MUSICAL ACTIVITY IN
JANE AUSTEN'S ENGLAND

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ABSTRACT

In English music it is difficult to find any clearly defined period between Purcell and the beginning of the 20th century. It is necessary to look outside the field of music for some other means of definition and the dates of Jane Austen's birth and death have been chosen for this purpose. Any link between Austen and music is a tenuous one, yet the criticisms and comments in the novels and letters are worth noting providing the limited vision that her writings portray is kept in mind. The main emphasis of this thesis is on a description of the musical activity that occurred in rural and urban England and the relationship of this activity to the social attitudes of the various classes of people. Musical activity is discussed in six locational categories: concert rooms, pleasure gardens, miscellaneous premises, home, theatre and church.

The period under discussion was for a long time regarded as part of the 'Dark Ages' of English music. There was no really great resident native composer and of the music written by English composers very little is heard today. Yet the amount of musical activity is considerable and much of it worthwhile. The years 1775 to 1817 witnessed the rise of orchestral concerts as we know them today. It was a period that saw the development of the pianoforte as the most widespread domestic instrument and gave English pianoforte makers
precedence over all others. The activities of catch and glee clubs and choral societies; the cathedral and parish choirs and the rise of evangelical hymnology; the choral festivals and performances of oratorio all contributed to the establishment of the great English choral tradition which has remained strong and is undoubtedly partly responsible for the 20th century Renaissance of English music. Thus the considerable musical activity and development in fields of music other than composition largely compensates for the lack of any great native composer.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Jane Austen has been used as the starting point for this discussion of music in England in the late 18th century and early 19th century. Her birth and death are the dates that have been used to define the period under review; from a musical point of view they are quite arbitrary. However where they are relevant her comments and observations will be noted.

One may ask, why Austen? My immediate reply is why not? The choice of any musical period must have some basis and because in English music it is difficult to find any clearly defined period between Purcell and the beginning of the 20th century, it is necessary to look outside the field of music for some other means of definition. Because of an interest in English literature I have chosen to examine musical activity in England when one of our greatest women novelists was alive. It will become apparent that any link between Austen and music is a fairly tenuous one, yet her criticisms and comments in the novels and letters are worth noting providing the limited vision that her writings portray are kept firmly in mind.

The main emphasis of the thesis will be on a description of the musical activity that occurred in rural and urban England within the years 1775 and 1817. Music is essentially a social activity, an experience that is shared
between one performer and another or between performer and listener, and always involving the composer. Therefore any musical activity is closely related to current social attitudes such as the attitudes of different social classes to different types of music making.

The period under discussion was for a long time regarded as part of the 'Dark Ages' of English music. Admittedly there was no really great resident native composer, and of the music written by the English composers in these years very little is still in current use with the exception of church music. Yet, as I hope this thesis will show, the amount of musical activity is considerable and much of it worthwhile. Many important developments took place in these years such as the growth in the manufacture of the pianoforte and the rise of the publishing industry. These are also an essential part of the overall picture of music in England.

Musical activity is discussed in six locational categories: concert rooms, pleasure gardens, miscellaneous premises, home, theatre and church. Usually the different types of activity fall into clearly defined areas. Concerts, for example, were generally held in concert rooms, operas and other dramatic productions were presented in theatres. However, occasionally as with oratorio, there is some overlapping. In this case both churches and theatres were used as venues.

Before beginning the discussion of the various activities it is useful to consider a little of the background to the period, both socially and concerning Austen.
2. GENERAL BACKGROUND

England in the mid-18th century was a place of unspoilt countryside and handsome or picturesque towns. Many people, especially the farm workers, were poor, yet the average standard of living was almost certainly higher than in the previous century if all regions and classes are taken into account. But from 1770 on it was a time of considerable social and political upheaval. During the 1780's the champions of reform became increasingly active. They wanted among other things abolition of the slave trade, mitigation of prison conditions and parliamentary reform to give a fairer representation of the people. Events in France at the time gave encouragement to the reformers, but by 1792 the increased violence of the French Revolution strengthened the reaction in England and encouraged the anti-Jacobin movement who were against all proposals for reform and who had no sympathy with the claims and sufferings of the poor.

The poverty of the masses was aggravated by the long periods in which England was at war. Apart from the American War of Independence of 1775 war broke out with America in 1812 as a result of Britain's naval blockade of transatlantic commerce in the Napoleonic wars. War had been declared with France in 1753 in an attempt to prevent their annexation of the Netherlands. But although England had control of the sea following the Battle of the Nile in 1795 and the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, Napoleon remained invincible on land. Poverty and the earlier 18th century enclosure of common land were already driving the people of the country into the towns. The war and its associated
rise in the cost of living increased this movement. Food scarcity is inevitable in time of war. In 1793 corn cost 43s a quarter, by 1812 it had risen to three times that price. This profited the large farmers and land owners who could raise their rents, but it was not accompanied by any rise in wages for the hired workers on the land. The poor grew poorer and the rich grew richer with the rising cost of living. Between them the middle classes were growing in size and complexity. They were not left unaffected by the war either. Fluctuations in trade influenced employment and the shopkeepers longed for peace and security to give them access to the European markets.

The movement of people from the country to the town was most marked in the North, the region of mines, factories and cotton mills. The population increase, intensified by the Irish immigrants and the men discharged from the army, and the growing poverty made it impossible for everyone to work in the villages. Furthermore the increased use of machinery was supplanting the handcraft industries, such as spinning, weaving and knitting, of the women at home. The villages became purely agricultural as previously hand-manufactured goods could now be bought more cheaply in the towns. The depopulation of the country and resulting unemployment in the towns frequently lead to violence. The Luddites were one such group who broke the frames of the machines that had caused such unemployment and low wages.

Towns and cities grew dramatically in size with the growth of industrialism. 19th century cities were ugly and lacked planning and sanitation. The aristocratic ruling
class were mostly quite unconcerned about this. The state of the nation did not seem to concern them at all. The gentry, too, were acutely class conscious. For them to own property, especially land was essential to social status.

This lack of concern with social problems and public events of the county society is also apparent in Jane Austen's outlook. There is a notable absence of any large historical perspective or wide social view from her writing. Although it is not surprising that her fiction does not deal with such matters, it is unusual that her letters show so little concern for current events.

Austen was born on December 16, 1775 in the small village of Steventon on the Hampshire Downs and died aged forty-one on July 18, 1817. She was the seventh child of a family of eight and the youngest of two girls. Her sister Cassandra is the person to whom most of her letters are addressed. Both girls attended schools, and although Jane left at the age of nine her schooling does not seem to have been a very significant factor in her education which was completed at home with her brothers and clergyman father. Jane was certainly widely read, self-cultured and accomplished despite the lack of formal education. The Austen family lived at Steventon until Jane was aged twenty-five. She then spent five years with her parents and sister in Bath and a further three years in Southampton after the death of her father before returning to Hampshire in 1809 to settle in the village of Chawton. Throughout their lives both Cassandra and Jane spent long periods visiting different members of the family in London.
Austen was well acquainted with the literature of the 18th century masters such as Fielding, Richardson and Fanny Burney. English fiction towards the end of the century and the first decade of the 19th century was developing along various lines, with many of the characteristics of one category applying to another. Much of the fiction was at once sentimental, doctrinal, historical and Gothic and it was always extravagant. The Gothic trend is particularly noticeable in the works of Anne Radcliffe, M.G. Lewis and Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley. The novel was also a medium for propagating the new social theories of men like Henry Brooke, Thomas Day and William Godwin. Such novels were intended to illustrate by a particular case the general indictment of society, but most of them are also absorbing stories of suspense, fear and terror. With Maria Edgeworth the doctrinaire novel shades off into the novel of manners which itself points forward to the work of Austen and Scott.

Jane Austen began writing as a satirist of the current sentimental manner, that is the romantic view of life that trusts everything to the dictates of the heart. Northanger Abbey is a superficial treatment of just such a theme, but Sense and Sensibility which is the contrast between a woman who submits herself to the guidance of common sense and one who follows impulse, is of a much more profound nature. Briefly the other main novels are Pride and Prejudice, which develops the theme of first impressions which are not always to be trusted but must be corrected by experience and afterthought, and Mansfield Park which presents the antithesis between worldliness
and unworldliness. *Emma* is a study in the self-deceptions of vanity, while *Persuasion* shows the contrast between true love and prudential calculations. All her novels are unpretentious love-stories involving the happiness of young people, and in them Austen shows a great talent for describing the involvements and feelings of those people living an ordinary life.

Austen imposed limits on her own fiction which are not necessarily those of a limited experience. She set out to paint "pictures of domestic life in country villages... three or four families in a country village is the very thing to work on." ¹ Such restraint is rare and in fact forms part of her genius. Thus it is a limited part of the English scene that she pictures, her outlook as a novelist is narrowed to the people of her own class: the country gentlemen and their families. She was always careful not to become involved with matters which she did not thoroughly understand. For instance, she never touched on law, politics or medicine. Her nephew, James Edward Austen-Leigh says of her novels: "the fidelity with which they represent the opinions and manners of the class of the class of society in which the author lived... represent life as it was... these writings are like photographs in which no feature is softened; no ideal expression is introduced, all is the unadorned reflection of the natural object." ² Although she leaves out of her novels many aspects of

2. AUSTEN-LEIGH, J.E. *A Memoir of Jane Austen.* p.373
experience what she does picture is grounded on so comprehensive a knowledge of human nature as to universalize it. The men and women are as true of their own period as they are of all time. We can be assured therefore of the truth of any comments Austen makes regarding musical activities and attitudes to music, even though like her novels they are limited to a particular field of social experience.
CHAPTER II

CONCERT ROOMS

In many cases the discussion of a particular area of musical activity requires some background knowledge in order to understand the situation at the time under consideration. The origins of the public concert similar to the form that we are familiar with today can be found in the early years of the 18th century.

Semi-private gatherings for musical purposes had taken place for at least the last fifty years. Musical parties were common at the country and town houses of the nobility, but also less ambitious musical meetings were held in taverns and coffee houses. The beginning of the public concert as opposed to these semi-private performances may be dated 1672 when John Banister started giving daily afternoon concerts of vocal and instrumental music in his house at White Friars. This series of concerts continued until about 1678 and is generally accepted as being the first concert open to the public for a payment at the door. In 1678 Thomas Britton began weekly concerts which continued for thirty-six years and in 1699 Henry Playford's Concerts of Music were established.

The institution of public music in England in the 17th century was stimulated by a number of factors. The most often quoted include the constant arrival of fortune-seeking virtuosi from the Continent combined with a general inclination to adopt foreign fashions, and the Restoration
of the monarchy in 1660 which provided an increased patronage for musical activities. Important too was the different political system of England compared to the Continent which gave men greater freedom to exploit their own ideas at their own risk. A system such as the public concert under which musical performances are given to an audience that pays for admission was established in England much earlier than anywhere on the Continent.

In 1713 Thomas Hickford, a dancing master, opened a music room in premises off Haymarket which was devoted to the presentation of formal concerts. Thus a particular type of music making became identified with a particular place; a connection that was to continue for many years. Musical recitals had frequently formed part of various theatrical entertainments but Hickford's Rooms offered greater scope to solo performers. Similar rooms in Brewer Street, opened in 1738, served as a venue for subscription concerts until the late 1770's.

During the period of Jane Austen's lifetime there was generally only one type of concert, the Grand Miscellaneous Selection. This consisted of about four hours of orchestral music, concertos and vocal extracts from operas and oratorios. The Ancient Concerts, Vocal Concerts, various subscription concert series and many benefit concerts were all constructed on this plan. The provincial festival concerts were of the same type. Even in 1813 with the founding of the Philharmonic Society there was little immediate difference apparent in the mixed type of concert. Although concertos and solos were at first excluded from its programme and chamber music given a prominent place
there occurred a gradual lapse back to the old type of programme. Only after 1830 did significant changes occur. New types of concerts began to appear, for example, one series of concerts was devoted to chamber music though this still included some vocal music. However in 1836 a new series of concerts was entirely instrumental and in 1838 the first Promenade Concert for the performance of waltzes, quadrilles and other light instrumental music was held. At about the same time the idea of the solo recital became accepted by the public, the establishment of which was partly due to a succession of foreign virtuosi in England.

Orchestral music was the basis of the Grand Miscellaneous type concert. The orchestra itself varied in size but was rarely more than a large chamber music party. The players were free to take engagements from any of the various concert promoters and so they grew accustomed to playing at sight and became adaptable to strange leaders. Under these conditions it was impossible for them to learn the discipline that belonged to the permanent private orchestras on the Continent, nor had the composer the same facilities for the development of the new symphonic forms that he would have in daily rehearsals with a private orchestra. The 18th century orchestra was a group of players arranged around a harpsichord, able to see both the harpsichord player and the leading violinist. This dual control of the orchestra was common, but any great composer preferred to lead his music from the continuo. Bassoons and cellos would be grouped together, similarly oboes and violins, with the strings always having numerical superiority over the wind and brass sections.
At the beginning of the 18th century English amateur instrumentalists disliked loud music, but the huge financial success of Handel's *Fireworks Music* with its orchestra of a hundred players and the Handel Commemoration of 1784 set a new fashion for larger performances which depended on the participation of large numbers of unpaid performers. Also about the middle of the century the demand for increased sonority began to take control of orchestral performances. At first the change from the contrapuntal to the harmonic style was accompanied by a certain laxity in the treatment of the middle part. Haydn played an important role in the development of the orchestra in the 1790's. He obviously spent much time with his orchestra improving the discipline and the standard of playing, often having to demonstrate what he wanted. In his Third London Notebook of 1794-1795 Haydn comments: "On the 30th March 1795 I was invited by Dr Arnold and his associates to a grand concert in Free Maisons (sic) Hall: one of my big symphonies was to have been given under my direction, but since they wouldn't have any rehearsal, I refused to co-operate and did not appear." 1 Haydn required a new style of playing, especially compared to the Handelian style and he also introduced new methods of instrumentation. The woodwind instruments were able to sustain basic harmonies far better than the harpsichord.

For many orchestral players the wages were low, but musicians were well-known for their willingness to help one another. A player in need would be assisted by the

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1. LANDON, *Collected Correspondence*. Third London Notebook.
proceeds of a Benefit Concert at which all who took part did so without a fee.

Concert life as a whole in 18th century England had a variety and vitality to which it would be hard to find a parallel in any other country or any other period of history. Concerts were held in fashionable London salons such as the Ancient Concerts and the subscription concert series organised by J.C. Bach and C.F. Abel. Less formal concerts were held at London taverns like the Castle or the Crown and Anchor, and in the 'great rooms' of taverns in villages which today hardly seem large enough to find a place on the map. Then there were what Hawkins describes as "the alehouse clubs and places of vulgar resort..." where "small proficients in harmony were used to create themselves." This following section will examine musical activity in the concert rooms such as those established by Hickford.

In 1762 Johann Christian Bach came to London, one of many foreign musicians who settled in England. Since 1756 Bach had lived in Italy and had become acclimatised to the atmosphere of Italian music. His first English appointment was as director of the Italian opera at the Haymarket theatre for the 1762 season. In 1764 he became music master to Queen Charlotte and began an association with Carl Friedrich Abel, a noted gamba player and harpsichordist who was a chamber musician to the Queen and a concert promoter. Together, in 1765, Bach and Abel regularised the fashionable subscription concerts run by Teresa Cornelys at Carlisle House in Soho Square. Between

2. HAWKINS, General history. p.893.
them they built the 'galant' symphony and concerto into the accepted metropolitan pattern of concert giving. Bach used particularly inventive orchestration, such as independant wind and solo viola in the Symphony Opus 21, Number 1. The concert series was a great success in London but Bach's influence was slower to take effect in the provinces where concerts in emulation of those in London were described as Gentlemen's Concerts. In both cases European, especially German, composers were preferred to British.

After ten years the concerts were moved to the Hanover Square Rooms which was a principal centre of music in London for a century. The rooms were erected in 1774 by Bach, Abel and Giovanni Gallini; and were formally opened the following year with one of the Bach/Abel subscription concerts. Robert Elkin gives a description of the rooms: "the principal room on the first floor, had an arched ceiling decorated with paintings by Cipriani and held about 800 people. In 1804 the building was leased by Gallini to the directors of the Concerts of Ancient Music who made various alterations and refurnished the premises on a very handsome scale. Later the building passed into the hands of Robert Cocks, a music publisher, who made further improvements; and the Hanover Square Rooms remained the most fashionable, elegant and comfortable rooms in London until 1874 when they were transformed into a club." 3.

After Bach's death the former joint concerts were controlled by Abel, but they required substantial financial backing from the Earl of Abingdon to enable them to

continue. This amounted to £1,600 from 1785 to 1793. When the Bach/Abel concerts ended the public missed the contact with the modern developments in orchestral music which had been fostered by Bach. The section of musical society most affected was the professional, especially those foreign instrumentalists who had made London their home. As a result the Professional Concerts came into being, at first lead by William Cramer. It was an organisation that existed to supply the demand for new compositions for the concert room that were ruled out by the Ancient Concerts. The Professional Concerts did not have the social prestige of the Ancient Concerts but they did exist side by side fulfilling the different demands of the public.

Opposition to the Professional Concerts came from within. A rival series of concerts was initiated by Salomon and the two organisations vied with each other in an attempt to persuade Haydn to visit England. Salomon succeeded in bringing him to London in 1791, and when the directors of the Professional Concerts failed in their attempt to win Haydn away from his engagements with Salomon they tried the counter-attraction of Haydn's previous pupil, Pleyel.

Johann Peter Salomon came to London in 1781, appearing in that year at the Covent Garden theatre. In the same year he quarrelled with the directors of the Professional Concerts so he started in a business on his own, aiming to do the same work as the Professionals but to do it better. Within a short time the Professional Concerts began to lose money. Salomon began his concert series at the Pantheon
in Oxford Square, which had originally been opened in 1772 as a kind of winter garden Vauxhall for music, balls and masquerades. Salomon's success was due to his personality and sound artistic policy as well as his fine violin playing. He was very much aware of the current trends in orchestral music and realised how important Haydn could be to the musical life of England in general and in particular to Salomon's own concert series; hence Salomon's determination to persuade Haydn to visit England.

Haydn considered that the periods he spent in England were among the happiest days of his life. Before leaving Vienna he had secured substantial terms from Salomon. Haydn should compose an opera for Gallini for £300 six symphonies for Salomon for £300 together with £200 for the copyright of these works, £200 for twenty other new compositions and a guaranteed minimum of £200 as the proceeds of a Benefit Concert. As a security for all this Salomon deposited 5000 gulden in a Vienna bank. Meanwhile Haydn had to provide the cost of the journey and find maintenance for his wife.

Haydn experienced a huge social success in London; he had come to England with the right introduction and help from Salomon and he had the sort of independance that appealed to the English. He found the tremendous pressure of work and the enthusiastic applause that he received at concerts inspired his genius as a composer and also demanded his fullest powers as a performer. Salomon's twelve concerts in his 1791-1792 series achieved a phenomenal success, due mainly to Haydn.

The music of Haydn had an irresistible appeal to
those who heard it. Salomon's public was the usual set of seekers after fashionable entertainment similar in every way to the Bach/Abel public; there was no indication that this public wanted or would tolerate any depth of emotion in their music. Yet Haydn succeeded in his attempts to get slow movements taken seriously. The new homophonic style of music with its experiments in form and colouring had a long way to go before it became accepted as anything more than a novel evenings entertainment. The problem of finding appreciative patrons for their new music was one of importance to all great composers. Salomon provided this opportunity for Haydn.

The London public was generally conservative, but well-informed of the new music being produced in such great quantities on the Continent. London chose the best of this music for her own concert rooms and London publishers were not slow in issuing vast quantities of it in print, but only that which was most talked of abroad and of good repute. Stamitz and Haydn were in demand, J.S. Bach was not. Haydn's great contribution to symphonic progress lay in his flexibility of expression and his use of woodwind instruments which were at last freed from the conventional splitting up of forces into concertino and ripieno parts.

Haydn arrived in London in January 1791. On the 15th of that month the Haydn/Salomon Concerts were announced in the press:

"HANOVER SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that he intends having TWELVE SUBSCRIPTION CONCERTS in the Course of the present Season. The first of which will be on
Friday the Eleventh of February next, and so continue on the succeeding Fridays. Mr. Haydn will compose for every Night a New Piece of Music, and direct the execution of it at the Harpsichord.

The Vocal as well as Instrumental Performers will be of the first Rate, and a list of them will appear in a few Days.

Subscriptions, at Five Guineas, for the Twelve Nights, to be had at Messrs. Lockhard's, No. 36, Pall-Mall.

