁸⁵³

What is remarkable is the ambition of the Town Council: this was an educational reform that included provision for students from every level of society. It was probably the first democratic experiment in musical education in Edinburgh. Bremner wrote that an:

universal Spirit diffused through all Ranks. Men of seventy and Boys of seven Years old were at school together, and equally keen of Instruction. Their Diligence enabled the Teachers to produce very fine Concerts in a few weeks... so that in a few months the former erroneous Manner of singing was entirely forgot.⁸⁵⁴

Johnson, however, suggests another reason why the classes were so numerous and regularly attended: Bremner may have mentioned young boys and old men but seems to have singularly failed to notice the fairer sex. Johnson said of the classes and the church choirs which sprung

⁸⁴⁹ *Music in Scotland*, 792.

⁸⁵⁰ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 175.

⁸⁵¹ EEC, 21 December 1756.

⁸⁵² CM, 2 December 1756.

⁸⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁴ Bremner, *Rudiments*, xiii.

up that their members of both sexes were mostly young and unmarried, and that the choirs gave them regular un-chaperoned access to one another.⁸⁵⁵ There is, however, no evidence that the sexes were taught together: it seems likely that Mrs Gordon would have specialised in the teaching of females of a genteel nature, just as she did in teaching housemaids. Thus, Johnson's impression of giggling teenagers walking through the fields hand in hand on their way to choir practice seems unlikely.⁸⁵⁶

Even after the opening of the schools, Gilson continued to examine the city precentors and in March 1757 recommended the removal of five precentors.⁸⁵⁷ Gilson himself began teaching in May 1757:

To make the improvement of church music general in Edinburgh, Mr. Gilson, by direction of the committee teaches publicly in the New Church aisle every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday at six in the evening, where all persons desirous to learn are taught gratis. This was begun on Tuesday May 17.⁸⁵⁸

The first performance of the choirs, as stipulated in the edict of December 1756, took place in June 1757: 'Mr Gilson's scholars, aided by several children in the hospital sang ten of the common tunes in four parts without reading the lines'.⁸⁵⁹ Robert Bremner described the first performance of the scholars:

The first of this kind that was here was at a little chapel, where the teacher brought all his best scholars, to the number of a hundred and sixty, who were not taught together, but in different classes: There were but a few met to hear the first performance... No sooner, however, was the Music begun, but a sort of Dread and Amazement seized every countenance: some looked pale and ghastly, some were in a chilly sweat: and many stared at they knew not what, nay, the Teacher himself (a thoroughbred chorister), was not only silenced but weeped excessively.⁸⁶⁰

Gilson clearly pleased the burgesses of the Town Council who re-appointed him for a second year at a salary of £12.0s.0d sterling.⁸⁶¹

As Bremner's *Rudiments* had been produced as a treatise as well a repository of psalms, Gilson's teaching, at least initially, probably followed the plans laid out by Bremner. Bremner

⁸⁵⁵ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 181.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid, 183.

⁸⁵⁷ Dugald Butler, *The Tron Kirk of Edinburgh: a history* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrers, 1906), 251.

⁸⁵⁸ SM, 19 (1757), 260.

⁸⁵⁹ Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music*, 157.

⁸⁶⁰ Bremner, *Rudiments*, 58.

⁸⁶¹ *Music in Scotland*, 792.

began the treatise with a dedication to the Gentlemen of the Town Council who caused its creation and followed it with advice to Kirk musicians, precentors and school masters. Gilson’s faith in the treatise was probably borne out by Bremner’s own opinions: he continued ‘the music master can receive no instruction from this little treatise, yet, if he chuses [*sic*] to recommend it to his scholars, it may save him some trouble’.⁸⁶² Bremner proceeded to give short and understandable explanations of scales, notes, rests, semitones, keys and basic harmony and transposition. Gilson may even have followed the structured lesson plan Bremner provides: given that there were seven different schools, taught by different people, in different parts of the city, it seems highly likely that Gilson would have advised his assistants to follow the plan that was already established:

Table 8.1: Lessons specified in ‘A treatise on music’ in *Rudiments of Music*, (second edition 1762) by Robert Bremner

Lesson One	Major scales and the singing of an octave
Lesson Two	Major scales of C, G, and F and basic voice production, reading of semibreves
Lesson Three	The division of a bar in common time into minims and crotchets
Lesson Four	
Lesson Five	
Lesson Six	Singing the interval of a third
Lesson Seven	Singing the interval of a fourth
Lesson Eight	Singing the interval of a fifth
Lesson Nine	The division of a bar in common time into crotchets
Lesson Ten	Singing all intervals in an octave including major and minor third
Lesson Eleven	The division of a bar in triple time into three minims
Lesson Twelve	<i>In the second edition (1762) Bremner inserted an explanation of the ‘lesser third’- he described its omission in the first edition as a ‘great oversight’</i>

Presumably like any syllabus it was not suggested that each lesson should correspond exactly with each meeting of the class: probably many of the lessons took several months to learn. It has not been suggested that Gilson was given only a limited time in which to effect his changes, so it is possible that, having agreed a plan with his assistants, he gave them the freedom to move through the syllabus at the pace each group required. Bremner also stressed that in addition to a sound knowledge of the foundations of music, students should develop a good singing technique:

Care must be taken to keep the Mouth pretty much open, that the sounds may be clear and sonorous. The human Voice, if properly used is far preferable to any other music: but if overstretched there is no music so bad.⁸⁶³

⁸⁶² Bremner, *Rudiments*, xviii.

⁸⁶³ Bremner, *Rudiment*, 28.

In addition to the lesson plan, Bremner provides a section entitled *Instructions for Song* and a further *Plan for teaching the four parts to any number a house will conveniently hold, with as little trouble, and as soon as to four people*. This section is addressed directly to the school master-cum-precentor: it highlights how to sing the vowels correctly, how to detect which part a man should sing, how to conduct oneself during Divine Service, and how to move a poor singer or ‘bad genius’ to the bass part as ‘they will do less Hurt there than in any other part’.⁸⁶⁴ His advice to precentors finished, Bremner presents the collection of tunes, canons, chants and anthems approved by the Committee, which had financed the collection. Ever since the intelligence of Channon’s reforms in Aberdeen arrived in Edinburgh, correspondents had lectured and hectorred each upon the benefits and futility of reforming the system of psalm singing. In July 1755 a correspondent from Aberdeen provided a list of the church tunes which had been prepared and sung by Channon’s choir.

Figure 8.1: Psalm tunes in use following the reformation of church music in Aberdeen, 1755
Scots Magazine, vol. 17, July 1755, 345

A T A B L E of T U N E S.						
Key	No.	Name	Parts	Time	Character or Taste	Suited to
Cheerful or sharp	1	Abingdon	3	common	cheerful and solemn	Pf ♯
	2	C. Psalm	3	common	cheerful and solemn	92. I
	3	Zealand	4	triple	cheerful and lively	100. I
	4	Kidderminster	4	triple	very cheerful	149. I
	5	Fintray	3	triple	expressive of great joy	103. I
	6	Monymusk	3	triple	very cheerful, and somewhat expressive of desire	33. I
	7	Paradise	4	common	grand and cheerful	84. I
	8	St Matthew's	3	triple	pastoral and lively	98. I
	9	St Anne's	3	common	pastoral, and expressive of longing	23. I
	10	Althope	3	common	solemn	63. I
	11	Colcheiter	4	triple	lively, and somewhat grand	24. 3
	12	Kintore	4	common	very grand and cheerful	150. I
	13	London new, or Newton	3	common	grand	98. 4.
Melancholy or flat	14	Dundee	3	common	complaining	104. I
	15	Rugby	3	triple	melancholy and longing	13. 2
	16	Hartford	4	triple	penitential	42. I
	17	Rayne	3	triple	mournful and supplicatory	51. I
	18	Bangor	3	common	deeply mournful	102. I

Obs. 1. All the above tunes were sung as a specimen at Aberdeen on the 2d of January, except No. 7. 10. 16 & 17. which were not then taught to the performers; and are most of them sung in all the churches where the reformed music obtains, and all of them in some or other of those churches. *St Mary's, French, Silt, and Dunfermline* tunes, are also used in some of those churches.

It is interesting to note the similarities and differences between the table of music sung in Aberdeen and the ‘approved’ music printed by Bremner. Of the thirty tunes published by Bremner there are only five in common with the eighteen performed in Aberdeen: ‘100th Psalm’, ‘St Matthew’, ‘St Anne’, ‘Dundee’ and the tune ‘London New’, which in Bremner’s

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid, 56.

publication was given the title ‘Newton’ or ‘Oxford’. The Committee had clearly decided to significantly enlarge the repertoire of tunes in use, as well as heighten the standard of performance of the twelve traditional tunes. Johnson states that of the existing twelve Bremner and the Committee only chose to include four in the new collection, although this count probably does not include the confused nomenclature of London New.

Figure 8.2: Music included in *Rudiments of Music* (second edition, 1762) by Robert Bremner

TABLE OF THE MUSIC.	
PSALM-TUNES.	ANTHEMS.
Abbey, - - pag. 6	Praise the Lord, 3 Voc. 42
St Anne's or Perth, - 14	My Song shall be, 2 V. 44
St Andrew's, - - - 29	Out of the Depths, 3 V. 46
Bristol, - - - 21	Lord, judge my Cause,
Cambridge, - - - 36	3 Voices, - - - 52
Dundee or Windfor, 1	Resurrection-hymn, 4 V. 54
Dunfermline or Dur-	Gloria Patri, 4 Voices, 62
ham, - - - 6	
St David's or Montrose, 15	
Elgin or Carlisle, - 5	CANONS for three
Edinburgh, - - - 22	Voices.
French or Norwich, 4	To thee 'twas given, } 41
St Giles's, - - - 28	Jerusalem, } 41
Jedburgh or Exeter, 12	Non nobis, Domine, 50
St James's or Stirling, 17	O Abfalom, - - - 64
London, - - - 2	
St Luke's, - - - 32	
Martyrs, - - - 9	
St Mary's or Dumfriesshire, 20	CHANTS or TUNES for
St Matthew's or Glas-	particular Hymns.
gow, - - - 18	Venite, exultemus, } 65
Newton or Oxford, 8	Te Deum, } 65
St Paul's or Aberdeen, 16	Benedicite, } 67
Psalm 81. - - - 26	Benedictus, } 67
— 100. - - - 13	Jubilate Deo, - - - 68
— 113. - - - 38	Magnificate, - - - 68
— 119. - - - 10	Nunc demittis, } 69
— 148. - - - 34	Cantate Domino, } 69
— 149. - - - 30	Deus misereatur, 70
Stilt or York, - - - 3	Anthem for EASTER, 71
Salisbury, - - - 37	Benedicite, - - - 72
Zion, - - - 24	

Needless to say, the reforms were not always popular: the Earl of Haddington commented at a service that ‘I came here to praise my Maker and not to hear a concert’.⁸⁶⁵ When the psalm was lined out, not a single voice in the congregation replied, only the choir sang.⁸⁶⁶ This was at the New Church in St Giles, where the first choir had been introduced and Cornforth Gilson was precentor.⁸⁶⁷ There appears to have been no precedent for the publication of anthems and other non-psalm-based choral music for use in the Kirk before the *Rudiments of Music* appeared. This is all the more remarkable considering that there is no obvious place

⁸⁶⁵ James Russell, *Reminiscences of Yarrow* (Selkirk: G. Lewis & Son, 1894), 41.

⁸⁶⁶ Fraser, *The Passing of the Precentor*, 98.

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

for the insertion of such ‘English’ music in the Presbyterian act of worship. The inclusion of such items as the canon ‘Non nobis Domine’, attributed to William Byrd, in an English translation suggests a use beyond the weekly Kirk services: I have already suggested that the Masons, the Harmonical Society and the Musical Society all used Bremner’s book at singing meetings and it is likely that it found use in many houses for private worship and music-making. Despite the inclusion of extra-liturgical music in Bremner’s collection, the mainstay of the Kirk and the reformed choirs was the performance of the psalms in metrical translations. The psalms themselves differed from modern hymns to the extent that although they were metrical and usually in common or triple time, the melody, as Bremner stated, was in the tenor. The congregation, in theory, joined with the tenor, whilst the soprano and alto provided basic harmony over the top: the style of psalmody bears a greater resemblance to the English Renaissance Faux-bourdon style of setting a tune. It also, unconsciously, echoes the dawn of polyphonic music, where an augmented plainsong melody was given to a middle part whilst the bass and upper parts provided melodic and rhythmic interest. The name tenor is descended from the part’s ability to hold the tune, from the Latin verb *tenere* (to hold).

Figure 8.3: The tune named Newton or Oxford by Bremner, now known as London New, from *Rudiments of Music* (second edition 1762) by Robert Bremner



The psalms, by necessity, remained the focus of Gilson’s teaching and experiments, but in a Church that took the bible and the psalms to be the ultimate untainted word of God, the texts of the psalmic paraphrases were not to be sullied by rehearsal and endless repetition. The words

of the bible were for use in worship only. As a result, there grew the tradition of practice verses to use when learning and rehearsing the psalms. There were many variants from school to school, but they generally included the name of the tune to help the choristers readily identify tunes from one another. Practice verses were not solely a Scottish phenomenon. Johnson recorded the following verse for the tune ‘French’ in Edinburgh:

Come, let us sing the tune of French
The second measure low,
The third ascendeth very high
The fourth doth downward go.⁸⁶⁸

In Ireland, Stevenson recorded a different version in use in County Cork:

The first of all begins with French
The second measure low
The third extendeth very high
The fourth doth downwards go.⁸⁶⁹

Although Bremner remains silent on this practice, it was clearly wide-spread throughout the city and indeed the wider country. That apart, Bremner’s *Rudiments* appears to have been the perfect choirmaster’s handbook: even so, Gilson evidently had his own ideas and methods that deviated from Bremner’s plan. His ideas were collected together in *Lessons on the Practice of Singing* (1759). In the preface Gilson wrote:

I need not trouble the Public with any Preface to a performance of this kind, the utility of such performances is now well known, especially since the introduction of the late improvements in Church Music, which now so happily prevails in this Country.⁸⁷⁰

Unlike Bremner, Gilson drew on the English collections in addition to existing Scottish collections, especially the works of Este and Ravenscroft. His collection included at least two psalm tunes published for the first time in Scotland: ‘Easter Hymn’ published for the first time in *Lyrical David* (1708) and ‘Webb’ re-named ‘New Grey Friars Tune’. The tune ‘Kent’ by Lampe also appeared re-named ‘New Church Tune’: this tune had previously appeared in Glasgow in Moore’s *Psalm Singers Pocket Companion* (1755) and may have already been

⁸⁶⁸ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 182.

⁸⁶⁹ John Stevenson, *Two Centuries of Life in Down, 1600-1800* (Belfast: McCaw, 1920), 196.

⁸⁷⁰ Cornforth Gilson, *Lessons on the Practice of Singing* (Edinburgh: R. Fleming, 1759), 3.

known in Edinburgh.⁸⁷¹ Whether Gilson viewed his treatise as a replacement to Bremner's collection is unknown, but the sale price of 2s.6d. seems deliberately calculated to undercut Bremner's price of 3s.0d., as does the fact the book was produced by Robert Fleming, Bremner's rival publisher. Certainly Gilson was well-placed to ensure that his work sold well: shortly after its publication Gilson persuaded the Treasurer of the Town Council to purchase 16 copies of his book for 'the use of the boys who sing bass in the New Church'.⁸⁷² This rather anachronistic statement may give some evidence as to the later configuration of the reformed Kirk choirs, which diverts rather sharply from David Johnson's impression of giggling teenagers experiencing their first un-chaperoned moments.⁸⁷³

By the 1780s the voluntary Kirk choirs had developed into paid bands of singers who led the worship. In 1781, the Tron Kirk retained fifteen or sixteen singers, known as the 'Tron Bass Club', who were all paid, and who maintained a rivalry with the Bass Club of Old Greyfriars' Kirk, compared to whom they felt they were poorly remunerated. The Club was only kept together by the Precentor with 'much difficulty and great expense' and a raise in the Club's salary from 20s. per quarter to 30s.⁸⁷⁴ There remains little evidence of the activities of these Bass Clubs, but their presence in two Edinburgh Kirks suggests their presence was likely in more, and also that by this time many of the Kirks remunerated their singers. It is possible that after the initial enthusiasm of the reforms of the 1750s the standard could only be maintained by paying singers, albeit amateurs, for their services. The name Bass Club might also suggest that the choirs had become the preserve of male singers, singing the psalm tune only in basic harmony or unison. The hired choirs were by no means universally popular and by the early nineteenth century people were once again calling for the reform of music in the Presbyterian Church:

If the psalmody is to be improved, or the Presbyterian worship, why not rather adopt the organ than this miserable substitute, - a band of singers, composed of boys and girls, who sing the praises of God *for hire*, who, very likely, if they were not paid for it, would not do so at all... I have seen them myself in... this very city, after singing a tune which

⁸⁷¹ For further details and examples of Lampe's hymn tunes and connection to Methodism, see Martin V. Clarke, 'John Frederick Lampe's *Hymns on Great Festivals and Other Occasions*' in *Music and the Wesleys*, ed. Nicholas Temperley & Stephen Banfield (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 52-63.

