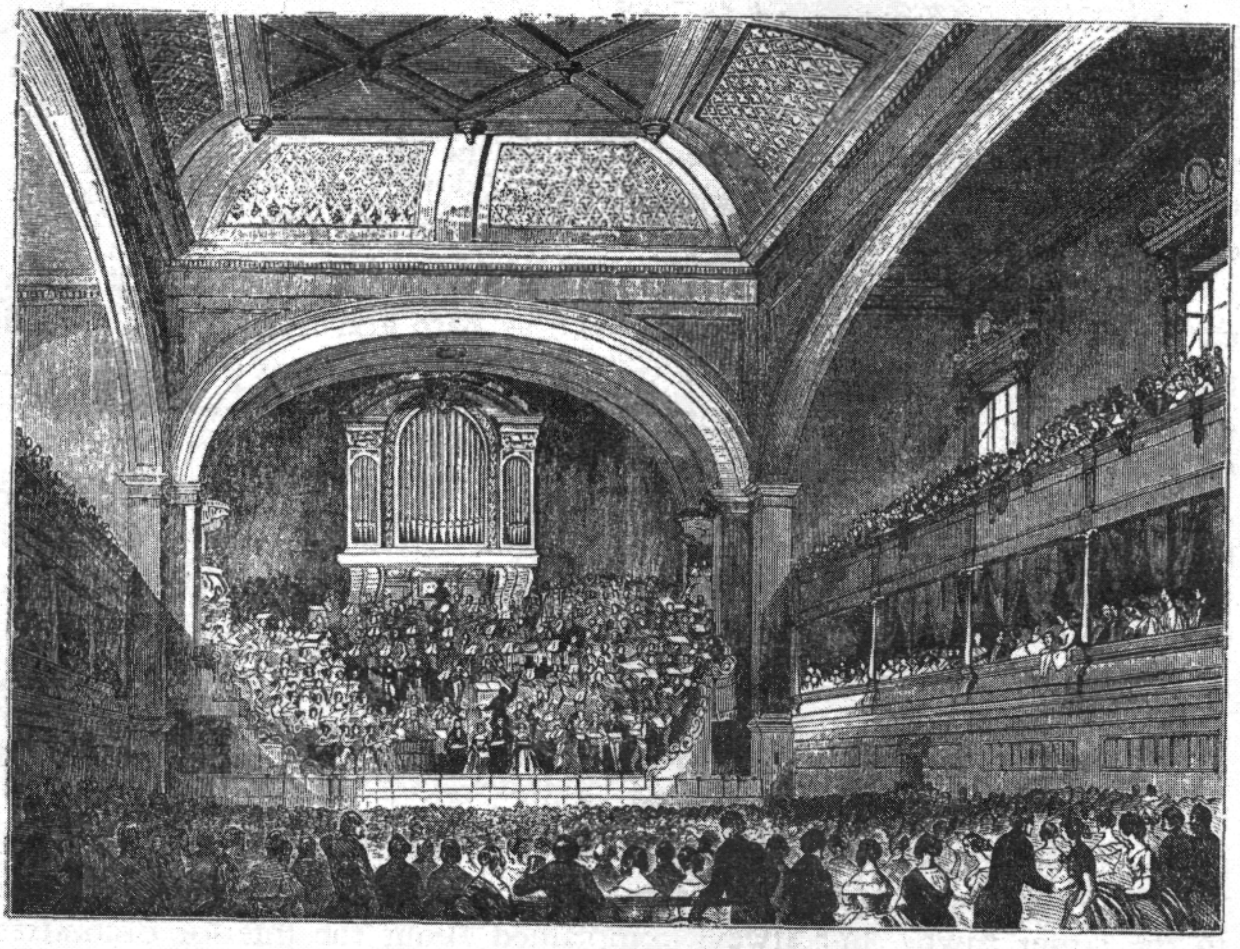
EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER



THE PHILHARMONIC HALL AT LIVERPOOL, 1849

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EDITORIAL

BRYAN WHITE

The traditional orchestral concert is a very ritualistic affair: orchestra seated on a stage, conductor in the front facing the players, chorus standing behind the orchestra. This is such a common practice that few of us think about it. Is this, however, the only, or the best arrangement for a performance? Why, for instance, does the chorus almost always stand? Presumably standing enables the singers to better support their voices. Why then do the wind players of the orchestra almost invariably sit? Surely they require a similar level of breath support to that of the singers, and their tone production might be improved by standing, or at least be made easier. Likewise, violinists stand (the best physical position for playing) for sonatas, but sit for chamber music and for orchestral playing. And what of the conductor? Is he, or she, a necessary or desirable addition to the ensemble? Most of us can readily bring to mind performances in which an orchestra performing standard works from the late eighteenth or nineteenth century got on with the job of playing while (or by) taking little or no notice of the gesticulating figure in front of it. This reminds me of the cartoon I have pinned to the door of my office. A conductor stands in front of a music desk on which a sheet of paper, rather than music, has been placed. It reads: 'Wave your arms until the music stops, then turn around and bow.'

Those of us who attend and perform in concerts of early music have grown used to different performing arrangements. As often as not a Bach Passion or Handel oratorio is now directed from the keyboard rather than from a podium. Documentary evidence from the seventeenth and eighteenth century suggests that this was common practice. Evidence also exists for the way in which orchestral performances were undertaken in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such evidence does not necessarily tally with the traditional concert I described above, particularly with regard to conducting. Descriptions of Mendelssohn's conducting practice are instructive here. Firstly, he stood side on, facing the leader rather than the orchestra, since turning his back to the audience would have been considered to be discourteous. The leader himself was more prominent, and often stood on a small podium. Mendelssohn's gestures were very restrained. Schumann, describing his direction at the Leipzig Gewandhaus records that: 'often enough in the course of a performance, he would lay his baton on the desk and leave it there for some time, while the orchestra played on without further guidance.' Until the middle of the nineteenth century, it was common for the orchestra itself to stand. When joined by a chorus, the singers were likely to be placed in front of the orchestra, and perhaps in front of the conductor, whose beat would be relayed to them from a secondary conductor standing in front of the chorus.

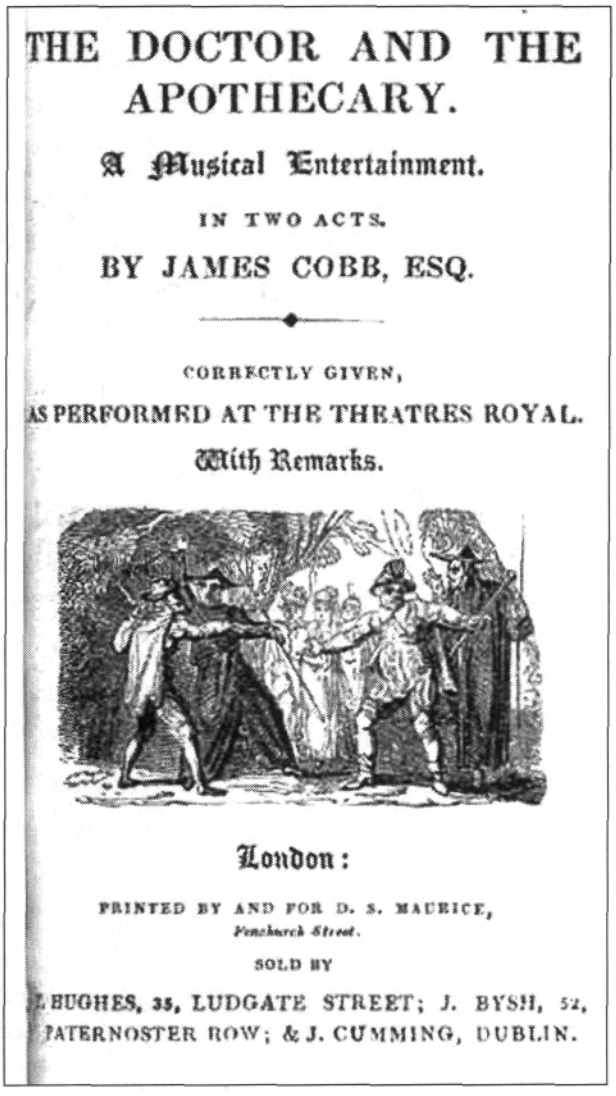
Do any of these practices make a substantive difference to a performance? I can now suggest from experience that at least some of them do. This past March at the School of Music here in Leeds we undertook a performance of nineteenth-century choral and orchestral repertoire with the School choir and orchestra: Schumann's overture to *Genoveva*, Sterndale Bennett's infrequently performed fantasy overture *Paradise and the Peri*, Spohr's motet for a capella double chorus, 'From the deep I called', and Mendelssohn's choral/orchestral *Die erste Walpurgisnacht*. I prepared the chorus, and Clive Brown took the orchestra, directing all but the Spohr (which was left to me) in the concert. Clive, who is well known for his work on performance practice, was keen to experiment with the evidence of Mendelssohn's practice with regard to a standing orchestra, limited direction, a leader placed on a podium, and the chorus placed in front of the orchestra (my earlier description of these practices are drawn from his programme note to the concert). Clive conducted sideways on, facing the leader. Of course no one would have considered it rude for him to turn his back to the audience, but the primary effect of this positioning was to shift the focus of direction from the conductor to the combined efforts of the conductor and leader. Furthermore, Clive frequently stopped beating time, particularly in the two orchestral works. Although my participation in the concert surely coloured my sense of its effect, I felt that this led to a different sense of ensemble amongst the players that was evident particularly in the phrasing and rhythmic shaping of the performance. Talking to students afterwards, they commented upon the changes this approach to conducting had on their own performance, most notably, the requirement for greater confidence in rhythmic execution. For the Mendelssohn, Clive and I consulted images from Adam Carse's *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz* (Cambridge, 1948) in considering the placement of the choir and orchestra. We settled on placing the choir on the floor in front

of the stage, on which the strings were placed with the wind on the raked risers behind. All but the cellists stood. The plan bears at least some similarity to the illustration of a performance at the Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool in 1849 (on the front cover of this issue), though in our concert Clive conducted from in front of the chorus. The positioning solved what was otherwise a rather formidable problem of balance, since Mendelssohn's scoring in the *Walpurgisnacht* is in places very full, and threatened to overwhelm our fairly small chorus.

I would not wish to suggest from our experience that we have struck upon a radical new approach to orchestral performance practice. But returning to the example of early music performances, the primary reason so many groups have turned to the model of direction from the keyboard is not simply that more directors have learned to play the harpsichord and realize figured bass. Instead, this practice creates a different approach to ensemble, and therefore a different aural result, thanks to the greater level of responsibility devolved to individual players. I look forward to such an approach gaining wider currency when orchestras perform literature for which limited (or no) conducting is appropriate, even if they decide they don't want to play standing!

It was entirely coincidental that Peter Holman stumbled upon the highly critical description of Stephen Storace's ill-advised attempts to conduct the band at Drury Lane in 1788 just at the same time as we were experimenting with the orchestra and chorus at Leeds. His very entertaining article does not make comfortable reading for conductors, who were consistently considered surplus to requirement in the latter years of the eighteenth century. Fiona Smith's article also addresses orchestral performance practice. Her investigation of an extensive collection of performance parts from William Boyce's court odes provides welcome detail on the size and employment of a specific orchestra from the eighteenth century. For those of you with a Broadwood piano, and who might wish to trace its history, Robert Simonson, archivist at the Surrey History Centre, provides a discussion of the records of Broadwood and Sons now held there. His article reveals the very rich source material in this collection, a resource that will be of interest to a wide range of researchers.

Finally, for those readers who are interested in pursuing further information on the musical copyright issues surrounding the case of Lionel Sawkins vs. Hyperion Records, I recommend to you Dr Sawkins' own website, http://www.lionelsawkins.co.uk/, which we failed to cite in the news item published in our previous issue.


THE DOCTOR AND THE APOTHECARY.

A Musical Entertainment.

IN TWO ACTS.

BY JAMES COBB, ESQ.

CORRECTLY GIVEN,

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With Remarks.

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Title page of the libretto of *The Doctor and the Apothecary*, by James Cobb (London, *c.* 1815). Stephen Storace's intervention in the performance of the music for this work, which he composed, occasioned sharp criticism in *The Morning Herald* for Monday 27 October 1788. This incident forms the basis of Peter Holman's article on page 18.

William Boyce and the Orchestra: The Original Performing Material of the Court Odes

FIONA EILA SMITH

William Boyce (1711-1779) was one of the foremost English composers of his time, holding during the course of his career several important musical posts in London. He was Master of the King's Musick from 1755 until his death;[1] his duties included setting to music the twice-yearly odes celebrating the New Year and the king's birthday. The texts for the odes were written by the current poet laureate (Colley Cibber from the start of Boyce's tenure until 1758 and William Whitehead from 1758) and set by Boyce for chorus, orchestra and various combinations of soloists. The performers were provided by the choir of the Chapel Royal and the King's Band of Musick, supplemented by supernumeraries. The odes were normally performed during the drawing rooms frequently held by the king (those served by Boyce were George II and George III), which usually took place in the Great Council Chamber of St James's Palace, on both his birthday and New Year's day.[2] These Boyce court odes, held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, provide an uncommonly rich resource for research into contemporary performance practice, as not only the autograph scores but also the sets of loose-leaf orchestral and vocal parts survive (see Table 1).[3] They were used in the court performances and are seemingly nearly complete. Peggy Ellen Daub comments that it is unlikely that many of the vocal parts have been lost (and the same is true of the instrumental parts), as most of the odes are consistent with ode no. 6 (New Year, 1758).[4] The parts for this ode were copied as normal but the performance cancelled after the death of Princess Caroline: presumably there was little chance for parts to go missing before binding.

Loose-leaf parts, where they can be linked to a particular occasion, are among the most valuable resources for studying contemporary orchestral performance practice. Part books, such as those used in theatres, were intended for multiple performances. Printed parts (or scores) were almost by definition not produced for a particular occasion, and even if they have clearly been used in performance, they cannot normally be linked to a particular occasion. Manuscript scores were often professionally copied to form part of a library. Even if a manuscript score is autograph and was used in performance, it will not yield as much information as the orchestral parts used at the same time. For example, Boyce's instrumental and vocal parts give information about the number of players and singers on a line (such information is often impossible to obtain elsewhere), and frequently also give the names of the soloists, section leaders and other instrumentalists. Single instrumental and vocal parts are, however, more easily lost or destroyed than scores. More have survived on the Continent than in Britain: to list two examples roughly contemporary with Boyce, the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden holds many sets of manuscript parts used by the court orchestra there,[5] and large numbers of vocal and instrumental parts associated with J. S. Bach's performances of his Leipzig cantatas have also survived.[6]

Illustration 1: William Boyce: engraving from a drawing by J. K. Sherwin.

The situation in London was different: large numbers of orchestral parts copied for the theatres were burnt in the fires that destroyed the King's Theatre in 1789, the Pantheon in 1791, Covent Garden in 1808 and Drury Lane in 1809,[7] and few seem to survive that can be linked to court performances. Surviving manuscript orchestral parts for theatre works include the settings of Pepusch's *Venus and Adonis* (1715), *Peleus and Thetis* by both Boyce (*c.* 1736) and William Hayes (probably 1749), and William Shield's *Rosina* (1782).[8] There might have seemed little reason to keep the loose-leaf parts prepared for occasions such as court odes, which were normally only performed once. No orchestral parts survive for the court odes written by Boyce's predecessor Maurice Greene; indeed, in many cases the odes themselves have not survived.[9] The same is true of his successor John Stanley. Boyce, however, was meticulous in his keeping of records; it seems to have been he who collected scores and parts together, had them bound, and numbered and sometimes annotated them.

The size of the King's Band while under Boyce's direction has already been the subject of debate by, among others, Finzi, Ford and Cudworth.[10] The band officially numbered twenty-four throughout the years of Boyce's tenure (although the *Court and City Register* lists twenty-five names in the years 1774 to 1779).[11] This is unhelpful regarding the court odes, as the lists do not state who played which instrument. Also, extra performers were often hired to increase the numbers and probably also the standard. Foreign-born musicians, often the best, were precluded from serving either in the King's Band or the Chapel Royal.[12] Presumably they could, though, be hired as supernumeraries. One such was possibly the double bass player John Frederick (or John Christian) Zuckert.[13] Zuckert is named several times in the bass parts of Boyce's odes (see Table 2) although he is not listed in the *Court and City Register* for the corresponding years.

Cudworth quotes an orchestra list on a score of 1761 that he does not further identify, giving an orchestra size of thirty in total, divided as follows: '6 first violins, 6 seconds, 2 violas, 3 cellos, 3 basses, 2 bassoons, 4 oboes, 2 trumpets and drums'.[14] Finzi estimates six each of first and second violins, two or three violas and two or three each of cellos and double basses. These, he says, are averages based on tables of the orchestra given by Boyce 'on several occasions'. However, he gives no further details except to say that the number of strings varies.[15] As both Finzi and Ford comment, Finzi's estimates tally with the evidence from the parts of the odes. Two or three parts each were normally copied for the first and second violins (the number of parts copied was three each between 1756 and 1762). Parts were time-consuming to copy, and there is evidence that players shared them. The violinists Joshua Thompson and Edward Gibbs shared a stand twice in 1755 and 1756 and wrote their names on their music.[16] Ford notes that 'A first violin part for ode 34, while marked with the single name of 'Mr. Brown', contains the music for both solo violins for the second movement of the overture; these solos do not appear in the other parts' – which means that both soloists came from the first violins.[17] An estimate of twelve violins, then, would seem reasonable. However, an orchestra list pencilled in Boyce's writing on the back of a second violin part to the Birthday Ode for 1769 runs as follows:

Tenor [i.e. violas]	3
Bass[oons]	3
Hautboy	5
Trump[et]	3
Violins	19
Doub[le bass]	3
Violonc[ello]	3
Drum	1
Organ	1
	41

Table 1: William Boyce's Court Odes[46]

Ode No.	First Line	Occasion	Year	Bodleian Source
1	Pierian Sisters, hail the Morn	Birthday	1755	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.298[abc]
2	When Caesar's natal day	Birthday	1756	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.299[abc]
3	Hail, hail, auspicious day	New Year	1756	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.300[abc]
4	While Britain in her Monarch blest	New Year	1757	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.301[abc]
5	Rejoice, ye Britons	Birthday	1757	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.302[abc]
6	Behold, the circle forms!	New Year	1758	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.303[abc]
7	When Othbert left th'Italian Plain	Birthday	1758	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.304[abc]
8	Ye guardian Powers	New Year	1759	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.305[abc]
9	Begin the Song, -ye subject Quires	Birthday	1759	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.306[abc]
10	Again the Sun's revolving Sphere	New Year	1760	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.307[abc]
11	Still must the Muse	New Year	1761	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.308[abc]
12	'Twas at the nectar'd Feast	Birthday	1761	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.309[abc]
13	God of Slaughter, quit the Scene	New Year	1762	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.310[abc]
14	Go, Flora	Birthday	1762	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.311[abc]
15	At length th'imperious Lord of War	New Year	1763	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.312[abc]
16	Common Births, like common things	Birthday	1763	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.313[abc]
17	To wedded Love the Song shall flow	Birthday	1764	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.314[abc]
18	Sacred to thee, O Commerce	New Year	1765	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.315[abc]
19	Hail to the rosy Morn	Birthday	1765	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.316[abc]
20	When first the rude o'erpeopled North	New Year	1767	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.317[abc]
21	Hail to the Man	Birthday	1766	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.318[abc]
22	Friend to the Poor!	Birthday	1767	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.319[abc]
23	Let the Voice of music breathe	New Year	1768	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.320[abc]
24	Prepare your Songs of praise	Birthday	1768	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.321[abc]
25	Patron of Arts!	Birthday	1769	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.322[abc]
26	Forward, Janus, turn thine eyes	New Year	1770	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.323[abc]
27	Discord, hence!	Birthday	1770	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.324[abc]
28	Again returns the circ'ling Year	New Year	1771	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.325[abc]
29	Long did the churlish East	Birthday	1771	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.326[abc]
30	At length the fleeting year	New Year	1772	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.327[abc]
31	From scenes of death	Birthday	1772	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.328[abc]
32	Wrapt in Stole of sable grain	New Year	1773	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.329[abc]
33	Born for millions	Birthday	1773	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.330[abc]
34	Pass but a few short fleeting years	New Year	1774	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.331[abc]
35	Hark! Or does the Muse's Ear	Birthday	1774	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.332[abc]
36	Ye Powers, Who rule o'er states & Kings	Birthday	1775	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.333[abc]
37	On the white rocks	New Year	1776	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.334[abc]
38	Ye Western Gales	Birthday	1776	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.335[abc]
39	Again imperial Winter's Sway	New Year	1777	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.336[abc]
40	Driven out from Heav'n's etherial domes	Birthday	1777	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.337[abc]
41	When rival nations	New Year	1778	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.338[abc]
42	Arm'd with her native force	Birthday	1778	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.339[abc]
43	To arms, to arms	New Year	1779	MSS. Mus. Sch. d.340[abc]

Table 2: Instrumentalists named in the orchestral parts

Ode	Year	Part / Name[47]
1	1755	Violino Primo Brown Violino Primo / Thompson & Gibbs Vio: 2do: F[roud?]
2	1756	Vio: 1mo Principal. / Mr. Brown Vio: 2do: / Thompson
3	1756	1st Hautboy ['Mr. Thos. Vincent' overleaf] No. 1. / 1st Violin B[rown?]. / Continuo 2d Violin F[roud?]. 2d Violin / Thompson & Gibbs
4	1757	No. 4- New Year 1757 / Mr. Brown / Violino Primo / Principal. Vio: Primo / Nicholson Vio: 2do: / G[ibbs?]
5	1757	Violino Primo / Repieno [*sic.*] / Nicholson
6	1758	No names (unperformed)
7	1758	First Violin / Mr. Brown Second Violin / Mr. Froud
8	1759	1st Violin / Mr. Brown 2d. Violin / Mr. Froud
9	1759	Princapal [*sic.*] 1st Violin / Mr. Brown 2d Violin / Mr. Froud
10	1760	1st. Violin / Mr. Brown 2d. Violin / Mr. Froud
11	1761	First Violin / Mr. Brown
12	1761	First Violin / Jones
13	1762	1st. Violin / Mr. Brown
14	1762	First Violin / Mr. Brown Second Violin / Mr. Froud Double Bass / Mr. Zuckhart
15	1763	First Violin / Mr. Brown Second Violin / Mr. Froud Double Bass / Mr. Zuckhart [corrected to 'Zuckert' in pencil]
16	1763	First Violin / Mr. Brown Second Violin / Mr. Froud
17	1764	In both oboe parts: 'Mr. Simpson to play the following on the Hautboy, singly, as a second to Mr. Tho: Vincent' [the music for Thomas Vincent's part is missing] Double Bass / Mr. Zuckhart
18	1765	Mr. Brown / Violino Primo Violoncello / Terry
19	1765	First Violin. / Brown First Violin /Jones
20	1767	First Violin / Mr. Brown Second Violin / Mr. Froud
21	1766	First Violin / Mr. Brown
22	1767	First Violin / Mr. Brown
23	1768	First Violin / Principal / Mr. Brown
24	1768	First Violin / Mr. Brown
25	1769	Violino Primo / Brown Double Bass / Mr. Zukart [corrected to 'Zukert'] / Mr. Scola
26	1770	First Violin / Mr. Brown
27	1770	First Violin / Mr. Brown
28	1771	Principal / First Violin / Mr. Brown
29	1771	First Violin / Mr. Brown
30	1772	First Violin / Mr. Brown Second Violin / Mr. Smart
31	1772	First Violin / Mr. Brown
32	1773	[Vln. 1] Mr. Brown [Vln. 2] Mr. Smart Double Bass / Mr. Lambourne Double Bass / Mr. Zuckhert
33	1773	First Violin / Mr. Brown Double Bass / Mr. Lambourne Double Bass / Mr. Zuckhert
34	1774	First Violin / Mr. Brown
35	1774	First Violin / Mr. Brown

Ode	Year	Part / Name
36	1775	[In oboe 1] M^{r}. Vincent plays this – Take the Second Hautboy. [In oboe 2] M^{r}. Parke to play this Andante
37	1776	First Violin / M^{r}. Brown Double Bass / M^{r}. Zuckhert
38	1776	First Violin / M^{r}. Brown Smart [partially erased] / Second Violin
39	1777	First Violin / M^{r}. Brown
40	1777	First Violin / M^{r}. Brown
41	1778	No names
42	1778	No names
43	1779	First Violin / M^{r}. Rawlings Second Violin / M^{r}. Smart Double Bass / M^{r}. Zuckert

Possibly the orchestra was unusually big in 1769, but the large number of violins does not tally with anybody's estimates or with the extant parts for that year, of which there are three each as usual. If this list was among those that Finzi saw, this raises the question as to whether his twelve violins were a modal average or whether the nineteen in 1769 were balanced out by a much lower number in some years. Were the violinists in 1769 reading three to a part, or did not all of them play? If the high number was unusual, why were more parts not copied, or are more missing than we suppose? The list also provides one of only two references to an organ amongst the scores and parts: the keyboard parts are without exception labelled 'harpsichord'.[18] It is of course possible that the list does not refer to the players available for that year's ode, but was simply written on the nearest piece of paper to hand.