Tickets transferable Ladies to Ladies and Gentlemen to Gentlemen."

Salomon's orchestra for the Haydn Concerts varied from thirty-five to forty players, lead by Salomon with Haydn at the keyboard. This was the largest group Haydn ever had at his disposal. A larger group had played his symphonies but not with Haydn conducting. The opening concert orchestra consisted of 16 violins, four violas, three cellos, four double basses, flutes, oboes, bassoons, trumpets and drums. The series did not actually begin until March 11, the programme being announced on that day in the Public Advertiser and Gazetteer:

"FIRST CONCERT: 11th March, 1791

PART I

Overture - Rosetti

Song - Signor Tajana

Concerto Oboe - Mr Harrington

Song - Signora Storace

Concerto Violin - Madam Gautherot
Recitativo and Aria - Signor David (Composed by Rusi)

PART II
New Grand Overture - Haydn (Symphony No. 96 in D major)
Recitativo and Aria - Signora Storace
Concertante, Pedal Harp and Pianoforte - Madame Krumpholtz and Mr Dusseck, Composed by Mr Dusseck
Rondo - Signor David (Composed by Andreozzi)
Full Piece - Kozeluck (sic)
Mr Haydn will be at the Harpsichord.
Leader of the Band, Mr Salomon.
Tickets..."

The following review of the concert appeared in the Morning Chronicle of March 12:

"SALOMON'S CONCERT
The first Concert under the auspices of HAYDN was last night, and never, perhaps, was there a richer musical treat...

His 'new Grand Overture' was pronounced by every scientific ear to be a most wonderful composition; but the first movement in particular rises in grandeur of subject, and in the rich variety of air and passion, beyond any even of his own productions. The 'Overture' has four movements. An Allegro - Andante - Minuet - and Rondo. They are all beautiful, but the first is pre-eminent in every charm, and the Band performed it with admirable correctness.

Signor DAVID exhibited all the wonders of his voice, and never surely was there heard a tenor of such riches and beauty. His first song was a Recitativo
and Aria, by Rusi; and his second a Rondo, by ANDREOZZI.

There was an exquisite concertante between M. Dusseck and Madame KRUMPHOLLZ (Sic); Signora Storace sung two songs in a very fine style.

We were happy to see the Concert so well attended the first Night; for we cannot express our very anxious hopes that the first musical genius of the age may be induced by our liberal welcome, to take up his residence in England."

The Professional Concerts presented a similar type of programme to that of Salomon. Both are excellent examples of the Grand Miscellaneous Selection type of concert mentioned earlier.

"ACT I

Overture - Haydn
Song - Signor Lazzarini
Concerto Violin - Mr Cramer
Song - Mrs Billington

Grand Symphony, composed for the occasion, Mr Pleyel.

ACT II

Concerto Violon cello - Mr LINDLEY
Song - Signora Negri
Concerto French Harp - Madame Museghy
Duetto - Signor Lazzarini and Mrs Billington
Symphony - Mozart" 4.

4. The Morning Herald, February 9 1972
The concerts often lasted until well past midnight and at the end of the season a final concert was given for those who wished to hear some of the performances repeated. Tickets for this concert cost 10s. 6d.

Haydn's second London stay in 1794-1795 was without the excitement of the rivalry between the Salomon and Professional groups of 1792. Yet rarely is a composer so feted, appreciated and handsomely remunerated in his own lifetime as was Haydn during his second visit. The fourth concert of the series included the first performance of the Symphony Number 101 in D major, the Clock, begun in Vienna and completed in London. This report in the Morning Chronicle of March 5 is typical of those which appeared in print about any of the symphonies:

"... the most delicious part of the entertainment was a new grand Overture by HAYDN; the inexhaustible, the wonderful, the sublime HAYDN! The first two movements were encored; and the character that pervaded the whole composition was heartfelt joy. Every new Overture he writes, we fear, till it is heard, he can only repeat himself; and every time we are mistaken. Nothing can be more original than the subject of the first movement; and having found a happy subject, no man knows like Haydn how to produce incessant variety, without once departing from it. The management of the accompaniments of the andante, though perfectly simple was masterly; and we never heard a more charming effect than was produced by the trio to the minuet. - It was HAYDN; what can we, what need we say more?"
Again at the end of the season a concluding Grand Concert was held at the New Subscription Rooms, King's theatre, Haymarket. In 1795 the Haydn/Salomon series of concerts ended owing mainly to the inability of Salomon to persuade the best foreign performers to come to England from the Continent. This was a direct result of the political situation of the time; the wars with France continued from 1793 to 1815.

In place of the Salomon Concerts came the so-called Opera Concerts, designed to unite the talents of all musical London. It was for this organisation that Haydn composed his last three symphonies. Concerts were held fortnightly in the Great Room of the King's theatre which comfortably accommodated 800. This was therefore the limit to the number of subscribers, who paid four guineas for nine performances. Composers for the series included Haydn, Martini, Bianchi and Clementi, who provided at least two new pieces of music for each concert. The choruses were under the direction of Arnold, who was at this time organist at His Majesty's Chapel. Haydn and Frederici alternated at the harpsichord with Cramer the leader of a band of at least sixty players. The whole group was under the direction of Viotti.

Haydn left England for Vienna on August 15 1795. Haydn's biographer, Griesinger, states:

"He made through his three year sojourn in England some 24,000 Gulden, of which about 9,000 were used for trips, for his stay and for other costs...
Haydn often repeated that he first became famous in Germany through England... (He) considered the
days spent in England the happiest of his life. He was everywhere appreciated there, it opened a new world to him, and he could, through his rich earnings, at last escape the restricted circumstances in which he had grown grey: for in the year 1790 he had had barely 2,000 Gulden capital." 5. Haydn found London a congenial environment. The English did much to increase his reputation by their approbation and enthusiasm. He left behind in London a fund of goodwill, a conception of the potential of the modernized orchestra, a regard for Vienna as an international music centre and a determination on the part of some to reform the chaotic conditions of England's instrumental music.

Parallel to the Opera Concerts was another series given every Friday evening at the King's theatre Concert Room. Here the programmes were devoted primarily to church music. Many of the same instrumentalists and vocalists performed and some Haydn works were included in the programmes, yet compared to the crowded Opera Concerts this series played to nearly empty houses. They simply lacked the prestige of the Opera Concerts or the Ancient Concerts.

Like the Bach/Abel Concerts, the Haydn/Salomon Concerts and the Professional Concerts; the Concerts of Ancient Music were a highly exclusive affair, its membership being rigorously restricted to the 'upper ten thousand'. Membership of the audience was regarded as a certificate of high gentility.

The concerts were founded in 1776, with the Earl of Sandwich as the principal patron, and were based on the principle that no music written within the last twenty years should be performed at any concert. Twelve concerts and *Messiah* were performed each year at the Tottenham Street Rooms until 1794 when they were moved to the King's theatre, Haymarket. After 1785 the concerts were known as the Kings Concerts as they were regularly attended by George III and later sovereigns. The programmes were chosen by the directors, of whom George III was one and Prince Albert another. George III and George IV were both great Handelians and the concert series became largely an opportunity for Handel-worship. Yet the Ancient Concerts did good work in keeping before the public good music that might have been neglected had the modernist had things all his own way. They included madrigals at times when these compositions were regarded by many musicians as obsolete, much of Perceull's music and also some pieces of Corelli, Carissimi and Germiniani. In comparison Bach and Abel were foreigners, interested in the performance of their own works and those of their Continental friends who likewise composed in the new symphonic style. It was not in their best interests to encourage English music of types believed to be declining in favour. There was, therefore, a place for a conservative concert-giving society in London and musical life there would have been the poorer had the Concerts of Ancient Music not existed.

The King's Band and the boys of the Chapel Royal choir with those of Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral were some of the performers.
Very little information is available about the Vocal Concerts which flourished from 1792 to 1822. James Bartleman and William Knyvett were both well-known singers who were principals at the Vocal Concerts. It seems unusual to have a concert series devoted to a particular type of music like this. As we have seen the most common concert was the Grand Miscellaneous Concert. However, the Vocal Concerts add a further facet to the picture of musical activity in London.

At the period of the establishment of the Philharmonic Society in 1813, London had no permanent orchestra capable of performing symphonic works. The nearest approach was the concerts of Ancient Music, but as previously noted this organisation was a highly exclusive affair and the programmes dated. Also there was no organisation for the performance of chamber music. The promoters of the Society were professional instrumentalists anxious to recover an almost lost market for their skill. The aims were stated as follows:

"to rekindle in the public mind that taste for excellence in instrumental music which had remained in a latent state... to promote the performance, in the most perfect manner possible, of the best, most approved instrumental music, consisting of Full Pieces, Concertantes for not less than three principal instruments, Sextetts, Quintetts and Trios; excluding Concertos, Solos and Duets; and requiring that vocal music, when introduced, shall have full orchestral accompaniments and shall be subjected to
the same restrictions."  

An appeal for members drew the majority of reputable instrumentalists and the Society brought a new spirit into London concert life. Previously orchestral concerts had been mainly commercial ventures, but now it was no longer profitable to compete with other performers and composers as the Professional and Salomon Concerts had done. Now it was necessary to sink individual interests in an attempt to recover public interest in orchestral music.

The Society comprised thirty members, including such well-known musicians as J.B. Cramer, Clementi, W. Shield, H. Bishop, Salomon, Sir George Smart and T. Attwood; and an unlimited number of associates. Seven directors were chosen annually from among the members for the management of the concerts. No member or associate received any salary from the funds: all the available money was used for the public purposes of the Society.

The first concert was held on March 8 1813 in the Argyll Rooms. Formally a private mansion, these premises had been converted by a Colonel Greville, a well-known Regency sportsman and man-about-town, into a place of entertainment extensively patronised by the nobility and gentry. The patrons who paid the heavy subscription of four guineas for eight concerts were among the most affluent people in town. The first concert presented a programme made up of equal parts of what today would be called orchestral music and chamber music, with a couple of concerted vocal pieces to provide relief from the

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general mass of purely instrumental tone.

The chamber music idiom included a string quartet by Mozart, a string quartet by Boccherini and a serenade for six wind instruments by Mozart. On the orchestral side there was a Beethoven symphony and a Haydn symphony, also Cherubini's Overture to Anacreon and Haydn's Chaconne, Jomelle and March. The most frequent composers who subsequently appeared on the programmes were Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Gluck, Cherubini, Clementi and A. Rombert. The only English works were a few from the pens of Crotch, G.E. Griffin, John F. Burrowes, Cipriani Potter, Henry Bishop and Robert Lindley.

The first concert received a full-length notice in the Morning Chronicle, whose music critic was William Ayrton:

"The first concert of the Society", he wrote, "was given at the Argyll Rooms on Monday night, to a very elegant and select company, amongst whom we noticed the Duke of Cambridge, who sat in the box appropriated to the Royal family, several of the Nobility, and many other persons of distinguished rank. It commenced with Cherubini's overture to 'Anacreon', a piece of music which, we believe, has never been attempted to be performed in this country. It is a composition that must be placed in the highest class, both on account of its originality and its extraordinary effect; it seemed to transport the audience, for it was repeatedly interrupted by loud bursts of applause, and was encored by every voice. This was followed by a quartet of Mozart, a
piece of more tranquil cast, and full of exquisite melody... The next piece on the list was a vocal quartet, 'Nell errror,' by Sacchini, which was followed by a beautiful Serenade for wind instruments only, by Mozart that we have never heard in this country; and the grand symphony of Beethoven concluded the first part of the concert."

After dealing briefly with the second part, the notice concludes:

"This performance, we will venture to pronounce, has never been surpassed in this or any other country; and probably, has never been equalled. The band consisted of persons who are all at the head of their respective departments, and certainly no orchestra ever before exhibited the celebrated leaders playing subordinate parts. Such, however, was the case on Monday night, and the effect was adequate to the means; the violins in particular, produced such simultaneity of sound, that it seemed to proceed from one extraordinary instrument, struck by some equally extraordinary hand. It was not only the power and unity of the hand that was remarkable, but also the consummate taste and judgement of every individual composing it. Each concert, of which there will be eight, will have its particular leader. Mr Salomon took the first night... Mr Clementi sat as conductor at the pianoforte... The whole was conducted with the utmost regularity, and the management reflects
much honour upon the Directors."

One of the directors was Ayrton himself, the writer of the review! Notices of the Philharmonic Society's concerts are rarely found in the London newspapers of this period, since it was not until many years later that the directors issued press tickets.

At first the orchestra was lead by foreigners; the violinists Salomon, Franz Cramer, Viotti, Spagnoletti and Vaccari, and the pianists Clementi and J.B. Cramer. It was not until 1816 that the first Englishman appeared at the piano: Attwood, then later Crotch and Griffin, and in 1817 J.D. Loder as violinist. The pianoforte remained in the orchestra for some time. London musicians were strongly opposed to a conductor with a baton. It was not until 1820 that Louis Spohr conducted the first performance of one of his own symphonies. From this time onwards the words 'At the pianoforte Mr ___' did not appear on the programme of the Society; but the name of the leader appeared with that of the conductor.

The financial results of the first two seasons allowed a sum of £1,300 to be invested and the Society thus became able to commission works from the most celebrated composers of the day. For example, in December 1814 Cherubini accepted £200 and agreed to provide a symphony, an overture and an Italian vocal piece for not less than three voices complete with orchestral accompaniment, to be composed expressly for the Society.

The Society played an important role in spreading the music of Beethoven. His compositions were continually before the public. In the course of the first season of
eight concerts four of his symphonies were played, besides the overture to Prometheus, the Septet and several other chamber works. The 'Eroica' Symphony is specifically mentioned in the second programme of the second season, and the Fifth Symphony is known to have had its first performance in England on April 15 1816. The first Beethoven Piano Concerto to be heard in England was the C Major, played by Charles Neate at the Society's Concert in May 1820. The Society commissioned works from Beethoven, invited him to London and gave him financial support. Yet their efforts in publication and promotion continued to be thwarted. Offers of £200 to come to London and conduct were turned down; Beethoven wanted more money.

The Philharmonic Society fostered a great public interest in the music of living composers, especially Beethoven. Orchestral music in London owes a greater debt to the Society than to any other influence. June 1819 can be regarded as marking the end of the first period in the history of the Society, for soon afterwards the old Argyll Rooms were demolished and the Society had to move to new quarters.

The smaller populations of even the largest provincial cities precluded the diversity of concert life available to Londoners, yet the sheer quantity of activity is quite remarkable. The programmes presented at the provincial concerts were well-balanced. In London the public was large enough to be able to support partisanship between the so-called 'ancient' and 'modern' styles, that is, between the late Baroque of Corelli, Geminiani or Handel and the
'galant' of J.C. Bach, Abel and Haydn, so the programmes were less varied stylistically. Provincial directors of the concerts presented both, as well as a balance in medium between solo, quartet or chamber, and orchestral music. British music was not very popular; the most frequently heard would be a concerto written by the soloist himself.

The size of the audience varied considerably and the orchestra generally numbered between ten and twenty-five. It is difficult to deduce anything about the standards of the performances. One rehearsal per concert seems to have been normal, but sometimes private concerts were used as rehearsals for public ones. There was no real press criticism and few other comments are available.

In the cathedral cities cathedral choirs provided a nucleus of singers and players for the local musical organisations which existed in most such cities. In his 'Memoirs' John Marsh records attending a subscription concert in Winchester in 1769, paying as a stranger to the city an entrance fee of 2s. 6d. However when he agreed to play in the orchestra that was giving the concert his money was refunded.

The larger industrial and commercial cities, too, were active. For example, Manchester's Gentlemen's Concerts began in 1770, and the organisations built up until each city had several such societies and organisations. Although no specific names have been mentioned it is acceptable to presume that such concerts were held in Concert Rooms similar to those in London.

By the 1760's the great fashionable city of Bath already had a thriving musical life; for example, William
Herschel was the organist at the Octagon Chapel and became a member of a band of musicians who played at subscription concerts, the Pump Room, balls and the Play House. Bath claims that its Pump Room orchestra is the oldest in Britain, having played continuously every season since 1704. Even earlier, in 1651, a 'Band of Musick' consisting of five players, viols and oboes, performed in the Orange Grove, the fashionable promenade at the east of the Abbey. It was so successful that some of the physicians asked for the band to be allowed to play in the Pump Room. Its strength was increased, and so were attendances at the Pump Room.

The Assembly Rooms had music too. Thomas Linley was the director of the public concerts there and he created a fine orchestra. The Linley family made an important contribution to the musical life of Bath. Thomas Linley taught pupils, sang and played at concerts and probably also played the organ at one of the churches. He was succeeded by the violinist and composer Franz Lamotte and then by the celebrated male soprano Venanzio Rauzzini, who in 1781 became the musical director at the New Assembly Rooms.

For some twenty years he produced, season after season, a succession of high-class concerts, for which he procured the best soloists in the country, and drilled both the choir and the band to his own exacting standard. Sometimes his enterprises were not a financial success; he did not always make a correct estimate of the public support and people took advantage of his easy, trusting nature. Besides these Wednesday night concerts, his musical
band performed at the Pump Room each morning for twenty weeks of the year and received two hundred guineas for the season, apart from benefits. It is not clear how the money was divided, nor among how many. Maybe this was the cause of the trouble in 1783 when a visitor enquiring one morning why there was no music in the Pump Room was told that "the man who provided the music (presumably Rauzzini) had had some dispute with musicians so they stopped playing." 7.

Few programmes seem to have survived of the music Rauzzini presented to the elegant and fashionable visitors, but the scope of his work was quite broad. In one week he gave three concerts at the Assembly Rooms, Handel's compositions being prominent in the programme and a morning performance of Messiah at the Abbey; the band alone numbered over 150 performers.

Bath was one of a very few places where Jane Austen was familiar with, or even attended orchestral performances. A concert at the Sydney Gardens is one of the few that she mentions in her letters from Bath, and she does not make any mention of attendance at any of the London concerts. The music enjoyed and played by her characters and herself was generally of a simpler kind; she particularly liked to accompany country dances for her nieces and nephews.

There is another aspect to Austen's absence from the Concert Rooms of London. She was a member of the upper middle class, but for much of her life she lived within a very modest income. The prices of admission to the

7. YOUNG, K. Music's great days in the spas and watering places. p.68.
subscription concerts, five guineas for twelve concerts in the Haydn/Salomon series, would have been well beyond her means. Similarly, the Philharmonic Society's subscription was four guineas for eight concerts; those who paid a heavy subscription were among the most affluent people in town.

The subscription concerts were designed for, and a result of the demands of the noblemen and gentlemen in London society. Even the advertisements in the newspapers were aimed specifically at this group of people:

"...Mr Salomon respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry that he intends having Twelve Subscription Concerts."

Often those who attended the concerts were merely wanting fashionable entertainment and the novelty of the new music of the time. Towards the end of the 18th century music was especially fashionable because the Royal family were keen amateurs. Consequently opera and concert enterprises were well supported by the nobility and gentry.

The 18th century was a time when London society rapidly lost sympathy with rural life. Rural workers were being driven increasingly to pauperism while their landlords grew rich. Great estates spread over the counties and great town residences were built in London. It was on the support of their owners that subscription concerts had to rely. Concert-giving was largely in the hands of the more or less aristocratic society groups, and audiences usually consisted of definitely enrolled subscribers or elected members. The beginning of the 19th century, however, saw orchestral music declining in England. The
transitional period that followed lead to the wide popularisation of concert-going when a large section of the population moved from the country to the town in response to the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution. There also occurred the growth of a new moneyed class who often desired a reputation as patrons of music. Upper class resistance to these wealthy middle class ambitions was steadily overcome until the position changed and music found its most effective supporters among the middle classes.
CHAPTER III

PLEASURE GARDENS

The Public Pleasure Gardens were a gradual development from a pleasant place where people could go and drink medicinal waters from some spring, into the fashionable resorts of the day. The three main Pleasure Gardens were Vauxhall, Ranelagh, and Marylebone, but Warwick Wrath in *The London Pleasure Gardens of the 18th century* gives accounts of no fewer than sixty-four favourite pleasure resorts in Central, North, South and West London. They could be found bearing the name of Spa, Well, Spring, Pump-room, Coffee-room or Tea house. The drinking of medicinal waters was recommended by many physicians and many enterprising owners discovered that the springs on their grounds possessed remarkable qualities. The drinking of such waters combined with a dish of tea, coffee or chocolate with the added attraction of an evening stroll in a fresh and lovely garden brought these places into fashion. The amusements were added later, and thus rose into popularity the large numbers of competing gardens which the London population enjoyed from about 1650 to 1820.