⁸⁷² *Music in Scotland*, 792.

⁸⁷³ As yet there has been very little research into the membership of the Kirk choirs and Bass Clubs. Circumstantially it appears that the Bass Clubs were single sex, but it should not be assumed that the 'boys' necessarily had unbroken voices: 'boys' may have generically referred to the young men who sang in the choirs. It is possible that psalms were sung by different groups of equal voices, which may have caused some confusion in the harmony.

⁸⁷⁴ Butler, *The Tron Kirk of Edinburgh*, 251 – 2.

nobody could follow, and which they got solely to themselves, nodding, winking, and trifling towards each other, - reckless about prayers, praise, or devotion.⁸⁷⁵

Gilson resigned from his position as Master of the Church Music in April 1764 and was replaced by another Englishman, Thomas Franks, although it was not until 1766 that Franks was officially appointed.⁸⁷⁶ Franks appears to have only remained in the city until 1770. After a brief period in London and Dublin Gilson returned to Edinburgh stricken with debt and was re-appointed to his former position on 21 August 1771.⁸⁷⁷ Following his death in 1778 the Town Council made no attempt to appoint a replacement, possibly satisfied that now the work of the precentors had sufficiently reformed the teaching of psalms and church music could continue without an Arch-precentor.

There remained an enthusiasm for the singing of psalms and education in church music, however, as throughout the remainder of the century musicians advertised that they were available to teach pupils and 'lovers of psalmody'. In 1759, at the height of the enthusiasm Richard Eales, a former colleague of Gilson's from Durham Cathedral,⁸⁷⁸ advertised that he proposed to teach 'CHURCH MUSIC or PSALMODY in a just and easy Method'.⁸⁷⁹ In 1785, John Campbell ran a school based along Gilson's lines to improve the singing in the Canongate Kirk:

JOHN CAMPBELL, Precentor and Music-Master, in Canongate, OPENED A SCHOOL, on the 28th November 1785, in the Mason Lodge, Fleshmarket Close, head of the Canongate, for TEACHING VOCAL MUSIC. The Magistrates, the Reverend Ministers, and the Managers of the Church funds appointed this School, to afford the inhabitant an opportunity of having their children taught at the most reasonable rates. J. CAMPBELL will attend the said place every Monday, Wednesday and Friday afternoon at five o'clock. NB. Instrumental Music taught privately.⁸⁸⁰

The state of psalm singing in the Kirk appears to have been something that the Magistrates revisited every ten years or so. In the same year as Campbell opened his school, John Aitken opened 'a Public School, for teaching CHURCH MUSIC... He proposes teaching a certain numbers of Boys and Girls *gratis*'.⁸⁸¹ In 1795 the Magistrates instituted a free evening school

⁸⁷⁵ Clericus, *Organs and Presbyterians: being a few observations intended for the particular benefit of the anti-organists; with some strictures of their recent meetings in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: John Lothian, 1829), 22.

⁸⁷⁶ *Music in Scotland*, 792.

⁸⁷⁷ James Love, *Scottish Church Music: its composers and sources* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1891), 323.

⁸⁷⁸ Southey, *Music-making*, 207.

⁸⁷⁹ CM, 7 April 1759.

⁸⁸⁰ CM, 17 December 1785.

⁸⁸¹ CM, 18 June 1785.

for pupils. In November Aitken proposed to open a similar school to cater for those who could not attend the official school:

JOHN AITKEN proposed to teach CHURCH MUSIC, upon easier terms than have yet been offered to the Public, viz. at 5s. per quarter. He observes with regret that while rapid improvements have been made in every other department of music, that of SACRED MUSIC still continues in an unimproved state. It is however with pleasure he views the laudable attention of the Hon. Magistrates in lately instituting an Evening's Gratis School at seven for that purpose: but while its publicity and the hour of attendance many be agreeable and convenient to some, there are others who would rather chuse [*sic*] a different hour and a more private mode of instruction – To accommodate such, therefore he intends to open school on Monday the 23rd current, and thereafter to devote the evenings of Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday from 6 to 7, and from 8 to 9, in an apartment in his own house, Gosford's Close, Lawnmarket. – J. A. Takes this public opportunity of expressing his gratitude to the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council, for the favours they have conferred upon him in the line of his profession, with an assurance, that every attention on his art shall be given, and exertions made, to render his services useful and acceptable.⁸⁸²

The continued interest of the Magistrates in the state of singing within the Kirks suggests that they were keen to ensure that the money spent in 1755 and afterwards led to a long-term improvement of music within the Kirk and that the repertoire performed in the Kirks remained a reflection of civic pride. In 1778 Charles Scheinman advertised that he had composed a selection of new psalm tunes 'in three parts... sung in the presence, approved off, authorised, and immediately ordered by the Town Council'.⁸⁸³ Whilst it may have been an exaggeration to suggest that the music in the Kirks was 'unimproved', it is possible that, a generation after Gilson's reforms and with the Bass Clubs only as proficient as the precentors who directed and trained them, standards had fallen significantly.

The direct involvement of the city authorities in music of the church ensured that the music of the Kirk was certainly not neglected, nor far from their notice. The music of the national church had a national cultural reflection upon the city and the wider country, and it was possibly these considerations, rather than any devotional motives, that inspired the reforms. It seems clear that the vocal music performed in the Kirk had a wider significance beyond the musical culture of the city, and was rather considered a reflection of its whole cultural and civic life.

⁸⁸² CM, 14 November 1795.

⁸⁸³ CM, 1 August 1778.

8.2 Vocal Music in the Episcopal Church

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, Episcopalians enjoyed little of the freedom of worship given to members of the established Church; until 1792 Scottish Episcopalians were subject to severe penal laws. Throughout much of this period they met in ill-fitted rooms and, when threatened, retreated to the safety of meeting in each other's houses: there was little of the security and stability required for continued music-making and development. At this period there were two types of Episcopalians in the city: the qualified congregation and the non-juring Jacobite congregation. The qualified Episcopalians followed the rituals and rules of the Church of England and declared themselves loyal to the Hanoverian monarchy.⁸⁸⁴ The non-juring Jacobites declared their loyalty frequently and loudly to the exiled Stuart monarchy. It was Jacobite support of the 1745 rebellion against George II, so firmly put down at the Battle of Culloden, which had led to penal laws against all Episcopalians in Scotland.⁸⁸⁵

There were three qualified chapels in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century: St Andrew's in Carrubbers Close, Grant's Chapel (or St Paul's) in Skinners Close, and Smith's Chapel in Blackfriars Wynd. There was only one non-juring Chapel in Edinburgh, often forcibly closed, dedicated to St Paul at the foot of Carrubbers Close.

The chapel in Blackfriars Wynd had originally been established in 1708 in a house in Half Moon Close, under the care of the Rector, Mr Blair. A new Chapel was built to house this congregation in 1722 on land purchased by John Smith, Chief Baron of the new Court of Exchequer. Smith wanted Prayer Book services, and cast upon the chapel a mantle of unimpeachable loyalty to Queen Anne. When the Pretender took Edinburgh in 1745, the minister, a Mr. Fowlis from Essex, prayed for 'the King' without naming the Hanoverian monarch, George II, and was dismissed when the Pretender withdrew from the city.

Congregational singing clearly formed a major part of the liturgy, as regular payments to the Clerk of the Chapel as leader of the singing were recorded.⁸⁸⁶ Ruth Mack Wilson states that an organ was purchased for this chapel in 1735.⁸⁸⁷ Despite the Chapel merging with the other two justified Chapels in the 1774, the congregation retained its own identity and left en

⁸⁸⁴ Stewart J. Brown, 'Religion and Society to c. 1900' in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, ed. Thomas M. Devine & Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 88.

⁸⁸⁵ Stewart J. Brown, 'Religion in Scotland' in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Harry T. Dickinson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2002), 268.

⁸⁸⁶ Ruth Mack Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland, and America, 1660 to 1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 200.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

masse, having registered their dissatisfaction with the new unified chapel. The congregation returned to their traditional home in Blackfriars Wynd. The diarist James Boswell recorded that he ‘came to the Chapel... which I preferred as a privater assembly than the New Episcopal Chapel’.⁸⁸⁸ Despite Wilson’s earlier claims of an organ, Boswell also noted that on Sunday 8 December 1782 a new organ had been installed, possibly for the first time since leaving the unified chapel, as he commented that that Sunday was ‘the first day of an organ playing there’.⁸⁸⁹ At the end of the eighteenth century, the organist to the congregation was the composer T. H. Butler, who remained with the congregation until its demise in 1818.

St Andrew’s in Carrubbers Close, founded in 1746, was described as a ‘mean and inconvenient apartment’.⁸⁹⁰ John Snetzler installed a one manual organ in the chapel in December 1747,⁸⁹¹ which drew ‘several persons thither out of curiosity’.⁸⁹² In December 1760 Mr Milne, recorded as organist of the Chapel, staged a benefit in Mary’s Chapel.⁸⁹³ By 1774 Stephen Clark was organist of the chapel and may well have been so since his arrival in the city in 1763. In April 1774 he staged his benefit in the building, and performed amongst other works Purcell’s *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, which remains the only definite evidence discovered of vocal music being performed in the chapel.⁸⁹⁴ The organ was sold in 1774 upon the merging of the Episcopal Congregations.⁸⁹⁵

St Paul’s Chapel (also known as Grant’s Chapel) appears to have existed in Skinner’s Close since at least 1712 under a minister named Barclay. The trustees were leading merchants, lawyers and other notables. It is possible that the psalter used in the Chapel may have been *A Short and Useful Psalmody* (1742) by the singing teacher James Dallas, and dedicated to the directors of the Musical Society. Dallas had a long connection with the Edinburgh Musical Society as a copyist and even as choirmaster to the Heriot’s boys. His publication is presently the earliest example of an Episcopal Psalter published in the city.⁸⁹⁶ In 1750 Leonardo

⁸⁸⁸ Boswell, *Edinburgh Journals*, 296.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 483.

⁸⁹⁰ Patrick Bridgwater, *Arthur Schopenhauer’s English schooling* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 49.

⁸⁹¹ The sale notice which appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 16 April 1774 recorded the specification of the instrument: open diapason, stopt diapason, principal, twelfth, fifteenth, sesquialtera, cornet and violincello. ‘The pipers in number 484, are all of metal, except 24 which are of wood, with an elegant front’ (CM, 16 April 1774).

⁸⁹² SM, (1747), 608.

⁸⁹³ CM, 10 December 1760.

⁸⁹⁴ CM, 2 April 1774.

⁸⁹⁵ CM, 16 April 1774.

The organ was moved to St Andrew’s Qualified Chapel, Willowacre, Glasgow (‘St Andrew’s-by-the-Green’) in 1755 and enlarged in 1788 by John Donaldson of York and is now in the Concert Hall of the University of Glasgow.

‘Concert Hall, University of Glasgow’ accessed on 15 August 2014,

<http://www.gla.ac.uk/~gxla12/organs/ConcertHall.html>

⁸⁹⁶ Wilson, *Anglican Chant*, 204.

Pescatore was the ‘organist of Mr Grant’s Chapel’.⁸⁹⁷ In 1764 he staged his benefit in the chapel, which included a performance of Marcello’s Psalms, presumably in Garth’s translated version.⁸⁹⁸ Pescatore remained organist until 1774, when he resigned,⁸⁹⁹ the new chapel opened, and the old organ was sold.⁹⁰⁰

At the non-juring chapel, Mary Ingram states that the first organist recorded was Alexander Campbell, who was in post by 1780. Before this, she notes a precentor was employed at the salary of 6s.6d. per annum, and a small payment was made to an organ blower.⁹⁰¹ At the outset of the eighteenth century the Chapel had an organ presented to the congregation by Queen Anne in 1712, which was installed and tuned by James Logan.⁹⁰² The organ was removed in 1716 and from that time until Campbell’s appointment there does not appear to have been an instrument in the chapel, which was sometimes at most only a rented room. A few years after Campbell had been appointed, a new organ was installed. In May 1782 this caused a surprising response from the Rev Alexander Allan, later assistant at the Chapel, who wrote to Arthur Petrie, the Episcopalian Bishop of Edinburgh:

I know not whether our friends in the north may have got any fresh assurances of protection in these perilous times, but make no doubt you will be surprised when I inform you that our neighbours in Carrubbers Close (I mean Mr. Harper’s congregation) appear as if they were great favourites with those in power; for not satisfied with excellent vocal music, they have lately erected an organ in that chapel they have not yet begun to use it in public on the Sundays, but frequently practise it on the week-days in the presence of both clergy and laity. I have talked a little to the bishop about the propriety of this step, as it appeared to me both rash and imprudent, and might in the end prove of more general concern than they imagined. His reverence told me that they had never consulted him in the affair; he had, however, spoken to Mr. Harper about it, and discharged the use of it in public on the Sundays. Whether they will pay any regard to this inhibition, time must determine.

But it is evident the plan was to use it directly, although Mr. Harper softens the matter by saying that it is to improve the voices of the young people with regard to the proper time, which end might have been attained by placing it somewhere else than in the body of the chapel.⁹⁰³

⁸⁹⁷ CM, 13 November 1750.

⁸⁹⁸ CM, 25 February 1764.

⁸⁹⁹ Wilson, *Anglican Chant*, 200.

In her work Wilson has confused St Pauls, Skinner’s Close with the non-juring congregation which eventually became Old St Paul’s. Wilson states Leonardo Pescatore was organist to the latter congregation, but I have found no evidence for this, which is supported by the research of Mary Ingram in *A Jacobite Stronghold in the Church: Being the Story of Old St. Paul’s Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: R. Grant & Sons, 1907).

⁹⁰⁰ CM, 10 December 1774. ‘An ORGAN to be Sold. Upon Wednesday the 21st December instant, betwixt four and six afternoon, with the Exchange Coffeehouse, Edinburgh, will be exposed to sale by auction, The ORGAN in St Paul’s Chapel, remarkable for its agreeable tone and easy movements’.

⁹⁰¹ Mary E. Ingram, *A Jacobite Stronghold*, 79.

⁹⁰² *Ibid*, 7.

⁹⁰³ Ingram, *A Jacobite Stronghold*, 78.

The objection to the introduction of an organ into Episcopalian worship was by no means unique, even in England. In 1764 in Halifax the installation of an organ in the parish church had split the vestry and the congregation.⁹⁰⁴

None of the Episcopal congregations in the city up to 1774 appear to have supported choirs: the precentor or parish clerk lined out the psalms, whilst the organist was retained to accompany the psalms and to provide two voluntaries within each service, the first after the psalm, which often employed solo stops and showed the range of the organ and the second, a more solemn affair, usually a fugue, towards the end of the service.⁹⁰⁵ I have come across no evidence of the manner of playing or any reflections upon the organ in the use of Episcopalian worship in Edinburgh, but Southey has recorded many of the objections of the clergy and congregations over the abuse of the organ in worship in Newcastle and the surrounding area.⁹⁰⁶

By 1771 there were about a thousand Episcopalians worshipping in three ‘qualified’ chapels. The congregations joined together and devised a plan of building a church to house all the ‘qualified’ Episcopalians in the city. They chose a site in the Cowgate and the foundation stone was laid by Sir James Adolphus Oliphant, Grand Master of the Masons, on 3 April 1771. The church cost in excess of £8,000 and was opened for worship on 9 October 1774. The opening of the new classical chapel was seen as:

A mark of increasing moderation and liberality... not many years ago, Episcopacy in all its ceremonies would not have been tolerated... the organ and the paintings would have been downright idolatry and the chapel would have fallen sacrifice to the fury of the mob.⁹⁰⁷

Inside, the Chapel was decorated in a Classical style based roughly on St Martin in the Fields in London: the church was 90 feet long by 75 feet broad. The walls were decorated with murals by Alexander Runciman and the edifice was crowned with a spire. At the west end there was a choir gallery housing an organ installed by Snetzler. Boswell was amazed at the edifice that rose in the Cowgate: he attended the service on Christmas Day 1774 and wrote ‘it was striking to see so grand a place of worship in Edinburgh’.⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁴ Cowgill, *Disputing Choruses*, 87-115.

⁹⁰⁵ Southey, *Music-making*, 113.