Whatever its size, the King's Band seems to have altered little during its quarter of a century under Boyce's direction. Typically, he scored for violins in two parts, viola and continuo, two oboes or transverse flutes, two trumpets and drums or two horns. Neither horns nor flutes are mentioned in the above-quoted list; Ford suggests that the horn players were hired from outside the band.[19] There is little evidence to show whether the trumpet players could have doubled the horn parts, but the trumpeters and the horn players did not share parts on the one occasion when they were used together, in the Birthday Ode for 1761. The missing flautists are easily explained: it is clear that the oboists doubled on transverse flutes when the instrument was required. It was standard practice not to hire separate instrumentalists to play the flute: the instrument was regarded more as a 'special effect' instrument that was not required to play very frequently compared to the violins or even the oboes. As they were little required, both the transverse flute and the 'common flute' (recorder) were second instruments for many professional oboists, who could not earn a living from flute playing alone.[20]

That the oboists doubled on flutes in Boyce's odes is confirmed by the fact that, on every occasion, the flute parts are written into the oboe parts [Illus. 2]. This doubling is not required in every ode, and in those in which the flutes are used, the oboes are used more frequently. Gerald Finzi comments that the lack of a written oboe part in some movements does not prove that they were not also used to, say, double the violins.[21] This question has also been thoroughly addressed by Frederic Ford, who notes that the surviving parts in the Bodleian are not complete, and that this is particularly noticeable in the case of the oboe parts.[22] Ford observes that four oboists seem to have doubled the two oboe parts; this fits with the four oboes in the orchestra list of 1769.[23] In the New Year Ode for 1768, the two extant oboe parts show that the two oboists were required to play flutes for the aria 'Poets should be Prophets too' (only one flute line is shown in the score, but according to the parts the second flute doubles for the tutti sections). An oboe line is also given for this aria in the score, but is not written into any of the parts and by whom it was played is unclear. The same happens in the Birthday Ode for the same year, in the duet 'Our fields a living increase breathe'.

Among Boyce's oboists were Thomas Vincent (named in the oboe parts for 1756, 1764 and1775; see Table 2 and Illus. 2) and 'Mr Simpson' (named in 1764, Illus. 2), probably the Redmond Simpson mentioned by William Parke in his memoirs.[24] Both were well-known. Thomas Vincent had been a pupil of Guiseppe Sammartini, and Redmond Simpson was described in his obituary (he died in 1787 at the age of 57) as 'for many years the first performer on the hautboy in this kingdom'.[25] In the 1775 Birthday Ode, one oboist is named as 'Mr Parke'. The Parke brothers William and John were both well-known oboists: whichever is referred to here seems to have played together with Thomas Vincent, who is also named. They both seem to have doubled on the flute on this occasion. One wonders how well matched they were, given that the Parke brothers cultivated the new style of oboe playing brought over from

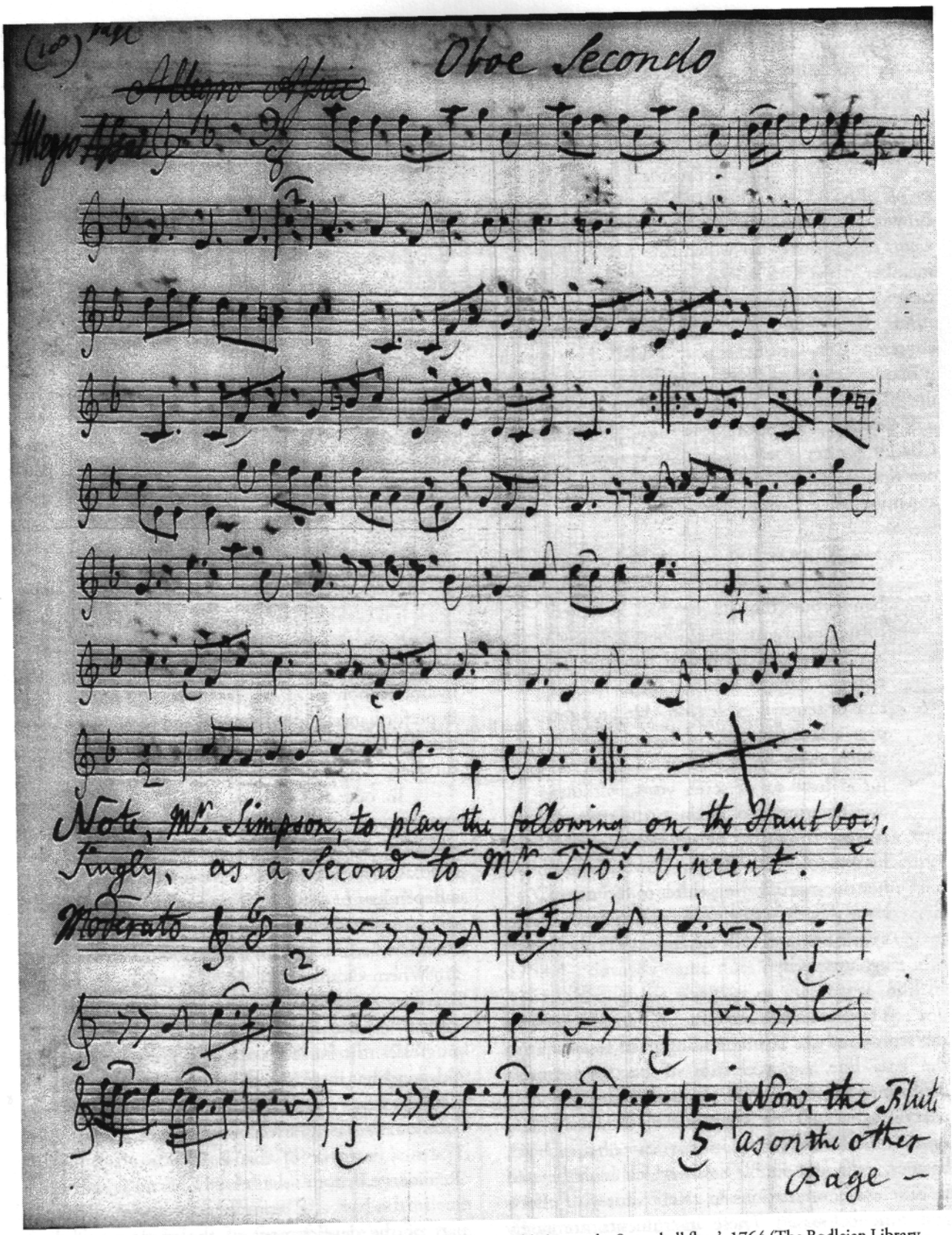


Illustration 2: A page from the second oboe part from ode no. 17, 'To wedded Love the Song shall flow', 1764 (The Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Mus. Sch. d. 314c).

Germany by Johann Christian Fischer in the late 1760s.[26] In his memoirs, William Parke was dismissive of the prevailing style of English oboe playing before Fischer's arrival, naming Vincent and Simpson as being among its exponents.[27] However, Parke's memoirs are frequently unreliable.

Boyce's principal violinist is frequently named as 'M^{r}. Brown' (see Table 2). That this was Abraham Brown, the well-known violinist, is confirmed in the *Court and City Register* which lists 'Abr. Browne' as a member of the King's Band for the entirety of Boyce's career. According to the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, Brown does not seem to be mentioned in contemporary documents after 1768.[28] However, he is frequently named in the orchestral parts to the odes until 1777 and, as already stated, appears in the *Court and City Register* after this date. The music historian Charles Burney provides us with a rather damning description of both Brown's character and his abilities as a musician:

> MR ABRAM BROWN ... had a clear, sprightly, and loud tone, with a strong hand; but though he had travelled through Italy, he was ignorant of Music, and the pieces he played consisted of notes, *et rien que des notes*: for he had no soul or sense of expression. He brought over a favourite solo of Tartini ... with which alone he figured at all concerts, for at least six or seven years, without ever entering into Tartini's true style of playing it, or that of any performer of his school. Mr. Brown, however, had not the mortification either to feel or to know his defects; but, on the contrary, was comforted with a full conviction of his superiority.[29]

There are some important differences between the scores and the corresponding parts, especially in the bass line. Boyce's use of bass instruments conformed to the normal practice of the period in that the same bass line was played by several different types of instrument – in his case harpsichord, bassoon, cello and double bass – which could be used in different combinations to give a variety of effects and tone colours.[30] These instruments are rarely differentiated in Boyce's full scores. His orchestral parts, however, give an exact record of how he treated these instruments and in what combinations he used them, in a way that is rare in eighteenth-century English music. It is important to note that reconstructing Boyce's intentions from the *solo*, *tutti*, *piano* and *forte* markings in the full score would not give the scoring that appears in the bass parts. For example, in some numbers, notably arias for the treble soloists, the bassoons and some other bass instruments are absent in the parts, though the score is not necessarily marked 'senza bassoni' at the corresponding point. In the treble aria 'Thus possessing' (ode no. 4, 1757), the part labelled 'Violonc^{o}: e' Contrabasso' doubles the bass line with the harpsichord throughout (although it is not clear whether both the cello and the contrabass played), but the second violoncello part and the bassoon part show that these instruments only played in the ritornelli between the verses.

Especially in the earlier odes, the bassoons seldom appear in the scores. They are indicated only when they do something other than doubling the bass line [Illus. 3]. According to the parts, however, they were used frequently (see Tables 3-5 for Boyce's treatment of bass instruments in his first three court odes). In the bass aria 'Or, if this happier youngest year' of ode no. 3 (see Table 5), the bassoons play only in the *forte* sections when doubling the bass line, but at some points they double the voice instead. This is not shown in the score, while in the bassoon part-book it takes the form of sections pasted over and re-copied: presumably this represents Boyce's second thoughts. This could mean that, on this occasion and by implication on others, the score itself was not used in performance; indeed there would be no need, given that in almost all cases a figured harpsichord part survives.

In ode no. 4 (New Year 1757), there is an arrangement similar to that in ode no. 3 (see Table 5), with the difference that there are definitely at least two bassoons this time: in the two bars where they are independent of the bass, they are written in two parts and are notated in the score.[31] Other evidence for this includes the first page of the bassoon part to ode no. 7, 'When Othbert left' (1758), where 'Note, the Bassoons are desired to play only in the Fortes' is written in Boyce's hand. As the series of odes progresses, the bassoons are used more frequently as independent instruments, doubling the viola or playing small sections of bass line alone and occasionally being used as obbligato instruments. The first instance of this is in ode no. 5 (1757) 'Rejoice, ye Britons': the bassoon has a solo obbligato line in the bass aria 'From hence to ages'. This was part of the development of the modern orchestra. Wind instruments were beginning to have specially written parts instead of those that routinely doubled one of the string lines.[32]

The solo movements in the odes were sung by a team of three to five soloists taken, with one exception, from the choir of the Chapel Royal. The one exception was the famous theatre tenor John Beard (*c.*1716-1791), who sang in many of the odes

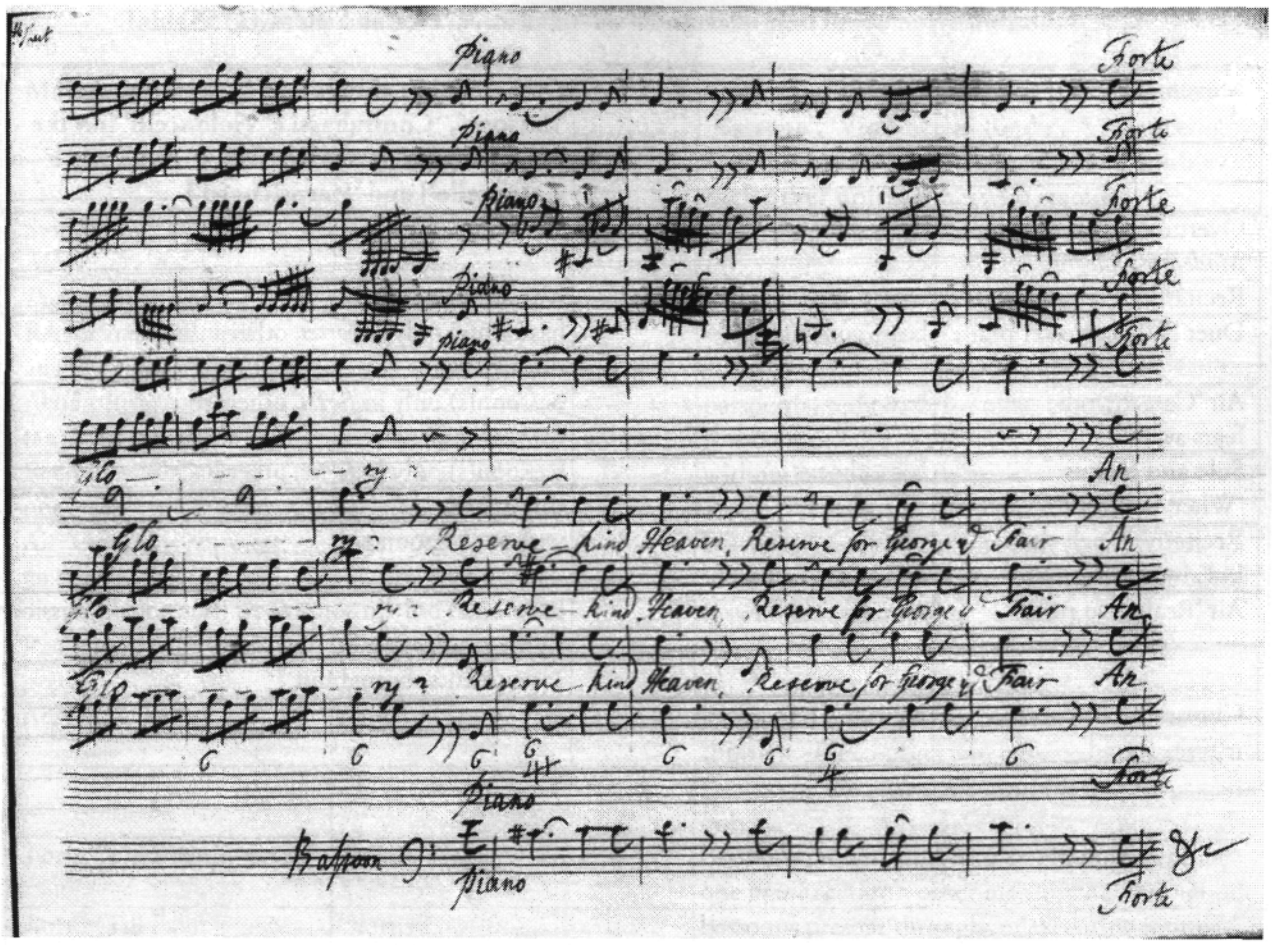


Illustration 3: A page from the score of ode no. 2, 'When Caesar's natal day', 1756 (The Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Mus. Sch. d. 299a).

and is listed in the *Court and City Register* and *Court and City Kalendar* from 1765 until at least 1780 as 'Vocal Performer Extraordinary' in the King's Band at a salary of £100 per year.[33] The soloists were joined in the choruses by the rest of, or part of the rest of, the Choir of the Chapel Royal, which numbered twenty-six Gentlemen and ten Children:[34] the number of chorus parts copied for each ode between 1755 and 1761 was between nine (unusually low in 1761) and sixteen (unusually high in 1757), roughly equally divided between treble, 'contratenor', tenor and bass. The trebles, at least, must have shared parts on some occasions: in odes 21, 27 and 31 two treble soloists shared one part.[35] This is in contrast to practice in Germany, where certainly until J. S. Bach's death (only five years before the first of Boyce's court odes was composed) there is no evidence that singers shared parts in concerted music.[36] Between 1755 and 1760 the standard team of soloists named on the vocal parts was Thomas Baildon ('contratenor'), John Beard (tenor), William Savage (bass) and Robert Wass (bass).[37] Sometimes there were parts for one or two solo boys, who are never named. In 1760, Wass was replaced for the following three years by Hugh Cox (both died in 1764) and at about the same time Baildon (who died in 1762) was replaced by 'Cooper' or 'Cowper' (I would suggest that they were the same person, though Ford lists them separately), who seems to have also deputised for him in the Birthday Ode of 1758.[38] Savage's name does not appear again after 1765, although he was part of the chapel until his death in 1789. For the next three years, the solo group seems to have consisted of one or two trebles, never named, plus Beard and Cooper.

The last mention of John Beard is as tenor soloist in the New Year Ode for 1768; in the Birthday Ode later that year, the solo tenor was Philip Hayes. Beard would have then been 52. According to Roger Fiske, '[Beard's] last [theatre] appearance was as Hawthorne on 23 May 1767. By then he was going deaf. That summer, he sold his share in Covent Garden and retired to a comfortable house in Hampton near Garrick's'.[39] Beard's participation in the New Year Ode the following year postdates this – was it his last performance? If the *Court and City Register* is correct, he was still drawing a salary as 'Vocal Performer in Ordinary' in the early 1780s.[40] In around 1773, the bass Richard Bellamy joined the

Table 3: Boyce's use of bass instruments in ode No. 1, 'Pierian Sisters' (1755)

Movement	**Voice**	**Orchestration of bass line (3 parts, labelled 'Bassoon', 'Contrabassi e' Violoncelli' [on the inner leaf this part is labelled 'contrabasso e' violoncello'] and 'Harpsichord')**
Overture: *Allegro, Moderato, Allegro*	————	all
Recitative 'Pierian Sisters'	bass	without bassoon(s)
Duet 'What sweeter praise'	bass, 'contratenor'	bassoon(s) only in *fortes*, other instruments throughout
Air 'Cast then the cares fears away'	bass	bassoon(s) only in *fortes*, other instruments and throughout
Solo and chorus 'When her pride'	bass, chorus	bassoon(s) only in *fortes*, other instruments throughout
Recitative 'Such were in Edward's days'	tenor	without bassoon(s)
Air 'Realms so rul'd'	tenor	bassoon(s) only in some *fortes* (but not all: possibly this was a mistake on the copyist's part), other instruments throughout
Chorus 'To distant regions round'	chorus	all

Table 4: Boyce's use of bass instruments in ode No. 2, 'When Caesar's Natal Day' (1756)

Movement	**Voice**	**Orchestration of bass line (3 parts, labelled 'Bassoon', 'Violoncello e' Contrabasso' and 'Harpsichord'; these double each other unless otherwise stated)**
Symphony: *Allegro assai, Vivace, Minuet presto allegro*	————	all
Recitative 'When Caesar's natal day'	bass	without bassoon(s)
Arioso / Recitative 'If length of life' / 'In Europe then'	bass	without bassoon(s)
Trio 'Such high distinction'	bass, tenor, contratenor	bassoon(s) only in *fortes*, other instruments throughout
Recitative 'Not in great Edward's days renown'd'	bass	without bassoon(s)
Air 'Thus lives to Britons dear'	bass	bassoon(s) only in *fortes*, other instruments ever throughout
Chorus 'Thus lives to Britons ever dear'	chorus	bassoon(s) double instrumental bass line only in *fortes* (sometimes double bass voices at other times), other instruments throughout
Recitative and air 'What once has been'	tenor	without bassoon(s)
Air 'Refulgent thus in Caesar's line'	tenor	bassoon(s) only in *fortes*, other instruments throughout
Solo and chorus 'In days so blest'	tenor, chorus	all (but without bassoon(s) during tenor solo)

Table 5: Boyce's use of bass instruments in ode No. 3, 'Hail, hail, auspicious day' (1756)

Movement	Voice	Orchestration of bass line (4 parts, labelled 'Bassoon', 'Violoncello Rep^{o}:', 'Violoncello. Continuo' and 'Harpsichord'; these double each other unless otherwise stated)
Symphony: *Allegro, Moderato e' dolce, Piano sempre, allegro*	————	all
Recitative 'Hail, hail, auspicious day'	bass	without bassoon(s)
Air 'In Rome when fam'd Augustus	bass	bassoon(s) only in *fortes*, other instruments throughout
Recitative 'Shall then our layes'	bass	without bassoon(s)
Air 'Or, if this happiest, youngest year'	bass	bassoon(s) double bass line only in *fortes* (but sometimes double voice in other sections), other instruments throughout
Recitative 'Such is the praise'	without bassoon(s) tenor	
Air 'Annual aids'	tenor	bassoon(s) only in *fortes*, other instruments throughout excepting two passages marked *soli* (played by the *violoncello continuo* and harpsichord only)
Chorus 'Thus happy years'	chorus	bassoons present almost throughout (excepting one *piano* section), other instruments throughout
Chorus 'Till Fame confesst'	chorus	bassoons present throughout excepting four has piano sections, in which the phrases are stated with only the cellos and harpsichord playing continuo, and then repeated with the addition of the bassoons (both cello parts play throughout, including the phrases marked *soli* in the score and in the *violoncello continuo* part: these are not marked as such in the *violoncello repieno* part. Possibly this was a copyist's mistake.)

solo group, as did the countertenor John Dyne or Dines in 1774. Another tenor named Wood joined in 1776, after which Bellamy is no longer mentioned. This group, comprising Dyne, Hayes and Wood, sang the solos in Boyce's last ode, for the New Year 1779. This ode was performed as normal, though Boyce died shortly afterwards, on 7 February. The sets of parts are, unusually, incomplete.