Music at such public resorts as the Pleasure Gardens is of considerable importance in the social history of English music. It represented a higher point in 18th century London than is generally conceded. However, although music was a popular attraction at the Gardens it
was not the most popular, for admission to some of the Gardens cost 2s. when concerts were given, but 5s. when there were firework displays. Music, then, was only a part of the entertainment as a whole.

Within the Gardens many social distinctions tended to be disregarded. They were especially patronised by the lower and middle classes, but this is an area of musical activity where class barriers seem to be less significant. Provision was made for a variety of tastes and the entertainment came to be a kind of common denominator among a great variety of social classes. All the Gardens varied slightly in their patrons, but their influence was on the whole a beneficial one.

Early in the history of the Gardens it became a common practice to install an organ and make this instrument a major feature of the musical activities. Many organ concertos, especially those of James Hook were performed at Vauxhall Gardens. The larger Pleasure Gardens also established an orchestra around which vocal and instrumental items could be assembled. The directors of the Gardens employed those vocalists and instrumentalists who were performing in London during the October to May season each year and thus provided them with a means of livelihood for the summer months. The standard of performance, therefore was often as good as could be heard anywhere in London.

A great variety of music was presented, ranging from the concerti of Handel to the symphonies of J.C. Bach; from the songs of Arne to the ballads of Hook and Dibdin. Much contemporary music was performed, including selections from
opera and also oratorio, especially that of Handel; but also works by Mozart, Arnold, Bishop, Boyce, John Stanley, Storace, Charles Avison, Giardini, John Davy, Michael Arne, Charles Burney, F.H. Darthelemon, Parry, Dusseck, Thomas Linley and Jonathon Battishill, some of whom played their own compositions. There appeared to be no distinction between what we would consider 'serious' and 'light' music; both were presented on the same programme. However, the necessity for providing music for crowds of visitors who were not principally music lovers lead to the composition of a very great number of songs which subsequently acquired a 'period' charm. They enjoyed a great popularity in their time and many of the most popular were printed, often without the permission of the composer. The London Pleasure Gardens were fashionable for a long time yet little of the mass of music that was produced there, instrumental and vocal, remains today. The bulk of material that is available is these songs. They were printed without a modern keyboard accompaniment, although a figured bass is supplied and several songs have obbligato parts for an individual instrument. Another feature of the surviving songs is that at the bottom of the page can be found the melody "for the German (transverse) Flute" or the "Common Flute" (that is the Recorder) or "the Guitar". Rarely is this melody in the key in which the original vocal music appears. It is usually in a transposed form so that it is within the range of the solo instrument concerned. Many songs were commissioned by the managers of the Gardens on the social, political, naval and military events of the
day. Nearly all of the songs of Charles Dibdin were of this patriotic type.

Music composed for special events in London were occasionally rehearsed in public at one of the Gardens and music was often written specially for the Gardens. Handel composed a Hornpipe for Vauxhall in 1740, and his Water and Fireworks Music were frequently performed.

Instrumentalists and vocalists who often appeared at the Gardens include members of the Arne, Young and Ashley families, the two Parke brothers, John Addison, John Beard, Anne Catley, Charles Incledon, Charlotte Brent, Mara, Tenducci, Michael Kelly, Franz Clement and John Parry.

In most notices in the newspapers of the time there is no indication given of the music performed, even when Haydn, Mozart and Handel visited the Gardens there is no mention of their names. Such advertisements as these are typical:

"Wednesday July 2nd 1800
VAUXHALL
Tomorrow, Thursday, July 3, the Grand Gala and Superb Display of Fireworks will be repeated with additional splendour. Further particulars will be given tomorrow. Admission 3s.
The Gardens are open every evening."

"Saturday, July 5th 1800
VAUXHALL
On Monday next; by the express Desire of their Graces the Duchesses of Devonshire and Gordon and
others of the principal Nobility, will be a GRAND GALA, far superior to any ever yet witnessed in this country. The walks will be illuminated in a stile of the highest splendour, and the orchestra on this occasion will display a scene of the utmost magnificence. After the CONCERT there will be a most extraordinary Brilliant Display of FIREWORKS". 1.

Sometimes, however, more detailed information of the music is given:

"VAUXHALL

This day Thursday, July 3, the Grand Gala will be repeated with additional splendour. The CONCERT will be a GRAND SELECTION of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC, from the following great Masters; Handel, Haydn, Arne, Hook and Pleyel, and will conclude with the SHIELD of PROVIDENCE; or National Exhibition. Between the Acts, his Royal Highness the Duke of York's Band will perform a composition of Grand Martial Airs. And after the Concert, will be a Superb Display of the most Brilliant FIREWORKS. Admission 3s. Doors open at 7, and the Concert begins at 8 o'clock. The Gardens are open every Evening." 2.

The pattern of entertainment which prevailed in London was imitated at the provincial centres of Newcastle, Birmingham, Norwich, Bath and others.

1. The London Times
2. ibid
Vauxhall Gardens had the longest prosperity and were the most renowned. They were opened under the name 'The New Spring Gardens' shortly after the Restoration in 1660 and remained open until 1850, reaching a peak of popularity in the Regency period. At the time of the opening the place was described as "a prettily-contrived plantation laid out with walks and arbours; nightingales sang in the trees, wild-roses could be gathered in the hedges and cherries in the orchard." 3. Nothing was charged for admission, visitors called for what they wanted and paid accordingly.

The property itself was on the Surrey side of the river; and opposite Millbank. It extended as far south as the present Waterloo Station and Saint Peter's church now stands on a part of the old grounds. The most convenient approach in these early days was by water, but by 1750 the roads were improved to enable access by coach and sedan-chair. Pepys, Goldsmith, Hogarth, Reynolds and Swift were regular visitors to Vauxhall.

As in other Gardens an orchestra and an organ was provided; concerts usually lasted from six to nine. Then commenced the other amusements; water cascades, fireworks, jugglers, tight-rope walkers and other novelties. After the opera was over in the evenings the "quality" would go to the Gardens for supper and often the crowds would not be completely dispersed until dawn. As well as the principal orchestra, which came to number about forty players, other supplementary bands were employed. One such band, termed

3. SOUTHGATE, Music at the public pleasure gardens. p.146.
the 'Subterranean Musicians', played fairy-music in a hollow concealed with bushes. In 1783 Barthelemon led the principal orchestra and he also provided a company of fifes, horns, clarinets and drums which walked about the gardens once the regular concerts had finished. Another band was engaged for the dancers.

Two conductors of note were Pinto and Pieltain, but James Hook, who was director at Vauxhall for fifty years, gave the longest service. Mention has already been made of his organ concertos and besides these he wrote a large number of songs, said to number well over two thousand. One well known example is The Lass of Richmond Hill. He also wrote sonatas, odes and other pieces and issued several books of Vauxhall Songs with Arne and Worgan among the leading writers.

Southgate, in his article "Music at the public pleasure gardens of the 18th century" gives an example of the music that was performed in this programme of August 11 1787:

"Full Overture, Abel;  Overture to 'The Syren', Fischcr;
Song, Charles Incledon;  Symphony, Shaw;
Song, Miss Bertles;  Symphony, Haydn;
Song, Miss Newman;  Full Symphony, Hook;
Song, Miss Poole;  Organ Concerto
Song, Miss Leary;  Song, Mr Incledon;
Glee, Webbe;  Catch, Hook;
Song, Miss Bertles;  'The Queen of May', Hook."

One programme could contain as many as three concertos, say for bassoon, violin and oboe. Some other music performed
included on June 30, 1787 a number of glees and catches, an Overture by J.C. Bach and one by Boyce, a Schmidt Symphony, a Violin Concerto and a Full Overture by Haydn.

Haydn played at Vauxhall at the Storace festival in 1792 and in his First London Notebook of 1791-1792 he gives an excellent description of the Gardens:

"Today, 4th June 1792, I was in Vauxhall where the King's birthday is celebrated. Over 30,000 lamps were burning, but because of the severe cold there were very few people present. The grounds and its variety are perhaps unique in the world. There are 155 little dining booths in various places, most charmingly situated, each comfortably seating six persons. There are very large alleys of trees, which form a wonderful roof above, and are magnificently illuminated. Tea, coffee and milk with almonds all cost nothing. The music is fairly good. On the second inst. there was a masked ball, and on this evening they took in 3000 guineas." 4.

The profitable success of Vauxhall induced Lacy, patentee of Drury Lane Theatre, to start about 1740 a rival Gardens on the Middlesex side of the river. This was consequently more convenient for the fashionable people of London to reach than having to cross the Thames and came to be regarded as somewhat more socially select than Vauxhall.

Ranelagh House was the mansion of the Earl of

Ranelagh whose gardens were esteemed the best in England. They stood on the east side of the Chelsea Hospital and were sold in 1733. Lacy formed a company and £12,000 was spent adapting the place to its new purpose. An immense amphitheatre with boxes and a gallery was built, a large orchestra was provided and in 1746 an organ was added. There were morning concerts at twelve and those of the evening began at seven or eight. Similar notices to those of Vauxhall appeared in the press:

"Wednesday July 2 1800
RANELAGH

By particular desire of the Nobility present on the last Night, ON FRIDAY NEXT, will be repeated the CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC; and at 11 o'clock will be displayed a SUPERB FIRE WORK by Signor Rossi.

Admission 5s. Tea and coffee included. Doors to be opened at 7, and the Concert begins at 8."

5.

Between the Acts the company walked in the gardens to the music of horns and clarinets; an additional small orchestra was provided for the dancers. The music is described as being of 'commendable quality' and was directed for some years by Michael Festing, leader of the Italian opera, member of the King's band, renowned virtuoso violinist and composer of many violin sonatas. He also directed a chorus which sang extracts from oratorios and other pieces; and many eminent singers and solo instrumentalists performed there. Other entertainments were also provided. They

5. The Times.
included fetes, masquerades, burlettas, ridotti, fireworks, illuminations, picture exhibitions and river fetes.

The Marylebone Gardens were originally attached to the old Marylebone Manor House. As a place of extended amusement it did not come into fashion until 1738. Two special attractions were the bowling in the alleys in the summer time and gambling. A complete band was selected from the players of the opera and the theatres and it was announced that they would play the best concertos, overtures and airs at the evening concerts.

The Gardens were open in the morning for public breakfasting and a twelve o'clock concert similar to that at Ranelagh was provided. Admission was 1s. and the same charge was made for the evenings entertainment, except for special nights. At one period free organ concerts were given, but they began at eight in the morning.

Considerable enterprise was shown in drawing up the programmes at Marylebone Gardens, in one instance there was a concert consisting entirely of Horns, Clarinets, and Hautboys. The music of Corelli was frequently performed. Odes and serenatas were constantly being written and set to music by composers of distinction. Music flourished particularly under the directorship of Johnny Lowe, the popular tenor. He employed such notable and popular singers and instrumentalists as Anne Catley, Miss Davis, Storace, Squib, and Taylor. William Parke, the oboeist, was a prominent player at Marylebone. He was a member of the band of the Prince of Wales and was much in demand at London concerts. At the Gardens he played many of his own
and his father’s Hautboy concertos.

Plays and operas were a feature in the theatre built in the Gardens and here too began the public performances of oratorios. In the last year of its existence Marylebone Gardens had a representation of the Boulevards of Paris with shops: hairdressers, sweetstuff shops, music-sellers, a gingerbread shop, a print shop, a milliners shop, a fruiterers and a copy of a coffee house as it then existed in Paris.

Very little mention need be made of the other Gardens in London. The standard of music was lower than that of the three biggest gardens, although Cuper's Garden, lying on the riverside opposite Somerset House and Finch's Grotto Gardens, Southwark both had an orchestra and an organ. Sadler's Wells Gardens date from 1680 and contained a well that in the Middle Ages had been credited with miraculous healing powers. Mr Sadler set up a garden for the drinking of the waters combined with musical enjoyment. Later he erected a 'Musick House' which became Dibdin's Aquatic theatre. However most of the music at the smaller gardens was for dancing only, they did not provide evening concerts of the type previously mentioned.

With the rise of clubs in different parts of the town; political, literary, social, sporting and gambling; came the feeling that the old Pleasure Gardens were played out. Thus commenced the decline of these long fashionable resorts. The discovery of vast numbers of pretended medicinal springs also contributed to their decline. However in the Pleasure Garden concerts can be seen the beginning of the 20th century Popular or Promenade
Concerts. Overall their influence was a beneficial one as they provided a venue where their occured considerable intermingling of diverse social classes. The concerts were available to most people, they presented good music performed by the best musicians at a minimum cost and thereby contributed to the advance of and appreciation for good music.

Jane Austen lived a number of years of her life in Bath, and like many of the middle class patrons at the Gardens preferred the fireworks to the music:

"There is to be a grand gala on Tuesday evening in Sydney Gardens; a Concert with Illuminations and fireworks; to the latter Eliz. and I look forward with pleasure, and even the Concert will have more than its usual charm for me, as the gardens are large enough to get pretty well beyond the reach of its sound." 6.

Austen was scrupulous in regard for accuracy in those parts of her fiction which were grounded on fact. For example, in Bath her theatres and concerts, Upper and Lower Rooms are always on the right days of the week:

"'Were you never here before, madam?'
'Never, sir.'
'Indeed! Have you yet honoured the Upper Rooms?'
'Yes, sir, I was there last Monday.'
'Have you been to the theatre?'
'Yes, sir, I was at the play on Tuesday.'
'To the concert?'

'Yes, sir on Wednesday.'
'And are you altogether pleased with Bath?'
'Yes - I like it very much.'"  

It is difficult to ascertain just how familiar Austen was with the music available at the Sydney Gardens. It is probable that she was a more frequent visitor than her letters suggest. Yet none of the characters in her novels visit the Gardens in Bath or London so maybe she was not a frequent visitor herself. As suggested in the previous chapter it seems that her chief musical interests lay in the simpler forms of music making: in the home with her family or by herself.

CHAPTER IV

MISCELLANEOUS PREMISES

Much of the musical activity in England took place in less formal surroundings than the concert rooms of London or the other larger cities. However this does not mean that such activity was confined to the people of lower classes than those who frequented the concert rooms. Many fashionable and selective Glee Clubs, for instance, were held in the local taverns of London; the Angel and Crown in White Chapel, the Castle Tavern in Paternoster Row, the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand and the Devil Tavern at Temple Bar were some of the most popular places. A large number of the organisations and societies were quite informal, open to all social classes and thus were an important factor in the general diffusion of musical experience in the 18th century.

This chapter will examine the music making which occurred in such diverse places as Windsor Castle and the local tavern of Fakenham village. These are areas that do not fit conveniently into the other categories dealt with.

Although he was not the most popular of British monarchs, George III made an important contribution to music for much of the period of his reign (1760-1820). He was an enthusiastic lover of music, a steady supporter of musical activities and a good friend to many musicians. Royal support would almost certainly ensure the success of any musical venture, as the nobility and gentry were keen to
attend any function which had the additional prestige of the Royal presence.

At Windsor Castle itself the king supported a nightly orchestral performance that was in the true style of the German court. George himself did not often perform, but he did choose the programmes and took the greatest interest in the way they were carried out. The music that was presented at court was mostly of a conservative nature; Handel's music being the most frequently performed. One evening's programme consisted of a Handel Overture, followed by a medley of minuets and marches. Some of these were written by members of the royal family. Marches from the German regimental bands were also popular, as were many compositions by Bach and Abel. On the whole the orchestral music of the royal parties was more in line with popular standards than with the type of programme encouraged by the directors of the Professional Concerts or the Haydn/Salomon series.

The King's band usually contained thirty-one members, some of whom must have performed their duty by deputy. This was a common practice during the period. Thomas Attwood, for instance, was a member of the band in 1811 and at the same time organist at Saint Paul's Cathedral. Obviously he could not always have been able to carry out both his duties. The position of Master of the King's Band was one of great honour and excellent pay: £200 per annum. Many prominent musicians held the post at various times; from 1765 to 1779 William Boyce, Charles Stanley from 1779 to 1786 and then William Parsons. The band under Boyce had a separate conductor but Parsons was appointed as both conductor
and director and received a salary of £300. The orchestra played from eight to ten each night, often with a guest soloist. One such popular player was the hautbois player, J.C. Fisher. Another was Charles Wesley who played both the harpsichord and the organ.

For special events the Queen's band was added to the King's. The Queen's band was a much smaller group whose headquarters were elsewhere in London. In 1775 the orchestra comprised four violins, one viola, one violoncello, one double bass, two oboes and an organist. The Queen also maintained a 'Chamber Band' which was a quartet consisting of J.C. Bach, Abel, Mr Simpson and Mr F. Nicolai.

George III took a great interest in the public music-making of London. The Concerts of Ancient Music were known as the King's Concerts from 1785 onwards because of the regular attendance there of George III and later kings. The King's Band and the boys of the Chapel Royal choir with those of Westminster Abbey and Saint Paul's Cathedral were often performers at these concerts. George's musical enthusiasm was shared by most of his sons. During the 1780's five of his sons were members of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and two more of his sons joined later.

Haydn was one of many musicians who was befriended by the Royal family and he makes this comment on one of his visits:

On 1st February 1795, I was invited by the Prince of Wales to attend a musical soirée at the Duke of York's, which the King, the Queen, her whole family, the Duke of Orange etc. attended. Nothing else
except my own compositions was played; I sat at
the pianoforte; finally I had to sing too. The
King, who hitherto could or would only hear
Handel's music, was attentive; he chatted with me,
and introduced me to the Queen, who said many
complimentary things to me." 1.

The 18th century was a time of considerable freedom
and enterprise among musicians. There grew up many concert-
giving clubs after the style of Banister and Britton. As
we have seen some of these developed into the Subscription
Concerts that were generally held in concert rooms, but
others retained more of the nature of a club. One of the
most important of these was the Academy of Ancient Music,
which must not be confused with the Concerts of Ancient
Music. The Academy, under the artistic guidance of
Pepusch, was established in 1710 "for the study and pract-
ise of vocal and instrumental harmony". Members of the
Academy subscribed half a guinea annually and they met each
Friday from seven until nine o'clock at the Crown and Anchor
Tavern in the Strand. The group had definite anti-modern
tendencies which for a time also meant that they were anti-
Handel. The Academy was discontinued in 1792. However a
substantial library was acquired and choristers from the
London cathedrals as well as leading instrumentalists and
vocalists were regularly engaged. For a time this club had
a rival one called the Philharmonic Society. Founded in
1728 and organised by Dr Maurice Greene, it met at the

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1. LANDON, Collected correspondence. Fourth London
   notebook.
Devil Tavern at Temple Bar, but the Philharmonic Society does not seem to have had the prestige that the Academy maintained.

Many smaller urban centres boasted a musical life that was almost as active as the larger industrial towns or cathedral cities. However they did not have fashionable rooms such as the Hanover Square Rooms in London in which to hold their concerts. Instead the so-called 'great rooms' of the taverns were pressed into use. Each urban centre may have had several societies that invoked the practice of a yearly subscription which was used to establish Gentlemen's Concerts. Some of these concerts were private, others were public and they were held either weekly or monthly. With possibly several societies in one centre giving even monthly concerts, subscription series were available at quite frequent intervals. Music performed included that of Corelli, Geminiani, Handel and Vivaldi. Some societies acquired sizeable libraries of orchestral music and publishers such as John Preston and Robert Bremner issued symphonies and concertos in a periodical basis, which made their purchase by the less affluent societies a little easier. There seems to have been a varying quality of performance, but enjoyment of the music was the aim rather than an exact rendering.

The amount of music making in even the smallest towns and villages seems surprising when compared with today's standards. Take, for example, the Norfolk area. As early as 1745 a monthly subscription concert series was begun at Swaffham; probably organised by Swaffham Philharmonic Society. Similarly at Fakenham a musical society,
which later became known as the Harmonic Society, organised monthly concerts. At least five other Norfolk towns and villages saw some kind of regular subscription series during the 18th century, while many more were periodically visited by musicians from Norwich and elsewhere. Large scale festivals were also common, even in the smaller villages. They were often held in conjunction with Race Week.

Most musical societies in rural areas were able to operate only during the season, which was often determined by the weather or bad road conditions. The frequency of concerts also varied considerably. Occasionally they would be only quarterly, but more often monthly or fortnightly. England has been called an unmusical country but these small musical societies which met regularly and were run by ordinary middle class people are significant and must be remembered. There was no such thriving musical life in the same period in France.