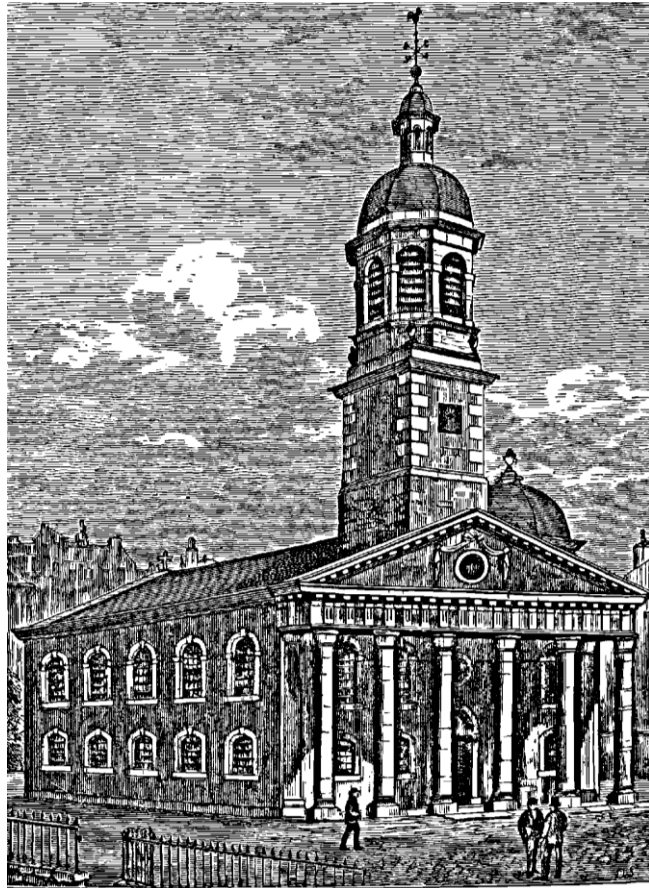
The diaries of John Marsh give an excellent description of the duties of an organist in both parish churches and major cathedrals in the second half of the eighteenth century and at the dawn of the nineteenth, where the duties seem to have varied little from those outlined above.

⁹⁰⁶ Southey, *Music-making*, 113-115.

⁹⁰⁷ Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh*, 286.

⁹⁰⁸ Boswell, *Edinburgh Journals*, 181.

Figure 8.4: The English Chapel in the Cowgate from an engraving reproduced in the Scots Magazine, 1774



Stephen Clark moved from St Andrews to the new chapel but the musical aspirations of the parish do not seem to have been different from those of the chapels that came before it. The first two clerks to the new Chapel were possibly of a higher standard than was usual as both were granted benefits: William Cranmer in 1775,⁹⁰⁹ and Robert Scott in 1776.⁹¹⁰ The standard of singing was not particularly high, however: on Christmas Day 1775 Boswell recorded ‘went to the chapel... but the music was unpleasing, and my devotion was not aided’.⁹¹¹ The next year, on Christmas morning, Boswell elected instead to attend service at ‘Porter’s Chapel in Carrubbers Close’.⁹¹² In the afternoon, he and a friend ventured to the Cowgate, where his disenchantment with the chapel continued ‘dress affects my feelings as

⁹⁰⁹ CM, 1 April 1775.

⁹¹⁰ CM, 9 March 1776.

⁹¹¹ Boswell, *Edinburgh Journals*, 222.

⁹¹² *Ibid*, 280.

irresistibly as music. Grange and I went to the English Chapel... The singing was bad, and I was not elevated as I wished to be'.⁹¹³

With the gradual removal of the Gentry and persons of influence from the Old Town, it was inevitable that an English congregation would establish itself in the New Town. Forbes Gray in *Historic Churches of Edinburgh* suggests that the first Episcopal congregation in the New Town was that based around a meeting room in West Register Street. He suggests that it was only after the repeal of the anti-Episcopal laws that the congregation first met and formalised itself to worship 'according to the use of the Church of England'.⁹¹⁴ However, as the following extract from the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* shows there was clearly Episcopal activity in the New Town in 1785:

THE EPISCOPAL CHAPEL, NEW TOWN. will be opened for service on Sunday fortnight the 20th inst – Mr CLEVE will attend in the Vestry of the Chapel every day next week, from one 'till two o'clock, to fill up the remaining subscriptions for the seats.

Friday next the 11th instant. will be Published A SELECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS adapted to Places of Worship in general, But chiefly intended to be used in the above CHAPEL from the Day it is opened. Sold by W. Gordon, Parliament-square.⁹¹⁵

This psalm book was probably *A New version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the tunes used in churches by N. Brady and N. Tate*, which was printed in Edinburgh by Alexander Kincaid in 1785. Covering 72 pages the book was a re-issue of the first edition which had been published in 1761 and had had been re-published by Kincaid four times: in 1768, 1772, 1774 and latterly in 1777. The 1774 edition had possibly been timed to coincide with the opening of the New Episcopal Chapel in the Cowgate. In 1759 Kincaid published *The Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacrament, and other rites of and ceremonies of the church according to the use of the Church of England: together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches*. This was re-issued in 1772, possibly for use in the four Episcopal Chapels.

Throughout the majority of the eighteenth century the Episcopal Chapels in Edinburgh were in no position to support the production of vocal music beyond the singing of congregational psalms and hymns. Without the aid and support of a central body, such as the magistrates, or the support of an interested clergy the vocal music of the English Chapels

⁹¹³ Boswell, *Edinburgh Journals*, 280.

⁹¹⁴ William Forbes Gray, *Historic Churches of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Moray Press, 1940), 131.

⁹¹⁵ EEC, 7 November 1785.

probably was much neglected, despite the fact that the two Episcopal organists, Pescatore and Clark, were involved in the production of significant vocal music elsewhere and for their own benefit. In comparison with Glasgow the city's Episcopalians were sadly lacking. In the 1780s St Andrew's Episcopal Church in Glasgow employed an organist, choristers, and precentor, and had a music committee. In 1785 the vestry decided to fit up seats in the organ gallery for the 'singing boys' and purchased six prayer books and 19 music books for the choir. James Rea was paid for 'teaching the boys, 18 in all' and was replaced when John Bowls was elected 'Clerk and teacher of the Music Boys' in December 1787. The Chapel even published its own collection of Sacred Music in the same year.⁹¹⁶ Throughout the eighteenth century Edinburgh had no comparable institution. St George's Chapel in Queen's Street opened in 1794 under the care of the Rev Mr Cleve. George Thomson was the first organist and staged his concerts of sacred music in the chapel in 1795 and 1796. The earnest development of Episcopal music in Edinburgh began in the early years of the nineteenth century with the foundations of St Paul's, York Place and St John's, Prince's Street in 1818. Both had 'fine' organs, and the foundation of a Roman Catholic Chapel in 1814, which also housed an organ, would have added an extra dimension to liturgical music-making in Edinburgh.⁹¹⁷ The origins of this growth and confidence must have begun in the last years of the eighteenth century, and further research on Episcopal music making in Edinburgh will no doubt highlight many hitherto unsuspected connections with musicians from Edinburgh and indeed from further away. Given the scarcity of organists in Edinburgh in the mid eighteenth century it is unsurprising that the Episcopal Church had to depend on non-native musicians: Alexander Campbell appears to have been one of the first Scottish musicians to have been employed in an Episcopal Church in Edinburgh.⁹¹⁸ It was not until the nineteenth century that the Episcopal Church in Edinburgh was secure and stable enough to support choral foundations and vocal music of any pretension.

⁹¹⁶ Wilson, *Anglican Chant*, 201.

⁹¹⁷ Details of the organs in St Paul's, St John's and the Catholic Chapel can be found in Marsh, *John Marsh Journals*, vol. 2, 282, fn. 214-5, which describes Marsh's tour of Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1819. Members of the Corri family and Girolamo Stabilini were involved in the training of singers for Roman Catholic worship in Edinburgh in the 1790s until this was halted by George Hay, Bishop of Vicar Apostolic of the Lowland District in Scotland 1778-1805 and did not resume until after his death in 1811. In February 1779 the Roman Catholic Chapel and Hay's lodgings were burned in a reaction to the Catholic Relief Bill and the most restrictive penal laws were only lifted in 1793. See Hibbert, *King Mob*, 30 and Shelagh Noden, 'The Revival of Music in the Worship of the Catholic Church in Scotland, 1789-1829' (PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 2014).

⁹¹⁸ The organist Charles Scheinman was a native of Banff, Aberdeenshire, and was likely the son of 'Mr Ferdinand Shoneman, Organist of St Andrew's Chapel in Banff'. Scheinman was recorded playing the organ at St Cecilia's Hall and at the Theatre Royal in December 1755 (CM, 4 December 1775), but as yet there no evidence to suggest that he played in any of the city's Episcopal chapels. Johnson, *Music and Society*, 176.

Conclusion

Throughout the eighteenth century the established religious institutions of Edinburgh took a keen interest in vocal music. Psalms were corporate expressions of faith, used to unify otherwise disparate congregations in the service and worship of God.

The Episcopal Church cannot have been immune to the improvement of music in the Kirk, and the presence of such talented musicians as Pescatore, Gilson and Clark must have had some influence upon music used in worship at the Chapels, although there remains little evidence of it. The second half of the eighteenth century was a period of growing tolerance and religious liberty. If Boswell felt at ease attending many different religious institutions in the city there is reason to suspect that others were doing the same. Following 1745 Episcopal institutions in the city suffered under strict penal laws; by the end of the century, however, the Episcopalians were in a position to contemplate the foundation of large ornate chapels in which music was an integral and important part.

That the music of the Kirk was a reflection upon the magistrates and the city as a whole can be seen in the continued interest and support of the town council in the reform and improvement of the music within the national church. The reforms were undoubtedly influenced by many more social factors than purely musical ones: the state of the Kirk represented the state of the country and, once the reforms had begun, the Magistrates supported the musical reforms fully throughout the eighteenth century. It remains worthy of note that to accomplish the reformation of music in the Kirk the Council had to employ men who were English and Anglican: Glasgow, too, had been forced to take the same action. Psalm singing was clearly an important part of the life of the Kirk, and of the wider musical life of the city. The view that instrumental music ‘eclipsed’ vocal music hangs upon the assumption that psalmody was in decline or irrelevant to music history. The use of psalms in the Kirk in Edinburgh is an excellent example of the popular engagement in, and practice of, sacred music.

Whilst the musical diet of the Scottish Presbyterians was somewhat restricted, the reformation of psalm singing and the introduction of choirs and ‘bass clubs’ fed the general thirst for music, and especially vocal music, that existed at the time. The true value of the work completed by Gilson and his preceptors was that he engaged every social class of aspiring musician in Edinburgh, something that cannot be claimed by the Musical Society or the benefit concerts, or even private teachers. The reforms in church music in the eighteenth century were a real attempt at musical democratisation.

CONCLUSION

In 1775 Edward Topham could confidently claim that the activities of the Musical Society were one of the ‘principal entertainments in Edinburgh’.⁹¹⁹ This was the apotheosis of the Musical Society after which began a period of decline, which has been seen to have echoed the general musical culture in the city. Johnson’s conclusions at the end of *Music and Society* are worth quoting at length:

Edinburgh in 1700 had been musically a provincial backwater, maintaining no local composition whatsoever and supporting only about a dozen professional musicians... Edinburgh by 1775 had turned into a European musical centre, with three excellent resident composers and several virtuoso, highly paid, Italian and German resident singers and players. And at this point people began to get frightened... They felt it had gone too far: they tried to retreat from the expense, the newness, the foreign-ness of it all. Reasons were invented why classical music was a bad thing... by 1800 it was impossible for Scottish classical music to regain the position it had held in 1775.⁹²⁰

This was a statement with which Cranmer agreed: he categorised the 1790s as a period of ‘rapid decline’ in Edinburgh’s concert culture.⁹²¹ Similar declines have been identified in Aberdeen,⁹²² and in London,⁹²³ although in recent years Ian Taylor has convincingly questioned the ‘myth of decline’ in London before the foundation of the Philharmonic Society in *Music in London and the Myth of Decline* (2010). Taylor concluded that in London in the 1790s concert culture lacked ‘an immediate identifiable institutional focus’,⁹²⁴ a statement which could easily apply to Edinburgh following the dissolution of the Musical Society. At the end of the century concerts were certainly only one form of entertainment vying for the attention of the cultural elite, as the editor of the *Evening Courant* ‘puffed’:

...For variety of public amusements, Edinburgh is now the second city in Great Britain. We have a theatre, Ampitheatre [*sic*], two Assembly Rooms, Concert Hall, Cockpit &c and they have in general, besides a great number of private balls, been well attended this Winter. The Town has been very full of Company...⁹²⁵

⁹¹⁹ Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh*, 376.

⁹²⁰ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 199.

⁹²¹ Cranmer, ‘Concert Life’, 14.

⁹²² Farmer, *Music Making in the olden days*, 107.

⁹²³ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 1-2. See McVeigh, 68-9 for a discussion of the possible reason of the decline of concert culture in London.

⁹²⁴ Ian Taylor, *Music in London and the Myth of Decline from Haydn to the Philharmonic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 2.

⁹²⁵ EEC, 13 March 1790.

Despite the many other entertainments and the demise of the Musical Society, in his 1806 *A Picture of Edinburgh* John Stark suggested that music was still popular amongst the cultural elite:

Perhaps at no period in the annals of Scottish music was the art more universally cultivated than at present. It forms a general part of modern education, and few are to be met with who cannot sing, or play upon one instrument or other. Its decline is only in the public exhibition, and that the want of proper encouragement to these proceeds more perhaps from the manner in which they are conducted and the pieces which are there performed, than from any want of taste in the inhabitants of Edinburgh... Since the weekly concerts in St Cecilia's Hall were given up, subscription concerts have been performed in the Assembly Hall, George Street and at Corri's Rooms (formerly the Royal Circus). In one season, indeed, no less than two musical exhibitions were encouraged in Edinburgh.⁹²⁶

It is difficult to reconcile Cranmer's statement concerning the 'decline' of public performance with two separate subscription series, plus other individual concerts. It also calls into question to what extent the meetings of the Musical Society can ever have been considered 'public'.⁹²⁷ As I have previously suggested, the activities, and much of the attraction, of the Society were exclusive: at its demise the Edinburgh Musical Society had 200 members, whilst *The Statistical Account of Scotland* recorded the population of Edinburgh and its surrounding parishes as 82,706 people in 1791.⁹²⁸ The city of Edinburgh had 29,718 inhabitants, 22,512 of whom lived in the Old Town and 7,206 in the New Town. At the time of its dissolution the Musical Society's members accounted for less than 1% of the population of the city, albeit an influential and important minority.⁹²⁹ It is extremely unlikely that the new subscription series in the New Town catered to a greater proportion of the population.

It is, however, possible to reconcile the views of Johnson and Cranmer, with the description of the busy social scene described above: if Johnson's conclusions are viewed in the light of Scotland's failure to develop a national 'school' of composers during the latter half of the eighteenth century, his comments are valid. John Brewer drew a similar conclusion in

⁹²⁶ John Stark, *A Picture of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh: J. Stark for A. Constable & W. Whyte, 1806), 375.

⁹²⁷ See James van Horn Melton, 'What is the public sphere?' introduction to *The Rise of the Public Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-15.

⁹²⁸ Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. 6 (Edinburgh: W. Creech, 1791), 559-564.

⁹²⁹ Even the Ladies' Concerts, held by the Musical Society until 1791, had not attracted a significantly larger audience. The average ticket sales at these concerts seems to have been around 200 (see Appendix L), although there were occasionally notable large audiences: 440 at a performance of *Alexander's Feast* in February 1768, 334 at a performance of *Acis and Galatea* in February 1790, and 334 at a performance of Jommelli's *La Passione* in January 1772. There were, however, also notably low audiences: only 65 tickets were given out for a performance of *La Passione* in August 1775 and at the miscellaneous Ladies' Concert in December 1785 only 72 tickets were given out.

his investigation of culture in England. London was, he wrote, a 'centre of a vibrant concert culture, but not a nursery of native genius and composition'.⁹³⁰ His statement could equally apply to Edinburgh. If Cranmer's 'decline' is seen in terms of the end of an institution especially focussed on the latest instrumental trends, his conclusion too is valid. The latter half of the eighteenth century did see a decline in the performance of regular instrumental music in Edinburgh, but it did not signal an end in the interest in music or vocal music. It is significant that the two impresarios working at the outset of the nineteenth century were both singers, Natale Corri and Pietro Urbani. Corri's rooms, founded in 1803, used music as part of a larger entertainment which featured concerts, dancing and refreshments:

CORRI'S ROOMS Last night presented a most brilliant assembly of personages of the first rank of fashion here. The rooms were crowded at an early hour, and it was with difficulty the dancers could get room to display their skill... The ornamental parts of his rooms were peculiarly well adapted, and the whole are rendered comfortably warm.⁹³¹

In addition to assemblies, Corri also staged concerts:

The musical world have likewise been much gratified by the opening of an elegant suit of rooms by Mr Corri, where concerts have been given in the first styles of chromatic excellence, where the syren [*sic*] voice of Mrs Second charmed every hearer.⁹³²

Corri's rooms are an excellent example, not only of how entertainment had to cultivate and maintain an aura of exclusivity to be successful, but also of how instrumental music became part of non-music specific entertainments. At a point which saw the decline of specific instrumental performances, it is notable that Pietro Urbani's concerts at the Assembly Rooms revolved around vocal music:

The Assembly Rooms too were appropriated to concerts under the direction of Mr Urbani, who deserves great praise for introducing to North Britain, a species of music undeservedly neglected, we mean the oratorio. The Messiah and the Samson, of the inimitable Handel were performed by a full and very select band and repeated by the

⁹³⁰ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 425.