Boyce's Funeral Anthem for George II, 'The Souls of the Righteous' (1760), though not belonging to the series of court odes, is interesting for the light it sheds on performance practice. The anthem is scored for five-part chorus and an orchestra that is seemingly much larger than normal, unless more parts than we suppose are missing from the court ode sets. As with the court odes, the autograph score and sets of vocal and instrumental parts used in the performance of the Funeral Anthem (on November 11, 1760), are preserved in the Bodleian Library.[41] The exact numbers involved in this performance are detailed in a list on the front page of the organ part [Illus. 4].[42] The left-hand numbers in the list are in a different hand and seem to represent the number of parts that have survived from the complete set represented by the right-hand numbers, and not, as John R. van Nice suggests, the actual number of performers who took part compared to the expected number, or compared to a theoretical ideal number of performers.[43] That the list refers to the number of parts copied and not to the number of performers can be shown by looking at, for example, the violin parts. The list gives a total of eight first violin parts, of which seven have survived, six with the names of two players written on the covers. Thus, though four parts each were copied for the bassoons, cellos and double basses, the bass section was probably much bigger: the two surviving bassoon parts each give two names.

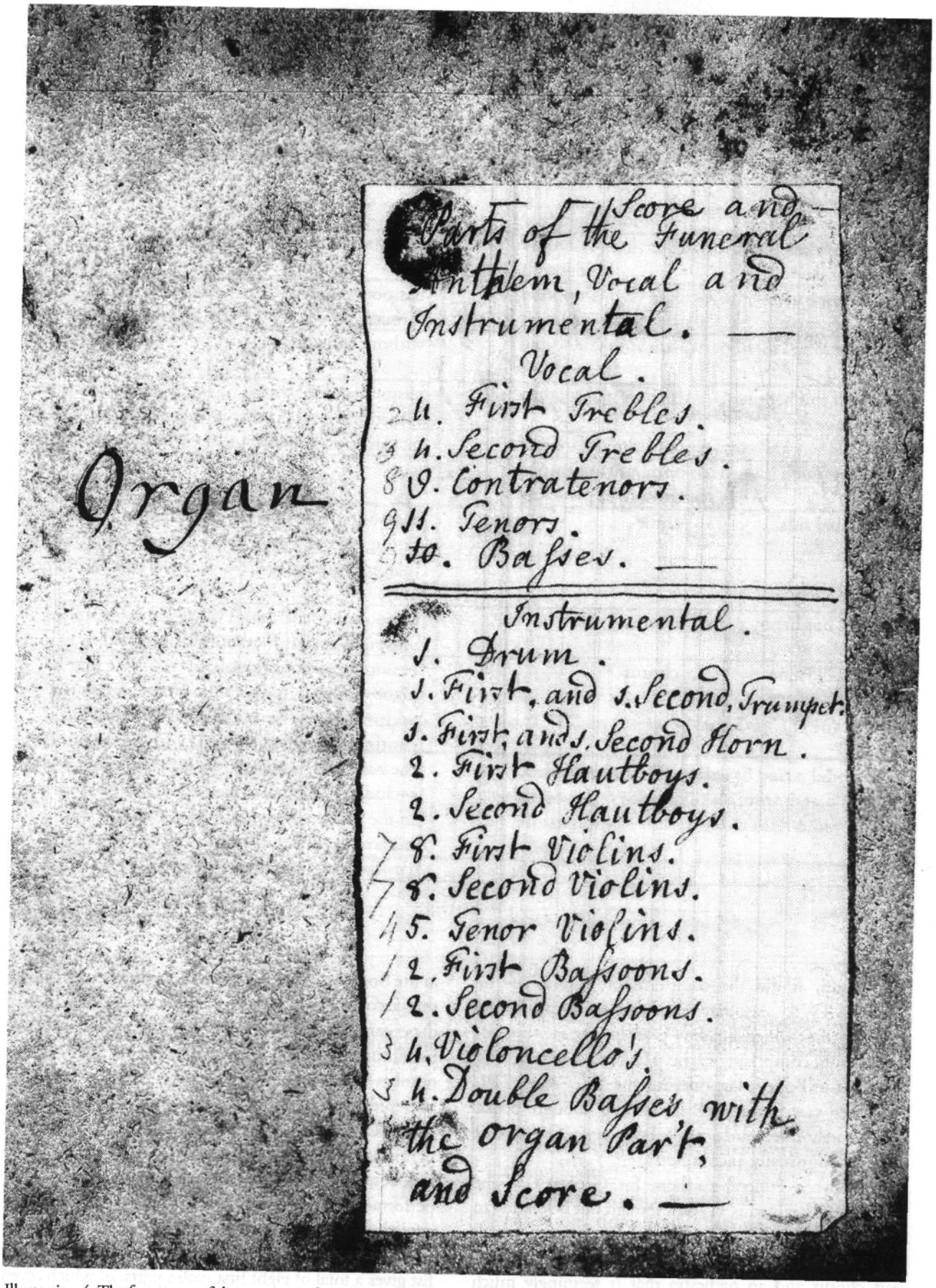


Illustration 4: The front page of the organ part from Boyce: 'The Souls of the Righteous', Funeral Anthem for George II, 1760 (The Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Mus. Sch. c.115b).

The surviving orchestral parts for the Funeral Anthem are unusual in that many of the instrumentalists have written their names on the covers: possibly they wanted it recorded that they had taken part in this performance. One stand at least was shared by three players: one 'tenor viol.' (viola) part has 'Morgan / Bennett / & Willis' written on the cover. 'Morgan' was probably George Morgan and 'Bennett' probably John Bennett, both described in the records of the Royal Society of Musicians as violists in the king's and queen's bands respectively in the early 1760s.[44]

Amongst the vocal parts, many of those for the adult voices have the name of a single performer (see Table 6). Those named in the alto or 'contratenor' section (Boyce's term), for example, included Cowper, Baildon, Barrow, Vandernan, the Rev. Bayley and Hague. That so many vocal parts have survived for the Funeral Anthem suggests that Boyce probably only used half of the Chapel Royal choir when performing the court odes. This would make sense, given that the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal served on a rota system: with the exception of the children, who served continuously, only half the choir was on duty at any one time. However, the choir was clearly reinforced with some outside singers for the Funeral Anthem, as the list [Illus. 4] gives a total of 30 'contratenors', tenors and basses, four more than the number officially comprising the Choir of the Chapel Royal.[45]

While the Boyce material does not alter radically our understanding of contemporary performance practice, it does enable us to get a good idea of the size of the orchestra and choir used in the performances and the numbers of players and singers on each line. The names of some instrumentalists and singers are found in the parts, along with such details of orchestration as the amendments to the ode 'Hail, hail auspicious day', which would be lost to us had we only the evidence of the scores. There is also evidence that both instrumentalists and singers shared parts. More important is the fact that the odes are a concrete example of an eighteenth-century English composer's treatment of his bass instruments. We know which instruments played continuo, how many there were, and how they were used, rather than making an educated guess based on a general knowledge of contemporary performance practice. This should be borne in mind when dealing with scores from this era for which the parts do not survive. Most eighteenth-century English concerted music survives only in score. It is tempting, when looking at such works, to assume that the score represents the work in its entirety, in line with modern practice. So far as orchestration is concerned, Boyce's court odes are a reminder that this may not be the case.

The author wishes to thank Peter Holman for his help and advice in the preparation of this article.

Table 6: Singers and Instrumentalists listed in the Funeral Anthem 'The Souls of the Righteous' (1760)

Part (total number of copies surviving in brackets)	**Information recorded on covers**
Treble 1 (2)	No names
Treble 2 (3)	No names
Alto (8)	Alto / M^{r}. Cowper Alto / M^{r}. Baildon Alto / M^{r}. Barrow Alto [erased] Alto / M^{r}. [erased] Alto / M^{r}: Vandernan Alto / Rev^{d}. M^{r}. Bayley M^{r}. Hague / Alto
Tenor (9)	Tenor / M^{r}. Baildon Tenore / M^{r}. Hudson Tenore / Rev^{d}. M^{r}. Gibbon[s?] Tenore / M^{r}. Mattocks M^{r}. Bryan / Tenor Tenore / M^{r}. Long Tenore / M^{r}. Ward Tenore / M^{r}. Coster Tenore / M^{r}. Ladd

Table 6: Singers and Instrumentalists listed in the Funeral Anthem 'The Souls of the Righteous' (1760) ***continued***

Part (total number of copies surviving in brackets)	**Information recorded on covers**
Bass (9)	M^{r}. Simkinson / Bass Bass / M^{r}.Jennings Bass / M^{r}. Waltz M^{r}. Wheatly / Bass Bass / M^{r}. Mathias Bass / M^{r}. Savage Bass / M^{r}. Howard Bass / M^{r}. Cox
Trumpet 1 (1)	No names
Trumpet 2 (1)	No names
Horn 1 (1)	No names
Horn 2 (1)	No names
Drums (1)	No names
Oboe 1 (2)	1st oboe- / Vincent
Oboe 2 (2)	No names
Violin 1 (7)	M^{r}. Jackson / Stayner / Violino Primo First Violin + / M^{rr}. Hodson and C. Lampe Violino Primo + / Courtuss [Comtuss?] & Stainer Violino Primo / Freake [?] & Reeves First Violin / Brown / Collett N^{o} 3. /Violino Primo / Wood & / Hacksame
Violin 2 (7)	Violino 2do. / M^{r}. Peat [?] / M^{r}. Rawlings
Viola (4)	Viola + / Stockton Tenor Viol / Morgan / Bennett / & / Willis Tenor Viol.- / Beal & Scovell
Bassoon 1 (1)	Mess^{rs}. Miller & Baumgarden / 1st Bassoon
Bassoon 2 (1) / Tuesday. Nov^{r} 11th 1760	Mess^{rs}. Macfarland & / Chapman / 2^{d}. Bassoon
Cello (3)	No names
Double Bass (3)	No names
Organ (1)	No name

1 He was not actually sworn in until June 1757. See Ian Bartlett and Robert J.Bruce, 'Boyce, William', *Grove Music Online* [*GMO*] ed. L. Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com.

2 For a fuller account of the practices surrounding the odes' performance, see Rosamond McGuinness, 'A Fine Song on Occasion of the Day Was Sung', *Music & Letters*, 50/2 (April 1969), 290-295.

3 William Boyce, Court Odes 1-43, composed 1755-1779: Bodleian MSS. Mus. Sch. d.298abc-d.340abc. The manuscripts for each ode consist of (a) the full score, (b) the vocal parts and (c) the instrumental parts.

4 Peggy Ellen Daub, 'Music at the Court of George II (R. 1727-1760)', Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1985, 141.

5 Richard Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* (Woodbridge, 2004), Part II: 1725-1750: Chapter 8, 'Germany', 166-199.

6 Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir* (Woodbridge, 2000).

7 Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973), 581; Robert D. Hume, 'London (i), §V, 1: Musical Life: 1660-1800: The Stage', *GMO*.

8 Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 585-590.

9 Rosamond McGuinness, *English Court Odes 1660-1820* (Oxford, 1971).

10 William Boyce, *Overtures*, ed. Gerald Finzi (Musica Britannica 13, 1956), Introduction; Frederic H. Ford, 'The Court Odes of William Boyce (1711-1779)', Ph.D. thesis, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1990; Charles Cudworth, 'Masters of the Musick', *The Musical Times*, 107 no. 1482 (August 1966), 676-7.

11 John Spitzer, and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford, 2004) 276-278; *The Court and City Register* (1754-5, 1760, 1762, 1764-5, 1771-2, 1774-5, 1777-9).

12 Spitzer and Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, 276-278.

13 The membership lists of the Royal Society of Musicians give both possibilities, seemingly for the same man. See Betty Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: List of Members 1738-1984* (London, The Royal Society of Musicians, 1985).

14 Cudworth, 'Masters of the Musick'.

15 Boyce ed. Finzi, *Overtures*.

16 Forenames are taken from the *Court and City Register* and *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* [*BDA*], ed. P. H. Highfill, K. A. Burnim and E. A. Langhans (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1973-1993).

17 Ford, 'Court Odes', 212 note 13.

18 Frederic Ford notes that 'In the score for Ode 23 (New Year, 1768), the continuo part for the third movement (treble air) is marked 'senza organo'. This notation is curious; there is no indication in any of the scores or parts that organ was ever used in the odes and the only keyboard parts extant are clearly marked for harpsichord.' (Ford, 'Court Odes', 53 note 17).

19 Ford, 'Court Odes', 205

20 The flautist William Parke's principal instrument was the oboe, as was the case several decades earlier with the recorder player Guiseppe Sammartini.

21 Boyce ed. Finzi, *Overtures*, Introduction.

22 Ford, 'Court Odes', 206-211, 212.

23 Ford, 'Court Odes', 212-213.

24 Parke, William, *Musical Memoirs* (London, 1830), 43.

25 'Simpson, Redmond' and 'Vincent, Thomas', *BDA*, xiv, 94-95 and xv, 176-177.

26 Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 282.

27 Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, I 335.

28 'Brown, Abraham', *BDA*, ii. 361-362.

29 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (1789), ed. Frank Mercer (New York, 1957), ii. 1012-1013.

30 Spitzer and Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, 314-316.

31 In the aria 'Rude and rural', page 8 of the score.

32 Spitzer and Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, 314-316.

33 *Court and City Kalendar* (London, 1765), 82; *Court and City Register* (London, 1780), 73.

34 Daub, 'Music at the Court of George II', 136-160.

35 Ford, 'Court Odes', 206-211.

36 Parrott, *Bach Choir*: the argument over whether Bach's cantatas were normally performed one-to-a-part hinges substantially on whether such evidence exists.

37 Forenames and dates of death are given according to *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, ed. A. Ashbee and J. Harley (Aldershot, 2000).

38 Ralph Cowper was sworn in as Gentleman of the Chapel Royal on 12 January 1758; his death was recorded on 1 February 1772, when John Dyne was sworn into his place (*Cheque Books*, I, 227 and 233). There seems to be no mention of 'Cooper', though possibly he was brought in from the theatre as was John Beard. If the two were the same person, he was singing solos in the odes between 1758 and 1771 (see Ford, 'Court Odes', 217).

39 Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 619. *GMO* and *ODNB* also state that he retired in May 1767 (Victoria Halliwell, 'Beard, John (1716/17-1791)', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [*ODNB*], online at http://www.oxforddnb.com; Winton Dean, 'Beard, John', *GMO*.

40 *The Court and City Register*, 1781.

41 Ms. Mus. Sch. c. 115a, 115b and 115c.

42 Ms. Mus. Sch. c. 115b.

43 William Boyce, *Two Anthems for the Georgian Court*, Part I: 'The Souls of the Righteous', ed. John R. Van Nice (Madison, A-R Editions, Inc., 1970), 5.

44 Betty Matthews and Pippa Drummond, *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: list of members, 1738-1984* (London, 1985), 22, 102.

45 And some singers occasionally held two places concurrently. See Daub, 'Music at the Court of George II', 139.

46 As described on cover of the part unless otherwise indicated.

'Storace's Dictatory Nod': a Frustrated Composer at Drury Lane in 1788

PETER HOLMAN

One of the pleasures of research is that you never know when you are going to stumble on something unexpected. Recently, when searching London newspapers for responses to the death of the painter Thomas Gainsborough, who died on 2 August 1788, I came across the following, printed in *The Morning Herald* for Monday 27 October 1788:

> "SQUIRE MARMADUKE,
> "You have said not a word of the ORCHESTRA, but I hope it comes
> "under your province. I witnessed a violent transgression on Saturday
> "evening at Drury-lane: – a person, whom I understood to be Mr.
> "*Storace*, took his situation on the stage, and by very strange gestures,
> "which threw several of us in the pit into alarm, appeared to be giving
> "the *time* of some of the songs to the leader of the band; – particularly in
> "the duet between Mrs. *Crouch* and *Romanzini*. Now, although Mr.
> "*Storace* may have witnessed the Prompter at the *Opera House*, popping
> "his head through the centre of the stage, I hope you will inform him
> "that such things must be unseemly at an English Theatre, and that even
> "from the wing of the stage, his nodding to the band was intolerable. –
> "Take a *shot* at him, do Master MARKWELL.
>
> Your's, &c.
> FLY-FLAP.

> Mr. STORACE certainly merits censure on the above account; – without dwelling on the disrespect to the audience, it was a public impeachment of the ability of Mr. SHAW, as a leader, who is too skilful a musician to need *Storace's* dictatory nod, even were his pretensions as a composer twice what they are. – I admit that *Giardini* himself might not hit the exact time of a movement, as intended by the writer; – but the action of an arm and head, from the side of the stage to the orchestra, is not the mode by which a band should be regulated. Mr. *Storace*, if he was solicitous for the music in Mr. *Cobb's* new piece, ought to have taken his situation at the harpsichord. – This was Dr. *Arne's* invariable practice, and has been Mr. *Linley's*, where their own music was in question. – He can never imitate better models, if he wishes to rise in his profession.

The piece performed on the previous Saturday, 25 October, was the afterpiece opera *The Doctor and the Apothecary*, an adaptation by the playwright James Cobb (1756-1818) and the composer Stephen Storace (1762-1796) of *Doktor und Apotheker* (1786), a *singspiel* by the Viennese composer Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739-1799).[1] For it Storace arranged a selection of Dittersdorf's numbers, adding some of his own. It was the opera's first performance – the same newspaper also includes a long and generally favourable review – as well as Storace's debut in one of the two mainstream London theatres devoted to English plays and operas. Cobb, an employee of the East India Company, had been writing for Drury Lane since 1779, but Storace was virtually a newcomer.[2] After his return from Austria in the spring of 1787 he worked for little more than a single season at the King's Theatre, the Italian opera house in the Haymarket, before transferring to Drury Lane.[3] He seems to have left the King's Theatre after temporarily falling out with Giovanni Andrea Gallini, its manager.

Storace had been in Vienna since 1785 for the production of his two Italian operas *Gli sposi malcontenti* (1785) and *Gli equivoci* (1786). During that time he met Haydn and Mozart, and, according to his friend the Irish tenor Michael Kelly (1762-1826), was the host of the famous string quartet party made up of four eminent Viennese composers:

> Storace gave a quartett party to his friends. The players were tolerable; not one of them excelled on the instrument he played, but there was a little science among them, which I dare say will be acknowledged when I name them:
>
> The First Violin . . . . . .HAYDN.
> „ Second Violin . .BARON DITTERSDORF.
> „ Violoncello . . . . . .VANHALL.
> „ Tenor . . . . . .MOZART.
>
> The poet Casti and Paesiello formed part of the audience. I was there, and a greater treat, or a more remarkable one, cannot be imagined.[4]

Storace probably saw the Viennese production of *Doktor und Apotheker* (first performed at the Kärntnertor Theatre on 11 July 1786), and presumably came back to England with copies of the published vocal score and the libretto. Michael Kelly returned from Vienna with Stephen, as did his sister, the singer Nancy Storace (1765-1817), and the composer Thomas Attwood, who had been studying with Mozart.[5] Kelly took part in the production of *The Doctor and the Apothecary*, singing in it a number borrowed from Paisiello's *I filosofi imaginari*, which he had probably sung in Vienna.