Between 1760 and 1860 various clubs for unaccompanied singing flourished throughout England. The clubs met in taverns and coffee houses and covered all social classes from labourers to the nobility. Some musicians of repute found in some of the clubs openings for the advancement of their art. Music was produced in considerable quantities by composers with a special gift for an attractive melody and the appropriate harmonization.

Many clubs were attended by men of the highest society and it was among such informed amateurs and those who attended concerts that the taste for modern music
became established. It was during the latter half of the 18th century that modern music became a point of argument. Many people thought that ancient music, that is the music of the Baroque period, had had its day by the mid 18th century. Corelli's music was despised as wanting spirit and variety. John Hawkins regarded Handel as the end of musical excellence but his contemporary, Charles Burney took Handel as the beginning of an era that grew more and more 'golden' as music became increasingly 'refined'. This division of music into past and present was a new concept, and it was Hawkins and Burney, the first eminent writers in the field of musical research, who began the new awareness of critical values. Both men wrote major histories of music that are still important today. Although Burney is remembered as a historian, his main achievement lay less in his writing than in his destruction of a social barrier. Burney was one of the first professional musicians to gain acceptance as a 'gentleman'. His career gave dignity to a profession that was then, even more than now, undervalued.

Many composers were conservative; Handel's style was always available to maintain past traditions, and the change to a new music was not always welcome. The modern style of composition originated from Germany and from 1760 on there was a gradual increase in the amount of German music heard in England. Bach and Abel were two of the first advocates of the new music and the performance of large scale Instrumental works was increasingly demanded by the public. Although the Concerts of Ancient Music sought to repress the new music, the modern style eventually prevailed.
Much of the new music was heard at the fashionable concert rooms where the nobility and gentry supported the music, probably as much from fashion as taste. Many writers put forward their views on this controversial subject. One excellent, objective article was published anonymously in 1796 by John Marsh. Marsh was a typical Georgian amateur musician and a leading figure in the musical life of southern England in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, especially at Salisbury, Canterbury and Chichester. By profession a solicitor, Marsh was also an organist, violinist and composer of a number of symphonies, concertos, voluntaries, anthems and services which were frequently performed in his day. The compositions are not exceptional but they do have considerable charm. His best achievements were as a writer on aesthetics and theory.

In his essay Marsh makes a comparison of the Ancient (Baroque) and Modern (Classical) styles of composition, summarizing the merits and demerits of each. He considered that the Ancient music contained some fine harmony, simple melody, good and natural modulation and a correct and accurate style but was inclined to lack dynamic variety. Some of it also contained some barren melodies and was devoid of taste and effect. In contrast, the Modern music placed a greater importance on melody while the harmony was less essential. Greater attention was given to contrast and effect and there was greater variety in the instrumentation. However on the debit side too much attention was sometimes paid to melody and contrast at the expense of sound harmonies and sometimes modulation. In much of the modern
music of Richter, Stamitz, J.C. Bach and Abel there is a similarity in the plan of the symphonies in particular, despite the "fire, taste and brilliancy of Bach" and the "expressive modulation and accuracy of composition" of Abel. A similar uniformity also applies to many of their contemporaries. The Modern style may well have degenerated and lost ground but for Haydn and Pleyel.

Marsh complains that concerts were apt to be devoted solely to one style of music or the other; his was a plea for a mixed type of concert. In the provinces this type of programme was the rule rather than the exception. The two styles compliment rather than detract from each other and would coexist well in a single programme. The ancient versus modern issue did not directly involve the less sophisticated lovers of music, yet it did still affect them as the controversy continued right through the 18th century and into the 19th century; and eventually applied to all types of music, vocal as well as instrumental.

Much of the modern music that was being introduced into England by foreign composers and artists originated on the Continent. But one particular type of music was native to England. This was the glee. The practice of singing catches, canons and rounds had become popular in the 17th century, but around 1760 the new species of the glee became the favourite. As a result clubs and societies for singing these songs developed all over England. Some clubs may have aimed at maintaining the old madrigal tradition which had never really quite died out, but the most

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important impulse was undoubtedly the social opportunities and convivial atmosphere of the meetings in the public houses. It is from such clubs as these that a great deal of the strength of the 19th century choral tradition originated. Chosen singers were frequently invited to participate in the larger regional oratorio festivals and the clubs provided a good basic training in sight-reading and general musical knowledge.

The glee itself was a compromise between the other forms from which it grew. The outlines of the madrigal of the 16th and 17th centuries had been simplified in the 17th century catch. The different parts of the catch were taken up in succession like the madrigal but the emphasis was on the arrangement of the words, which were often tricky and amusing and sometimes quite bawdy. (See Example 1). 3.

One particularly popular song was the Parliamentary Catch. This was sung as an imitation of Parliamentary procedure; the parts being arranged with skill so that the interruptions get more and more exciting in a parody of a stormy debate in the house. (See Example 2). 4. It is the wit of such compositions that comprises much of their charm.

Burney defines the glee as "a song of three or more parts upon a gay or merry subject in which the voices begin and end together singing the same words". 5. This suggests that the glee was much more homophonic in style than the catch. It was also more definitely melodioust and

5. BURNLEY, A general history of music. p.375.
rhythmical than the madrigal, but it did retain a more or less continuous rather than a strophic structure and could contain canonic or contrapuntal elaboration. The glee was especially written for male voices with one voice to each part. This ensured a homogeneity of tone, especially as the glee were most often performed without any accompaniment. The 'merry madrigal' in The Mikado is a perfect example of a glee.

Despite the difference between the forms of the madrigal, catch and glee, they do all have a strong similarity. They all show the same sense of vocal effect and flowing style. Although many are artistically slight, the songs are very agreeable and they played an important part in the return to the older ideals of unaccompanied singing. The glee became the most characteristic representation of this kind of song and continued to be popular well into the 19th century. Unfortunately its popularity gradually brought about a decline of musical standard and many became just a bare succession of plain chords, in a rather fragmentary and inorganic style.

Because they were usually written for men's gatherings in a tavern atmosphere, a general freedom was admitted in the texts of the songs. Some of the sexual references were sufficient to condemn the compositions in the mid 19th century when the standard of taste and correctness came to be regulated by the middle classes. However the general attitude portrayed in the songs was one of gaiety and good fun. Dean Aldrich's Five Reasons for Drinking epitomizes the catch and glee singing age:
"If it be that I do think,  
There are five reasons we should drink  
Good wine – a friend – or being dry –  
Or lest we should be by and by –  
Or any other reason why." 6.

A considerable number of the compositions were published. One famous collection of catches, canons, glees and madrigals comprised 625 numbers that were published serially between 1763 and 1794. They were important in spreading opportunities for the general singing of these compositions.

The glee may be considered indigenous to England. A few scattered examples may be found in other countries but it is only in England that the glee engaged the attention of the most distinguished composers of the day. Almost every English musician of note has written glees in spite of the fact that all that their composition required was a good melody, correct harmony, a sense of expression and some appreciation of English literature. In short, their writing called for competence, not genius.

Glees were the basis of Georgian middle class musical experience. Thousands of them were composed and Young maintains that not one single composer whose name survives from that age avoided making his contribution. 7. Samuel Webbe, senior, is generally acknowledged as the founder of the modern glee and its chief advocate. He wrote over a hundred glees and part-songs that are most

7. YOUNG, P.M. A history of British music. Ch. 10
effective and tuneful and contain some excellent writing. John Stafford Smith, tenor, organist and composer, was also an authority on ancient music who made many genuine attempts to recreate the madrigal. His catches, canons, glees and odes figured regularly in the honours of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, and he is regarded as a master in this limited field of music. William Crotch was another noted glee writer. He had been a child prodigy as an organist and composer, but his later works did not fulfil his exceptional early promise. Some of his best work is in the field of glees and catches.

The capabilities of most glee composers were related consciously or unconsciously to the Handelian tradition, so the techniques of the modern classical school were unknown to them. Many composers showed considerable insular tendencies, yet they did give England a musical tradition that was quite unique. Many writers of some of the best glees did little noteworthy work in other fields of composition. Henry Harrington was one such composer. A physician of Bath, he was able to command a leading place among the composers of the day through his many popular and well-written glees and catches. Other composers of this type of song include John Callcott, Reginald Spofforth, Benjamin Cooke, Charles and William Knyvett, Samuel Harrison, Joseph Corfe, William Horsely, Henry Bishop, Samuel Webbe, junior, Danby, Paxton, Stevens, Atterbury and the Earl of Mornington. Overall, some of the songs that were written are exceedingly dull, but others are bright and spirited and were extremely popular in their time.
One of the first clubs that grew out of the glee tradition was that of Nicholas Yonge in 1588. A number of merchants and gentlemen gathered at his house in the parish of St. Michael, Cornhill "for the exercise of musicke daily." The singing of madrigals was an important part of their activities. The great development of clubs took place around the middle of the 18th century. Some of the clubs were similar in structure and atmosphere to the political clubs of the time; they were run by committees, and codes of rules were devised.

Political and other interests were combined with the social enjoyments of the clubs. Jacobite clubs were common; one in Manchester went in for flute playing and this eventually founded the Gentlemen's Concerts in that city. There were also Whig Clubs, whose members were known as 'Mugwallopers' as each member had his name painted on his ale-mug. Trade clubs were occasionally established that pretended to keep alive the functions of the old trade guilds, and so-called Friendly Societies began whose secondary object was to create a fund from which members or their families might be given help in times of hardship. The money was raised by fines imposed for a breach of the rules. These rules were arranged according to the means of the members and the objects that they wished to promote. The richer clubs frequently contributed some of their funds to worthy charitable causes. The chief aim of the clubs, however, was social and recreational, and the practical

side of singing was always kept well to the fore.

Two of the earliest clubs were the Academy of Vocal Music, begun in 1726 which met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern and performed works written before the end of the 16th century; and the Madrigal Society, which was established in 1741 by John Immyns and is still in existence today. In these earlier days, the Madrigal Society was run on the lines of a friendly society with a code of rules and fines for disregarding them. The structure of the Society was that of the old trade guilds system adapted to a recreational scheme of musical and intellectual improvements. Although the club later became more specialised, it originally consisted of members that were amateur musicians of quite ordinary capacities. These original members were mostly mechanics, weavers and other tradesmen.

The Society met every Wednesday evening at the Twelve Bells, an ale house in Bridge-Lane, Fleet Street. Admission to the Society was by a test in part-singing. The subscription was 5s. 6d. a quarter which was used to buy music, paper and books, and the most essential refreshments of port and tobacco. Although they sang catches, rounds and canons, the club developed a particular liking for the madrigal. Both English and Italian examples were sung in three, four and five parts with the assistance of three or four boys from the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral. The madrigals sung at the weekly meetings were entered into the minutes of the Society. Some of the same ones are sung today, which shows that the club has been able to
keep intact and free from commercial exploitation the tradition of madrigal singing.

Immyns found that it was possible to interest some of the working classes in intellectual pursuits. In the Tudor period madrigals had been sung by the gentry and the musicians that they employed, not by tradesmen and craftsmen as was beginning to happen now. However during the latter half of the 18th century many clubs, especially those in London and the larger provincial cities increased their subscriptions by quite considerable amounts. This tended to make such clubs rather exclusive, with most of the members coming from the upper social classes. The subscription for the Madrigal Society, for example, rose to 8s. a quarter in 1768 and in 1795 each meeting cost 2s. 6d. for members, 3s. for professors and 4s. for visitors. Such costs gradually eliminated the working class man, for in 1795 a handloom silk weaver was lucky if he got 2s. 6d. a day at his work. By discarding the working class members in the 18th century the Madrigal Society was following the general trend of the age. The working classes were experiencing a difficult time owing to the effects of the Industrial Revolution. Rioting mobs were common and the upper classes wished to disassociate themselves from the rabble. The unifying social influence of music, as manifested in the clubs and societies, came to be disregarded.

In 1792 when the Academy of Ancient Music ceased to exist, greater interest in the Madrigal Society was evident and many prominent musicians attended its meeting, for
example Arne, Bates and Spofforth. In 1798 the Society moved to the Academy's old quarters at the Crown and Anchor Tavern and in 1811 the Society offered a prize for the best madrigal in four to six parts in the manner of the madrigals by Bennet, Wilbye, Morley and Weelkes. Other clubs were offering prizes for glees and so the Madrigal Society attempted to keep alive the tradition of the madrigal with its flowing melodic line in all parts. Gradually the charm of the madrigal spread and with the glee resulted in a broadened musical outlook. Several Glee and Madrigal Societies sprang up in the 19th century also as a result of the increased interest in the madrigal.

The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, founded in 1761, was a very fashionable affair promoted by a committee of earls, generals and squires. One of its prime functions was to temper choral enthusiasm with refinement. Interest in the arts of the past came to be regarded as a mark of gentility, and much copying and reissuing of many of the older madrigals took place. In 1763 the club sought to stimulate professional interest in its activities and began to offer annual prizes to English composers for the two best canons, glees and catches. In 1784 the Prince of Wales became a member and the club assumed royal patronage. Meetings commenced on the opening of Parliament and continued every Tuesday beginning with a dinner at four o'clock.

Catch Clubs were by no means confined to the singing of catches; all the 18th century programmes, especially in the provinces, are notable for their carefully
balanced mixture of style and media. Of one Catch Club at Chichester Marsh writes that the general plan for their meetings was:

"... to meet together for twelve nights on every other Friday... and amuse ourselves with instrumental music from half past six to half past eight, at which time we were to sit down to supper, consisting of oysters and Welsh rabbits, to be provided for us at 10d. per head... and afterward to sing catches, glees etc... Members were... to be confined to such gentlemen as were capable either of assisting in the instrumental part, or of joining in at least one catch or glee."\(^5\).

The Anacreontic Society began in 1766, shortly after the Noblemen and Gentleman's Catch Club was established and like the Catch Club had many subscribers who were noblemen and gentlemen of the first distinction. This fashionable society consisted of a limited number of members, each of whom had the privilege of introducing a friend for which he paid in his subscription. Meetings were held in the great ballroom of the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand once a fortnight during the season. The entertainment for the evening sometimes comprised a grand concert in which "all the flower of the music profession assisted as honorary members", \(^10\) but often the meetings were of a more informal social and singing type. Members could wait as long as a year for admission to the

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Society which was disbanded in 1794.

There were many clubs operating that used the same name. The Glee Club was a popular title found throughout the country. At least two existed in London; one was established in 1787 as an offshoot of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club. Their meetings were held at various taverns in the city until 1857. This club enjoyed many guest soloists; one was Samuel Wesley who played many examples of J.S. Bach's music. Another Glee Club began in 1793. Their meetings were held on Sunday evenings at Garrick's Head Coffee House in Bow Street, Covent Garden. Once a fortnight they met to sing the works of old and modern masters and to enjoy supper afterwards.

Such clubs as these gave great impetus to social music and many composers profited by the welcome given to their works when they were published. In 1798 the Conciertos Sodales began; founded at the suggestion of William Horsely, it consisted mostly of members who were composers of choral music. Apart from the benefit to composers many ordinary people found great pleasure in these amateur musical clubs where they "made their own music, exercised their lungs and expressed their opinion on current affairs." 11. Unfortunately the growing Victorian moral opinions and growing interest of women in amateur music favoured a new form of part-song, and the catch and glee declined in popularity and merit.

The popular songs current in England, especially in urban England during the reign of George III are extremely

varied. Apart from the glees and catches which form a group of their own, the songs cover many aspects of life and at best exhibit a spontaneity and charm of a very different kind from the majority of rather sentimental songs that were sung at Vauxhall and the other Pleasure Gardens.

Single-line modal folk songs persisted for a long time, at least until 1840 which is quite remarkable at a time when music was strongly harmonic in style. The rural farm or hand craft worker was a conservative person, and folk songs satisfied such a man's need for music. There was little to do during the long dark winter evenings except gossip and sing. Cottage singers probably improvised their harmony with a second part moving in parallel thirds or sixths with the treble.

Unfortunately the farm units were uneconomic and when the common land was enclosed the farmer was forced to seek employment with someone else. Even this he was soon deprived of because machinery had been invented to do the work. Unless work could be found in the town pauperism resulted. Many self-reliant communities were broken up by the influence of the Industrial Revolution. People moved into the new industrial towns, taking their own forms of music with them. They mixed with workers from other towns and rural areas and the glees, folk songs, ballads and hymns became more widespread. The folk songs, because of their solo nature were adapted for the music halls which arose later in the 19th century, but part-singing kept its popularity as the most important form of recreation.
The country folk songs were often restricted to quite small areas, but the ballads that were common in the towns were much more widespread and in fact often used as a means of propaganda. Throughout the 18th century and well into the 19th century much business was done all over England by printers and sellers of chapbooks and pamphlets. One aspect of this was the broadside ballad. They were mainly of two types; those intended for reading and those for singing. The sung ballad had been common since Elizabethan times and during the period of 1780 to 1850 ballad singers were still quite common in public places. Some of the singers had only a small stock of tunes, while others had quite an extensive repertoire, often with their own compositions added. The ballads were published in several of the larger cities such as London, Newcastle, Manchester and Birmingham and were in great demand by the common people. They cost ½d. each and were sold by the thousand in towns and villages. The ballads rarely had any musical notation; the only indication that was given was the air to which it should be sung. Few ballads survive today.

The main feature of the ballad was the words. A narrative would be presented, generally in three verses of solo song and unison chorus. Some duologues and patter songs with spoken passages were also written. Many of the songs are of a political and propaganda type; some ballad writers were even employed by the government to compose songs that would arouse the people and awaken some sense of national pride. Charles Dibdin, for example, wrote ballads on French affairs and the Napoleonic wars. An
element of humour is to be found in songs dealing with local issues. One popular ballad writer was Joseph Mather, a Sheffield tradesman, whose gift for satire was frequently aimed at any local figure who was disliked by the trades people. Other ballad writers include John Freeth, Lucas, and John Beswick of Birmingham and Manchester, and James Catnach in London.

Apart from those of a political nature the ballads could have a wide range of subject matter. There are love songs, songs of seduction and betrayal, and songs of faithful love and temptation in love. Songs about disasters and unavoidable calamities were especially common in the mining districts like Newcastle, Nottingham and Derbyshire. There were many songs of complaint aimed at the new powered machinery which had reduced wages, but these were balanced by the ballads which applauded the advances that were being made as a result of the Industrial Revolution. The earliest railways were the subject of many songs. Ballads describing sports and pastimes were common. Recreations depicted in this way include racing, boxing, poaching, fox hunting and cock fighting. Many songs told of aspects of the sailor's life and gave details of action in which the British ships took part. Different from these were the sea shanties that became so much a part of life at sea that many of the larger ships included a shantyman among the crew to lead the singing and improvise new shanties.

English songs and ballads were published and sold at a great rate, and undoubtedly sung a good deal, chiefly among the middle and working classes. However before the
Beginning of the Victorian era ballads had begun to lose their authentic folk quality. This was partly because the men who composed them were less closely identified with the people than was a working class man like Joseph Mather. The decay of the street ballad singers can also be attributed to the opening of amusement places like Canterbury Hall; and to the sale of the penny songbooks that replaced the broadsheets.

Many manufacturers encouraged the workers in musical activities. Miners at the Yorkshire and Durham mines were encouraged to form brass bands. The first officially recognised band was established at Nent Heads about 1820. The full growth of the band movement came later in the period, but even in the early years of the 19th century Northern towns like Stalybridge, Rochdale and Glossop boasted small wind ensembles which turned out to accompany processions and provide music for festive occasions. Such bands as these were of quite humble origin and are not to be compared with the regimental bands of the time.

Any reference to Austen in this chapter would be obviously out of place. She was of course familiar with the glees, catches and folksongs of the time, but not in the surroundings to which this chapter refers. The tavern clubs were exclusively the preserve of men. Austen's experience of vocal music belongs to the following section.
CHAPTER V

HOME

A lot of music making is of a much more informal nature than that which occurs in the concert rooms, pleasure gardens or even the local taverns that we have been examining. This is particularly so of the musical activity which takes place within the confines of the home. Some mention has already been made of the singing and gossiping which occurred in many lonely cottages in remote rural areas. More sophisticated activities occurred in the middle and upper class homes and the amount of activity is really quite considerable. Unfortunately there is little evidence of the exact nature of much of the activity, but current diaries, letters, journals and contemporary novels do help fill in some of the gaps. It is in this area of music making in the home that Jane Austen has a significant contribution to make. It is the woman, and particularly the unmarried woman who is often the central figure of such activity. Austen herself was in this category; so too are many of the heroines of her novels.

There were many factors that were responsible for making domestic music such an important part of the musical activity of the time. Three of the most important were the development of the piano into a relatively cheap and popular instrument, the related rise of the publishing industry and the widespread attitude of women who regarded music merely as an accomplishment, and therefore a means
toward the end of marriage.

At the close of the 17th century there were three keyboard instruments in ordinary use: the organ, the harpsichord and the clavichord. Because of the experiments with string instruments people became aware of dynamic expression as an important factor in music, and the need for a keyboard instrument that could give accentuation became apparent. The development of such an instrument began in 1709 when Cristofori substituted hammers for harpsichord jacks. This made gradations of tone possible. In England pianofortes of this type were not constructed to any great extent until about 1760. The arrival of J.C. Bach gave great impetus to the building of pianofortes, and due to the promotion by Bach and Clementi the new instrument found favour with the public from the 1770's on.

The firm of John Broadwood and Sons of London is the oldest firm of keyboard makers still in existence. It originated in 1728 when Burkhard Tschudi, a Swiss harpsichord maker set up in business in London. In 1761 John Broadwood became an employee and in due course became the principal of the firm. After 1773 Broadwood began making square pianofortes of the type introduced into England by Johann Zumpe, a German who had entered the service of Tschudi. Zumpe had been successful with these square pianofortes which used a simplified form of the Cristofori action, for more than a decade. Broadwood, however, had a flair for invention and was able to improve on his predecessor's technological methods. These pianofortes soon became all the rage; everyone who considered
himself to be a person of fashion had such a pianoforte as a matter of course. By 1781 Broadwood had made his first grand piano and three years later patented the damper and piano pedals. In 1788 he disposed of the harpsichord principle of the long bridge and introduced a separate bridge to carry the bass strings. Many of these improvements were universally adopted. By the mid 19th century the Broadwood firm was dealing in five main types of piano: the grand, semi-grand, cabinet, cottage and square.

The firm of Stodart also contributed to the development of the grand piano. Robert Stodart, the firm's founder, had been a pupil of Broadwood and he assisted Americus Backers with the invention of a new mechanism for the grand pianoforte known as the English action. In 1795 William Stodart patented a horizontal pianoforte turned vertically upright in the form of a bookcase. Stodart's continued to make excellent grand pianos and in 1820 developed the revolutionary principle of metallic bracing.

In 1800 Hawkins assembled a 'Portable Grand Piano' which was virtually the ancestor of our modern instrument. Other engineers perfected the action until a full and satisfying tone could be obtained from such a comparatively small instrument. Other improvements were made to the sounding board and the strain imposed by the use of heavier strings was responsible for the development of the iron frame. By the early 19th century pianoforte makers had come to have precedence over all others.

As can be expected the piano by 1800 had become the
leading domestic instrument, at least among the wealthy. Where space was not a consideration the horizontal grand pianoforte was the most practical for the home as it was suited to both solo and accompanying work. If this was unattainable the square pianoforte was common, especially among the middle classes. Austen, for example, kept her piano in the dressing room that she shared with Cassandra. This room contained "a common-looking carpet with its chocolate ground, and painted press with shelves above for books, and Jane's piano." 1. When the family shifted to Bath the instrument was sold. It could not have been a very modern or large one as Jane mentions in a letter to Cassandra that "eight guineas for my Pianoforte, is about what I really expected to get; I am more anxious to know the amount of my books, especially as they are said to have sold well." 2. Mention is also made in the novels of different types of pianofortes, about which Austen is often quite specific: "(She) had been struck by the sight of a pianoforte - a very elegant looking instrument - not a grand, but a large sized square pianoforte... this pianoforte had arrived from Broadwood's the day before..." 3.

There is very little available information about the prices of such instruments. Occasionally an advertisement gives some indication, such as this one from The London Times of 1820:

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2. Letter 36.
3. AUSTEN, Emma. p.224.
"Saturday 8 July
An excellent PIANOFORTE, with round corner, turned and fluted legs to be SOLD, at the low price of 25l, the maker from one of the first manufactories in London. Inquire at..." or
"PIANOFORTES & PEDAL-HARPS - Cabinet Pianoforte, good as new 38 guineas, shop price 60g. Square Pianoforte, 24g... Also a grand horizontal six octave by Broadwood, equal to new cost 100g, for 75g, no abatement."

The pianoforte was regarded by many as a symbol of the 'modern' music, yet it made very little progress as first. It was first introduced to the English public on May 16 1767. A playbill for The Beggar's Opera announced that after the first act "Miss Brickler will sing a favourite song from Judith accompanied by Mr Dibdin on a new instrument call'd Piano-Forte." 4. In the same year the pianoforte was introduced as a solo instrument at a concert for the benefit of Mr Fischer, when J.C. Bach played a new concerto of his own composed especially for the 'forte piano'. On this occasion Bach used a Zumpe square pianoforte for which he paid £50. For some time the pianoforte as a musical instrument was considered of doubtful value. At first it was regarded as a substitute for the harpsichord. The piano, however, was less costly as it did not require requilling and gradually it came to be recognised as an independent instrument. Drury Lane

theatre had an official pianist in 1770 and in 1795 the harpsichord gave up its place in the orchestra to the grand pianoforte for the performance of the King's Birthday Ode.

The ideal style of performance on the solo piano was at first an even tone with considerable velocity. Then with Bach, Dussek and Mozart came the new legato or cantabile manner of playing. The playing that was produced depended greatly on the type of piano that was used. Gradually there evolved two main types. The English action piano could produce a powerful tone but was unsuitable for rapid execution because of the rather heavy touch. The German action, on the other hand, gave a comparatively poor tone, but with its light touch it was very suitable for rapid playing. The bravura playing of Liszt and others required further improvements of the piano. The repetition action of Herz-Erard was one response to such demands and it is in fact the basis of modern pianoforte technique. It was adopted by Broadwood, Steinway, Bechstein, Pleyel and others.

The increase in favour of the piano was due partly to the publicity of the manufacturers and partly to the interest of the players and composers. As the harpsichord declined in popularity there arose a great many pianist-composers who are important in the musical history of this period and to which even Mozart and Beethoven in effect belong. Many are unworthy of the title composer, being really only virtuoso improvisors. Others, such as Clementi, J.B. Cramer, Dussek and Field were fine artists who produced a great variety of keyboard writing and
anticipated many of the stylistic features of later composers. Other writers of piano music included William Crotch, Thomas Busby and the Wesleys. Much music was also written by wealthy amateurs.

The gradual evolution of a moderately priced instrument provided a stimulus to composers of studies, salon pieces, and especially dance music. French, German and Austrian composers made a determined attempt to gain acceptance on the English market. The French especially were good piano makers and this encouraged the French composers to produce large quantities of light and attractive keyboard music suitable for private drawing rooms. Gradually the smaller pieces such as the march, waltz and quadrille came to displace the sonata in common favour. This was the age of the short showy piece, either strongly rhythmic or attractively melodic. An almost unending stream of fantasias, medleys, variations and potpourris on operatic or national airs as well as all kinds of descriptive music was continuously being produced.

The instrumental music of most English composers can be quite clearly divided into that including piano and that without. The piano sonata, sonata duo (that is piano and violin) and piano trio all had self-sufficient piano parts. Chamber music without a piano was never widely popular and attempts at string quartets met with little encouragement. The widespread interest in orchestral music that was stimulated by the works of Haydn, Mozart and numerous imitators lead to two and four hand reductions being made of their works. The fashion for these appears to have come in about 1800. The pianoforte thus turned into a
substitute for the orchestra, and as a result the keyboard of the pianoforte had to be extended in order to keep pace with the compass of the orchestra. By the end of the 18th century this was generally five and a half to six octaves.

Pianists often advised the manufacturers and showed their instruments to customers. Field, for example was employed in this capacity by Clementi. Much attention was given to discovering the special possibilities of the instrument, for example its sustaining power, its capacity for expressive gradation of tone and its delicacy of touch. Clementi was one of the pioneers of piano technique. He was the first composer to understand fully the stylistic implications of the instrument and the first consistent master of the sonata principle, based on that of Scarlatti, as applied to pianoforte music. He altered the course of the sonata enough for Beethoven to acknowledge his genius. Many sonatas were published that were intended almost entirely for domestic use. J.B. Cramer, Field, Horsley, Burrowes and G.F. Pinto were among others who imitated the classical school of Haydn, Mozart and Clementi. Sometimes the movements of the sonata were simple fantasies or variations on the popular tunes of the moment and by the 1820s the sonata was out of favour altogether. Beethoven's sonatas, for example, were never as popular as his symphonies.

John Field made a significant contribution to the piano music of the time through his nocturnes. He had been influenced by Mendelssohn's *Song Without Words* and also
by the harmonic style of the glee, but the nocturnes have an originality that is quite unique. J.B. Cramer also wrote for the piano, although his reputation was made chiefly as a piano virtuoso. The Wesley brothers Charles and Samuel demonstrated special talent in interpreting keyboard works, extemporisation and original composition while still quite young. Samuel especially was a prolific composer though little of his work was ever published. However, their father was reluctant to allow the sons to become professional musicians. They refused appointments at Court and consequently neither brother ever advanced to high professional status. Both remained organists in the less established churches, music teachers in girls schools and private performers.

Closely associated with the development of the pianoforte is the growth of the publishing business. Cheaper music first began to appear in the 1780's with periodical publications such as Harrison's New Musical Magazine, first published in 1783, which included extracts from oratorios, ballad operas and other items. The demand for dance music was nearly always greater than that for vocal music, although the popular Pleasure Gardens created a demand for copies of the songs presented there. Playford's Dancing Master, for example, had enormous popularity and every publisher of note issued yearly sets of country dances.

James Harrison attempted one of several new ideas, that of serial rather than periodical publication. One such journal was the Piano-Forte Magazine which appeared in
the years 1797 to 1802 and sold for half a crown a number. Pleyel, Corri and Dussek's *Musical Journal* was also first published in 1797. Other publishers in the second half of the 18th century included Clementi, the firm of Thompson, the Dale family who began in 1778 and continued to publish on a large scale until nearly the mid-19th century, and John Bland who from 1774 to 1794 published collections of glees and catches, operas and sheet music and was responsible for the republication of most of Handel's compositions.

As we have seen the pianoforte had almost superseded the harpsichord as the principal keyboard instrument by 1800. This is confirmed by the publishers of the time. Whereas a large amount of music had been written for 'Harpsichord or Pianoforte', towards the end of the 18th century the heading is frequently reversed, with Pianoforte in large letters and Harpsichord in small letters or omitted altogether. Much of the music that was published was intended for private or domestic performance. Many reductions of popular concert or theatre works appeared for piano solo or duet. Operatic songs were published with piano accompaniment. Many of the arrangements lacked taste and musicianship but they played an important part in the increased musical knowledge of the middle class families. In this way the symphonies and operatic music of the classical period became familiar in England among many people who were not able to afford to hear the works in the concert halls or theatres.

The early 19th century saw the beginning of many publishing firms: Novello and Chappell and Co. were both
established in 1811. Chappell opened his business with the announcement that they would have "music of the best authors, ancient and modern, as well as a variety of instruments, consisting of Grand and Square pianoforte's; Harps etc, for sale or hire." 5. The firm quickly flourished as they seemed to possess an unerring instinct for recognizing the type of music the public wanted. The music firm of Boosey and Co. also originated in this period. It was an offshoot of a book-selling and publishing concern controlled by Thomas Boosey in the last decade of the 18th century. The firm specialised in the importation and issue of foreign works. The music section was formed in 1816 under Boosey's son Thomas.

By the mid-19th century most of the major London publishers had their own special lines of business, for example Chappell and Co. issued much dance music and contemporary music, Robert Cocks were the agents for composers such as J. Strauss, Musard and Schubert, and Boosey concentrated on songs and duets. In 1818 the Royal Harmonic Institution created an association for the purpose of printing the best music in the best manner and selling it at a reasonable price. The idea was carried on by the firms of Haines, Welsh and Cramer and Co. Most of the firms founded in the 19th century are still in existence. Wessel and Stodart, for example, were absorbed by Ashdown and Parry in 1860; Robert Cocks and Co. sold to Augner Ltd and Novello and Boosey and Hawkes are still flourishing.

Really cheap editions of music did not begin to appear until about 1840. By this time the music press was well established. Novello brought out in that year a *Choral Handbook* consisting of a collection of anthems issued at 3d. per page. MacKerness comments that this may be the cheapest music ever published in England.

Until the 19th century there was no specifically musical periodical that remained extant for long. The first of importance was *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, begun in 1818 by Richard McKenzie Bacon. It enjoyed ten years of publication and was of a mainly literary nature although the later issues contained some criticism and music. It was also not until the mid-19th century that full-time musical journalists appeared. These included John Parry, William Ayrton and George Hogarth.

Towards the end of the 18th century there was a significant change in attitude towards the middle and lower class woman's position in the labour force. The growth of the factory system and capitalist agriculture caused much unemployment for many rural workers, often resulting in the breaking up of the rural household whose budget was frequently helped by the earnings of the wife and children. The decay of cottage industries owing to the invention of new machines forced many women to seek employment in the fields, hoeing and weeding for the big capitalist farmers. Even this was a short-lived reprieve as such jobs that were available went first to the men when jobs became even more scarce. Many women were forced into becoming factory hands, or, if they could afford not to work, 'ladies' of
no occupation. The women in the factories gradually achieved a degree of independence until by the mid-19th century members of the leisured classes like the Bronte sisters and Florence Nightingale began to feel that the independent factory hand, earning her own living, was setting an example that might well be examined by the middle-class 'ladies'.

Such ladies of the early Victorian and Regency periods too often had nothing to do but be paid for and approved by men, and to realise the female perfection expected of them. The increasing numbers of leisured women read a great deal, and patronized the arts and literature. A few women like Jane Austen, Maria Edgeworth and Fanny Burney had the time and the education to become authors and artists themselves. But many of the young ladies had too much leisure time altogether. The ladies of Austen's novels, for example, had little to do but read poetry and novels, recount local gossip and await the attentions of the gentlemen. It had become a point of social pride among the gentry to emulate the nobility in the towns and have the young ladies of the household taught by a governess until they could be presented in the drawing room, and thus do as little domestic work as possible.

This attitude even spread to some middle and lower class homes where daughters who in the past had been taught housework and milkmaid duties now received their education at a boarding school, providing the families could afford it.

There was only one possible respectable way for a woman of good class to earn a living - she must marry. The only other alternative was teaching, either in a school or
as a governess in a private home. Before she married a society young woman was confined by countless proprieties. She could not live or travel alone, or in higher society even walk alone, still less walk tête-a-tête with a man. Since a woman's only future was matrimony, education in the academic sense was comparatively unimportant. Accomplishments were what mattered. She learned to sing, draw and dance - to play the piano or the harp if she had good arms and a rich father; to write a good hand and to listen to the gentlemen talk. The ladies of the drawing room were not permitted much exercise. Jane Austen could ride, but few of her heroines do. Amongst the middle classes, horses were for the gentlemen; the ladies walked or best of all danced for their exercise. Such a restricted life for these women really was absurd as in the less artificial classes of society women were often walking long distances to and from work.

The period of a young woman's life between childhood and matrimony was frequently a boring one. Even music making was undertaken with no great seriousness. It provided a means of passing the time and possibly improved a woman's chance of a successful marriage if she was reasonably accomplished. Piano playing came to be regarded as a valuable social accomplishment for two reasons: the piano is an ideal accompanying instrument and therefore more than one person could be involved in the musical activity, and the piano is an excellent vehicle for social display.

The subject of accomplishments is often considered by Austen in her novels. The following extract from *Pride and Prejudice* gives an indication of the prevailing
attitude towards young ladies:

"It is amazing to me', said Bingley, 'how young ladies can have patience to be so very accomplished as they all are.'

'All young ladies accomplished! My dear Charles, what do you mean?'

'Yes, all of them, I think. They all paint tables, cover skreens, and net purses. I scarcely know any one who cannot do all this, and I am sure I never heard a young lady spoken of for the first time, without being informed that she was very accomplished'.

'Your list of the common extent of accomplishments', said Darcy, 'has too much truth. The word is applied to many a young woman who deserves it no otherwise than by netting a purse, or covering a skreen. But I am very far from agreeing with you in your estimation of ladies in general. I cannot boast of knowing more than half a dozen, in the whole range of my acquaintance, that are really accomplished... no one can be really esteemed accomplished, who does not greatly pass what is usually met with. A woman must have a thorough knowledge of music, singing, drawing, dancing, and the modern languages, to deserve the word; and besides all this, she must possess a certain something in her air and manner of walking, the tone of her voice, her address and her expressions, or the word would be but half deserved.'

'All this she must possess,' added Darcy, 'and to
all this she must yet add something more substantial, in the improvements of her mind by extensive reading.'

'I am no longer surprised at your knowing only six accomplished women. I rather wonder now at your knowing any.'" 6.

Austen herself did not consider accomplishments vital to a good character. Several of her heroines were not the least interested in music. Catherine in Northanger Abbey had learnt music, in this case the spinet, for only one year. But her mother, Mrs Morland, "did not insist on her daughters being accomplished in spite of capacity or distaste." 7. Another of her heroines, Fanny, did "not want to learn either music or drawing." 8. Austen could, in fact, be quite scathing about the musical ability or lack of it, of some of her characters. It is a pity more people of the time did not have such a clear-sighted viewpoint of the value of the musical abilities of many of the young ladies.

"Her (Elizabeth Bennett) performance was pleasing, though by no means capital. After a song or two, and before she could reply to the entreaties of several that she would sing again, she was eagerly succeeded at the instrument by her sister Mary, who having, in consequence of being the only plain one in the family, worked hard for knowledge and

7. AUSTEN, Northanger Abbey. p.38.
accomplishments, was always impatient for display. Mary had neither genius or taste; and though vanity had given her application, it had given her likewise a pedantic air and conceited manner, which would have injured a higher degree of excellence than she had reached. Elizabeth, easy and unaffected, had been listened to with much more pleasure, though not playing half so well..." 9.

Another comment on the subject of accomplishments comes from Eliza Cook's Journal of May 4 1850:

"Too many female children are too ordinarily set to music whether they have an ear for it or not, because, forsooth, it is a fashionable branch of education." 10.

Men generally regarded music making as the preserve of the women or the foreign musicians and music was regarded as a somewhat doubtful element in the education of a gentleman or nobleman. This was partly due to the rise of a new rational attitude towards music expressed by John Locke and others: music fulfilled no useful function, and so it lost its early status of a manifestation of culture. A dual attitude towards music thus became very apparent. For example, Lord Chesterfield who dominated much of the Georgian fashion and taste suggested that a gentleman should go to operas, concerts and other activities, but not participate himself. If he did he could expect to receive the contempt of the nobility

and the possibility of becoming involved with undesirable company. The Earl of Mornington, who died in 1781, earned immortality as the first member of the British aristocracy to dare walk through the streets of London openly and unashamedly carrying a violin case. The result of such an attitude was that domestic music making varied considerably among the cultivated nobility and gentry. It flourished much more among the more middle and especially rural classes.

Austen's own attitude to music as an art is somewhat difficult to ascertain. She had learnt to play the piano in her youth and after spending many years without an instrument she took it up again on settling in Chawton:

"Yes, yes we will have a pianoforte, as good a one as can be got for thirty guineas, and I will practice country dances that we may have some amusement for our nephews and nieces, when we have the pleasure of their company." 11.

Country dances were a common occupation in many middle class homes. Austen was probably not highly accomplished according to the standards of the time, but she was fond of music and according to James Edward Austen-Leigh (her nephew) she had a sweet voice both in singing and conversation. The Soldier's Adieu and The Yellow-haired Laddie survive as the names of two of her songs that she would sometimes sing to her family in the evenings. However she could never be induced to play in company. The Austens were not a musical family and playing the

piano may have been Jane's way of achieving privacy. Joan Hodge even goes so far as to suggest that she may have been busy plotting her next book while she played the tunes her nieces were to dismiss as pretty but rather simple. 12.

We have already seen her attitude to the concerts of the Bath Pleasure Gardens where she enjoyed the fireworks more than the music. Her contempt of the young women who studied music merely as a means to an accomplishment and an increased chance of marriage rather than for its own sake has been mentioned. In a letter to Cassandra from London she also comments on another attitude to music common at that time. A Mr Haden who was paying them a visit was forced to leave the piano at the call of professional duty. He was so extremely fond of music that he quite shocked Jane Austen by what he said about it: "It is Mr Haden's firm belief that a person not musical is fit for every sort of wickedness." 13. It was bad enough for Austen when people raved about music; it was too much when those who could not show great delight in it were thereby supposed to show a criminal tendency. Such an attitude seems absurd to us today, but it was common at the time. Only a few discerning people like Austen made the distinction between genuine interest in music and following the current fashions in musical taste and activity.

The question of taste was the subject of an amusing comment in the British Minstrel, a periodical which

included musical selections, literary notes about composers and their works, and notes about performers and their various abilities. This *Hints to Musical Ladies* appears in the first volume:

"A Lady who plays well on the piano forte, and desires to make this accomplishment a source of pleasure and not of annoyance to her friends, should be careful to adapt the style of her performance to the circumstances in which it is called for, and should remember that a gay mixed company would be tired to death with one of those elaborate pieces which would delight the learned ears of a party of cognoscenti. It is from neglect of this consideration that many a really excellent performer makes her music a social grievance. Many a beautiful sonata or fantasia, to which at another time we could have listened with pleasure, has been thrown away upon a company who either drowned it by their conversation or sat during its continuance in constrained and wearied silence. We would never advise a performer to make any sacrifice to vulgarity or bad taste, but there is no want of pieces which combine beauty with excellence—contain in a small compass many beauties of melody, harmony and modulation and afford room for the display of brilliancy, taste and expression on the part of the performer. A piece of this kind will not weary by its length those who do not care for music, while it will give pleasure to the most cultivated taste; and with such things, therefore,
every musical lady ought to be well provided." 14.

There was the problem, too, of finding sufficiently respectable teachers to be admitted to such well-bred company. The amorous or comic music master of this period became a stock figure of fun in both the theatre and the opera house. Music teachers came in for some barbed comment from Austen too:

"Mr Meyers gives his three lessons a week - altering his days and his hours however just as he chooses; never very punctual, and never giving good measure. I have not Fanny's fondness for Masters, and Mr Meyers does not give me any hanging after them. The truth is I think, that they all, at least Music Masters, made of too much consequence and allowed to take too many liberties with their scholar's time." 15.

Children of those parents who could afford it received their education at home by a governess or tutor, with music taught by a private music master such as Austen's Mr Meyers; or they went to a boarding school where they were taught, amongst other things, to dance, speak French, and play the harpsichord or piano. Numerous advertisements for these schools can be found in the newspapers of the time, such as this one in The Times of July 8 1800;

"POLLY HOUSE BOARDING SCHOOL, Twickenham, Middlesex, Mrs Cooper... begs leave to inform (her friends and

15. Letter 118.
the Public that her school will open again after the present recess, on the 21st (inst.) for the Reception of young ladies, at 25 guineas per annum. Music, Dancing, Drawing and Writing by approved Masters, on the usual Terms. Those Parents and Guardians who are pleased to entrust their children to her care, may depend on every attention being paid to their Health, Morals and Deportment."

Private music tuition was also available and advertised in the newspapers:

"MUSIC - A lady, highly distinguished in the musical profession, gives INSTRUCTION on the PIANOFORTE on moderate terms: no objection to attend families or school: reference to families of the highest respectability where she teaches: for cards of address apply at..." 16.

Methods of teaching music were far from adequate. At the end of the 18th century, apart from the children who were taught singing by rote, those who learned music comprised three separate categories, each taught by a different method. Pupils taught by practising musicians generally first learned to play an instrument and were then taught competent to sing from the notes. The cathedral choristers were taught by the ancient system of the gamut but choristers in country areas, together with amateur singers from the lower classes of society, learned by the method of the psalmody-preface (see section on Church music) and a modified version of the gamut known as

the English of Lancashire solfa. None of these methods were an adequate means of introducing musical notation but many children were lucky to receive any sort of tuition at all. Because of the extensive nature of child labour, some manufacturers undertook to provide a few educational facilities usually in the Three R's and occasionally music. But such opportunities were rare. In many expanding towns like Manchester and Leeds it was largely a matter of chance whether young people received any education at all, much less musical instruction.

After 1815 there were a number of attempts made to raise the standard of education of the working classes such as the Mechanics Institutes which began in London in 1823. These classes were intended to give specialised knowledge to the workers relating to their jobs. A large number of the Institutes offered instruction in general subjects as well as practical ones. Music, both vocal and instrumental, appeared in the timetables of most of the larger Institutes, which gradually became clubs for the lower and middle classes. However the achievements of some of the bands and choirs begun in the Institutes were of quite a high order. Music was exceptionally slow in finding a place in the public schools; Uppingham was the first to include it in the curriculum in 1856. The main progress of music education, however, is outside the field of this essay.

Many instruction books dealing with pianoforte technique arose, beginning with Clementi's Gradus ad Parnassum and followed by those of Hummel, Czerny, Herz,
Hook and others. Austen shows considerable knowledge of
the music that was played during her lifetime in both her
letters and her novels. There are references to works by
Cramer, opera performances at Covent Garden, popular glee
and choruses of the time and even music for beginners:
"Fanny desires me to tell Martha with her kind
love that Birchall assured her there was no set
of Hook's Lessons for Beginners — and that by
my advice, she has therefore chosen her a set by
another composer. I thought she would rather
have something than not. — It cost six shillings." 17

The pianoforte was the instrument most frequently
found in the home throughout England. The organ as a
domestic instrument was becoming a rarity by the 19th
century, though S.S. Wesley wrote Six Pieces for Chamber
Organ so there must still have been some demand for such
music. A rigid distinction of instruments was maintained
between women, who were confined to playing the piano, harp
or guitar, and men who played the violin, cello or flute.
The writer of an article in The Times of 1817 objected to a
concert at which a young girl had played a violin concerto
on the grounds that the violin was "unsuitable to the
prescriptive habits and accomplishments of a female." 18.

The French were known to make excellent pianos and
they also excelled as manufacturers of orchestral instrumen-
ts. The early 19th century was a period of improvements
in methods of manufacturing and producing accessories such

17. Letter 83.
18. The Times. February 27 1817.
as springs and keys which permitted the production of greatly improved instruments. 1810 was the date of Erard's invention of the double-action harp. This had an immediate effect on higher society as the harp became a favourite with the young ladies, possibly because it showed off their arms to advantage. The gentlemen of the upper class frequently learned to play the flute. The combination of these two instruments in the home was common and effective.

Many musical evenings were organised in the homes of London families. The nobility would frequently arrange semi-private subscription concerts along the lines of those of Bach and Abel or Salomon. At these they would support the artists and composers that they got to know on their Continental tours. Music by the most modern composers like Haydn and Stamitz was often to be heard at such evenings. The Wesley brothers, for example, organised subscription concerts using the largest room in their home in Chesterfield Street: not to the general approval of the Methodist friends of their father. The list of their patrons includes the Bishops of London and Durham and the Earls of Dartmouth and Mornington. The concerts ran for four years from 1779 and it was here that some of the first performances of the compositions of J.S. Bach were heard in England.

People of the middle classes would also arrange for professional musicians to entertain at private parties. The music performed generally consisted of extracts from Italian operas, glees and madrigals and instrumental items.
Austen gives a description of such an evening:

"About 80 people are invited for next Tuesday evening and there is to be some very good Music, 5 professionals, 3 of them Glee singers, besides Amateurs... At ¾ past 7 arrived the musicians in two Hackney coaches, and by 8 the lordly company began to appear... we placed ourselves in the connecting passage which was comparatively cool, and gave us all the advantage of the Music at a pleasant distance... The Music was extremely good...

Between the songs were Lessons on the Harp, or Harp and Piano Forte together — and the Harp player was Wiepart, whose name seems famous, tho' new to me. — There was one female singer, a short Miss Davis all in blue, bringing up for the Public Line, whose voice was said to be very fine indeed; and all the performers gave great satisfaction by doing what they were paid for, and giving themselves no airs. — No amateur could be persuaded to do anything." 19.

The tradition of amateur string quartet parties which had been so popular in the 18th century survived into the 19th century but with a widened range of appeal. The new leisured industrialists became increasingly involved in amateur music-making but quartet playing seems to become less common as the 19th century proceeds. Perhaps it was overshadowed by the all-pervasive piano.

19. Letters 69, 70.
Vocal music in the home was probably universal. Glees, catches, rounds, madrigals, ballads and folk songs probably comprised the main part of such music. Austen mentions several glees that were sung at an evening at her brother's house in London. The musical part of the evening with "'Poike pe Parp pin praise pof Prapela' and of the other Glees I remember, 'In Peace Loves Tunes', 'Rosabelle', 'The red cross Knight' and 'Poor Insect'." 20. Chapman suggests in the notes to the Letter that 'Poike pe Parp' may refer to a chorus by Sir Henry Bishop which begins:

Strike the harp in praise of my love
The lovely sunbeam of Dunscaith
Strike the harp in praise of Bragels.

In Peace Love tunes the shepherd's reed is a glee by J. Attwood, Rosabelle and The Red Cross Knight glees by John Calcott and Poor Insect also by Calcott from The May Fly.

Music making in the home is an area of activity that is not always obvious because of its location. However, its variety and widespread nature over all social classes makes its contribution to the overall picture of activity in England an important one. The information that Austen's letters and novels have added gives us a more detailed view than could otherwise have been achieved.

20. Letter 70.
CHAPTER IV

THEATRE

The most fashionable type of entertainment in London in the 18th century was opera, either Italian or English. The Restoration audience of the previous century had been made up mainly of gentry and nobility, but gradually a much wider range of social classes came to be involved. The nobility still attended the Italian opera but the shopkeeper class was just as involved with the entertainment of the Sadler's Wells theatre or Astley's Amphitheatre. Opera was always limited to London, and even there many productions were not successful in either an artistic or material sense. This was partly because England lacked any tradition of opera like that found on the Continent; most of the London opera was run by private enterprise. The public, too, were inclined to be rather changeable in their support of whatever was presented and the actors and singers often had more influence with the theatre managers than the composers or dramatists who had to write what the public demanded or their work would not be staged. It is not surprising, therefore, that a great deal of poor music was written and presented.

The theatre situation in London was an extremely complicated one, but it is important to understand it as it has a direct effect on the type of production each theatre presented. During the 18th century London usually had only two theatres presenting plays and operas in
English. Drury Lane theatre had been built in 1672 and its main rival after 1732 was the Covent Garden theatre. Another theatre in the Haymarket, variously known also as the Queen's or King's theatre was preferred for singing than speaking and after 1710 presented mostly Italian operas and singing. For the rest of the century Covent Garden and Drury Lane enjoyed a virtual monopoly. This situation had arisen as the result of patents granted by Charles II in 1663 which gave two dramatic companies the exclusive rights to present plays in English. The two companies were in effect the servants of the Crown and as such were subject to the Lord Chamberlain. The Licensing Act of 1737 strengthened his powers of preventing any rival theatres being built and insisting that all plays be submitted in advance for censorship. Companies were sometimes allowed to perform under license and it was in this way that the Haymarket theatre was opened in 1705. When this theatre turned to Italian opera it no longer needed legal permission as it no longer presented spoken dialogue in English. Thus it was never a patent theatre as were Drury Lane and Covent Garden. A less important theatre was the Little theatre, Haymarket. It opened in 1720 with a season of French plays and relied mainly on foreign companies, exhibitions of dancing and acrobatics and concerts, all of which could be presented without a licence. Years later it became a permanent part of London theatrical life when it was granted a patent for the summer months when Drury Lane and Covent Garden were closed.

In spite of the Licensing Act there always existed certain places that presented musical and dancing enter-
tainments, and in order to exercise some control over these establishments another act was passed in 1752 to control such places of public entertainment, under which the local magistrates were able to issue annual licenses to these places at their quarter sessions. As a result a number of minor theatres began to flourish on the outskirts of London. The Act had been intended to do no more than recognise these song and dance shows but gradually the minor theatres began to introduce increasingly dramatic material into their repertoires.

This was achieved by the device of the 'burletta.' Originally a drama in rhyme that was entirely musical, it developed into a play of any kind containing some songs and with some musical accompaniment. There were, in fact, no dramatic pieces that could not be dressed up to qualify under this description, and the patent theatres fought a losing battle to protect the reality of their monopoly until it was finally abolished by law in 1843.

The main theatres in London, then, were Drury Lane and Covent Garden which presented drama and English opera, King's or Haymarket theatre and later the Pantheon theatre which was used when King's theatre was destroyed by fire, where Italian opera was staged, and the Little theatre, Haymarket which staged foreign plays and in the summer months musical and acrobatic entertainment. Haydn has given us two contemporary descriptions of two of the London theatres. About the Haymarket theatre he said:

"It holds 4,000 persons; the pit, or parterre, alone holds 1,200; 10 persons can sit comfortably in each box. The 'Amphy Theatre' is entirely round,
has four tiers, and to light it there is a beautiful large chandelier with 70 lights: it hangs suspended from the attic, pierces the ceiling, and is situated in the middle of the 'A.T.'; it illuminates the whole house, but there are also 'a parte' small lustres in the first and second tiers, which are fastened outside the boxes half an ell away." Haydn was not so impressed with Covent Garden:

"Covent Garden is the National Theatre. I was there 10th Dec. (1791) and saw an opera called 'The Woodman'... The theatre is very dark and dirty, and is almost as large as the Vienna Court Theatre. The common people in the galleries of all the theatres are very impertinent; they set the fashion with all their unrestrained impetuosity, and whether something is repeated or not is determined by their yells. The parterre and all the boxes sometimes have to applaud a great deal to have something good repeated..." 1.

The minor theatres included Sadler's Wells, Astley's Amphitheatre, the Royal Circus which was later renamed the Surrey theatre, the Royalty, the Lyceum, the Adelphi, the Coburg, the Olympic and the English Opera House all of which presented dramatic, musical and other entertainments of a less intellectual kind from the main theatres. All the theatres included some music in their programmes, even in straight tragedy or comedy there were occasional songs

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with orchestral accompaniment. The intervals often had dances and short ballets, or music such as a Corelli concerto or a Handel overture.

To understand the different forms of opera and other musical entertainment presented in London between 1775 and 1817 it is necessary to examine the beginnings of both English and Italian opera in England and the effect each had on the other. To Purcell opera meant a spoken play with interposed all-sung masques that were dramatic, performed in costume before scenery but never self-sufficient. One of the best examples of these early operas is Purcell's The Faery Queen. Other writers produced operas on a similar plan and it is a matter of emphasis only whether these productions are called operas or plays.

In 1705 Arsinoe was presented at Drury Lane. This was a translation of the Italian opera and it involved no speaking, no masques, no scenery and very little action. Other Italian translations were presented at the Queen's theatre, Haymarket in imitation of Arsinoe. Thus there were two types of English opera at the beginning of the century: the Purcellian type with spoken dialogue, masques, dancing and lavish scenic effects, and the Italianate type with no speaking but an emphasis on the solo aria and good singing. With such a good basis for opera it is unfortunate that there was no English composer with sufficient talent to make use of the excellent English texts of such writers as Addison and Hughes. Instead Drury Lane concentrated on plays and Queens theatre turned almost exclusively to Italian opera.

The establishment of Italian opera in England may be
dated from the arrival of Handel in 1710. From that
time on Italian operas by him and other composers of the
day were regularly performed by complete Italian
companies. English opera at this time was disregarded
almost entirely. The new operas were generally composed
to suit a known cast of singers and were presented in
Italian with the English translations given in the
programmes. The public were greatly attracted to this
new entertainment at first, and particularly fascinated by
the great castrati singers of the day. However by 1719 the
novelty had begun to pall. Most of the public grew tired
of an entertainment that they could not understand. Opera
continued to be supported mainly by the aristocracy more
for the sake of fashion than any real taste for Italian
musical drama. Withdrawal of their support and rivalries
among the singers and composers were the principal reasons
for the decline of Italian opera, and to prevent this the
Royal Academy of Music was established in 1720. It did
not have much success either and was closed in 1728.

The appearance of the Beggar's Opera in 1728 and
the consequent growth of the English ballad operas was an
added factor in the decline of Italian opera at this
time. The music of the Beggar's Opera consisted mainly
of popular melodies of the time to which Gay adapted the
words of his songs. The melodies were harmonized by
Pepusch who also supplied an overture based on one of the
tunes. The opera contained many satirical allusions in the
dialogue and songs to public functions and characters of
the day, especially the Italian opera and Sir Robert
Walpole. Its enormous success caused the production of
other pieces in a similar form, which came to be known as the English ballad opera. The popularity of the ballad opera lasted barely a decade but it left its influence on later English opera which for a long time combined the composers own work with selections from the favourite songs of the time. At first the ballad operas were full-length productions but as their popularity declined they became merely after-pieces.

Although Italian opera had been discarded by Handel when he turned to writing oratorios it continued to exist simultaneously with the English ballad operas. However it still appeared stilted and artificial except to those members of the fashionable society of London. The ordinary man preferred the more universal appeal of the ballad opera. In spite of their great popularity many of the individual tunes of the ballad operas do have considerable artistic merit.

Further attempts to establish a full-length, all-sung English opera lead to the burlesque opera which was a drama that included both comic dialogue and the usual elements of an Italian opera at that time. The contrast between the comic subject and the ostentatiousness with which it was treated, and between the grotesque words and the serious and expressive music was the essence of the burlesque. Arne's *Comus* and O'Hara's *Midas* are two examples of the burlesque opera; others were written by Lampe, Greene and Smith.

Pantomime was another form of entertainment frequently presented at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. English pantomime contains in a somewhat debased form many features
of opera; for example, the hero is always played by a woman, a tradition that can be traced back to the male sopranos of the Italian operas. Pantomime, with the same singers and composers as for opera, always had arias and often recitative, ensembles and choruses. The essential difference was the use of mime; there was no speaking in pantomime until around 1780. The pantomimes of the 18th century were invariably after-pieces lasting under one hour whose plots were often based on mythology and sometimes with a form of harlequinade imposed onto the pantomime.

From 1760 on there appears to be a difference in the English operas that were presented to the public. Changes in subject matter, style of composition and the amount of borrowed material in each opera are apparent.

Previously opera plots had centred around classical mythology, shepherds and characters from ancient history. Now the present was more important with operas about everyday life and serious but not tragic romance. Melodrama was also common. The style of composition changed from the baroque with its continuo accompaniment to the more fully orchestrated galante form.

For at least a decade after 1762 borrowed music could be found in three out of every four operas. Yet after 1775 the number of operas without any borrowings increased as many composers, including Arne, Dibdin and Linley, preferred to compose the whole opera. In any opera of the mid-18th century new items generally constituted three-quarters of the whole. Later many composers also came to write their own libretti in an attempt to get a fairer
share of the profits and fame.

Each theatre had one particular composer on contract to provide the music required. Charles Dibdin in 1765 was paid £6.7s. per week, whereas the actors and singers were paid by the night. A certain Mrs Pinto got £1 13s. 6d. a night; more than any other singing actor of the 1760's. The author of the work produced would be given the takings of the third, sixth, ninth, etcetera, nights; and out of this he usually had to pay the performers and the orchestra as well as the composer.

Dibdin wrote at different times for Covent Garden and Drury Lane and several of the minor theatres. In twenty years he contributed over a hundred dramatic pieces. According to Hogarth,

"for all these pieces, during so long a period, the whole amount of his emoluments, including the salaries for conducting the music at the different theatres, and his annual benefits, was only £5,500. This very inadequate remuneration he ascribes to the unfair dealings of managers, with all of whom... he seems to have been engaged in constant quarrels. Finding himself so ill-rewarded for his theatrical labours, he set on foot a series of entertainments, consisting of recitations and songs - written, composed, delivered and sung by himself."  

It was only after 1770 that composers began to improve their authority until by the time of Storace the

2. HOGARTH, A musical history, biography and criticism, p.230.
music was of the first importance in any opera.

In English opera vocal decoration was generally quite restrained until the advent of Mrs Billington and John Braham in the 1790's. The orchestras at the main theatres were lead by well-known musicians of the time; Baumgarten, Arnold, Dibdin, Storace and Linley to mention just a few. At Drury Lane in 1775 the band numbered twenty four players, although several of the orchestra played more than one instrument.

Before 1760 operas sometimes appeared published in full score without the recitatives and choruses. This enabled the overtures and arias to be performed at the provincial concerts. The more popular of the songs were often published singly, printed on two staves and intended for the musician at home. However after 1762 full scores were rarely, if ever, published. Instead, vocal scores became standard and these included the choruses. The main reason for the change was an economic one as less notes were involved in the printing of vocal scores compared with full scores. A vocal score of a full-length opera generally sold for around 10s. 6d., while after-pieces cost about 6s.

By 1775 all-sung English opera had become quite rare; the general trend was towards comic opera with spoken dialogue. Drury Lane and Covent Garden retained their monopoly until the end of the 18th century and the proportion of operas presented at the theatres increased ten times in the last years of the century. The opera season began in November or January and continued until June or July with performances several nights of the week.
To return to 1762 and the beginning of the new type of English opera, Arne's *Artaxerses* was the first opera to be referred to as a pastiche opera. A pastiche opera, or pasticcio as it was also known, was an operatic work with music drawn for the purpose from the works of different composers. The words of the opera *Artaxerxes* were a translation of Mestastasio's *Artaserse*. Much of the opera was constructed in the Italian manner of the day, and consisted entirely of recitative, airs and duets with excellent scoring and orchestration. Many of the airs were filled with phrases and passages of execution then fashionable on the Italian stage in order to enable the English singers for whom it was written to contend with their foreign rivals in feats of execution. Other songs were written in Arne's own natural English style. The design of *Artaxerxes* was to introduce onto the English stage an amalgam of the two styles of opera. The opera was a great success, mostly owing to the attractive airs. The attempt to apply Italian recitative to English dialogue was not so successful. The Italian language has natural accents and inflection not found in any other language; English in particular lacks any such facility of articulation. Many of the opera audience found the recitative in English intolerable. Yet in the first sixty years of the opera's life almost every notable person in London must have seen this opera. In 1763 Boswell "relished the music". In 1791 Haydn "was delighted with *Artaxerxes*." 3. By 1814 Jane Austen was "very tired of it." 4.

4. Letter 93.
Arne's Love in a Village of 1763 was slightly different from Artaxerxes. It was more a revision of the old ballad operas, but with a different type of song and a fully orchestrated accompaniment. This opera, unlike many in the same style, had a libretto of some character by Isaac Bickerstaffe. Like Artaxerxes it consisted of airs selected from works by Italian and English composers and contains a number of songs by Arne himself. It shows just how well this sort of adaptation could be made by a musician of ability.

The reliance of many composers on borrowed music was partly demanded by the audiences who preferred familiar music to anything that was new and untried. Also the tradition of spoken drama was so strong in Anglo-Saxon countries, and the role of music in plays usually so minor that writers of ballad and pastiche operas did not see the need for original scores. If a true operatic tradition had existed in England, musical as well as dramatic originality may well have been necessary for the success of any operatic production. In Italian opera music was an equal or dominating force, but to the English author, raised on the pattern established by Shakespeare, Jonson and the Restoration dramatists operas with dialogue in recitative seemed unnatural and foreign.

Following Arne's successes with Artaxerxes and Love in a Village there arose many other pastiche operas in the same style. Arnold, Linley, Dibdin, Shield and Jackson all wrote operas with a similar form and structure. In essence they are little dramas, generally of a comic cast with a mixture of serious scenes; the musical part consisting of
songs and duets with accompaniment and a slight introduction or concluding piece and occasionally a chorus.

Arnold's *Maid of the Mill* of 1765 was based on Richardson's novel *Pamela* with the libretto by Bickerstaff and shows well how wide the source of borrowed material could be. The overture was by the Earl of Kelly, and the opera included other music by Arnold, J.C. Bach, Galuppi, Giardini, Hasse, Jommelli, Pergolesi, Piccinni, Domenico Scarlatti and Vinci. Also in this opera instrumental music was introduced to accompany stage action; for the first time in any work since Purcell. Arnold also arranged the music for about forty-three other dramatic works from which a number of symphony-overtures have survived.

Thomas Linley was another composer of importance on the theatrical scene. For much of his life he was the composer to Drury Lane theatre of which he was also joint proprietor for several years having in 1776 in conjunction with a certain Dr Ford and Mr Sheridan purchased Garrick's right in that theatre for £35,000. Most of Linley's operas are in a simple and attractive style without the spectacular effects of many other operas of the time. The *Duenna* was one of his most popular works. It consisted of original music mingled with popular airs, glees and songs adapted to new words; a typical pastiche opera of the time.

As we have already seen, Charles Dibdin devoted himself to stage pieces and songs for a number of different theatres. He made no claim to any great musical excellence, but he did have an acute sense of what the public wanted to hear and the melodic originality and attractiveness of
much of his work is undeniable. Further mention of his ‘Entertainments’ will be made later in this chapter.

There were many theatre composers with good melodic abilities, so it is not surprising that many of the songs from their operatic works have become part of the national heritage while the musical plays have not lasted, partly because of their inferior libretti. William Shield was such a master of the catchy unforgettable melody. Many of his songs, for example The Ploughboy, are today regarded as folk songs. Shield was appointed to the staff of Covent Garden in 1775 and over the next twenty years produced scores for some thirty operas, some of which are derived from legend and some from heroic episodes in English history or fiction. Rosina was one of his most popular contributions to theatre music. The overtures to Shield’s work are of greater significance than those of many of his contemporaries. They show the influence of the Mannheim school of composition, although they retained the Italian form of fast-slow-fast. The English used the word overture for music that preceded an opera and for symphonic composition. Before J. S. Bach there was little difference in form or length; he was the first to introduce into England the Mannheim innovations. Few English composers came within measurable distance of the overtures of Bach and only a small number are published in score. Some of the most attractive of these were composed by William Smetitgerell who understood the difference between a theatre overture and a concert room symphony.

There were numerous theatrical composers at this
time. Three of the most notable were William Jackson, John Moorehead, who composed several English operas which attained great popularity, pantomime and ballet, and James Hook who wrote more than 140 complete musical productions.

Towards the end of the 18th century there was a general trend away from the pastiche opera to one in which borrowings were less important and more of the music was written by the composer/arranger. Stephen Storace replaced Linley at Drury Lane after studying for sometime in Italy. His first English opera, The Haunted Tower, was the most successful ever staged at Drury Lane in the entire century. It was performed fifty times in the first season of 1789 and established Storace's reputation as the leading theatre composer of the time. The style of The Haunted Tower was founded on the great masters of the Italian school and this enabled Storace to introduce into England a more cohesive form of opera which allowed a dramatic sense to infuse the music. Storace's style also combines the pure Italian melody and English prose with much success, and he was the first English composer to introduce operatic ensembles that were an integral part of the dramatic development of the opera. His quartets and finales were especially good. For several years he continued to produce a number of popular pieces; No Song No Supper, written in 1790, survives today in full score. Many operas including those of Storace reflected the contemporary fiction. Many of the plots are historical, fantastic, sentimental and exotic.

Other composers of this later period wrote a similar kind of music. Thomas Attwood had studied in Vienna too
and on returning to England became involved with the theatre, contributing more than thirty operas. Michael Kelly was probably better known in his day as a singer at both London and provincial concerts. He acted as manager of Drury Lane for sometime and put together music, including some of his own, for sixty-two dramatic pieces, some of which were among the most successful theatrical compositions of the day. Henry Bishop was for a long time the most prominent composer in England. He was connected chiefly with the stage and at various times held appointments at the chief London theatres and at Vauxhall Gardens. He produced at least 150 dramatic works of different kinds, including some adaptations of operas by Arne, Auber, Mozart, Meyerbeer and Rossini. Other composers included Joseph Mazzinghi, William Reeve, John Davy and Charles Edward Horn.

Apart from the ballad opera and the pastiche opera there were several other forms of entertainment presented at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Pantomime, masques, burlesque and burletta were all common. Melodrama, too, established itself in England between 1800 and 1820. It used descriptive background music to accompany the pantomime sections, at points of climax and at the beginning and ending of scenes. Entertainments known as extravaganzas involved plots of exotic fantasy and created their humour through exaggeration. There seems little difference, in fact, between an extravaganza and a burlesque.

In 1806 Bishop came to the fore as the first English composer to write music for ballets designed as complete stage entertainments, as distinct from the dances forming part of the 17th century masque or interpolated
into operas as in the 18th century. Ballet as a separate form of art had gradually detached itself from the masque in France at the time of Lully. It remained almost wholly a French entertainment during the 18th century. Even the titles of Bishop's contributions of the 19th century are still in French, for example, Armide et Renaud. It was not really for another century that the English began to take ballet seriously; then the predominant influence came from Russia.

Italian opera in the late 18th century showed the influence of the pastiche and ballad operas. Italian composers, too, came to borrow music from various sources and sometimes used spoken dialogue in place of recitative. The old continuo accompaniment was also replaced by orchestrated versions. Opera had continued to be presented in London after Handel turned to oratorio. Operas by Gluck, Galuppi and Lampugnani were produced by their respective composers at the Haymarket theatre during the 1760's but from 1728 and the advent of the Beggar's Opera the popularity of Italian opera had waned.

Italian opera is often said to have dominated 18th century music yet the best examples were not composed by Italians. As we have seen Handel was important early in the century, and in the last quarter of the century Mozart was a dominant figure. J.C. Bach, too, contributed to Italian opera in the 1760's and 1770's. Throughout his time in London anything from six to twelve operas were given at King's theatre each season, usually with two separate companies for serious and comic operas. There were often three performances a week, on Tuesday, Thursday
and Saturday nights. Sacchini is the most important figure in Italian opera for the nine seasons from 1772 on. Of the seventeen operas that he composed for Kings' theatre the serious ones were the most successful. Sacchini was replaced as the official composer by Anfossi and he by Cherubini in 1784. Serious opera gradually came to be overshadowed by comic opera and in this field Cimarosa was important. Other writers of Italian opera include Sarti, Paesiello, Guglielmi, Jomelli and Piccinni.

1789 to 1790 was a difficult period for Italian opera. King's theatre was destroyed by fire in 1789. The Pantheon was used until it too was burnt in 1792. Difficulties also arose from rivalry of patronage between the King and the Prince of Wales. It was the last years of the 18th century that finally put Italian opera in its place as "an exotic entertainment for a very small minority of musical and a rather greater number of would-be musical people, an expensive luxury - the greatest attraction of which has often been the expense." 5.

Most of the well-known singers of this period performed in both concerts and operatic productions. The majority were foreigners who came to England with the Italian opera companies. Many of the singers were excellent musicians. John Braham, for example, was a tenor of exceptional ability who composed all the music of his own parts in the majority of operas in which he sang. Michael Kelly was the principal tenor at Drury Lane for many years. Until 1790 falsetto singing had been greatly admired but

5. BLOM, Music in England. Ch.7.
it began to die out with the true tenor notes of these two men. Castrati singing similarly came to be frowned upon. Venanzio Rauzzini was probably the greatest Italian castrato singer London ever heard, but after 1780 he retired to Bath where he became a noted teacher of singing. Two of the most famous sopranos were Mrs Billington and Madame Mara. Mara was born Gertrude Elisabeth Schmeling in 1745 and made her debut in Italian opera in 1780. She was a brilliant dramatic soprano who enchanted London with her rich and powerful voice which extended from low g to e'". Elisabeth Billington was probably the most famous English soprano of her day.

Haydn greatly admired her and gave her his Terzetto for two sopranos, tenor, obbligato cor anglais, bassoon and French horn, with orchestra 'Pietà di me, benigni Dei'. Nancy Storace, the sister of Stephen, was a regular singer at Drury Lane after 1789 where she gave over a hundred performances in six years. Grassini was a female contralto which was apparently very rare in those days.

There were many other well-known singers at the time: Pachierotti, Cecilia Davies, Davide, Christina Negri, Mrs Barthelemon, Morelli, Calcagni, Anne Mary Crouch and Samuel Harrison. Haydn in his First London Notebook lists thirty singers including those mentioned above. Others that he does not name are Banti, Todi, Rubinelli, Marchesi and Catalani.

As we have seen the minor theatres of London were forced into all-sung dramatic entertainments by the lack of a licence to present spoken dialogue. Sadler's Wells had been popular since the 17th century. The theatre itself seated 2000, the pit measured thirty-three feet by forty-
seven feet and around this there was one circle of open boxes and a gallery. The stage had an exceptional depth of ninety feet. Most of the audience were from the shopkeeper class and the entertainment reflected the different kind of audience from that which frequented the major theatres. Occasionally Sadler's Wells was patronised by the inquisitive nobility and gentry. It was a summer theatre, the season generally lasting from Easter Monday through to October. The doors for each performance opened at 5.30 p.m., the first item began at 6.30 p.m. and the performance was generally over about 11 p.m. Seats cost 1s. in the gallery, 2s. in the pit and 4s. in the boxes.

Charles Dibdin the younger is often overshadowed in theatrical history by his more gifted father, both of whom published autobiographies in their own lifetimes. Charles, junior, was a prolific writer of burlettas, musical farces, melodramatic spectacles and pantomimes for the minor theatre. For twenty years he was the resident dramatist and manager at Astley's and the Surrey. From 1800 to 1802 he was manager at Sadler's Wells where the company included actors, singers and dancers and other composers. The variety of entertainment presented is illustrated by the opening of the summer season of 1800. The first performance included a ballet, a performance on the rope, clowns, a burletta, a serious pantomime and another pantomime involving two harlequins. The public, however, wanted dramatic dialogue in their musical pieces so it was at Sadler's Wells that Charles Dibdin "after for some time using an intermezzo of recitative singing in
rhyme, and speaking in Prose, dismissed the Piano from the Orchestra, and introduced dialogue, spoken in prose only. It was an infringement of their license, but as most of the other minor theatres adopted the idea there was little the major theatres or the Lord Chamberlain could do about it.

It was in the winter recess of 1803-1804 that Dibdin introduced the famous Aquatic Exhibitions which for many years gave superior popularity to Sadler's Wells. These shows involved such spectacles as real waterfalls and miniature ships with cannon which fired regularly. The first performance was advertised as:

"A Grand Naval Spectacle on Real Water; representing the Siege of Gibraltar with Real Ships; built and rigged on an inch scale by Shipwrights and Riggers from his Majesty's Dockyard at Woolwich etc."

Astley's Amphitheatre originated in 1770 as an open air arena on the South side of the Thames near Westminster Bridge with demonstrations of horse training by Philip Astley. A wooden building was erected in 1780 in the form of an Amphitheatre which incorporated a circus ring with an adjoining stage. The entertainments progressed beyond ordinary horse tricks to include all kinds of equine and animal dramas which were an immediate success. The Royal Circus opened in 1782 as a rival to Astley's. Its conception was largely the idea of Charles Dibdin, senior, who promoted performances by a troupe of child actors. Other entertainments included horse shows and short operas,

7. ibid. p.
pantomime and ballet. In 1810 the ring was converted into a pit and reopened by Elliston as an ordinary theatre. Renamed the Surrey theatre it concentrated on ballet productions for many years.

The Royalty theatre was built in 1787 by John Palmer in Wellclose Square, East London with the intention of challenging the patent theatres with direct dramatic competition. This attack on the monopoly held by Drury Lane and Covent Garden was unsuccessful and the Royalty was forced to confine its programmes to burlettas and circus entertainments. These included 'equestrian feats', tumbling, and other gymnastical exercises. The Pleasure Gardens, too, had no license to present spoken dialogue so they similarly presented operas that lasted a little under an hour. They were the main item in a concert or variety programme held out of doors and therefore without scenery and very little stage movement. Other theatres that presented similar entertainments include the Lyceum, the Adelphi, the Coburg, the Olympic and the English Opera House. The productions, as in some of the other theatres were often of little dramatic value and the theatres were often bankrupt. Most of the theatres advertised their productions widely. The following example is typical of the many placed by the different theatres:

"ROYAL AMPHITHEATRE, ASTLEY'S WESTMINSTER-BRIDGE. Under the Patronage of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Duke of York. THIS EVENING will be presented, (First time at this theatre) the new serio-comic Historical Pantomime of Don Juan; or The Libertine Destroyed. The Part of
Don Juan, by Mr Astley Junior. The Pantomime to coincide with a brilliant Shower of Fire. By particular desire and for the seventh time, a Ballet of Action, called The Scotch Lovers; or The Gretta Blacksmith. EQUESTRIAN EXERCISES by the first Troop of Horsemen in Europe, particularly Mr Groffman, who has recovered from his late illness, will go through his wonderful FEATS OF HORSEMANSHIP. Various new Comic Songs. The whole to conclude with (13th time) the Grand Pantomime Entertainment of The Pirate; or HARLEQUIN VICTOR."

Don Juan is one show Jane Austen is known to have attended, along with the Clandestine Marriage, Midas and other operas. In a letter to Cassandra she records:

"Fanny and the two little girls are gone to take places for tonight at Covent Garden; "Clandestine Marriage" and "Midas". The latter will be a fine show for L. & M. They revelled last night in "Don Juan", whom we left in hell at ½ past 11... "Don Juan" was the last of three musical things. "Five hours at Brighton" in 3 acts - of which one was over before I arrived, none the worse - and the "Beehive" rather less flat and trumpery."

Later to her brother Frank she writes:

"Of our three evenings in Town one was spent at the Lyceum and another at Covent Garden; the "Clandestine Marriage" was the most respectable of the performances, the rest mere sing-song and trumpery, but did very

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8. The Times. September 8 1800.
9. Letter 82.
well for Lizzy and Marianne, who were delighted; but I wanted better acting. There was no Actor worth naming. - I believe the Theatres are thought at a low ebb at present." 10. As Austen mentions, at this time plays of any quality were quite rare. One of the best would have been Thomas Morton's comedy *Speed the Plough*. Austen is also known to have visited and enjoyed Astley's famous circus. There is never any mention, however, of her attendance at any Italian opera. As with the Subscription Concerts the price was no doubt the prohibitive factor.

Many of the composers for the larger theatres also wrote for the minor ones. Arnold, for example, purchased Marylebone Gardens in 1765 for which he composed the music for several burlettas, operas and many pantomimes. William Reeve was for a time the composer at Astley's for which he wrote a pantomime and other dramatic spectacles.

John Davy, too, composed some dramatic pieces for Sadler's Wells and the Little theatre, Haymarket as well as Covent Garden. After his limited financial success at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, Charles Dibdin became an independent writer and introduced a new species of amusement. For these 'Entertainments' he opened a small theatre in Leicester Square and gave performances there, at other London theatres and in many principal towns throughout England with great success. Hogarth notes that they were "exceedingly agreeable, containing a great deal of wit, anecdote and satire and full of songs...(which) enjoyed

10. Letter 85.
extraordinary popularity." One of the songs he wrote sold more than 17,000 copies. He also introduced a musical puppet show where the puppets were made to impersonate well-known characters. His 'Entertainments' he advertised as consisting of:

"Private Theatricals  Great News
The Quizzes     Will o' the Wisp - and
Castles in the Air  Christmas Gambols" 12.

Quite what is meant by all that is anybody's guess. Maybe part of the attraction of his shows was the mystery such advertisements engendered. Altogether Dibdin wrote over a hundred stage pieces and more than 900 songs, as well as periodicals, novels and memoirs. We are indebted to the two Dibdins' prolific writing for much of the information about the minor theatres of their day. Few other comments are available.

Much of the music presented at the London theatres was of such poor quality that one wonders how such stuff ever got written or listened to. At all periods all countries produce a high proportion of poor music, but the question remains, why there was not more good music in English theatres. One reason could be that the audience was enjoying what it saw and not listening at all. Also the early rage for Italian opera destroyed any English tradition that might have stemmed from Purcell. There was no system of private patronage such as composers enjoyed in Europe. They were forced to rely instead on theatres where the emphasis was on acting rather than on what was being said or sung. Most society people gave all their

11. HOGARTH, A musical history. p.332.
12. BINGLEY, Musical biography. p.245.
attention to Italian opera and disregarded the works of the English composers presented at the shabby unfashionable theatres. The attitude of the English public towards music is particularly apparent throughout this period. It demanded at all costs that it should not be bored. To this was due all the pasticcios of favourite tunes, the interpolations of organ and vocal solos between the oratorio parts and the ornamental alterations with which one singer tried to secure more applause than his or her rival. It was a period where the emphasis was on what one saw rather than what could be heard. Therefore the music frequently took second place to spectacular effects like fireworks and real waterfalls!

It may seem a little out of place to examine oratorio in a chapter about dramatic music, but it must be remembered that to the 18th century Englishman oratorio was often just another form of entertainment. Under Haydn English oratorio was performed in a theatre and during Lent. Oratorios were substitutes for opera and were regarded by the public as such. The form was that of opera; they contained recitative, arias concerted numbers and occasionally instrumental interludes. The chorus function, however, was significantly more important than in opera. Oratorio also had a resemblance to the Grand Miscellaneous type concert held at the concert rooms. The difference was that secular vocal music was supposed to be excluded. Towards the end of the century the sacred nature of the performances declined before a growing taste for secular trivialities and the term oratorio came to denote any performance given during Lent. One concession to
popularity was the habit of interpolating light pieces between the 'acts' of the oratorio performance in order to give light relief to their seriousness. Handel himself played organ concertos. However this usually applied only to performances given in the theatres, the tendency in cathedral performances was for the oratorio to be cut down to selections.

It was rare for a whole oratorio to be given in one performance with the exception of the Messiah. Annual performances of this work were given at Hanover Square Rooms from 1785 to 1848 for the benefit of the Royal Society of Musicians. It had been as early as 1767 that the Messiah began to be performed as part of the English Christmas festivities. It was not until 1837 when the Sacred Harmonic Society was founded for the purpose of performing complete oratorios that the custom of giving selections from different oratorios interspersed with instrumental music finally died out.

After Handel's death John Stanley, in conjunction with Stafford Smith, undertook to direct the performance of the oratorios during Lent, first at Covent Garden and then at Drury Lane. After Smith retired he carried on in conjunction with Linley until about the year 1784.

From the mid 18th century the enthusiasm for Handel's works spread to the publishing industry. About 1760 a collection of libretti of All the Favourite Oratorios was available from booksellers. There were also many subscribers to editions of scores published by William Randall. The Messiah appeared in 1766 and others followed which were welcomed by many provincial organists and
musical societies in Yorkshire and Lancashire especially.

After Handel's death the enthusiasm for choral singing intensified and gave rise to the Handel Commemorations in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon. Under the patronage of George III the first concert took place on May 26 1784 and demonstrated that large choral and orchestral forces could combine successfully to give an accurate and inspiring rendering of the music. More than 500 performers were involved, the core of the orchestral players came from the London theatres and Pleasure Gardens and the singers from the cathedral choirs. There were also representatives of every important provincial musical centre. Directors of the festivals included the Earl of Sandwich who was a well-known Handel patron, and Sir W.W. Wynn. Admission was one guinea; the programme began at twelve o'clock with the coronation anthem of 1727 and also included the overture to Esther, the Dettingen Te Deum, the overture and dead march from Saul and Gloria Patri from Jubilate. The Commemoration was a great success and similar events took place in the Abbey in 1785, 86, 87, 91, 1804 and 1814. The Westminster Abbey performance had enormous influence in England in both large and small towns. Many programmes for individual benefit concerts and festivals were drawn from the Abbey performances. Several oratorio societies succeeded the Handel Commemoration. The Caecilian Society, the Sacred Harmonic Society and the Choral Harmonists Society all began around this period.

Outside London much of the provincial music making was centred around the musical festivals organised by the
organists of the parish churches and other interested amateurs. Choral societies and festivals flourished, especially in the first half of the 19th century and many of their patrons included well-known manufacturers of the region. Press advertisements show the tradesmen, too, approved of the festivals as the influx of players and singers meant more business. Handel always had a prominent place in any programme; Haydn, too, was popular. Sir George Smart was the most sought-after conductor and he was the inspiration of many provincial festivals, at Bath, Cambridge, Derby, Dublin, Edinburgh, Hull, Manchester and Newcastle-on-Tyne. One of the greatest of the English festivals began in 1724. This was the Three Choirs Festival held annually and alternately in the three cathedrals at Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford. The festival combines the choral forces of the three cities and was originally a way of raising money for the widows and orphans of clergymen. Large scale works were always required at the festivals and it is partly because of them that oratorio continued to be cultivated in England after Handel's death. The festivals were important, too, in introducing to the public many fine singers who seldom performed outside the churches and cathedrals.

As we have seen, the theatrical entertainments at the many London theatres covered a tremendous variety of dramatic and musical productions. It is also true to say that these productions reflected quite closely the different social classes found in the audience. The fashionable society would never patronise the minor theatres any more than the working class man would attend the
Italian opera. The way each theatre concentrated on a particular type of entertainment was a direct result of the licensing laws of the early 18th century. Once these laws were abolished in 1843 considerable changes no doubt occurred.
CHAPTER VII

CHURCH

The English church, in the period under discussion, comprised both the established Church of England and the new evangelical churches. The Anglican service itself provides many opportunities for musical settings in both Matins and Evensong, particularly the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis of the Evensong and the voluntary anthem. Yet in spite of several active church composers, a great deal of complacency marked the Anglican church. In the early part of the 18th century the church had played an important part in the lives of the greater part of the population. Most people attended some place of worship. Later in the century, however, music in the cathedrals and parish churches lost much of the strength and energy that had been apparent during the Restoration. This was partly the result of a number of indifferent and worldly organists, but the general condition of the church was also lamentable. Ambiguities and deficiencies in the liturgy and doctrine were the cause of the Oxford Movement of 1833. There was also considerable dissent over the place of music in the service—the status of congregational singing and the proper use of instruments in particular. The argument that music had no legitimate place in the worship service was still occasionally heard quite late in the century.

Composers of Anglican church music wrote anthems for the choirs of the large town and city cathedrals, but
'Uxbridge', 'Chapel Royal', 'Come Holy Ghost', 'St Matthew' and 'St Anne' are among the hymn tunes that they composed. In spite of a great deal of medieval hymnology, hymns had been little used in the church. Up until the time of Charles Wesley, Cowper and Newton the music of the parish churches had consisted almost entirely of metrical psalms. The manner of singing psalms introduced by the Puritans continued well into the 18th century in most churches. For the benefit of those unable to read, the parish clerk read aloud the words a line at a time and the people sang through the psalm after him. The psalms were contained in books of psalms which were often quite comprehensive works such as The Complete Psalmist, compiled by John Arnold. This volume sold at 4s, a copy and contained a Preface that consisted of a discussion of the divine origin of music, a musical history and useful hints regarding the best instruments to purchase and the names of recommended dealers. There was also a section on the rudiments of music, (including advice on ornamentation) harmony, counterpoint and an Alphabetical Dictionary. Occasionally some such books would contain anthems, chants and even canons as well as the psalm tunes.

For many people, especially those among the lower classes, this was their only means of acquiring any sort of musical knowledge at all. Unfortunately the situation arose where the singing was monopolised by groups of voluntary singers who lead the congregation in the psalm responses until the congregation was frequently deprived of the opportunity of joining in the psalmody. In many places these 'Village Practitioners' as they were also
known, flourished much as the glee and catch clubs did in the towns. In London a similar situation existed. The choirs comprised charity children drawn from the free schools for the children of the poor. In many cases the charity schools included the teaching of singing by rote in their curriculum. Because of the needs of the churches singing was regarded as a useful exercise. This situation continued until 1790 when Bishop Porteous condemned the state of psalmody, adding that real improvements could only be achieved by providing the children with rudimentary training in singing. This proved to be a significant stimulus to the teaching of singing in schools.

The Anglicans, then, were not greatly concerned with church music except for the festivals and oratorios organised by enterprising local committees and resident cathedral organists. Many musicians whose livelihoods depended on the church built up extensive teaching practices and if they were interested in composition issued collections of keyboard pieces. This advertisement shows the sort of positions that were available:

"To Organists: The Situation of Organist in the Parish Church of Boston, in the county of Lincoln is vacant by resignation: the salary is £90 a year, the duty comprises attendance and performance twice every Sunday and Christmas Day and once every Thursday and also every Friday previous to the monthly sacrament, besides other occasional duties: also the instruction of several charity children in psalmody. The town of Boston being large and populous, and the neighbourhood respectable, and
there not being a music-master within fifteen miles of the town, a favourable opening occurs for teaching, if the candidate be an able musician." ¹

It is quite clear, therefore, that the music of the Church of England was generally out of touch with the general trend of music and with the people. The invigoration of the tradition of sacred music came from the evangelical impulse. The Methodists, in particular, were important in revitalising church music at this time. Charles and John Wesley had been greatly affected by the singing of the Moravians when they were missionaries in Georgia and had also recognised that singing and evangelism were inseparable. Charles was responsible for more than 6000 original hymns and John's words for the hymns included many translations from German sources and together they laid the foundations of evangelical hymnody. Many church people were dubious about the new hymns, but in spite of the opposition a number of Hymnals were produced and the custom became generally accepted. The enthusiasm for hymn singing which arose resulted in an extension of musical education among the poorer members of the community and in the further development of choral singing. Increasingly music came to be enjoyed and understood among the working classes of the densely populated manufacturing districts as Yorkshire, Lancashire and Derbyshire to an extent not found in any other part of the country. Every town came to have its choral society where the works of Handel and

¹. The Times. July 4 1820.
others were performed. Much of the English choral tradition can be traced back to the cathedral and parish choirs and the influence of evangelical hymnology. Throughout the 18th century church music sung by church musicians represented at least half of all choral music, the rest involved oratorio and various occasional music performed by professional singers at concerts and the catch and glee tradition.

Many critics of the time claimed that it was the Methodists' treatment of music that attracted the congregations to their services. The Wesleys attached great importance to congregational participation in the service and they also realized the need for a musical phraseology that was simple yet not dull and closely related to the words. The new evangelical tradition had an influence on the Anglican church also. Bishop Reginald Heber with Isaac Williams, John Chandler, John Keble, John Henry Newman and others gradually enlarged the whole concept of hymnody within the Church of England. New words and tunes encouraged composers in the writing of hymns which eventually gave rise to the new Hymns Ancient and Modern.

Samuel Wesley (1766-1837) was without a doubt the most important composer of church music in his time. He was the younger son of Charles Wesley the hymn writer and the brother of a capable organist who never fulfilled the promise he showed as an infant prodigy. Samuel was himself a skilled performer on the organ, harpsichord and violin by the age of ten. He was a prolific composer and at his best when dealing with choral voices. His works include masses and shorter works for the Catholic church, several
Anglican anthems and services and some vocal and instrumental compositions. His motets, including *In exitu Israel* and some of his psalm tunes have much originality. Wesley was acknowledged the leading organist of his day and as has been mentioned he was the first Englishman to appreciate the full genius of J.S. Bach. At the age of twenty-one Wesley suffered an accident and afterwards was subject to fits of insanity and therefore never realised his full potential as a composer.

The English hymn writers and church composers of the 18th century will stand comparison with those of any century. Hogarth even goes as far as saying that England's church music is "superior to that of any other country and while the music of the church in Italy and even Germany has degenerated ours retains the solemn grandeur of the olden time." 2. The choral music of the cathedrals and churches in England is certainly uniquely English and belongs to the school of composition founded by the great musicians of the 16th century and preserved by the unbroken series of distinguished composers since. This line includes well-known musicians like Thomas Tallis, William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Tomkins, Thomas Morley, John Blow, Henry Purcell, Jeremiah Clarke, Henry Aldrich, William Croft, John Weldon, Maurice Greene and John Travers. Then we come to the composers of the period under discussion. William Boyce was one of the greatest of England's musicians whose cathedral music is of a very high order. Some of his finest anthems were published in

2. HOGARTH, A musical history... p.303.
1778; Fifteen Anthems together with a Te Deum and Jubilate, in score composed for the Royal Chapels. Another collection of twelve were published in 1790. The church compositions of James Nares consisted of a collection of twenty anthems published in 1778 and a morning and evening service with six anthems published after his death. His is a simple style of writing that provides a good contrast to some of the church's more elaborate works. Benjamin Cooke and Jonathon Battishill were two composers chiefly known for their secular music but both men wrote some excellent compositions for the church. As we have seen Samuel Arnold was also a prolific writer in the theatrical field of composition. He was organist at the Chapel Royal and wrote numerous services and anthems for use there that were never published.

The Royal family encouraged church music in the best English tradition. On Sundays and other occasions services were held in the St George's chapel. For centuries the services here had been carried out on cathedral lines and with a long tradition of high musical quality. Arnold was greatly influenced by Handel and his compositions include five oratorios. John Stafford Smith was a pupil of both Nares and Boyce. He succeeded Arnold as organist and Master of the children of the Chapel Royal in 1802 and contributed to the church music of the period. Thomas Attwood's early compositions were primarily for the stage, but later in his life he wrote songs, glee, instrumental and church music including two magnificent anthems with full orchestral accompaniment written for the coronation of George IV and William IV. William Crotch
oratorios, organ music and many anthems. Other composers of the time who wrote church music include William Horsley, Thomas Adams and William Ayrton.

There was considerable interest shown during this period in the works of the older English composers. Boyce's collection of cathedral music appeared in three volumes in 1760. It had been begun by Greene and completed by Boyce and consisted of a selection of the best productions of English ecclesiastical composers during the preceding two centuries. Samuel Arnold, too, issued a collection of cathedral music that formed a continuation of the work of Boyce. He also edited a collection of the works of Handel; the first collected edition of the works of any master. By the turn of the 19th century Stafford Smith was established as a composer and an authority on ancient music. While still in his twenties he selected, transcribed and annotated works of the 16th and 17th centuries which constituted a valuable repository of knowledge for the better part of a hundred years.

It is difficult to understand why there are so few references in Jane Austen's letters or her novels to anything relating to the church or religion. Her father was a clergyman and therefore she must have been in constant contact with the poverty and distress of some of her father's parish and been more aware of death and suffering than many young women of her time. There are no references in her letters to church services though she must have been a regular attendant there. Either it was considered too obvious to mention or any comments and discussion on religion and the church were destroyed when Cassandra cut
sections out of the letters. Apart from a discussion of ordination in Mansfield Park there is little concern apparent with the changes in the church and the evangelical influence that must have been apparent at the time. Nor is there any mention of anything even remotely related to music in the church.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The last six chapters have attempted to review the musical activity in Jane Austen's lifetime. It may not be considered a very productive period musically, but it certainly was active and eventful. The years 1775 to 1817 witnessed the rise of orchestral concerts as we know them today, and associated with them the beginning of fine orchestral playing. The great English tradition of choral singing had its origins in such diverse activities as oratorio and glees and catches which developed into the numerous choral societies and successful choral festivals like the Handel Commemoration and the Three Choirs Festival. It was a period that saw the development of the pianoforte as the most widespread domestic instrument and gave English pianoforte makers precedence over all others. The main publishing houses all had their beginnings in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. If the amount of music published is any indication of the country's musical activity then it certainly was a flourishing period. Enormous quantities of music, songs and ballads, and chamber music for small ensembles were the mainstay of the expanding publishing business. Much of this music was never performed in concert as it was intended largely for the domestic market. And of course there was the introduction to English audiences of some of the best music from the Continent. The Philharmonic Society was responsible for
many first performances of Beethoven's music in England and to Samuel Wesley we owe the first knowledge of J.S. Bach. Haydn wrote some of his best music for the London audiences.

Young's comment about the amount of musical activity is most certainly true of London and is also indicative of many provincial areas as well:

"The ardent music lover who lived in London during the reign of George III had no reason to complain of the lack of opportunity to hear music; indeed he might well have felt the danger of superabundance." 1.

In many homes in England conditions were such that many people could not afford the entertainment provided at the concert rooms and theatres. Thus there grew up an area of music making that was essentially amateur. The glee and catch clubs are the most obvious manifestation of this. In homes where a little more expense could be supported, the piano was the leading instrument in music making.

The attitude of much of society towards music was to regard it as a luxury. This was a response to the prevalent rational attitudes of the time. Music fulfilled no useful function and therefore it could not be regarded as one of the necessities of life. The wealthy nobility and gentry who did patronise the theatre and concert room did so from a desire to do the fashionable thing rather than from any real interest in the music.

1. YOUNG, The concert tradition, p.145.
As Hutchings says:

"Ambitious music is scarcely mentioned by English men of letters of the early 19th century. I would not give a fig to visit Sebastian Bach, or Batch, which is it? Lamb's verses to his friend Novello might well be truth in the mouths of most of his contemporaries among the British aristocracy and Intelligentsia."

The lower classes of society were much more honest in their attitude to music. They had no desire to see the stilted and artificial Italian operas that were presented, the more democratic ballad operas were more to their taste. As previously mentioned the public always demanded that the entertainments presented should not be boring. Fireworks and other visual spectacles as well as familiar music were the things that they wished to see and hear.

The contribution of Jane Austen to this thesis has not been large, but it has been significant. Music was not one of the main interests of her life and therefore it does not have an important place in her fiction. It has been mentioned that she was always careful not to become involved in her writing with topics such as medicine and politics about which her knowledge was not comprehensive. This could be one reason why there is not more mention in her writing about the subject of music. However from the evidence of her letters in particular it seems more likely that her knowledge of music and musical activities

was in fact quite considerable. But it always took second place in her life to her writing and interest in literature.

Austen's attitude to music is a particularly honest one. On various occasions she mentions either that she preferred the fireworks or she enjoyed the music better if she was some distance away from it. Her comments about the opera productions that she attended are especially discerning. So too is her attitude to the attainment of accomplishments by young ladies.

It was partly the attitude to music of much of society that was responsible for the lack of any English musical tradition. Some critics blame this lack of tradition on the absence of music schools like those on the Continent; others think that the failure was owing to the all-pervasive influence of Handel. Yet except in the field of oratorio he had little direct influence from 1750 on. With respect to the composers, the period 1775 to 1817 does not seem to have been very distinguished. Some possessed considerable talent but they cannot be ranked with composers abroad. Apart from the classical composers who were writing at this time the years 1786 to 1813 on the Continent produced Weber, Schubert, Berlioz, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Schumann, Liszt, Verdi and Wagner.

England was certainly devoid of good composers for the orchestra. In the vocal field, however, the native composers could stand against the foreign composers who were not interested in the anthem or the glee and who were outwritten by the English writers of oratorio. The difference, for example, between Samuel Wesley's instru-
mental compositions and his vocal masterpieces is quite obvious. English composers were little affected by the instrumental work of Haydn, Mozart or even J.S. Bach. No attempt was made to compete with or even copy the great masters. Church composers can hold their own against comparison with those of other countries, but the same cannot be said for theatrical composers. The names of some composers has been remembered only through the individual song which has become part of the folk music of the country. During the Napoleonic wars English theatre music reached its lowest level of all time. There is little consolation in the knowledge that apart from Beethoven music was in a low state all over Europe.

Although it must be agreed that there was no great composer the equivalent of Haydn, Mozart or Beethoven, many writers, Fiske for example, do not believe that English composers were markedly inferior from the creative artists in other fields. There was no one the equivalent of Fielding or Gainsborough, but maybe if Thomas Linley, junior, had lived he would have been a composer of similar calibre. Young similarly suggests that Cipriani Potter just missed being a very good composer indeed, partly because of the English attitude that English music as such did not exist. As for Arne and Boyce, Green and Storace, they stand in the same class as Thompson and Cowper in the field of poetry and the painters Hayman and Wilson. The last decade of the 18th century contained almost as much new thinking in the arts, philosophy and industry as in all the other decades put together. This was the time of the great Romantic wave of poets, includ-
ing Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley and Keats, as well as the great landscape painters Turner and Constable. No country can expect many such creative artists. England certainly had her share in fields other than music. It is Hutchings again who says:

"The dearth of great composers was no shame. Why should even one be granted every century to a small country when not a dozen are allocated to the whole of Europe in two centuries or three? The shame lay in general Philistinism as reflected in education."3.

The main source of the bad reputation was a number of scholars of the succeeding generation such as Grove and Fuller-Maitland. Most 20th century writers now admit that the period was not such a cultural desert as has previously been claimed.

The late 18th century was an expanding period in the field of music. The practice and appreciation of it was at least as much, if not more, widespread than in any other country of Europe. By the beginning of the 19th century England could justly be described as one of the most musical countries in Europe. Unfortunately one of the results of this popularisation of music was that composers were forced to submit to the needs of the situation. As we have seen in the theatrical business, unless the composers wrote the kind of music both the audiences and the managers wanted their work would not be produced.

By the end of the 18th century it is possible to

see a noticeable change in emphasis within the overall field of music. The main impulse was now secular music, given at concert rooms and theatres despite the influence of the oratorio and the new evangelical religious movement. Similarly noble patrons had been replaced by collective sponsors, both upper and middle class. As the 19th century progressed it became apparent that the wealthy industrial middle class offered better prospects of support than the aristocracy. Amateur musicians were replaced by professionals, which was partly a result of the change in style of music from baroque to galante. The less expert amateurs were unable to perform the more complex and difficult music that demanded greater skill in execution. Conditions of the time also favoured the establishment of an active provincial musical life. The increase in population and wealth of the towns lead to the establishment of musical societies, concert halls and theatres.

The question that needs to be asked is what is the basis for the assessment of any musical period? Is it necessary to have a great native composer who produces many musical masterpieces or does considerable musical activity and development in other fields of music apart from composition compensate for the lack of a great composer? We have agreed England produced no such composer during Jane Austen's lifetime, but I feel this deficiency is outweighed by the considerable amount and variety of activity that was obviously happening during the period. English music has always had strong vocal tendencies but it was at this time that the growth of
choral societies and festivals began. There was no comparative development in France for example. The English choral tradition has remained strong and is undoubtedly partly responsible for the 20th century Renaissance of English music. This reason alone is enough to compensate for any lack of a great native composer in the 18th and 19th centuries.
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