⁹³¹ CM, 7 January 1804.

Sarah Second (1777-1805) was the sister of the clarinetist John Mahon. In 1790 she married John Second, a dancer and dancing master in Bath. She was a noted soprano who sang at the Three Choirs' Festival in 1795 and at the Royal Opera House in 1796. On 28 March 1800 she sang a principal role at the first performance of Haydn's *Creation*. In *Musical Memoirs* Parke recalled 'She sang up to F in alt with ease and her style was of a superior order. Her singing was inferior only to Mrs. Billington'. Her presence in Edinburgh would have been a major coup for Natale Corri. Highfill et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, vol. 13, 245.

⁹³² SM, 65 (1803), 250.

desire of the most crowded audiences. We hope that from the encouragement which Mr Urbani has met with, that this most enchanting of all harmonies will be transplanted into this division of the Kingdom, from whence it had been exiled since the severe days of the first reformers.⁹³³

The last sentence either shows how quickly the oratorios of the Musical Society had been forgotten in the quarter of a century since they had been regularly staged or is an indicator of how exclusive the events had been in the first place.

In London, Taylor identified a period of ‘decline’ where vocal concerts actively supported the performance of instrumental music, when there was no obvious institutional focus for the performance of orchestral music:

The Vocal Concerts in particular present themselves as a potentially highly significant context before the foundation of the Philharmonic [Society]: not only did they consistently introduce a body of predominantly Austro Germanic symphonic work but the concerts were run by an increasingly stable collection of professional musicians.⁹³⁴

Far from vocal music becoming eclipsed by instrumental music, it would appear that in London and in Edinburgh following the dissolution of the Musical Society it was singers, vocal concerts and institutions which fostered and supported the performance of instrumental music in the early years of the nineteenth century. It has even been suggested that it was vocal music, especially the oratorios of Handel, that created a point of unity in British culture which it otherwise lacked musically and politically:

After the loss of the American War and, still later, with the outbreak of the French Revolution, the oratorio became an essential ingredient in Britain’s patriotic repertory of ‘ancient’ and pious music, a repertory that stood against foreign innovation and invasion.⁹³⁵

The importance of the Edinburgh Musical Society in the development of a musical culture in the city in the second half of the eighteenth century cannot be denied, but possibly a more influential factor was the regular contact with London by educated and influential Scots. The speed with which fashionable developments and institutions were copied in provincial centres has already been mentioned. The move of the upper classes in London from the squalor

⁹³³ Ibid.

⁹³⁴ Taylor, *Music in London*, 7.

⁹³⁵ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 324.

of the East End to the Georgian Splendour of the new West End between 1700 and 1750⁹³⁶ can readily be identified with the movement of the upper classes in Edinburgh from the Old Town to the New Town from 1767. In 1750 Edinburgh's concert life was dominated by the private activities of the Musical Society, and by benefit concerts where musicians appealed to their patrons and benefactors for support. Some of the first identifiable signs of musicians organising concerts on their own financial incentive can be seen in Lampe's activities in Fyfe's Gardens in 1751 and Passerini's subscription series in 1752. From these beginnings the collectivisation of professional musicians began and the entrepreneur and the impresario were born. All of the musical institutions founded in Edinburgh can be seen to have had their genesis in similar incentives in London. The foundation of Comely Gardens in 1755, although it had precedents in Edinburgh, can be seen as a direct imitation of Vauxhall. The Professional Concerts, founded in Edinburgh in 1797, were clearly modelled after the same initiative in London begun in 1785. The Glee Club instituted in Edinburgh in 1771 was an imitation of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club constituted in 1761. The proposed Vocal Concert at the end of the eighteenth century was modelled directly upon Harrison and Knyvett's Concert which began in 1792. The proposed oratorios in the Theatre Royal in 1775 drew their inspiration from the Lenten series at the Kings Theatre. The Musician's Fund established in 1791 followed hard on the heels of the New Musical Fund for the relief of Decayed Musicians which was established in London earlier. The Edinburgh Harmonical Society, which appeared in 1785, drew inspiration from the amateur but aristocratic groups of the Academy of Ancient Music, founded in 1726, and the Concert of Ancient Music, founded in 1776. As Stana Nenadic writes in *Scots in London*, throughout the second half of the eighteenth century Scots were travelling the world and taking a particular brand of enlightened liberalism with them:⁹³⁷ but what also happened was that Scots returned to Edinburgh full of the advances, enlightenments and entertainments in London. It was this transmission which ultimately led to the thriving musical culture found at the end of the eighteenth century. As Brewer has suggested, it should not be assumed that those who played a leading part in the development and diversification of Edinburgh's concert-culture would have seen themselves as creating a pale provincial imitation of life in the capital: they may have been removed from London but socially and psychologically they would have viewed themselves in a national, or even international context.⁹³⁸

⁹³⁶ Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1660-1720*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 17. Also see A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (eds.), *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, (London: Longman, 1986), 156 and Porter, *English Society*, 46.

⁹³⁷ Stana Nenadic, introduction to *Scots in London*, 13-4.

⁹³⁸ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 398.

Concert-culture in Edinburgh was obviously financially driven and only those with a disposable income could afford the subscriptions or admissions to occasions where music was regularly performed. Professional men and aristocrats mingled at the meetings of the Musical Society, the Harmonical Society and the Glee Club, and Boswell and the *Scots Magazine* record an impressive list of attendees at the Comely Gardens and the Edinburgh Ranelagh Gardens. Topham described the fear of being seen to be unfashionable or to be found in a situation which had been labelled as unfashionable, and the Edinburgh concert-going community would have been small enough that when an important member was absent it would have been quickly noted. In 1780 Tenducci was censured for refusing to perform at the Musical Society when he noted the presence of an influential patron who had been absent from his benefit:

I was much displeas'd to find a part of our entertainments withheld from us, through the caprice of a singer, who has met with indulgences here that ought to have occasioned a very different behaviour. The affront offer'd to the company, by his refusal to perform his engagement, was such as cannot be palliated; for he had not even the decency to pretend illness in excuse, but, to heighten the impertinence, appear'd in the Concert Room... He had the astonishing effrontery to declare, that his refusal to do his business arose from a certain lady of fashion being present, who had, it seems been otherwise engag'd on a night when he was to perform.⁹³⁹

The size of the audience in Edinburgh meant that each individual patron was of primary importance to the financial success of a concert. This may well account for the number of new ventures attempted by musicians which enjoyed success when the entertainment was novel, but which suffered losses when the entertainment became established. This is perhaps the true story of musical culture in Edinburgh at the end of the eighteenth century: musicians vying to attract and retain a fickle, fashionable but, above all, small audience.

Music remained popular, even if active participation in concerts by the gentry ceased at the end of the century: indeed following the demise of the exclusive Musical Society it is unlikely that many Scottish aristocratic amateur musicians would have regularly performed in public. It is possible that the choir retained for Urbani's oratorios in 1803 included amateurs, but it is likely than any such group would have been strengthened by professional singers drawn from outside the city. Music-making remained a 'badge of gentility', but active musical participation retreated into the drawing rooms of the gentry where it became a 'sign of refinement enacted in private'.⁹⁴⁰ As Helen Goodwill has identified, this was a further development of the gentleman amateur as a consumer of, rather than as an active participant

⁹³⁹ CM, 7 August 1780.

⁹⁴⁰ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 427.

in, concerts.⁹⁴¹ As a result of the commercialisation of culture and the collectivisations of professional musicians, music became stratified into professional and amateur in a way which would have been impracticable, especially in Edinburgh, in 1750.

In London, McVeigh identified social and musical stratified layers in music appreciation and consumption: *le bon ton* attended the Italian opera, the professional classes favoured Handel's English oratorios and the lower classes (when they could afford admission) were primarily interested in the gaudy spectacle and the contemporary ballads of the pleasure gardens.⁹⁴² It is likely that with further research these layers could be identified amongst the much smaller concert-going audience in Edinburgh. It has already been suggested that, circumstantially, the attempt to stage English oratorios at the Theatre Royal in 1775 was a reaction against the Italian-dominated Musical Society and aimed at a less exclusive audience.

It is possible that the living conditions prevalent in Edinburgh in the earlier part of the century had actively aided the development of the Musical Society: members of every class could be identified within one tenement - the higher the rooms, the higher the social standing - but these cramped conditions may have not provided an entirely suitable venue for private music parties, thus necessitating a private retreat for gentlemen who wished to play music. The move to the New Town changed this, and contributed to the designation of music-making (and singing) as a domestic past-time and enjoyment:

It was the new type of home and the kinds of activity and relationship that the house allowed which both confirmed the distance between the upper-middle class and the rest of urban society, and provided a base of respectability and refinement, geographically close to the upper classes whom they socially aspired. Private and self-contained, removed from the business or manufacturing district, the New Town house was a metaphor for social order and control, allowing the richer elements of the middle class to physically distance themselves from the lower strata of the urban population and to engage in consumerism. It gave more space for their families, for servants, and to accommodate possessions, and this revolutionised patterns of domestic activity and recreation. Fundamental to this new domestic order was the place of the Woman within it. Whilst the Man pursued a successful business life away from the home the role of the wealthy, middle class woman and her daughters, in emulation of those of the nobility and gentry, was to be seen not to work, but rather spend her time in practice, exercise and displays of socially-admired recreational pursuits.⁹⁴³

⁹⁴¹ Goodwill, 'Musical Involvement', 69, 98, 109-110.

⁹⁴² McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 28.

⁹⁴³ Stana Nenadic, 'The Rise of the Urban Middle Class' in *People and Society in Scotland, 1760-1830*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas Devine & Rosalind Mitchinson, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), 121.

The move of the gentry and upper-middle classes to the New Town was an important factor in the demise of the Musical Society, but also in the establishment of a new recreational concert-culture in the city, within the bounds of the New Town. The larger classical spaces of private homes were more conducive to private musical parties than the crowded tenements, thus the need for a ‘temple of harmony’, either at St Cecilia’s Hall or the Assembly Hall, was lessened. The growth of the affluent ‘middling-mercantile sort’ also proved to be a great support to professional musicians: as Lang said, there were ‘large numbers of people who were strange to the use of the own wealth and leisure and who were eager to know how to live’.⁹⁴⁴ If it was the aristocracy who set the model for the middle class it was professional artisans who allowed them to develop the skills to move freely in a new world. This was a situation also noted by the Irish political historian Toby Barnard: ‘instruction could... steady the ungainly so as not to disgrace themselves when they ventured into polite society. Of the array of specialists who now ministered to an increasingly affluent... society, none was more in demand than the teachers of music and dancing’.⁹⁴⁵

Throughout the eighteenth century vocal music was at the heart of all musical events. Whilst the majority of the research for this project has been archival, which necessarily depends upon the survival of archives and newspapers, the picture that has been painted, whilst by no means complete, is, I believe, consistent enough to suggest generalised patterns and trends. I have found no evidence of solely orchestral concerts in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, and the fact that the vocal elements of the miscellaneous concert continued to be viewed as of great importance can be derived from the surviving advertisements, which list vocal performers rather than instrumentalists, and often provide full details of the vocal items, whilst only describing the instrumental works in the vaguest terms. It is worth noting that in general commentators have assumed that the instrumental activities of the Edinburgh Musical Society were viewed with more importance than the vocal elements of the concerts. This may be because the surviving Plan Books record so little of the vocal music that was performed at the concerts. Evidence presented here would suggest that the vocal elements of the concerts were a more important and highly regarded element than anyone has previously considered. In general terms the 1785 statement of the founders of the Harmonical Society concerning the neglect of vocal music is in no way correct. The Musical Society went to great lengths to retain

⁹⁴⁴ Lang, *George Frederick Handel*, 474.

⁹⁴⁵ Toby Barnard, ‘The Languages of Politeness and Sociability in eighteenth-century Ireland’ in *Political Discourse in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. D. George Boyce et al., (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 193.

fashionable and famous soloists, independent concerts regularly included extracts from the latest popular operas, gentlemen's clubs used vocal music as an expression of comradeship and as an expression of corporate identity, the theatres and gardens used songs and glees nightly in their entertainments, and the Kirk was intimately concerned with the production of vocal music within their services. The phrase 'so much neglected' can confidently be seen as referring to the performance of sacred music, in English and Latin, in the members' concerts of the Edinburgh Musical Society, which appears to have lapsed during the 1770s. It was this change in repertoire which led to the formation of the Harmonical Society and the charge of neglect. Vocal music appears to have been vital to successful and profitable concert planning. Christina Passerini's contribution to the Spiritual Concerts of 1752 and 1753 was as important as her husband's instrumental music. In many ways the Passerinis' calculated use of novel and exotic repertoire would have been one of the primary attractions of their series. The fact that at the end of the century musicians felt they could advertise concerts of almost entirely vocal music demonstrates that vocal music was still a draw: it is important to note that suggestions of a concert entirely dedicated to vocal music predate any such suggestion concerning instrumental music, in Edinburgh.

Vocal music was used to stir audiences' patriotism, swell their national pride (in their country through the use of traditional songs, as well as in the Union against foreign invaders), and reached into most levels of polite society. Ladies sang Scots songs after dinner, gentlemen sang glees at the Glee Club, complicated polyphony at the Musical Society and at the Harmonical Society, fraternal and ceremonial songs at the Masonic Lodge, and men and women joined together in the Kirk to sing psalms to God.

Being portable and easily repeatable, vocal music disseminated faster and more completely than instrumental music could. Glees could be sung one to a part, and traditional songs and ballads could be sung without accompaniment and without music, provided one could remember the words. There is little wonder that the choruses of Handel performed by massed forces caused such awe, since it must have been a rare occasion indeed to hear a full chorus and orchestra performing such 'sublime' music. As Charles Burney recorded:

The totality of sound seemed to proceed from one voice, and one instrument; and its power produced, not only new and exquisite sensations in judges and lovers of the art, but were felt by those who never received pleasure in Music before... the best Operas and Concerts are accompanied with a buz [*sic*] and murmur of conversation, equal to that of a tumultuous crowd... yet now such stillness reigned, as perhaps, never

happened before in so large an assembly. The midnight hour was never sounded in a more perfect tranquillity, than every note of these compositions.⁹⁴⁶

John Marsh easily understood and agreed with such sentiments; he considered the Handel Commemorations of 1784:

The most sublime and interesting sight I have ever yet witnessed: that of many thousands of spirits, actuated as it were by one soul, uttering their united praise and thanksgiving, and afterwards joining together in one grand and universal chorus of simple and expressive melody and perfect harmony, the force and effect of which filled me with the most exquisite sensations I have ever yet experienced.⁹⁴⁷

Rather than becoming eclipsed by instrumental music, at the end of the century it is possible to see the beginnings of the separation of vocal and instrumental music into two equally valid and important forms. Indeed the one British musical form which acquired true popularity and became ubiquitous in concerts at the end of the eighteenth century was not an instrumental form but a vocal one: the glee. In 1792 Harrison and Knyvett could confidently claim that ‘the taste for glees superseded that for instrumental music’.⁹⁴⁸ Although the evidence of concert programmes in Edinburgh is limited to those that have survived or were advertised in the press, it does not appear that aesthetic recognition of the importance of instrumental music, and its separation from vocal music, diminished the performance of vocal music in concerts nor had a detrimental effect upon its perceived value.

The production of vocal music in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century was apparently always dependent on the personalities of the musicians then in the city. Nicolò Pasquali, as already noted, introduced the Musical Society to many of Handel’s oratorios and presented many Italian arias to the Edinburgh public; Cornforth Gilson played a vital part of the reformation of music in the Kirk and also continued Pasquali’s work at the Musical Society; Domenico Corri was seemingly important in the introduction of Italianate oratorios to the Musical Society and to Edinburgh; Stephen Clark assumed an influential position in the Harmonical Society; Pietro Urbani was key to the collection and performance of traditional songs at the end of the eighteenth century; and Natale Corri was one of the primary exponents of comic songs in the city at the end of the century. Without a stable institution which could foster the training and education of young singers and choristers, who would eventually

⁹⁴⁶ Burney, ‘*An account of the musical performance in Westminster Abbey*’, 40.

⁹⁴⁷ John Marsh, *History of my Private Life*, quoted in Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 435.

⁹⁴⁸ *The Gazetteer*, 1 March 1793, quoted in McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 110.

become professional musicians themselves, Edinburgh had to continue relying on outside musicians to train choirs and direct singers. Even the Musical Society chorus felt the effect of this:

... the generality of chorus singers in this country know but little of music, and consequently must be long under tuition before they can be properly qualified to perform. In England the case is very different. An oratorio can soon be got up there by the assistance of the chorus singers from the Cathedrals.⁹⁴⁹

It was a trend also noted by Edward Topham:

The natives of this country are not remarkable for their abilities in singing; and except in a few of the real Scotch tunes, I have never met with a voice that had either compass or an agreeable tone. But in order to make up this deficiency in their own countrymen, the managers [of the Musical Society] take care to have some of the best singers from London and Italy. At present they have some tolerably good ones...⁹⁵⁰

Whilst the enthusiasm for singing and music-making is evident in this period in Edinburgh, lacking the education or choral institutions found in England, Scotland would have had difficulty staging a consistent series of oratorios without the aid of foreign musicians. Johnson's conclusions concerning the failure of the theatre to foster home-grown opera⁹⁵¹ can easily be adapted to the oratorios and the performance of vocal music: they too were dependent for their success on the individual efforts of a few musicians to provide the solid continuity which vocal music needs in order to flourish.

Despite the inconsistent efforts of the Musical Society and the Harmonic Society, vocal music for individual singers and choirs in general did flourish in Edinburgh, and circumstantially no musical event or institution existed without it. There can be little suggestion that vocal music in Edinburgh, at any point in the second half of the eighteenth century, was 'so much neglected'. With growing professionalism amongst orchestras in the nineteenth century and increasingly complex compositions which excluded amateur players,⁹⁵² it was the culture of vocal music and amateur singing cultivated in the eighteenth century which endured throughout the nineteenth century, and which remains relevant today.

⁹⁴⁹ CM, 27 March 1775.

⁹⁵⁰ Topham, *Letters*, 377.

⁹⁵¹ Johnson, *Music and Society*, 47.

⁹⁵² Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 433.

APPENDIX A

The following lists make no claim to be comprehensive, but are compiled from advertisements printed in the Caledonian Mercury and the Edinburgh Evening Courant. Theatrical benefits have only been included when the given programme primarily consists of musical rather than theatrical items: thus the performance of *Acis and Galatea* for the benefit of John McDougall on 26 March 1751 is included, but the benefit of John Fredrick Lampe which included Shakespeare's *King John* has not. The list also does not include concerts which were advertised and subsequently cancelled.

BENEFIT CONCERTS

1751-1756

Date	For the benefit of	Venue	Other performers	Source
1751				
29 January	Filippo Rochetti	Mary's Chapel	C. Passerini	CM 24.1.1751
12 February	John McPherson	Assembly Hall	C. Passerini, Rochetti	CM 7.2.1751
26 February	Christina Passerini	Assembly Hall	-	CM 21.2.1751
21 March	Leonardo Pescatore	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 14.3.1751
26 March	John McDougall	New Concert Hall	I. Lampe, E. Storer	CM 18.3.1751
8 June	John Frederick Lampe	<i>not advertised</i>	-	CM 10.6.1751
16 July	Christina Passerini	Assembly Hall	Rochetti	CM 11.7.1751
1752				
3 February	Filippo Rochetti	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 28.1.1752
4 February	Alexander Stewart	Mary's Chapel	C. Passerini, Rochetti	CM 2.3.1752
8 February	Jacobina Gordon	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 6.2.1752
19 February	John McPherson	Assembly Hall	C. Passerini, Rochetti	CM 17.2.1752
29 February	John McDougall	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 25.2.1752
2 March	Giuseppe and Christina Passerini	Assembly Hall	-	CM 27.2.1752
1 July	Giuseppe and Christina Passerini	Assembly Hall	Chaso	CM 25.6.1752
8 July	Giuseppe and Christina Passerini	Mary's Chapel	Meyer	CM 7.7.1752
18 August	Giuseppe and Christina Passerini	<i>not advertised</i>	Meyer	CM 11.8.1752
21 November	Robert Bremner	Grammar School, South Leith	Gordon, Rochetti and 'another young lady' [Catherine Rodburn?]	CM 16.11.1752
28 December	Elizabeth Storer	Assembly Hall	Pasquali, F. Pasquali	CM 16.12.1752
1753				
16 January	Nicolò Pasquali	Assembly Hall	E. Storer, Corry, Bernard, Hamilton, F. Pasquali	CM 2.1.1753
22 January	Christina Passerini	Assembly Hall	-	CM 18.1.1753
27 January	James Marine	Mary's Chapel	Gordon, Rochetti	CM 22.1.1753
3 February	Jacobina Gordon	Mr Downie's Dancing School Niddry's Wynd	-	CM 27.1.1753
6 February	Filippo Rochetti	Assembly Hall	Crown	CM 5.2.1753
17 February	James Dallas	Mary's Chapel	Crown	CM 8.2.1753
20 February	John McPherson	Assembly Hall	-	CM 19.2.1753
24 March	Robert Hutton	Mr Downie's Dancing School Niddry's Wynd	Crown	EEC 22.3.1753
14 June	Filippo Rochetti	Mary's Chapel	Pasquali	EEC 11.6.1753
13 December	Robert Bremner	Grammar School, South Leith	Rodburn, Pasquali	CM 6.12.1753
1754				
18 January	Nicolò Pasquali	Assembly Hall	Rodburn	CM 17.1.1754
5 February	Leonardo Pescatore	Mary's Chapel	Clarkson, Bernard	CM 31.1.1754

19 February	Robert Hutton	Mr La Motte's School, James Court	Rodburn, Pasquali	CM 18.2.1754
20 February	Signor Carusi	Mary's Chapel	Rodburn, Pasquali	CM 14.2.1754
28 February	John McPherson	Assembly Hall	-	CM 25.2.1754
5 March	James Dallas	Mary's Chapel	Pasquali	CM 26.2.1754
27 May	Michael [?] Arne	Mary's Chapel	Rodburn, Pasquali, Arne	CM 23.5.1754
9 July	Jacobina Gordon	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 2.7.1754
1755				
17 January	Nicolò Pasquali	Assembly Hall	Rodburn, McPherson	CM 9.1.1755
4 February	Leonardo Pescatore	Mary's Chapel	Bernard	CM 3.2.1755
13 February	John McPherson	Assembly Hall	-	CM 11.2.1755
25 February	John Thomson	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 20.2.1755
12 March	Alexander Stewart	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 10.3.1755
18 March	Jacobina Gordon	Mary's Chapel	Bernard	CM 6.3.1755
16 December	James Bremner	Mary's Chapel	Rodburn	CM 11.12.1755
1756				
20 January	Nicolò Pasquali	Assembly Hall	Rodburn, Bernard, the singing boys [from Heriot's Hospital]	CM 17.1.1756
17 February	John McPherson	Assembly Hall	-	CM 12.2.1756
24 February	John Thomson	Mary's Chapel	Pasquali	CM 21.2.1756
26 February	Jacobina Gordon	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 24.2.1756
9 March	James Marine	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 4.3.1756
30 March	Robert Hutton	Mr La Motte's Dancing School, James' Court	McDougal	CM 27.3.1756
13 April	John McDougall	Mary's Chapel	Rodburn, Wilder, Gilson	CM 10.4.1756

APPENDIX B

BENEFIT CONCERTS

1775-1780

Date	For the benefit of	Venue	Other performers	Source
1775				
6 February	Thomas Pinto	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 11.2.1775
18 February	John McPherson	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 15.2.1775
22 February	Giuseppe Puppo	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 15.2.1775
27 February	Giuseppe Giustinelli	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 15.2.1775
6 March	John Smieton	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 27.2.1775
14 March	Stephen Clark	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 11.3.1775
5 April	William Cranmer	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 1.4.1775
25 July	John Thomson	Mary's Chapel	D. & A. Corri	CM 22.7.1775
3 August	Giuseppe Puppo	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 29.7.1775
16 August	Domenico and Alice Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 14.8.1775
1776				
1 February	Stephen Clark and Charles Scheinman	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 27.1.1776
22 February	John McPherson	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 14.2.1776
27 February	Robert Ross	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 24.2.1776
28 February	Domenico Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 26.2.1776
4 March	Giuseppe Puppo	St Cecilia's Hall	A. Corri, R. Puppo [nee Gilson]	CM 26.2.1776
11 March	Robert Scott	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 9.3.1776
19 March	Giuseppe and Rebecca Puppo	Assembly Hall, Glasgow	-	CM 9.3.1776
17 December	John Aitken	Mary's Chapel	G. Puppo, D. & A. Corri, Gilson	CM 7.12.1776
1777				
28 January	Giuseppe Puppo	St Cecilia's Hall	D. Corri	CM 22.1.1777
4 February	Alice Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 1.2.1777
15 February	Charles Scheinman	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 12.2.1777
18 February	John McPherson	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 12.2.1777
25 February	Johann Schetky	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 22.2.1777
1 March	Daniel Dow	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 22.2.1777
22 July	Giuseppe Puppo	[not given]	-	CM 21.7.1777
1778				
10 February	Alice Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 2.2.1778
23 February	John McPherson	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 18.2.1778
25 February	Giuseppe Puppo	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 23.2.1778
2 March	Giuseppe Puppo	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 28.2.1778
5 March	Johann Schetky	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 28.2.1778
10 March	Domenico Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	A. Corri	CM 9.3.1778
1 August	Giuseppe Puppo	St Cecilia's Hall	Fischer	CM 29.7.1778
5 August	Johann Fischer	St Cecilia's Hall	A. Corri	CM 3.8.1778
8 August	Charles Scheinman	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 1.8.1778
1779				
11 February	Alice Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 1.2.1779
2 March	Johann Schetky	St Cecilia's Hall	Melmoth, G. & R. Puppo, D. & A. Corri, Reinagle, Clark	CM 24.2.1779
9 March	Giuseppe Puppo	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 3.3.1779
6 April	Joseph Reinagle and Alexander McGlashan	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 3.4.1779
24 July	Johann Schetky	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 14.7.1779
27 July	Domenico Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 26.7.1779
3 September	Giusto Tenducci and Appolonia Marchetti	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 28.8.1779
21 September	Mrs Willmott	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 20.9.1779
24 November	Giusto Tenducci	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 10.11.1779

8 December	Appolonia Marchetti	St Cecilia's Hall	G. Puppo, Tenducci, Bernard	CM 6.12.1779
1780				
20 January	Giuseppe Puppo	St Cecilia's Hall	A. Corri, R. Puppo, Schetky	CM 19.1.1780
15 February	Johann Schetky	St Cecilia's Hall	A. Corri, G. & R. Puppo, Clark, Wood	CM 14.2.1780
22 February	Alice Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	S. Corri	CM 16.2.1780
29 February	Joseph Reinagle	St Cecilia's Hall	D. & A. Corri, R. Puppo, Hitchcock, Wood	CM 28.2.1780
9 March	Stephen Clark	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 4.3.1780
21 March	Domenico Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	S. Corri	CM 15.3.1780
28 March	John Aitken	Mary's Chapel	-	CM 22.3.1780
4 April	Rebecca Puppo	St Cecilia's Hall	A. & D. Corri, Giustinelli, Wood, G. Puppo	CM 1.4.1780
17 July	Robert McIntosh	Mary's Chapel	D. Corri, R. Puppo	CM 15.7.1780
25 July	Giusto Tenducci	St Cecilia's Hall	A. & D. Corri, G. Puppo, Reinagle, Schetky	CM 24.7.1780
2 August	Alice Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	D. Corri, Reinagle, Tenducci, R. Puppo, G. Puppo	CM 29.7.1780
25 September	Joseph Reinagle	Assembly Hall	A. & D. Corri, Tenducci	CM 20.9.1780

APPENDIX C

BENEFIT CONCERTS

1788-1792

Date	For the benefit of	Venue	Other performers	Source
1788				
26 February	Pietro Urbani	St Cecilia's Hall	Torreggiani, James Clark, Shaw, Stabilini, Sultani, Fischer	CM 23.2.1788
4 March	Johann Schetky	St Cecilia's Hall	Torreggiani, J. Clark, Urbani, Shaw, Sultani, Stabilini	CM 28.2.1788
6 March	Johann Fischer	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 1.3.1788
11 March	Signora Sultani	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 1.3.1788
1 April	Niccolò Peretti	Laurie's Room James Court	Torreggiani, Urbani, Schetky, Sultani, Stabilini	CM 29.3.1788
15 April	John Aitken	Dunn's Rooms New Town	Sultani, Torreggiani, Shaw, Urbani	CM 10.4.1788
26 July	Pietro Urbani	St Cecilia's Hall	Shaw, J Clark, S. Clark,	CM 24.7.1788
1789				
10 February	Frances Carline	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, Schetky, Stabilini	CM 9.2.1789
17 February	Girolamo Stabilini	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, Carline	CM 14.2.1789
26 February	Pietro Urbani	St Cecilia's Hall	J Clark, Carline, Schetky	CM 23.2.1789
5 March	Johann Schetky	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, Carline, Stabilini	CM 26.2.1789
14 April	Stephen Clark	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 9.4.1789
21 April	Natale Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, Schetky, Carline	CM 13.4.1789
29 July	Girolamo Stabilini	Assembly Rooms George Street	-	CM 27.7.1789
5 August	Madame Guidon	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 3.8.1789
1790				
9 February	Stephen Clark	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 8.2.1790
11 February	Girolamo Stabilini	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 8.2.1790
18 February	Pietro Urbani	St Cecilia's Hall	de Monte, Schetky, S. Clark, Sozzie, Stewart, N. Corri	CM 15.2.1790
25 February	Mrs Stewart	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, Schetky, Stabilini,	CM 20.2.1790
4 March	Natale Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, de Monte, Schetky, Muschet, Stewart, Urbani, Kube, Stabilini	CM 27.3.1790
9 March	Johann Schetky	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, de Monte, Stewart, Stabilini	CM 6.3.1790
17 July	Girolamo Stabilini	Assembly Rooms George Street	-	CM 12.7.1790
20 July	Giovanni Giornovich	[<i>not given</i>] St Cecilia's Hall?	S. Corri, Stabilini, Urbani, Schetky	CM 19.7.1790
22 July	Johann Hummel	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 19.7.1790
27 July	Sophia Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	Giornovich	CM 24.7.1790
2 August	Giovanni Giornovich	St Cecilia's Hall	-	Macleod, 178.
1791				
15 February	Girolamo Stabilini	St Cecilia's Hall	W. Clark, N. Corri, Urbani	CM 31.1.1791
22 February	Pietro Urbani	St Cecilia's Hall	W. Clark, S. Clark, Schetky, Stabilini	CM 19.2.1791
1 March	Johann Schetky	St Cecilia's Hall	Stewart, Urbani, Parsons and Ryder	CM 24.2.1791
10 March	Natale Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, Schetky, Stabilini, Stewart	CM 3.3.1791
21 July	Sophia Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 16.7.1791
26 July	Jan Ladislav Dussek	St Cecilia's Hall	N. Corri, A. Corri, S. Corri, Urbani, Stabilini, Schetky	CM 25.7.1791
1792				
14 February	Giovanna Sestini	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani	
21 February	Girolamo Stabilini	St Cecilia's Hall	-	CM 11.2.1792
28 February	Pietro Urbani	St Cecilia's Hall	W. Clark, Sestini, Schetky, Stabilini	CM 27.2.1792
6 March	Johann Schetky	St Cecilia's Hall	W. Clark, Stewart, Urbani, Stabilini	CM 1.3.1792

13 March	Natale Corri	St Cecilia's Hall	Sestini, Urbani, Stabilini	CM 8.3.1792
3 April	Giovanna Sestini	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, N. Corri, Stabilini	CM 31.3.1792
28 July	Louisa Gautherot	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, Mahon, Reinagle, Stabilini, Schetky	CM 26.7.1792
31 July	Louisa Gautherot	St Cecilia's Hall	Mahon, Reinagle	CM 20.7.1792
8 August	John Mahon and Joseph Reinagle	St Cecilia's Hall	Urbani, Gautherot	CM 4.8.1792

APPENDIX D

MUSICIANS STAGING BENEFIT CONCERTS 1751-1756

Name	Instrument	Nationality	Other musical associations in the city	Venues used	Years staging benefits within the sample
Arne, Michael [?]	Harpsichord	English	<i>visiting musician</i>	Mary's Chapel	1754
Bremner, James	Violin	Scottish	EMS	Mary's Chapel	1755
Bremner, Robert	Violin	Scottish	EMS, Robert Bremner at the Sign of the Hautboy and Harp	Grammar School, Leith	1752, 1753
Carusi, ?	psaltery	Italian	<i>visiting musician</i>	Mary's Chapel	1750, 1754
Dallas, James		Scottish	EMS	Mary's Chapel	1753, 1754
Gordon, Jacobina	Singer	Scottish	EMS	Mary's Chapel, Downie's Dancing School	1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756
Hutton, Robert	Violin	Scottish	EMS	Downie's Dancing School, La Motte's School	1753, 1754, 1756
Lampe, John Frederick	harpsichord	German	Canongate Theatre	Taylor's Hall	1751
McDougall, John	Violin	Scottish	EMS, Canongate Theatre	Canongate Theatre, Mary's Chapel	1751, 1752, 1756
Marine, James	trumpet	Scottish	EMS, State Trumpeter, Masonic lodges	Mary's Chapel	1753, 1756
McPherson, John	Violin	Scottish	EMS	Assembly Hall	1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756
Pasquali, Nicolò	Violin	Italian	EMS, Canongate Theatre	Assembly Hall	1753, 1754, 1755, 1756
Passerini, Christina	Singer	Italian	EMS	Assembly Hall, Mary's Chapel	1751, 1752, 1753
Passerini, Giuseppe	violin	Italian	EMS	Assembly Hall, Mary's Chapel	1752
Pescatore, Leonardo	harpsichord	Italian	St Paul's Chapel, EMS	Mary's Chapel	1751, 1754, 1755
Rochetti, Filippo	singer	Italian	EMS	Mary's Chapel, Assembly Hall	1751, 1752, 1753
Storer, Elizabeth	singer	English [?]	Canongate Theatre	Assembly Hall	1752
Stewart, Alexander	violin	Scottish	EMS	Mary's Chapel	1752, 1755
Thomson, John	'cello	Scottish	EMS, Canongate Theatre	Mary's Chapel	1755, 1756

APPENDIX E

MUSICIANS STAGING BENEFIT CONCERTS 1775-1780

Name	Instrument	Nationality	Other musical associations in the city	Venues used	Years staging benefits within the sample
Aitken, John	singer	Scottish	EMS, St Andrew's Kirk Comely Gardens	Mary's Chapel	1776, 1780
Clark, Stephen	harpsichord/ organ	English	EMS, Episcopal Chapel	St Cecilia's Hall	1775, 1776, 1780
Corri, Alice	singer	Italian	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1775, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780
Corri, Domenico	singer	Italian	EMS, Comely Gardens, Theatre Royal	St Cecilia's Hall	1775, 1776, 1778, 1779, 1780
Cranmer, William	singer	Scottish	Episcopal Chapel	Mary's Chapel	1775
Dow, Daniel	violin	Scottish	-	Mary's Chapel	1777
Fischer, Johann	oboe	German	<i>visiting musician</i>	St Cecilia's Hall	1778
Giustinelli, Giuseppe	singer	Italian	<i>visiting musician</i>	St Cecilia's Hall	1775
Marchetti, Appolonia	singer	Italian	<i>visiting musician</i>	St Cecilia's Hall	1779
McGlashan, Alexander	violin	Scottish	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1779
McIntosh, Robert	violin	Scottish	EMS	Mary's Chapel	1780
McPherson, John	violin	Scottish	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1775, 1776, 1777, 1778
Pinto, Thomas	violin	English	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1775
Puppo, Giuseppe	violin	Italian	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780
Puppo, Rebecca	singer	English	EMS	Assembly Hall, Glasgow St Cecilia's Hall	1776, 1780
Reinagle, Joseph	violin	Scottish	EMS, Theatre Royal	St Cecilia's Hall	1779, 1780
Ross, Robert	singer	Scottish	EMS	Mary's Chapel	1776
Scheinman, Charles	organ	Scottish	EMS, Theatre Royal	St Cecilia's Hall	1776, 1777, 1778
Schetky, Johann	cello	German	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1777, 1778, 1779, 1780
Scott, Robert	singer	Scottish	EMS, Episcopal Chapel	Mary's Chapel	1776
Smieton, John	violin/ singer	Scottish	EMS, Canongate Theatre	St Cecilia's Hall	1775
Tenducci, Giusto	singer	Italian	<i>visiting musician</i>	St Cecilia's Hall	1779, 1780
Thomson, John	cello	Scottish	EMS, Canongate Theatre	Mary's Chapel	1775
Willmott, ?	singer	?	Comely Gardens	Mary's Chapel	1779

APPENDIX F

MUSICIANS STAGING BENEFIT CONCERTS 1788-1792

Name	Instrument	Nationality	Other musical associations in the city	Venues used	Years staging benefits within the sample
Aitken, John	singer	Scottish	EMS, City Kirks, Comely Gardens	Dunn's Rooms, West Register Street	1788
Carline, Frances	singer	Scottish?	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1789
Clark, Stephen	organ/ harpsichord	English	EMS, Episcopal Church	St Cecilia's Hall	1789, 1790
Corri, Natale	singer	Italian	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1789, 1791, 1792
Corri, Sophia	singer	Italian/ Scottish	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1790, 1791
Dussek, Jan Ladislav	piano	Bohemian	<i>visiting musician</i>	St Cecilia's Hall	1791
Fischer, Johann	oboe	German	<i>visiting musician</i>	St Cecilia's Hall	1788
Gautherot, Louisa	violin	French	<i>visiting musician</i>	St Cecilia's Hall	1792
Guidon, ?	singer	French?	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1789
Giornovichi, Giovanni Mane	violin	Croatian	<i>visiting musician</i>	St Cecilia's Hall	1790
Hummel, Johann Nepomuk	piano	Austrian	<i>visiting musician</i>	St Cecilia's Hall	1790
Peretti, Nicolò	singer	Italian	<i>visiting musician</i>	Laurie's Rooms, James Court	1788
Mahon, John	clarinet	English	<i>visiting musician</i>	St Cecilia's Hall	1792
Reinagle, Joseph	violin	Scottish	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1792
Schetky, Johann	'cello	German	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1788, 1789, 1791, 1792
Sestini, Giovanna	singer	Italian	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1792
Stabilini, Girolamo	violin	Italian	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall, Assembly Rooms, George Street	1789, 1790, 1791, 1792
Stewart, ?	singer	Scottish	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1790
Sultani, ?	singer	Italian?	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1788
Urbani, Pietro	singer	Italian	EMS	St Cecilia's Hall	1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792

APPENDIX G

ANALYSIS OF HANDEL'S SOLO ARIAS ADVERTISED OR RECORDED IN THIS THESIS 1750-1800

Performances recorded in this thesis	Aria	Origin	Key	Time signature	Tempo
8	Verdi prati	<i>Alcina</i>	E major	3/4	Andante
7	Comfort ye, my people	<i>Messiah</i>	E major	4/4	Larghetto
5	Father of Heaven	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	F major	4/4	Andante Larghetto
	I know that my Redeemer liveth	<i>Messiah</i>	E major	3/4	Larghetto
4	Angels ever bright and fair	<i>Theodora</i>	F major	4/4	Larghetto
	Let the bright seraphim [including performances of 'Volunteers fly to arms']	<i>Samson</i>	D major	4/4	Moderato
	Pious orgies, pious airs	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	E flat major	4/4	Largo e sostenuto
3	My faith and truth	<i>Samson</i>	B minor	3/4	Larghetto
	The flocks shall leave the mountains	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	C minor	4/4	Andante
2	Arm, arm ye brave	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	C major	4/4	Allegro
	Dove sei amato ben	<i>Rodelinda</i>	E major	3/8	Largo
	O had I Jubal's Lyre	<i>Joshua</i>	A major	4/4	Allegro
	O sleep why do'st thou leave me	<i>Semele</i>	C major	4/4	Largo
	Ombra cara di mia sposa	<i>Radamisto</i>	F minor	3/4	Largo
	Softly swell in Lydian measure	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	F major	4/4	Largo
	Total eclipse	<i>Samson</i>	E minor	4/4	Larghetto
1	After long storms and tempests overblown	<i>Occasional Oratorio</i>	E major	3/8	Andante
	As steals the morn upon the night	<i>L'Allegro ed il Penseroso</i>	B flat major	4/4	Andante Larghetto
	Author of Peace	<i>Saul</i>	G minor	4/4	Largo assai
	But who may abide?	<i>Messiah</i>	D minor	3/8	Larghetto
	Would you gain the tender creature	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	G major	3/8	Allegro
	Every joy that wisdom knows	<i>Solomon</i>	A major	6/4	Larghetto
	Every valley shall be exalted	<i>Messiah</i>	E major	4/4	Andante
	Farewell ye limpid springs	<i>Jeptha</i>	E minor	12/8	Larghetto
	Fra dubbi affetti miei	<i>Siroe, Re di Persia</i>	F major	3/8	Larghetto
Happy we!	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	C major	12/8	Presto	

He was despised	<i>Messiah</i>	E flat major	4/4	Largo
Honour and arms	<i>Samson</i>	B flat major	4/4	Allegro
Hush ye pretty warbling choir	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	F major	3/8	Andante
If God is for us	<i>Messiah</i>	G minor	3/4	Larghetto
Jehovah to my word give ear	<i>Occasional Oratorio</i>	E minor	3/4	Larghetto
Lord, what is man? [possibly adapted from 'Where're you walk]	adapted from <i>Semele</i>	B flat major	4/4	Largo
Mortals think that time is sleeping	<i>The Triumph of Time and Truth</i>	F major	3/4	Larghetto
O God-like youth	<i>Saul</i>	B flat major	3/4	Larghetto
O lovely peace	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	G major	6/8	Allegro moderato
O liberty, thou choicest treasure	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	A major	4/4	Largo sostenuto
Pleasure my former ways resigning	<i>The Triumph of Time and Truth</i>	A Major	4/4	Largo
Sweet bird, that shun'st the noise of follow	<i>L'allegro, il Penseroso</i>	D major	4/4	Andante
To fleeting pleasures	<i>Samson</i>	D major	4/4	Larghetto
To song and dance	<i>Samson</i>	G major	3/8	Allegro
Va godendo vezzoso e bello	<i>Serse</i>	B flat major	6/8	Allegretto grazioso
Voi dolci aurette	<i>Tolomeo, re d'Egitto</i>	G major	4/4	Larghetto
Why do the nations so furiously rage together?	<i>Messiah</i>	C major	4/4	Allegro

APPENDIX H

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR GIUSEPPE AND CHRISTINA PASSERINI'S FIRST SUBSCRIPTION SERIES JANUARY – FEBRUARY 1752

<p>First Concert</p> <p>Wednesday 8 January 1752</p>	<p>Works by Marcello and Handel</p>
<p>Second Concert</p> <p>Wednesday 15 January 1752 Assembly Hall</p> <p>CM, 14 January 1752.</p>	<p>On Wednesday the 15th instant Mons. and Madam Passerini will perform at the Assembly-hall at 6 o'Clock, The Spiritual Concerts, after the manner of the Oratorio's. Such as incline to enter into the Subscription, which is to be One Guinea, shall have Ten marked Tickets for those Five Concerts; and they have Time to subscribe till this Day. And they may give their Names to Mons. Passerini's Lodgings, first Turnpike below Blackfriars Wynd.</p> <p>No more than 60 extraordinary Tickets will be admitted, Price 4s, TO BE HAD TO Mons. Passerini's Lodgings: where Subscribers may call for their Tickets. Money will not be accepted at the Door</p>
<p>Third Concert</p> <p>Wednesday 29 January 1752 Assembly Hall</p> <p>CM, 16 January 1752. CM, 23 January 1752.</p>	<p>For the Benefit of Mons and Madam PASSERINI On Wednesday the 22^d instant will be performed at the Assembly-hall, a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK. Madam Passerini will sing a CANTATA of the famous Pergolese's, besides several English and Scots Airs, and a DUETTA along with Mr. Rochetti To begin at 6 o'Clock. Tickets are to be had at Mons Passerini's Lodgings first Turnpike below Blackfriars Wynd, and at Balfour's Coffee-house, at 3s each</p> <p>For the Benefit of Mons and Madam PASSERINI On Wednesday the 29th instant will be performed at the Assembly-hall, a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK. Madam Passerini will sing a CANTATA of the famous Pergolese's, besides several English and Scots Airs, and a DUETTA along with Mr. Rochetti To begin at 6 o'Clock. Tickets are to be had at Mons Passerini's Lodgings first Turnpike below Blackfriars Wynd, and at Balfour's Coffee-house, at 3s each. N.B. The remaining Three Spiritual Concerts are to be held on the 5th, 12th, and 26th Day of February ensuing.</p> <p><i>[advertised as 22 Jan in 16.1.52, but revised to 29 Jan in 23.1.52]</i></p>
<p>Fourth Concert</p> <p>Wednesday 5 February 1752 Assembly Hall</p> <p>CM, 3 February 1752.</p>	<p>For the Benefit of Mons. And Madam PASSERINI On Wednesday the 5th February will be performed at the Assembly-hall, a CONCERT or Vocal and Instrumental Music. Madam Passerini will sing a CANTATA from Pergolese's, besides several English and Scots Songs, and a DUETTO along with Mr Rochetti, composed by C. de St Germin. To begin at 6 o'Clock. Tickets are to be had at Mons. Passerini's Lodgings, first Turnpike below Blackfriars Wynd, and at the Coffee-house, at 3s. each NB. The remaining Two Spiritual Concerts will be held, without putting off any longer, the 12th and 26th Day of February instant.</p>
<p>Fifth Concert</p> <p>Thursday 13 February 1752 Assembly Hall</p> <p>CM, 19 February 1752.</p>	<p>On Thursday next, being the 13th instant, Mos and Madam Passerini, will perform, at the Assembly Hall, the Fifth Spiritual Concert, after the manner of the Oratorio's. In which will be performed the HYMN of ADAM and EVE, out of the 5th Book of MILTON'S paradise Lost: beside other English Songs. To begin at Sic o'Clock. Tickets are to be had at Mons. Passerini's Lodgings, first Turnpike below Blackfriars Wynd.</p> <p><i>[NB note date change from advertisement given on 23.1.1752]</i></p>
<p>Sixth Concert</p> <p>26 February 1752 Assembly Hall</p> <p>CM, 18 February 1752.</p>	<p>For the Benefit of Madam and Mons. PASSERINI On Wednesday the 26th inst, will be performed at the Assembly-Hall, a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK Madam Passerini will sing all choice and agreeable Songs, and several new Scots Airs never performed by her before.</p>

CM, 20 February 1752. CM, 24 February 1752.	To begin at Six o'Clock. Tickets are to be had at Mons. Passerini's Lodgings, first Turnpike below Blackfriars Wynd and at Balfour's Coffee-house, at Three Shillings each.
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APPENDIX I

**ADVERTISEMENTS FOR GIUSEPPE AND CHRISTINA PASSERINI'S
SECOND SUBSCRIPTION SERIES
DECEMBER – FEBRUARY 1753**

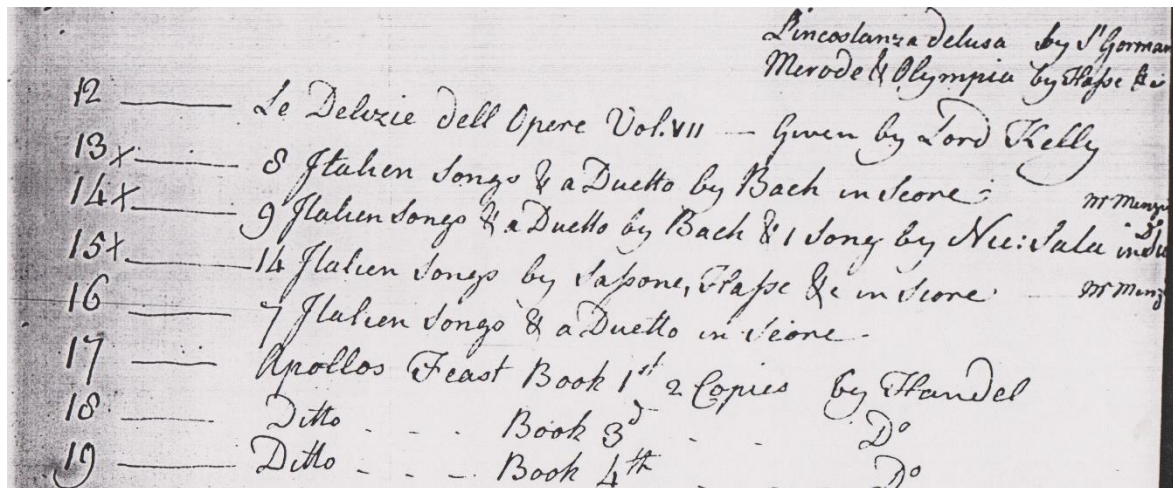
<p>First Concert</p> <p>Tuesday 14 November 1752 Mary's Chapel</p> <p>CM, 7 November 1752</p>	<p>At St. Mary's Chapel on Tuesday the 14th of November N.S. Signor and Signora Passerini will begin to give the advertised Concerts in the Manner of Oratorio's, and they will continue every Fortnight till the while are compleated [<i>sic</i>]. In the first Part Signora Passerini and Miss Meyer will sing Songs and Duettos, with Latin and English sacred Lines. In the other Part Signora Passerini will sing an Italian Cantata from Signor Pergolesi, Scots Songs, and a Duet with Miss Meyer. To begin at exactly Six o'Clock. N. B. Extraordinary Tickets to be had at Signor Passerini's Lodgings, the first Turnpike below Blackfriars Wynd, and in the Coffee-houses, at Four Shillings each.</p>
<p>Second Concert</p> <p>Tuesday 28 November 1752 Mary's Chapel</p> <p>CM, 28 November 1752.</p>	<p>The SECOND CONCERT in the Manner of the <i>Oratorios</i>, will be at St Mary's Chapel, this Day the 28th November. The same Night is the last that the black Tickets will be accepted at the Door, to prevent Confusion in the Room, which is not very large. For the Conveniency of single Ladies and Gentlemen, Signor and Signora Passerini have introduced a half Subscription at One Guinea, for which Subscribers get seven Tickets to dispose of, one for every Night for the ensuing Concerts. MUSICK which will be produced in the said SECOND CONCERT FIRST PART. Overture by Mr. Handel, in <i>Samson</i>. English Duet, from Mr. Handel, <i>After long Storms</i>. Miss Meyer, English Songs by Mr. Handel, <i>To Song and Dance</i>. Signora Passerini Mottetto, by Signor Ninci, <i>In hoc sacro</i>. SECOND PART. Concert upon the Hautboy by Mr. Croun. Signora Passerini, English Song by Mr. Handel, <i>Heart and Seat of Soft Delight</i>. Concert by Signor Geminiani. Italian Duet by Signor Araya, <i>Tu vuoi chio viva o cara</i>. THIRD PART. Signora Passerini, Scots Song never performed, <i>Through the Wood Ladie</i>. Concerto or Solo by Signor Passerini. Italian Song with Recitative by Signor Taradellas, <i>Oh Dei qualmi sorprende</i>. Sinfonia by Signor Passerini, composed from some Russian Songs. Four Shillings each extraordinary Ticket, to be had at Signor Passerini's Lodgings, and at the Coffee-houses. The Concert will begin at Six o'Clock. N.B. Money will not be accepted at the Door, nor the Tickets for the last Year.</p>
<p>Third Concert</p> <p>Tuesday 5 December 1752 <i>venue not given</i></p> <p>CM, 4 December 1752.</p>	<p>By Permission of the Subscribers, the remaining Six Concerts, in the Manner of <i>Oratorios</i>, will be held every Week. To-morrow the 5th of December will the THIRD CONCERT in the Manner of <i>Oratorios</i>. <i>The Vocal Part by Signora Passerini and Miss Meyer</i>. MUSICK which will be performed. FIRST PART. Overture by Signor Handel. Signora Passerini, English Song <i>Pious Orgies, pious Aires</i>. Miss Meyer, English Song, <i>To bleeting Pleasures make your Court</i>. Signora Passerini, Song by Signor Graun, <i>Innocente e quel affetto</i>. SECOND PART. Concert upon the French Horn. Signora Passerini, Scots Song never performed by Signora Passerini. Concerto by Signor Passerini. Signora Passerini, new Cantata by Signor Pergolesi <i>Luce degl occhi miei</i>. THIRD PART. Grand Concerto by Signor Corelli. New Duetto by Signor Graun, <i>Non disperar mio bene</i>. Sinfonia, composed by his Majesty the King of Prussia. Signora Passerini, Scots Song, <i>One Day I heard Mary say</i>. To begin exactly at Six o'Clock. N.B. This evening will be advertised with the Hand Bills in what Room the Concert will be. Extraordinary Tickets to be had at Signor Passerini's Lodgings, and at the Coffee-houses.</p>
<p>Fourth Concert</p> <p>Tuesday 12 December 1752 Assembly Hall</p> <p>CM, 12 December 1752.</p>	<p>This present Evening, the 12th of December, will be, at the ASSEMBLY HALL, the FOURTH CONCERT, in the Manner of <i>Oratorios</i>. Signora Passerini and Miss Meyer will sing the Hymn of Adam and Eve, out of the 5th Book of Milton's <i>Paradise Lost</i>, and other extraordinary Latin, English, and Scots Songs and Duettos. Mr Meyer will play for the first Time on a new Instrument, called <i>DAVID's Harp</i>. N.B. Signor and Signora Passerini assure, that the Hall will be as warm as any other Publick Place, and perhaps better. Each extraordinary Ticket at 2s.6d. to be had at Signor Passerini's Lodging, and at the Coffee-houses.</p>

	Signora Passerini is quite better of her sore Throat, and will sing this Night. The Red Tickets will not be accepted, after this Concert.
<p>Fifth Concert</p> <p>Tuesday 19 December 1752 Assembly Hall</p> <p>CM, 18 December 1752.</p>	<p>To-morrow Evening, being the 19th of December, will be at the Assembly-hall, the FIFTH CONCERT in the Manner of ORATORIOS.</p> <p>Signora Passerini is much better of her sore Throat: and, before that Day, she will be quite well recovered: when she proposes to sing extraordinary Latin, Italian, English and Scots Songs and Duettos, with Miss Meyer.</p> <p>The Lovers of Musick are desired to be at the Concert; because it will be the best of all the Concerts which Signor and Signora Passerini have given here.</p> <p>Signor Passerini will play a Solo, with <i>Son harmonique</i> [<i>sic</i>] composed by Signor Chabran. There will be played a Solo and a Scots Song upon the Harp. The two new Performers will produce a Concerto upon the French Horn. To be precisely at Six o'Clock. N.B. Extraordinary Tickets to be had at Signor Passerini's Lodging, and at the Coffee-houses, a [<i>sic</i>] 2s.6d. each.</p>
<p>Sixth Concert</p> <p>Tuesday 26 December 1752 Assembly Hall</p> <p>CM, 25 December 1752.</p>	<p>To-morrow Evening, being the 26th of December will be at the Assembly-hall, the SIXTH CONCERT, in the Manner of ORATORIOS. In which Madam Passerini and Miss Meyer will sing new CANTATAS of Signior [<i>sic</i>] Pergolesi never performed before and a MISERERE composed by Signior [<i>sic</i>] Cabalone, with Instruments and Chorus, besides other English and Scots Songs.</p> <p>There will be produced some Instrumental Musick never performed in Edinburgh. The remaining three Concerts will be still better than any which Signior [<i>sic</i>] and Signiora [<i>sic</i>] Passerini have performed here. To begin precisely at Six o'Clock. N.B. Extraordinary Tickets to be had at Signior [<i>sic</i>] Passerini's Lodging, and at the Coffee-houses, at 2s.6d. each.</p>
<p>Seventh Concert</p> <p>Thursday 4 January 1753 <i>venue not given</i></p> <p>CM, 2 January 1753.</p>	<p><i>For the Conveniency of Ladies and Gentlemen</i>, THE SEVENTH CONCERT in the Manner of Oratorios, will be on Thursday the 4th of January, N.S. It will be advertised with the next Bills, what Music is to be performed. It is certain, that Sigr. and Sigr. Passerini propose to produce, in this Concert, all agreeable Music, such as may please every Body.</p>
<p>Eighth Concert</p> <p>Tuesday 9 January 1753 Assembly Hall</p> <p>CM, 8 January 1753.</p>	<p>On Tuesday the 9th of January will be at the Assembly-Hall the EIGHT and LAST CONCERT in the Manner of <i>Oratorios</i>, in which Signora Passerini will sing choice and agreeable Songs. The instrumental Musick will be such as to please every Body. The said Night will be accepted at the Door, Black, Red, Green, and Blue Tickets; this to oblige the Subscribers who have been the Country at the Time that the other seven Concerts were performed.</p> <p>The Ladies and Gentlemen are desired to enter through the small Door, because the great one will be kept shut to prevent Cold. MUSICK which will be performed.</p> <p>FIRST PART. Grand Overture by Signor Madonis, composed of some Hosack Airs. English Duett, - <i>Every Joy that Wisdom knows</i>. English Song in Acis and Galatea, <i>Hush ye pretty warbling Choir</i>. Signora Passerini, Scots Song, <i>The Bush aboon Traquair</i>; set in parts by Signor Geminiani.</p> <p>SECOND PART. Sinfonie, with a Polish Air. Signora Passerini, English Song - <i>Jehovah to my Word give Ear</i>; with Violoncello Solo performed by Signor Pasquali. Concerto upon the French Horns, Solo's. Signora Passerini, a new extraordinary Cantata by Signor Pergolesi, never performed yet - <i>Nel chiuso centro</i>. A solo and Scots Tune upon the Harp.</p> <p>THIRD PART. Grand Concerto. Signora Passerini, a fine Song with two French Horns and two German Flutes. Solo upon the Violin by Signor Schabran, with Songs harmonick, Signora Passerini, Scots Song, - <i>The Lass of Patie's Mill</i>, set in Parts by Signor Geminiani. Chorus in Acis and Galatea, - <i>Happy we</i>.</p> <p>The Concert will begin exactly at Six o'Clock, and finished half an Hour after Eight.</p>

APPENDIX J

TRANSCRIPT OF THE VOCAL MUSIC IN THE INDEX OF MUSIC BELONGING TO THE EDINBURGH MUSICAL SOCIETY 1782

**Figure J.1: Extract from the 1782 Index of Music belonging to the Edinburgh Musical Society,
held on microfilm in the Edinburgh Room in Edinburgh Central Library**



The volume numbers and positions within that volume correspond exactly to the original document. Spellings have been modernised. Where no composer is specified in the index, and no definite identification is possible, I have suggested a likely composer: all such instances are marked with a question mark.

The purpose of identifying early editions of the works in the library is not to suggest that these were the editions used by the Society, but rather to demonstrate that most of the Society's vocal library was available in print in London, and that consequently it appears that the majority of volumes of vocal music used by the Society were from printed rather than manuscript sources.

Vol. no	Titles	Composer	First performance in London or UK	Date of publication in UK, place, Publisher,	Purchase date, price, agent
1	9 English songs for Catherine Rodburn	-	-	-	-
	29 Italian songs for Catherine Rodburn	-	-	-	-
2	34 Italian songs	-	-	-	-
	La Servante Maitresse [La Serva Padrona] (1733 Naples)	Pergolesi	-	-	-
3	25 Italian songs & duets	-	-	-	-
4	18 Italian songs	-	-	-	-
5	11 Italian songs in score	-	-	-	-
6	19 Italian songs & duetts in score	-	-	-	-

7	7 Italian songs & duetts in score	-	-	-	-
	Overture	Jommelli	-	-	-
8	15 Italian songs	-	-	-	-
9	14 Italian songs	-	-	-	-
	2 Italian duets	-	-	-	-
	Miserere for eight voices	Leo	March 1739	-	-
10	Cantata	Orlandini	-	-	-
11	Favourite songs in the operas of:				
	Scipione in Cartagine	Galuppi	March 1742 King's Theatre Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Enrico	Galuppi	1743 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Didone abbandonata (1742 Germany)	Hasse	26 March 1748 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Alceste	Lampugnani	24 April 1744 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Mitridate? [no title given in catalogue]	Terradellas	2 December 1746 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	L'incostanza delusa	Saint Germain	7 April 1745 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London [Burney records the performance was led by Pasquali], vol. 4, 452.	n.d., London, John Walsh	-
Merode and Olympia	Vinci, Pescetti, Hasse etc	April 1740 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-	
12	Le Deluzie dell Opere Volume 7	Italian aria compilation	-	c., 1754, London, John Walsh	given by Lord Kelly
13	8 Italian song and duets in score	Bach	-	-	-
14	9 Italian songs and a duet	Bach	-	-	-
	1 song in score	Nic Sala [sic]	-	-	-
15	14 Italian songs in score	Sapone, Hasse &c	-	-	-
16	7 Italian songs & a duet in score	-	-	-	-
17	Apollo's Feast, or the harmony of the opera stage: being a well-chosen collection of the favourite and most celebrated songs out of the latest operas. Book 1	Handel	-	1726, London John Walsh	'Handel's songs' – June 1758, from Robert Bremner 'Handel's songs vol 5', July 1759 from Robert Bremner
18	Apollo's Feast Book 2	Handel	-	1726, London John Walsh	-
19	Apollo's Feast Book 3	Handel	-	1729, London, John Walsh	-
20	Scipio (HWV 20)	Handel	12 March 1726 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	1726, London, J. Cluer	-

21	Admeto, Re di Tessaglia, (HWV 22)	Handel	31 January 1727 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	1754, London, John Walsh	-
22	Flavio, Re di Longobardo, (HWV 16)	Handel	14 May 1723, King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
23	Tamerlano (HWV 18)	Handel	31 Oct 1724 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	1724, London J. Cluer	-
24	Partenope (HWV 27)	Handel	24 Feb 1730 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	1730, London John Walsh	-
25	Siroe, Re di Persia (HWV 24)	Handel	17 Feb 1728 Kings Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh and Joseph Hare	-
26	Samson (HWV 57)	Handel	18 February 1743 Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Occasional Oratorio (HWV 62)	Handel	14 February 1746 Theatre Royal Covent Garden, London	-	-
	Faramondo (HWV 39)	Handel	3 January 1738 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Six [Italian] Cantatas 'inscribed to Lord Lovell' volume 2	Roseingrave	-	1735, London Cooke	-
	Favourite songs in the opera of Floridante (HWV 14)	Handel	9 December 1721 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London, published by the author	-
27	Alexander's Feast (HWV 75)	Handel	19 February 1736 Theatre Royal Covent Garden London	n.d., London John Walsh	July 1759 from Robert Bremner
	Coronation Anthems vol.1	Handel	11 October 1727 Coronation of Geo. II Westminster Abbey, London	-	-
	Salve Regina (in F or E flat)	Hasse	-	-	
28	Scots Songs	Geminiani	-	1749, London Published by the author	1752, from David Rutherford,
	[A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick]				
	Twelve Cantatas for voice, harpsichord and violin	Stanley	1742	-	1753, 6s.
	Handel's Bass songs from his operas	Handel	-	-	1755
29	Handel's Bass Songs from his oratorios	Handel	-	-	1755
	Alexander's Feast (HWV 75)	Handel	19 February 1736 Theatre Royal Covent Garden London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	12 English duets		-	-	-
	12 [Italian] duets for two voices with thorough bass out of all the late operas...	Handel	-	n.d., London John Walsh	-

	to which is added the... trio in.. Alcina				
	Acis and Galatea (HWV 49)	Handel	1718 Cannons, Little Stanmore, Middlesex	1722, London John Walsh	1751, from Gavin Hamilton
	Samson (HWV 57)	Handel	18 February 1743 Theatre Royal Covent Garden London	n.d., London John Walsh	Vocal score purchased, 1751. Vocal score purchased, 1757, 10s.6d. Full score copied by Christopher Smith, 1756, £4.9s.6d.
	Saul (HWV 53)	Handel	16 January 1739 King's Theatre Haymarket, London	-	-
30	Paradise Lost	Smith	29 February 1760 Theatre Royal, Covent Garden London	-	'Paradise Lost' purchased 30 July 1759 [1760?] from Robert Bremner
	Zimri	Stanley	12 March 1760 Theatre Royal Covent Garden London	1760, London R. Griffiths	-
	Favourite songs in the opera of La Clemenza di Tito (1734, Vienna)	Cocchi	15 March 1760 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Arminio (HWV 36)	Handel	12 January 1737 Theatre Royal Covent Garden London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
31	Favourite Songs in the Operas of				
	La Pescatrici (1752 Venice)	Bertoni?	-	1761, London John Walsh	-
	Tito Manlio	Cocchi	7 February 1761 King's Theatre Haymarket, London	1761, London John Walsh	-
	Merode and Olympia	Vinci, Pescatti, Hasse etc	April 1740 King's Theatre Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Vaux Hall songs [possibly 'A Collection of the new songs sung at Vaux Hall, 1761, pub. J. Johnson?']	Worgan	-	-	-
	Antigona	Galluppi?	15 May 1746 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	-	9 June 1761 from Robert Bremner
	Te Deum and Jubilate (Z.232)	Purcell	1694 St Paul's Cathedral, London	1 st edition 1697 2 nd edition, [1707] London, John Walsh 3 rd edition, [c.1720]	-
	Morning Hymn	Pasquali	-	-	-
	Arianna & Teseo	Pasticcio of Galuppi, Cocchi, Jommelli, Scarlatti	10 January 1761 King's Theatre Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	22 June 1762 from Robert Bremner

	Il filosofo de campagna (1754 Venice)	Galuppi	1761 King's Theatre Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	La Didone abbandonata (1751 Italy)	Perez	-	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Il mondo della luna (1750 Venice)	Galuppi	1760 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
32	Griselda	Bononcini	22 February 1722 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
33	Astarto	Bononcini	1720 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
34	Solomon	Boyce	1743 Ruckholt House, Essex	n.d., London, John Walsh	17 Jun 1757, £1.2s.06, Robert Bremner
	Stabat Mater	Pergolesi?	-	n.d., London, John Walsh	1754? Score copied in August 1754
	Del Canzoniere d'Orazio di G. G. Bottarelli Ode XII.	Arne, Boyce, Defesch, Heron, Howard, Worgan	-	May 1757 London, John Walsh	-
35	Favourite songs in the opera Tolomeo, re d'Egitto (HWV 25)	Handel	30 April 1728 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	1762, London John Walsh	-
36	Artaxerxes	Arne	2 February 1762 Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, London	n.d., London, James Johnson	15 June 1761 from Robert Bremner
	La famiglia in scompiglio (1762 Italy)	Cocchi	1762 King's Theatre, Haymarket London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Alessandro nel Indie	Cocchi	1761 King's Theatre, Haymarket London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Tolomeo	Handel	30 April 1728 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	1762, London John Walsh	-
	Fifty Favourite Scots Airs for a violin, German flute, and violincello with through-bass	Peacock	-	1776, Aberdeen, Francis Peacock	EMS were subscribers to its production
	Attilio Regolo (1753 Rome)	Jommelli	-	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Bertoldo (1748 Italy)	Ciampi?	9 December 1754 Theatre Royal Covent Garden London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Il mercato di Malmantile (1757 Venice)	Fischietti (with addition from Galuppi)	1761 London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
37	55 English and Italian songs	-	-	-	-

38	French songs, duets and Cantica Sacra. The parts are wrote out in the Small Catch book and in No. 32	-	-	-	-
39	Songs in the opera called Almahide	Bonocini	-	n.d., London John Walsh,	-
40	Thomyris, Queen of Scythia	Passticio arr. Pepusch	1707 Lincoln's-Inn-Fields London	-	-
41	Songs in the new opera call'd Clotilda	Neri	2 March 1709 Queen's Theatre, Haymarket, London	n.d., London John Walsh	-
42	Camilla, regina de'Volsci (1696 Naples)	Bononcini? English premier arr. N. F. Haymn	10 April 1706 Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	n.d., London John Walsh	-
	Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus by Clayton	Clayton	16 January 1705, London	-	-
43	23 Italian duets	-	-	-	-
44	4 Italian duets	-	-	-	-
45	The celebrated Miserere	Allegrì	-	1771, London Robert Bremner ed. Chas. Burney	-
	Jehovah to my word give Ear (Occasional Oratorio)	Handel	-	-	-
	Anthem for 2 voices	Nairns	-	-	-
	16 Italian trios	-	-	-	-
46	Feole	currently unidentified	-	-	-
	Le speranze della terra, ovvero il tempio del destino	Bottarelli	1761 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	1761, London G. Woodfall	-
	Amore Divin	currently unidentified	-	-	-
47	La Passione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo (1749 Italy)	Jommelli	-	-	-
48	wanting Sosonisbe del Predieri 2 vols	currently unidentified	-	-	-
49	Messiah (HWV 56)	Handel	13 April 1741 Fishamble Street Theatre, Dublin, Ireland	-	Score copied by Christopher Smith, 1756, £3.10s.0d.
50	Samson by Do 3 parts	Handel	-	-	-
51	Deborah by Do in 3 parts	Handel	-	-	1755
52	Judas Maccabeus by Handel in 3 parts	Handel	-	-	Score copied by Christopher Smith, 1755, £5.7s.0d.
53	Stabat Mater	Pergolesi	-	-	-
	Salve Regina	Pergolesi	-	-	-
54	Handel's songs from his Oratorios	Handel	-	-	-
55	24 Aria in 5 volumes	Palma	-	-	1752
	First 50 Psalms in 8 volumes	Marcello arr. Garth	-	-	vol 1. 1758, vol. 3. 1758 from Robert Bremner, vol. 4 July 1759 from Robert

					Bremner, vol. 6. 22 June 1762, vol. 7, 15 June 1763.
56	Psalms Italian in 8 volumes	Marcello	-	-	-
57	Antigona	Galluppi?	15 May 1746 London	-	9 June 1761 from Robert Bremner
	Alessandro neil Indie	Cocchi	See above	-	-
	songs in Deborah	Handel	-	-	Score copied by Christopher Smith, , 1754, £7.17s.0d.
	Attalo,	Mattei	-	1758, London, John Walsh	-
58	<i>Manuscript illegible</i>	-	-	-	-
59	Oratorio	Pergolesi	-	-	-
60	Funeral Service [Matuttino de Morti]	Perez	-	1774, London Robert Bremner	1774 from Robert Bremner
61	Arias in French – old	-	-	-	-
62	Faramondo (HWV 39)	Handel	-	-	-
	Alisandro Severo (HWV A13)	Handel	25 February 1738 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	-	-
63	La Clemenza di Scipione	Bach	4 April 1778 King's Theatre, Haymarket, London	-	-
64	L'Amore Solidato	Sacchini	1778 London	-	-
65	Gioas score (instrumental parts no 43)	Bach	1770	-	-
66	Alexander's Feast score (marked no 40)	-	-	-	-
67	Israel in Egypt score (marked no. 40)	-	-	-	-
68	Judas Maccabeus score (marked no 40)	-	-	-	-
69	Geminiani's Instructions for the Guitar	-	-	1760, Edinburgh Robert Bremner	-

APPENDIX K

VOCAL MUSIC COPIED FOR THE EDINBURGH MUSICAL SOCIETY 1749-1787

Document reference in the NAS. ⁹⁵³	Copyist	Date	Title	Composer	Origin if from larger work
GD113/5/208					
3/23	David Nevay	Dec 1749	Merope in 10 parts	Terredellas	<i>Merope</i>
7/26	James Dallas	1753-4	Myself I shall adore	Handel	<i>Semele</i>
8/4	John Kearcher	Aug 1754	Stabat Mater	Pergolesi	-
8/27	John Kearcher	1754-5	Witch music	Purcell	<i>Macbeth</i>
			'Nel chiuso centro'	Pergolesi	-
			Italian songs	-	-
9/13	James Dallas	1755-6	Illumina ['Illumina oculos meos' motet for five voices?] ⁹⁵⁴	[Palestrina?]	-
			'Laudate dominum'	-	-
			'Cantantibus organis'	-	-
			'Misereri'	Leo	-
10/17	James Dallas	1756-7	Choruses	Handel	<i>Admeto</i>
			'Te Deum' and 'Jubilate'	Purcell	-
			Coronation Anthems	Handel	-
11/28/2	John Kearcher	1757-8	139 th psalm	possibly by Croft	-
			cantata	Stanley	-
			'Alas, my Julia', cantata	Kelly	-
12/23	James Dallas	Jul 1758	'Stabat Mater'	Pergolesi	-
12/29	John Kearcher	Dec 1758	'La Serva Padrona'	Pergolesi	-
13/34/2	John Kearcher	May-Sep 1759	3 Italian songs for Catherine Rodburn	-	-
			symphony parts for 32 songs for Catherine Rodburn	-	-
			3 songs	Jommelli	-
			bass part of Marcello's psalms	Marcello	-
			1 Italian song	-	-
14/23/1	John Kearcher	Feb- Jun 1761	2 Italian songs	-	-
			1 English song	-	-
			bass part of 7 th psalm	Marcello	<i>Psalms</i>
14/23/2	John Kearcher	May-Dec 1761	bass part of 15 th psalm	Marcello	<i>Psalms</i>
			1 Italian song	-	-
			4 Italian songs	-	-
			2 Italian songs	-	-
15/26	John Kearcher	Jul-Dec 1761	1 Italian song with instrumental parts	-	-
			Italian songs	-	-
17/36	John Kearcher	Apr 1763	42 sheets of Italian duets and trios	-	-
18/29	John Kearcher	1763-4	Italian song (oboe and horn part)	-	-
			'Attilia che ferrai' (horn and tenor part),	Jommelli?	<i>Attilio Regolo?</i>
			string and vocal part duet	Bach	-
			Pergolesi cantata	-	-
			2 Italian songs	-	-

⁹⁵³ NAS, Innes of Stow: GD113/5/208, 209, 113/4/164.

⁹⁵⁴ This is a plausible attribution of the work only referred to as 'Illumina'. Palestrina's five-part motet was certainly known in London, and had been performed by the Academy of Antient Music on 19 December 1734. 'Preface to Hawkins' History of the AAM' accessed on 17 August 2014, <http://www.hogwood.org/archive/publications/preface-to-hawkins-history-of-the-aam.html>.

			7 Italian songs	-	-
18/30	John Kearcher	1764	Italian song	-	-
			'Ombra cara'	Handel	<i>Radamisto</i>
			'If o'er the cruel tyrant'	Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i>
19/22	John Kearcher	1765	'In infancy'	Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i>
			'If o'er the cruel tyrant'	Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i>
			23 rd psalm	Marcello	<i>Psalms</i>
GD113/5/209					
2/24/1	John Kearcher	1767	15 Italian songs	-	-
2/24/2	John Kearcher	Dec 1767	5 copies of 3 rd and 7 th psalms	Marcello	<i>Psalms</i>
3/28	John Kearcher	Jun 1768	Various songs, string and horn parts	-	-
5/34	Robert Ross	1769-70	Song...for Gilson	Jommelli	<i>La Passione?</i>
6/40	Robert Ross	1770-71	All parts 'Chiari fonti'	Gluck	<i>Orfeo</i>
			'Sposa Euridice'	Gluck	<i>Orfeo</i>
GD 113/4					
164/195	Robert Ross	1779-80	Songs for Tenducci,	-	-
			instrumental parts of 'Voi dolci aurette'	Handel	<i>Tolomeo</i>
			tenor for 'Nel chiuso centro'	Pergolesi	-
			parts for 'Se vile mi brama'	Perez	-
164/204	Robert Ross	1781	Duets for the Corris	-	-
164/196	Robert Ross	1781-82	'cello part of 'Epode of Horace'	Schetky	-
			instrumental parts of 'Britons strike home'	Purcell	<i>Bonduca</i>
164/267	Robert Ross	1783	Instrumental parts 'Chirai fonti'	Gluck	<i>Orfeo</i>
164/265	Robert Ross	1784	Instrumental parts Italian songs	-	-
164/266	Robert Ross	1784	Instrumental parts for songs	-	-
164/262	Robert Ross	1784-5	Parts of songs for Urbani,	-	-
			instrumental parts of terzetto and duet by Sarti	-	-
164/261	Robert Ross	1785	'Then long eternity' for Tenducci	Handel	<i>Samson</i>
164/259	Robert Ross	1786	'Amid a thousand racking woes' for Mrs Kennedy	Arne	<i>Artaxerxes</i>
164/258	Robert Ross	1787	Instrumental parts of recitative and rondo [possibly 'Ah non sai']	Sarti	-

APPENDIX L

THE EDINBURGH MUSICAL SOCIETY AND THE PERFORMANCE OF ORATORIOS 1750-1798

Date Occasion Venue	Works Performed	Composer	Tickets sold	Performers
26 January 1750 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	91	-
23 February 1750 Ladies Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	83	-
27 July 1750 Ladies Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	71	-
14 November 1750 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	-	-	196	-
11 January 1751 Ladies Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	99	-
1 February 1751 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	73	-
22 February 1751 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	76	-
27 July 1751 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	64	-
13 November 1751 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	-	-	200	-
28 February 1752 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	82	-
10 July 1752 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	47	-
22 November 1752 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	-	-	132	-
26 January 1753 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	94	-
3 August 1753 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	83	-
22 November 1753 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Handel	133	Leonardo Pescatore, Miss Clarkson, Harry Bernard
1 February 1754 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	77	-
9 March 1754 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	-	-	78	-
26 July 1754 Ladies' Concert Mary's Chapel	<i>Stabat Mater</i>	Pergolesi	68	-
3 December 1754	<i>Deborah</i>	Handel	343	

St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall				
8 March 1755 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Handel	210	Five choristers from George Heriot's Hospital
8 August 1755 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	120	-
5 December 1755 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	Handel	263	Seven choristers from George Heriot's Hospital, John Smeiton
5 March 1756 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Samson</i>	Handel	192	Seven choristers from George Heriot's Hospital, John Smeiton, Harry Bernard
5 August 1756 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Handel	136	
3 December 1756 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Judas Maccabeus*</i>	Handel	255	Seven choristers from George Heriot's Hospital, John Smeiton
	* Macleod, 288 has <i>Messiah</i> but CM 27.11.1756 records 'The [word] Book of the Oratorio of Judas Maccabeus is to be had of Mr Bremner's Musick shop.'			
11 March 1757 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Solomon</i>	Handel	175	John Smeiton
5 August 1757 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	95	Eleven choristers from George Heriot's Hospital
16 December 1757 St Cecilia's Hall Assembly Hall	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Handel	371	-
10 March 1758 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Samson</i>	Handel	240	Catherine Rodburn
11 August 1758 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Solomon</i>	Handel	127	Mr Mozeen, John Pearson
15 December 1758 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Handel	355	-
23 March 1759 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Deborah</i>	Handel	184	Eleven choristers from George Heriot's Hospital
10 August 1759 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	136	John Pearson, John Hyfe, Jacobina Gordon
14 December 1759 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Handel	330	Jacobina Gordon
7 March 1760 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Messiah</i>	Handel	238	Jacobina Gordon
19 December 1760 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	-	-	305	-
26 February 1761 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall	<i>Solomon</i>	Handel	230	-
18 December 1761 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	<i>La Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo</i>	Jommelli	295	-
17 December 1762 St Cecilia's Concert Assembly Hall	-	-	293	Miss Urquhart
16 December 1763			256	

St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia's Hall	-	-		-
21 December 1764 St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia's Hall	-	-	181	-
19 December 1765 St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia's Hall	-	-	158	-
12 December 1766 St Cecilia's Concert	-	-	164	-
7 August 1767 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	145	Eight choristers from George Heriot's Hospital, John Aitken, Cornforth Gilson
19 February 1768 St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Handel	440	Eight choristers from George Heriot's Hospital. Cornforth Gilson
5 August 1768 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>La Passione</i>	Jommelli	168	Eight choristers from George Heriot's Hospital
16 December 1768 St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>	Handel	174	-
11 August 1769 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	86	-
2 March 1770 St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia's Hall	-	-	296	James Hamilton, John Aitken, Graham, Neil, Dunmore
21 December 1770 St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Samson</i>	Handel	129	-
26 January 1772 St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>La Passione</i>	Jommelli	344	-
6 March 1772 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>La Passione</i>	Jommelli	217	-
24 July 1772 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	172	-
4 December 1772 St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Messiah</i>	Handel	197	-
12 March 1773 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	117	-
23 July 1773 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Gioas, Re di Giuda</i>	Bach	198	-
17 December 1773 St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Gioas, Re di Giuda</i>	Bach	218	Cornforth Gilson
11 February 1774 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Bethulia Liberta</i> <i>La Passione</i> Choruses in <i>Stabat Mater</i>	Corri Jommelli Pergolesi <i>(with additions by Geminiani or J. C. Bach)</i>	132	Domenico Corri, Alice Corri, San Giorgio, Cornforth Gilson, Robert Scott, Rebecca Gilson
23 December 1774 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Samson</i>	Handel	168	-
11 August 1775 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>La Passione</i>	Jommelli	65	-

18 August 1775 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Gioas Re di Giuda</i>	Bach	149	Cornforth Gilson
22 December 1775 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	Handel	155	Cornforth Gilson, John Collet
9 March 1776 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	-	-	-	William Cranmer, Robert Scott
7 June 1776 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	-	-	-	-
6 December 1776 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Handel	111	-
28 February 1777 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	193	James Hamilton
19 December 1777 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	-	-	167	James Hamilton
18 December 1778 Ladies Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Handel	-	-
18 February 1780 Miscellaneous Concert given in lieu St Cecilia's Concert	Overture <i>Alessandro in India</i> Overture <i>Acis and Galatea</i> Organ Concerto 'Happy we' from <i>Acis and Galatea</i> Solo Concerto 'Galatea, dry thy tears' from <i>Acis and Galatea</i>	J. C. Bach Handel Clark? Handel Borghi Handel	144	Rebecca Puppo
22 December 1780 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel		Rebecca Puppo, Mr Wilson
8 March 1782 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Messiah</i>	Handel		
	'on account of the indisposition of two of the principal performers, the Oratorio of the Messiah is... postponed' CM 6.3.1782. Replaced by the following:			
8 March 1782 Public Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Epode of Horace</i> Duet & Chorus 'Britons strike home' <i>Bonduca</i> 'The flocks shall leave the mountains' <i>Acis and Galatea</i> 'O the pleasures of the plain' <i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Schetky Purcell Handel Handel		Edward Meredith, Richard Gaudry
22 March 1782 St Cecilia's Concert St Cecilia Hall	<i>Messiah</i>	Handel		

26 July 1782 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	-	-	161	-
20 December 1782 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	71	Mr Abby, William Cranmer
18 July 1783 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	A Concert of Select Music	-	-	-
13 February 1784 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Handel	239	-
29 July 1785 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Samson</i>	Handel	221	Giusto Tenducci, Wilhelm Cramer
23 December 1785 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	'O sleep' <i>Semele</i> 'Angels ever bright and fair' <i>Theodora</i> 'Then round about thy starry throne' <i>Samson</i> 'Comfort ye' <i>Messiah</i> 'O Lord our governor' 'Hallelujah' <i>Messiah</i> <i>Pastoral on the Nativity</i>	Handel Handel Handel Handel Marcello arr. Garth Handel Schetky	72	Pietro Urbani, Maxwell Shaw
29 January 1786 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	-	-	-	Edward Meredith
20 July 1787 Ladies' Concert Assembly Hall [building works in Niddry's Wynd]	-	-	-	-
31 July 1789 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	A Concert of Select Music	-	-	
19 February 1790 Ladies' Concert St Cecilia's Hall	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	Handel	334	Two choristers from Durham Cathedral, Robert Marlor, Mr Reynolds
1 March 1792 St Peter's Church, Cowgate	<i>Messiah</i>	Handel	-	-

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