Thus, in 1788 Storace was hardly known in London. He had been born there, the son of an Italian double bass player, but had been sent to study in Naples as a teenager in the late 1770s, returning in 1782 or 1783. During the next few years he spent much time in Vienna, where Nancy was a member of the opera company at the Burgtheater. At this stage both Nancy and Stephen seem to have been full of youthful confidence, and conscious of their superior status as musicians who had been trained in Italy and had been successful in Vienna. The writer and amateur composer John Marsh, who met both of them several times, recorded an instance of Nancy's bad behaviour during the 1787 Salisbury Festival. On 29 September,

> I stole off to pay a 3d. visit for the even'g at Mr [Joseph] Corfe's [the conductor of the Festival] to meet Mr Earle Mrs Simpson & Mr Rob't Still & have a little music with Mr Storace & his sister there, when I tried a quartetto of Pleyel's I had never seen before upon a wretch'd fiddle of Corfe's, with false strings. Had it not been for this however it wo'd have hardly gone off well, Sig'ra Storace being in such boisterous spirits that she made such a noise all the time & was so vulgar in her witticisms & manner that I wish'd myself away again before I had been there 10. minutes. Having therefore staid to hear a glee, which went off better than the quartetto (she being engaged in it) my glee of "The Curfew tolls the knell" etc. was tried, which words however she immediately declared were better set by her brother, w'ch she immediately sung. On someone then whispering her that the other was set by me, she declar'd aloud, she did not care whose music it was, her brother's was best.[6]

Stephen also spoke 'rather sneeringly' about one of Marsh's symphonies when it was played at the 1784 Salisbury Festival,[7] while his obituary, printed in *The Oracle* for 17-18 March 1796, hints that he 'did not suffer fools gladly', as obituaries would put it today:

> His private character was sometimes mistaken – he had not the art to lower false expectation gently. He spoke his mind plainly and bluntly – his opinion might be relied on for its value and its sincerity – he had great quickness of decision, and this sometimes was mistaken for abruptness – properly attentive to his interests, and not to be diverted from its pursuit – he sometimes provoked comments, which he never deserved – we knew him to be a friendly, upright man …[8]

This, then seems to be the context for the hostile remarks about Storace in *The Morning Herald*. We can imagine that a young, virtually unknown composer, full of his experiences on the Continent and with a reputation for arrogance, might be seen as someone who needed to be taken down a peg or two [Illus. 1]. It is not clear (to me at least) who 'Fly-Flap', the supposed author of the letter, or 'Squire Marmaduke', its recipient, were, but the author of the editorial comment below it was presumably the Rev. Henry Bate Dudley (1745-1824), founder, proprietor and editor of *The Morning Herald*.[9] Bate Dudley had

Illustration 1: The only known portrait of Stephen Storace, from the title-page of *The Favorite Operas of Mahmoud & The Iron Chest* (London, 1797).

earned his nickname 'The Fighting Parson' in 1773, when he won a boxing match defending the honour of his future sister-in-law, the actress Elizabeth Hartley, whom he thought had been insulted in Vauxhall Gardens. He became editor of *The Morning Post* in 1775, leaving it to found *The Morning Herald* in 1780. He was the author of a number of opera librettos, and thus was keenly interested in the theatre and in music. He has been credited with introducing a new style of journalism, replacing news with scurrilous gossip – which of course frequently included material about the theatre and the musical world.

The importance of *The Morning Herald* letter and Bate Dudley's comment lies in the insight it gives us into the way music was directed in the London theatres at the time. It is clear that the performance was directed by the leader of the Drury Lane band, the violinist Thomas Shaw (*c.* 1752-*c.* 1830) [Illus. 2].[10] Shaw had joined the Drury Lane band by 1778 and led it from December 1785.[11] At the time the elder Thomas Linley (1733-1795) was the official house composer, though Shaw seems to have been responsible for the day-to-day direction of the music in productions, as the following anecdote about the actor John Philip Kemble (1757-1823), told by the oboist W. T. Parke, illustrates:

> A translation of the popular French piece, 'Richard Cœur de Lion,' was produced at Drury Lane Theatre on the twentieth of October [1786], with the original music by Gretry. Miss Romanzini (afterwards Mrs. Bland) sang the pretty chanson, 'The merry dance,' with great *naïveté* and effect. The character of Richard was acted by Mr. John Kemble, who, though he did not have a singing voice, got through the two-part song, on which the plot hinges, better than was expected. At one of the rehearsals of this piece Kemble, who had got the tune of it tolerably well, being very deficient in keeping the time, Mr. Shaw, the leader of the band, impatiently exclaimed, "Mr. Kemble, that won't do at all! – you *murder* time abominably!" – "Well, Mr. Shaw," replied Kemble, "it is better to *murder* it, than to be continually *beating* it as you are."[12]

What this suggests is that Shaw was responsible on that occasion for rehearsing the singers as well as directing the orchestra. He was much admired as a leader: *The Morning Herald*, reporting on the production of his own *The Island of St Marguerite* (1789), thought that 'We never heard an Orchestra more brilliant, accurate, and expressive'.[13]

Illustration 2: Thomas Shaw.

When Kemble talked of Shaw beating time he presumably meant that the violinist used his bow to indicate tempos, not that he conducted in the modern way. At the time, nearly all direction was done from the violin or the keyboard. Beating time with a roll of paper or parchment was only used for large choral concerts, if at all. Charles Burney reported that the direction of the mammoth 1784 Handel Commemoration concerts in Westminster Abbey was managed 'without the assistance of a *Manu-ductor*, to regulate the measure', and asserted patriotically: 'Foreigners, particularly the French, must be much astonished at so numerous a band moving in such exact measure, without the assistance of a *Coryphæus* to beat the time, either with a roll of paper, or a noisy *baton*, or truncheon'.[14] W. T. Parke told a story about the rehearsals for the same event:

> When this great event was in contemplation, two very pompous gentlemen, Dr. [Philip] Hayes of Oxford, and Dr. [Edward] Miller of Doncaster, came to town to give their gratuitous assistance as conductors, by beating time. After several meetings and some bickerings, it was at length agreed that Dr. Hayes (Mus. Dr. Oxon) should conduct the first act and Dr. Miller the second. With regard to the third, I suppose they were to toss up for it. When the time of performance had arrived, and Mr. [Wilhelm] Cramer, the leader, had just tapt his bow, (the signal for being ready,) and looked round to catch the eyes of the performers, he saw, to his astonishment, a tall gigantic figure, with an immense powdered toupee, full dressed, with a bag and sword, and a huge roll of parchment in his hand.
>
> ——— The son of Hercules
> he justly scorn'd
> By his broad shoulders and
> gigantic mien.
>
> "Who is that gentleman?" said Mr. Cramer. – "Dr. Hayes," was the reply. – "What is he going to do?" – "To beat time." – "Be so kind," said Mr. Cramer, "to tell the gentleman that when he has sat down I will begin." The doctor, who never anticipated such a *set down* as this, took his seat, and Mr. Cramer did begin, and his Majesty and all present bore witness to his masterly style of leading the band.[15]

Illustration 3: Caricature said to be of Philip Hayes, by P. J. de Loutherbourg, published by William Holland on 1 May 1790.

Philip Hayes (1738-1797), Professor of Music at Oxford from 1777, was reputedly the largest man in England.[16] Elsewhere, Parke described him as 'in humour and bulk ... a complete representative of Shakespeare's fat knight, Sir John Falstaff', and added that 'When the doctor came to London from Oxford, he had two places taken for him in the stage coach' – hence, presumably, his nickname 'Fill Chaise' [Illus. 3].[17] One does not like to spoil a good story, but it must be said that there is no mention of Hayes or Miller in Burney's official account of the Handel Commemoration. Furthermore, Parke mentioned that Hayes and Miller beat time 'most unmercifully' with 'a large roll of parchment' at a benefit concert for the New Musical Fund at the King's Theatre on 12 April 1787,[18] so it is possible that he got dates and places confused in his story of the confrontation between Hayes and Cramer. After all, Parke mentions that in the 1787 concert 'Cramer led the band, composed of two hundred performers'. Interestingly, a similar story was told in 1838 in an article in *The Musical World*.[19] The conductor is Hayes, as in Parke, but the scene is a Festival of the Sons of the Clergy in St Paul's Cathedral during the 1780s rather than Westminster Abbey or the King's Theatre, and the leader is supposedly Charles Ashley (1770-1818), not Cramer.

What these anecdotes suggest, if anything, is that beating time with a roll of paper or parchment was more likely to be used in the provinces (where Hayes and Miller worked), presumably because musical standards were lower there and violinists such as Cramer, who had the skills to direct a large ensemble just by using the bow, were not always available. In London it was thought to be unnecessary. In a lecture given in 1827 the composer Samuel Wesley (1766-1837) said that beating time had been 'totally discontinued at Oratorios', and went on:

> I confess I could never perceive the Utility (much less the Necessity) of any third Person to keep an Orchestra singing & playing in just Time. The immediate and indispensable Province of the Leader, is to start the Band instantaneously together, upon all Occasions and in every Movement throughout the Performance. The Conductor at the Organ must be perfectly unanimous with him, more especially in the Choruses, where the Organ ought always to form a prominent Feature, and upon the Assistance of which the Voices very naturally and very rationally rely.[20]

There were, of course, harpsichords rather than organs in the theatre pits of the period. Organs were used in the London theatres, but only in Lenten oratorios, when all the musicians performed on the stage.[21]

The most interesting aspect of *The Morning Herald* material is that it tells us that Storace was not in the pit directing *The Doctor and the Apothecary*, even though it was the first performance. As Bate Dudley pointed out, this had been Arne's 'invariable practice' as well as Thomas Linley's. However, there is a contradiction here: if Parke's anecdote about Kemble can be relied upon, then Linley was also not in the pit for the rehearsals of *Richard Coeur-de-Lion*, even though he was responsible for arranging the music for the Drury Lane production of Grétry's music.[22] It is difficult to know why this was so, though it could have been that Shaw was sharing the rehearsals with him to prepare for the time when the direction would be handed over to him. This was the normal practice in Italian opera houses, where the composer would direct the first three performances from the harpsichord and then hand over to the leader or the regular first harpsichord player. For instance, Leopold Mozart wrote to his wife from Milan on 5 January 1771 that at the opera there,

> the Maestro [Wolfgang] was obliged to conduct the opera [*Mitridate, rè di Ponto*] from the orchestra only on the first three evenings, when Maestro [Giovanni Battista] Lampugnani accompanied at the second clavier. But now, as Wolfgang is no longer conducting, Lampugnani plays the first clavier and Maestro Melchior Chiesa the second one.[23]

This left father and son as 'listeners and spectators' who were free to walk about 'here and there, wherever we like' during the performance.

Two harpsichords were also used at the Italian opera house in London for most of the eighteenth century. A French visitor in 1728 reported that the continuo section for Handel's opera performances consisted of 'un violoncello, les deux clavessins et l'archilut', and another diarist reported in 1772 that the orchestra for the pasticcio *Artaserse* at the King's Theatre included 'two harpsichords no organs'.[24] However, the violinist Felice Giardini, who was the leader of the King's Theatre orchestra on and off from 1754 until his departure for Italy in 1784, managed to have both instruments silenced, according to a comment in *The Morning Post* for 9 December 1789:

> There were formerly two harpsichords in the Opera orchestra, but such was the dislike of Giardini to that species of instrument, that he prevailed on the manager to remove one of them, and the performer not to play on the other. The taste of Giardini must have undergone a wonderful improvement in the course of a few years, if he can resign the violin to others, and be content with an humble situation at that very harpsichord which he wished to banish from the stage for ever.[25]

There is some evidence that Giardini achieved his object in the 1781 season, for *The Public Advertiser* reported on 23 November that 'this year … there is no Second Harpsichord, and [Muzio] Clementi did *not* play the Instrument which remains'.[26]

Giardini returned to London from retirement in Italy in 1789 and was appointed 'director of music' for the 1790 season. Interestingly, he does not seem to have played the harpsichord at the first night of his adaptation of Cimarosa's *Ninetta* on 7 January 1790: *The World* reported the next day that he 'was behind' – that is, behind the scenes – while William Dance was at the keyboard.[27] Giardini was certainly qualified

to play the harpsichord, for he had studied it as a child in Milan, so we can presume that he stayed back-stage because he wanted to supervise the singers – which may be what Storace was doing at Drury Lane. It seems likely that Giardini was not trying to silence the harpsichord altogether but was trying to restrict the player to the recitatives rather than playing continuo throughout. It became the practice around 1800 to accompany recitatives with just a violoncello, or with violoncello and double bass. The cellist Robert Lindley and the bass player Domenico Dragonetti, who both joined the orchestra of the King's Theatre in 1794, became famous for their accompaniment of recitatives.[28] However, Joseph Mazzinghi's contract for the 1790 season specified that he would 'duly attend all the Rehearsals at the Opera House and also on every night of Public Performance and play at the Harpsichord both as Director of the Music and Composer'.[29] Harpsichords seem to have been used in the King's Theatre until at least 1808.[30]

One of the most important sources of information about the direction of Italian opera in London is the letter-journal of Susan Burney (1755-1800) covering her life in London in 1779-1780.[31] As the daughter of Dr. Charles Burney she had privileged access to the opera house and its staff, and attended many rehearsals. On one occasion, 3 May 1780, she was at the first rehearsal of Ferdinando Bertoni's *Il duca d'Atene* in a small room in the opera house. Her letter makes it clear that the composer was at the harpsichord, and that Cramer, the leader, was also present, probably with a skeleton orchestra.[32] The rehearsal process is further illuminated by her letter describing the first full rehearsal of Bertoni's pasticcio *Alessandro nell'Indie* on 19 November 1779.[33] There were two harpsichords, played by Bertoni and Clementi, with Cramer leading the orchestra. No-one was in overall charge: Susan noticed that Bertoni 'did not stand forwards as *Direttore*', and that 'all the singers acted as *maestro* during their own songs', perhaps because it was a pasticcio and they had had a hand in choosing them.

However, Cramer was certainly in charge of the orchestra. At one point he took an aria too fast, and, 'with his accustomed good humour', started it again slower. Later in the rehearsal his good humour was sorely tried:

> The Wind Instruments were all out of tune, & tho' I pitied poor Cramer 'twas impossible not to laugh – After repeatedly desiring the French Horn Players to make their Instruments sharper, at last he called out in a voice wch. proved that he wth. difficulty cd. repress a degree of Indignation – & with his foreign accent – '*Gentelmen ... You are not in tune At all?* – '*Its a very sharp Morning* Sir', said one of them – 'We shall do better another time' – Another sd. that the *Crook* he used was right – but Cramer desired he wd. try the other – He did so – 'Why that is *better*' sd. Cramer, as indeed it clearly was – '*Very well sir*', sd. the stupid Earless wretch. '*I'll be sure to use it.*'

In the same aria the bassoon 'was dreadfully and ridiculously out of tune', provoking Clementi to produce a parody on the harpsichord using 'natural notes in the treble, & flat in the Bass', which 'had the most dissonant & comical effect & produced the best imitation of their accompt. that can be conceived'. At suggestion of the castrato Gasparo Paccheriotti, one of the leading singers, Cramer ordered the player to leave out the passage. Bertoni, interestingly, does not seem to have had a say.[34]

Storace seems to have learned the lesson of *The Doctor and the Apothecary* debacle. There are reports of him playing at the premieres of *The Haunted Tower* (24 November 1789) and *Lodoiska* (9 June 1794), and in one case, the afterpiece *The Three and the Deuce*, first performed on 2 September 1795, *The Oracle* reported on 4 September that 'Storace left the Orchestra to Shaw last night' – that is, for the second performance.[35] One wonders whether he decided to leave the direction of the first performance of *The Doctor and the Apothecary* to Thomas Shaw because it was an opera with spoken dialogue, without any recitatives that needed accompanying. Given what we know about his character, it is unlikely that he was just too timid to assert his right to direct the first performance. Another possibility is that the privilege of directing the first performance applied only to composers and not to the arrangers or compilers of pasticcios, which would also explain why Linley was apparently not present for a rehearsal of *Richard Coeur-de-Lion*. However, the objection to this is that a large number of English operas of the period were pasticcios to a greater or lesser extent, including *Lodoiska* and *The Haunted Tower*, in which Storace played. Most likely, perhaps, he had the same idea as Giardini in *Ninetta*, and placed himself behind the scenes to keep an eye on the singers. In the last analysis it is not entirely clear why Storace was not in the pit that night, and therefore had to resort to desperate measures to ensure that his music was performed to his own satisfaction. But anyone who has had the experience of entrusting the first performance of a work they have composed, arranged or edited to someone else will know what he must have felt.

1 For *The Doctor and the Apothecary* see R. Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2/1986), 500-501; T. Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press 1785-1830* (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1994), 410, 611; J. Girdham, *English Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London: Stephen Storace at Drury Lane* (Oxford, 1997), esp. 25-26, 172-173, 206-207, 228, 241. The passages in *The Morning Herald* that form the basis of this article do not seem to have been discussed in print before, though Fenner quotes from its review of *The Doctor and the Apothecary*.

2 For Cobb, see J. Knight, rev. R. Mills, 'James Cobb', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [*ODNB*], on line at http://www.oxforddnb.com.

3 For Storace at the King's Theatre, see Girdham, *English Opera in Eighteenth-Century London*, 19-21; C. Price, J. Milhous and R. D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London: the King's Theatre, Haymarket, 1778-1791* (Oxford, 1995), 366-368, 383, 389-395, 397, 400, 410.

4 *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly* (London, 2/1826), i. 237-238.

5 For the Storaces' return to England, see Price, Milhous and Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, i. 360-368, 378-383.

6 *The John Marsh Journals: the Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)*, ed. B. Robins (Stuyvesant NY, 1998), 413-414. The two settings of Thomas Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard were both published in 1782, Marsh's in *Two Serious and Two Cheerful Glees*, Storace's in *Eight Canzonetts with an Accompaniment for a Piano Forte or Harp*.

7 *The John Marsh Journals*, ed. Robins, 330.

8 Quoted in Girdham, *English Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, 27.

9 For *The Morning Herald* see S. McVeigh, 'London Newspapers 1750 to 1800: a Checklist and Guide for Musicologists', *A Handbook for Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music*, 6 (Oxford, 1996), esp. 4-8. For Bate Dudley, see Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 377-378, 435, 543-544, 552; H. Barker, 'Sir Henry Bate Dudley', *ODNB*.

10 For Shaw, see 'Thomas Shaw', 'Thomas H. Shaw', *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* [*BDA*], ed. P. H. Highfill, K. A. Burnim and E. A. Langhans (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1973-1993), xiii. 294-298; Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 280; R. Fiske, rev. K. E. James, 'Thomas Shaw', *Grove Music Online* [*GMO*], ed. L. Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com.

11 *The Daily Universal Register*, 15 December 1785, quoted in Fenner, *Opera in London*, 572.

12 W. T. Parke, *Musical Memoirs, Comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England from the First Commemoration of Handel in 1784 to the Year 1830* (London, 1830), i. 71-72. For Linley, see 'Thomas Linley', *BDA*, ix. 310-314; G. Beechey, rev. L. Troost, 'Thomas Linley (i)', *GMO*; S. Aspden, 'Thomas Linley', *ODNB*.

13 Quoted in Fenner, *Opera in London*, 572.

14 C. Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th and June the 3d and 5th 1784* (London 1785), ii: *Commemoration of Handel*, 14, 15.

15 Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, i. 39-40.

16 For Hayes, see 'Philip Hayes', *BDA*, vii. 206-207; P. Ward Jones and S. Heighes, 'Philip Hayes', *GMO*; R. F. Sharp, rev. N. Salwey, 'Philip Hayes', *ODNB*.

17 Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, i. 340.

18 Ibid., i. 98.

19 N. A., ['The Qualifications and Duties of a Musical Director'], *The Musical World*, 8-9 (January-August 1838), 109-113, at 109. I am grateful to Ann Royle for this reference.

20 British Library, Add. MS 35014, ff. 44-44v, quoted in McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 217. For Wesley's lectures on music, see M. Kassler and P. Olleson, *Samuel Wesley (1766-1837): a Source Book* (Aldershot, 2001), 707-709; P. Olleson, *Samuel Wesley, the Man and his Music* (Woodbridge, 2003), esp. 187-188.

21 On this point, see D. Burrows, 'Handel's Oratorio Performances', *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Burrows (Cambridge, 1997), 262-281; E. Zöllner, *English Oratorio after Handel: the London Oratorio Series and its Repertory, 1760-1800* (Marburg, 2002), esp. 23-29.

22 Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 466-467. See also Fenner, *Opera in London*, 399, 610.

23 *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, ed. E. Anderson (London, 3/1985), 178-179, no. 129.

24 W. Dean, 'A French Traveller's View of Handel's Operas', *Music & Letters*, 55 (1974), 172-178, at 177; J. Milhous and C. Price, 'Harpsichords in the London Theatres, 1687-1715', *Early Music*, 18 (1990), 38-46, at 39.

25 Quoted in Price, Milhous and Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, i. 424. For Giardini, see S. McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life, 1750–1784: Felice Giardini and his Contemporaries* (New York, 1989); C. Hogwood and S. McVeigh, 'Felice Giardiani', *GMO*; D. J. Golby, 'Felice Giardini', *ODNB*.

26 Price, Milhous and Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, i. 269.

27 Ibid., 424.

28 For this practice, see V. Walden, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello: a History of Technique and Performance Practice, 1740-1840* (Cambridge, 1998), 260-269. For Lindley and Dragonetti in recitative, see L. MacGregor and C. Bashford, 'Robert Lindley', *GMO*.

29 J. Milhous, G. Dideriksen and R. D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, ii: *The Pantheon Opera and its Aftermath, 1789-1795* (Oxford, 2001), i. 690.

30 Milhous, Dideriksen and Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, ii. 429-430.

31 British Library, Egerton MS 3691. See Price, Milhous and Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, i. 23; *The Susan Burney Letters Project*, on line at www.nottingham.ac.uk/hrc/projects/burney.

32 Price, Milhous and Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, i. 189-190.

33 Ibid., i. 191-192.

34 See, for instance, ibid., i. 188.

35 Girdham, *English Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London*, 70

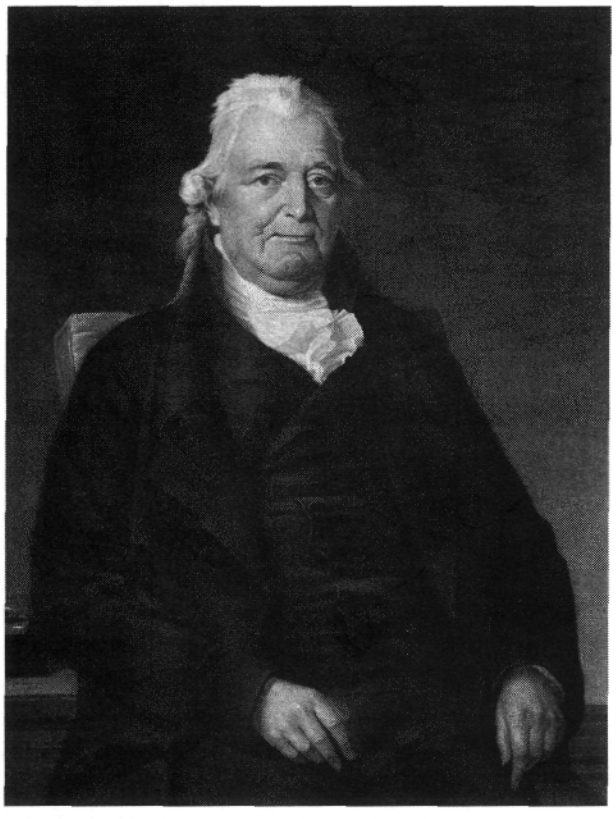
The Archives of John Broadwood and Sons: Two Centuries of Musical History

ROBERT SIMONSON

The business records of John Broadwood and Sons, held at Surrey History Centre, Woking, form one of the best preserved archives of any major piano manufacturing company. The rich resources of the archive can be used to study the history of the firm and individual pianos, as well as changes in musical and cultural life over more than two centuries. The Broadwood archive was originally deposited with the then Surrey Record Office in 1977, and has been subject to a major project over the years, both to catalogue the material in detail and to conserve many of the most important documents in the collection.

The story of how Broadwoods reached such pre-eminence in the world of piano making begins with Burkat Shudi who was born in 1702 in Schwanden, in the canton of Glarus, Switzerland. Shudi trained as a cabinetmaker and came to London in 1718 aged 16 where he was apprenticed in the Soho harpsichord workshop of Hermann Tabel. In 1728 Shudi founded his own harpsichord workshop, the basis of the future business of John Broadwood and Sons. Early customers included the composer George Frederick Handel. As Shudi's reputation grew, royal commissions came from Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Frederick the Great of Prussia. After the latter commission in the early 1740s, Shudi had his portrait painted with his family, to hang in the house he occupied in Great Pulteney Street. The portrait, now identified as being by Marcus Tuscher and hanging in the National Portrait Gallery, London, shows Shudi in an elegant blue gown, tuning a harpsichord, with his wife Catherine and sons Joshua and Burkat. Frederick the Great was again a customer in 1765, and one of the harpsichords Shudi made on this occasion still survives in the palace at Potsdam.

John Broadwood (1732-1812) was the eldest son of the village carpenter at Oldhamstocks in the Lothian hills south of Edinburgh. In 1761 he came to London, aged 29, and worked as an apprentice to Shudi, becoming an experienced and trusted member of the business. In 1769 John married Shudi's daughter Barbara and was assigned the running of the business in 1771,[1] assuming full control on Shudi's death in 1773. Throughout the 1770s, Broadwood continued to make and sell harpsichords at a steady rate. He also took a growing interest in the development of the pianoforte and patented improvements to the instrument in 1783. Production of pianos soon superseded harpsichords.



Illus. 1:Engraving of John Broadwood after the painting by John Harrison. Published by the engraver W Say, 1812. SHC ref. 2185/JB/86/1

Those not sold immediately were hired out for concert or domestic use, and there was also an extensive tuning business. By the mid 1790s, the Broadwood 'grand' pianofortes were in as much demand as the squares. Broadwood gradually extended the business premises to fill three adjoining houses in Great Pulteney Street as well as the nine mews properties and the former Crown public house to the rear in Bridle Lane and Silver Street (now Beak Street), Soho. The showrooms fronted onto Great Pulteney Street while the works entrance was in Bridle Lane. The piano commissioned in 1796 by Manuel de Godoy for the Queen of Spain attests to the reputation and quality of Broadwood's work during this period. The instrument, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, USA, boasts a case designed by Thomas Sheraton with Wedgwood medallions.[2]

In 1795 John's son James Shudi Broadwood (1772-1851) was made a partner. In 1808 his second surviving son, Thomas Broadwood (1786-1861), was also made a partner, creating the firm of John Broadwood and Sons. After their father's death in 1812, the two brothers carried forward the business with increasing success. The business remained a partnership until 1901, when it was reconstituted as a limited company.

By 1815 the Broadwood name was sufficiently well known for Jane Austen to include an episode involving the arrival of a Broadwood square piano, 'a very elegant looking instrument ... altogether of the highest promise', in her novel *Emma* published that year. Austen no doubt expected her readers to appreciate the social importance of the acquisition of a Broadwood instrument. Unlike in some modern novels, there is no evidence that Broadwoods paid for this product placement!

Two years later, while staying in Vienna, Thomas Broadwood met Beethoven. In a letter preserved in the archives, which Thomas wrote in 1829 to the musician and music publisher Vincent Novello (1781-1861), he recalled, 'It was in August 1817 I had the pleasure of seeing Beethoven at Vienna ... he was then so unwell, his table supported as many vials of medicine and golipots as it did sheets of music papers and his cloaths so scattered about the room in the manner of an invalid that I was not surprised when I called on him by appointment to take him out to dine with us at the Prater to find him declare after he had one foot in the carriage that he found himself too unwell to dine out – and he retreated upstairs again. I saw him several times after that at his own house and he was kind enough to play to me but he was so deaf and unwell that I am sorry to say I had no opportunity of marking any thing like an anecdote'.[3]

On returning to London in late 1817, Thomas Broadwood sent Beethoven a six-octave grand pianoforte as a gift. The case was of Spanish mahogany, inlaid with marquetry and ormolu. Beethoven was delighted by the gift and wrote to Thomas in 1818 that 'as soon as I receive your excellent instrument, I shall immediately send you the fruits of the first moments of inspiration I spend at it'.[4] Later, the deaf composer virtually wrecked it in his desperate attempts to hear the sound. In 1824, the harp maker, Johann Andreas Stumpff, described the state of the piano in a letter to the *Musical Times*: 'What a spectacle offered itself to my view! There was no sound left in the treble and broken strings were mixed up like a thorn bush in a gale'.[5] The piano later belonged to Franz Liszt and is now in the care of the National Museum of Hungary and on display in the Liszt Memorial Museum in Budapest.

In 1823 the company leased premises in Horseferry Road, Westminster, to cope with the steady increase in demand for their products. The extent of the business at this time is revealed in the archives, which includes an inventory of manufactured stock from 1816, listing 110 square cases, 93 grand cases, 130 sets of grand keys and 168 sets of square keys.[6] The inventory shows the amount of capital tied up in manufactured stock, which the company no doubt hoped to sell quickly. James Shudi Broadwood, in Geneva in 1834 on a European tour, struck a self-confident note writing in a letter to his son Henry Fowler Broadwood (1811-1893), who joined the partnership in 1836, 'I have looked at all the pianos I could get at since I have been abroad, but have learnt nothing - they are all inferior things and generally imitations of the English pianos'.[7] By the 1840s Broadwoods were among the largest employers of labour in London, and were producing around 2500 pianos a year at the Horseferry Road factory.

However, from the mid-nineteenth century Broadwoods began to face a range of difficulties. They failed to win the Gold Medal at the Great Exhibition of 1851, the award going instead to their French rivals Erard. It was also at this time that other manufacturers both in Britain and on the Continent started to produce cheap upright pianos which threatened Broadwood's supremacy. A further setback was the disastrous fire in 1856 when the Horseferry Road factory site burnt down. Much of the money to rebuild the factory came out of Henry Fowler Broadwoods' own pocket. The company was, however, successful in other exhibitions and the archives include certificates of gold medals awarded at the Paris Exhibition of 1867[8] and the International Inventions Exhibition in London in 1885.[9] For the 1862 International Exhibition in London, at which the company also won a gold medal, a booklet was

produced entitled 'List of pianofortes ... exhibited by John Broadwood and Sons with historical and explanatory remarks and illustrative plates and diagrams', containing details of the technical development of the piano, and the astonishing statement that Broadwoods had produced 124,048 pianos between 1780 and 1861.[10]

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a range of eminent artists, including Edward Burne-Jones, William Morris, Charles Ashbee and The Guild of Handicrafts, Edwin Lutyens, Kate Faulkner and Hugh Baillie Scott, were commissioned to decorate or design Broadwood pianos. Customers for these pianos included the Emir of Kabul, the shipping magnate Sir Donald Currie, Arthur Conan Doyle and Sir Henry Irving. Many were illustrated in two editions of the *Album of Artistic Pianos*, produced by Broadwoods in 1895 and 1904.[11]

At the end of the century, the company entered a period of financial crisis compounded by Henry Fowler Broadwood's death in 1893. It was ultimately decided that the partnership be wound up in 1901 and replaced by a limited company. Members of the family continued to be involved in the running of the firm, as directors and as employees, and Henry Fowler Broadwood's grandson, Captain Evelyn Broadwood (1889-1975), chairman from 1931, was actively engaged in the firm until his death in 1975.

When the lease on the Horseferry Road premises expired in 1902, all production moved to the Old Ford Works, Stour Road, Hackney. The firm began to diversify and produced automated 'player pianos' or pianolas from 1902. The company also produced and sold gramophone players for a brief period during the 1920s. After the First World War, during the latter part of which much of the firm's production was given over to the manufacture of aircraft bodies and parts for De Havilland and ammunition boxes, the firm experienced mixed fortunes in an increasingly difficult market place, a subject discussed in *Broadwood by Appointment*, by David Wainwright.[12]

At some stage during the twentieth century, presumably during the chairmanship of Captain Evelyn Broadwood, many of the company records were removed to Lyne House, at Capel, the Broadwood's Surrey family home. The estate had been purchased by James Shudi Broadwood in 1799. On the death of Captain Broadwood in 1975, the house and estate were administered by the Broadwood Trust. The archives of the business and a large number of papers relating to members of the Broadwood family, including Lucy Broadwood (1858-1929) the folk song collector, were donated to Surrey Record Office (now Surrey History Service) and are housed at Surrey History Centre in Woking.

The Broadwood archive at Lyne House had been stored in the house itself and in outbuildings. Many vellum-bound ledgers and daybooks had suffered from damp and mould by the time they were deposited. In some cases the contents had become discoloured and rotted, and pages were stuck together. This necessitated an extensive conservation programme. Surrey History Service has been fortunate over the years to obtain grants from the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust, the Heritage Lottery Fund (culminating in a grant of £67,300), and private individuals, which together with fundraising events and fees raised from research enquiries into the history of individual pianos, has allowed us to conserve the number books and day books which form the most important part of the archive.

The text blocks (the inner papers of individual books) have each been conserved and rebound. Each page was cleaned, and brittle and missing areas were repaired using 'manila' tissue not unlike that used for making tea bags, and in fact supplied by a tea bag manufacturer. Pages cleaned using water were then 're-sized', just as laundered fabrics are starched to give them 'body'. The cost of conserving a major item like the price list book could reach £10,000. Nevertheless, damage to some of the day books from damp has left areas of faint or illegible text.

The binding process was also exacting and time consuming. The old books were dismantled to facilitate cleaning and conservation. Sections of the text block were sewn onto tapes, new boards attached and the volume was covered in waterproof buckram. The buckram bindings were given vellum 'shoes' on the lower edges of the covers, to protect the new bindings where they rest upon shelving, and to reduce wear. The volumes now look handsomely uniform and the contents can be safely handled.

One of the primary uses of the records is for researching the ownership, history and original descriptions of the pianos made by John Broadwood and Sons. Researchers are welcome to visit Surrey History Centre themselves, or requests can be made to the paid research service. The Centre has assisted individual owners and auction houses, and has helped establish the provenance of many pianos in National Trust houses and other stately homes. For example in 2003 we were able to confirm the identity of the Broadwood grand piano that had been at Brodsworth Hall, the well preserved Victorian house in Yorkshire, and which English Heritage were able to re-acquire.

When researching a piano it is necessary to start with the series of thirteen number books, which function as an index to the porters' or day books.[13] They contain the serial numbers of nearly all pianos made by John Broadwood and Sons from 1817 to 1952, arranged in serial number order by type of

piano (e.g. Grand, Cabinet, Square, Cottage, Upright). Each type of instrument was given a number in a series usually starting at 1. An identification of the type of piano and a rough idea of its date of manufacture can help to distinguish between the overlapping serial numbers of the various types of small grand pianos that were made from the mid nineteenth century.

The first number book, labelled 'B'[14] contains details of cabinet pianos nos.1057-3000 (completed 1818-1825), squares [or 'small pianos'] nos.22001-29800 (completed 1817-1824), grands nos.7800-10000 (completed 1818-1825), and cottages nos.1-200 (completed 1820-1824). There is also a list of 'old numbers', 1819-1838, which appears to relate to instruments made prior to 1817 by Broadwoods or other makers, and brought into the workshop during this period, perhaps in exchange for new instruments or for repair. A similar list of 'old instruments' that passed through the company's hands is found in number book 'no.3'.[15] This includes harpsichords by makers such as Shudi, Kirkman and Ruckers, and clavichords, spinets and virginals. Broadwoods also handled other types of instruments from time to time as this melancholy day book entry from 23 March 1803 records:

> Received an organ, in a case, all broke, from Mr Longman, Exeter, to repair, and paid carriage and porterage, from the Bell Inn, Friday Street, £1 1s.

All the number books give the date(s) each instrument was received into or sent away from the workshops, and from 1843, they provide the date on which the piano was completed. These received and sent away dates usually correspond with the relevant entry in the porters' or day books, which survive in 278 volumes from 1798 to 1958. The lack of a number book, which effectively acts as a day book index, prior to 1817 necessitates a potentially lengthy search in the day books for instruments completed before that date.

When the piano is sent away, the day book entry usually gives a customer name and address, a brief description of the piano (and possibly any special features), the method of transportation (name of carrier, railway company or ship), the name of any agent, the Broadwood porter responsible for its transport, the cost of the piano (if a sale) and transport fees. Any later entries for the same piano are often related to its repair or refinement, or its removal to another location or storage. Some 'artistic' pianos were occasionally called back to be included in exhibitions, in which case this fact will be mentioned. Dates for the hiring of a piano, which might include for concert use, are also recorded. When a piano is received into the workshops the information is often briefer, though the customer name and address is provided.

After July 1823, odd and even numbered days are entered into separate volumes. This practice, which certainly complicates the research process, presumably allowed for entries from the volume not in use in the workshop to be copied into the ledgers in the office. From the 1820s, prices begin to be noted in the day books. Prices are sometimes quoted in a code based on the word CUMBERLAND, denoting the figures from 1 to 0 (e.g. £ND with E% commission denotes £90 with 5% commission).

Many sales and hire records in the day books are straightforward and the name of the actual customer, rather than a middleman is recorded. Several entries from one of the earliest day books, covering the period 14 December 1802 to 10 September 1804 are provided below:[16]

> 14 December 1802 'GPF add no.2490 and cover and case and 4 oz each of nos.4-11 steel wire, and 4 oz each of nos.8-14 brass wire, all at 6d per oz (£1 10s) addressed Mr John Langshaw, organist, Lancaster, per canal waggon, delivered at the Castle, Wood Street, goes by Pickford & Cos waggon'
>
> 22 December 1802 'Taking SPF no.6809 on hire to Lady Catherine Graham's, no.91 Jermyn Street'
>
> 12 January 1803 'Bringing SPF on hire from Lieutenant Colonel St George, at the Prince of Wales's Coffee House, Leicester Place, Leicester Square'
>
> 8 February 1803 'Removing GPF from the Duke of Northumberland's, Syon House, to Northumberland House, Charing Cross'
>
> 16 March 1803 'GPF no.2518 delivered at His Excellency's the Dutch Ambassador's, no.12 Great Cumberland Place'

Pianos could be sold to dealers or 'music warehouses' or exported to foreign agents, in which case the records do not preserve the name of the final owner. Much, however, can be learned about the networks of dealers who were Broadwood's regular customers [Illus. 2]. For example, on 8 January 1803 Mr John Phillpot of the music warehouse, 12 Kings Mead Terrace, Bath, took four square pianos, followed on 5

Illus. 2: Trade card of W Sykes of Leeds, music seller, showing a square piano, 1820. SHC ref. 2185/JB/6/5/1

February by a further four. On 12 January 1803 three square pianos went to Mr C Hodges, music warehouse, Bristol: 'delivered at the Swan, Holborn Bridge, goes by Lye's waggon'. Other large dealers in the early nineteenth century included Thomas Beale of Manchester and John Fontaine of Cork, Ireland. Dealers might also be local musicians or shop owners, such as Mr J Beckwith, music seller, of Dean Square, Norwich in 1803, John Gledhill, organist of Wakefield, Yorkshire, and Mr John Cole, music master, of Abbey Church Yard, Bath, in 1806.

Many pianos, even from the earliest times, went to foreign dealers or customers. On 15 March 1803, '2 square pianos nos.6967 and 6873 and covers and cases, some music in a case from Mr Preston's, and a patent ebony flute with 6 keys by Potter (£3 10s), addressed Mr Jacob Eckhard, organist, Charleston, [were] delivered at Mr Farlows. Shipped on board the Two Friends, Captain McNeil, for Charleston'. Eckhard (1757-1833), a composer and church organist, emigrated from Eschwege in Hesse Cassel to North America in 1776, and was at the time of delivery organist of St John's Lutheran Church in Charleston, South Carolina.[17] He was active in the musical life of the city, and is known to have appeared in concert with his son playing a piano duet in 1799.[18] In 1809 he moved to St Michael's Episcopal Church, for which he compiled a manuscript Choirmasters Book (dated 1809), which contains 101 hymn tunes taken from local composers, German chorales, American tune books and English tune books.[19] One can imagine him harmonising them on his Broadwood piano.

A further selection from the day books shows that grand pianos went to William Ross, attorney general at Spanish Town, Jamaica, on 12 March 1803, to Prince Andrei Obolensky in Moscow, via Messrs Porter, Brown and Co in St Petersburg on 14 June 1804 and to Mrs Metcalfe, Macao, China, on 9 March 1807. The latter instrument was a grand piano with three pedals, no.3573, costing sixty-five guineas, with cover, a full set of strings (spares presumably), and tin and deal cases to prevent damage on the long voyage on the ship Taunton Castle, under the command of Captain Tidborough.[20] Broadwood pianos were shipped to the remotest spots and in the most unlikely circumstances. I have seen references in the day books to a piano going to Ascension Island in 1886. In 1942 a piano made the perilous North Atlantic voyage to Reykjavik for the Icelandic Broadcasting Service.

Incidental details about the design of individual instruments can also be found in the day books. On 21 September 1803, a square pianoforte with damper pedal added was provided for Miss Bush in Devonshire Square, and another customer received

a grand pianoforte with a taper-legged frame. Lieutenant Cantelo had a square 'with frame and shelf made particularly strong', apparently for use in his cabin on board ship in 1804. Mr Tanner of Lewisham had a cabinet piano with crimson curtain and festoon in 1816. Later nineteenth-century entries in the day books give more information about the pianos including the material of which the case was made, and often the number of octaves:

> 26 November 1894 'Ernest George, esq, Redroofs, Streatham Common. A No.3 Semi Gd [Grand] Pf [Pianoforte], oak frame, Sir Edward Burne Jones design, a to a, no.43319, £165 for £CUM [£123] 10s, less E%, delivered to ditto. Moving a Cott Pf in the house and removing a Cott Pf from ditto to the Church Schools, Elder Road, West Norwood, same time. Purser and Rowe [porters responsible for the moves]'.[21]

Hire of pianos for concerts is recorded in the day books, providing valuable information on musical life, especially in London.

> 3 May 1803 'Bringing SPF from Mr Raimondi's, at the New Concert Room, Hanover Square, hire one night'

> 11 May 1803 'Removing GPF from the Opera House, Haymarket, to Mr C Knyvett's junior, 6 Edward Street, Cavendish Square'

A grand piano was hired by John Spencer at the Hanover Square Rooms on 3 July 1804, and a grand was used for the Professional Concerts at the Argyle Rooms on 20 February 1816. Certain instruments appear to have been used specifically for the purposes of hires for concerts. Grand pianoforte no.7016 was hired by Sir George Smart on 16 June 1817 'for Miss Goodhall's concert' at the Argyle Rooms and returned to Broadwoods the next day. On the 18th the same piano went back to the Argyle Rooms on hire for one night to Miss Schram.[22]

Other events also required pianos, such as the Committee of Kemble's dinner, Freemasons Hall, on 27 June 1817 for which the six octave grand pianoforte no.7028 was hired. Later day books record hire by musical societies and organisations, local music festivals, amateur music and glee clubs, and charities organising fund raising events. In 1861-1862, for instance, the London Mechanics Institution, the Tonic Sol Fa Association, the Royal Academy of Music, Walworth Institution, the Great Western Society (at Paddington), Surrey Choral Society, Mr Leslie's Choir (at the Hanover Square Rooms), Chelsea Literary Institution, Abbey Glee Club (at Freemasons Hall), and the Musical Society of London all hired instruments from Broadwoods.[23]

Sometimes there were problems. On 16 December 1802, Broadwoods received a leather cover for a grand piano from the Rev Archdeacon Younge, Swaffham, Norfolk, to exchange, since it had come to pieces after getting wet. On 22 November 1803, a marginal note records that, when a porter was sent to Mrs Gascoyne's at Putney Hill to retrieve the square that had been on hire there, 'the servant would not let the man have it'.

A variety of methods were used for transporting pianos. When Mrs Boinville sent her square piano in for repair on 9 July 1804, it was 'packed in a blanket and 3 matts brought from Watford by your servant'. The cabinet piano delivered in 1824 to Mr Angel, jeweller of Panton Street, had to be taken in through the window. Wagons were used for local transport in London. Prior to the advent of railways, wagon carriers were also used for many inland destinations. They commonly departed from coaching inns in the City of London or Southwark, depending on the final destination. Canal transport was also used, and many references can be found to Pickford's wharf at Paddington on the Grand Junction canal. Ships sailing from wharfs on the Thames were used to take pianos to more remote destinations such as the north of England or Scotland, as well as overseas. As soon as the railways became available they were used as a method of transport. In the twentieth century motor transport began to be used.

In remoter areas the problems of transport could be more acute. James Shudi Broadwood's brother in law, Daniel Stewart, was in Mexico in the 1820s acting as a piano dealer amongst other activities. In a letter of 7 August 1822, now preserved among the family papers, he wrote to James:

> the Brig Maria has arrived at Vera Cruz bringing 10 pianos which I will endeavour to dispose of. The worst of the business is to get them here as they cannot come on mules, the only conveyance we have in this country. All that have been brought up heretofore has been by means of carriage wheels after taking off the body and is very expensive.[24]

The other main series in the Broadwood archives are the customer ledgers, which survive from 1794 to 1972, with separate series for wholesale and retail

customers.[25] The sales ledgers include details of all transactions including sale, hire, and carriage of pianos and furniture and accessories (such as piano stools, covers, candle sconces, wire). Details of all tuning contracts were entered in the sales ledgers until *c.*1900, after which date they were entered in separate tuning books.

From the very start the firm counted eminent musicians, composers, politicians, and cultural figures from Britain, Europe, and indeed the world, amongst its clientele, and their names appear throughout the customer ledgers. The 1862 International Exhibition brochure lists at its front the ledger, folio and date in which famous musical names first appeared.[26] It reads like a who's who of musical history. The earliest entries include Joseph Haydn, Dr Charles Burney and Muzio Clementi in 1791-2. Later luminaries include Cherubini (1815), Weber (1826), the young Franz Liszt (1826), and Mendelssohn (1844). The latter hired a six and a half-octave grand piano while in London.

In 1848 Chopin was provided with three Broadwood grands for his British visit, one each for his London lodgings and for his London and Scottish concerts. The day books show the details for the grand piano no.17047 that he used for concerts at Mrs Sartoris' house, 99 Eaton Place, on 23 June 1848 [Illus. 3], and at Lord Falmouth's house in St. James' Square on 7 July. The piano is now the property of the Royal Academy of Music and is on permanent loan to the Cobbe Collection Trust, Hatchlands Park, East Clandon, Surrey.

There are indexes to each of the ledgers which allow searches for individual customer names to be made. However, many of the ledgers, especially the indexes, also suffered damp damage in the past and some are, therefore, unavailable for consultation. Much research remains to be done on the range, both social and geographical, of the customers of John Broadwood and Sons.

Until the late nineteenth century most of Broadwood's advertising was confined to the price lists which they published on a regular basis, showing the range of instruments on offer, including variations in compass and case design. The majority of piano cases appear to have been made of rosewood or mahogany, and they were sometimes decorated with inlay or brass mouldings. A fine series of printed price lists survives from 1815 to 1972. [27]

The price list the company issued on 1 January 1820 offered a total of forty different models, starting with the standard square pianoforte at £31 10s. Extras included grand piano touch, circular ends, banded with rosewood, with drawers, and extra ornamentation. The same was offered in a square piano with six octaves. The most expensive square was £57 15s. The standard grand pianoforte, 'with 6 octaves (i.e.) additional keys, treble & bass' was £94 10s, and was also offered with rosewood borders and polished, or superiorly ornamented. The grand piano that was superiorly ornamented in a rosewood case cost £147. Cottages, cabinets and upright grands were offered in a similar way: plain, with cylinder fronts, ornamented or in rosewood cases. A total of ten models were listed as 'pianofortes of solid materials, peculiarly adapted for warm climates'. Grands, cabinets and squares with six and a half octaves were also available, costing five guineas extra for grands and cabinets and four guineas for squares.

Other highlights from the archives include the partnership deeds: the assignment of the business by Burkat Shudi to John Broadwood in 1771; an office letter book from the period 1801-1810; and correspondence of James Shudi Broadwood, particularly from the 1830s and 1840s, relating to the running of the business. Surviving nineteenth-century records include accounts and papers that give details of the costs of raw materials, the numbers of sales, and partnership accounts revealing the profits of the business for the individual partners. Unfortunately, despite the large numbers of people employed, there are few records in the archives that give the names of individual employees.

The company retained a good set of patents, trademarks and royal warrants of appointment, and the archives also contain title deeds of the property in Great Pulteney Street and Bridle Lane from 1720. Many twentieth-century financial, sales, ordering and publicity records are held in the collection, as well as detailed records relating to the warehousing, hire and tuning businesses. Piano tuning was a significant part of Broadwood's business. When ocean liners were in port, the firm were hired to tune all of the pianos – a register of such activities survives covering the period 1912-1922. Customers included the Orient Steam Navigation Company, the Union Castle Mail Company, and the Japan and New Zealand Mail Steam Ship Companies. The Union Castle Mail Company's ship SS Galway Castle sailed with five Broadwood upright pianos on board, in the First-class music room and dining room, in the vestibule, and second and third-class music rooms. Sometimes the pianos needed repair, especially an upright by Mornington (clearly of inferior quality!) on one of the New Zealand Company's ships, where 'rats had eaten half the hammers away'.[28]

The archives also contain an extensive quantity of iconographical material including photograph albums of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century 'artistic' or special instruments, and fascinating photographs of the factory at Old Ford, Hackney, *c.*1904, showing the manufacturing process, and war

work during World War I. Items were also collected for the archives relating to the Broadwood pianos used by Beethoven and Chopin.

Following David Wainwright's death in 1998 he bequeathed his research papers for *Broadwood by Appointment* to Surrey History Centre, and Dr Alastair Laurence has deposited some twentieth-century technical drawings with us. We are continuing to collect any Broadwood related material that we can find.

In addition to all the business records there are also extensive records relating to the family and their estate at Lyne House in Surrey. Probably the most important are those relating to Lucy Broadwood (1858-1929), the folk song collector and daughter of Henry Fowler Broadwood. Her diaries and correspondence shed much light on her activities in the folk song world and include letters from many of the leading figures in this field, including Cecil Sharp, Percy Grainger and Ralph Vaughan Williams. Family correspondence, papers and photographs help to reveal much about James Shudi Broadwood and Henry Fowler Broadwood and their families, and also about Captain Evelyn Broadwood, who was active in many areas of local and political life in Surrey and the music industry.

John Broadwood and Sons were one of the finest piano makers and their instruments and reputation were carried to all corners of the globe, as two of the more colourful tributes to their instruments testify. In January 1923 the company issued the first of a monthly publication for the benefit of Broadwood agents, in which they quoted a poem from a contented Broadwood owner, sent to their Bombay agents, Messrs Marcks and Co:

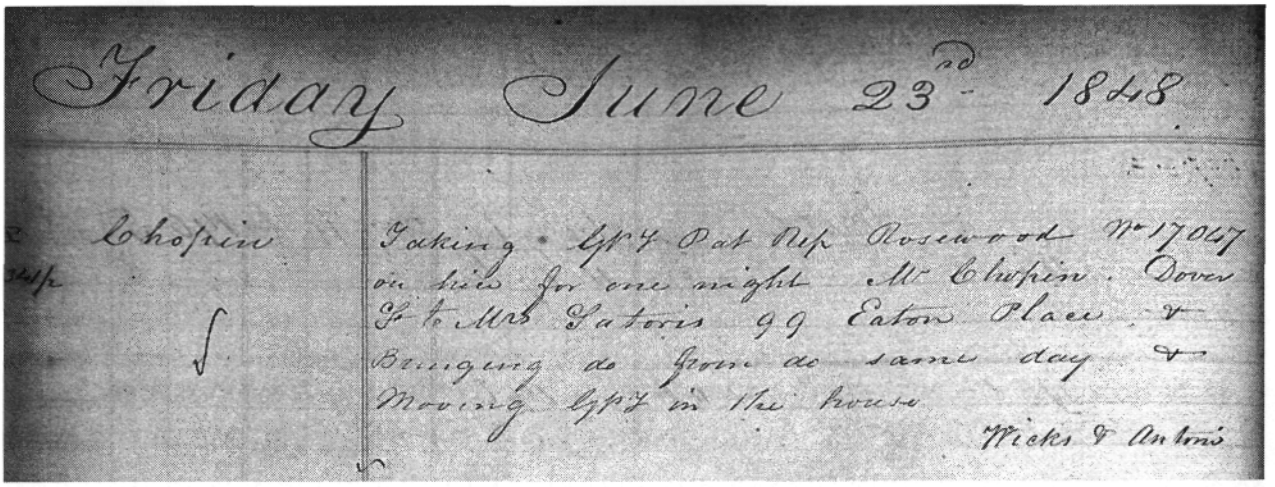
> His leisure is spent in caressing the keys
> As a miser in counting his hoard would;
> The ready response never failing to please
> The beautiful tone of a Broadwood,
>
> The tone gives the sort of peculiar feeling
> A kiss from the lips you adored would;
> You feel in the veins the intoxicant stealing-
> The magical spell of the Broadwood.[29]

The pre-war comedy duo of Nan Kenway and Douglas Young also sang the praises of Broadwood in a letter written in 1961: [30]

> Dear Captain Broadwood, after a lot of searching through old photographs, we have discovered the enclosed [sadly no longer surviving]. It was taken in February 1945, as we were entertaining some of the 36th British Division about 4 miles from the Japanese on the south bank of the Irrawaddy. Our audience is seated on the ground or on empty oil drums. We are enacting the same bar scene you saw us do at Capel and on the left side of the 'stage' is the famous Broadwood upright piano which ENSA supplied us with in Calcutta and which toured with us in a crate in lorries, or on the trailers of jeeps or in Dakotas all over India, Burma and Assam. It withstood the climatic vagaries magnificently (drenching dew in the early mornings and late evenings and sweltering sun all day long) and even survived a fall off the trailer of a jeep when we were travelling along a jungle bullock cart track. When we were with the 5th Indian Division, we had it tuned by a Tommy who worked for Murdoch's before he was called up. But in four months that was all that we had done to it. A truly magnificent instrument!

For those who would like to pursue Broadwood research further, the full text of the catalogue of the archives held at Surrey History Centre is available on our website.[31] Three late eighteenth-century account books are held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[32] Notable examples of Broadwood pianos can be seen in many National Trust houses, in the Cobbe Collection at Hatchlands Park, East Clandon, Surrey, and at Finchcocks, Goudhurst, Kent.

The whereabouts of other pianos of interest remains a mystery. Broadwoods made four grand pianos especially for the Great Exhibition of 1851, and we know their serial numbers from the archives – nos.17842, 17861, 17864 and 17906. The first two had cases made of amboyna wood, no.17864 a case of walnut and no.17906 a case of ebony. The archives include detailed descriptions (materials used, names of workmen and costs) for no.17842 and no.17906. It would be wonderful to think that these pianos survived somewhere.



Illus. 3: John Broadwood and Sons day book entry for grand piano no.17047 on hire to Mrs Sartoris, 99 Eaton Place, for Chopin concert. SHC ref. 2185/JB/42/42

1 The document reserved to Shudi the right to sell harpsichords in hand. John Broadwood was granted the sole power of making and vending a piece of mechanism for the improvement of the harpsichord for which Shudi had obtained letters patent [the Venetian swell, 1769]. John Broadwood was to pay Shudi £25 p.a.; royalties for sales of harpsichords containing components designed by Shudi; £50 for every harpsichord made by another to which John Broadwood put the mechanism; and also £16 for every £100 received by John Broadwood for repairs. Shudi was also to see the firm's accounts every quarter. Surrey History Centre [SHC], ref. 2185/JB/1/1

2 A photograph and a detailed description of the instrument can be found at the museum's website: www.mfa.org.

3 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/83/9.

4 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/83/8. Unfortunately only a photographic copy of the original survives.

5 Cited in the Beethoven issue of the *Musical Times*, 15 December 1892. SHC, ref. 2185/JB/83/14.

6 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/15/20.

7 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/6/4/2.

8 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/84/4.

9 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/84/7.

10 SHC, ref. 7555/1.

11 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/78/1, 3.

12 Quiller Press, London, 1982.

13 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/42/232-244.

14 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/42/232.

15 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/42/235.

16 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/42/2.

17 For Eckhard see George W. Williams, 'Jacob Eckhard and His Choirmaster's Book', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 7 (Spring, 1954), 41-47.

18 G. Williams, 'Jacob Eckhard and His Choirmaster's Book', 41.

19 See *Jacob Eckhard's Choirmaster's Book of 1809: A facsimile with introduction and notes by George W. Williams* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1971).

20 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/42/4.

21 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/42/163.

22 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/42/10.

23 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/42/69.

24 SHC, ref. 2185/27/2.

25 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/29/1-121.

26 SHC, ref. 7555/1.

27 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/76/1-26.

28 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/64/6.

29 SHC, ref. 2185/JB/78/4.

30 SHC, ref. 2185/77/7.

31 www.surreycc.gov.uk/surreyhistoryservice. Follow the links to 'Search for Archives or Books' and then 'Collections Catalogue'. The website also gives details of our location and opening times.

32 For a description of these, see Charles Mould, 'The Broadwood Books', in *The English Harpsichord Magazine*, vol. 1, nos. 1 & 2, 1974.

The British Library Purchase of 'My Ladye Nevells Booke'

ANDREW WOOLLEY

The manuscript known as 'My Ladye Nevells Booke' has long been treasured as an important source for the keyboard music of William Byrd and as one of the most beautiful keyboard manuscripts of any period.[1] Consisting entirely of forty-two keyboard pieces by Byrd, about a third of his surviving output, it is written in the hand of John Baldwin, who was a lay clerk and copyist of St George's Chapel, Windsor. The manuscript's significance is known to scholars in several ways. For instance, it is thought that Baldwin, the copyist of two other important manuscripts from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, used Byrd's holographs. Upon completion of his work, he also dated the manuscript 'the leventh of September [...] 1591', making it the earliest significant source for Byrd's keyboard music and the earliest English keyboard manuscript to contain fingerings. As a non-autograph consisting only of one composer's music, among keyboard collections up to the end of the seventeenth century, it is unique.[2]

The first two pieces in the book are dedicated to 'My Ladye Nevell' who must have been a considerable admirer of Byrd's music. Until recently, however, her exact identity has not been known. In 1948, E. H. Fellowes thought it likely she was Rachel, the wife of Sir Edward Neville.[3] Thurston Dart noted, however, that a painted coat of arms on an inserted leaf in the manuscript accompanied by the initials 'H N', pointed to Sir Henry Neville of Billingbere.[4] Dart thought the arms were those of Sir Henry, whose wife was Elizabeth Bacon. In 2005 this theory was shown to be correct by John Harley, who noted that Elizabeth would have been the only member of the family allowed to bear the title 'Lady Nevell' at the time of the manuscript's compilation. [5] Harley has also charted the life of Lady Elizabeth, who was born about 1541, and was the eldest child of Nicholas Bacon (1510-79), Lord Keeper of the Great Seal under Elizabeth I.

Lady Elizabeth outlived three husbands and her many surviving letters and correspondences, which concern her property and family ties, give no indication of an interest in music.[6] Her patronage of music is nevertheless known from elsewhere, since she was the dedicatee of Thomas Morley's *The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces* (1595). In 1595 Lady Elizabeth was married to her third husband, Sir William Periam, and the dedication shows that Morley's wife was in Lady Periam's service, probably before 1589. Morley was a pupil of Byrd, and Harley points out that either composer could in fact have introduced the other to Lady Elizabeth. Byrd's residence at Harlington, Middlesex and the residences of other family members in Berkshire and Oxfordshire were close to Lady Elizabeth's at Billingbere. In particular, Harley suggests the possibility that 'My Ladye Nevells Booke' could have a connection with the marriage, around the time of the book's compilation, of Byrd's son Christopher to Katherine More, whose family had connections in nearby Hambleden.[7]

The contents of the manuscript represent Byrd's best keyboard work up to 1591, and give a unique perspective on the development of his keyboard style. The different genres the composer worked in are also grouped together. The first two works, 'My Ladye Nevels Grownde' and 'Qui Passe: for my ladye nevell', are followed by programmatic pieces including 'The Battle', a sequence of thirteen pieces depicting various aspects of warfare. A hexachord fantasia in G (*gamut*) marks the end of this section of the manuscript. Following this are nine pavans, seven accompanied by galliards, which are concluded by a voluntary also in *gamut*, 'for my ladye

nevell'. The remainder of the manuscript consists mostly of Byrd's well-known settings of popular grounds, his pavan for William Petre with accompanying galliard, and finally two remarkable pieces; an extraordinarily varied fancy in D minor and a beautiful voluntary in A minor.

This music has been known for some time, having been first edited by Hilda Andrews in 1926 shortly after the 300th anniversary of Byrd's death.[8] E. H. Fellowes (1948-51) and Alan Brown also used the manuscript in their complete editions of Byrd's keyboard works for *Musica Britannica*; a third revision of the latter has recently been completed (1999-2004). A recording of the manuscript's contents was made by Christopher Hogwood in 1976 and Davitt Moroney has recently recorded Byrd's entire keyboard output (1999).

Access to the manuscript itself has been the privilege of only a handful of scholars to date. In 2003, however, the British Library Board acknowledged the Library's intention to purchase 'My Ladye Nevells Booke' from its present owner, the sixth Marquess of Abergavenny. Throughout the manuscript's history it has mostly been in the Neville family's possession. A note in the manuscript from the late seventeenth century, signed 'M Bergavenny', indicates that it was 'presented to Queene Elizabeth by my Lord Edward Abergavennye [...] the queene ordered one s^r or m^r North one of her servants, to keepe it, who left it [to] his son, who gave it [to] m^r Haughton Atturney of Cliffords Inn, & he last somer 1668 gave it to me'.[9] The possibility that the manuscript was presented to Queen Elizabeth seems unlikely, given that Edward died in 1589, though the author of the note may have confused Edward with Sir Henry who died in early 1593.[10] From 1668 the family may have retained the manuscript until the end of the eighteenth century when it became a part of Charles Burney's collection; it was sold at his death in 1814. Edward Rimbault claimed to have seen the manuscript while it was in the possession of another nineteenth century owner, Robert Triphook, a bookseller who probably sold the manuscript back to the Nevell family in about 1830.[11]

The British Library's fundraising campaign to acquire the manuscript began in Summer 2005 and £450,000 was needed to secure the purchase. This was reached shortly before the deadline for donations on 31st March 2006, courtesy of support from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, the National Art Collections Fund, the Friends of the British Library, the Friends of the National Libraries, the Golsoncott Foundation and members of the public. Following the successful acquisition, a series of projects are now planned, which include creating a digitised version of the manuscript juxtaposed with a modern edition on the British Library's website and the loaning of the manuscript to other libraries in the UK. In the autumn of this year, the Library's Saul Seminars will include a talk on recordings of performances of 'My Ladye Nevells Booke'. A study day on the manuscript is also intended for autumn 2007. Together with the 'Fitzwilliam Virginal Book', 'My Ladye Nevells Booke' is one of the greatest surviving collections of keyboard music in Britain. With the British Library's acquisition, the manuscript's continued preservation is assured and an exciting time in its history has begun.

1 Two essays on aspects of calligraphy and performance practice by H. Gaskin and D. Hunter are in A. Brown and R. Turbet (eds.). *Byrd Studies* (Cambridge, 1992), 159-73; see also A. Brown. ('"My Lady Nevell's Book" as a Source of Byrd's Keyboard Music'), *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association,* 95 (1968), pp. 29-39.

2 The manuscript F-Pn Rés. 1185 might be considered an exception, which consisted only of music by Bull before the additions of a later owner, Benjamin Cosyn.

3 *William Byrd*, 2nd edn. (London, 1948).

4 T. Dart. 'Two New Documents Relating to the Royal Music, 1584-1605', *Music and Letters [ML]*, 45 (1964), 16-21 (21).

5 '"My Ladye Nevell" Revealed', *ML*, 86 (2005), 1-15.

6 Ibid., 7.

7 Ibid., 9.

8 *My Ladye Nevells Booke of Virginal Music*, ed. H. Andrews (London, 1926)

9 Quoted in Harley (2005), 11 and Andrews (1926), xvi.

10 Harley (2005), 11.

11 Correspondence in *Notes and Queries*, 7 (January-February, 1853), quoted in Andrews (1926), xvii-xviii.

Dibdin Here, Dibdin There, Dibdin Everywhere: a report on the LUCEM 'Charles Dibdin autographs project'

JOHN CUNNINGHAM

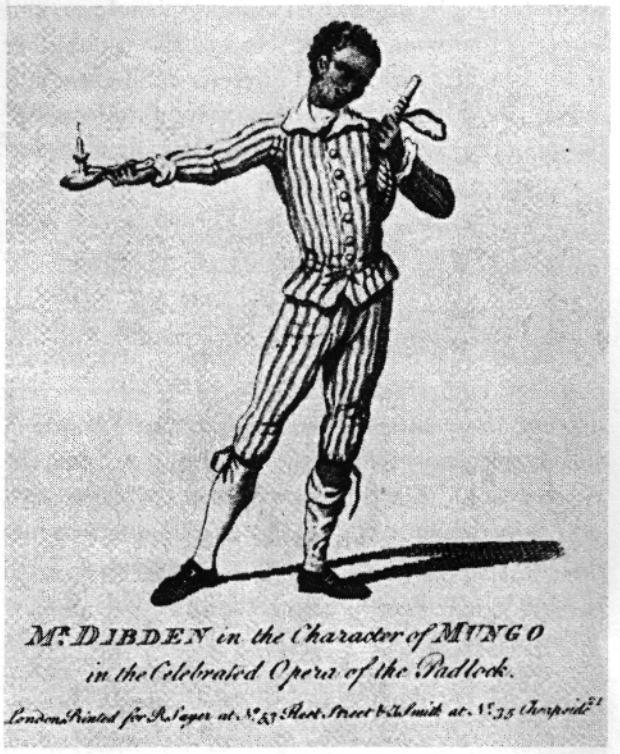
Charles Dibdin (the elder) – singer, librettist, composer, painter, stage historian, publisher, travel writer and (multi-volume) autobiographer – was truly a Renaissance man. Born in Southampton in March 1745, Dibdin was one of at least fourteen children [Illus. 1].[1] An apparently autodidactic composer, he began his career as a singer in the chorus at Covent Garden in the 1760s. In 1763 Dibdin published *A Collection of English Songs and Cantatas*, and the following year his all-sung pastoral *The Shepherd's Artifice* was performed at Covent Garden. Dibdin's first major success as a singer came in Samuel Arnold's opera *The Maid of the Mill* (1765), in which he played the farmer's son. This was followed three years later by his highly successful performance as the black servant Mungo, in his own opera *The Padlock*. This was a reworking of Cervantes' *El celoso estremeño*, a work translated into English as *The Jealous Husband*, and tells of an old man who locks up his fiancée in his house for fear that she will be unfaithful to him. *The Padlock* is centred on the character of Mungo, the old man's West Indian slave. Dibdin played the part in blackface, one of the earliest examples of this practice [Illus. 2]. Mungo is a contemporary stereotype: greedy, heavy drinking and musical. The part was performed imitating the dialects of the West Indian slaves:

> Dear heart, what a terrible life am I led!
> A dog has a better, that's shelter'd and fed:
>
> Night and day 'tis de same,
> My pain is dere game:
> Me wish to de Lord me was dead.
>
> Whate'er's to be done,
> Poor black must run;
> Mungo here, Mungo dere,
> Mungo every where;
> Above and below,
> Sirrah, come, sirrah, go;
> Do so, and do so.
> Oh! oh!
> Me wish to de Lord me was dead.[2]

1768 also saw Dibdin suddenly leave Covent Garden to take up a position at Drury Lane, where he remained for seven years. Dibdin's career reached its apex in the early 1770s, when he was much in demand as a singer and librettist.

Debt and the fairer sex were recurrent problems for Dibdin. He married in his teens, but soon left his young wife for the dancer Harriet Pitt, with whom he had two sons, Charles Isaac Mungo Dibdin (1768–1833) and Thomas John Dibdin (1771–1841), who both went on to have successful stage careers. However, Dibdin had little contact with his sons after he abandoned Pitt in 1775 in favour of the Drury Lane singer Anne Wyld. By 1776 Dibdin's £800 debts were large enough to force him to flee to France to avoid prison. He spent the next two years in Nancy composing prolifically, before returning to work at Covent Garden in 1778. Debt was to be a

Illus. 1: Charles Dibdin



Illus. 2: Dibdin in blackface as Mungo in *The Padlock*

constant feature of Dibdin's later career, although he did manage to gain a measure of financial security in the 1790s through his one-man-show *Table Entertainments* given in his own custom-built tiny theatre off the Strand called the '*Sans Souci*', which later he moved to Leicester Square in 1796. He originally toured the country with the show to finance his emigration to India, but abandoned this idea upon discovering that sea-faring was not in his blood. He disembarked at Torbay. Dibdin died in poverty and obscurity in Camden Town in 1814. As a composer, Dibdin's output is varied and probably best represented by his short comic operas, the best of which survive only in vocal score. He was the first English composer to grasp fully the galant style, and the themes of many of his operas, the plots of which are centred often on working-class subjects, are novel in their treatment of low-characters. Dibdin's travel-diaries; *Observations on a Tour through almost the Whole of England and a Considerable Part of Scotland* (London, 1801–2) – illustrated with prints of several of Dibdin's own paintings – and *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin* (Sheffield, 1788), are both highly entertaining and certainly worth a read.[3]

A project is currently underway to assemble a digital photograph resource of all of the Dibdin autograph sources. The project is headed by Dr Peter Holman, a Reader in Musicology at Leeds University, and the director of the *Leeds University Centre for English Music* (LUCEM). LUCEM was established to promote research into neglected areas of English music by publishing research, and by putting on conferences, concerts and other events. Although LUCEM is devoted to English music of all periods, it is initially focused on the most neglected period of English music: 1700-1850.[4]

There are four main collections of Dibdin autographs. The largest and best-known of the Dibdin collections is housed in the British Library: Add. MSS 30,950-70, consisting of twenty-one volumes of autograph material. In May 1995 the British Library acquired another substantial collection of autograph Dibdin material (GB-Lbl, MSS Mus. 149-152). These autograph scores – purchased with a collection of printed music by Dibdin – seem to have once formed part of Dibdin's personal library. The four volumes consist of autograph scores of vocal music and instrumental music for keyboard, including some copies of works by other composers, such as Handel.[5] There is also a substantial Dibdin collection in the Houghton Library at Harvard University, containing much printed material as well as autograph manuscripts.[6] The Brotherton Library at Leeds University holds a sizeable collection of Dibdin materials, both printed and manuscript sources. The collection of Dibdin autographs is bound in twenty-seven volumes, supplemented by thirty-two loose pages of compositional sketches for instrumental and stage works. These were acquired (in their bound state) by Lord Brotherton (1856-1930), between 1924-5 and his death in 1930, from a collector by the name of William Thomas Freemantle (1849-1931), from whom Brotherton acquired much material. Freemantle was a Professor of Music in Sheffield,

where he taught organ, harmonium, pianoforte, and harmony and counterpoint. He was also a publisher and bookseller, with special interests in Sheffield and music (including a large Mendelssohn collection).[7] Freemantle apparently sorted the originally loose-leaf autographs and bound them into the hard-cover volumes according to the work from which they came, or whence they were presumed to come; some are bound according to character(s). The twenty-seven volumes all appear to be in Dibdin's hand, consisting of a mixture of fair copies, performance parts and compositional sketches. The volumes vary in length from three or four pages to over a hundred, and mostly consist of music for the stage from the 1770s and 1780s in full score. There are operas such as *The Shepherdess of the Alps* (1780), pantomimes such as *The Mirror, or Harlequin Everywhere* (1779), and the table entertainment *The Oddities* (1789).

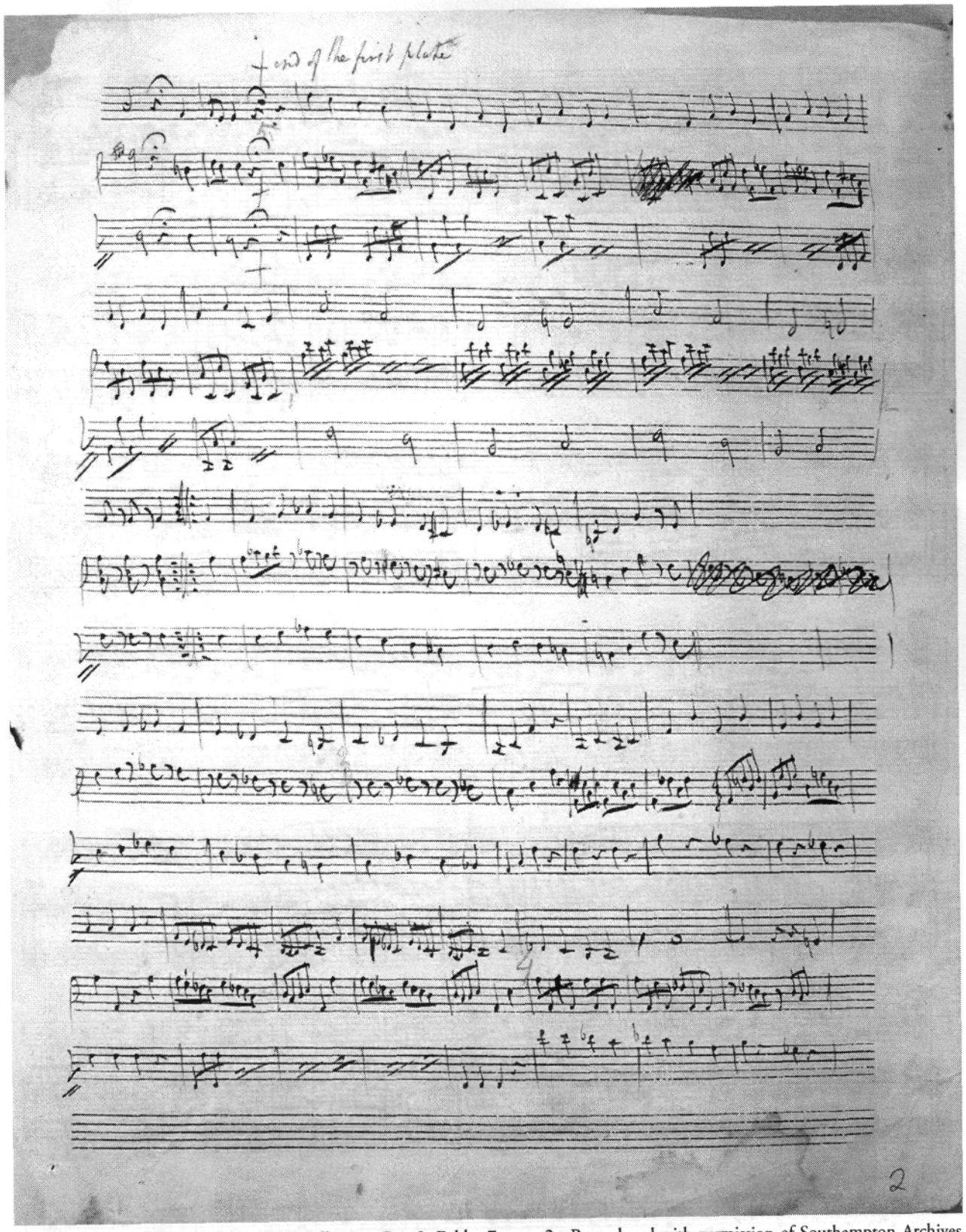
Last, the Southampton City Archive is home to a large collection of Dibdin autographs, and is where the LUCEM project was fittingly begun. Although an (unknown) enthusiastic local music historian divided the Southampton collection into general categories several years ago, it remains to be systematically sorted. The collection consists of almost 1,500 pages of music paper (approximately 200 pages of which are unused). The bulk of the collection consists of loose single leaves or bifolios in small gatherings, which are stored in four boxes, sub-divided into individual folders. Each leaf has been paginated within the four boxes by the archive staff. The pagination is mostly continuous within each box, although some of the pagination is according to category.

Box 1 contains 404 pages of material related to several of Dibdin's pantomimes. Box 2 holds 202 pages of miscellaneous material, including military band music, and an interesting *Allegro* piece that is probably a movement from a sonata for violin and piano – the other movements are not included in the Southampton collection. This was evidently a fair-copy received back from the printers, complete with directions for the position of the plates [Illus. 3]; it is transcribed and edited in full in Example 1. In addition to this miscellaneous material, there is in Box 2 a substantial amount of material (248 pages) relating to his operas. These opera folders claim to contain material pertaining to *The Recruiting Sergeant* (Ranelagh Gardens, 1770) and to *Jupiter and Alcmena* (Dibdin's operatic version of John Dryden's *Amphitryon*, performed at Covent Garden in 1781); however, a brief examination did not reveal any material pertaining to the former work, which appears now to be missing from the collection. Box 3 contains 422 pages of sketches and unfinished pieces, including some choruses and instrumental parts. Box 4 contains over 250 pages of miscellaneous instrumental music.

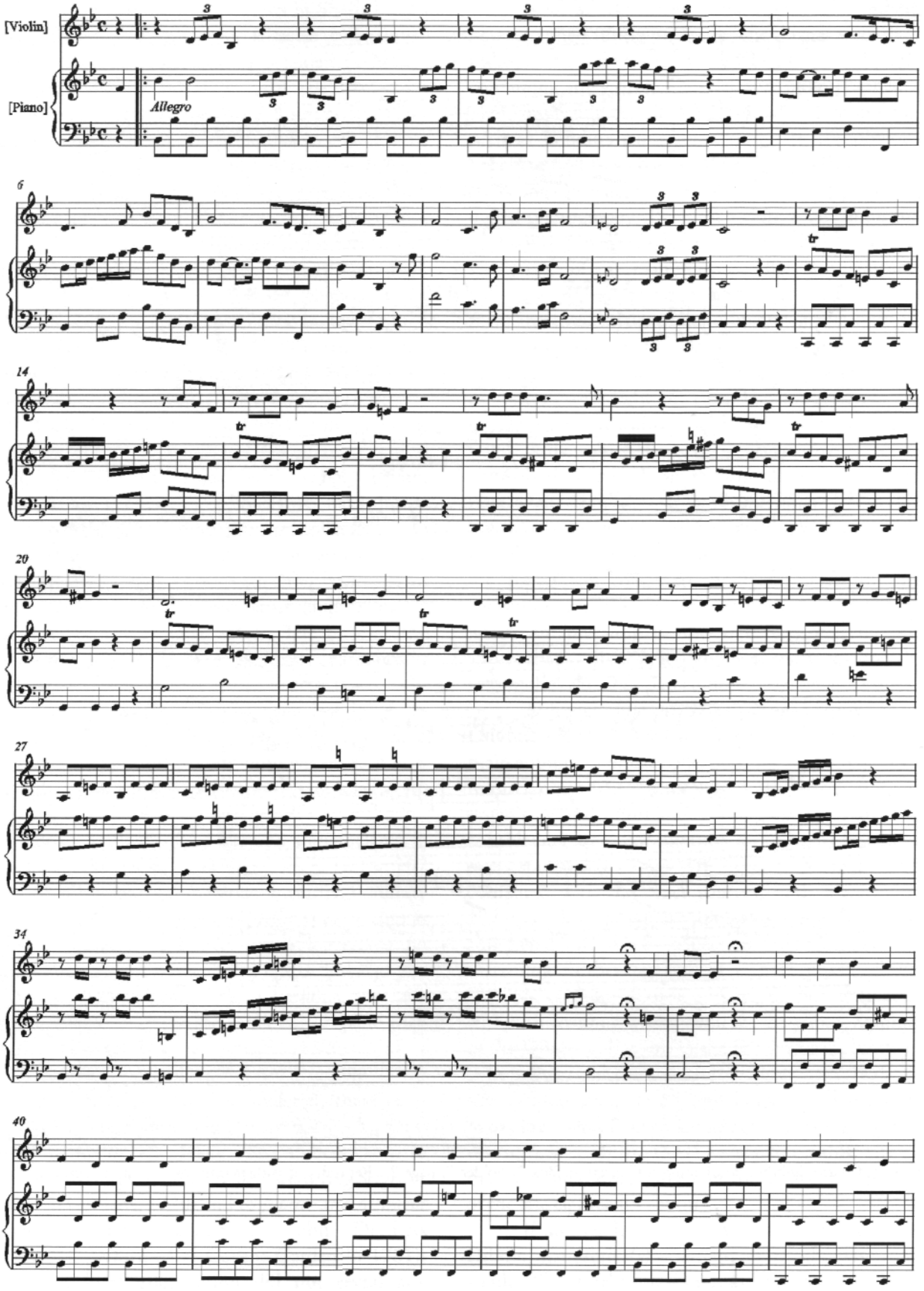
The Southampton collection was digitally photographed (using no flash). The images were then indexed and transferred to five CD-ROMs. All pages containing any written material were photographed – even those only containing marginalia or scribbling, such as Dibdin's sums. In addition to the obvious benefits of remote access and the conservation of the collection, storing a copy of the manuscripts using digital photography allows for a close zoom-in on the (full-colour) images, which can often clarify hard-to-see parts of a manuscript. The Southampton collection appears to be mostly holograph, although there are several types of hand present in the sources, which are likely to be related to function; detailed examination and comparison with other sources will doubtlessly cast light on this. The manuscripts are largely in good condition, although there are several fragile leafs, which have been placed in protective clear plastic sleeves. From the disorderly and random state of the collection, it is obvious that Dibdin did not have posterity in mind for his musical works. This is evident too from the originally disorganized state of the Brotherton collection. Also of interest in this collection are the many compositional sketches, which are revealing of the way in which Dibdin approached orchestral composition, apparently setting the two outer parts followed by the inner ones.

Although fine work has been published on Dibdin's life and career, the disorganised state of the main autograph music collections remains a barrier to research into the musical sources.[8] The task of organising the multifarious autograph sources is a considerable one. For instance, an index of first lines from the various songs will need to be made and compared with the other sources, both manuscript and printed. Only when initial stages such as this are completed will the collections be capable of sustaining further research. The next phase of the LUCEM Dibdin project – due to be completed within the coming weeks – will see the photographing of the Dibdin collection in the Brotherton Library. It is hoped that in the near future this project will be successful in assembling a digital photograph resource of the four main Dibdin autograph collections, which will in turn stimulate further research on this, one of the most interesting and colourful English composers of the late eighteenth century.

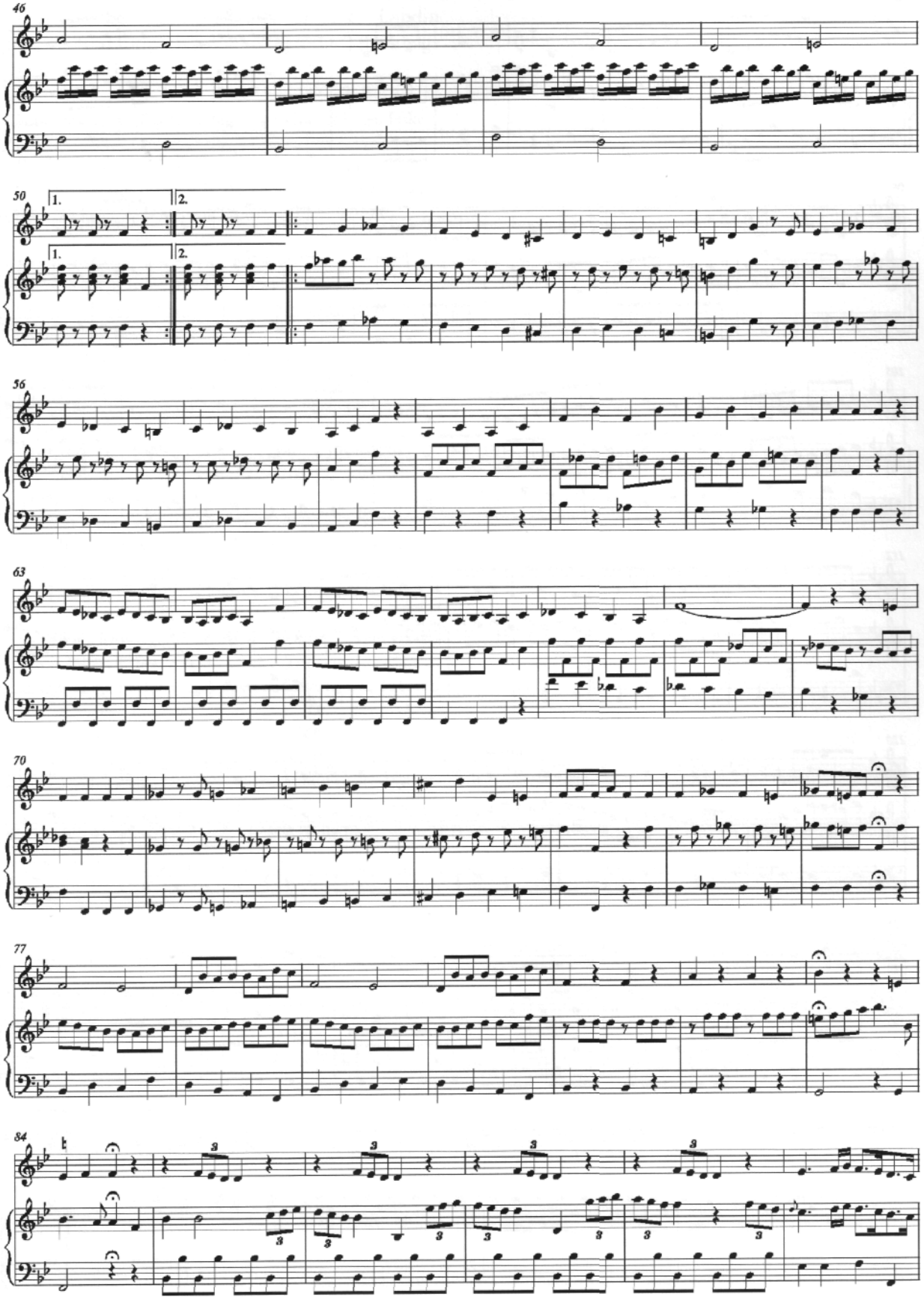
If any reader has access to, or knows of, any Dibdin manuscript(s) – autograph or otherwise – or would like further information on the LUCEM Dibdin project, please contact Dr Peter Holman at p.k.holman@leeds.ac.uk



Illus. 3: Charles Dibdin, Southampton Collection, Box 2, Folder 7, page 2. Reproduced with permission of Southampton Archives Services.



Ex. 1 Dibdin, First movement from a sonata for violin & piano[?]; Southampton Collection, Box 2, Folder 7, pp. 1-4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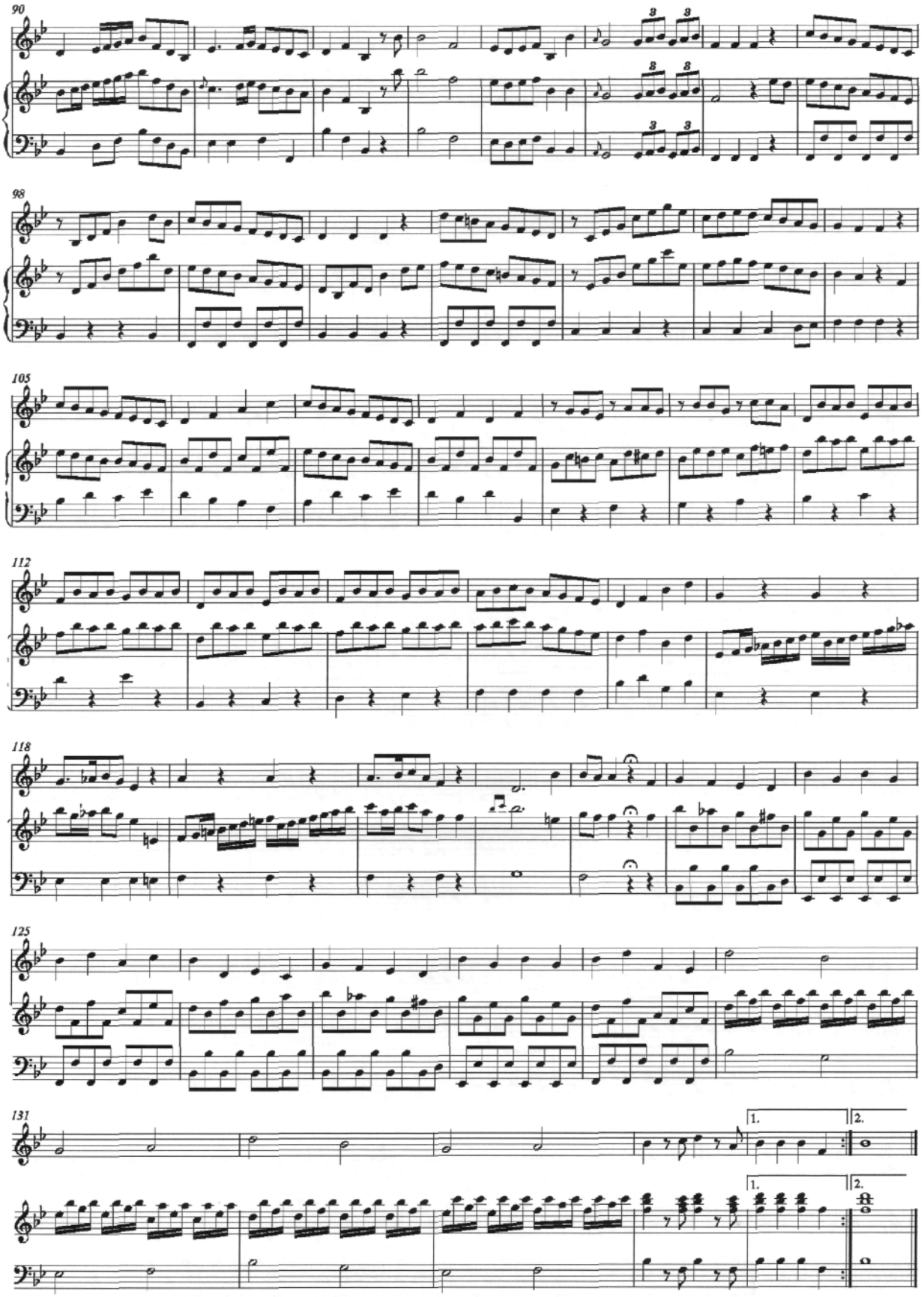
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*Thanks are extended to the staff of the Southampton City Archive for kind permission in allowing and facilitating the photographing of the Dibdin collection, and for permission to reproduce the image in Illustration 3.

1 For a more detailed account of Dibdin's life see Roger Fiske & Irena Cholij, 'Charles Dibdin', *Grove Music Online* [*GMO*], ed. L. Macy, http://www.grovemusic.com.

2 *The Padlock*: Act 1, scene III; the libretto can be downloaded from the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* website.

3 *The Musical Tour* is available to download from the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* website.

4 For more information on LUCEM and its aims – or to become a corresponding member – visit the website at http://www.leeds.ac.uk/lucem/.

5 I wish to thank Dr Nicholas Bell, head of the Music Collections at the British Library, for supplying this information. A full description of the Dibdin holdings at the British Library can be obtained from http://molcat.bl.uk/

6 The online manuscript catalogue is located at http://oasis.harvard.edu and the printed materials at http://hollisweb.harvard.edu

7 I wish to thank Chris Sheppard, head of Special Collections at the Brotherton Library, and Peter Holman for supplying the information on Freemantle.

8 For example see Robert Fahrner, *The Theatre Career of Charles Dibdin the Elder (1745–1814)* (New York, 1989). The state of autograph studies is evident in the poorly-sourced worklist of the *GMO* article. The only recording of Dibdin is to be found on *Charles Dibdin: The Ephesian Matron, The Brickdust Man, The Grenadier*, Opera Restor'd/Peter Holman (Hyperion CDA66608, 1992).

Review of Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, rev. and trans. Richard D. P. Jones

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) ISBN 0-19-816707-5

PETER HOLMAN

Alfred Dürr is the doyen of Bach scholars. Born in 1918, he worked at the Bach Institute in Göttingen for more 30 years, leading the editing of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe and editing the Bach-Jahrbuch. Perhaps his most important contribution to scholarship was to establish (initially in an article published in 1957) a completely new chronology of Bach's Leipzig cantatas. Until then it was supposed that Bach had composed cantatas at a more or less steady rate from his arrival in Leipzig in 1723 until shortly before his death in 1750. However, by studying the handwriting of the surviving manuscripts and the paper on which they written, and by using such arcane things as rastrology (the practice of identifying the multi-nib pens used to rule the staves of manuscripts by the minute variations in the gap between each nib), he was able to show conclusively that the old 'steady-state' theory of Bach's output was wrong, and that most of the Leipzig cantatas were composed in a 'big-bang'-like burst of creative energy in the 1720s. This book is therefore the result of a lifetime devoted to Bach and his music. It was first published in German in 1971; the English version is a translation of the 1991 edition by Richard Jones, the author of many editions of Bach's keyboard music.

The Cantatas of J. S. Bach is a massive book (nearly 1000 pages), most of which is devoted to dictionary-like entries for all the cantatas, sacred and secular, surviving or lost. The bulk of them are placed in the order of the church year, followed by those written for various special occasions, and then by the secular cantatas. Each entry takes the form of a reference to locations in the two collected editions (the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* and the nineteenth-century *Bach Gesellschaft*), estimated timings (or rather, over-estimated timings: they are on average about five minutes longer than those on a random sampling of recent period-instrument recordings), the scorings, the complete texts in German and English giving the key and time-signature of each movement, and Dürr's commentary. There is also a relatively brief (71 pages) introduction, covering the history of the cantata before Bach, Bach's development of the genre, and questions of performance practice.

The main problem with this book is its cost: the OUP list price is £175. This has provoked a petition (see: www.bach-cantatas.com/Books/Bachs-Cantatas%5BDurr%5D-Petition.htm) to try to get OUP to reduce it, so far without effect, though some internet sites are already listing a forthcoming paperback. About half of the book consists of side-by-side German and English texts, which are useful to have, though they are all readily available in *J. S. Bach, the Complete Cantatas in German-English Translation by Richard Stokes* (Ebrington, 1999),

which Amazon is currently advertising for $43.38, and they can also be had for free from several Internet sites, such as www.bach-cantatas.com/IndexTexts.htm and www.let.rug.nl/Linguistics/diversen/bach/cantatas/. Furthermore, much of the other information is readily available in *The New Grove* or in other reference books, such as the admirable Bach volume in the Oxford Composer Companions series, edited by Malcolm Boyd (Oxford, 1999). It is currently out of print, but can easily be found on the Internet. It contains useful entries devoted to all the surviving cantatas as well as articles on virtually every aspect of Bach's life and works.

Thus, to be recommendable, Dürr's book needs to have an exceptional introduction and sets of commentaries for the individual cantatas. The introduction is undoubtedly useful, though the historical background is quite brief and concentrates too much on rather basic and general descriptions of the various genres. I would have preferred a focussed discussion of those works, such as those by earlier members of the Bach family and by Johann Pachelbel (a family friend), that would have provided the young Johann Sebastian with the models for his own early works. Also, with the later cantatas we get no sense of how Bach was similar to or different from his contemporaries working in similar circumstances, though with more and more works by composers such as Telemann, Fasch, Stölzel and Graupner now being edited and recorded, it is becoming possible to set him properly in his historical and musical context.

Readers of *EMP* will probably turn early on to the section on performance practice, only to find that it concentrates largely on questions of scoring. Other aspects, such as tempo, tempo relationships (particularly important in the early 'patchwork' cantatas such as the *Actus Tragicus* BWV 106 and 'Aus der Teifen rufe ich, Herr, zu dir' BWV 131), pitch (important for an understanding of how Bach coped with the differing pitches of wind instruments and organs), singing style, pronunciation, articulation, bowing and ornamentation, are not discussed at all. The discussion of scoring is itself rather unbalanced. Much of it is devoted to continuo scoring, and, while the research of Joshua Rifkin and Andrew Parrott into the nature of the 'choir' in Bach's sacred works is usefully summarised (the cantatas were normally sung one to a part, with a second ripieno consort added to portions of the ensemble sections on occasion), Dürr does not convey the sense that this was the general practice in Germany before and during Bach's lifetime. Other aspects, such as the size of the various instrumental ensembles and the voices required for the secular cantatas (also one-to-a-part groups), are not discussed.

The most useful sections of the book are the commentaries on the individual cantatas. They contain a wealth of information about such things as the liturgical background to the texts, the function of the works in the Lutheran liturgy, the sources and variant versions. Until now much of this information, published in German periodicals and in the critical reports of the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, has been hard to find, at least for the English-speaking reader. There is also a brief description of each movement, which expands somewhat for the greatest and most famous works. Although newcomers to Bach cantatas will undoubtedly find these descriptions useful, they tend to fasten on obvious structural features (Dürr is particularly keen to show how Bach alludes to chorales in his own thematic material), and they do not reveal very much about compositional process. There is nothing in the book, for instance, that can match the perceptive analysis of the first movement of 'Jesu, der du meine Seele' BWV 78 by Laurence Dreyfus (*The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. J. Butt (Cambridge, 1997), 184-192) or Robert Marshall's reconstruction of the way Bach planned his setting of the Magnificat ('On the Origins of Bach's Magnificat: a Lutheran Challenge', *Bach Studies*, ed. D. O. Franklin (Cambridge, 1989), 3-17).

But to be fair to Dürr, he would not have been able to cover all the cantatas had he gone into that sort of detail, and he states in the preface that the book is intended for 'the interested lay reader' rather than the specialist, 'as a companion during live performances, radio broadcasts, or recordings, acting as a guide to attentive listening'. On this level it serves its purpose well, though I will leave prospective purchasers to decide for themselves whether their £175 would not be better spent on a little library of smaller Bach books. You could buy *J. S. Bach, the Complete Cantatas in German-English Translation by Richard Stokes,* the Bach volume in the Oxford Composer Companions series and *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* and still have change left over for some CDs of these marvellous works.

CORRESPONDENCE

In praise of NEMA...

On my 80th birthday I want to write a few words in praise of NEMA. I was for some years an active member of its Council and rarely missed a meeting. Latterly I was the NEMA observer on the Early Music Network Council which I also attended regularly (as the sandwiches were so good). During this period NEMA was somewhat in trouble as its membership was declining, and it was actually suggested that it served little purpose – this despite the continued publication of *The Early Music Yearbook* as a result of long hours of voluntary work by a devoted group of Council members. This is an essential Directory, and it not only serves its main purpose as a standard reference book but it contrives also to be a good read. And it just goes on improving.

The meagre *Newsletter* became *Leading Notes* and then even better as *Early Music Performer*. Under Bryan White's editorship it has become more scholarly, but, having a narrower, more specific purpose, it complements rather than shadows *Early Music*. Last year, working with Ashgate, NEMA published its first book.

John Thomson envisaged NEMA as the UK's national representative body and a focus for all music-making in the early music field. Unfortunately NEMA lost touch with the Fora, the main regional centres of activity, but that failure has now been well repaired by holding NEMA's AGM playing days in association with one or other of the Fora. All that remains to be done is to establish a meaningful joint membership scheme – a last problem for the indefatigable Administrator, Mark Windisch, who has contributed so much to NEMA's recovery.

NEMA has always played, and is continuing to do so, an important part in one of the most welcome changes in the world of music generally. Fifty years ago, as had been the case in some earlier epochs, the study of music – musicology, and playing musical instruments or singing, were regarded as two separate entities. Playing an instrument professionally was even thought of as a rather plebian occupation, requiring skill but not much intelligence. And musicology was an academic enclave beyond the understanding of mere performers. But with the growing importance of historically informed performance (understood within the title of its journal) NEMA has been an agent for a gradual process of assimilation. In NEMA's Council I worked with two Chairmen, Christopher Page and Peter Holman, who are internationally distinguished both for their outstanding scholarship and for their music-making, with many excellent CDs to their credit. This greatly to be welcomed rapprochement between academia and music performance will surely, with the encouragement of bodies such as NEMA, continue apace. Names such as Federico Sardelli of Florence, Judy Tarling, Nancy Hadden, Eva Legêne, Christopher Hogwood, John Butt and Ian Harwood, all in their individual ways come to mind in this context. May NEMA continue to play its part in a process which is beneficial to both sides of a waning scholar-performance divide.

Anthony Rowland-Jones, 17th February, 2006

Recent Articles on Issues of Performance Practice

Compiled by Andrew Woolley

Journal of the American Musicological Society Vol. 58/ iii (Fall, 2005)

- Jeremy L. Smith, *Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana*
- Wendy Heller, *The Beloved's Image: Handel's Admeto and the Statue of Alcestis*

Early Keyboard Journal Vol. 22 (2004)

- Michael Latcham, *The Pianos of Johann David Schiedmayer*
- Christopher Kent, *Some Georgian Organ Cases of the West of England*
- Tim Rishton, *The Twelve Harpsichord Concertos of Thomas Chilcot*
- Roland Jackson, *Domenico Scarlatti's Acciaccaturas and Their Role in the Design of His Keyboard Sonatas*

Early Music Vol. 34/i (February 2006)

- Anthony Rowland-Jones, *Iconography in the history of the recorder up to 1430—Part 2*
- Andrew Johnstone, *'High' clefs in composition and performance*
- John Haines, *New light on the polyphonic sequence Ave virgo, virga Jesse*
- Gregory Barnett, *Handel's borrowings and the disputed* Gloria
- Michael Latcham, *Don Quixote and Wanda Landowska: bells and Pleyels*
- Ruth I. DeFord, *The mensura of in the works of Du Fay*

Book Reviews:

- John Irving: *The last Elizabethan*: Anthony Boden, *Thomas Tomkins: the last Elizabethan,* with contributions by Denis Stevens, David R. A. Evans, Peter James, Bernard Rose
- Rebecca Kan *Ritornello dynamics*: Simon McVeigh and Jehoash Hirshberg, *The Italian solo concerto, 1700–1760, rhetorical strategies and style history*
- Peter Leech, *Regal Handel*: Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*
- Brian Clark, *Pisendel and the Dresden orchestra*: Kai Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung*
- Richard Maunder, *Cataloguing concertos*: Owain Edwards, *English 18th-century concertos: an inventory and thematic catalogue*
- Julian Rushton, *Imperial pleasures*: John A. Rice, *Empress Marie Therese and music at the Viennese court, 1792–1807*

Music Reviews:

- Bernadette Nelson, *Morales in Toledo*: *Códice 25 de la Catedral de Toledo: Polifonía de Morales, Guerrero, Ambiela, Boluda, Josquin, Lobo, Tejeda, Urrede y Anónimos*, ed. Michael Noone
- Tim Crawford, *Lute counterpoint from Naples*: *Neapolitan lute music: Fabrizio Dentice, Giulio Severino, Giovanni Antonio Severino, Francesco Cardone*, ed. John Griffiths and Dinko Fabris
- Lucy Robinson, *John Ward, 'to satisfie both quickness of heart and hand'*: John Ward, *Consort Music of 4 parts*, ed. Ian Payne

Correspondence:

- Michael Robertson, *The court suite revisited*
- Mark Kroll, *More on Francesco Scarlatti*
- Christopher D. S. Field, *Cadences in recitative*

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- Anthony Rowland-Jones, *Iconography in the history of the recorder up to c.1430—Part 1*
- Graham Cummings, *Handel and the confus'd shepherdess: a case study of stylistic eclecticism*
- Robert Rawson, *Gottfried Finger's Christmas pastorellas*
- Allan W. Atlas, *A 41-cent emendation: a textual problem in Wheatstone's publication of Giulio Regondi's* Serenade *for English concertina and piano*
- Juan Ruiz Jiménez, Infunde amorem cordibus*: an early 16th-century polyphonic hymn cycle from Seville*
- Joshua F. Drake, *The partbooks of a Florentine ex-patriate: new light on Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Ms. Magl. XIX 164–7*

- Stephen Rice, *Reconstructing Tallis's Latin* Magnificat *and* Nunc dimittis
- Roger Bowers, *More on the Lambeth Choirbook*
- Frans Muller and Julie Muller, *Completing the picture: the importance of reconstructing early opera*
- Timothy Day, *Tallis in performance*

Book Reviews:

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- Tim Carter, *The power of song?*: Bonnie Gordon, *Monteverdi's unruly women: the power of song in early modern Italy*
- Stephen Rose, *The bear growls*: Johann Beer, *Sämtliche Werke*, xii/1: *Musikalische Schriften: Ursus murmurat, Ursus vulpinatur, Bellum musicum, Musicalische Discurse*, ed. Ferdinand van Ingen and Hans-Gert Roloff;Johann Beer, *Sämtliche Werke*, xii/2: *Musikalische Schriften: Schola phonologica*, ed. Michael Heinemann;*Johann Beer: Schriftsteller, Komponist und Hofbeamter, 1655–1700*, ed. Ferdinand van Ingen and Hans-Gert Roloff
- Jennifer Thorp, *Eloquent bodies: humanist and grotesque dance*: Jennifer Nevile, *The eloquent body: dance and humanist culture in 15th-century Italy*
- Margaret Yelloly, *Disclosing women's voices*: *Musical voices of early modern women: many-headed melodies*, ed. Thomasin LaMay

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- Douglas Hollick, *The 'famous organist' Vincent Lübeck*: Vincent Lübeck, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Orgel- und Clavierwerke*, vols.1 & 2, ed. Siegbert Rampe
- Lois Rosow, *Rameau's* galante *orgy*: Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Anacréon: ballet héroique en un acte*, ed. Jonathan Huw Williams, Opera Omnia, ser.IV, vol.25

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- Peter Holman, *The clarinet in England*
- Agnes Kory, *Boccherini and the cello*
- Virginia Pleasants, *Howard Schott: a personal tribute*
- Clemens Goldberg, *A new Internet Academy*

Early Music History Vol. 24 (2005)

- Timothy J. Dickey, *Rethinking the Siena choirbook: a new date and implications for its musical contents*
- Mary E. Frandsen, *Eunuchi conjugium: the marriage of a castrato in early modern Germany*
- James Grier, *The musical autographs of Adémar de Chabannes (989–1034)*
- Yossi Maurey, *A courtly lover and an earthly knight turned soldiers of Christ in Machaut's motet 5*
- Laurie Stras, *'Al gioco si conosce il galantuomo': artifice, humour and play in the Enigmi Musicali of Don Lodovico Aostino*

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- James B. Kopp, *Before Borjon: The French court musette to 1672*
- Michael Fleming, *An 'Old Old Viol' and 'Other Lumber': Musical Remains in Provincial, Non-Noble England c.1580-1660*

- Charles Foster, *Tinctoris' Imperfect Dulcina Perfected - the Mary Rose Still Shawm*
- Giuliana Montanari, *Florentine Claviorgans (1492-1900)*
- Grant O' Brien and Francesco Nocerino, *The Tiorbino: an unrecognised instrument type built by harpsichord makers with possible evidence for a surviving instrument*

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- Roger Harmon, *Some Literary and Philosophical Aspects of the Idea of the Fantasy*
- Christopher Goodwin, *A Few More Discoveries in Elizabethan Song*

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- Sandra Mangsen: Giuseppi Torelli, *Concerti musicali, Op. 6*, ed. John G. Suess
- David Ross Hurley: Nicola Francesco Haym, *Complete sonatas, part 1; part 2* ed. Lowell E. Lindgren
- Sandra Mangsen: Benedetto Marcello, *Il pianto e il riso delle quattro stagioni* ed. Michael Burden
- Sterling E. Murray: *Six orchestral serenades from south Germany and Austria, Part 1: Munich; Part 2: Salzburg, Thurn und Taxis, and Oettingen-Wallerstein* ed. Andrew Kearns
- Mark Everist: Gioachino Rossini, *Il viaggio a Reims* ed. Janet L. Johnson, Fondazione Rossini

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- Mark Kroll, *Charles Avison*

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- Sarah M. Stoycos, *Making an Initial Impression: Lassus's First Book of Five-Part Madrigals*
- Donald Burrows, *'Mr Harris's Score': A New Look at the 'Mathews' Manuscript of Handel's 'Messiah'*

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- Richard Freedman: Robert Weeda, *'L'Église des Français' de Strasbourg (1538–1563): Rayonnement européen de sa liturgie et de ses psautiers*
- Colin Lawson: John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815*
- Nicholas Temperley: *Marsh of Chichester: Gentleman, Composer, Musician, Writer 1752–1828*, ed. Paul Foster
- Martin Adams: Roy Johnston, *Bunting's Messiah*
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- James Garratt: Karen Lehmann, *Die Anfänge einer Bach-Gesamtausgabe 1801–1865*

Music Reviews:

- James Grier: *Melodien aus mittelalterlichen Horaz-Handschriften: Edition und Interpretation der Quellen*, ed. Sylvia Wälli
- John Morehen: Martin Peerson, *Complete Works: I (Latin Motets)*, ed. Richard Rastall
- David Pinto: John Hilton, *Ayres, or Fa La's for Three Voyces (1627)*, ed. John Morehen
- Barry Cooper: *'fitt for the Manicorde': A Seventeenth-Century English Collection of Keyboard Music*, ed. Christopher Hogwood

- Peter Horton: John Marsh, *Symphonies, Part 1: the Salisbury and Canterbury Symphonies (1778–1784); Part 2: the Chichester Symphonies and Finales (1778–1801)*, ed. Ian Graham-Jones

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- Don Fader, *The 'Cabale du Dauphin', Campra, and Italian Comedy: The Courtly Politics of French Musical Patronage around 1700*
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- Robin Stowell: Toby Faber, *Stradivarius: Five Violins, One Cello and a Genius*
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- Michael Hurd: Nicholas Temperley, *Bound for America: Three British Composers*
- John Parsons: David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance: An Examination of Style in Performance, 1850—1900*

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- Richard Turbet, *Greatness Thrust Upon 'em: Services by Byrd and Others Reconsidered*
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- Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, *French Grand Motets and their use at the Chapelle Royale from Louis XIV to Louis XVI*
- Carol Jarman, *Buxtehude's Ciacona in C minor and the Nicene Creed*

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- Ellen T. Harris, *Silence as Sound: Handel's Sublime Pauses*
- Peter Wright, *Early 15th-Century Pairings of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, and the Case of the Composer "Bloym"*

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- Catherine Gordon-Seifert, *From Impurity to Piety: Mid 17th-Century French Devotional Airs and the Spiritual Conversion of Women*
- Danuta Mirka, *The Cadence of Mozart's Cadenzas*

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- Peter Walls, *Beyond Anachronism: Orchestras and Orchestration in the Twenty-First Century*

Plainsong and Medieval Music Vol. 14/ii (October 2005)

- John Boe, *Deus Israel and Roman Introits*
- Andreas Pfisterer, *Remarks on Roman and non-Roman Offertories*
- Theodore Karp, *Chants for the post-Tridentine Mass Proper*
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- Mary Carruthers: Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It was Made*
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- Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado: Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the 'Roman de Fauvel'*

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- Magnus Williamson, *Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: A Provisional List and Commentary*
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- Karen Mcaulay, *Nineteenth-Century Dundonian Flute Manuscripts found at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama*