"LEISURE WITH DECORUM": GENTLEMEN MAKING MUSIC IN THE GEORGIAN ERA

by

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Musicology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

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Advisor: Stephanie Jensen-Moulton

This project examines the musical activities of Georgian gentlemen with the goal of illustrating the ways that recreational music-making tested the boundaries of gender, class, and nationality. While the English nobility could respectably engage in music-making, socialize with professional musicians (subverting, or temporarily suspending otherwise rigid class boundaries), and openly extol the virtues of Continental culture without compromising their gentlemanliness, English gentlemen walked a much thinner line. In pursuit of these claims I will expand the scope of primary sources beyond conduct books and novels to include selections of unpublished, peripheral accounts of recreational music-making as found in letters, diaries, printed and handwritten music books, amateur drawings, and other unconventional sources. By basing my investigation on materials that are not often examined for their combined musical and sociohistorical content, I shed new light on the largely invisible musical practices of Georgian gentlemen.

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I have been so fortunate to have a wonderful circle of colleagues at the Graduate Center; their intellectual and emotional support has buoyed me even in the most turbulent of times. I am especially grateful to Elizabeth Fleming and Martha Schulenberg upon whose friendship and collegiality I have leaned heavily during the last five years. I am also indebted to my colleagues in the

Music department's online writing group who have now spent far more time talking and thinking about Georgian gentlemen, macaroni, and phallic amulets than, I'm sure, they ever imagined possible.

This project began, however, long before I applied to graduate school for musicology. Early on, my scholarly interests and efforts were guided and supported by the Jane Austen Society of North America; I am deeply grateful to their membership for fostering and encouraging my creative endeavors. To my friends in the Juvenilia, especially Jennifer Potter and Marilynn Doore, thank you for sharing your knowledge of the Georgian era with me and for partaking in my curiosity. To my musical collaborators, Corrine Byrne, Patrick Jones, Gili Loftus, and the Kansas City Baroque Consortium, I extend my sincere gratitude for your artistry and creativity in helping me bring the music of Austen's England into the present.

Traversing the gap between my identity as a flutist and a scholar has been a slow and uneven process. I am profoundly grateful to my master's thesis advisor Marianna Ritchey for shepherding me through my initial transition from, "just a flutist who likes to read," to a flutist who might dare to call herself a musicologist. Her continued encouragement and advice have made all the difference in my professional life, and her knack for putting just the right book into my hands has significantly broadened my intellectual horizon. I would also like to thank Ernest May for his interest in my work as both a scholar and as a performer, and for always encouraging me to embrace my dual identity.

I am deeply grateful to my parents, Peggy and Franklin, for their unconditional love and support, for celebrating my successes and suffering with me in my disappointments, and for modeling a life-long desire for learning. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to express heartfelt thanks to my dear Sebastian, who has been my sounding board and my greatest supporter through all of the unglamorous day-to-day struggles of completing this project.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscript Sources

JWD	John Waldie Diary, Yale Beinecke Library, Osborn Collection, d331
THD	Thomas Hollis Diary, Harvard Houghton Library, MS1191

Printed Sources

GM	*The Gentleman's Magazine*
JMJ	*The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer,* ed. Brian Robins
JWJ	*The Journal of John Waldie Theatre Commentary,* transcription by Frederick Burwick
PP	*The Pembroke Papers: Letters and Diaries of Henry, Tenth Earl of Pembroke and his Circle,* ed. Sidney Herbert, 16th Earl of Pembroke
WP	William Parke, *Musical Memoirs: Comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England*
WG	William Gardiner, *Music and Friends: Or, Pleasant Recollections of a Dilletante*
QMMR	*The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*

Introduction

Several years ago, my musical interests as a scholar and performer merged in a rather obsessive fascination with the music-making in Jane Austen's novels. I was captivated by her descriptions of amateur women musicians—what kind of music they played, upon which instruments, what was expected of them by their auditors, and by society more broadly considered. It seemed to me that each sentence contained a wealth of hidden information just waiting for a historical performer/musicologist to decode. I embarked on a series of recitals, lectures, recording projects, and eventually a master's thesis intent on lifting these scenes from the pages to study them in real time.

But the more I studied the musical women in Austen's novels, and the scenes in which their music-making was described, the more I began to notice all of the men just around the edges of these musical scenes: present but obscured, blurry forms that I could just glimpse in my peripheral vision. Each time I would reach for one to understand how he was involved in the musical encounter, he would vanish. We are told by the narrator in *Sense and Sensibility,* that John Willoughby sang duets with Marianne Dashwood and copied out music for her to play—but we never actually see or hear him do it. We spy Captain Wentworth sitting at the piano in *Persuasion* trying to give the Miss Musgroves an idea of a song he has in mind—but the moment we notice him, he jumps up and exits the scene. Finally, in *Emma,* we catch Frank Churchill in the act.

> One accompaniment to [Emma's] song took her agreeably by surprise – a second, slightly but correctly taken by Frank Churchill. Her pardon was duly begged at the close of the song, and everything usual followed. He was accused of having a delightful voice, and a perfect knowledge of music, which was properly denied, and that he knew nothing of the matter, and had no voice at all, roundly asserted.[1]

[1] Jane Austen, ed. R. W. Chapman, *Emma* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 227.

This passage is especially striking, for it not only features an amateur gentleman musician, it also captures the reactions of his auditors.[2] Frank Churchill's initial timidity to add a vocal accompaniment to Emma's song and his rejection of the praise heaped upon him by the audience should not be mistaken for good-natured humility.[3] Rather, the exchange suggests a discomfort with his display of musical skill that must be mitigated by series of learned behaviors ("everything usual followed") that the auditors and the gentleman himself must perform for the sake of propriety. But although his musical contribution is not unwelcome, it is not exactly encouraged—and when the young ladies are too tired to continue singing, the musical portion of the evening ceases, though the narrator would have us know that Frank Churchill would have liked to have continued singing. This scene always struck me as awkward, as though there was some unnamable discomfort with Churchill's musical display that Austen's characters understood but I could not. As I have discovered in my research, this discomfort with Frank Churchill applied to all musical gentlemen in Austen's era, and was echoed in conduct books from the period, as well as in newspapers and periodicals.[4]

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[2] This study considers an amateur musician in Georgian society to have been someone with the requisite wealth and leisure time to cultivate musical skills purely for the enjoyment of making music. A professional musician, on the other hand, cultivated musical skills in order to make a living. However, it did not necessarily follow that an amateur's musical skills were inferior to those of the professional. Moreover, amateurs and professionals often played together recreationally (i.e. when the professional musician was not hired by the amateur and paid a fee for the occasion) in private music gatherings. Amateur musicians did not necessarily restrict their music-making to the domestic sphere; catch and glee clubs (all-male singing clubs) were closed societies that usually met in public spaces such as taverns and coffee houses. Therefore, the term recreational music-making, rather than amateur or domestic, better describes the musical activities I will be investigating. For a recent and fruitful discussion of these distinctions, and others such as "public" and "private," see Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey, and Amanda Eubanks Winkler, eds., *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 20-46.

[3] Even after asserting that he "had no voice at all," Frank Churchill still sings one more song with Emma, at least two or three with Miss Fairfax, and we are led to believe that he would have sung even more had Mr. Knightly not intervened to save Miss Fairfax's voice. Significantly, "Here ceased the concert part of the evening, for Miss Woodhouse and Miss Fairfax were the only young-lady-performers," suggesting that Churchill could not have continued singing because there was something improper about a gentleman singing by himself in mixed company.

[4] Conduct books, a genre of didactic literature that proliferated in the Georgian era, prescribed rules of etiquette and appropriate hobbies for members of the upper and middle classes in an attempt to delineate the characteristic behavior of ideal English ladies and gentlemen. Those who wrote conduct literature came from a variety of social and educational backgrounds. Many were clergymen, others were military officers, some were gentlemen themselves, and then there were the "men of letters" (not from genteel origins) who published their moralizing in periodicals, such as *The Spectator* and *The Gentleman's Magazine.* George Brauer has noted that, "Despite the variety of classes and vocations to which the

Although musical fluency was almost universally recommended for ladies during this period, for gentlemen it was not. The reasons why music was not recommended as a respectable hobby for gentlemen, however, are not entirely clear or consistent. It seems as though there *were* ways of musicking correctly, but there were also many ways of musicking incorrectly. The music-making that went on at London's Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club (Est. 1761), for example, and the private musical parties that amateur composers such as William Gardiner and John Marsh described in their memoirs do not seem to have stigmatized the gentlemen who participated. In other instances, however, music-making compromised a gentleman's masculinity and/or social status—such as the fictional Frank Churchill wanting to sing a solo in mixed company, or the stories of gentlemen playing so well that they were mistaken for "professionals," which would have been considered a severe offense.[5]

Although the documentary evidence is fragmentary, extant diaries and memoirs of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English gentlemen suggest a shift in social values that caused music to be widely considered an inappropriate, or, at least, a questionable hobby for a gentleman.[6] Judging by the diaries and memoirs of amateur musicians like Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) and Roger North (1653-1734), English gentlemen in the seventeenth century seemed to have had no such misgivings about their musical activities and left detailed descriptions of their music-making,

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theorists belonged, there was remarkable agreement among them as to what the gentleman should be and how the ideal could best be attained through education." See George Brauer, *The Education of a Gentleman: Theories of Gentlemanly Education in England, 1660-1775* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1959), 8. See also John Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making: Studies in the History of English Courtesy Literature and Related Topics from 1531 to 1774* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935). For two fascinating and book-length discussions on etiquette in the Georgian era and the ways in which the advice of conduct literature was realized in everyday life, see Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) and *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

[5] An anecdote from Horace Walpole's journal recounts such an incident in which Frederick, Prince of Wales (father of George III) purposefully offended Sir Edward Walpole (a friend and cellist with whom he often played) by asking if he was actually a "professional fiddler." Walpole was so insulted that he stormed out on the Prince and refused to speak to him for months! Horace Walpole, *Journal of the Reign of King George the Third: from the year 1771 to 1783* Vol I (London: Bentley, 1859), 109-110.

[6] Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology, and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 109-110.

recounting the music that was played as well as the names and instruments of the other players.[7] Pepys, for example, writing in the late seventeenth century, frequently "retired to [his] Lyra-viall" in the evenings, and expressed a determination to "exercise" and "perfect" his command of the musical scales.[8] He described the musical skills (and shortcomings) of the gentlemen with whom he often played, writing sometimes favorably and other times critically of his friends' abilities, often relating the degree to which he himself enjoyed the music-making, and mentioning the joy he anticipated from future musical encounters.[9] Similarly, in his autobiography, Roger North reminisced about musical gatherings with his family, including his father and grandfather, at which viol consort music was played with an accompaniment on the organ or harpsichord.[10]

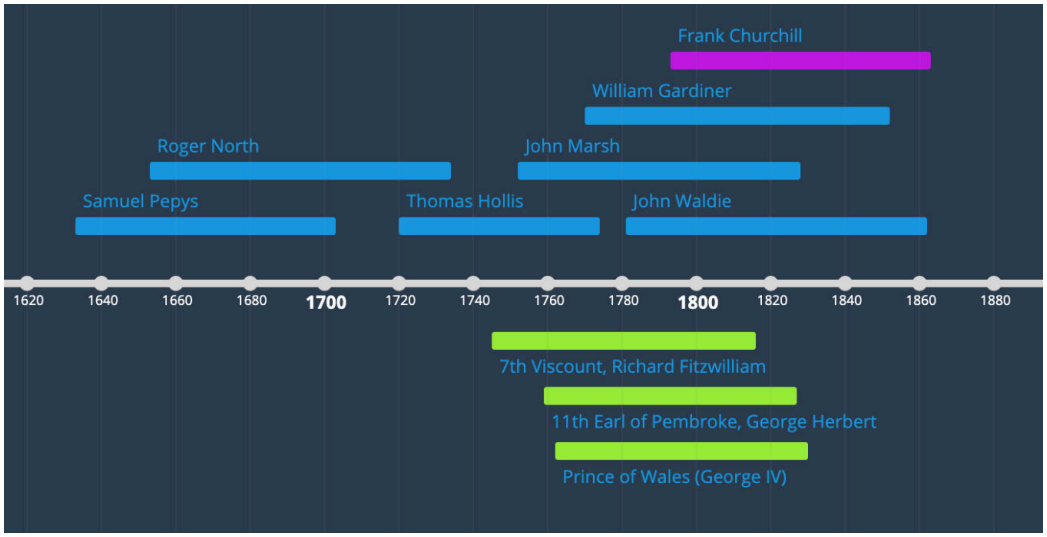

Fig. 0.1. Timeline of Musical Gentlemen and Nobility in this Dissertation

Gentlemen **Noblemen** **Fictional**

[7] Samuel Pepys, ed. Lord Braybrooke, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys from 1659-1669 and Memoir* (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1825); and Roger North, ed. Peter Millard, *Notes of Me: The Autobiography of Roger North* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

[8] "Up, and before I went out of my chamber did draw a musique scale, in order to my having it at any time ready in my hand to turn to for exercise, for I have a great mind in this Vacation to perfect myself in my scale…" Pepys, 17 September 1665.

[9] Relating a chance meeting with his friend Captain Cocke at the barber one morning Pepys wrote, "Captain Cocke under the barber's hands […] offered to come this day after dinner with his violin to play me a set of Lyra-ayres upon it, which I was glad of, hoping to be merry thereby." Ibid.

[10] North, *Notes of Me,* 144. Significantly, forty years later, in his 1728 *Memoirs of Musick* North mentions a group of gentlemen musicians who met weekly and "performed exceedingly well on Bass-violins." Though describing them as men of "good esteem" he refuses to name them because, "some of them as I hear are still living." Roger North, ed. Edward F. Rimbault, *Memoirs of Musick* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 112.

The next generation of English gentlemen, however, those who came of age during the Georgian era, were much less forthcoming with the details of their musical lives.[11] The diaries of Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), for example, a political philosopher and active member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, confirm this. In Hollis's diaries, the clues to his musical life appear so briefly and sporadically that it would be easy to miss that he played the flute, employed a music master, owned a substantial collection of sheet music, and even enjoyed group music-making with other gentlemen.[12] Details of his musical life come to us second-hand, from his early biographer Francis Blackburne (an Anglican priest), who only described his musical habits insofar as they reinforced the image of a sober and respectable gentleman. Blackburne praised Hollis for employing a music master with good "moral character," and of his flute playing mentioned only that Hollis liked to play in the evenings to "soothe and compose his mind."[13]

While in the seventeenth century some degree of musical education was seen as beneficial for English gentlemen, during the eighteenth century conduct book writers came to view amateur music-making as too feminizing an activity with which to engage.[14] Anxiety about music's ability to feminize men stemmed from a broader anxiety surrounding manliness during the Georgian era, the period in which new notions of the "naturalness" of binary gender and sexual identity were becoming incorporated into the public discourse on masculinity in England.[15] Certain political and

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[11] The Georgian era (1714-1830) refers to the monarchical period named for the first four Hanoverian Kings, George I-IV.

[12] The other diaries I have examined for this project are the following: Anonymous (Guildhall MS 3730, 1818); Samuel Boddington (Guildhall MS 10,823/5c 1815); Frances Evelyn Boscawen (Bodleian, MS Eng. Misc. f.71, 1763); Matthew Davenport (Bodleian, MS Eng. misc. e.88, 1817); William Gilpin (Bodleian, MS Eng. Misc. f. 201-350, f. 351-60, 1793); Richard Gough (Bodleian, MS Top.gen.e.6, 1747); Thomas King (BL MS 45137, 1800); Gervase Leveland (BL MS 19211, 1764); Lady Charlotte Lindsay (Bodleian, MS Eng. misc. 226, 1814); Catherine Mackintosh (BL MS 52450, 1801); Nathaniel Pigott (Beinecke, Osborn Collection, fc, 1771); Edward Pigott (Beinecke, Osborn Collection, fc, 1772); Thomas Roger (Guildhall MS 19019, 1840); Rebecca Sheen (Bodleian, MS MSS Johnson e.7, 1800); Littleton Dennis Teackle (LOC MS 95711, 1799); John Waldie (Beinecke, d331, 1801).

[13] Francis Blackburne, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis* (London: Printed by J. Nichols, 1780) 410, 503; The diaries and correspondence of Thomas Hollis are held at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS 1191.

[14] Richard Leppert, *Music and Image,* 107-146.

[15] Though general discourse on gender difference had certainly existed before this period, in the late seventeenth century new medical knowledge of the anatomical sexual differences that distinguish male and female bodies emphasized the

social phenomena of the Georgian era encouraged this polarization of what was considered masculine and what was considered feminine. The assumptions of primogeniture (the patrilineal succession of monarchs) having been challenged, the steady movement away from a predominantly domestic economy in which men and women shared the labors of farm and household, towards a capitalist economy in which men earned wages outside of the home and women largely did not participate, all contributed to a renegotiation of and, ultimately, ossification of modern assumptions concerning the "naturalness" of binary gender difference.[16] As the performance of gender in the Georgian era developed to reinforce this binary, music-making came to be associated broadly with effeminacy and domesticity, and therefore no longer the purview of English men.[17] Moreover, the performance of gender was overlaid upon the performance of social class, and, increasingly, nationality. As music-making came to be associated with foreigners from the Continent, and lower-class professional men (whether from England or the Continent), a gentleman's participation in recreational music-making had to be managed with care. Since English "gentlemanliness" was a composite performance of gender, class, and nationality, music-making could compromise that performance on all three fronts. For that reason, it is unusual to find explicit descriptions of English gentlemen making music during this period in published sources such as novels, periodicals, and memoirs. However, a host of unpublished sources, such as diaries, letters, and amateur drawings

"naturalness" of binary gender characteristics the correlation of those characteristics with sexual identity (i.e. the masculine heterosexual and the effeminate homosexual). See Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 1-22.

[16] Michael McKeon, "Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England 1660-1760," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28, no. 3 (Spring, 1995): 295-322.

[17] The idea of the performative nature of gender—that gender is a malleable, socially constructed identity separate from one's sex—was first articulated by Judith Butler in 1990, and has since become a foundational concept in gender studies and queer theory. Butler's theory of performativity holds that we perform our gender through repetitive acts and rituals that conform to a collection of behaviors into which we have been socialized. As with any social construct, gender norms vary widely within and between cultures, and historical periods. See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 10-22.

suggests that men of the middle and upper classes were seriously involved in England's vibrant culture of recreational music-making despite the social stigma it carried for them.[18]

This project examines the musical activities of Georgian gentlemen with the goal of illustrating the ways that recreational music-making tested the boundaries of gender, class, and nationality. While the English nobility could respectably engage in music-making, socialize with professional musicians (subverting, or temporarily suspending otherwise rigid class boundaries), and openly extol the virtues of Continental culture without compromising their gentlemanliness, English gentlemen walked a much thinner line. In pursuit of these claims I will expand the scope of primary sources beyond conduct books and novels to include selections of unpublished, peripheral accounts of recreational music-making as found in letters, diaries, printed and handwritten music books, amateur drawings, and other unconventional sources.[19] By basing my investigation on materials that are not often examined for their combined musical and sociohistorical content, I shed new light on the largely invisible musical practices of Georgian gentlemen.

Overview of Existing Scholarship

Scholarship on music in the Georgian era has focused primarily on public entertainments and the canonical (Continental) composers whose works populated English concert programs of

[18] I am indebted to Christina Bashford's "Historiography of Invisible Musics," which provides an excellent model for reading and interpreting disparate and unconventional sources such as unpublished letters, diaries, auction records, amateur drawings, and printed newspaper advertisements, in order to paint a more detailed picture of private music-making during this period. Christina Bashford, "Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no. 2 (Summer, 2010): 291-360.

[19] Please see the full list of unpublished primary sources in the bibliography section of this document. My original list of diaries was compiled from an online database published by *British Histories Online,* "Checklist of Unpublished Diaries: Nos. 1-294," in *Unpublished London Diaries*, ed. Heather Creaton (London: London Record Society, 2003), 22-46. This list contains 209 diaries written during the Georgian era, which I narrowed down to eighteen based on the brief descriptions of the content of the diaries and their current locations; I flagged diaries with descriptions that mentioned "social life" or "entertainment" or "concerts," those seeming to have the most potential. I was able to use an Early Research Initiative Grant for a short trip to England to examine the primary sources on my list that are held at the Bodleian, the British Library, and the Metropolitan Library.

that period.[20] For example, broad histories of music in Britain and England, such as Percy Young's *A History of British Music* and Ernest Walker's *A History of Music in England,* have tended to discuss the Georgian era through the lens of Handel and his impact on English musical culture.[21] Other than mentioning Glee Clubs as an avenue by which Handel's English contemporaries gained recognition for their compositions, these histories do not examine recreational music-making in terms of its socio-cultural function.[22] Another feature of Georgian musical life which has received a great deal of scholarly attention is the reception of Italian opera.[23] Two chapters in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century* provide a social history of English music in two chapters devoted to "Music in the Home I," by H. Diack Johnstone, covering domestic music from 1700-1760, and

[20] The reception of canonical Continental composers such as George Frideric Handel and Franz Joseph Haydn has been an especially fruitful topic for scholars of English music of the Georgian era, while publications on English composers of the same period have been scarce. See Simon McVeigh, "Handel in Concert: Social, National and Cultural Roles in Later Eighteenth-century Britain," *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 15 (2014): 161-176. Ian Taylor's work has investigated the reception of Joseph Haydn during the 1790's and his impact on London's concert scene into the first decades of the nineteenth century. A "myth of decline" in the performance of orchestral repertoire had prevailed in previous studies of English concert life during this period (1795-1813) but Taylor's work has demonstrated that a robust and varied symphonic repertoire persisted in concert venues that were less easily documented, such as the pleasure gardens of Vauxhall and Ranelagh. See Ian Taylor, *Music in London and the Myth of Decline* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Howard Irving offers another interesting view of Haydn's reception in London, focusing on English reviews that critique the composer's "effeminacy." Howard Irving, "Haydn and the Consequences of Presumed Effeminacy," in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, ed. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 95-112.

[21] Indeed, the careers of English composers are often examined only secondarily, and in relation to Handel, such as in Percy Young's *A History of British Music,* in which the chapter that introduces English music in the eighteenth century is titled "The Age of Handel," with only the last twenty pages of the chapter treating with "Composers Contemporary with Handel." Similarly, Ernest Walker's *A History of Music in England* devotes three chapters to music during the Georgian era, two of which discuss only "Handel in England," and "Handel's Contemporaries." See Percy Young, *A History of British Music* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1967) and Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).

[22] For an excellent social history of the glee in England see Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006).

[23] See Simon McVeigh, "The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783-1793," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, no. 22 (1989): 1-135; Simon McVeigh and Susan Wollenberg eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). A considerable amount of work has been done on Italian opera and its reception in eighteenth-century England, see especially: Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007); Rachel Cowgill, "'Attitudes with a Shawl': Performance, Femininity, and Spectatorship at the Italian Opera in Early Nineteenth-Century London," In *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 217-251; Curtis Price, Judith Milhous, and Robert D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London. I: The King's Theatre, Haymarket (1778–1791)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

"Music in the Home II" by Stanley Sadie, covering domestic music from 1760-1800.[24] Both of these chapters begin by addressing the limitations inherent to any study of domestic music from this period, stating that "Music-making is naturally one of the least well-documented forms of musical activity," and "Of all kinds of musical activity the least documented is, understandably, domestic music-making."[25] Sadie only briefly demonstrates the utility of "scouring the memoirs, diaries, and correspondence of contemporary music-lovers or professional musicians" for accounts of performances by quoting some anecdotes of domestic music-making form the diaries of John Marsh, Fanny Burney, William Herschel, and William Gardiner.[26]

Though attending public concerts and hearing the works of prominent composers was certainly an important aspect of musical life for Georgian gentlemen, my project is concerned with their engagement in *recreational* rather than occupational music-making, that is, their active participation in the malleable musical process instead of their passive reception of a finished musical product. Although it is clear from peripheral evidence that during the Georgian era gentlemen musicians engaged in recreational music-making, it has not received as much attention as other kinds of music-making from this period, largely because it was not well documented. In *Music and Image,* Richard Leppert identifies this void in the historiography of English musical life and traces it to a lack of first-hand written accounts of such music-making:

> It is clear what instruments were played, less clear what music […] We can infer a great deal about amateurs' musical tastes and talents but for the most part we must do so without benefit of the written comments of the practitioners themselves, and only occasionally from their auditors.[27]

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[24] *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, Vol 4: The Eighteenth Century,* eds. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell Ltd., 1990).
[25] Diack Johnstone, "Music in the Home Part I," and Stanley Sadie, "Music in the Home Part II," in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain,* 159, 313.
[26] Sadie, "Music in the Home Part II," 317-321.
[27] Leppert, *Music and Image,* 111.

Several notable scholars of English music have observed the invisibility of gentlemen musicians in England from the first decades of the eighteenth century through the middle of the nineteenth century.[28] Richard Leppert attributes the absence of written accounts of such music-making to the widely-held belief popularized by conduct literature in that period that music-making was an unmanly, and more specifically, ungentlemanly hobby. Having surveyed between 50 and 60 conduct books, Leppert concludes that the bond between music and effeminacy "formed a recurring trope in courtesy literature."[29] Although Leppert examines other factors that contributed to England's uneasiness with musical gentlemen (issues of class, and English nationalism being among the most pressing), the question of whether or to what extent music could be considered a hobby sufficiently masculine for a gentleman seems to pervade them all.[30] In the article "Historiography of Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain," Christina Bashford discusses the historiography of music in the private sphere, noting that while there has been "much insightful research into the function and symbolism of the piano in Victorian domestic life […] other forms of *ad hoc* private music-making—especially in male society—left weaker cultural marks and have received less attention."[31] She cites Leppert's argument from *Music and Image* (mentioned above) to help explain the continued absence of gentlemen from written accounts of domestic chamber music in the nineteenth century. Nicholas Temperley has also noted the connection between effeminacy and music during this period as an explanation for why English composers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries received so little encouragement, stating plainly that, "for men, any serious interest in music was thought effeminate."[32] However, no attempt has yet been made to examine

[28] Bashford, "Historiography and Invisible Musics," 291-360; Leppert, *Music and Image,* 111-129; Nicholas Temperley, *The Lost Chord,* in *Victorian Studies* 30, no. 1 (Autumn 1986): 10-11.
[29] Leppert, *Music and Image*, 19.
[30] Ibid., 20-25; See also Regula Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-making* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008); David Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
[31] Bashford, "Historiography and Invisible Musics," 300-301.
[32] Temperley, *The Lost Chord,* 11.

why music-making came to be seen as the purview of women (or, if men, only those of a lower social status, and usually foreigners) or to study the broad and lasting effect on English musical culture during this period.

Very little has been published on the gendering of English gentlemen in relation to music, particularly during the Georgian era. The existing scholarship has focused on the gendering of the castrato in England, and to a lesser extent on dancing as an expression of gender and sexuality. Helen Berry has discussed the castrato in England and the role he played in sparking a lively public discourse on subjects of gender and sexuality during this period. Contemporary authors were concerned with whether or not castrati could be considered "real" men, and following this debate offers some insight into broader debates on masculinity during this period. For example, although castrati had been associated with homosexuality on the continent, English commentators often mentioned the appeal of castrati among English women, suggesting that the castrato's sexuality was an important factor in determining his maleness.[33] The importance of the castrato's sexuality for determining his masculinity in English society may, by extension, suggest that a (not-castrated) gentleman's sexuality was also an important factor for determining his masculinity. This would seem to support both Trumbach, and Hitchcock and Cohen's arguments that sexual identity and sexual behavior were becoming inextricably linked during this period. Similarly, John Bryce Jordan's work on the representation of masculinity in relation to dance examines the various and often conflicting portrayals of dancing gentlemen in *The Spectator,* an English periodical that ran from 1711-1714. Jordan concludes that while *The Spectator* conveys a general discomfort with male dancing, the authors do not aim to forbid it. Rather, it suggests that gentlemen should have a restrained, cautious

[33] Helen Berry, "Gender, Sexuality and the Consumption of Musical Culture in Eighteenth-Century London" in *Remaking English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England,* 65-87. Roger Freitas also discusses the erotic potential of the castrato, citing Randolph Trumbach's work on early modern sexuality to explain the tradition of casting the castrato in "amorous leading roles." See Roger Freitas, "The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato," *The Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 202.

relationship with dancing "in order to avoid the potential hazards it presents."[34] This work is significant to the present study in the way that it presents and deciphers conflicting primary source evidence relating to public discourse on masculinity in early eighteenth-century England. Dance and music were both art forms that had amateur and professional manifestations in this period and, as Jordan has shown, a similar anxiety pervades contemporary writing about gentlemen dancers and gentlemen musicians. Like music-making, gentlemanly dancing was not forbidden, but caution was strongly advised.

Music publishing and English Court life: a brief note on their entwined histories

The music printing industry came rather late to England and was slow to catch on. Very little music was printed before the seventeenth century and the vast majority of it was sacred vocal music intended for use in a liturgical context. There seems to have been virtually no demand for printed secular or instrumental music until the mid-seventeenth century, when an extraordinary surge of music publishing occurred. Curiously, this sudden interest in music publishing coincided with the peak of the Civil Wars (1642-1651) and Puritan power in England, during which time the theatres were shut down, court entertainments ceased, organs were removed from churches, and most musicians found themselves suddenly unemployed.

The correlation among these events, though counterintuitive, is no accident. The newly unemployed musicians, desperate for work, established "music meetings" in taverns at which they charged admission to patrons. The public was, for the first time, financing musical performances, and they were not interested in the sacred music or madrigals that had predominated until that

[34] John Bryce Jordan and Seth Williams, "Pricked Dances: The Spectator, Dance, and Masculinity in Early 18th-Century England," in *When Men Dance: Choreographing Masculinities Across Borders,* ed. Jennifer Fisher and Anthony Shay, 181-219 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 206.

period. As Humphries and Smith point out, the musical needs of the paying public in mid-seventeenth-century England were quite varied:

> It was an entirely new thing – the beginning of the practice and publication of music for all and sundry—for the tavern, the home, the musical club, the theatre, and anywhere else; and it was not confined to any type or class of music.[35]

John Playford's 1651 music publishing enterprise, which paved the way for England to lead the industry for the next two centuries, was a direct result of these music meetings.[36] Playford seized on the opportunity to provide the public with the music it wanted during this cultural revolution and established a tradition of music publishing in England that was distinctly capitalist in its philosophy.

Subsequent generations of music publishers in England took on more varied roles within the broader industry of music. By the late eighteenth century publishers not only sold music but also sold and rented instruments, acted as ticket agents, ran music libraries, invented "improvements" to instruments, and some were also composers.[37] The English music publishing industry was so large that often composers from the continent published more music in England than in their own countries.[38]

Although the monarchs of the Restoration brought music-making back to the English court, the center of English musical life had already moved permanently into the public sphere during the Interregnum (1649-1660). The music culture that was being produced in taverns and publishing houses, financed largely by private citizens, had become the locus of English musical life.

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[35] Charles Humphries and William Smith Humphries, Charles, and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the beginning until the middle of the nineteenth century: a dictionary of engravers, printers, publishers, and music sellers, with a historical introduction* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), 6.

[36] This fascinating and insightful argument was first put forth by Mary Chan in "A Mid-Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford's Publishing," in *The Well Enchanting Skill: music, poetry, and drama in the culture of the Renaissance: essays in honour of F.W. Sternfeld,* ed. Frederick W. Sternfeld, John Caldwell, Edward Olleson, and Susan Wollenberg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 231-244.

[37] *Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1741-1837: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Gerald Newman (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 480.

[38] While in London, Handel published more than the three most published figures of eighteenth-century German music (Telemann, Mattheson, and Johann Sebastian Bach) combined. Hans Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music 1500-1850* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2003), 65.

Understanding this difference in the economic structure of music culture in England, as compared to the Continent, is crucial to recognizing the unique and fluid relationships that could exist between the English nobility and professional musicians within this structure. The absence of a continuous tradition of professional musicians as fixtures of English court life in the Georgian era created a void that was filled by freelance musicians. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, the way in which the nobility and professional musicians interacted with each other in the nebulous social settings that arose—for example, when a musician was invited to dine with a nobleman but asked to bring his instrument—allowed for vastly diverse relationships to develop between musicians and noblemen.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter 1, "'Sound and Chaste': Performing Gentlemanliness in the Georgian era," will examine the complicated nexus of class, gender, and nationality within which the musical English gentleman quietly performed, and will demonstrate how English society was self-consciously constructing a musical style and musical behaviors that reflected new ideals of gentlemanliness—that alchemical combination of masculinity, genteel origins, and polite manners—and Englishness. Ultimately, the potential for liminality (of class, of gender, of nationality) in recreational music-making created a transgressive space in which an already somewhat fluid masculinity operated within the temporarily flexible boundaries of class and nationality.

In order to chart the construction of gentlemanliness in Georgian England through musical culture I will first establish the broader cultural and political foundation upon which new formations of gender, class, and nationality were being built. I will then examine two significant cultural institutions that worked to promote a singularly English and self-consciously masculine musical style: the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (*QMMR*). The Catch Club was an organization open to noblemen, gentlemen, and some

professional musicians that met weekly for the purpose of communal singing. It actively promoted English composers, and particularly the composition of catches and glees, genres of vocal music that had originated in England. The *QMMR,* founded in 1818, was the first English periodical devoted solely to the discussion of music, and it had a clear agenda of defining a national musical style and elevating it to a higher cultural status than the imported, Continental musical styles that were in vogue. By analyzing the activities and bylaws of the Catch Club alongside a discourse analysis of the *QMMR* I show the ways in which the club and the magazine reinforced each other's efforts to establish a national style that was "sound and chaste," devoid of effeminacy (especially of the Italian variety), and which was not simply "manly" but *gentle*manly.

Chapter 2, "Musical Gentlemen and the Specter of Effeminacy," will explore the deep and culturally pervasive fear of effeminacy that developed in England during the Georgian era, and will show the manifold ways in which that fear discouraged gentlemen from attaining musical skills. During a time when print culture villainized effeminacy, characterizing it as a duplicitous, spectral threat to the inherent virtue and manliness of England's national character, avoiding effeminate behavior and influences became a crucial component of a young gentleman's education. Of the many different ways that a man might succumb to effeminacy and vice, as enumerated by moralists in conduct books and periodical essays, music-making ranked chief among them. This chapter will examine conduct literature and two prominent periodicals, *The Spectator* and *The Gentleman's Magazine*, in order to demonstrate the primary reasons why music-making was no longer recommended as a leisure activity for gentlemen in this period: its newfound association with the destructive agents of effeminacy, with Continental otherness, and with members of lower social classes.

While the first half of this dissertation deals with the lofty ideals of moralists, and the sharp critiques of social commentators as they endeavored to define and promote English gentlemanliness, the second half illustrates the extent to which the social stigma of the musical gentleman *actually*

affected his musical praxis. Examining the conduct literature for men has shown that gentlemen were not encouraged to obtain musical skills, but it tells us nothing about the gentlemen who *did* cultivate musical skills despite the warnings of moralists. While close scrutiny of public discourse on gentlemanliness and musical values in periodicals such as *The Spectator,* The Gentleman's Magazine*,* and the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* helps to establish the reigning cultural norms and expectations for musical men, that mode of analysis offers little indication as to how they felt about their own participation in musical activities.

The final two chapters will shift focus away from the periodicals and conduct literature that musical gentlemen may have read, and will investigate the musical gentlemen themselves. From my examination of a variety of primary source documents penned by gentlemen musicians, including diaries, letters, and memoirs, as well as the musical literature with which they engaged, such as method books and sheet music, a holistic picture of the gentleman at music emerges. Though Chapters 3 and 4 will only focus on a small sampling of gentlemen and nobility, over the course of this project I have created an extensive database of musicians (professional and amateur) and musical patrons during the Georgian era. Using a digital visualization software, I have been able to generate a map of the social network, which can be manipulated through various filters to show the different ways in which people, places, and musical events were connected with each other.[39] The map makes particularly visible the social mobility of professional musicians relative to the more insulated classes of gentleman and nobleman.

In **Chapter 3, "The Gentleman at Music,"** I will be drawing primarily from the diaries and correspondence of Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), John Marsh (1752-1828), William Gardiner (1770-1852), and John Waldie (1781-1862). With some occasional exceptions and qualifications, these gentlemen all inhabited a similar, middle-class social stratum. Though the nuances of their

[39] The virtual map can be accessed here: https://kumu.io/lidiaac/social-and-musical-network-georgian-era.

particular social standing subtly affected their musical behaviors it is still possible to examine them all as members of the gentry. In **Chapter 4, "The Nobleman at Music,"** I will turn to the musical activities of the English nobility, focusing particularly on the Prince of Wales (George IV) and the 7th Viscount Richard Fitzwilliam. While the gentlemen in the previous chapter belonged to a social class just above professional musicians, the gentlemen in this chapter far outranked the professional musicians with whom they interacted. As discussed in the first two chapters, the mixing of gentlemen from disparate social classes made moralists and social commentators of the period extremely anxious—but, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, the stakes were much lower for noblemen whose social status was secured at birth with an inherited title. While too much enthusiasm for music-making, or too much time spent with professional musicians, could severely compromise the gentlemanliness of a Thomas Hollis or a John Marsh, the respectability of men such as the Viscount Fitzwilliam or the Prince of Wales was much harder to diminish.[40]

This study aims to apply music as a case study for testing the boundaries of class, gender, and nationality that emerged during the Georgian era. Examining the relative permeability or rigidity of these boundaries when they encountered different pressures helps to illuminate the purpose of their construction. In studying these boundaries, I also hope to show the inextricability of these three components of gentlemanliness, and to illustrate the ways in which pulling on one thread could cause the whole fabric to unravel.

[40] While I do not mean to suggest that the gentlemen and noblemen in Chapters 3 and 4 represent the attitudes and behaviors of *all* gentlemen and noblemen in the Georgian era, I do propose that they represent a reasonable cross-section of amateur musicians in their respective social classes.

CHAPTER ONE

"Sound and Chaste": Performing Gentlemanliness in the Georgian era

On a Saturday night in January 1818, Matthew Davenport, a twenty-seven-year-old law student from Birmingham who had recently been called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, witnessed something noteworthy:

> Spent the evening at Ron's with a young German bookseller who played well on the piano forte. This I understand not uncommon in Germany for men to play this well.[1]

Though the sight of a young man at the piano might seem completely unremarkable to the modern reader, for Davenport it not only warranted a few sentences in his journal (typically reserved for sober reflections on whatever he was reading, or occasionally some amorous praise for his fiancée), this event elicited the first and only emphatic underline ("piano forte") in the diary.[2] Davenport rationalized this unusual encounter by noting that the piano player was not a native English man

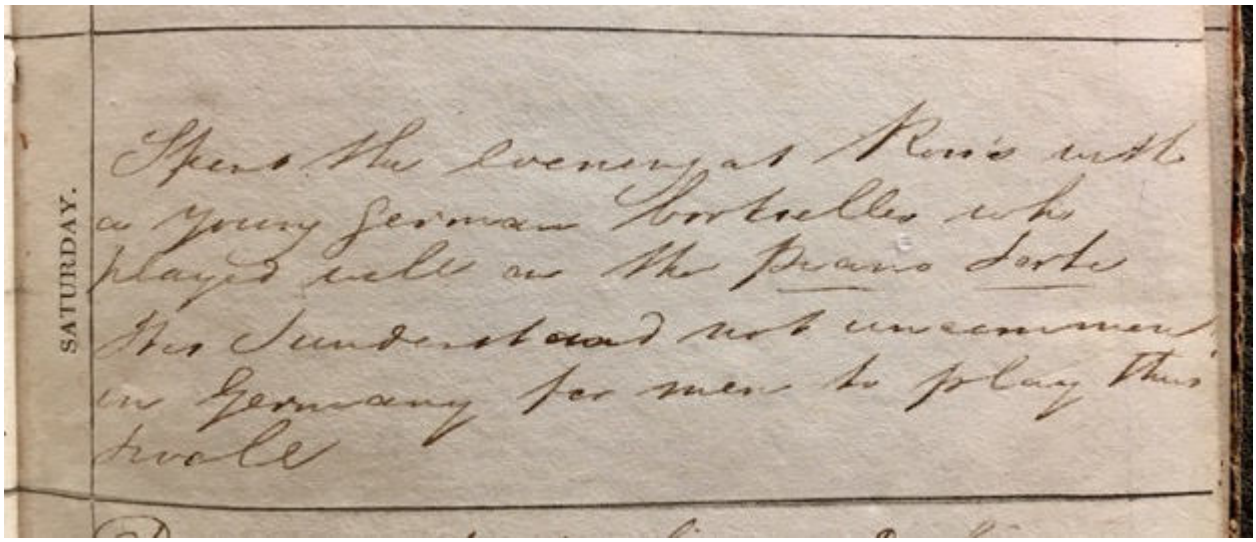

Fig. 1.1 Diary of Matthew Davenport Hill (Oxford, Bodleian Library)

[1] Matthew Davenport Hill diary March 1817-1818, held at Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. misc. e.88.
[2] I have considered the possibility that "piano forte" was underlined simply because it is a foreign word. However, Davenport writes another foreign word, "bouilli," without an underline, and in the Appendix in which he reflects on the events of the year he underlines only subject headings, such as "New Acquaintances" and "Public Speaking."

but rather a German.[3] By mentioning that he understood the activity of piano playing to be "not uncommon" for men in Germany, Davenport was drawing attention to the fact that the sight of a man playing "well on the piano forte" *was* uncommon in England. But if, as sales records suggest, the piano was enjoying the apex of its popularity in England when Davenport made this journal entry, why would it have been so unusual to see a man playing one?[4] If it was not uncommon for a man to play well on the piano in Germany, why was it so exceptional in England?

The gentleman musician in the Georgian era is, for the modern historian, a surprisingly elusive figure; he certainly existed, and, to some degree, it is possible to determine the kind of music he enjoyed playing and singing, but it is difficult to catch him in the act of making music. This period witnessed swift and radical changes in England's political landscape, as well as shifting ideologies regarding gender, sexuality, and social hierarchies, creating a music culture in which gentlemen were not encouraged to cultivate musical skills (and often, actively *dis*couraged from cultivating these skills). As a result, the gentleman musician was quieter about his musical pursuits, and left fewer traces of his musical activities in the Georgian era than in previous generations.[5]

This chapter will examine the complicated nexus of class, gender, and nationality within which the musical English gentleman quietly performed, and demonstrate how a sector of English society was self-consciously constructing a musical style and musical behaviors that reflected new ideals of gentlemanliness—that alchemical combination of masculinity, genteel origins, and polite

[3] This chapter is concerned with the construction of masculinity through musical practices in England's Georgian era and will only engage with contemporaneous musical practices on the Continent in so far as they were perceived by the English.

[4] For a thorough examination of the social and economic factors that contributed to the piano's meteoric rise in popularity during the Georgian era, see Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 232-280.

[5] The most notable gentlemen musicians from this earlier period were Samuel Pepys and Roger North. See Samuel Pepys, ed. Lord Braybrooke, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys from 1659-1669 and Memoir* (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1825); and Roger North, ed. Peter Millard, *Notes of Me: The Autobiography of Roger North* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

manners—and Englishness.[6] Ultimately, the potential for liminality (of class, of gender, of nationality) in recreational music-making created a transgressive space in which an already somewhat fluid masculinity operated within the temporarily flexible boundaries of class and nationality.

Recreational music-making was an important site of social performativity for middle and upper-class women during this period, but for a gentleman—such as the young piano-playing bookseller Davenport observed—it could be a risky endeavor.[7] Singing or playing on an instrument involved a simultaneous performance of a gentleman's masculinity, social status, and Englishness in a performative space generally associated with women, or men who worked in the music profession (usually foreigners), which had ambiguous class connotations.[8] While it has been common to examine eighteenth-century music-making within the separate Habermasian spheres of "public" and "private" (or "domestic"), for the present study there is little utility in such distinctions.[9] Though the

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[6] "Englishness" is a relatively modern term, coined in 1805 by William Taylor of Norwich, a gentleman who is also credited with introducing German Romanticism to British audiences. As Paul Langford has noted, "perhaps it was his immersion in German that induced him to coin a word that has something of Germanic feel about it […] many languages to this day lack a substantive capable of summarizing the essence of their nationality, but German, with its 'Deutschtum', is not one of them." Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character 1650-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[7] In the case of the young German bookseller, his foreignness seems to have been enough to excuse him for the odd behavior of playing the forte piano. See Richard Leppert, "The Male at Music: Praxis, Representation and the Problematic of Identity," in *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology, and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 107-146.

[8] As Roz Southey has noted, "the term 'gentleman' invites numerous readings […] a flexible term involving a mediation between ancestry, social standing, and personal reputation." The definition of "gentleman" was broadening during the Georgian era, describing a social status assigned at birth as well as a set of behaviors and characteristics that could be copied by lower classes. The term was becoming so inclusive that, as Penelope Corfield has observed, by the eighteenth century, "it was not necessary for someone to avoid trade in order to be considered a gentleman […] nor was it necessary to be a landowner." For the present study, "gentlemen" refers to all of the men to whom the conduct literature was addressed; the landed gentry as well as the social-climbers of the middle class or men with enough wealth and leisure time to cultivate musical skills without any intention of becoming professional musicians. See Roz Southey, "The Roles of Gentlemen Amateurs in Subscription Concerts in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century," in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914,* eds. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 116; Penelope Corfield, "The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen," in *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914: Essays in Honour of F.M.L. Thompson* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 1-33. See also: Michael W. McCahill, "Aristocracy and Gentry" in *Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1741-1837: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Gerald Newman (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 25-26.

[9] Many insightful and provocative scholarly investigations have been made within these imagined spheres of music-making. Simon McVeigh's work in particular has examined the culture of "public" concerts in eighteenth-century London, illustrating their exclusivity. See Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993). For an interesting study of the ways in which repertoire was designed and adapted for "public" and "private" musicking during this period, see also Mary Hunter, "Haydn's London Piano Trios and His

terms amateur and professional are still useful in this period for identifying a musician's social status, the crucial distinction I will make is between recreational and occupational music-making: whether or not a man was being paid for his playing or singing.[10] This study considers an amateur musician to have been someone with the requisite wealth and leisure time to cultivate musical skills purely for the enjoyment of making music. A professional musician on the other hand cultivated musical skills in order to make a living. However, it did not necessarily follow that an amateur's musical skills were inferior to those of the professional. Moreover, amateurs and professionals often played together recreationally (i.e. when the professional musician was not hired by the amateur and paid a fee for the occasion) in private music gatherings. Amateur musicians did not necessarily restrict their music-making to the domestic sphere: catch and glee clubs (all-male singing clubs) were closed societies that usually met in public spaces such as taverns and coffee houses. Therefore, the term recreational music-making, rather than amateur or domestic, better describes the musical activities I will be investigating. This distinction helps to examine the performance of, and interplay between, gender and class that occurred across boundaries of amateur/professional or domestic/public.

The actual spaces in which recreational music-making occurred, such as drawing rooms and taverns, were certainly gendered in a way that made occupying them a different experience for men and women.[11] For example, as music-making became strongly associated with women and

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Salomon String Quartets: Private vs. Public?" in *Haydn and His World,* ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 103-130.

[10] For a recent and fruitful discussion of these distinctions, and others such as "public" and "private," see Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey, and Amanda Eubanks Winkler, eds., *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 20-46.

[11] Much important work has been done on "concert culture" and "domestic music" in eighteenth-century England as distinct and opposing sites of musical praxis, fitting neatly into "public" and "private" social spheres. The former examining performances in the largest concert venues (e.g. the Hanover Square Rooms, Drury Lane, Vauxhall) and the latter examining performances in smaller, residential venues. However, a more nuanced examination of these spaces (and others) in which musical performances occurred would be useful for eighteenth-century English music studies. Privately funded concert series, such as the Prince of Wales's Carlton House concerts for example, were not exactly private, though they took place at the Prince's private residence; these concerts were attended by hundreds of guests, and the details of the event often made their way into the newspapers. Conversely, performances at the meetings of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club were not exactly public, though they took place at a tavern: members were carefully vetted and guests were seldom permitted.

domesticity in England during this period, the gentleman musician who played in his drawing room, or in the drawing rooms of friends, found himself occupying an increasingly feminine space, producing a gender liminality that, as Philip Brett has noted, and as we shall see in this study, was often connected with deviant sexuality.[12] However, whether he was in a drawing room or in a tavern, whether it was a heterosocial or homosocial gathering of musicians and auditors, the gentleman musician occupied a space in which he was the aural and visual focal point, drawing attention to himself and his musical skills.[13] The ways in which he occupied that space—whether he was singing or playing on an instrument (and if the latter, what kind), the genre of music he was playing or singing, and how well—reified (or undermined) his gender, class, Englishness, and ultimately his gentlemanliness.

Demonstrating the skill of singing or playing an instrument, regardless of the literal space in which it was demonstrated, was an activity increasingly reserved not only for women in drawing rooms, but for professional men (usually foreigners) belonging to a lower social class.[14] The gentleman musician projected an association with the lower-class professional musician, and his Continental otherness, not only by performing the physical labor of playing an instrument or singing, but also by playing recreationally *with* professional musicians.[15] The mixing of men of

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[12] "The domestic space that Schubert so typically occupied is also the sphere of the feminine in the West, and part of the power of a homoerotic Schubert is focused in the incoherent nexus of ideas that connects gender liminality with deviant sexuality." Philip Brett, "Piano Four Hands: Schubert and the Performance of Gay Male Desire," *19th-Century Music* 21, No. 2 (Autumn 1997): 246.

[13] Brian Cowan provides a wonderful model of scholarship on the gendering of public spaces that moves beyond simple questions of sex difference. Though the particular focus is coffeehouse culture, his mode of inquiry maps easily onto an investigation of musical culture from the same period: "What did the men and the women who frequented them think about their participation in coffeehouse society and how did they see such participation in relation to prevailing notions of proper masculine or feminine behaviour?" See Brian Cowan, "What Was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England," *History Workshop Journal,* no. 51 (Spring, 2001): 128.

[14] The formation of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club seems to have been an attempt to avoid the gender liminality of the domestic sphere by musicking in a more masculine space (e.g. a tavern), and avoiding the class ambiguity often associated with gentlemen musicking, by restricting the participation to men of similar social classes. See Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006).

[15] This view of music-making as a labor of the body that compromised a gentleman's social status was expressed in conduct literature of the period, which I will be examining in chapter two. See especially: William Hussey, *Letters from an Elder to a Younger Brother on the Conduct to be Pursued in Life* (London: J. Moyes, 1811); William Shenstone, *Essays on Men and*

different social classes that could occur during recreational music-making produced a class liminality that was strongly connected to other deviant behavior (sexual or otherwise). For example, in *Queer Gothic,* George Haggerty observes that in Robert Holloway's anti-sodomitical screed *The Phoenix of Sodom,* what the author found most repugnant about Molly houses was not the sodomy,[16] but the "promiscuity of rank," the mixing in these establishments of "a respectable merchant, a clergyman, or any other man in the character of a gentleman" with "wretches of the lowest description."[17] The construction—and maintenance—of gentlemanliness in England depended on strengthening the boundaries between classes and genders, which had an enduring effect on English musical culture.

In order to chart the construction of gentlemanliness in Georgian England through musical culture I will first establish the broader cultural and political foundation upon which new formations of gender, class, and nationality were being built. I will then examine two significant cultural institutions that worked to promote a singularly English and self-consciously masculine musical style: the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (*QMMR*). The Catch Club was an organization open to noblemen, gentlemen, and some professional musicians that met weekly for the purpose of communal singing. It actively promoted English composers, and particularly the composition of catches and glees, genres of vocal music that had originated in England. The *QMMR* was the first English periodical devoted solely to the

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Manners, (London: Printed by J. Cundee, 1802); Philip Dormer Stanhope, *Letters Written by the Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to His Son, Philip Stanhope, Esq.: Late Envoy Extraordinary At the Court of Dresden, Together With Several Other Pieces On Various Subjects,* 6th ed. (London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1775); Thomas Danvers Worgan, *The Musical Reformer, Comprising ... 1. an Apology for Intellectual Music. 2. the Musical Utopia. 3. the Penultimate. 4. Some Account of a Musical Composition in Forty-Five Parts, Originally Published in the Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (London: S. Maunder, 1829).

[16] Molly houses were meeting places for men who desired sexual relations with other men, typically coffeehouses, taverns, and public houses. See especially Rictor Norton, *Mother Clapp's Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England 1700-1830 (*Essex, UK: Chalford Press, 2006) and Randolph Trumbach, "Sex, Gender, and Sexual Identity in Modern Culture: Male Sodomy and Female Prostitution in Enlightenment London," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 2, (1991): 186-203.

[17] George Haggerty, *Queer Gothic,* 49-51. See also, Robert Holloway, *The Phoenix of Sodom, or The Vere Street Coterie: Being an exhibition of the Gambols Practiced by the Ancient Lechers of Sodom and Gomorrah, Embellished and Improved with the Modern Refinements in Sodomitical Practices by the Members of the Vere Street Coterie, of Detestable Memory* (London: J. Cook, 1813).

discussion of music, and it had a clear agenda of defining a national musical style and elevating it to a higher cultural status than the imported, Continental musical styles that were in vogue. By analyzing the activities and bylaws of the Catch Club alongside a discourse analysis of the *QMMR* I hope to show the ways in which the club and the magazine reinforced each other's efforts to establish a national style that was "sound and chaste," devoid of effeminacy (especially of the Italian variety), and that was not simply "manly" but *gentle*manly.

Constructing Masculinity in the Georgian Era

Before considering the musical habits of Georgian gentlemen, it will be necessary to delve deeply into construction of masculinity in order to understand the socio-cultural underpinnings of the Georgian gentleman's musical expectations. Recent studies on the history of masculinity consistently locate the development of the ideology of biologically ordained, binary gender difference in England during the long eighteenth century.[18] Michael McKeon, in "Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England 1660-1760," specifically situates this development within the political and social phenomena of the Georgian era.[19] He argues that the ascension of George I in 1714 marked the beginning of an entirely new era of political and social thought in England. The political arrangement of royal absolutism in pre-modern England was tacitly understood as analogous to the natural hierarchy of the family; the absolute authority of the father/husband was believed to be equivalent to the absolute authority and legitimacy of the monarch. However, the political crises of the seventeenth century, particularly the crisis of

[18] Ellen Brinks, *Gothic Masculinity: Effeminacy and the Supernatural in English and German Romanticism* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2003), 11-20; Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (London: Longman, 2001); John Bryce Jordan and Seth Williams, "Pricked Dances: The Spectator, Dance, and Masculinity in Early 18th-Century England," in *When Men Dance: Choreographing Masculinities Across Borders,* ed. Jennifer Fisher and Anthony Shay (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 181-219.
[19] Michael McKeon, "Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England 1660-1760," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28, no. 3 (1995): 295-322.

succession that permeated Restoration politics, called for the implicit patriarchalism of royal absolutism to be rationalized and made explicit.[20] These political and ideological developments culminated in the Bill of Rights (1689), which gave Parliament the power to check dynastic inheritance (the transfer of monarchical power through primogeniture) under certain extenuating circumstances, and the Act of Settlement (1701), which determined that the English throne could only be occupied by a Protestant. As a result, the Catholic House of Stuart was abandoned in favor of the Protestant—though genealogically and geographically distant—House of Hanover, destabilizing the patriarchalist principles upon which monarchical succession had been based.

The patrilineal succession of monarchs was being called into question against a backdrop of other, slower cultural forces that were opening up new possibilities for the construction of gender and social class. Industrialization, the steady movement away from a predominantly domestically oriented economy towards an urban, capitalist economy, changed the kind of work that was done by men and women, and, crucially, how that work was valued.[21] Moreover, new scientific ideologies concerning the biological differences between male and female bodies required the renegotiation of and, eventually, ossification of modern assumptions concerning the "naturalness" of binary gender difference.[22] Though not referring to the Georgian era by name, others have also identified the eighteenth and early nineteenth century as the period in England during which binary gender difference came to be understood as the "natural" result of one's biology.[23]

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[20] McKeon suggests that Sir Roger Filmer's treatise on royal absolutism, *Patriarcha,* written in 1642 but published in 1680, marked the demise of patriarchal thought as tacit knowledge. McKeon, "Historicizing Patriarchy," 296.
[21] McKeon asserts that "the emergence of modern patriarchy, and its system of gender difference, cannot be understood apart from the emergence of the modern division of labor and class formation." The breakdown of the domestic economy restricted women from engaging in work that was deemed economically productive. Members of the higher social strata, and those who aspired to gentility, came to value idleness in women and led to the hiring of cheap wage laborers to do the work that was once the household work of wives. McKeon, *Historicizing Patriarchy,* 298-299.
[22] Ibid., 301.
[23] See especially Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, eds., *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd., 1999); Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); Randolph Trumbach, "Sodomitical Subcultures, Sodomitical Roles, and the Gender Revolution of the Eighteenth Century: The Recent Historiography," in *'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment,* ed. Robert MacCubbin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 109-121.

Indeed, some accounts of cross-dressing women in the early eighteenth-century periodical *The Spectator* (1711-1712) reflect how the older, one-body model of sex, in which dress and behavior could cause a slippage from biological woman to biological man, or something in between, still generated fear and uncertainty about how to perform one's gender.[24] Observing a group of riders on the road a contributor to *The Spectator* of June 1711 wrote:

> [M]y whole attention was fixed on a very fair youth who rode in the midst of them, and seemed to have been dressed by some description in a romance. His features, complexion, and habit, had a remarkable effeminacy, and a certain languishing vanity appeared in his air. His hair, well curled and powdered, hung to a considerable length on his shoulders, and was wantonly tied, as if by the hands of his mistress, in a scarlet ribband, which played like a streamer behind him […] As I was pitying the luxury of this young person [I noticed] a petticoat, of the same with the coat and waistcoat. After this discovery I looked again on the face of the fair Amazon who had thus deceived me, and thought those features which had before offended me by their softness, were now strengthened into as improper a boldness; and though her eyes, nose, and mouth seemed to be formed with perfect symmetry, I am not certain whether she, who in appearance was a very handsome youth, may not be in reality a very indifferent woman.[25]

He "naturally" objected to such "mixtures of dress" as it "[broke] in upon that propriety and distinction of appearance," without which he feared would cause English society to devolve into a "general masquerade."[26] The topic of such "female cavaliers" emerged periodically in *The Spectator*, where they were consistently referred to as "hermaphrodites," because of their "amphibious dress," which seemed to signify the "mixture of two sexes in one person."[27] The editor clearly found this to

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[24] *The Spectator* was a daily publication edited by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele that aimed to "enliven morality with wit, and to temper wit with morality" (no. 10, March 12, 1711). Though it was only published between 1711 and 1712 the periodical had a long life in the Georgian imagination, judging by Jane Austen's humorous reference to it in her first full novel, *Northanger Abbey* (1803): "[Had the same young lady been engaged with a volume of the Spectator, instead of [a novel], how proudly would she have produced the book, and told its name; though the chances must be against her being occupied by any part of that voluminous publication, of which either the matter or manner would not disgust a young person of taste: the substance of its papers so often consisting in the statement of improbable circumstances, unnatural characters, and topics of conversation which no longer concern anyone living." Jane Austen, ed. R. W. Chapman, *Northanger Abbey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 36.

[25] *The Spectator,* June 1711.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Early in the eighteenth century, moralists focused their criticism on women dressing or behaving like men, but later in the century the fear turned on men dressing and behaving like women, as in the case of the "macaroni"—a pejorative term used in eighteenth-century England to describe excessively fashionable men, whose dress and manner was associated with Continental decadence and a particularly Italianate brand of effeminacy. Significantly, the language used

be a dangerous trend, concluding that it was "absolutely necessary to keep up the partition between the two sexes, and to take notice of the smallest encroachments which the one makes upon the other."[28] For early eighteenth-century moralists and social commentators, the polarity and innateness of binary gender difference had not yet been firmly established; the fashion for women wearing men's riding clothes was enough to threaten the "partition between the two sexes."[29]

The belief in a fixed, biologically predetermined binary gender difference between men and women had a pervasive and enduring effect on the physical culture of sex during the long eighteenth century.[30] Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen in particular have examined the relationship between the social construction of binary gender and sexuality during this period. In the introduction to *English Masculinities 1660-1800*, Hitchcock and Cohen assert that:

> eighteenth-century masculinities were being more sharply defined; that the categories available to men were being gradually reduced to either a macho heterosexuality or else an effeminate homosexuality, [these] identities were being reified in relation to the body by new medical understandings of sexual difference.[31]

For example, sodomy came to be associated with effeminacy and also gentility/nobility during this period even though the vast majority of men convicted of the crime were middle-class professionals and not described by their accusers as particularly effeminate.[32] While the previous generation had

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to describe cross-dressing women— "hermaphrodite" and "amphibious"—would be applied to the macaroni later in the century. *The Spectator,* July 1712.

[28] Ibid.

[29] I would also suggest that as normative male sexuality became more sharply defined during this period, and as it became central in the performance of masculinity, cross-dressing became more threatening to men.

[30] "The demographic literature alone implies that these [sexual] practices simply changed and that we need to think of sex not as a single set of unchanging behaviors with a consistent relationship to making babies but, instead, as a physical culture possessed of rapidly moving boundaries. One explanation for the changing patterns of reproduction recorded by demographers must lie in the changing popularity of mutual masturbation, penetrative sex, oral sex, and sodomy." Tim Hitchcock, "Reformulation of Sexual Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century England," *Signs* 37, no. 4 Sex: A Thematic Issue (Summer, 2012): 826.

[31] Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 3.

[32] In Dr. William Kenrick's famous recantation and confession of his wrongful accusation of sodomy between David Garrick and Isaac Bickerstaff, he notes that it was hard to suspect Bickerstaff as a sodomite because "the man had nothing effeminate in his manner." *The Recantation and Confession of Doctor Kenrick, L.L.D.* (London, 1772) 9. For a thorough study on the perception of the upper class as a demographic that was uniquely prone to effeminacy and debauchery, see Donna Andrew, *Aristocratic Vice: The Attack on Duelling, Suicide, Adultery, and Gambling in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

been generally tolerant of sodomy, either as a manifestation of same-sex male desire or merely a libertine pursuit of pleasure, the Georgian era witnessed a marked increase in hostility towards the practice.[33] One way of understanding this change in the physical culture of sex is to read Hitchcock's interpretation of demographic data (a higher proportion of the population was having children—both within and outside of marriage—signifying that penetrative, heterosexual sex was becoming more common) against McKeon's explanation of the political crisis of monarchical succession that marked the early eighteenth century. The eighteenth century witnessed an increasingly phallocentric definition of sex as a means of reifying patriarchal legitimacy, the validity of which had been called into question by the crisis of succession at the end of the seventeenth century.[34] This theory helps to explain why sodomy—or, more specifically, the sodomite—became increasingly and uniquely threatening to England's social order and national identity during the Georgian era.[35] Moreover, sodomy and effeminacy began to coalesce into a distinct male identity: the Molly.[36] Where previously a sodomite was thought to have been a man who occasionally enjoyed the "nameless act," during

[33] Randolph Trumbach refers to the aristocratic men of the Restoration as "the last generation of old sexual culture before the new way of conceptualizing the relationship of gender to sexuality in males had come into existence." Randolph Trumbach, "Sex, Gender, and Sexual Identity in Modern Culture: Male Sodomy and Female Prostitution in Enlightenment London," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 2 (1991): 189. On the Continent, however, sodomy seems to have been celebrated throughout the eighteenth century, see James Steintrager "Sodomy and Reason: Making Sense of Libertine Preference" in *The Autonomy of Pleasure: Libertines, License, and Sexual Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

[34] "The latter half of the period then witnessed an increasingly phallocentric definition of sex that excluded nonpenetrative activities from what was considered normal sex and placed a greater emphasis on putting a penis in a vagina as the only acceptable definition of sexual behavior…In the process, the penis became the all-significant organ in the creation of babies and hence of patriarchal legitimacy." Hitchcock, "Reformulation of Sexual Knowledge," 826.

[35] I will be using the historically relevant terms "sodomy" and "sodomite" rather than "homosexual" when referring to sexual encounters between men in the Georgian era in order to not confuse sexual desires and behaviors (anachronistically) with a distinct and exclusive sexual identity.

[36] Ned Ward's 1753 account of prominent social clubs of London is the first to describe the Molly Club. Through publications such as this one and the coverage in newspapers of the trials and punishments of convicted sodomites, details of the Molly subculture entered public discourse and established the effeminate man as the "condition of all males who engaged in sexual relations with other males." See Randolph Trumbach, "Sex, Gender, and Sexual Identity in Modern Culture: Male Sodomy and Female Prostitution in Enlightenment London," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, no. 2 (1991): 190.

the eighteenth century he came to be seen as man whose very nature was defined by this one sexual desire.[37]

The construction of an acceptable, English masculinity therefore had to eschew any association with effeminacy (and, by association, the sodomite), but the vogue for politeness in the first half of the eighteenth century presented a serious problem in upper-class society.[38] Women were considered the most important agents of male social refinement; it was believed that proximity to and conversation with women polished a man's rough edges, contributing to the development and maintenance of a polite society at large.[39]

> It is to the Fair Sex we owe the most shining qualities of which ours is master […] Men of True Taste feel a natural complaisance for women when they converse with them, and fall without knowing upon every art of pleasing […] An intimate Acquaintance with the other Sex, fixes this complaisance into Habit, and that Habit is the very Essence of Politeness.[40]

However, the association between women and politeness created a tension between effeminacy and manliness: was it possible for a gentleman to be both manly *and* polite?[41] The fashion for politeness led to the character of the fop, or beau: a gentleman who was so much in the company of women that he began to act and, significantly, *look* like a woman. His excessive, affected performance of politeness compromised his masculinity, marking him as an effeminate man. Where the ideal, polite,

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[37] Laurence Senelick, "Mollies or Men of Mode? Sodomy and the Eighteenth-Century London Stage," 37. See also Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
[38] Michèle Cohen suggests that the polite and refined Georgian gentleman represented hegemonic masculinity, a term that was first developed by R. W. Connell in 1983. Hegemonic masculinity describes a constellation of masculine behaviors that dominate women and other men. The term is useful in a discussion of the intersection of gender identity, class, and nationalism as it focuses attention on unequal power relations between different categories of men. Michèle Cohen, "Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April, 2005): 312. For a thorough discussion of hegemonic masculinity see John Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender," in Dudink, Hagemann, and Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, 41-58 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
[39] Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society,* 54-55.
[40] James Forrester, "The Polite Philosopher" Part I in *A Present for a Son* (1775), 67-68. Quoted in Michèle Cohen "Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of a National Character in Eighteenth-Century England," in *English Masculinities,* 47.
[41] As Amanda Vickery has observed, "as a code, politeness was always in danger of collapsing into effeminacy." See Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 10.

manly gentleman was characterized by his interactions with others—altruism, benevolence, accommodation—the fop, or beau, was seen as a narcissist, concerned primarily with the gratification of his own pleasures, and whose politeness was insincere, merely a façade that granted him entry into polite society.[42]

Understanding the way in which masculinity was being constructed in binary opposition to effeminacy during this period is crucial to understanding the gendering of musical behaviors and expectations that developed as a result. Moreover, the binary and opposing constructions of masculinity and effeminacy would also be mapped onto the binary construction of nationality: English and foreign. In the Hogarth painting below, the fop is seated next to the castrato and in front of the (likely Italian) music master, who is accompanying the castrato on a transverse flute. The fop is easily identified by his slender figure and delicate features; the curling papers in his hair emphasize his effeminacy, and the visual grouping of him with the foreign musicians, especially the castrato, serves to highlight his association with Continental effeminacy, decadence, and deviant sexuality.

[42] Carter, 124-162.

Fig. 1.2. William Hogarth, "The Toilette" from *Marriage á la Mode* (ca. 1743-1745)

Foppery and a particular brand of Italianate effeminacy coalesced in the early 1760s into the character of the macaroni. Early on, the macaroni—named for the exotic pasta dish that wealthy young men brought back from their Grand Tour of Europe—was known as an elite gentleman, sophisticated by his Continental travels. By the 1770s, however, public opinion of the macaroni had shifted toward distrust and even disgust, drawing attention to his effeminacy and artifice, and insinuating his deviant sexuality.[43] Although the fop was portrayed as rampantly heterosexual—a great seducer of women *because* of his effeminacy—the macaroni's sexuality and gender were

[43] Peter McNeil has observed that in Philip Dawe's 1773 illustration, *The Pantheon Macaroni* (See Fig. 1.3), there is a cat's head carved into the back of the macaroni's chair. McNeil suggests that this was meant to signify that this particular macaroni was a catamite, the lover of an older gentleman. See Peter McNeil, "'That Doubtful Gender': Macaroni Dress

Fig. 1.3. Philip Dawe, *The Pantheon Macaroni,* printed for John Bowles (1773)

depicted as either freakishly ambiguous— "amphibious"—or effeminately homosexual.[44] Though initially the appellation was reserved for members of the nobility and gentry—men with the

and Male Sexualities," *Fashion Theory* 3, no. 4 (1999): 426. McNeil also discusses the folk song "Yankee Doodle Dandy," observing that the song was originally sung by the British to make fun of the American colonists, who dressed poorly and were so unsophisticated that they thought they could simply "put a feather in their cap" and call themselves a "macaroni."

[44] *The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine, or Monthly Register*, a satirical journal that ran between 1772 and 1773 often referred to the macaroni as a "hermaphrodite," and an "amphibious creature" whose gender was "doubtful." One song printed in the October issue of 1772 read: "His taper waist, so strait and long,/His spindle shanks, like pitchfork prong,/To what sex does the thing belong?/'Tis call'd a Macaroni." However, at the same time, serious newspapers such as the

necessary wealth to make the Grand Tour—by the 1770s men of the middle and lower classes also began to adopt macaroni fashion and behavior without ever having traveled to the Continent. Significantly, it was at this point when the perception of the macaroni as a sodomite entered the public consciousness.[45] The macaroni's transgression of class boundaries not only posed a threat to English social order, but his shameless glorification of Italianate effeminacy disturbed the distinctly masculine national character that English society was trying to develop.[46]

The macaroni's association with Italy brought him into the same imaginary space as Italian music, musicians, and—similarly disturbing and fascinating to the English public—the castrato. Though the macaroni was not castrated, his gender and sexuality (like the castrato's) did not fit neatly into the binary categories that had been established in Georgian England. Like the macaroni, the castrato was also threatening to English society, but in a more distant and existential way: the castrato was the ultimate foil to the English gentleman. Not only was he foreign, Catholic, and a professional man, his body's ability to procreate had been destroyed in pursuit of showy and effeminate musical virtuosity. As the castrato was seen as having been made abroad and merely imported to England, he could be regarded with the same fascination as any other exotic import.

Public Ledger began to suggest a connection between the emergence of the macaroni type and the "frequency of a crime which modesty forbids me to name." In the same article, the author bemoaned the fact that the "vengeance of heaven" could not destroy "every Macaroni Sodomite's erectness of stature." *Public Ledger* (4-6 Aug, 1772) quoted in Carter, *Men and Polite Society*, 145.

[45] Peter McNeil, "Macaroni, Dress, and Male Sexualities," 412.

[46] Amelia Rauser discusses the macaroni's unique ability to blur boundaries of class, gender, and nationality, acting "as both a cautionary tale and a secret exemplar for the rising middle classes as they debated how to become urbane cosmopolites while remaining authentically British." For much of the eighteenth century, some degree of artifice was seen as important for cultivating a civilized society, Rauser sees this reflected in the prevalence of wigs in men's fashion during the long eighteenth century. The extravagance of the macaroni's wig, however, drew attention to his artifice, which put him at odds with the late eighteenth-century cult of sensibility. See Amelia Rauser, "Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 102. When the *Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine* "dissect" a macaroni they find no blood vessels in his face (unable to blush) his "pineal gland, which has been supposed to be the seat of the soul, smelt very much of essence and orange flower water." And his heart which "appeared at first view to be of more than ordinary size" burst when pricked with a knife and shriveled to "a mere skiny [sic] substance." November 1772, 161.

The macaroni, however, was a homegrown phenomenon, and as such represented a more pernicious, domestic threat.

"The manly art which it once was": Toward a National Musical Style[47]

In the act of making music, gentlemanliness could be maintained or compromised, and a variety of new behaviors and musical values had to develop in order to preserve a gentleman's—and by extension, the nation's—integrity while musicking. During the Georgian era there were two prominent sites in which self-consciously English and distinctly masculine musical styles and practices were being articulated: at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club (Est. 1761), and upon the pages of the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (1818-1828). In the following section I will examine how these two cultural entities—one by way of musical performance practice, and the other through print culture—cultivated and perpetuated burgeoning ideals of nationalism and masculinity in English musical culture.

Social clubs (such as the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club) flourished in the Georgian era as important sites of homosocial, masculine diversion.[48] Indeed, it has been argued that the development of voluntary associations (e.g. clubs and societies) in England arose to create an alternative to mixed or female-dominated social forums.[49] In the masculine, semi-private environment of the club, "men could be lads and engage in traditional drunken camaraderie, free from the presence of women."[50] Though drinking figured prominently in their activities, clubs were nominally founded upon more learned interests of the

[47] Thomas Danvers Worgan, *The Musical Reformer* (London: S. Maunder, 1829), 35.
[48] Peter Clark has noted that the proliferation of clubs and societies in England was due in part to the rise in public drinking houses, as they were "more complex, more hierarchic, and better organized than in other parts of Europe…[they] supplied several of the key features of the social architecture of the voluntary association: heavy drinking, controlled social mixing, a combination of privacy and public openness, and a predominantly masculine environment." Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 41. The terms "club" and "society" seem to have been used interchangeably in the Georgian era.
[49] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies,* 191.
[50] Ibid.

membership, which were incredibly wide-ranging. During the eighteenth century there were at least 130 *different* types of societies in the British Isles, of which the principal types could be categorized as follows: alumni associations, artistic bodies; book, benefit, sporting, and debating clubs; horticulture, literary, medical, philanthropic, and musical societies.[51]

Two of the earliest musical societies—the Academy of Vocal Music (later the Academy of Ancient Music) and the Musical Society at the Castle Tavern—present contrasting examples of the motives and structures of such musical clubs. While the Academy of Vocal Music (established around 1710 by the German musician Johann Christoph Pepusch) aimed to bring together London's professional musicians, the membership of the Musical Society at the Castle Tavern (established ca. 1731) consisted primarily of non-professional musicians.[52] Certain aspects of their records and bylaws, however, show how these clubs set an example for future music clubs in managing participation from different social classes and trades. For example, the Academy of Vocal Music admitted composers to their ranks as full members but not "singers," and the Castle Tavern society admitted all trades but specified: "No Vinter, Victualler, Ke[e]per of a Coffee-house, Taylor, Peruke Maker, Barber, Apprentice, or Journeyman, shall be admitted a member of this Society."[53] In 1734 when the Academy of Vocal Music became the Academy of Ancient Music, they began to elect musical amateurs that were notable figures in society, e.g. clergyman Sir John Dolben, Lord Plymouth, Lord Percival, and William Hogarth, a practice that later musical clubs, such as the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, would copy.[54] The society bylaws also regulated the

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[51] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies,* 2.
[52] *The by-laws of the musical Society, at the Castle-Tavern in Pater-Noster-Row* (London: n.p., 1731); John Hawkins, *An account of the institution and progress of the Academy of Ancient Music. With a comparative view of the music of the Past and Present Times* (London: n.p., 1770).
[53] *The by-laws of the musical Society, at the Castle-Tavern in Pater-Noster-Row* (London: n.p., 1751)
[54] Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England,* 21. The Academy of Ancient Music should not be confused with the Concert of Antient Music, established in 1776; the former, William Weber has observed, was "an isolated gathering of antiquarians," while the latter was a "secular concert society led by the peers of the realm." William Weber, "The Repertory of the Concert of Antient Music," in *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Ritual, Canon, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 168.

participation of women, indicating how and when they were allowed to be present at concerts. For example, women could attend concerts on certain evenings but their invitation had to be approved by the president of the club, and they had to sit apart from the men during the performance.[55]

The founding members of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club represented a wide cross-section of middle-upper class English society: three noblemen (the tenth Earl of Eglington, the third Earl of March, and the fourth Earl of Sandwich), two high-ranking officers in the army, three gentlemen, and one professional man. The latter, a Mr. Edmund Thomas Warren, served as the Catch Club's secretary until his death in 1794, and oversaw the annual publication of the most popular compositions produced by the club's membership. Although one of its professional members, John Wall Callcott, would claim that the aim of the club was to "revive the neglected music of the madrigal," the earliest records of the club document no such aim, and in the thirty-two volumes of music published by the Club, only about six percent were madrigals.[56] In actual practice, the club encouraged the composition of new music in the genres of catch, glee, and canon. Indeed, one of the earliest resolutions of the club established that annual awards would be granted to promote this end.

> a Premium of a Gold Medal of Ten Guineas value, or ten Guineas be given for the best Catch, Canon and Glee, words and Music new, and Premium of half the value for the second best of each, and that Mr. Secretary Warren do publish the same in the Daily Papers from time to time.[57]

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[55] The admittance of women to concerts of the Musical Society at the Castle Tavern was further policed in the following manner. "Two *auditor* Members, according to Seniority, shall stand at the Door […] and if any Ladies should apply for Admittance, whom they shall think not properly dress'd, either for their own Reputation, that of the rest of the Ladies, or of the Society in general, it shall be left to them either to refuse them Admittance, or, if Room to place them in the back Row of the front Gallery" *The laws of the Musical Society, at the Castle-Tavern, in Pater-Noster-Row* (London: s.n., 1751), 19.

[56] John Wall Callcott quoted by Emanuel Rubin in Introduction to the facsimile edition of *The Warren Collection*. Brian Robins, "The Catch Club in Eighteenth-Century England," *Early Music* (November 2000): 517.

[57] Herbert Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson, eds. *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays Towards its History* (London: Cypher Press, 1996), 14.

Curiously, unlike other social clubs of the time, there is no record of how or why the Catch Club came into existence. Though it has traditionally been assumed that the formation of the Catch Club was inspired by the infrastructure of the older Madrigal society, Brian Robins has observed that the Catch Club's structure, bylaws, and membership had much more in common with the non-musical Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce founded in 1754.[58] Robins points specifically to the importance of prizes in both societies that encouraged English ingenuity, highlighting the underlying patriotic motivation for the formation of these societies.[59]

While the Society for Arts and Commerce promoted English ingenuity for an explicitly economic interest—for example, encouraging the production of their own dye, timber, and gut strings rather than importing them, or funding a cartographical project to produce an accurate map of England that would allow for more efficient movement of goods—the Catch Club's nationalist agenda was less explicit. The Catch Club consisted of twenty-one gentlemen members, and anywhere between ten and twenty-five professional members.[60] Membership rosters distinguished between noblemen or gentlemen musicians and professional musicians, who were referred to as "Privileged members." As privileged members, the professional musicians were allowed to dine with the Club and submit compositions to their competitions, but they were not elected by ballot and their membership could be terminated by the Club at any time.[61] Of the 102 privileged members listed during the Georgian era nearly one quarter were foreigners, the majority from Italy.[62] Though Robins has suggested that the Catch Club's (partial) admittance of foreign members, and the number of foreign-language songs published by the club (some fifteen percent were in Italian) indicated their

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[58] Robins, "The Catch Club in Eighteenth-Century England," 519.
[59] For a broader discussion on the role of social clubs (including the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce) in promoting nationalistic interests in England, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 87-95.
[60] All of the noblemen and gentlemen members were native English men. Gladstone, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club*, 22.
[61] Ibid., 43.
[62] Ibid., 117.

willingness to encourage foreign talent, it is worth noting that only two of the 122 prizes awarded between 1763-1793 went to foreign composers.[63] Moreover, I would suggest that the hierarchical structure of the Club's membership, and the adjudication of the song competitions served to promote English musical values by establishing that only English gentlemen could be the arbiters of what music (and people) would ultimately represent the club.

The way that the Catch Club awarded prizes to composers for new compositions not only promoted native English talent, it also served to confirm the proper social status of the composer. The prizes were overwhelmingly conferred upon privileged and professional members, and almost never awarded to members of the nobility and gentry. The only full member to receive a prize for his compositions was Garret Wesley, 1st Earl of Mornington (1735-1785).[64] It is impossible to tell from the extant records what proportion of full members and privileged members competed each year for the prizes, but it is entirely possible that Mornington was the only non-professional to enter the competition. He had a reputation for being unusually proud of his musical talents and openly enthusiastic about his musical activities. According to Gladstone, Mornington was "the first aristocrat to dare to carry a violin-case through the streets of London."[65]

The Catch Club was a site of convivial masculinity but its meetings were regulated by strict bylaws and rituals. The membership would gather once a week at Almack's Tavern in Pall Mall for dinner, followed by singing and a great deal of drinking, both of which were governed by quasi-parliamentary procedure.[66]

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[63] Juan Bautista Braugera in 1765 for his canon, *Beatus vir*, and Giaccino Cocci in 1768 for his catch, *Quando, quando.* Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England,* 160.

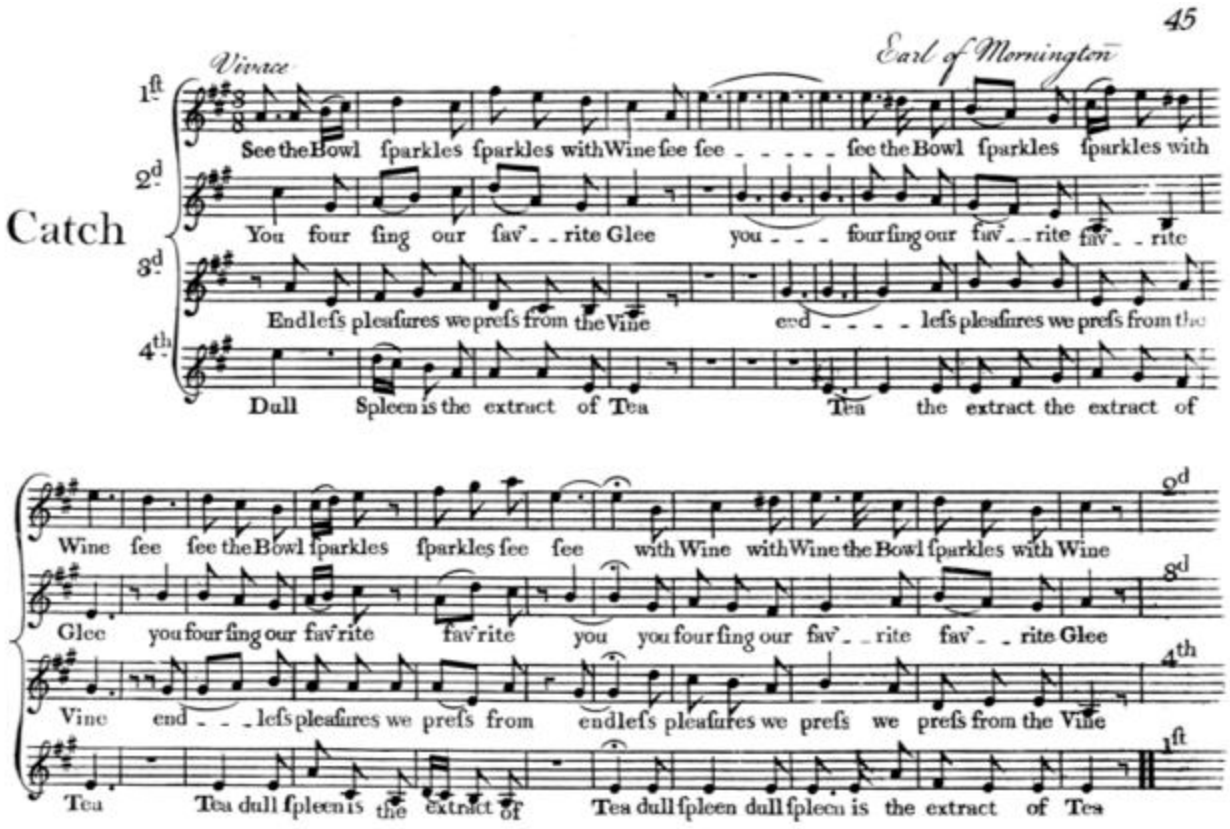
[64] He received a total of three composition awards from the Club: in 1776 for the catch, *When first I was wed*, then the following year for another catch, *As Dolly and Nan*, and finally in 1779 for the glee, *Here in cool grot.* Robins, 160.

[65] Gladstone, 80. It is worth mentioning that Lord Mornington was Irish by birth and spent some years as a Professor of Music at Trinity College in Dublin.

[66] One bottle of sherry was provided at dinner for every member, and one bottle of madeira to be shared between seven members. For such a well-organized society with strict rules of conduct for meetings, it is both curious and amusing to read the following penalties for breaches of musical etiquette: "Any person whether a Member or Other may decline his song when called upon, provided he drinks a glass of wine as an acknowledgement of his inability to sing…

> When the dinner is ended, the President is not to permit any Catch, Glee, or other song to be sung, till besides the usual glass to His Majesty's health two others shall have been likewise circulated. The toast and Catch must be circulated alternately, and any order may be observed, provided that every person at the table is called upon, and No Person twice, till everyone at the table has been called upon Once.[67]

The Club specialized in singing catches and glees, which are uniquely English musical genres, and as such, were widely considered manly and patriotic.[68] Catches and glees are both essentially part songs designed for anywhere between three and six voices, but while the glee was characterized by its homophonic construction, the catch can be distinguished by various interruptions in the lines, allowing words from other lines to be clearly heard (See Ex. 1.1).



Ex. 1.1. Lord Mornington, "See the Bowl Sparkles" (1773)

If any person who takes a part in any piece of music during the first round, is found deficient in his part, and actually sings out of time or tune, or stops before the piece is finished, he is to drink a glass of wine of any sort at that time upon the table, at the requisition of any Member, and by order of the President." Gladstone, 27-28.

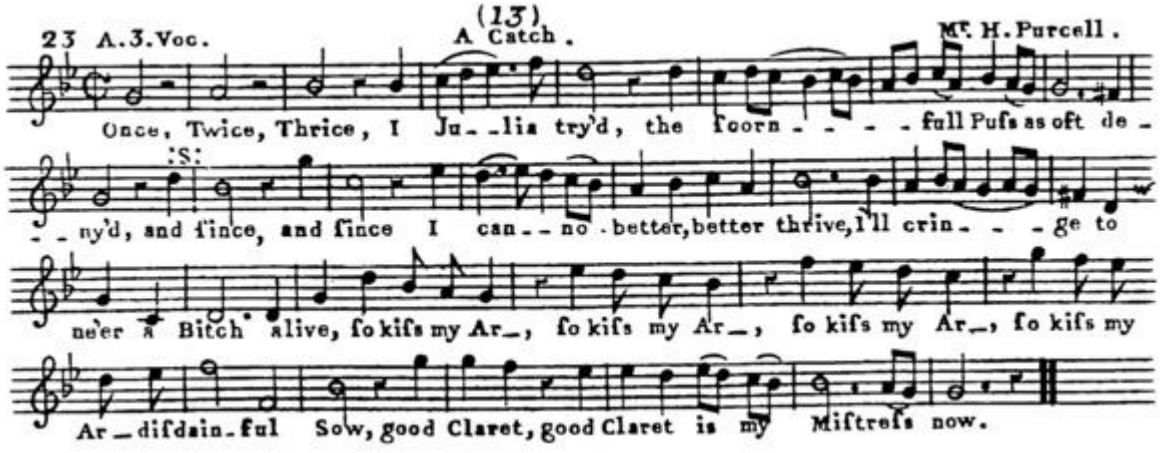
[67] Gladstone, 24.

[68] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture,* 2.

However, not everyone considered the catch to be the quintessential English composition or worthy of the renewed popularity it enjoyed during the Georgian era. The English composer William Jackson of Exeter (1730-1803) was particularly critical of the genre, recounting its origins in the following way:

> This odd species of composition, whenever invented, was brought to its perfection by Purcel [sic]. Real music was as yet in its childhood; but the reign of Charles the second carried every kind of vulgar debauchery to its height. The proper era for the birth of such pieces as, when quartered, have ever three parts obscenity, and one part music.[69]

The musical form of the catch lent itself well to humorous, and often quite lewd, lyrics. Each individual line of text might, on its own, be perfectly innocuous, but when sung all together certain words or syllables from one line would fill in the rests in another, usually producing some vulgarity (See, again, Ex. 1.1, specifically measures 5-8).



Ex. 1.2. Henry Purcell, "Once, Twice, Thrice" (1700)

Though the bawdiness of the genre was considerably toned down by the late eighteenth century, catches still often contained (more subtly placed) vulgarities. Compare, for example, the open bawdiness of Henry Purcell's "Once, Twice, Thrice" (Ex.1.2) with Lord Mornington's "See the

[69] William Jackson, *Thirty Letters on Various Subject*, (London: 1783) 67-68.

Bowl Sparkles." In the former, the successive entry of voices does not create some new lewdness that did not already exist in the text; each line of text is already quite coarse on its own. In Mornington's catch, however, the succession of syllables in measures 5-8 sound as though they are spelling out a profanity, but only once all four voices have joined.[70] While there were some perfectly innocent catches published in the early nineteenth century (Jane Austen transcribed the catch "Joan said to John" into her own songbook), in the late eighteenth century the genre still had such an enduring reputation for crudeness that, according to Jackson, a catch was "not judged perfect, if the result be not the rankest indecency."[71] Jackson even went so far as to profess that he had "never heard a catch sung, but I felt more ashamed than I can express . . . I was ashamed for myself—for my company—and if a foreigner was present—for my country." However, in the very same letter Jackson also praised, in a back-handed way, the Catch Club as an institution, referring to the membership as "some of the first people in the kingdom," and admitting:

> If you should have a design to convert me—take me to the catch club.—I confess, and honour, the superior excellence of its performance, while I lament that so noble a subscription should be lavished for so poor a purpose as keeping alive musical false-wit when it might be so powerfully support and encourage the best style of composition[72]

[70] Establishing the precise boundaries of what was considered "lewd" or inappropriate in Georgian society is beyond the scope of this project. Two examples from the memoirs of William Gardiner and the journals of John Marsh, however, offer some indication of which song texts were not widely acceptable in mixed company. Marsh recounted singing catches and glees after dinner when all the ladies had gone except two, who feared their husbands would be "induced to stay late and drink too much." "This however being felt as rather a restraint by some of the singers who wish'd to sing a catch or two not so proper for ladies to hear, Parry by way of broad hint to them, began singing Dr. Harington's cantata "Fixt air," which tho a harmless one enough yet soon sent them both off as they did not seem to know what to make of it & probably expected something worse than a little *wind* to follow." *JM,* 238. Gardiner remembered a story his father had told him about The Earl of Sandwich singing Lord Mornington's catch "'Twas you sir (who kissed the pretty girl)" after dinner, followed by "several of a similar cast," after which the ladies retired, "probably being driven away by the unrestrained conversation" of the Earl. While it may have been his conversation between catches, and not the catches themselves, that the ladies considered uncouth, Marsh noted in his journals that he was hesitant to perform this particular catch in a concert, "as it requir'd humour & was certainly fitter for a convivial party than a public concert," adding that he was "rather apprehensive of meeting with a hiss." *WG,* Vol I, 7; *JM,* 132-133.

[71] Jackson, *Letters,* 72-74; "Joan said to John" can be found in the bound manuscript book "CHWJA/19/3" (38) in *The Austen Family Music Books,* digitized by the University of Southampton in 2015.

[72] Jackson, *Letters,* 77.

Though Jackson considered the Catch Club a noble—if terribly misguided—musical meeting, some depictions of the Catch Club portrayed its members as overly effeminate, Italianized, and prone to debauchery. The barrister John Bicknell's extraordinary satire on Charles Burney's *Musical Travels Through England* (under the pseudonym Joel Collier) paints a particularly unflattering picture of the Catch Club and one of its (fictitious) members, "Dr. Smirk." When Collier comes to meet Smirk—a clergyman, self-proclaimed musical *"dilettante,"* and an unapologetic macaroni—he is so busy "learning a new opera tune" that he tries to send Collier away. But when Collier introduces himself as a fellow *dilettante*, Smirk, eager to display his talents and receive an objective opinion of his flute-playing skills, immediately sends the servant for his flute so that he can perform a few *solfeggi* for his new musical acquaintance. Warmly approving of Smirk's playing, Collier then asks if the Doctor would also sing for him, to which he readily agrees,

> But before he began, he ordered his servant to bring his *Dilettante* ring and wig. Seeing that he had excited my wonder, he very obligingly explained himself, by telling me, that, as nothing added so much to the power of music as the dress of the performer, and as no part of the dress was more striking and important, than that of the head and the finger, he had, during his tour to the Continent, provided rings and wigs for every species of music that he could ever be called upon to perform.[73]

Collier describes the wigs (all "neatly powdered," one with a "tyburn-top" another a "long free-flowing tye") and rings in great detail.[74] One ring in particular, Collier notes, is "adorned with a masterly representation of the god *Priapus*," an erotic souvenir from the Continent associated with elite connoisseurship and libertinism (See Fig.1.4).[75] Over the course of their conversation the reader

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[73] Joel Collier, *Musical Travels Through England*, 58-59.

[74] Outrageous wigs were the most salient feature of the macaroni. According to *Cassell's Dictionary of Slang*, a "Tyburn foretop" (also known as a "Tyburn-top") was a style of wig that was popular in the late 18th-early 19th century in which the foretop was combed forward over the eyes. This hairstyle was especially associated with criminals. See Jonathon Green, *Cassell's Dictionary of Slang,* 1484. For more on the socio-cultural significance of the macaroni's wig, see Rauser, "Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni"; Ritchie "The Case for the Dirty Beau: Symmetry, Disorder, and the Politics of Masculinity," in *The Body Imagined: The Human Form and Visual Culture since the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon, 175-189 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[75] Representations of Priapus would have been associated with the Society of Dilettanti, which was established around 1734 as a club of noblemen and scholars who had gone on the Grand Tour and were interested in studying ancient Greek and Roman art. Though the club was formed under the auspices of scholarly pursuits, its critics condemned it as a

learns that Dr. Smirk has had the great fortune of touring the Continent as a tutor to a young lord, an amateur violinist who was equally fond of music. This influential acquaintance, "together with [the Doctor's] great skill in cooking *macaroni,* and his great powers in singing catches," had recommended him to the friendship and patronage of other members of the nobility and had also secured him a membership in the Catch Club.[76]

Fig. 1.4. Ring of Priapus, British Museum

The caricature of Dr. Smirk combines the stereotypes of the macaroni—effeminate, obsessed with his appearance, an opportunistic social-climber—with the image of a gentleman musician and institutions, like the Catch Club, to which he might have belonged. It casts the musical gentleman as an object of ridicule, drawing attention to his effeminacy, his desire to mix with men of different (in this case, higher) social ranks, and even his deviant sexuality.[77] Such a parody aimed to

front for debauchery, with Horace Walpole describing it in 1743 as "a club, for which the nominal qualification is having been in Italy, and the real one, being drunk: the two chiefs are Lord Middlesex and Sir France Dashwood, who were seldom sober the whole time they were in Italy." Many notable amateur musicians were also members of the Society, namely Joshua Reynolds and Sir William Hamilton. See John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 203-228; Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 120.

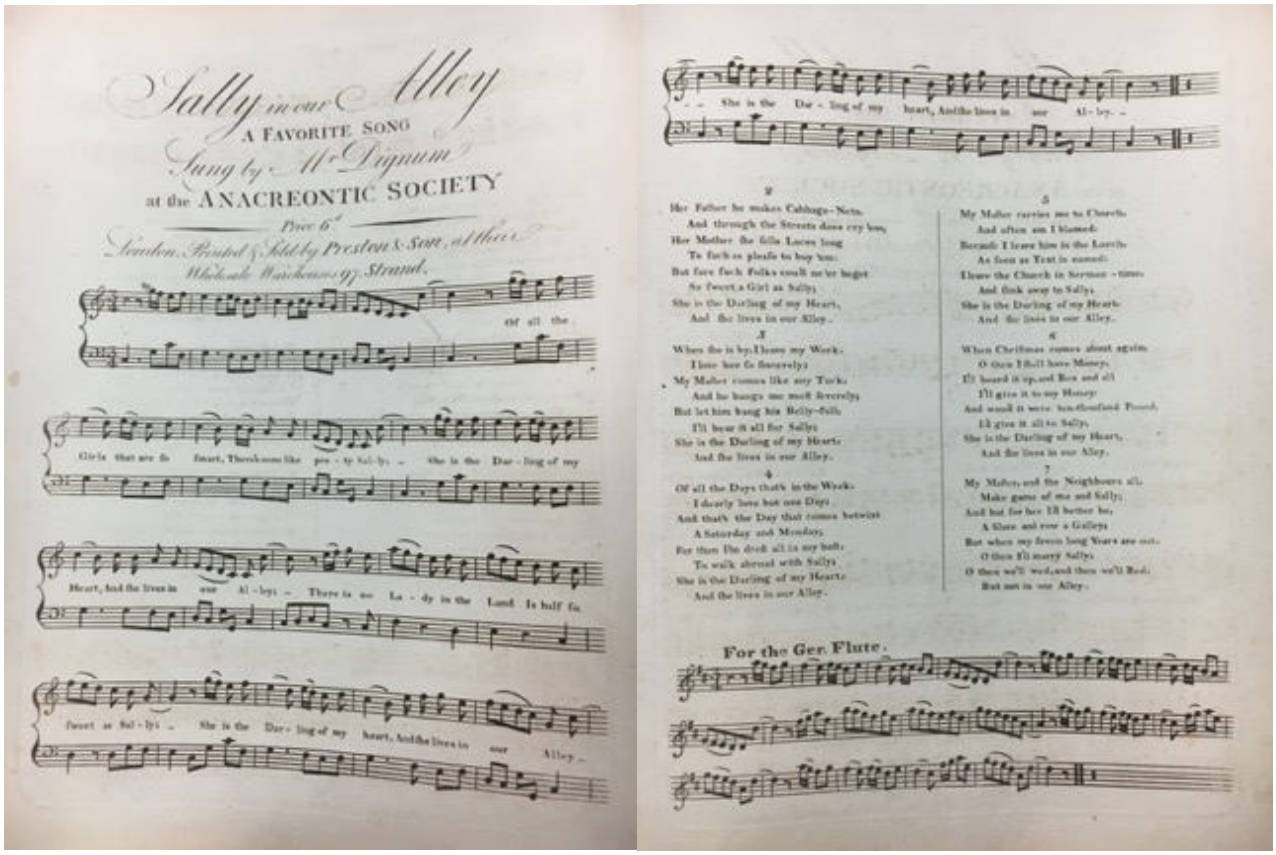
[76] Collier, *Musical Travels Through England*, 60-61.

[77] A "masterly representation of the god *Priapus*" would likely have featured a large and prominent phallus (See Fig. 1.4.).

cast doubt on the integrity of the Catch Club and its members, and on the gentlemanly pursuit of music-making more generally.

An early imitator of the Catch Club was the Anacreontic Society, which was founded in London in 1766. There are many firsthand accounts of the society by professional musicians who were hired to perform at the concerts, such as the singer, Michael Kelly.

> the Anacreontic Society, held at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, which was admirably conducted by a set of bankers and merchants. They had a good concert in the early part of the evening, by a most excellent band, led by Cramer; after which the company retired to the large room, where supper was provided. The Principle vocal performers of the day were to be found there . . . . I passed many delightful evenings in this society, and was extremely sorry when it was discontinued.[78]



Ex. 1.3. "Sally in our Alley," song from the Anacreontic Society (ca. 1780)

[78] Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences*, Vol. II (1826), 101-102.

While the Catch Club's meetings were governed by strict regulations and procedures, the meetings of the Anacreontic Society were known for devolving into debauchery as the evening progressed.[79] In fact, the society's reputation for drunken revelry and bawdy songs led to its untimely demise. Though some women were invited to attend certain concerts given by the Anacreontic Society, their presence had to be approved by the entire membership, and they were never permitted to stay for the whole evening. Curious about what the men did behind closed doors, the Duchess of Devonshire, along with her female entourage, concocted a plan to hide themselves in a loft to listen in during one of the Anacreontic Society's meetings in order to witness the rumored depravity for themselves. The professional oboist, William Parke, made an account in his memoir of what followed:

> This society, to become a member of which noblemen and gentlemen would wait a year for a vacancy, was by an act of gallantry brought to a premature dissolution. The Duchess of Devonshire, the great leader of the *haut ton*, having heard the Anacreontic highly extolled, expressed a particular wish to some of its members to be permitted to be privately present to hear the concert, &c.; which being made known to the directors, they caused the elevated orchestra occupied by the musicians at balls to be fitted up, with a lattice affixed to the front of it, for the accommodation of her grace and party; so that they could see, without being seen; but, some of the comic songs not being exactly calculated for the entertainment of ladies, the singers were restrained; which displeasing many of the members, they resigned one after another; and a general meeting being called, the society was dissolved.[80]

The homosociality of the club was so crucial to the integrity of the musical endeavor that this breach caused the Anacreontic Society to disband shortly after the incident. The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, on the other hand, persisted, and still exists today.

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[79] While acknowledging the club's reputation for bawdiness, Simon McVeigh's work has also illustrated the more serious social and cultural functions of the Anacreontic Society, examining the club as a crucial link in London's "chain of legitimization" for foreign musicians, composers, and programming choices. Simon McVeigh, "Trial by Dining Club: The Instrumental Music of Haydn, Clementi and Mozart at London's Anacreontic Society," in *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, ed. Bennett Zon (New York: Routledge, 2016), 105-138.

[80] William Parke, *Musical Memoirs,* Vol. I (1830), 83-84.

While (largely) unchecked, masculine conviviality reigned at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and other musical societies, a rather different sort of musical masculinity was being promoted in printed media. The *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* in particular disseminated an ideology of national musical style that reflected (what was believed to be) England's sober, chaste brand of masculinity. By actively encouraging native composers while simultaneously denigrating foreign ones in distinctly gendered language, a binary understanding of national musical styles emerged: the straightforward simplicity of English music signaled manly virtue, while the relatively flashy and heavily ornamented music of the Continent (particularly Italy) indicated effeminate vice. Ultimately, the editors aimed to bring English music back to a period of musical and moral superiority, which they imagined to have existed in the seventeenth century.

Making English Music Great Again

Modeled after the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (published in London from 1818 to 1828, hereafter referred to as the *QMMR*) was the first English periodical devoted exclusively to writings about music, and as such provided a much-needed forum for amateurs and professionals alike to exchange on a wide range of musical topics. From articles on music theory, acoustics, music history, pedagogy, and performance practice, to biographical sketches of notable composers and performers, as well as reviews of local concerts and recently published sheet music, the periodical was overwhelmingly broad in scope. Despite this astonishing variety of subject matter, the *QMMR* as a whole aimed to justify England's position as an important player within the wider European music scene and to defend England against the repeated accusations that the English lacked native musical talent.

In order to promote native English music, the contributors to the *QMMR* first needed to develop a unified definition of English musical style and taste, distinguishing what was "genuinely

English" from what was not. While it would be misleading to suggest that all of the individual contributors to the *QMMR* wrote consistently in one unified voice, my discourse analyses will show that a cohesive definition of Englishness in music did emerge from their distinct authorial voices. The authors who wrote about the various characteristics of English and foreign music consistently described the characteristics of English music using adjectives associated with traditional masculinity, such as "strong," "courageous," and "manly," while foreign musical styles were described unfavorably using distinctly feminizing terms, such as "frivolous," "dandyism," and "effeminate." As I will demonstrate in my analysis, many of the contributors to the *QMMR* seemed intent on constructing distinctly gendered musical values, which elevated English music for its supposedly masculine characteristics, and denigrated Continental music for its perceived effeminate qualities.

Describing and rationalizing the differences between English and Italian music in particular was a favorite topic in the *QMMR*. Using gendered language to characterize these two national styles helped to amplify the perception that they were naturally opposite; the English could easily point to what they perceived to be virtuous and masculine qualities in their music while setting up Italian music as the effeminate other. The gendered language which the authors used to distinguish English and Italian musical styles (and by extension, English and Italian national characters), would have also carried moralistic significance for Georgian readers brought up on conduct literature: masculinity signaled virtue, effeminacy signaled vice. Explaining, for example, why the English did not develop their own style of opera, one author asserted: "We have nothing approaching Opera […] dramatic effects are seldom or never aimed at." According to him, the English have "grave and more tempered habits of thought and action" than their Italian counterparts. "We speak of the exercise of the art as 'sound and chaste.' These are amongst our highest epithets of commendation: we are shocked at dramatic vehemence; it appears to us somewhat allied to what is coarse and

unbecoming."[81] At the end of the same essay the author urged English composers to "appropriate what is best in Italian art, and still preserve the pure and manly energy which, after all is the capital characteristic" of English music, both in terms of its composition and execution.[82]

Reviewers in the *QMMR* were eager to hear manliness in the music that was being produced by native English talent. Reviewing some newly published songs by the English singer Charles Cummins, one author stated: "We prefer the second of Mr. Cummins's to his first; they are both written in a manly style, but particularly the last, which has the strength […] produced by genuine English melody."[83] Similarly, in a review the following year of a recently published song, "The Wild Hyacinth," by Thomas Forbes Walmisley, the composer was praised for using a "masculine and sound taste in its construction which elevates it far above the dandyism of most modern ballads," and for imbuing "every note" with "mind and manly feeling."[84] But how did these reviewers identify a "manly style," or a "genuine English melody"?

"The Wild Hyacinth" for example (See Ex. 1.4) exhibits qualities typical of English ballads from this period: the text is set syllabically with little decoration, the melody moves in a mostly stepwise motion, and generally does not span more than one octave. The only striking feature of this melody is the prevalence of a rhythmic figure comprising an unaccented sixteenth note, followed by an accented dotted eight note. This figure is commonly referred to as a Scotch snap, as it was typical of Scottish vocal and instrumental music of the period.[85]

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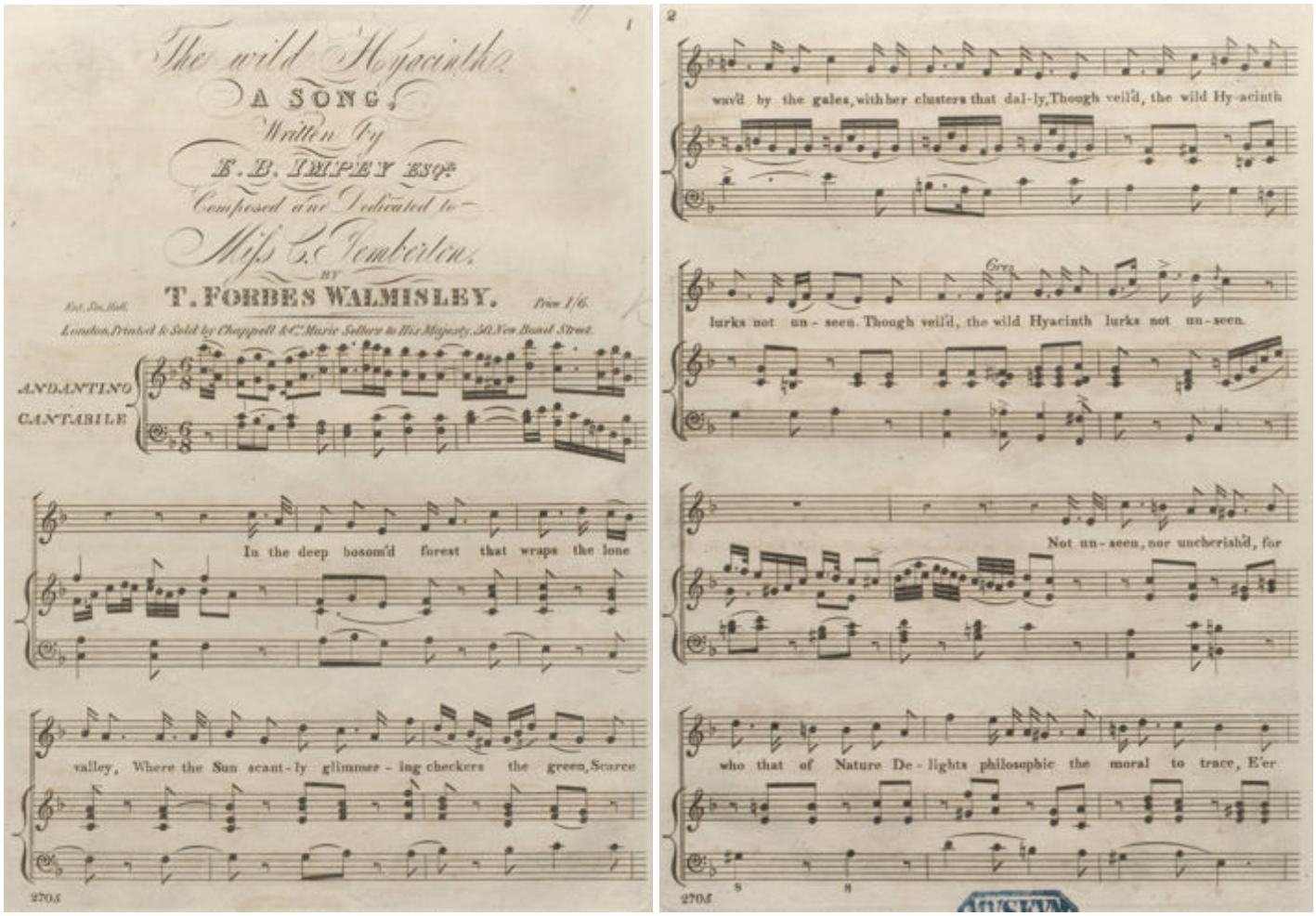
[81] *QMMR*, Vol. 4 (1822), 402.
[82] Ibid., 408.
[83] It might be worth mentioning that the "first" song to which the reviewer was referring was written in French, "Separes mais non pas desunis," which certainly detracted from its Englishness and, perhaps by extension, its manliness. *QMMR*, Vol. 6 (1824), 413.
[84] *QMMR,* Vol. 7 (1825), 529.
[85] Nicholas and David Temperley's thorough study on the "Scotch snap" has confirmed that the rhythm was most common in Scotland, but clarified that a complicating factor in their study was "the Lombardic Rhythm (LR), which was popular with Italian composers and their imitators in the late seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century. The LR also consists of a sixteenth and a dotted eighth, but as a melisma on a single syllable, or in instrumental music, where it is typically slurred […] But the [Scottish Snap], by our definition, is a purely vocal figure set to two adjacent syllables. It both preceded and long outlived the Europe-wide fashion for the LR." Moreover, they concluded that the Scotch snap "is characteristic of musical settings of the English language in general, but is more marked in Scottish songs. It is also



Ex. 1.4. Thomas F. Walmisley, "The Wild Hyacinth" (ca. 1825)

There is some reason to believe that the evocation of Scotland through this rhythmic gesture might have signified for the English listener a sort of untamed, "ancient" masculinity that, though not specifically English, symbolized a kind of unadulterated manliness to which Georgian society (or at least the *QMMR*) aspired. In R. Campbell's *The London Tradesman*—an unusual mix of a conduct book and a guide to the various "trades" in which a young man might decide to pursue—the author (in a long, and disparaging tangent on the present state of music and the music profession in England) expressed the following hypothesis:

possible, however, that after a connection between the SS and Scottish music had been proposed by Quantz (1752) and others, Scottish composers and editors of Scottish folksong felt encouraged or pressured to use it more often." Nicholas and David Temperley, "Music-Language Correlations and the Scotch Snap," in *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 29, no. 1 (September 2011): 53-54, 56.

> As *Italian* Music, and the Love of it, has prevailed in these Islands, Luxury, Cowardice, and Venality has advanced upon us in exact Proportion. In the Southern Parts, where the bewitching *Demon* is best known, we find less of Martial Ardor than in the more remote and Northern Parts, where they have not been squeaked out of their old Music, or Antient Courage: One may discern in the Music of the *Scotch Highlanders* something of the hot, firy [sic] ungovernable Temper of that unhappy warlike People: . . . you may mark in the sonorous Noise [of their Marches], the haughty proud Step of the Highland Chieftain; in the Shortness of the Stops and Quickness of the Measure, their firy hot and hasty Disposition.[86]

Though Campbell does not paint an altogether flattering picture of the Scottish or their music, he clearly praised them for having been uncorrupted by the "Luxury" and "Cowardice" that had infiltrated the Southern parts of the British Isles. Furthermore, he specifically pointed to their musical style as proof that their "Martial Ardor" and bravery had not been tarnished by the feminizing influence of Italian music. It is difficult to determine, however, how widespread or long-lasting this opinion might have been. Campbell first published the *Tradesman* in 1747 (long before the *QMMR*), and though it was in its third edition by 1757 this particular opinion regarding Scottish music does not appear to have been picked up more broadly in print media during the Georgian era.

By examining the instances discussed above of gendered musical characteristics in the *QMMR,* it becomes clear that the English valued simplicity and straightforwardness of musical style (characteristics that were often described as "sound" and "chaste"), likening it to sober, virtuous masculinity in contrast to the flashy virtuosity, which they associated with effeminacy and Continental (and perhaps Roman Catholic) degeneracy. It is conceivable that the English still associated the florid, melismatic text setting of Italian opera with the plainchant of the Latin Mass, as opposed to the syllabically set psalmody of the Protestant worship service. In an essay titled "On the Abuse of Psalmody in Churches" from *The Gentleman's Magazine* a few decades earlier, one concerned citizen complained of a group of male singers at his church who met every week to

[86] R. Campbell, *The London tradesman: Being a compendious view of all the trades, professions, arts, both liberal and mechanic, now practised in the cities of London and Westminster. Calculated for the information of parents, and instruction of youth in their choice of business* (London: T. Gardner, 1747), 90-91.

"make themselves Masters of Psalm Tunes and Anthems." In their rehearsals they "[ordered] the Singing in their own Way," adding "Newness and Variety" to the Psalm tunes, and as a result, the whole congregation could not understand the text of the psalm, let alone join in the singing. According to the anonymous commentator, "by this Manner of Singing, such as cannot read, or have not Common Prayer Books, who are (and more is the Pity) a considerable Part of every Congregation, are about as much edified by the Psalm, as they would have been, had it been sung in Buchanan's Latin or as the vulgar Papists are by their Latin Prayers."[87]

The national style that the *QMMR* promoted was characterized by straightforward, unadorned melodies that allowed for easily intelligible texts. While the previous example would suggest that some of the discomfort with excessively ornamented vocal music may have come from a Protestant desire for comprehensibility, much of the discourse on musical embellishment in the *QMMR* focused on the latent sexuality of highly ornamented music. The following comment by a reviewer uses sexually charged language and imagery to draw attention to the lascivious effect of the highly ornamented Italian musical language.

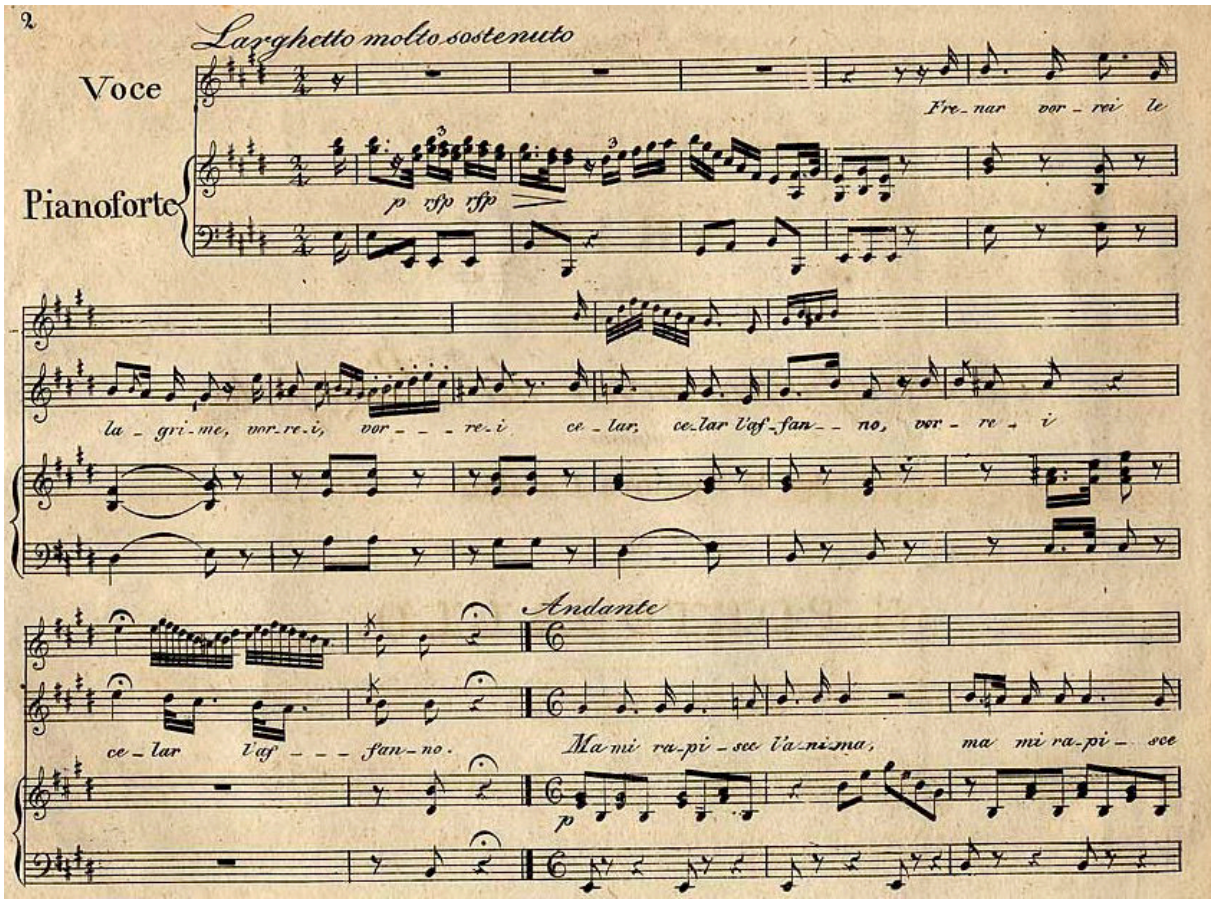
> We do absolutely nauseate the effeminacy of an English ballad tricked out in a tumtawdry, tarnished, laced suit of threadbare Italian finery; and we nauseate still more if its naturally wholesome beauty is transformed into the worn-out and emaciated image of foreign voluptuousness.[88]

By personifying an English ballad as a "naturally wholesome beauty" corrupted—indeed, turned into a whore—by "Italian finery," this author was attempting to illustrate the deleterious effects of Italian ornamentation on English music.

The reviewers' eagerness to hear manliness in English music primed them to hear effeminacy in foreign—especially Italian—music. While they were quick to point out specific examples of English music that they deemed "chaste" and "manly," specific foreign compositions

[87] *GM,* Vol. 11 (1741), 82-83.
[88] *QMMR,* Vol. 1 (1818), 80.

deemed "wanton" and "effeminate" are never actually mentioned. As they did not name any particular examples of music that exhibited these characteristics, one can only speculate as to which particular musical features they were referring, or even to what compositions they were referring.



Ex. 1.5. Marco Portugal, "Frener vorrei le lagrime" from *La morte di Semiramide* (1817)

I would suggest as a possible starting point examining an aria from the popular opera seria *La morte di Semiramide* by Marco Portugal, which premiered at the King's Theatre in London in 1806. On that occasion, Angelica Catalani, one of the most famous opera stars in London at the time, performed the role of Semiramide, the music having been designed specifically by Portugal to show off the diva's dazzling vocal technique. In an edition printed in 1817 by Breitkopf & Härtel (See Ex. 1.5), Portugal has notated some of Catalani's improvised ornamentations in the aria "Frener vorrei le lagrime," in a treble line above the vocal melody. For example, in measures 9-10 the dotted eighth-sixteenth rhythms have been broken into divisions upon the underlying chords, and in measure 12

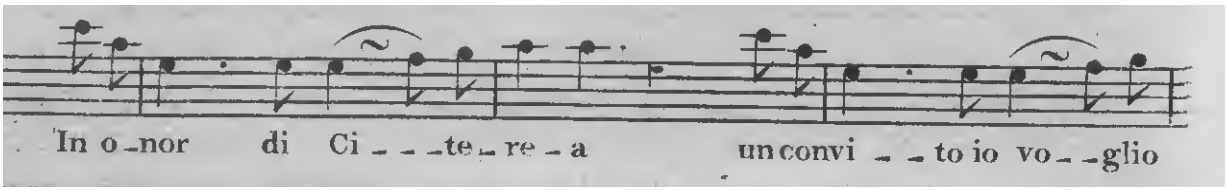
the Lombard rhythms have been spun out into elaborate melismata over the last two vowels leading to the half cadence. This manner of complicated vocal ornamentation ran contrary to the simple and straightforward national musical style that was being promoted by the *QMMR*, giving off a flashy virtuosity that had come to be associated with effeminacy and Continental immorality.[89] While this offers some insight into how Italian opera sounded in public performance, the theatre was not the only venue in which English audiences consumed this music. Italian opera arias, arranged for voice and piano, also formed a part of the vocal repertoire for recreational music-making among amateur musicians. For that reason, it will be illuminating to examine some extracts from Italian opera arias that were popular among non-professional musicians.

Though Mozart was not an Italian composer, his Italian operas became tremendously popular in early nineteenth-century London. Rachel Cowgill's examination of the reception of Mozart's Italian operas in London has shown that these operas differed significantly in orchestration from the operas of contemporary Italian composers, such as Marco Portugal and Vincenzo Puccitta, and initially met with a great deal of resistance from London's Italian opera singers, who disliked having their florid improvisations reined in by the demands of the orchestra.[90] Years before any of Mozart's Italian operas were performed at the King's Theatre, however, arias from his Italian operas

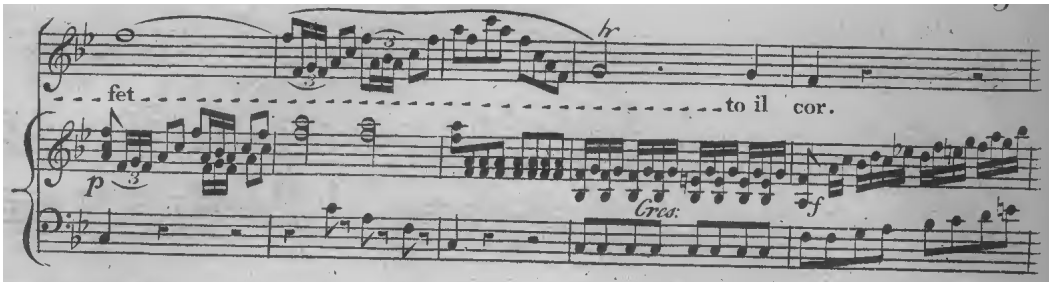
[89] Interestingly, one of the arguments for bringing the Italian operas of Mozart to the King's Theatre was that his orchestration balanced the vocal and instrumental forces so that they were equal components of the work. This change had the effect of bringing the extravagant virtuosity of star singers (like Catalani) under tighter control, regulating the timing and length of their improvisations. While Mozart's Italian operas met with resistance by Italian singers because of this, the shift in the balance of powers was welcome to some music lovers in England, such as William Gardiner, who was an early promoter of the "sublimity" of nineteenth-century German instrumental music. In a letter to the *Morning Magazine* in 1811 he extoled the virtues of Mozart's operas, writing that "[Mozart's] imagination has infused a sublimity into opera, that now renders it the highest of all intellectual pleasures." Furthermore, he bemoaned the paucity of Mozart's operas on the London stage, lamenting that England was "doomed to listen to the effeminate strains of Italy, and the nursery-songs of Pucito [sic], while the gorgeous and terrific Don Juan, and the beautiful Clemenza di Tito, lie unopened and unknown to thousands." *Monthly Magazine,* 31 (1811): 133-135, quoted in Rachel Cowgill, "'Wise Men from the East': Mozart's Operas and their Advocates in Early Nineteenth-Century London," in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, eds. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, 39-64 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 50.

[90] Cowgill, "Wise Men form the East," 46.

(arranged for voices with piano accompaniment) had already been circulating in London.[91] John Waldie (1781-1862), a gentleman and enthusiastic amateur musician, mentioned in his diary of 1803 that on several occasions he visited the music publisher Monzani & Cimador specifically to pick up "some of Mozart's songs from his Italian operas."[92] Waldie may have been referring to selections from *La clemenza di Tito,* and *Così fan tutte,* published by Mozani & Cimador between 1800 and 1803. Two excerpts from such an edition of *Così fan tutte* arranged for voice and piano (See Ex. 1.6 and Ex. 1.7) illustrate the vocal ornamentation that would have been within the compass of an amateur singer. Though they do not approximate the vocal fireworks of Catalani, I would suggest that written-in ornaments, such as the turns in "Una bella serenata," and the long and complex melisma over the words *affetto* in "Como scoglio immoto resta," would have sounded like Italian opera to English ears.



Ex. 1.6. W. A. Mozart, "Una bella serenata" from *Così fan tutte* (Birchall, 1809)



Ex. 1.7. W. A. Mozart, "Como scoglio immoto resta" from *Così fan tutte* (Birchall, 1809)

[91] Rachel Cowgill, "Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829: Aspects of Reception and Canonicity," PhD diss., University of London, 2000. See especially Table III "Mozart items included in the Sale of Burney's Music Library, 8 August 1814," 261-262.

[92] "I got out of the coach at the end of Bond street & walked by Bond street & St. James's street to Pall Mall & along to the Haymarket. Called & selected some of Mozart's songs from his Italian operas at Monzani & Cimador's."; "After breakfast I walked to Craven street & sat a while with Captain Innes—he played on the flute—from thence I went to Monzani & Cimador's & bought a good deal of Mozart's Italian songs &c." The journal of John Waldie, 15 and 16 June, 1803, London. On 16 June Waldie mentioned singing "Ah Perdona" at a music party, suggesting that he had purchased

Though the contributors to the *QMMR* were not specific about the actual repertoire that displayed effeminate qualities, they often pointed to Italian vocal techniques as naturally more effeminate than English vocal techniques. The *portamento*, for example, was particularly singled out as an undesirable and effeminate effect. Identifying the *portamento* as "the glide" between distant intervals by "Italian singers" one author asserted that while this effect is appropriate for Italians, it is too effeminate for the English, whose singing style he described, by contrast, as "sober, subdued, and chaste."

> [Italians] use it to convey tenderness or pathos and it comes upon the ears accustomed to Italian taste with singular beauty and effect . . . it is certainly proper to themselves, certainly national. Genuine English style unquestionably rejects this grace. To English ears it sounds too *effeminately*.[93]

Indeed, the *portamento* does not appear in English vocal treatises of the period, though it figured prominently in Italian vocal treatises. For example, while Joseph Corfe's *A Treatise on Singing* (first published in London, 1799) makes no mention of the *portamento,* Domenico Corri listed it as the first and most important vocal effect in the singer's arsenal in his treatise, *The Singer's Preceptor or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* (first published in London, 1810).[94] "*Portamento di voce* is the perfection of vocal music, wrote Corri, "it consists of the swell and dying of the voice, the sliding and blending one note into another with delicacy and expression."[95] Corri's description of the *portamento* as the combination of "the swell and dying of the voice" and the "sliding and blending" of notes*,* suggests that it was often combined with the *messa di voce*, which figured more prominently in Italian vocal treatises than in those published by English musicians. For comparison, while Corfe lists the *messa di voce* among "The Graces or Ornaments of Expression," (See Ex. 1.8), Corri treats the effect with two pages of lessons, labeling it "The Soul of Music" (See Ex. 1.9).

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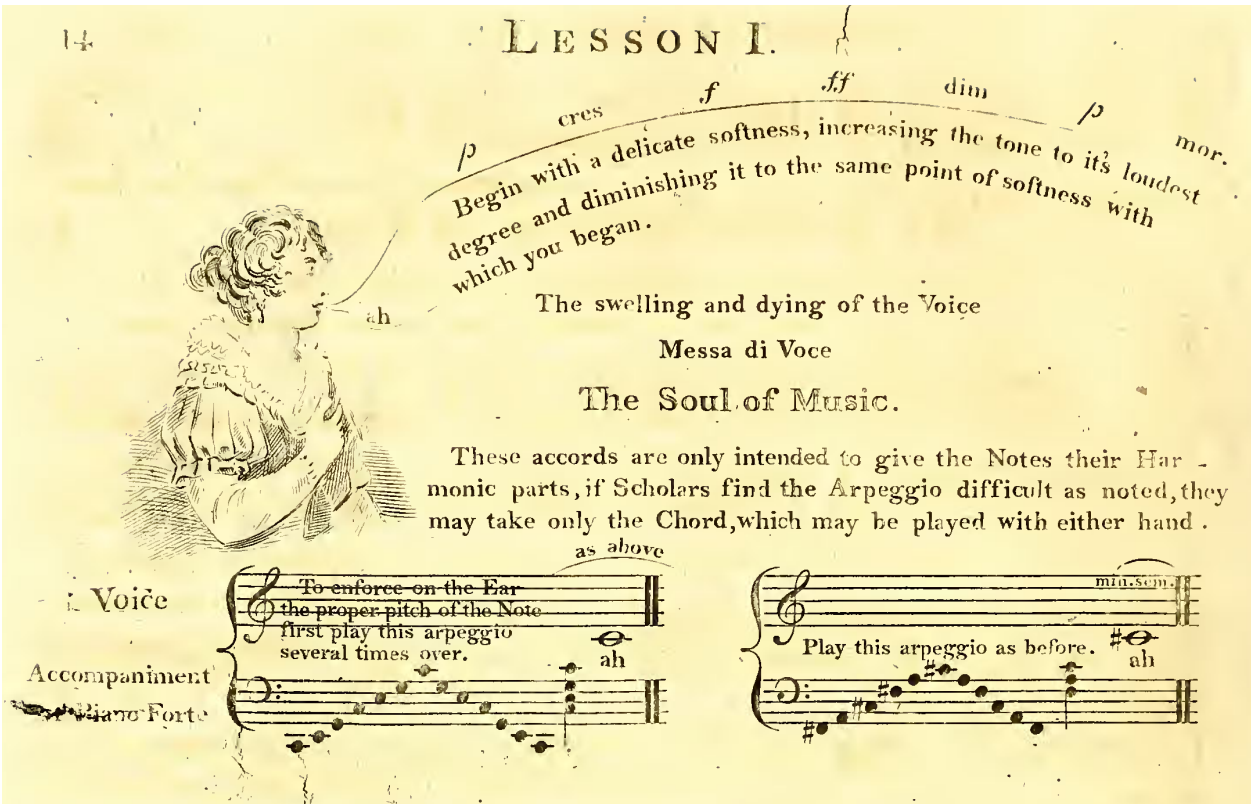
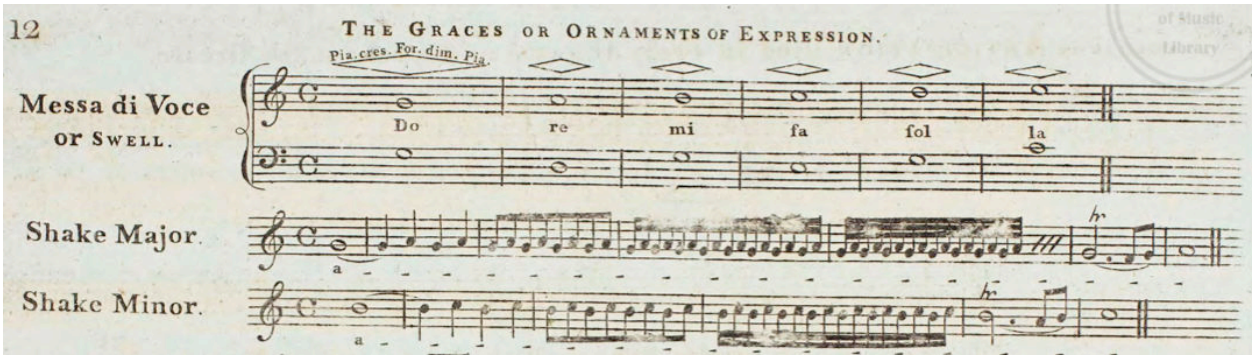
[93] *QMMR,* Vol. 3 (1821), 459.
[94] Joseph Corfe, *A Treatise on Singing,* (London: s.p., 1799); Domenico Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* (London: published by Chappell & Co Music Sellers, 1810).
[95] Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor,* 4.



Ex. 1.8. Domenico Corri, excerpt from *The Singer's Preceptor* (1810)



Ex. 1.9. Joseph Corfe, excerpt from *A Treatise on Singing* (1799)

In the chapter on "Cantabile style," Corri recommended that the singer should combine "all the charms of Vocal Music," especially the *messa di voce* and the *portamento*.[96] It may have been the

[96] Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor,* 69.

particular way in which Italian singers combined the techniques of the *portamento* and *messa di voce* that caused one reviewer to remark on an "apparent lisp" which the effect produced:

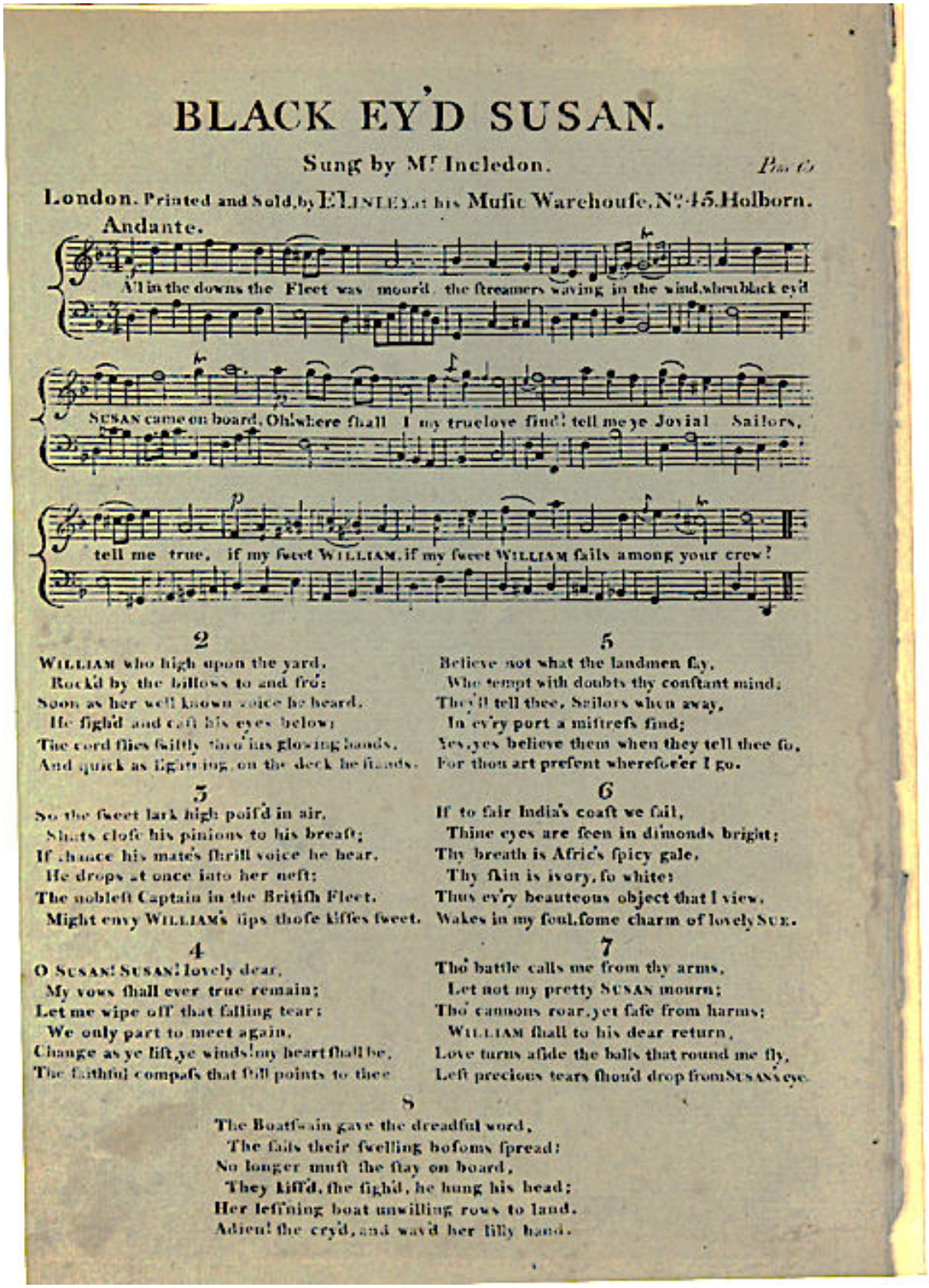
> There is in almost all the Italian singing we ever heard an apparent lisp which together with the mode of diminishing the abrupt effect of distant intervals bestows an air of effeminacy, and very much abates the magnificence to our ears.[97]

Reviewers not only distinguished between the effeminate characteristics of continental music in contrast to the manly qualities of English music, but they also implied that these masculine qualities, supposedly inherent to English music, reflected the moral superiority of the English over their continental rivals. The following description of Charles Incledon, a native English singer, contrasted his virtuous, "chaste" English masculinity with "wanton" effeminacy:

> he had a bold and manly manner of singing . . . like a true Englishman . . . . His forte was ballad, not of the modern cast of whining or wanton sentiment but the original, manly, energetic strain of an earlier and better age of English poesy and English song writing, such as "Black eyed Susan," and "The Storm" . . . . Or the love songs of Shield, breathing the chaste and simple grace of genuine English melody.[98]

Here the reviewer not only praised the "manly manner" of Incledon's singing but also claimed that the songs themselves harkened back to a "manly" and "better age" of English music.

[97] *QMMR,* Vol. 1 (1818), 43.
[98] *QMMR,* Vol. 1 (1818), 80.



BLACK EY'D SUSAN.

Sung by Mr Incledon.

London. Printed and Sold, by ELDER at his Muſic Warehouſe, No. 45. Holborn.

Andante.

All in the downs the Fleet was moor'd, the ſtreamers waving in the wind, when black ey'd

SUSAN came on board. Oh! where ſhall I my true love find? tell me ye Jovial Sailors,

tell me true, if my ſweet WILLIAM, if my ſweet WILLIAM ſails among your crew?

2

WILLIAM who high upon the yard,
Rock'd by the billows to and fro:
Soon as her well known voice he heard,
He ſigh'd and caſt his eyes below:
The cord flies ſwiftly thro' his glowing hands,
And quick as lightning, on the deck he ſtands.

3

So the ſweet lark high poiſ'd in air,
Shuts cloſe his pinions to his breaſt;
If chance his mate's ſhrill voice he hear,
He drops at once into her neſt:
The nobleſt Captain in the Britiſh Fleet,
Might envy WILLIAM's lips thoſe kiſſes ſweet.

4

O SUSAN! SUSAN! lovely dear,
My vows ſhall ever true remain;
Let me wipe off that falling tear:
We only part to meet again.
Change as ye liſt, ye winds! my heart ſhall be,
The faithful compaſs that ſtill points to thee

5

Believe not what the landmen ſay,
Who tempt with doubts thy conſtant mind;
They'll tell thee, Sailors when away,
In ev'ry port a miſtreſs find;
Yes, yes believe them when they tell thee ſo,
For thou art preſent where-ſo-e'er I go.

6

If to fair India's coaſt we ſail,
Thine eyes are ſeen in diamonds bright;
Thy breath is Africk's ſpicy gale,
Thy ſkin is ivory, ſo white:
Thus ev'ry beauteous object that I view,
Wakes in my ſoul, ſome charm of lovely SUE.

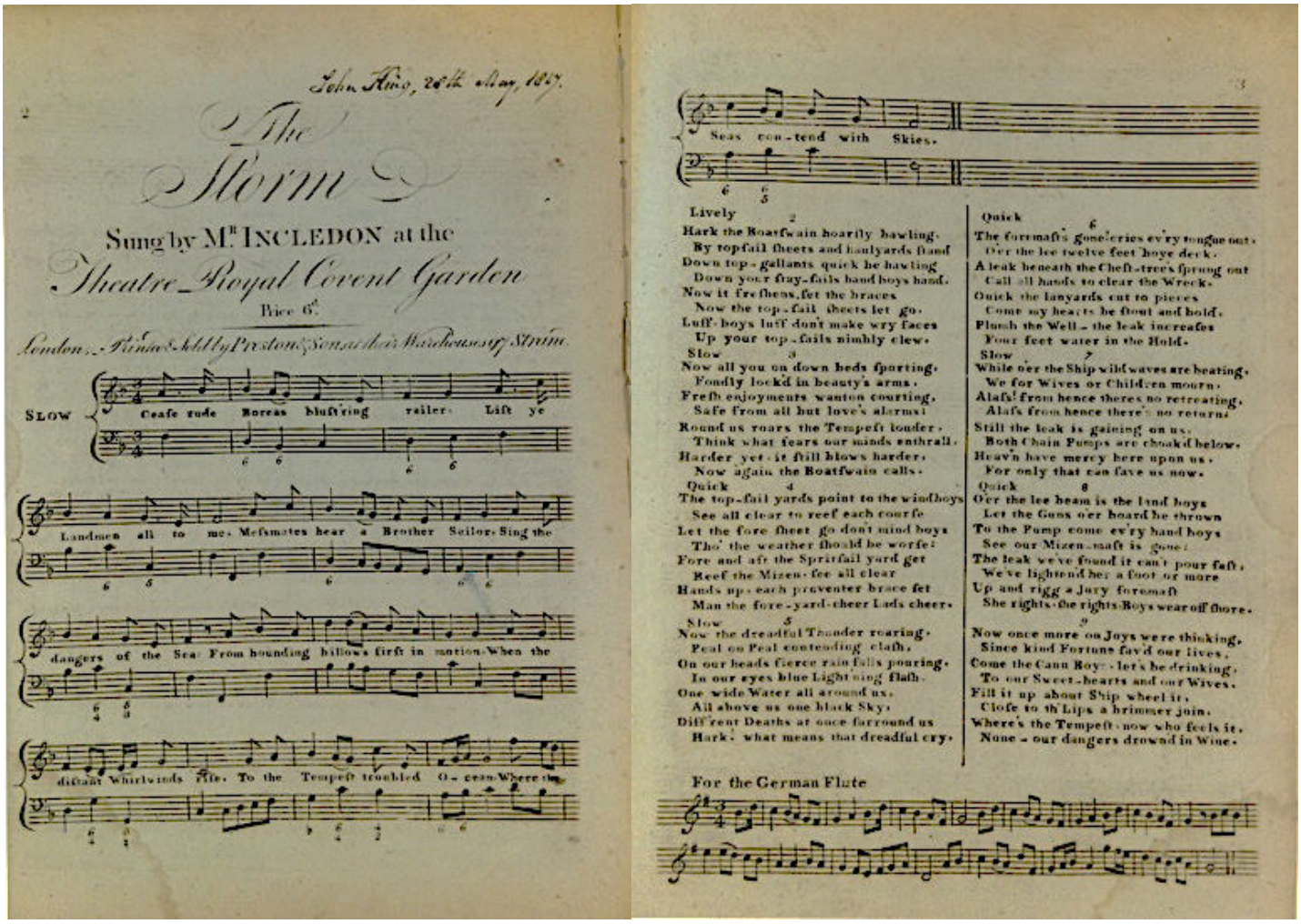
7

Tho' battle calls me from thy arms,
Let not my pretty SUSAN mourn;
Tho' cannons roar, yet ſafe from harms;
WILLIAM ſhall to his dear return,
Love turns aſide the balls that round me fly,
Leſt precious tears ſhou'd drop from SUSAN's eye.

8

The Boatſwain gave the dreadful word,
The ſails their ſwelling boſoms ſpread:
No longer muſt the ſtay on board,
They kiſs'd, ſhe ſigh'd, he hung his head:
Her leſſning boat unwilling rows to land.
Adieu! ſhe cry'd, and wav'd her lilly hand.

Ex. 1.10. Richard Leveridge, "Black Ey'd Susan" (ca. 1720)



Ex. 1.11. George A. Stevens, "The Storm" (ca. 1710-1784)

But what did the contributors to the *QMMR* consider so "chaste" about this music? Examining the two songs mentioned, "Black Ey'd Susan," (Ex. 1.10.) and "The Storm," (Ex. 1.11.) it is possible to interpret certain salient musical features reflecting the sobriety and virtue that the *QMMR* endeavored to promote as inherently English qualities. The syllabic text setting and narrow ambitus of the melody in both songs could be interpreted as reflecting the "chastity" to which the reviewer refers. These "genuine English" melodies have a predominantly stepwise motion and cadence neatly every four bars, creating a sense of comfort and accessibility for the listener (as well as the singer). Though the reviewers never mention by name the specific compositions that display "whining or wanton sentiment," one can deduce that they considered music written in a familiar and

comprehensible style as reflecting English chastity, while that which was unfamiliar and difficult to comprehend reflected foreign promiscuity. The juxtaposition of such sexually charged terms as "chaste" and "wanton" serves to amplify the implication of England's natural moral superiority, even if, in this reviewer's estimation, the "original" and "better age" of English manliness had already passed.

Contributors to the *QMMR* often harkened back to a time in English musical history when native composers wrote music that reflected the moral rectitude of the English people. Henry Purcell was unanimously touted as the composer who succeeded most in portraying the English spirit in music:

> Purcell is eminently national. He informed his art with the nervous and energetic character of English thought and English simplicity. There is a purity, strength, and dignity about all that he did, befitting the chaste and steady dispositions of the English people.[99]

It seems odd that Purcell, known for his ornate vocal melodies and bawdy catches, would have been singled out as "eminently national," if the ideal English style was characterized by its chaste simplicity. Perhaps the ideal English sound was little more than a wishful ideology, something that never entirely materialized in the actual music. Nevertheless, this sort of nationalistic praise was not only reserved for composers of the past, it was also the highest commendation that a modern composer could receive in the *QMMR*. Describing a new composition, *The Tempest,* by William Horsley (1774-1858), one reviewer wrote that it was "chaste in all its parts," finding in it, "purity and strength, a severity of taste, that we may call the moral sense in music," concluding that "we should call it genuine English classical music."[100] The *QMMR* sought to establish a legacy of English music representing manliness, chastity, and strength, or what they considered the "moral sense" in music.

[99] *QMMR,* Vol. 3 (1821), 196-197.
[100] *QMMR,* Vol. 6 (1824), 373.

Towards the end of the Georgian era, between 1825 and 1828, the word "frivolous" (an adjective strongly associated with women at this time) was often used in the *QMMR* to describe the showy display of virtuosity in music—and not just in Italian music. The most surprising instance of this was in a review of the London premiere of Beethoven's 9th Symphony in 1825, which the author did not enjoy at all. In his article "Beethoven's New Symphony," he suggests that Beethoven might have been trying to impress the "superficial" public with "extravagance of execution and outrageous clamour" rather than "chastened elegance or refined judgement." He goes on to complain that,

> The truth is that elegance, purity, and propriety, as principles of our art have been gradually yielding with the altered manners of the times to multifarious and superficial accomplishments with frivolous and affected manners. Minds that from education and habit can think of little else than dress, fashion, intrigue, novel reading, and dissipation are not likely to feel the elaborate and less feverish pleasures of science and art.[101]

His reference to audience members who are primarily concerned with "dress, fashion, novel reading" serves to confirm the misogynistic nature of his criticism, as dress, fashion, and novel reading fall within the purview of women and effeminate men. While it would not have been so shocking to see such a criticism leveled at a piece of Italian, or French music, it is the only instance in the *QMMR* of German music being criticized with the same gendered undertones. Perhaps by 1825 the *QMMR* had been so successful in establishing the hegemonic masculinity of English music that all foreign music—even Beethoven—could be described in feminizing terminology.

Changing Expectations: Gentlemen Musicians at the End of the Georgian era

In an article in the *QMMR* from 1820 entitled "Music as a Pursuit for Men," an unnamed author begins by referencing the famously disparaging comments Lord Chesterfield made in the mid-eighteenth century about music as a gentlemanly hobby.[102] But, this author claims, the general

[101] *QMMR,* Vol. 7 (1825), 84.
[102] "If you love music, hear it; go to operas, concerts, and pay fiddlers to play for you; but I insist upon your neither piping nor fiddling. It puts a gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptible light; brings him into a great deal of bad

sentiment towards musical men had mostly changed since then—in part because "our pleasures have not only become more domestic and more dependent upon the choice of such employments as are alike interesting to both sexes but our chance for happiness is increased in proportion as we are taught to draw our common gratification from a common source."[103] He continues by saying that music "mollifies the roughness or relaxes the severity of masculine thought and enterprise," which he considered the "true definition of refinement." In this author's view, music was not becoming less domestic but men were beginning to receive encouragement to engage with more traditionally domestic pursuits, such as music, in the interest of cultivating a happy marriage. This gentlemen might have been an outlier, but in 1823 he was seconded by another contributor who also considered domestic music-making to be an activity that men and women ought to enjoy together, "bringing together the sexes and directing their thoughts to a point mutually interesting."[104] Viewing these examples as a recurring theme, it would seem to suggest that, at the end of the Georgian era, gentlemen were being given permission and even encouraged to engage in a historically feminine hobby alongside women. If this was the case, I would suggest that this change might have been due in part to transformations in the ideology of "companionate marriage." The notion of companionate marriage depended upon binary gender characteristics that had been developing since the beginning of this period; with the rise of consensual (rather than arranged) marriage during the eighteenth century, greater importance came to be placed on the desirable, complimentary characteristics of a potential husband or wife.[105] Moreover, the end of the Georgian era witnessed a growing sense of

company; and takes up a great deal of time, which might be much better employed. Few things would mortify me more, than to see you bearing a part in a concert, with a fiddle under your chin, or a pipe in your mouth." Philip Dormer Stanhope, *Letters Written By The Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl Of Chesterfield, To His Son, Philip Stanhope, Esq. Late Envoy-Extraordinary At The Court Of Dresden, Together with Several Other Pieces On Various Subjects: In Four Volumes*, Vol 2, 10th edition (London: J. Dodsley, 1792), 167-168.

[103] *QMMR* Vol. 2 (1820), 286.

[104] *QMMR,* Vol. 5 (1823), 210.

[105] Examining the competing notions of "familial" and "romantic" marriage in Victorian novels, Talia Schaffer has noted that the rise of "companionate marriage" in the eighteenth century was "a trend rather than a sudden change," requiring

middle-class morality in which masculinity was constructed around familial responsibility. Rather than seeking amusement and comfort in the company of other men outside of the home, men were "expected to be uplifted by the moral wholesomeness of home and refreshed by its innocent amusements."[106]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the socio-political underpinnings of Georgian society's wary attitude towards musical gentlemen. Shifting ideologies regarding gender, sexuality, social hierarchies, and national identity in this period contributed to the development of a music culture in which gentlemen were not encouraged to cultivate musical skills. Moreover, the emerging fetish for masculinity in English society began seeping into their ideology of a national musical style, effectively feminizing the music and musical cultures of other nations.

Recreational music-making produced a transgressive space as it came to be associated with effeminacy, foreigners, and men working in the music profession (which had ambiguous class connotations). The temporary flexibility of boundaries between class, gender, and nationality that could ensue when gentlemen made music together, especially with professional musicians, was cause for alarm among moralists as social commentators. Their anxieties and vitriol on the topics of music, effeminacy, and foreigners will be examined in the following chapter.

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a well-developed cultural sense of what made a man or a woman worthy of choosing as a husband or wife. See Talia Schaffer, *Romance's Rival: Familial Marriage in Victorian Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 56.

[106] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 123.

CHAPTER TWO

Musical Gentlemen and the Specter of Effeminacy

> When [Vice] conceals herself under the aspect of elegant pleasure . . . when the almost resistless charms of music are employed to give her new attractions, or however to promote that languor and effeminacy which lull the guards of Virtue . . . she becomes more insinuating.[1]

The construction of gentlemanliness in Georgian England necessitated a deep and culturally pervasive wariness of effeminacy. For a gentleman to be at once polite and manly, simultaneously English and cultured, the slightest trace of effeminacy risked compromising the entire performance of his hegemonic masculinity. During this period, print culture villainized effeminacy, characterizing it as a duplicitous, spectral threat to the inherent virtue and manliness of England's national character. How to avoid effeminate behavior and influences became a crucial component of a young gentleman's education, and moralists and social commentators rose to the occasion by doling out advice in conduct books and periodicals.

Of the many different ways that a man might succumb to effeminacy and vice, as enumerated by moralists, music-making ranked high among them. Though music-making had been considered a respectable gentlemanly pastime in seventeenth-century England, during the Georgian era the activity was widely discouraged by social commentators. The conduct literature and periodicals surveyed in this chapter demonstrate two primary reasons why music-making was no longer recommended as a leisure activity for gentlemen in this period: not only had music-making come to be associated with the destructive agents of effeminacy, but it had also become associated with the music profession, which connoted tradesmen and artisans of the lower classes. In such company, moralists were understandably wary of recommending music as a respectable leisure activity for gentlemen. Of the twenty-five conduct books for men that I have examined for this

[1] James Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men* (London: Printed for Thomas Cadell, 1777), 349-351. "Vice" is, without exception, gendered female/personified as a woman in all of the Georgian literature surveyed for this study.

study, fewer than half make any reference to music, and only six directly discuss music's value (or lack thereof) as a gentlemanly accomplishment. But before turning to the discussion of music in those sources, I will first outline the ways in which effeminacy was being constructed in conduct books and periodical essays, demonstrating how the perceived dangers of effeminate men entered the Georgian imagination.

Male effeminacy became an increasingly urgent concern for moralists and social commentators during the Georgian era. It loomed in the peripheries of English conduct books in the early eighteenth century, often subtly referenced in terms such as "luxury," "languor," "vanity," "vice," and "frivolity" (and found in opposition to terms such as "industry," "virtue," "chastity," and "sobriety"), but in the mid-century, around the same time that the cult of sensibility began to flourish, these terms coalesced under the banner of effeminacy.[2] As early as 1710, periodicals such as the *Spectator* had already bemoaned "the desperate state of vice and folly into which the age is fallen," but England's alleged degradation was not specifically and consistently linked to effeminacy (and its corollary, a lack of "manliness") until the latter half of the eighteenth century. On the subject of effeminacy in the late eighteenth century, there was perhaps no greater alarmist than James Fordyce, a clergyman, whose *Addresses to Young Men* (published in 1777) characterized the spirit of the day as one of "selfish and vicious effeminacy." Fordyce described the general population, "degenerate as they are from the sober and manly character of their forefathers," as totally "corrupted by luxury and effeminacy to a degree far beyond any former period."[3] The timeline offered here corresponds with the waves of cultural and political change (discussed in Chapter 1) which promoted a sharpening of the distinction between effeminacy and manliness.

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[2] "[T]he Character and Manners of our Times: which, on a fair Examination, will probably appear to be that of *vain*, *luxurious*, and *selfish* EFFEMINACY." John Brown, *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times* (London: Printed for L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1757), 29. I have noted this development in the linguistic signaling of moralists and social commentators through my discourse analysis of conduct literature and periodicals spanning the Georgian era.
[3] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, 135, 192.

Through at least the first half of the eighteenth century, men's and women's gendered characteristics still existed along a spectrum (a holdover from the previous generation's "one-body" model). Without compromising the perception of their own sex, women could possess masculine qualities and men could be said to have feminine ones.[4] The urgency with which moralists strove to distinguish and reify the different characteristics that they perceived to be inherent to each sex can be interpreted as a symptom of the relative fluidity within which these characteristics had hitherto existed. William Shenstone (1714-1763), for example, a poet and moralist, kept up a literary correspondence with a Lady Luxborough (the sister of a Lord Bolingbroke) whom he esteemed highly, calling her the "female Lord Bolingbroke." In his *Essay on Men and Manners,* he described "her features, her air, her understanding, her motions, and her sentiments" as "at the same time, delicate and masculine." Shenstone would go on to compare his other acquaintances to Lady Luxborough in similar terms: "Mr. W—, in the same respects, delicate, but not masculine. Mr. G—rather more delicate than masculine. Mr. J—rather more masculine than delicate. And this, in regard to the three last, extends to their drawing, versification, etc."[5] For Shenstone, though, there was a clear valuation implied in these gendered descriptions: "If a man be of superior dignity to a woman, a woman is surely as much superior to a man that is effeminated. Lily's rule in the grammar has well enough adjusted this subordination. 'The masculine is more worthy than the feminine, and the feminine

[4] Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen neatly summarize a new historical narrative of the gendering of the body that emerged in the scholarship of the late twentieth century, which posits a transition from a "one-body" to a "two-body" model of human anatomy during the long eighteenth century. "Under the 'one-body' regime, the testicles and penis, and ovum and womb . . . were homologous, the former being driven from the body by the dry heat of the male while the latter remained inside, in the cool, wet interior of the female. Thus, because one's body was plumbed in much the same way whether one was male or female it was the experience which the body underwent and the possession of a peculiar mix of humours which determined whether one would be male or female." Under this model, masculinity and femininity (as both physical and mental characteristics) existed along a continuum. Over the course of the eighteenth century, however, new medical understanding of anatomical differences between male and female bodies gave rise to the "two-body" model, which came to view gender characteristics of the "opposite sexes" as natural, predetermined, and fixed. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, *English Masculinities 1660-1800* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 6-7. See also Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

[5] William Shenstone, *Essays on Men and Manners* (London: Printed by J. Cundee, 1802), 214. These fragments of Shenstone's prose were compiled and published long after his death in 1763.

more worthy than the neuter.""[6] This construction of hierarchies and Shenstone's analysis of them illuminates the perceived consequences of effeminacy: a man that is "effeminated" has been *unmanned*, rendered unmanly; he has been made "neuter."[7]

As demonstrated by eighteenth-century conduct literature, many moralists were profoundly concerned with defining and strengthening the boundaries between what they perceived to be masculine and feminine characteristics. The emergence of the "polite" gentleman in the early eighteenth century had produced something of a conundrum for those concerned with issues around masculinity, especially with regard to behavior and appearance.[8] Gentlemen, whether they were born into the title or aspired to gentility, were advised to dress well, socialize and correspond with women (who were seen as the ideal agents for the social improvement of men), and act with generosity and deference to their fellow men.[9] However, each of these recommendations could be taken too far, producing a "wretched effeminacy" among men concerned only with "dress, equipage, and foppery."[10] The resulting character had many names and gradations—fop, coxcomb, fribble,

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[6] Ibid., 172-173. Referring to the most widely used Latin textbook in England, *Lily's Grammar*, as the work came to be known, first published in 1540 and reprinted with revisions into the nineteenth century.

[7] Two interesting examples from nineteenth-century English literature of women incorrectly performing their gender so as to be perceived as either manly or neuter are, respectively, Mary Bennett in *Pride and Prejudice,* and Fanny Price in *Mansfield Park*. Though they both exhibit a variety of behaviors and qualities that were considered unfeminine, it was their particular engagement with music that most powerfully articulated their gender to the reader. Mary Bennett played "long concertos" instead of Scotch and Irish airs, and her sisters often found her "deep in the study of thorough-bass and human nature." The study of thorough-bass (to say nothing of human nature) would have been superfluous to the musical education of a young lady; during this period the music that ladies were expected to play would have been fully written out for them. Thorough-bass was considered a subject within the study of music theory—the "science of music"—as it no longer had a practical application. Therefore, while a young lady would not have studied it, a young man might have. Fanny Price, on the other hand, is unique among Austen's heroines for having received no musical training whatsoever. The shy, wholly unmusical Fanny goes through most of the novel altogether unsexed by those around her. See Lidia Chang, "Cultural Subtexts and Social Functions of Domestic Music-making in Jane Austen's England," Master's Thesis (UMass Amherst, 2014), 25-33.

[8] Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Essex, UK: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), 53-87.

[9] Carter, *Men and Polite Society,* 61-67; See also Michèle Cohen, "Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England," in *English Masculinities,* 44-61.

[10] Samuel Richardson, *A Collection of the Moral and Instructive Sentiments, Maxims, Cautions, and Reflexions, Contained in the Histories of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison* (London: Printed for S. Richardson, 1755), 371-370. The periodicals of the time were also very concerned with the effeminacy of the latest fashions for men. An essay in *GM* of 1736 railed against the new hair style for men called "*coifing,*" saying that it made men look too much like women, which, he concluded, must be dangerous to the liberty of the country: "can anything noble or brave be expected of such creatures, who, if they are not Women, are at least Hermaphrodites, in their very souls?" *Gentlemen's Magazine,* Vol. 6 (1736), 378.

dandy, daffodil, smart, and, in extreme cases, macaroni—but in the words of James Fordyce, "the lax nerves, the ludicrous decorations, the affected jargon, the trivial conceits, the courtly simper, the soft insipidity and the unfeeling heart" distinguished the fop from the gentleman.[11] Some moralists were concerned that the new fashion for politeness confused the "peculiar and characteristic manners" of men and women, blurring the distinction between them: "The one Sex having advanced into *Boldness*, as the other having sunk into *Effeminacy*."[12] Throughout most of the Georgian era, moralists strove to identify the outward, physical markers of effeminacy, but from the middle of the eighteenth century "sensibility"—a heightened sensitivity to the emotions of others, but also a deference to sensation (as opposed to *a priori* knowledge)—also emerged as a potentially dangerous characteristic of male effeminacy.[13] Public discourse began to connect the inward qualities of effeminacy, such as sensibility, with what were considered its outward manifestations, such as the pursuit of pleasure and luxury, and the avoidance of anything difficult or unpleasant.

The vague interconnectedness of pleasure, luxury, effeminacy, and vice became a theme in print culture throughout the period. Often, and especially at the beginning of the period (roughly between 1714 and 1750), moralists implied a sort of teleology: effeminacy of character led to the pursuit of pleasure and luxury, which ultimately led to vice—or if not to outright depravity, then at least to an enfeebled, impotent type of masculinity. The following extract from a short, satirical

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[11] Perhaps because of the macaroni's association with sodomy, Fordyce stops just short of listing the macaroni by name, hinting coyly that "it is one of our late refinements to give them an Italian appellation—but no, I will not name it." Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men,* 162.

[12] Brown, *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times,* 51. In 1758 Soame Jenyns responded to Brown's *Estimate* in his own publication, *Some Doubts Occasioned by the Second Volume of An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times, Humbly Proposed to the Author or to the Public*, in which he disputed the severity with which Brown proclaimed the effeminacy of the age, but had to concede that "there are some obvious instances of [Fribbles and Daffodils] in our time, but they seem to be not so common." 17.

[13] Philip Carter points out that the Cult of Sensibility was, in many ways, a reaction against "courtly" etiquette propagated by eighteenth-century conduct literature, which taught the value of artifice instead of expressing genuine feelings. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, 90-96. For a fascinating examination of the new language of sentimentality in novels of this period and how it reflected broader philosophies of morality at the time, see: John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1990).

publication describing fops, illustrates the ways in which the pursuit of pleasure/luxury was seen as a symptom of effeminacy, and how it was articulated on/by the male body:

> [T]here is something in the Drudgery of *Masculine* Knowledge, by no means adapted to Youths of so *nice* a Frame, that it cannot be said, they are ever invigorated with perfect Health. The enfeebled tone of their Organs and Spirits does therefor[e] naturally dispose them to the softer and more refined Studies . . . With what satisfaction have I beheld five or six of these elegant Youths interspersed with an equal Number of Ladies, almost as delicate as themselves, and vying with them in their own Accomplishments! . . . . *The Pretty Gentleman* is certainly formed in a different Mould from that of Common Men, and tempered with a purer Flame. The whole System is of a finer Turn, and superior Accuracy of Fabric, insomuch that it looks as if Nature had been in doubt, to which Sex she should assign *Him.*[14]

Later in the Georgian era, the teleology moved in the opposite direction: the pursuit of pleasure led to a life of luxury, which created or amplified effeminacy of character, which resulted in an inevitable descent into vice. In 1822, for example, William Hazlitt offered a broad and retrospective essay on "Effeminacy of Character," in which a more introspective definition of effeminacy was articulated that paid significantly less attention to its outward, physical manifestations:

> Effeminacy of character arises from a prevalence of the sensibility over the will: or it consists in a want of fortitude to bear pain or to undergo fatigue, however urgent the occasion . . . . They have been so used to a studied succession of agreeable sensations…inured to ease and indolence… every sensation must be wound up to the highest pitch of voluptuous refinement, every motion must be grace and elegance; they live in a luxurious, endless dream.[15]

While the author of *The Pretty Gentleman* had focused on the physical condition of these men—"certainly formed from a different Mould from that of Common Men"—and how it "naturally dispose[d] them to the softer and more refined Studies," Hazlitt saw effeminacy as the inevitable result of a life of luxury. For him, effeminacy was less marked by external, physical signifiers but

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[14] Nathaniel Lancaster, *The Pretty Gentleman; or Softness of Manners Vindicated From the False Ridicule exhibited under the Character of William Fribble, Esq.* (London: M. Cooper 1747), 13, 26. The author does not specifically list music as one of the feminine accomplishments in which the "pretty gentleman" vies with the ladies, but he repeatedly draws attention to the fop's "practised Fingers" as he sews, and that his "skilful [sic] Fingers play their Part" at knotting (a simple hand craft that was intended primarily to show off a pretty and graceful wrist). I would suggest that the repeated imagery of a man's fingers sewing and knotting acts as a kind of synecdoche for all other female accomplishments that required skillful and practiced fingers.

[15] William Hazlitt, *Table Talk: or, Original Essays on Men and Manners* (London: Thomas Davison, 1822), 201-202.

rather by hedonistic preoccupation with sensory experiences, somehow bound up with the arts: "Books, arts, jests, laughter, occupy every thought and hour."[16]

The way in which the arts, and specifically music, came to be associated with effeminacy by moralists of the period is complex and multifaceted. As we shall see, music's presumed effeminacy, by itself, was not even necessarily what made it most dangerous to gentlemen: music-making had also come to be associated men working in the music profession, which had dubious class connotations. The specter of effeminacy, however, had a way of amplifying other latent anxieties, such as the maintenance of class hierarchies in English society, or issues of national identity (as discussed in Chapter 1), distorting their features so that the root fear of effeminacy became nearly undetectable.

"Debased into Effeminacy," or The Dangers of Musicking While Male

Throughout the period, moralists identified a number of factors to account for the critical state of effeminacy into which they perceived the nation to be falling: the corrupting influence of foreigners (especially the Italians and the French), the excessive wealth that financed new and "modish" entertainments (the opera chief among them), and a general failure in the education of boys that produced "those distorted beings called fops, fribbles, and coxcombs," instead of "sober and manly" men.[17] The introduction of Italian opera into England contributed a new musical character who perfectly embodied the moralists' fears of music's emasculating power: the Castrato.[18]

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[16] Hazlitt, *Table Talk,* 202.
[17] Fordyce, *Addresses,* 162.
[18] Helen Berry has discussed the role of the castrato in sparking a lively public discourse on subjects of gender and sexuality during this period. Contemporary authors were concerned with whether or not castrati could be considered "real" men, and following this debate offers some insight into broader debates on masculinity during this period. For example, although castrati had been associated with homosexuality on the continent, English commentators often mentioned the appeal of castrati among English women, suggesting that the castrato's sexuality was an important factor in determining his maleness. See Helen Berry, "Gender, Sexuality and the Consumption of Musical Culture in Eighteenth-Century London," in *Remaking English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England,* 65-87. Roger Freitas also discusses the erotic potential of the castrato, citing Randolph Trumbach's work on early modern

Disparaging references to "Italian singers" and, less euphemistically, to "Eunuchs" abounded in conduct literature throughout the eighteenth century.

> No wonder, if these leading Characteristics of false Delicacy influence our other Entertainments, and be attended with a low and unmanly Taste in Music. That Divine Art […] is at length dwindled into a Woman's or an Eunuch's effeminate Trill. The chaste and solemn Airs of Corelli, of Geminiani, and their best Disciples . . . the manly, the pathetic, the astonishing Strains of Handel, are neglected and despised . . . Music is thus debased into Effeminacy.[19]

Though moralists were wary of recommending music as a respectable leisure activity for gentlemen, contemporaneous conduct literature for women promoted (almost without exception) singing and playing on an instrument, specifically the keyboard or harp, as desirable or even, by some moralists' estimation, necessary female accomplishments.[20] Women were encouraged to be musical, not as a means of attaining great virtuosity, but rather to keep their impressionable minds pleasantly occupied and safe from the "dangerous imaginations" brought on by too much leisure time.[21] One of the most famous conduct book writers of the time, Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802), deemed the prescribed female activities—music, dancing, drawing, and sewing—to have no other purpose than that of "relieving each other; and of producing by such means an uninterrupted cheerfulness of mind; which is the principal charm that fits [women] for society, and the great source of earthly happiness."[22] A woman's musical talents were valued only insofar as they contributed to her virtuous femininity, characterized by cheerfulness, patience, and obedience. The

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sexuality to explain the tradition of casting the castrato in "amorous leading roles." See Roger Freitas, "The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato," *The Journal of Musicology* Vol 20, No 2 (Spring 2003): 202.

[19] Brown, *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, 45-46.

[20] For a thorough examination of women's conduct literature in England during this period see Regula Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-making* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008).

[21] "Music is not only a harmless amusement; but capable of being eminently beneficial to [our] fair Countrywomen. It may be the means of preventing that vacuity of mind, which is too frequently the parent of libertinism; of precluding the intrusion of idle and dangerous imaginations; and, by occupying a considerable portion of time, may prove an antidote to the poison insidiously administered by the innumerable licentious Novels, which are hourly sapping the foundations of every moral and religious principle." Allatson Burgh, *Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical: In a Series of Letters from a Gentleman to His Daughter* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814), vi-vii.

[22] Erasmus Darwin, *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education, in Boarding Schools, Private Families, and Public Seminaries* (Philadelphia, PA, 1798), 125. Quoted in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 29.

repetitive nature of practicing was thought to instill such virtues and amplify a woman's naturally submissive character. The ways in which musical skill was harnessed as a means of controlling women's bodies cannot be ignored: the keyboard (a stationary object of furnishing) anchored a woman to the domestic space; and keyboard technique, like the other prescribed female activities, constrained her range of motion.[23] By contrast, the portability of instruments that men played, such as flutes and violins, were clearly suited to masculine movement through the world. Indeed, William Parke, an oboist, mentions bringing a flageolet to a dinner party hidden in his coat pocket, and making sure to have a communal flute in the barouche while traveling on vacation with his friends.[24] The surprise that Matthew Davenport (mentioned in Chapter 1) expressed at seeing a German gentleman playing "very well on the piano forte"—rather than a cello or a flute—is understandable, given the instrument's close association in England with women and the philosophy of female domesticity.

Music was thus classed a "maidenly amusement," and indeed, the natural purview of women.[25] The only two conduct books from this period examined in this study that specifically mention music as a polite accomplishment for gentlemen do so only in passing.[26] Though John Costecker in 1732 lists the "polite accomplishments" for a gentleman as "Geometry, Geography,

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[23] It is worth noting the relatively small size and range of the fortepiano in this period compared with the modern piano. At the time the fortepiano was first introduced in England (ca. 1760) the keyboard only spanned about four octaves. The compass of the fortepiano would gradually expand over the course of the Georgian era, reaching six and a half octaves by the 1820's. The modern grand piano, by contrast, spans just over seven octaves. For an account of the early fortepiano in England see Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 57-62.

[24] "…whilst several of the party were engaged at the card tables, I drew, unobserved, a flageolet from my pocket, and played on it" also on a week-long tour with friends of Sussex and Hampshire coast friends asked him to play something on "the flute, which we carried in the barouche with us." Parke, *Memoirs* Vol. II, 87, 34.

[25] "Music and other maidenly amusements, are too generally given up by women when married. Music, says Lovelace, is an amusement that may be necessary to keep a young woman out of more active mischief." Samuel Richardson, *A Collection of the Moral and Instructive Sentiments, Maxims, Cautions, and Reflexions, Contained in the Histories of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison* (London: Printed for S. Richardson, 1755), 101.

[26] In both instances, music was listed without elaboration among other leisure activities. Thomas Fuller, for example, writes: "Think and find out what it is that thy Delight is really upon; as Company, Hunting, bodily Exercise, Cards, Music: and then give thyself all the pleasure thou canst without squandering away precious time or otherwise prejudicing thyself or others." Thomas Fuller, *An Introduction to Prudence: or Directions, Counsels, and Cautions Tending to the Prudent Management of Affairs in Common Life* (London: Printed for Taylor and Hussey, 1815), 177.

Chronology, History, Musick, Dancing, Fencing, Riding, Opticks, Architecrure, Algebra," he also says:

> … as Musick has so natural a Tendency to the Passions, the ladies … are certainly the best able to distinguish the Beauty of Harmony; and therefore, much admire the so universal Esteem which they have of Musick; which, by their constant Pursuits, though it serves them but for Pleasure and Recreation . . . . I cannot sufficiently acquit myself in my Acknowledgements to that charming and lovely Sex for those advantages I myself have gain'd in Musick from their judicious and refine'd Notions, but in Gratitude, allow them to be the artists far superior to the Generality of Men.[27]

The writers who defended music as a subject worthy of a gentleman's study were generally referring to the study of music theory, or the "science of music," as opposed to applied performance on an instrument. Thomas Danvers Worgan, in *The Musical Reformer*, writes: "I do not mean to say that music is not a proper accomplishment for a gentleman; *tout au contraire*; but I contend that, in men, it ought to be an elegant superstructure, founded on the basis of intellect."[28] Worgan also goes so far as to suggest that if music were taught to men as a science it would become "the manly art which it once was, instead of the effeminate gewgaw which it now is."[29] This cultural loophole helps to explain why John Marsh and William Gardiner—the only two gentlemen of this period who left detailed accounts of their professional musical pursuits—identified themselves as both "composer" and "amateur musician." By couching their musical pursuits in the manly discipline of composition and downplaying their skills as instrumentalists, they were able to maintain active musical lives while still performing their gentlemanliness. (Both of these gentlemen shall be discussed in depth in Chapter 3.)

Typically, when conduct books do mention the subject of music-making as a gentlemanly hobby, it is to advise against it. As noted above, musical skills had been strongly associated with

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[27] John Costecker, *The Fine Gentleman: or, The Compleat Education of a Young Nobleman* (London: J. Roberts, 1732), 30, 38-42.
[28] Thomas Danvers Worgan, *The Musical Reformer* (London: S. Maunder, 1829), 35.
[29] Ibid., 33.

women and effeminacy. But two moralists of the mid-eighteenth century had yet another reason for counseling young men to avoid recreational music-making: promiscuity of social class.

> Music in its present state I would by no means recommend to any gentleman as an accomplishment, as he can not [sic] possibly derive any benefit from it, but may find very ill consequences by being a performer. So much practice indeed upon an easy instrument as may assist him in acquiring a knowledge of the theory, may not be amiss, to such as have a genius for it. All beyond that is loss of time at the best, but often draws a person to mix with such company as they would otherwise avoid.[30]

> Another Part of Education which is oftentimes merely accidental, is Music. If a Man plays on any Instrument, it will be delightful to him to employ his Son's leisure Time in giving him something do . . . But then Care must be taken that they stop here: they must not engage in an expensive and laborious Study of Music unless it is to be their Trade; nor must they be attached to it so as to neglect other Obligations, or so as to engage them in irregular Company.[31]

In both of these examples, the primary anxiety expressed by the moralists is that, through recreational music-making, a gentleman would find himself in the "irregular company" of those whom he should "otherwise avoid": members of lower social classes whose "Trade" was, in fact, music-making. Another implicit fear (evident in the caveat "unless it is to be their Trade") was that if a gentleman spent too much time cultivating his musical skills, then he might be mistaken for a "professional." Such a mistake would have been considered an egregious offence, as an anecdote from Horace Walpole's memoir plainly illustrates. Walpole recounts the story of an explosive argument between his elder brother, Edward Walpole (knighted in 1753), an avid cellist and member of Parliament, and Frederick, Prince of Wales, the heir apparent to the throne, who was also an enthusiastic amateur cellist. Edward (then only a "Mr. Walpole") often performed at Prince Frederick's private concerts, and must have enjoyed a warm friendship with him, considering that Horace remembered the Prince walking around the room with his arm around his brother while they

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[30] Thomas Sheridan, *A plan of education for the young nobility and gentry of Great Britain. Most humbly addressed to the father of his people* (Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner, 1769), 62.
[31] James Nelson, *An Essay on the Government of Children, Under Three General Heads, viz. Health, Manners, and Education,* 3rd ed. (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1763), 362.

were engaged in serious political discussions. However, on one such occasion, Edward refused to grant the Prince a particular political favor on the grounds that he could not oppose his father, Sir Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister. The Prince was furious and took his revenge by publicly humiliating Edward at his next concert:

> [The Prince] asked the several hired performers whether they had played the night before at Lancetti's benefit, and then, strutting haughtily to Sir Edward, put the same question to him, as if he was a fiddler by profession. Sir Edward started with rage, and, running to the bell, rung it violently, and, a page entering, bade him take away a base [sic] viol and call his servants.[32]

Edward stormed out on the Prince, saying that he would "be affronted by no man living," and refused to reconcile for months.[33] Class distinction was such an important way of distinguishing a amateur from professional musicians that the former were usually dubbed "gentlemen players," as the professional oboist William Parke noted in his memoir. While many gentlemen players were quite accomplished and praised by their professional acquaintances, they were generally not expected to play quite so well, as evidenced by Parke's polite description of a particular nobleman whom he considered "a very indifferent violinist." When asked about the nobleman's musical capabilities, he replied: "[His Lordship] plays in a very gentlemanly-like manner."[34]

The fear of music's feminizing power and the anxiety caused by its potential for blurring the lines of class distinction became so intertwined that they are nearly impossible to treat as separate concerns. Recreational music-making created a transgressive space for gentlemen in which the

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[32] Horace Walpole, *Journal of the Reign of King George the Third: from the year 1771 to 1783*, Vol I (London: Bentley, 1859), 109-110. The story Walpole recounted about Edward and Prince Frederick is not dated but may have occurred around 1740.

[33] Ibid., 110.

[34] Parke, *Memoir* Vol. I, 142. The incorrect assumption of a gentleman's social class based on his musical skill seems to have been a common mistake from the prevalence of these anecdotes in the memoirs of professional musicians. Another from Parke's memoir of a bassoonist he knew: "Being engaged to perform at a musical meeting at Yarmouth, and finding the town extremely full of company, [Parkinson] was under necessity of taking up his abode for the week at a small public house in the suburbs . . . . The landlord of the house, who was a musician in the county militia . . . hearing the bassoon so finely played, said to his wife with astonishment, 'Who is that playing?' – 'Oh,' said she, 'it is only a gentleman.' 'Poo, pooh, nonsense,' said he, 'that's no gentleman I am sure!'" Ibid., 143.

fluidity between social classes (amateur and professional) and gender characteristics (masculine and effeminate) could be explored.[35] That fluidity horrified moralists such as Lord Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, who issued perhaps the most famous warning concerning the dangers that music-making posed to a gentleman. In a letter to his son who had just arrived in Italy while on his Grand Tour, Stanhope wrote:

> As you are now in a musical country, where singing, fiddling, and piping, are not only the common topics of conversation, but almost the principle objects of attention, I cannot help cautioning you against giving into those (I will call them illiberal) pleasures, (though music is commonly reckoned one of the liberal arts) to the degree that most of your countrymen do, when they travel to Italy. If you love music, hear it; go to operas, concerts, and pay fiddlers to play for you; but I insist upon your neither piping nor fiddling. It puts a gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptible light; brings him into a great deal of bad company; and takes up a great deal of time, which might be much better employed. Few things would mortify me more, than to see you bearing a part in a concert, with a fiddle under your chin, or a pipe in your mouth.[36]

Here Lord Chesterfield outlined the central arguments that we have already encountered against gentlemen learning to play an instrument: it feminized him, putting "a gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptible light"; it allowed a gentleman to mix with "bad company"; and finally, it was too closely associated with physical labor.[37] In *Music and Image,* Richard Leppert has discusses this last argument, as articulated in Lord Chesterfield's letters, at length. Building the case that music-making

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[35] As discussed in Chapter 1 in relation to the macaroni, the castrato, and the association between musical skills and Continental decadence, a potential for exploring the fluidity between "English" and "foreign" also existed within the transgressive space created by recreational music-making.

[36] Philip Dormer Stanhope, *Letters Written By The Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl Of Chesterfield, To His Son, Philip Stanhope, Esq. Late Envoy-Extraordinary At The Court Of Dresden, Together with Several Other Pieces On Various Subjects: In Four Volumes*, Vol 2, 10th edition (London: J. Dodsley, 1792), 167-168. Originally published in 1774, Chesterfield's letters were reprinted well into the nineteenth century. He was a controversial figure whose letters were warmly recommended by some moralists, such as John Harris (*An Essay on Politeness*, 1775), and harshly criticized by others, such as Samuel Johnson, who said of the letters: "they teach the morals of a whore, and the manners of a dancing master." (John Boswell, *Life of Johnson,* 1791).

[37] The word "frivolous" appears forty-six times in the letters to his son: half of those times he is referring specifically to women, and the other twenty-three times he is describing musicians, and/or Italians. Thus "frivolous," for him, is a negative adjective, and one that is clearly linked to both music and effeminacy. The late eighteenth-century conduct book writer John Burton more explicitly observes the connection between frivolity, women, and music in his *Lectures on Female Education and Manners* (1796): "We find in your Sex a natural vivacity of temper. Hence it is, that many young Women are fond of associating with those who are of the same volatile temper as themselves; so that he who is loquacious and full of laughter, who can sing and dance […] is generally a female favorite. John Burton, *Lectures on Female Education* (Dublin: John Milliken, 1796).

was not a "work of the mind, proper to a gentleman," but rather, a form of "physical labor, proper only to those beneath him," Leppert draws on the Rev. William Darrell's hugely successful eighteenth-century conduct manual (1732) in which the practice of music and dancing were treated with skepticism because of their physical nature:

> Let a Man rather trim up his Mind, than his Body: Those Embellishments are more noble and rich that lie in the Brain, than those that sink into the Feet, or perch on the Finger's End.[38]

When Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son that, for a man, music "takes up a great deal of time, which might be much better employed," he was not suggesting that his son give up "piping and fiddling" and find some other profession: rather, he was warning his son against spending any amount of time engaged in physical labor. The physicality of musical performance and its manifestation in male bodies—reflecting the attention that moralists and social commentators gave to how a man *looked* while playing—is an important consideration to which I will return at the end of this chapter.

The conduct literature surveyed thus far has included only oblique references to music's feminizing potential for gentlemen. But in the following excerpt from William Hazlitt's *Table Talk,* the amateur musician and the character of the fop are united in the description of one gentleman:

> George Kirkpatrick is admired by the waiter, who is a sleek hand,* for his temper in managing an argument.
>
> *William, our waiter, is dressed neatly in black, takes in the TICKLER, (which many of the gentlemen like to look into) wears, I am told, a diamond-pin in his shirt-collar, has a music-master to teach him to play on the flageolet two hours before the maids are up, complains of confinement and a delicate constitution, and is a complete Master Stephen in his ways.[39]

In one pithy sentence, Hazlitt simultaneously questions William's masculinity and sexuality, while mocking him for dressing above his station. Hazlitt's readers would have understood the reference

[38] Darrell's *A Gentleman Instructed* was in its 10th edition by 1732. Rev. William Darrell, *A Gentleman Instructed in the Conduct of a Virtuous and Happy Life* (London, 1704), 38-39. Quoted in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 22.
[39] William Hazlitt, *Table Talk,* 67-68.

to "Master Stephen," a ridiculous and foppish character in Ben Jonson's play *Every Man in his Humour* (1598), which was brought back to the London stage by David Garrick in 1751 and performed nearly every season through the end of the eighteenth century.[40] The *Tickler* was a London magazine published between 1818 and 1821, comprising mostly short satirical pieces, riddles, puns, humorous songs (without printed music) and poems; it would not have been considered a serious publication like *The Gentleman's Magazine* or *The Spectator*. By mentioning that William had engaged a music master to "teach him to play on the flageolet two hours before the maids are up," Hazlitt was not only ridiculing William for the time he spent learning an instrument, but, by mentioning the "two hours before the maids are up," he was very likely insinuating that William was learning more than just the flageolet from his music master.[41] The trope of the foreign (usually Italian) music master as a sexual predator of young ladies was so pervasive in the Georgian imagination that it might also have been stretched to suggest the music master as a seducer of men, especially effeminate men.[42]

Unsavory representations of Continental music masters proliferated in the visual arts as well, as the two examples below illustrate. In "The Music Lesson" by the Venetian painter, Pietro Longhi (1701-1785) (Figure 2.1.), the central figures sit at the harpsichord seemingly in the midst of a music lesson. The young noblewoman appears to invite her music master's advances, opening her body

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[40] David Garrick, ed. Harry William Pedicord, and Fredrick Louis Bergmann. *The Plays of David Garrick: A Complete Collection of the Social Satires, French Adaptations, Pantomimes, Christmas and Musical Plays, Preludes, Interludes, and Burlesques, to Which Are Added the Alterations and Adaptations of the Plays of Shakespeare and Other Dramatists from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 51-135, 365.

[41] William Hazlitt (1778-1830), a conduct book writer, theatre critic, and vicious homophobe, had a reputation for publishing slanderous reviews of actors who he perceived as effeminate. His reviews of the actor, Augustus Conway, a homosexual, relentlessly questioned his masculinity and sexuality (in one review he even posed the question, "Why does he not marry?"). When Conway committed suicide in 1828 his fans suggested that critics like Hazlitt were to blame. Hazlitt issued a half-hearted apology on behalf of all antagonistic critics (not counting himself as one of them) but ultimately blamed Conway for his "shewiness" and "oversensitivity." Frederick Burwick, "Homosexuality," in *Romanticism: Keywords* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 116-117.

[42] For a fascinating study of the social status, and public perception of the music master in eighteenth-century England see Richard Leppert, "Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians in Eighteenth-Century England," In *Music in the Classical Period*, ed. Allan Atlas (New York: Pendragon Press, 1985), 133-158.

towards him, holding his hand, and smiling sweetly. The music master's plain clothes and dark skin, which contrasts sharply with the young woman's white skin where their hands meet, indicate his lower social status. The dog's raised paw seems to echo the music master's outstretched hand, the visual pairing of the dog with the music master, and the caged bird with the young woman, demonstrating their place within the household: servant and captive. Their amorous exchange goes unobserved by the chaperone (perhaps the young lady's Governess) who is more concerned with the contents of the servant's tray.

Fig. 2.1. Pietro Longhi, "The Music Lesson" (ca. 1760)

Thomas Rowlandson's "Reflections, or The Music Lesson" (ca. 1790) (Figure 2.2.) also plays on the fear of what *else* a young lady might learn from her music master during an unsupervised moment. In this watercolor sketch, the teacher and pupil are facing each other; the music master droops his body seductively over the piano while the young lady's posture, though remaining erect, appears to suggest that she accepts his advances, and her reflection in the mirror on the opposite side of the frame shows her head turned towards him at an intimate angle. The painting captures the moment in which the chaperone (likely her father) wakes, jumping up with rage at the scene he sees in the mirror: a distorted reflection that seems to show an exaggerated version of the seduction occurring at the piano.

Fig. 2.2. Thomas Rowlandson, "Reflections, or The Music Lesson" (1756-1827)

Both of these paintings imply that women were thought to be too weak-willed and naïve to resist sexual advances from their music masters.[43] While there is no comparable iconography of gentlemen being seduced by their music masters, Hazlitt's innuendo about William the waiter suggests that foppish effeminacy made a gentleman similarly vulnerable to the lecherous music master. Considering the connection between Italians and sodomy, which will be explored in the next section, the music master becomes all the more threatening to chaste, English masculinity.

The Spectator and *The Gentleman's Magazine*

Courtesy and conduct books as a genre were anything but novel, having existed since the middle of the sixteenth century, yet they proliferated during the Georgian era and gained a much wider readership than in previous centuries. However, in the eighteenth century, several new literary formats developed through which the ideals of polite society could also be disseminated.[44] In the first decades (between 1700 and 1720), new daily or tri-weekly periodicals appeared, such as the *Tatler* and *The Spectator*, containing essays that delivered advice on appropriate social behavior, in a similar way to conduct books, but with a more relaxed and often entertaining tone.[45] By 1730 the monthly or quarterly magazine emerged as a distinct genre, delivering a more eclectic offering to its readership: short essays or commentaries on a variety of subjects (politics, history, religion, manners, fashion, science, and occasionally essays about music), advertisements for new and forthcoming publications, obituaries, marriage announcements, poetry, and sometimes printed music. Contributors would often submit their work under a pen name, or provide only their initials, and

[43] What we would recognize today as a woman being socialized not to object to unsolicited and unwanted sexual advances (and men taking advantage of such situations), was construed in the Georgian era instead as a woman who was seduced; the matter of her consent blurry and, ultimately, irrelevant.
[44] Carter, *Men and Polite Society*, 33-34.
[45] For a fascinating study of the history and early development of courtesy and conduct literature in England see Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

from behind the protection of anonymity would sometimes engage in heated debates with each other from month to month. Essays dedicated to musical subjects appeared only sporadically and varied wildly in their content and tone: from a bizarre series of observations on the use of music to cure tarantula bites, to a satirical essay calling for the entire English Army to be castrated so that the soldiers could all become opera singers, with a handful of serious discussions on tuning and temperament scattered in between. Printed music was published in every issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* until 1770, after which point songs still appeared but without music notation. Beginning in 1813 a short (one-to-two pages) section dedicated to reviews of new musical publications appeared, in which a knowledgeable reviewer offered frank and thorough opinions on new music, method books, and instruments.

The Spectator (1710-1714) and *The Gentleman's Magazine* in its early decades (1731-1755) were primarily concerned with music as it related to the new taste among the English for Italian opera, which the vast majority of the commentators found utterly baffling. "I cannot forbear thinking," joked one contributor to *The Spectator* in 1710, "how naturally a historian who writes two or three hundred years hence . . . will make the following reflection: 'In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Italian tongue was so well understood in England, that operas were acted on the public stage in that language."[46] Another gentleman, writing in 1712, asked Mr. Spectator to please explain to him why anyone at the opera could shout for an "encore" of an aria, but it was improper for him to shout "encore" for a battle scene that he would have liked to have seen repeated. Since the opera was in Italian and no one could understand it anyway, he reasoned, "he only hears, as I only see, and neither of us know that there is any reasonable thing a-doing."[47]

[46] *The Spectator* (1712) March 21.
[47] *The Spectator* (1712) Feb 27.

Contributors to *The Gentleman's Magazine* in the decades that followed (ca. 1730-1750) were similarly perplexed as to why their fellow countrymen enjoyed listening to operas in a language that they could not understand, but their bafflement quickly turned into genuine concern over the corrupting influence of the new musical entertainment. The purely sensual experience of the Italian opera smacked of popish, Continental extravagance, which even led some to fear that the entertainment was nothing more than a front for a Roman Catholic infiltration of English society.[48] Moralists and social commentators loudly proclaimed that although the "scenery was fine, the company splendid, the music ravishing," no "instruction" could be derived from the experience since it was all sung in Italian and therefore totally unintelligible to the majority of English audiences.[49] Lord Chesterfield labeled the opera "too absurd and extravagant," and famously advised his son to avoid it while in Italy saying, "Whenever I go to an Opera, I leave my sense and reason at the door with my half guinea, and deliver myself up to my eyes and ears."[50] Some moralists even drew a direct, unequivocal connection between the introduction of Italian opera to England and the dangerous state of effeminacy into which the country had fallen:

> since the Introduction of ITALIAN OPERA'S [sic] here, our Men are grown insensibly more and more *Effeminate;* and whereas they used to go from a good *Comedy* warm'd with the Fire of Love; and from a good *Tragedy,* [s]tir'd with a Spirit of Glory; they sit indolently and supine at an OPERA, and suffer their Souls to be sung away by the Voices of *Italian Syrens*…[51]

The periodicals echoed the moralists' sentiments. Ranting about the overindulgences of the present age, one particularly agitated commentator in 1738 proclaimed that "Every Day produces

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[48] *Do you know what you are about? or, a Protestant alarm to Great Britain* (London: J. Roberts, 1733). A fascinating pamphlet in which the anonymous author rails against the egregious inroads that Roman Catholic degeneracy, especially in the form of George Frideric Handel and the Italian opera, were making in England.
[49] Samuel Richardson, *A Collection of the Moral and Instructive Sentiments, Maxims, Cautions, and Reflexions, Contained in the Histories of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison* (London: S. Richardson, 1755), 63.
[50] Philip Dormer Stanhope, *Letters Written by the Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to His Son, Philip Stanhope, Esq.: Late Envoy Extraordinary At the Court of Dresden, Together With Several Other Pieces On Various Subjects* (London: J. Dodsley, 1775), 256.
[51] *Satan's Harvest Home: Or, The Present State of Whorecraft, Adultery, Fornication, Procuring, Pimping, Sodomy, And the Game of Flatts* (London: n.p., 1749), 56.

new Concerts; and Music, whose original Design was to calm the Emotions of the Heart, serves now to kindle up the most shameful Passions."[52] Through the first half of the eighteenth century, *The Gentleman's Magazine* became progressively more alarmed by the seductive and feminizing effects of Italian opera upon English society. The following short poem published in 1745 captures the fear of a malevolent, spectral, and musical effeminacy settling on the English people like a fog, clouding their judgement and sapping their masculinity:

> The proverb says justly—be merry and wise: but our national *follies* have clouded our eyes, and we've had our *diversions* so long—I may say, that our money and courage are *fiddled* away. While soften'd by *music's* enervating charms, we forget our great *ancestors* glorious in *arms*.[53]

The invocation here of "glorious ancestors" was a nod to the scholarly and artistic interests in antiquity that were so much in vogue during this period. Many societies, such as the Anacreontic Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Concerts of Antient Music, and the Society of Dilettanti were devoted to studying and appreciating ancient art, philosophy, and music.[54] While fascinating to the Georgian intellectual elite, the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome also served as a cautionary tales. Conservative moralists and social commentators drew parallels between the decadence that preceded the fall of the Roman empire and the high society of eighteenth-century London. Contributors to *The Gentleman's Magazine* often referred to the glorious and manly society of the ancient Greeks and Romans, warning that effeminacy and luxury would permeate and destroy English society in much the same way that it did theirs.[55] In an essay titled "Epicurism ruinous to the

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[52] *GM,* Vol. 8 (1738), 180.
[53] *GM,* Vol. 15 (1745), 493.
[54] Though interest in "ancient music" did not extend as far back as the actual music of ancient Greece and Rome, the overlap in membership between the aforementioned societies, and the naming of the musical societies to evoke an association with antiquity, suggests that they were responding to the same scholarly and aesthetic interests.
[55] This fear formed a common trope in social commentary and conduct literature during the period. In *Satan's Harvest Home*, a pamphlet from 1749, the anonymous author compared the effects of Italian opera on English society with the similarly deleterious effects of music on the ancients: "'twas just the same in *Greece*, when they left their noble warlike Moods, and ran into soft Compounds of *Chromatic Musick;* of this the Philosopher complains, and to this attributes the Loss of so many Battles, and dwindling to the *Grecian Glory*. *Rome* likewise sank in Honour and Success, as it rose in *Luxury* and *Effeminacy*; they had Women Singers and Eunuchs form *Asia* . . . which so softened their Youth, they quite

State," a commentator allowed that even though he thought that women had "a right to be ridiculous," the author could not excuse a man who "not only adopts every effeminate foible, but glories in them; and affects to despise and ridicule the rough unpolish'd creature who has sense and spirit enough to persist in the manly port of his fore-fathers."[56] To illustrate his point he asked the reader to imagine how disturbed an honest farmer would be if taken to "the play, the opera, the court," and told that these individuals, so consumed with the pursuit of their own pleasures, were the people leading the country. Insinuating that such a decadent, effeminate society was prone to invasion, his essay closed with an ominous prophecy: "Hence, let nations league against us, let war burst upon us with all its terrors, let the Sorceress Peace beset us with all her enchantments—still they dress, dance, wench, and fiddle on."[57] Moreover, the deleterious effects of the Italian opera were not only seen by moralists and social commentators as a threat to national security, but also to the moral integrity and civic responsibility of the English public more broadly:

> Acts of benevolence are confined to the illustrious few: and he that subscribes largely to an opera is backward to promote any work of learning, or to give the smallest pittance to an object of charity: the tears of the widow, and cries of the orphan make no impression in their breasts, which have no room for any sensations but those of pleasure.[58]

The threat that Italians posed to English gentlemen was not, however, restricted to their operas. It was common during the eighteenth century for young English men to finish their formal education with a tour of the European Continent, traditionally visiting France, Switzerland, and Italy before returning to England. Though the Grand Tour, as it was called, was meant to impress upon

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lost the Spirit of Manhood, and with it their Empire . . . Heaven grant that the Application never extend to *England*; but I leave any reasonable Person to judge, if the *Similitude* is not too close." *Satan's Harvest Home,* 56. James Fordyce expressed the same view more broadly in his *Addresses:* "so long as [ancient Greece and Rome] retained the masculine spirit of their games and sports (etc.) those celebrated states continued to shine with superlative glory; but when security, opulence, and effeminate refinements introduced an universal relaxation in these particulars . . . they fell." Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men,* 143.

[56] *GM*, Vol. 18 (1748), 270.

[57] Ibid.

[58] *GM,* Vol. 16 (1746), 263.

young men the weighty cultural legacy of Western Europe as well as to offer them an opportunity to practice their language skills and refine their manners, a recurring complaint in conduct literature throughout the period was that young men returned from their tour excessively feminized.[59] A similar complaint was voiced in a satirical essay in *The Gentleman's Magazine* on the "Modern Education of Fine Gentlemen and Ladies Censured": the author concluded that young men learn nothing in England from their English masters; then they are sent to Europe and return with no improvements or accomplishments, except for "a taste in Musick . . . and of Painting, and you would want but one *Taste more* to be as accomplished as the finest Gentleman *Italy* sends us back."[60] "One taste more" likely referred to sodomy, which was so much associated with Italy during this period that many libertine texts used the French term *italianiser* ("to Italianize") as a euphemism for the act.[61] In England, the knowledge that Italy was famous, "or rather infamous" for sodomy was so ubiquitous that one moralist claimed that it "needs no explanation," before, however, going on to explain:

> it is there esteemed so trivial, and withal so modish a Sin, that not a Cardinal or Churchman of the Note but has his *Gynamede;* no sooner does a Stranger of Condition set his Foot in *Rome*, but he is surrounded by a Crowd of *Pandars,* who ask him if he chooses a *Woman* or a *Boy,* and procure for him accordingly; this Practice is there so general, they have little else in their Heads or Mouths, than *Casto* and *Culo*…[62]

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[59] By John Brown's estimation, the European tour strengthened "Effeminacy and Ignorance . . . every Foreign Folly, Effeminacy, or Vice . . . at once take root and flourish." Brown, *An Estimate,* 34. Similarly, Fordyce believed that "young nobility and gentry" who went abroad returned "more depraved and foolish than they went, [scorning] every thing sober, sedate, and manly . . . they never rest till they have instructed our youth at home in yet higher forms of amusement and licentiousness as possible." Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men,* 154.

[60] *GM,* Vol. 8 (1738), 250-251.

[61] James Steintrager, "Sodomy and Reason: Making Sense of Libertine Preference" 130. The "Florentine way" and the "Roman privilege" were other contemporary euphemisms. Steintrager, 138.

[62] The anonymous author also railed against the fashion for men kissing each other, another custom imported from Italy, in the following terms: "But of all the Customs *Effeminacy* has produc'd, none more hateful, predominant, and pernicious, than that of the Mens *Kissing* each other. This *Fashion* was brought over from *Italy*, (the *Mother* and *Nurse* of *Sodomy*); where the *Master* is oftener *Intriguing* with his *Page*, than a *fair Lady*. And not only in that *Country*, but in *France*, which copies from them, the *Contagion* is diverisfy'd, and the Ladies (in the *Nunneries*) are criminally *amorous* of each other, in a *Method* too gross for Expression." *Satan's Harvest Home*, 51, 55.

Significantly, in this excerpt, taken from a chapter entitled "The Italian Opera's [sic], and Corruption of the English Stage, and other Publick Diversions," anti-Catholic sentiment and the fear of sodomy coalesce in a characterization of Italy and, subsequently, by extension, Italian music. Considering the inextricable interplay between these anxieties that English society came to associate with Italy during this period, the character of the macaroni, discussed in Chapter 1, takes on a new light; not only was he the antithesis of English gentlemanliness, but he was the embodiment of everything that English society feared about Italy.

The specter of effeminacy became flesh and blood in the macaroni. Although he was depicted humorously in satirical prints (see Fig. 2.3.), I would suggest that such depictions of the macaroni elicited nervous laughter from moralists of the period. The poem below the illustration in Fig. 2.3. reflects the anxiety and foreboding just below the surface of this comical scene: "Our wise Forefathers would express/Ev'n Sensibility in Dress;/The modern Race delight to Shew/What Folly in Excess can do/The honest *Farmer* come to town/Can scarce believe his *Son* his own/If thus the Taste continues Here,/What will it be another Year?"

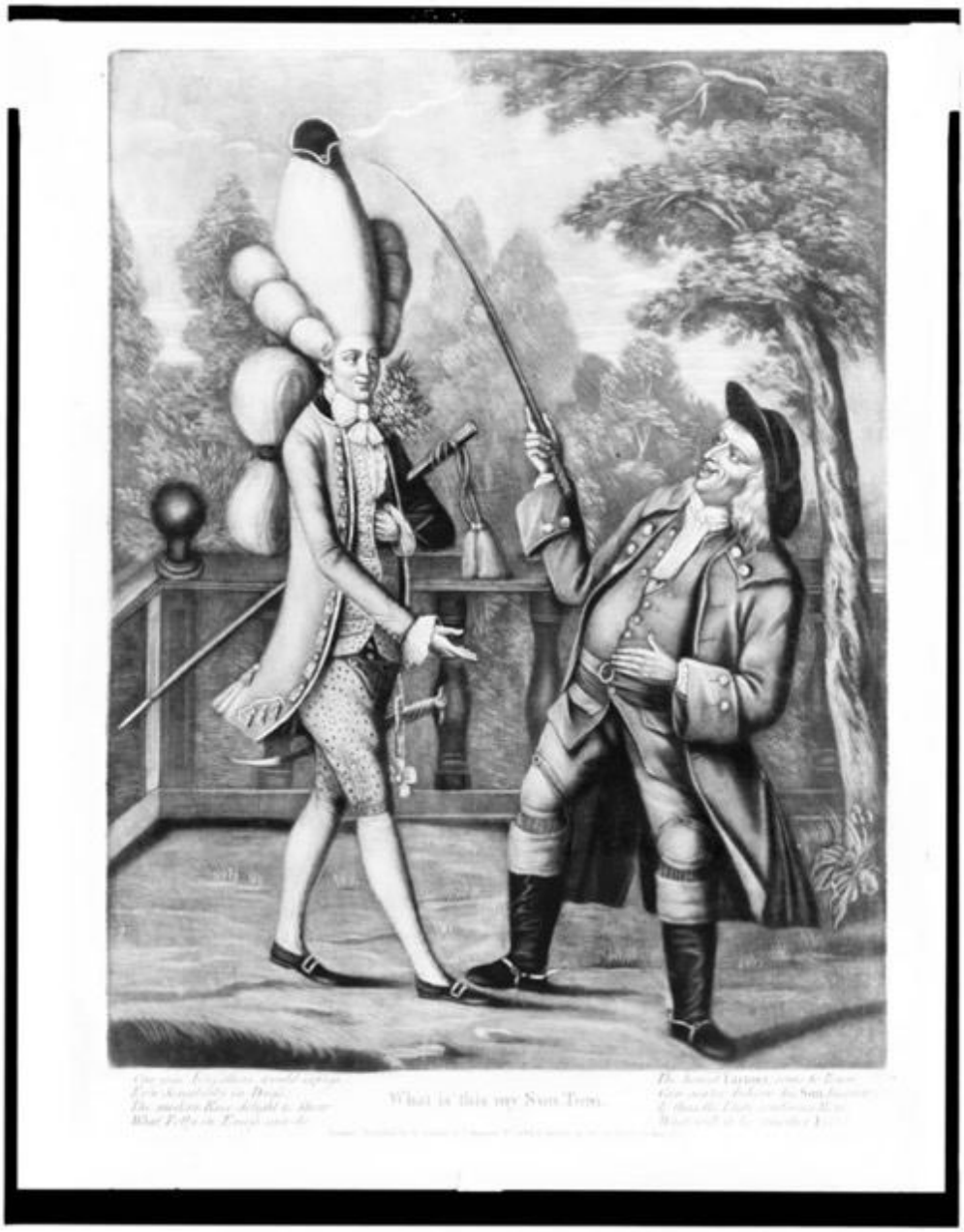

Fig. 2.3. Anonymous, published by R. Sayer & J. Bennett in London
"What is this my Son Tom" (1774)

Vanity—a feminine vice—was seen as a primary failing of the macaroni, and other feminized male characters of the period, evidenced by the excessive attention they paid to their clothes and hair. Exploring the nexus of male effeminacy and vanity, contributors to the magazine often found music-making to be a symptom and a cause of both. The fop, the beau, the macaroni, et al. were

seen as undisciplined creatures who—like women—found Latin and Greek too time-consuming and difficult to learn and opted instead to learn French and Italian, languages which the English considered effeminate.[63] An excess of music books in a gentleman's library might mark him as just such an effeminate creature, signifying the time he "fiddled away."[64] Moreover, frequent practicing on an instrument was thought to "[work] his nervous system into a state of the most dangerous susceptibility" to the "temptations" to which he was daily exposed.[65] The effeminate failings in the fop's character predisposed him to vanity, a sin which was closely associated with male music-making.

Two essays about the same frontispiece (Fig. 2.4.) published along with the new edition of Pope's *Essay on Man* in 1745 illustrate this perceived connection between vanity and music-making.

[63] "French and Italian are therefore the Learned Languages with them . . . in the former they converse, in the latter they sing." Ibid., 362
[64] *GM*, Vol. 8 (1738), 363-364. Listing the kinds of books a Smart owns one commentator noted that "a competent number of Musick books complete the Shelf."
[65] *GM*, Vol. 86, Part I (1816), 60.

Fig. 2.4. Frontispiece to Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* (1745)

In the first, the author noted that the frontispiece in the new edition offered "an instructive picture of human vanity in its false pursuits of happiness… 'sic transit gloria mundi', the sense of which seems further pointed out by a music book and broken flute below."[66] Later, in 1786, the moralist William Shenstone also analyzed the same frontispiece for *The Gentleman's Magazine,* drawing the same conclusion from the musical symbolism: "Below is a pipe and music-book: the music book an attribute of poetry, and the broken reed an emblem of its vanity."[67]

A gentleman who called attention to his musical prowess by displaying it for others was also calling attention to the time he spent honing his musical skills (time he "fiddled away"); exhibiting his musicality showed him to be both vain and effeminate. The following extract from an essay titled "On the Abuse of Psalmody in Churches" complained of a group of male singers who, by this author's estimation, displayed such repugnant vanity each Sunday.

> We have, in most parishes, a Set of Men called *the Singers* who meet usually once a Week in the church to make themselves Masters of Psalm Tunes and Anthems too, which they give on Sundays . . . these men commonly sit together, and order the Singing in their own Way, whereby the Congregation, instead of bearing a Part in the Service, only listen to their more skillful Performance of it. And if they were disposed to do it, they cannot, by Reason of the Newness and Variety of their Tunes; which multiply daily. [68]

The primary problem was that this group of men had such specialized vocal skills that they stood out from the Congregation, who were not able to join in because of the "newness and variety of their tunes." Therefore, what ought to have been communal singing became a *performance* by this group of men. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the author found their singing vulgar and popish because their "Manner of Singing" made it impossible for the congregation to join, or even to understand the Psalm, so that they were "about as much edified by the Psalm, as they would have been, had it

[66] *GM*, Vol. 15 (1745), 98.
[67] *GM*, Vol. 56, Part II (1786), 1031.
[68] *GM*, Vol. 11 (1741), 82-83.

been sung in Buchanan's Latin or as the vulgar Papists are by their Latin Prayers."[69] By the author's estimation, everyone should prefer the singing of the whole congregation together rather than the singing of "a Dozen Men, who are striving to outdo each other by the Strength and Loudness of their Vociferations." As discussed earlier, although his discomfort with these singers arose in part from a staunch Protestant (and distinctly anti-Catholic) understanding of the purpose of psalm-singing, a deeper current of uneasiness may be discernable just beneath the surface. "Men of vain and light Minds will only make Sport with the Quaver unharmonious, and other Grossnesses in these Performances."[70] We are left to imagine what the other "grossnesses" might have been, but there is no question that this author considered the men's singing to be a display of vanity, and by extension, of effeminacy.

While women of the middle and upper classes were frequently cautioned against succumbing to vanity, they were still encouraged to display their musical accomplishments for their family and friends. On such occasions, a woman musician became the visual (as well as aural) focal point of the assembled guests, who attended to her performance with their eyes as much as their ears. Indeed, as I have argued elsewhere, one of the main social functions of this kind of domestic, recreational music-making was the opportunity it afforded a *man* to watch and admire a *woman* in a way and for a length of time that would not have otherwise been socially acceptable.[71] Perhaps the idea of a man performing on the flute or violin—occupying the visual and aural space that was typically used for a woman to display herself to men—caused him to become objectified in a way that compromised his masculinity. After all, a woman's musical accomplishment was a meta-language that communicated her social status and feminine virtue; the graceful movements of her arms and hands as she played drew attention to her body—to entice, but also to show that her body was controlled and obedient

[69] Ibid., 82.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Chang, "Cultural Subtexts and Social Functions of Domestic Music-making," 37.

(to a music master, to her parents, to her instrument), which would also have been seen as a sign of a steady and chaste mind.[72]

The fragmentary evidence of gentlemanly musical life that I have explored thus far would indicate that the increased binarism of gender roles that developed during the Georgian era caused the disciplining of the body through musical study to become necessary for women while highly questionable for men. Whether or not it was a symptom of vanity, a gentleman's physical display of musical talent seems to have been what made everyone most uncomfortable. A bit later in the period, descriptions emerged which drew particular attention to how men looked while musicking:

> We may regard [music] in a trifling light, which is the very best in which it can be placed; and in which every person must view it who recalls to mind the ludicrous appearance made of the leader of a band banging the time . . . a trumpeter collecting the winds in his cheeks, or a fiddler working out the sleeves of his coat: the ridiculousness of these spectacles are only exceeded by the agonizing raptures of a ravished audience. The study of music requires much time, much labor, and much attention; whilst the result of all loses itself in empty air, to say no more of it.[73]

A similar distaste for men's musical display was voiced later in the period (1816) by another reviewer in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Here the focus on "flourish" and "difficulty" reflects the change in music aesthetics; what was repulsive and ridiculous about a "fiddler working out the sleeves of his coat" thirty years prior was compounded and made more ridiculous by the virtuosic repertoire of the early nineteenth century:

> But, alas! This fashion is not founded on a generally increasing sensibility to the magical vibrations of sweet sounds; but the first aim is to flourish, to be dashing, to excel each other in the execution of some cramp difficulty. Young ladies sit in judgement on professors; and a man's reputation is disposed of before his character is properly known. Oh, it is a most ungrateful profession! The constant practice of the art, as a professor, in other words as a master, must practice it, works his nervous system into a state of the most dangerous susceptibility, while he is daily exposed to

[72] Kate van Orden has observed that music and dance became crucial elements of *civilité* for men and women in the early seventeenth-century French courts: "By making nobles slaves to style, to politeness, and to the minutiae of self-fashioning, civility literally policed the nobility from the inside out (*policer* = to civilize). […] The emphasis on proportion and measure in the civilizing process drew music to the center of its programs, for music provided structures against which movement and even posture could be measured." Kate van Orden, "Descartes on Musical Training and the Body," in *Music, Sensation, and Sensuality,* ed. Linda Phyllis Austern (New York: Routledge, 2002), 28.
[73] *GM,* Vol. 56, Part I (1786), 199.

> temptations and mortifications which are indescribable. Young men, are ye delighted with musick? Learn it then, as the sweetest and most innocent of all amusements for your leisure hours; avoid the profession, as the most unhappy of all occupations."[74]

This reviewer's complaint that "Young ladies sit in judgement on professors" is of particular significance, suggesting that practical knowledge of music was seen so widely as the purview of women that they would feel empowered to pass judgement on the skills of a professional man—a profoundly emasculating prospect. Indeed, this view of the music profession as a feminizing trade for an English man was anticipated in 1747 in Campbell's *The London Tradesman*, an outline of and commentary upon all of the recognized "Trades of London" designed to help parents steer their sons towards the right profession. After a lengthy diatribe against the feminizing and unpatriotic influences of the present "musical age" upon English society, he concluded that he "should think it much more reputable to bring [his] son up a Blacksmith" than apprentice him to even the best music master in London.[75] "This I know must be reckoned an unfashionable Declaration in this Musical Age," Campbell concluded, "but I love my Country so well, that I hate everything that administers to Luxury and Effeminacy."[76] Campbell could not even recommend music as an innocent hobby for a tradesman, claiming that this "Amusement certainly takes him off his Business" and "exposes him to Company and Temptations to which he would otherwise have been a Stranger."[77]

But gentlemen, and wealthy middle-class businessmen did engage in recreational music-making. Indeed, one of the features of *The Gentleman's Magazine* from 1737 to 1770 was printed music. In 1739 a contributor, defending the *The Gentleman's Magazine* against early scrutiny from

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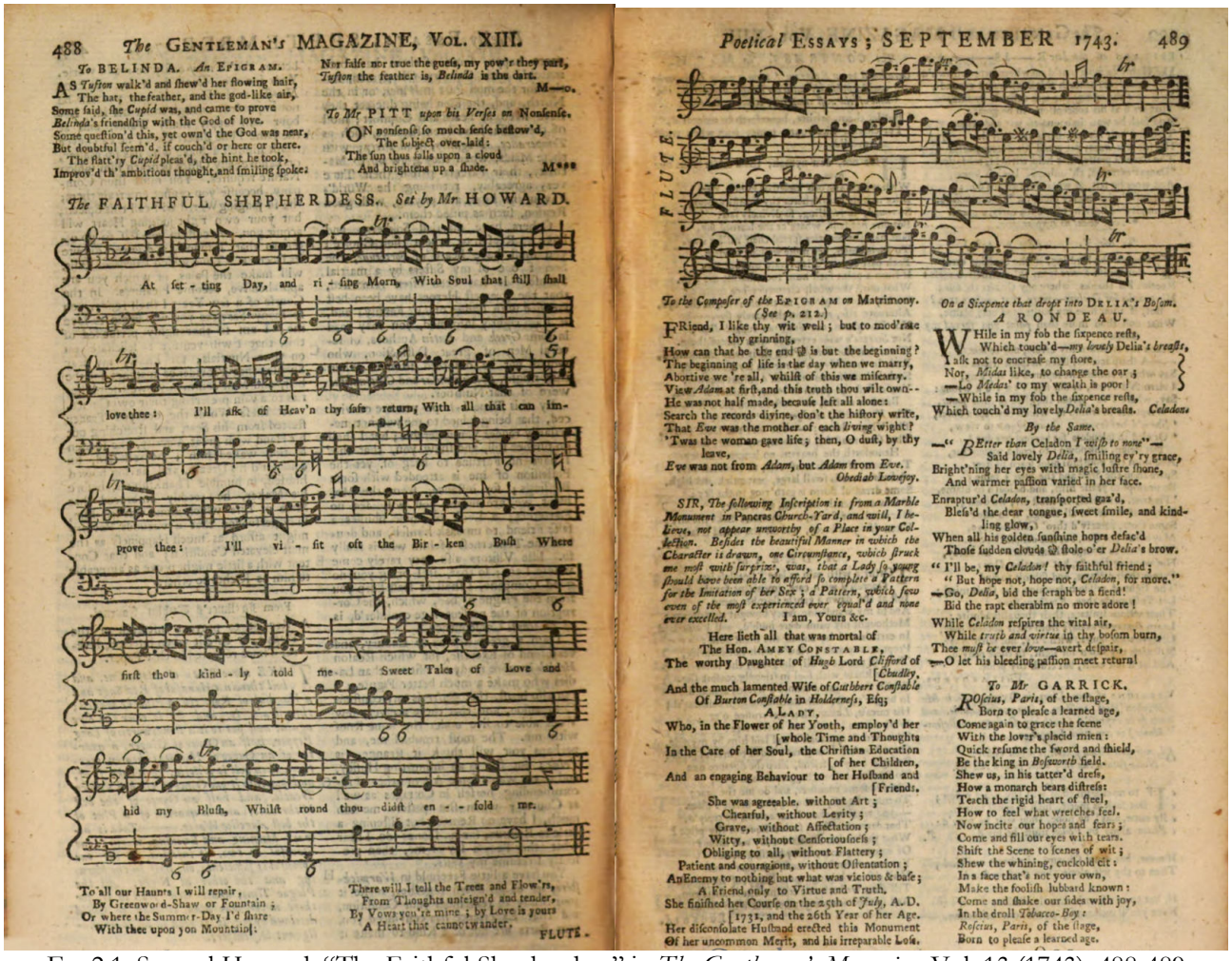
[74] *GM,* Vol. 86, Part I (1816), 60.
[75] R. Campbell, *The London tradesman: Being a compendious view of all the trades, professions, arts, both liberal and mechanic, now practised in the cities of London and Westminster. Calculated for the information of parents, and instruction of youth in their choice of business.* (London: T. Gardner, 1747), 83.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid., 82. In Chapter 3, the young John Marsh will face these same prejudices from the attorney to which he is apprenticed.

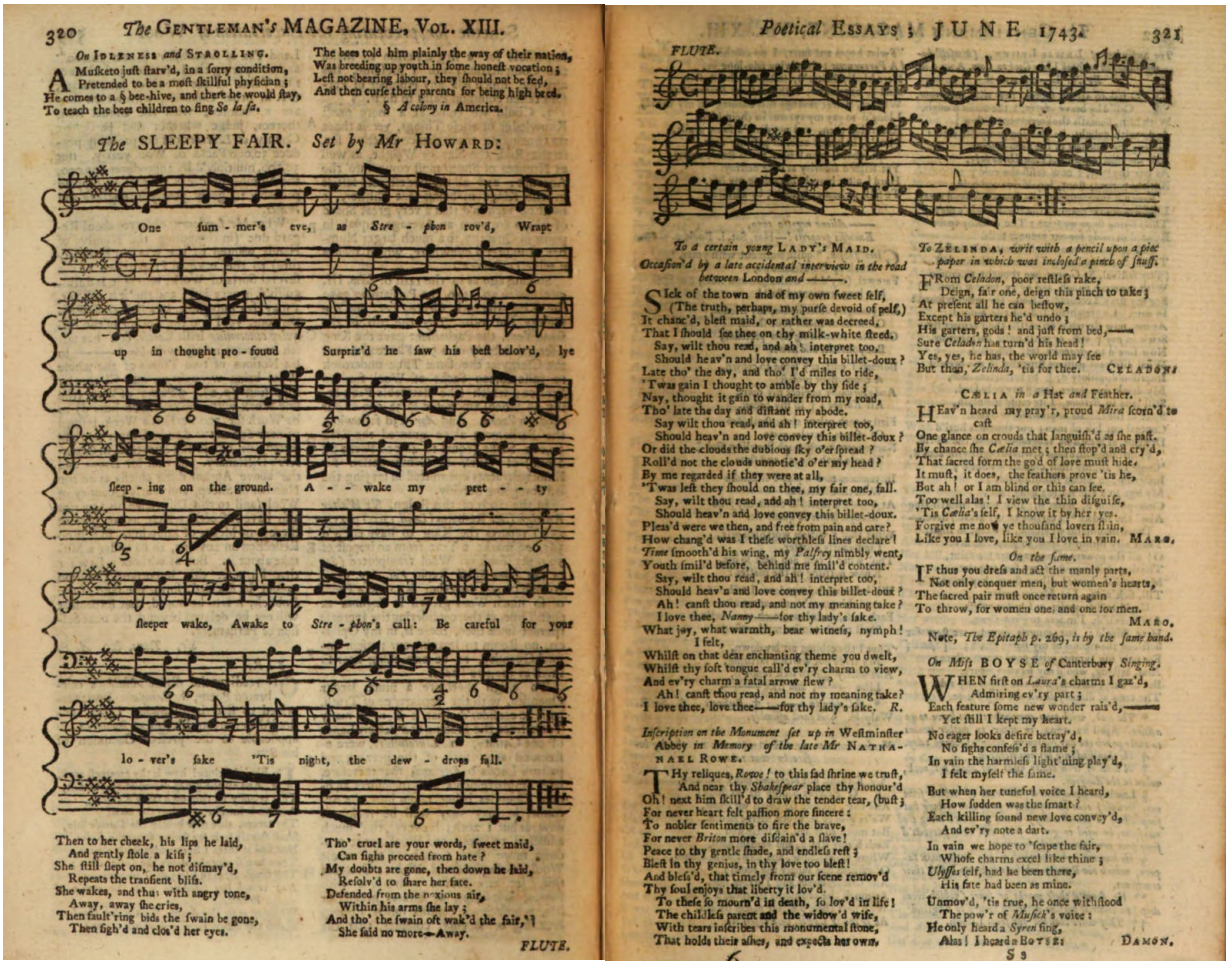
other magazines, specifically mentioned the inclusion of printed music as a particular draw for those who "delight in Musick" describing it as "an Entertainment not to be met with in the other *Magazines.*"[78] However, the kind of music published in the magazine and the manner in which it was printed suggests that gentlemen engaged with this music privately, without musical accompaniment.

In *The Gentleman's Magazine,* the flute parts were printed separately (sometimes at the bottom of the page, other times on the next page as seen in Ex. 2.1.) in a different key than the original song.[79]



Ex. 2.1. Samuel Howard, "The Faithful Shepherdess" in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* Vol. 13 (1743), 488-489

[78] *GM,* Vol. 9 (1739), 202.
[79] After 1744 the flute parts disappear from *GM*, and from that point until 1770 only songs are printed in grand staff.


320 *The* GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, VOL. XIII.

On IDLENESS *and* STROLLING.

A Muſketo juſt ſtarv'd, in a ſorry condition,
Pretended to be a moſt ſkillful phyſician;
He comes to a § bee-hive, and there he would ſtay,
To teach the bees children to ſing *So la ſa*.

The bees told him plainly the way of their nation,
Was breeding up youth in ſome honeſt vocation;
Left not bearing labour, they ſhould not be fed,
And then curſe their parents for being high bred.

§ *A colony in* America.

The SLEEPY FAIR. *Set by Mr* HOWARD:

One ſum - mer's eve, as *Stre - phon* rov'd, Wrapt
up in thought pro - found Surpriz'd he ſaw his beſt belov'd, lye
ſleep - ing on the ground. A - - wake my pret - - ty
ſleeper wake, Awake to *Stre - phon's* call: Be careful for your
lo - ver's ſake 'Tis night, the dew - drops fall.

Then to her cheek, his lips he laid,
And gently ſtole a kiſs;
She ſtill ſlept on, he not diſmay'd,
Repeats the tranſient bliſs.
She wakes, and thus with angry tone,
Away, away the cries,
Then fault'ring bids the ſwain be gone,
Then ſigh'd and cloſ'd her eyes.

Tho' cruel are your words, ſweet maid,
Can ſighs proceed from hate?
My doubts are gone, then down he laid,
Reſolv'd to ſhare her fate.
Defended from the noxious air,
Within his arms ſhe lay;
And tho' the ſwain oft wak'd the fair,
She ſaid no more—Away.

FLUTE.

Poetical ESSAYS; JUNE 1743. 321

FLUTE.

To a certain young LADY'S MAID.

Occaſion'd by a late accidental interview in the road between London *and* ——.

SIck of the town and of my own ſweet ſelf,
(The truth, perhaps, my purſe devoid of pelf,)
It chanc'd, bleſt maid, or rather was decreed,
That I ſhould ſee thee on thy milk-white ſteed.
Say, wilt thou read, and ah! interpret too,
Should heav'n and love convey this billet-doux?
Late tho' the day, and tho' I'd miles to ride,
'Twas gain I thought to amble by thy ſide;
Nay, thought it gain to wander from my road,
Tho' late the day and diſtant my abode.
Say wilt thou read, and ah! interpret too,
Should heav'n and love convey this billet-doux?
Or did the clouds the dubious ſky o'erſpread?
Roll'd not the clouds unnotic'd o'er my head?
By me regarded if they were at all,
'Twas left they ſhould on thee, my fair one, fall.
Say, wilt thou read, and ah! interpret too,
Should heav'n and love convey this billet-doux.
Bleſs'd were we then, and free from pain and care?
How chang'd was I theſe worthleſs lines declare!
Time ſmooth'd his wing, my *Palfrey* nimbly went,
Youth ſmil'd before, behind me ſmil'd content.
Say, wilt thou read, and ah! interpret too,
Should heav'n and love convey this billet-doux?
Ah! canſt thou read, and not my meaning take?
I love thee, *Nanny*——for thy lady's ſake.
What joy, what warmth, bear witneſs, nymph! I felt,
Whilſt on that dear enchanting theme you dwelt,
Whilſt thy ſoft tongue call'd ev'ry charm to view,
And ev'ry charm a fatal arrow flew?
Ah! canſt thou read, and not my meaning take?
I love thee, love thee——for thy lady's ſake. *R.*

Inſcription on the Monument ſet up in Weſtminſter Abbey *in Memory of the late Mr* NATHANAEL ROWE.

THy reliques, *Rowe!* to this ſad ſhrine we truſt,
And near thy *Shakeſpear* place thy honour'd duſt;
Oh! next him ſkill'd to draw the tender tear,
For never heart felt paſſion more ſincere:
To nobler ſentiments to fire the brave,
For never *Briton* more diſdain'd a ſlave!
Peace to thy gentle ſhade, and endleſs reſt;
Bleſt in thy genius, in thy love too bleſt!
And bleſs'd, that timely from our ſcene remov'd
Thy ſoul enjoys that liberty it lov'd.
To theſe ſo mourn'd in death, ſo lov'd in life!
The childleſs parent and the widow'd wife,
With tears inſcribes this monumental ſtone,
That holds their aſhes, and expects her own.

To ZELINDA, *writ with a pencil upon a piece of paper in which was incloſed a pinch of ſnuff.*

FRom *Celadon*, poor reſtleſs rake,
Deign, fair one, deign this pinch to take;
At preſent all he can beſtow,
Except his garters he'd undo;
His garters, gods! and juſt from bed,——
Sure *Celadon* has turn'd his head!
Yes, yes, he has, the world may ſee
But thus, *Zelinda*, 'tis for thee. CELADON.

CELIA *in a* Hat *and* Feather.

HEav'n heard my pray'r, proud *Mira* ſcorn'd to caſt
One glance on crouds that languiſh'd as ſhe paſt.
By chance ſhe *Celia* met; then ſtop'd and cry'd,
That ſacred form the god of love muſt hide.
It muſt, it does, the feathers prove 'tis he,
But ah! or I am blind or this can ſee.
Too well alas! I view the thin diſguiſe,
'Tis *Celia's* ſelf, I know it by her eyes.
Forgive me now ye thouſand lovers ſlain,
Like you I love, like you I love in vain. MARO.

On the ſame.

IF thus you dreſs and act the manly parts,
Not only conquer men, but women's hearts,
The ſacred pair muſt once return again
To throw, for women one and one for men.
MARO.

Note, *The Epitaph p.* 269, *is by the ſame hand.*

On Miſs BOYSE *of* Canterbury *Singing.*

WHEN firſt on *Laura's* charms I gaz'd,
Admiring ev'ry part;
Each feature ſome new wonder rais'd,——
Yet ſtill I kept my heart.

No eager looks deſire betray'd,
No ſighs confeſs'd a flame;
In vain the harmleſs light'ning play'd,
I felt myſelf the ſame.

But when her tuneful voice I heard,
How ſudden was the ſmart!
Each killing ſound new love convey'd,
And ev'ry note a dart.

In vain we hope to eſcape the fair,
Whoſe charms excel like thine;
Ulyſſes ſelf, had he been there,
His fate had been as mine.

Unmov'd, 'tis true, he once withſtood
The pow'r of *Alcaſta's* voice:
He only heard a *Syren* ſing,
Alas! I heard a BOYSE!
DAMON.

S 3

Ex. 2.2. Samuel Howard, "The Sleepy Fair," in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* Vol. 13 (1743), 320-321

The interval of the transposition was inconsistent; sometimes the flute part was transposed a fifth above or a sixth, often but not always into the "flute friendly" keys of D major and G major. In some cases (as in Ex. 2.2.) transposition seems to have been intended to prevent the melody from going below the compass of the eighteenth-century flute, which could not sound pitches lower than D4. While it is not always clear how the interval of transposition was chosen, the flute part was always transposed into a different key than the printed song.[80]

[80] The one exception I have found was in a collection of miscellaneous printed music at Harvard's Isham Library in which the flute part was printed in the same key but transcribed one octave higher to avoid notes below the compass of the flute. This could also indicate that gentlemen flute players were not even expected to be able to transpose up an octave at sight. "The Happy Pair, a Dialogue," *Songs in the English Language,* 418. Harvard, Isham Library.

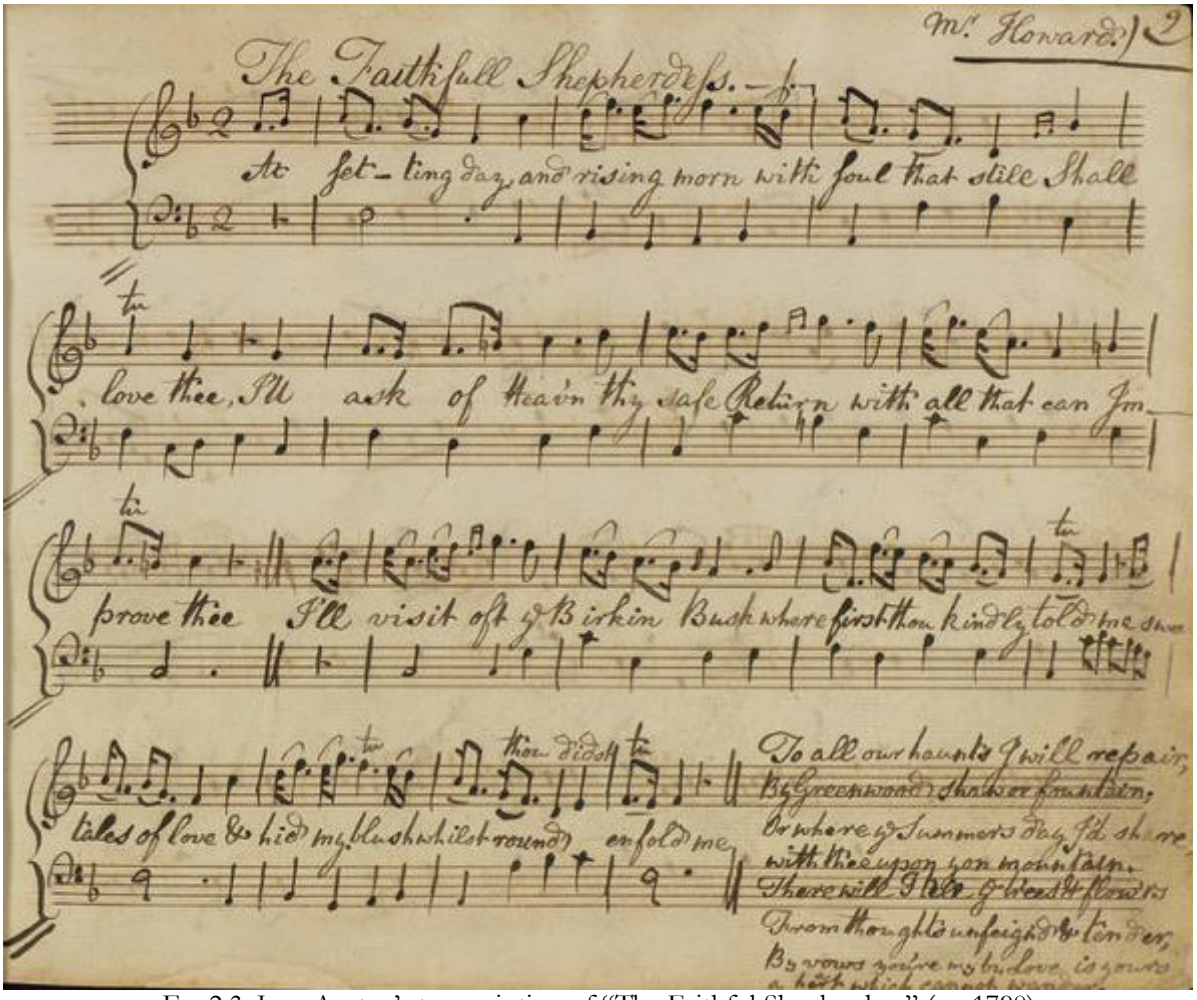
The printing of a separate flute part would suggest that gentlemen musicians (at least the flute-playing ones) were not expected to know how to transpose at sight in the event that a song went too low for their instrument or was written in an uncomfortable key. Indeed, only one of the method books that I have surveyed gave any instruction on transposition, and it appeared only in the section for recorder ("Flute") not flute ("German Flute"). Moreover, the language of the instructions clearly indicated that the newly transposed tune would have to be written out, not played at sight:

> To transpose a Tune that is too low for the Flute you must first see what compass the Tune will go in, that is how high, or how low it goes, and accordingly take the measure, and be sure to alter them to the easiest Keys you can; such as have the nearest Relation to the other . . . the Key that you take to alter your tune you must write the same flats and sharps next the Cliff [sic.] as you find in the Example.


THE
Modern Muſick-Maſter
OR, THE
UNIVERSAL MUSICIAN,
CONTAINING,
I. An Introduction to SINGING, after ſo eaſy a Method, that Perſons of the meaneſt Capacities may (in a ſhort Time) learn to Sing (in Tune) any Song that is ſet to Muſick.
II. Directions for playing on the FLUTE; with a Scale for Tranſpoſing any Piece of Muſick to the propereſt Keys for that Inſtrument.
III. The Neweſt Method for Learners on the GERMAN FLUTE, as Improv'd by the greateſt Maſters of the Age.

Fig. 2.5. Title Page of Peter Prelleur, "The Modern Musick Master," 4th edition (1738)

The way in which the music was printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* would also suggest that it was intended for two distinct musical events: the songs printed in the grand staff were designed for performance by one person playing and singing at a keyboard instrument (or perhaps two people, one singing and the other playing) while the transposed versions for flute would have been intended for a separate, solo performance. As it was uncommon for men to play keyboard instruments, it is likely that the printed song was intended to have been played by a woman (indeed, a transcription of Ex. 2.1. can be found in Jane Austen's own music book, see Ex. 2.3.), and perhaps also sung by her.



Ex. 2.3. Jane Austen's transcription of "The Faithful Shepherdess" (ca. 1790)

One could imagine a scenario in which a gentleman who played the flute (or any melodic instrument, the flute was just the most popular instrument for gentlemen during the Georgian era) played the vocal melody while the woman keyboardist accompanied him, perhaps alternating singing and playing the verses.[81] Similarly, a gentleman who played an instrument such as the cello or bassoon could have doubled the bass line to accompany the female keyboardist. However, I would suggest that the most common way a flute-playing gentleman would have engaged with the music in *The Gentleman's Magazine* was simply by playing the transposed melody, either by himself or—as I will demonstrate in Chapter 3—in unison with other gentlemen musicians who played the flute or violin.

Conduct literature was quite explicit about the gendering of musical instruments: "There are some [instruments] that are very unbecoming to the Fair Sex; as the Flute, Violin, and Hautboy, the last of which is too Manlike, and would look indecent in a Woman's Mouth; and the Flute is very improper…"[82] Though conduct literature should not be read as necessarily representative of reality, I have not yet encountered a single written account or visual representation of an English woman playing the flute during the Georgian era. The one description I have found of a woman performing on an instrument other than the keyboard or harp in England during this period is an account in William Parke's memoir in which he described the famous French violin virtuosa, Louise Gautherot. Significantly, he praised her musical skill but criticized the visual effect of a woman playing a violin, saying that "the ear, however, was more gratified than the eye by this lady's masculine effort," even suggesting that it would have been better to hear her in the dark.[83] Parke also recounted another

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[81] See Ardall Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 112.
[82] John Essex, *Young Ladies Conduct* (London: John Brotherton, 1722), 84-85.
[83] See William Parke, *Musical Memoirs,* 120. In Henry Lahee's 1899 *Famous Violinists of Today and Yesterday* he noted that, although the violin had become a fashionable instrument within recent decades, "Formerly, for many years, it seems to have been considered improper, or ungraceful, or unladylike, —the reasons are nowhere satisfactorily given, but the fact remains that until recently few women played the violin." Of the few women he listed, only two from the Georgian era were native English women: Anne Nicholl, born in England about 1728, and her granddaughter, Mary Anne Paton (later, Lady Lenox) who was better known as a singer. There was also a Mrs. Sarah Ottey, active briefly in the first decades of the eighteenth century, who performed on the harpsichord, viola da gamba, and violin, and later a Miss Tremean, a child violin prodigy from Bath who made her debut in London in 1817. See F.G.E. "Lady Violinists" *The*

performance in which the gender of the performer and their instrument were mis-matched in a way he found disturbing:

> At the end of the first part [of the oratorio] was performed a *concertante* for two harps, by Mr. Bochsa and Miss Dibdin, his pupil. Mr. Bochsa in his performance displayed great powers of execution, and his music was scientific and pleasing; but there is something repulsive in a gigantic sort of personage like Mr. Bochsa playing on so feminine an instrument as the harp, whose strings, in my opinion, should only be made to vibrate by the delicate fingers of the ladies.[84]

Parke's observations not only serve to confirm the powerful gendering work that musical instruments performed during this period, but they also highlight the visual nature of musical performance.

In *The Gentleman's Magazine* I found no descriptions, per se, of men musicking alone (or at all), but a few anonymously submitted poems caught my eye as illustrative, or at least suggestive of what solitary masculine music-making might have looked like. In one poem a man pining after a woman complained that his melancholy was so profound, "My flute has also lost its power of pleasing, in a private hour."[85] In another poem titled "The complaint; or Country Solitude" a man described his full and blessed life, but how he longed for a wife with whom to share it, and it would seem as though he wanted a musical wife. The author listed his usual recreations—his pipe, his books, his pint of ale,

> Thus my dull evenings creep away; and just as dully moves the day: For, tho' I fiddle, read and write . . . long before the setting sun, my vain amusements all are done . . . no faithful friend, to bear a part, in all that pains and glads my heart; not one, who knows to touch the string; or aid the concert when I sing[86]

Musical Times Vol 47, No. 764 (Oct 1906) 662-668 and "Lady Violinists (Concluded)" *The Musical Times* 47, no. 765 (Nov 1906): 735-740. See also Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 267-280.

[84] Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, 183.

[85] *GM,* Vol. 12 (1742), 655.

[86] *GM,* Vol. 14 (1744), 447.

Conclusion

The fear of effeminacy loomed large in Georgian society; it was an omnipresent threat to (what was believed to be) the inherent virtue and manliness of England's national character. Avoiding the many and varied agents of effeminacy became a crucial component of a young gentleman's education. As moralists and social commentators strove to alert the public through conduct books and periodicals about the dangers of effeminacy, music-making came to be one of the topics to which they would frequently return. That music-making had come to be associated with the destructive agents of effeminacy, however, was not the only reason why moralists became reluctant to recommend it as a leisure activity for gentlemen. Music-making had also become associated with the music profession, which was not only connected with the relatively low social class of "tradesmen" but was also strongly associated with foreigners. Therefore, by making music a gentleman ran the risk of compromising his gentlemanliness on multiple fronts: his gentility, his manliness, and his Englishness. The following chapter invites the perspectives of four Georgian gentlemen who seemed to believe that music-making was worth the risk.

CHAPTER THREE

The Gentleman at Music

> The matter now before me to maintain if I am able is 'Otium cum dignitate,' which I render for plain life 'Leisure with decorum.'
>
> Thomas Hollis, Esq., letter to Timothy Hollis, 28 Dec. 1772

The preceding two chapters have dealt with the lofty ideals and stern exhortations of moralists, and the sharp critiques of social commentators as they endeavored to define and promote English gentlemanliness. As previously noted, print culture helped to circumscribe gentlemanly musical behavior in the Georgian era by villainizing effeminacy, linking it with Continental decadence, and fetishizing masculinity, claiming it as an inherently virtuous and English trait. But how and to what extent did real gentlemen actually make music within these restrictions? Examining the conduct literature for men has shown that gentlemen were not encouraged to obtain musical skills, but it tells us nothing about the gentlemen who *did* cultivate musical skills despite the warnings of moralists. While close scrutiny of public discourse on gentlemanliness and musical values in periodicals such as *The Spectator, The Gentleman's Magazine,* and the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* helps to establish the reigning cultural norms and expectations for musical men, it offers little indication as to how gentlemen felt about their own participation in musical activities. In all of the printed materials examined thus far, the unique experiences of the musical gentlemen themselves have been conspicuously absent; therefore, it is necessary to search for them elsewhere.

The following chapters will shift the focus away from the periodicals and conduct literature that musical gentlemen probably read and will now examine the first-person perspectives of several musical gentlemen and their specific musical activities. By turning to a variety of sources penned by gentlemen musicians, including diaries, letters, and memoirs, as well as the musical literature with which they engaged such as method books and sheet music, a holistic picture of the gentleman at

music emerges. Since gentlemen in this period were relatively quiet about their music-making, clues to their musical activities only appear in their writing often as a passing mention with little context. Building a musical life around this fragmentary evidence has required imaginative interpretation of historical data couched in a detailed understanding of the musical and social networks of which these gentlemen were a part.

As I have outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, who was "allowed" to make music (without reproach), and under what conditions was a function of class, gender, and nationality. For that reason, I examine the musical gentlemen of the nobility separately (in Chapter 4) from those of the gentry and upper-class businessmen with whom I deal in this chapter. Here, I will be drawing primarily from the diaries, correspondence, and memoirs of Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), John Marsh (1752-1828), William Gardiner (1770-1852), and John Waldie (1781-1862). With some occasional exceptions and qualifications, these gentlemen all moved within a similar social stratum. Waldie was born into the landed gentry, while Hollis and Marsh both inherited their estates and fortunes from distant relations (and in Marsh's case, rather late in life). Gardiner was a wealthy stocking manufacturer, having inherited the business from his father, and though he did not own land or sign his name "Esq.," the social circle in which he moved consisted primarily of upper-class professional men and members of the gentry.[1] Though the nuances of their particular social standing subtly affected their musical behaviors, it is still possible to examine them within the milieu of the gentry. Crucially, they all had the requisite wealth and leisure time to cultivate their musical skills as amateurs.

[1] While attending the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club as a guest of his MP, Thomas Steele, Gardiner was even mistaken for a country squire by one of the Noble members of the club. *WG*, Vol. II, 521.

Fig. 3.1. Map of England showing locations and movements of the gentlemen discussed in this chapter

The documentary evidence of their lives—spanning well over a century—must be read with attention to their format and authorial intent. The journals of Thomas Hollis and John Waldie were written to record the events of their daily lives, chronicling such minutiae as bill-paying and letter-writing, who they saw and where they dined that day, and briefly mentioning their general activities, mood, and health. William Gardiner's record, on the other hand, which was written in the format of a public memoir and published in three volumes (in 1832, 1838, and 1853), was deeply retrospective and often colored by nineteenth-century musical values, which he acquired later in life. John Marsh's journal, however, is somewhere in between—a memoir of the first fifty years of his life (based on daily journals, no longer extant), which he began compiling in 1797 and completed in 1802, and a detailed daily chronicle of the rest of his life up until shortly before his death in 1828.[2] While the records left by Gardiner and Marsh give the reader a full overview of their lives, Waldie's journal covers only a portion of his life, from his twenties through his late forties, and Hollis's journal covers even less, from his fortieth birthday until just after his fifty-first.

Amidst the prosaic events of daily life, which Hollis and Waldie dutifully chronicled in their journals, fragmentary but regular descriptions of their music-making appear. Both gentlemen noted the time of day and how long they practiced, but Waldie would often offers more details, such as the specific pieces he worked on, and how often he met with his music master. Whereas Hollis—a sober, studious gentleman in his forties—seemed to prefer solitary musical activities, Waldie—an exuberant young man in his twenties—was extroverted in his music-making, and, throughout his life, it seems to have featured prominently in his social engagements. What can be gleaned from

[2] I am using Brian Robin's extraordinary, two-volume edition of the thirty-seven volumes (6,704 pages) of journals that Marsh wrote, spanning his entire life from the age of thirteen to just a few weeks before his death. John Marsh, ed. Brian Robins, *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer, 1752-1828* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2011).

Hollis's fragmentary accounts of his musical life is that he exercised restraint in his musical habits, indeed, in all of his habits once he decided to enter into "a severe plan of life" in his early forties.[3]

For Hollis and Waldie, music-making was not the primary hobby, nor even the most defining interest of either man. If he were to have introduced himself, it is most likely that Hollis would have described himself, first and foremost, as an antiquarian, with a profound love of "*virtù*" [sic].[4] Though Waldie enjoyed making music (primarily singing, though it seems he also dabbled in fortepiano) and attending concerts, his real passion was the theatre, particularly writing reviews and critiquing the quality of the acting. So strong was Waldie's desire to become a theatre critic that he moved to London for nine weeks when he was twenty-eight years old to try and make a name for himself in that "profession," though without success.[5] For Waldie, music-making offered a means of introduction into London society, giving him a mode of knowing and being known amongst London's cultural elite.

While Hollis might have also enjoyed a lively and varied musical life in his own youth, the reader can observe through his diary a refocusing of his musical activities in his final decade (1759-1770), moving from playing his flute recreationally with others to playing alone.[6] Whether he was actively suppressing his musical inclinations in order to conform to a more austere, respectable manner of living, or simply grew disinterested in making music with others, it is impossible to say.

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[3] *THD*, Vol. I, April 14 (1760).

[4] Though Hollis consistently used this spelling (with an acute accent), during the period it was alternately spelled *virtu, virtú,* or sometimes in the original Italian form, *virtù.* Describing the liberal or fine arts collectively as a subject of study or interest, particularly through the collection and appreciation of art objects (objects of *virtú*), such as coins, medals, paintings, sculptures, etc. In eighteenth-century England the term usually referred to antiques and curiosities brought back from the Grand Tour. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "virtu, n."

[5] "Here ends my nine weeks' residence in London […] I have certainly a great deal of enjoyment, but I fear no lasting benefit to myself is to result from it: the ground I wished to occupy, being, I have too much reason to fear, preoccupied. Something however I hope may cast up for me in my profession." *JWJ,* Vol. 19 (1809), 331.

[6] Hollis made two tours of the Continent in his late twenties and early thirties (between 1748-1753). As he kept no record of those travels it is impossible to say whether he enjoyed recreational music-making while he was abroad. However, in his diary he mentioned two meetings with "an old Neapolitan and musical acquaintance" in London.

For Marsh and Gardiner, on the other hand, music was—though not their profession—their daily concern and life-long endeavor. For both gentlemen, their status as amateur musicians was, for each, both a source of pride and a hurdle to be overcome. As professional men (Gardiner a manufacturer, and Marsh an attorney before his inheritance), the title of "amateur musician" allowed them to enjoy an elevated social status relative to the professional musicians with whom they played, though it also signaled to professional musicians that their musical skills might be deficient. Moving back and forth between these identities—professional man and amateur musician—required a particular social dexterity known today as "code-switching." While both Marsh and Gardiner found opportunities in which they could use their amateur status as leverage in certain situations with professional musicians, they also found their amateur status used against them, particularly when they tried to publish their compositions. Their journals and memoirs illustrate the tense social space that gentlemen and professional musicians occupied during collaborative music-making.[7] Though professional musicians depended on the patronage and participation of local amateurs for a vibrant music scene in which to earn their living, the accounts given by Marsh and Gardiner suggest that the professional musicians were often jealous and territorial about maintaining their musical superiority.[8]

Excavating the details of these gentlemen's musical lives, and arranging them into vivid portraits has in some cases meant piecing together minute and fragmentary accounts, and in other cases, sifting through long and detailed narratives. Despite the unevenness of the source materials, I have endeavored to give as complete an account as possible of these four musical gentlemen and their particular relationships to music-making, capturing, when I could, their distinct personalities.

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[7] I use the catch-all term "collaborative music-making" here to underscore the nature of the music-making regardless of the particular conditions under which the musicians were participating. Sometimes it was purely recreational for all, other times the professional musicians were paid while the amateurs were not.

[8] As Simon McVeigh has noted, tensions between amateur and professional musicians were "exacerbated by the technical demands of the new symphonies" during this period, "with Haydn defeating those violinists used to a Corelli ripieno part and requiring wind-players of a competence that the local militia could only sporadically supply." Simon McVeigh, "Introduction," in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, eds. Simon McVeigh and Susan Wollenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 7.

Though they did not know each other (except in the case of Marsh and Gardiner), it has been illuminating to overlay their stories, finding echoes and resonances, filling in the missing pieces, or amplifying the particular experiences of each other's musical lives.

THOMAS HOLLIS (1720-1774)

> At night played a little on my flute, which I find, in general, dissipates & relieves me when overplied with thinking or business.
>
> Thomas Hollis, diary entry, 23 June 1764

Thomas Hollis, at least in his later years, was a serious fellow. His diary and correspondence show him to have been generous with his wealth and connections, as well as with his time and knowledge. He served tirelessly on a number of committees for charitable societies in London, raising money for hospitals and asylums, organizing foreign aid by way of Christian missionaries and donations of clothing for French prisoners of war. Hollis was also an active and an early member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.[9] Of the latter society, he was consistently nominated for president but always humbly refused to stand, on the grounds that he had made a "resolution of avoiding all distinct honors."[10] But above all, Hollis was concerned with preserving his respectability as he grew older.

Beginning on 14 April 1759—his fortieth birthday—and continuing to July of 1770, his diary covers the last full decade of his life. A sense of duty and discipline permeates his writing from the start, but he becomes more urgent from one year to the next about carrying out a "plan of life . . . rigorously laid down." As each year passed he expressed an increased determination in his daily

[9] Hollis never used the society's full name, instead he consistently referred to it as the "Society for the Promotion of Arts and Commerce" often abbreviating it as "SPAC" in his dairy. As discussed in Chapter 1, this society had a distinctly nationalistic agenda, and—despite it being a decidedly unmusical society—may have influenced the formation of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club.

[10] *THD,* Vol. I (1760) December 5. On this particular occasion he suggested instead that the role should always be filled by a nobleman.

activities to be useful, occupied, and sensible, often reflecting penitently on his many "indiscretions" and "weaknesses," especially in his annual birthday entries:

> Entered the forty first year of my age. Reviewed the transactions of the past year as they appear in these Papers. By no means content with them . . . Hope however to keep up in full spirit, to amend my plan, & to tread more firmly than ever the path of active and extensive virtue.[11]
>
> Entered this day into the forty fourth year of my age. Reviewed, in part, the diary of the past year. God pity the weakness of my Nature, strengthen me more with thy wisdom & protection to good & noble purposes, for I do mean well, and grant me the deepest resignation to thy will![12]
>
> Thank God I have been enabled, allowances being made for human imperfection, to go thro' another year steadily in the prosecution of that right, and bold, and noble plan, which I had long since, rigorously laid down to myself, and which required much labor & constancy to perfect.[13]
>
> I pray God, of his goodness, so to illuminate my Mind, long perplexed in uncertainty! That I may be enabled, surely & speedily, to fix on that Plan of Life, for the remainder of it, which shall be most conducive to his will and to my own private decorum and happiness.[14]

A subtle but perceptible shift in his musical behaviors and acquaintances accompanied his quest for sober respectability in his old age. He described his musicking with other men only in the first year of his diary in three brief notes: "Had un concertino at home in the afternoon with Mr. DeFesch and another gentleman"[15]—"Drank tea with Mr. DeFesch and made one with him & Mr. Bertrand at a little concert."[16]—"Coll. Dalrymple with me at breakfast. Played an hour on the flute with him afterwards."[17] Building out and filling in these fragments requires a brief departure from Hollis's diary.

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[11] *THD,* Vol. 1 (1760) April 14.
[12] *THD,* Vol. 3 (1763) April 14.
[13] *THD,* Vol. 3 (1764) April 14.
[14] *THD,* Vol. 6 (1770) April 14.
[15] *THD,* Vol. 1 (1759) December 27.
[16] *THD,* Vol. 1 (1760) January 3.
[17] *THD,* Vol. 1 (1760) July 11.

Hollis's musicking through the lens of John Marsh

In order to reconstruct these three musical meetings that Hollis described only briefly, I turn to other contemporary sources in order to visualize the whole scene and understand it within a broader culture of musical behaviors. John Marsh's journal provides many detailed accounts of what were, in all likelihood, very similar scenes of music-making, taking place in the same decade and with members of comparable social classes and backgrounds. The following excerpts from Marsh's journal help to illustrate how a group of three gentlemen musicians, playing typical gentlemanly instruments such as the flute, oboe, violin, and cello, would likely have encountered each other and made music together.

The first excerpt (January 1768) describes a typical assemblage of gentlemen musicians in the town of Romsey, where Marsh had recently moved to begin an apprenticeship with an attorney, with some notes on their professions and their relative musical abilities:

> [T]he only musical people were Mr Burch [the curate] who played the harpsichord a little Mr Van Rixtel [son of a Dutch merchant (a very eccentric man with a moderate fortune)] who had considerable execution on the flute but no idea of time & Mr. May [Alderman] who played a little upon the hautboy. I also sometimes at Mr. Burchs met a Mr Elletson, a Lieut't in the Navy, who lived at Mr Baker's attorney (whom the Damans did not visit) & who play'd the flute a little. But neither of these being able to play in concert, or in fact to play anything but the air or principal melody of marches, minuets, song tunes etc. I was obliged, in order to make out something like *harmony* to play & frequently compose a second fiddle part except in 2 or 3 marches or tunes of which Mr May or Mr Elletson had before practiced the second part.[18]

Significantly, Marsh indicated that the gentlemen playing melody instruments (at least Mr. May and Mr. Elletson) were unable to "play anything but the air or principal melody of marches, minuets, song tunes etc." This observation, further supported by the following excerpt, reinforces the same conclusion drawn in Chapter 2 regarding performance practice of the music printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine:* gentlemen were primarily expected to play alone and not "in concert."

[18] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 56.

> When I had been some months at Romsey I remember Mr Elletson invited Mr Van Rixtel & I to have some music together one afternoon in a summer house of Mr Baker's by the river side, in consequence of which, as I thought none of my music wo'd suit them[,] I sent only my fiddle. On enquiring therefore when we had put our instruments in tune for the parts of what they had to play (expecting that they wo'd have had at least a second or bass for me to take on the fiddle) they said they each had only brought a single book with airs & pieces for the flute, but w'ch we might play all *3 of us together in unison* & this was their idea of a *concert*. As this however wo'd not do for me, I whilst the 2 flutes play'd (I'm afraid I can't strictly say in *unison*) play'd an extempore second or bass to them.[19]

I would suggest that Marsh's surprise and disappointment (as evidenced by his emphasis: *"3 of us together in unison*) at his friends having had no thought to "orchestration," expecting simply to play some melodies together, speaks more to Marsh's unusual musical expertise (for a gentleman) than to his friends' ineptitude. If a gentleman wanted to play with other gentlemen, it seems that it was not unusual for them to play melodies intended for a single instrument or voice in unison with each other (or, as Marsh humorously implied, in what today would be described as a "wide unison").[20] Without actively seeking new music to play, most gentlemen would have had easy access to printed music designed for solo-playing: as discussed in the previous chapter, *The Gentleman's Magazine* regularly printed songs and dance tunes, and whatever method book the gentleman purchased along with his instrument would have also included several pages of airs and etudes for that instrument.[21] This is only one example of gentlemen amateurs re-appropriating the musical materials at hand for group-music-making. The following quote from Marsh's journal suggests that it was not uncommon for gentlemen to play trio sonatas without the *basso continuo* if there was no lady (or *professional* keyboard player) present:

> went with Mr Wafer for the first time to Mr Phillip's little weekly concerts at Weovill . . . we play'd only Corelli's sonatas, of which I took the 1st fiddle, & old Mr Phillips

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[19] *JMJ,* Vol I, 57.
[20] Indeed, William Gardiner's memoir also suggests that this was a widespread practice. Describing his father's amateur musical pursuits, Gardiner mentions that although his father was an enthusiastic flute player, so were all of his friends, and he became so annoyed "by three or four of them puffing over the same books, in their juvenile concerts, that he relinquished it for the violoncello." *WG*, Vol. I, 11.
[21] See pp. 93-95 of this document.

> the 2d & Miss P. the thorough bass on the spinet accompanied Mr Wafer on the tenor. As I had never heard these sonatas compleat [sic] before, I was much pleas'd by the wonderful improvement occasion'd by the addition of the bass.[22]

If playing trio sonatas with full *basso continuo* was a novel experience even for the young Marsh—an unusually eager and active amateur musician—it would be reasonable to suppose that it was more common for more typical gentlemen musicians to play trio sonatas together without chordal accompaniment.

Returning now to Hollis's diary, the next task is identifying the gentlemen with whom Hollis played. "Mr. DeFesch" must have been Willem de Fesch, a Dutch violinist and composer who moved to London in the 1730's where he worked as an organist at the Venetian Chapel for one year while developing his activities as a concert violinist. He began to make a name for himself as a composer with his oratorio, *Judith,* which premiered in 1733 and was revived in 1740. DeFesch was the principal violinist in Handel's orchestra in 1746, and directed the orchestra at Marylebone Gardens between 1748 and 1749.[23] He would have most likely served as Hollis's music master sometime during the period 1731-1748, and indeed his compositional output helps to support this hypothesis: he began publishing music for flute in 1733, and the majority of his compositions between then and 1748 consisted of chamber music featuring the flute.[24] Given the flute's popularity in England, however, it is unlikely that Hollis was DeFesch's only flute student during that period.

Hollis had known DeFesch at the apex of his career and thus, he was surprised to discover that DeFesch was quite changed when they met again later in life. According to Hollis's diary, the two men reconnected in 1759 over tea and "a little concert" after which Hollis observed that

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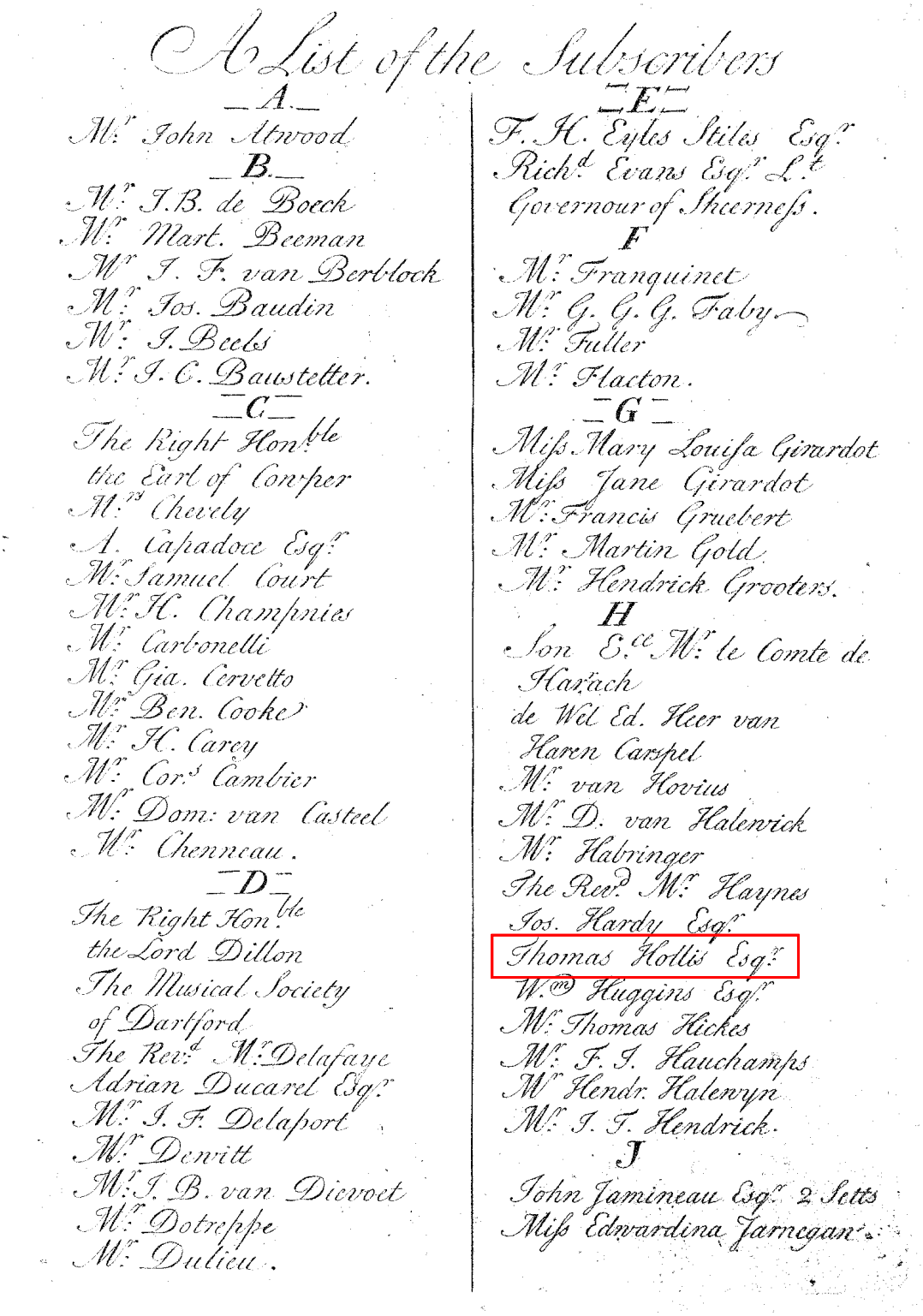
[22] *JMJ*, Vol. I, 48.
[23] Frans Van Den Bremt, and Rudolf A. Rasch, "De Fesch [Defesch, de Veg, de Feghg, du Feche], Willem," *Grove Music Online* (2001).
[24] Willem DeFesch, Op. 7: 10 Sonate a tre a 2 Flauti o Violini e Basso continuo (1733), Op. 8: Sonate (1736), Op. 9: Sonate per 2 Violini o Flauti (1739), Op. 10: Molti Concerti e Concerti grossi (1741), Op. 11: Duo per 2 Violoni o Flauti (1743), Op. 12: Sonate per 2 Violoni o Flauti (1748).

DeFesch seemed a "poor old man now just worn out." He remarked on DeFesch's "degraded" state: "slight of friends, approaching poverty." Hollis "assured [DeFesch] of my regard and some pecuniary assistance on his past merits. Life . . . not desirable on the terms he now holds it." Though he clearly felt pity for his old friend, seeing him at the end of his life sunken in poverty, he also clearly passed judgment on him, offering him sympathy and assistance *"on his past merits."* A few months later Hollis mentioned that he had heard that his "poor old friend Mr. DeFesch is likely to die, such are his infirmities," and, so distressed by the pitiable state in which he had found him Hollis added, in an unusually macabre tone, "I almost wish he may."

When Hollis wrote on December 27, 1759, that he "Had un concertino at home in the afternoon with Mr. DeFesch and another gentleman," and, just a few days later on January 3, 1760, "Drank tea with Mr. DeFesch and made one with him & Mr. Bertrand at a little concert" they were likely playing trio sonatas or concerti. Since Hollis's name appears on the list of subscribers for DeFesch's Op. 10 Concerti Grossi (see Fig. 3.2), it is conceivable that they played from that collection. In such a scenario DeFesch would have played the violin, Hollis the flute, and the other gentleman would likely have played the cello.[25] Given the descriptions of similar instances of recreational music-making from Marsh's journal, it is reasonable to assume that the lack of a keyboard instrument or more instrumentalists would not have prevented them from playing music together that was scored for a larger ensemble.

[25] Mr. Bertrand must have been an acquaintance of DeFesch, as Hollis never mentions him again in the diaries.



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J

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Fig. 3.2. Thomas Hollis's name on list of subscribers to DeFesch's Op. 10 Concerti Grossi (1741)

"Coll. Dalrymple" (first mentioned on page 109) is harder to trace. It is unclear whether he is the same gentlemen as a "Capt. Dalrymple," whom Hollis later described as his "old Neapolitan & Musical acquaintance."[26] Hollis's description of their music-making is both brief and vague: "Coll. Dalrymple with me at breakfast. Played an hour on the flute with him afterwards."[27] This could mean that they *both* played the flute together, playing some favorite melodies in unison, or perhaps they played duets.[28] Duets and sonatas for two flutes, or violin and flute were quite common during this period (indeed, DeFesch wrote four such collections) and parts written "for violin" were often played on the flute and vice versa.[29] It is also possible that Dalrymple played the violin or cello, but the way in which Hollis identified the activity as playing "on the flute with him" instead of "un concertino" or "a little concert" as he did in the previous diary entries suggests that they were both playing the flute.

Hollis only recorded group music-making in 1759, the first year of his diary. After that he would only mention his solitary flute-playing: "Played on my flute for an hour" or "Played a little on my flute," before bed. Between 1760 and 1764 he cycled through phases of dutifully playing his flute one hour every day for a month or two at a time, to several months of only playing two or three times per week. During the winter of 1762 into the spring and early summer of 1763, a particularly busy time for Hollis when he was juggling a number of literary and philanthropic projects, he did not mention playing his flute at all. When he picked it up again in the late summer of 1763 and

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[26] *THD,* Vol. 7 (1760) November 14.
[27] *THD*, Vol. 1 (1760) July 11.
[28] "Busy the whole day, cleaning my cabinet & sorting of my music . . . . Shore with me in the evening about sundry matters. Gave him the unbound printed music to bind." This entry in Hollis's diary confirms that Hollis did keep a collection of printed music, and it would seem to support his biographer's claim that Hollis's music collection was indeed a large one. Unfortunately, Hollis makes no other mention of his music collection in his diary or correspondence and it is currently unknown what became of it after he died. *THD,* Vol. 3 (1763) October 3.
[29] John Marsh, for example, described the following situation with his son Henry who played both the flute and the cello: "As my 2 sons were now with me we had no other instrumental performers than Mr. Bennett for the organ, John & I taking the two fiddles & Henry the bass, who played the 9th of Corelli's Concertos & one of Pleyel's *flute* duetts, of which I played the 2d part upon the fiddle." *JMJ,* Vol. I, 91.

began practicing regularly again, he would often describe how he took comfort in his flute playing (as the quote at the beginning of this section indicates) after long days of reading and writing: "Tired. Sought relief by music, & in some degree obtained it."[30] "At night played on my flute and, as often, was relieved by it."[31] This serves to emphasize that his musical pursuits were not a frivolous amusement; rather, they relieved his mind from the masculine labors of thinking, writing, serving on the boards of charitable organizations, and his work in the Society for the Promotion of Arts and Commerce. Seen in such a light, it would have been difficult to construe his solitary flute playing as effeminate.

The sudden disappearance of group music-making from his diary, replaced with solitary flute playing, might be interpreted as a manifestation of Hollis feeling an outward social pressure in the 1760s to perform his virtuous masculinity. By distancing himself from his musical acquaintances such as the Colonel/Captain Dalrymple and DeFesch (or not mentioning them in his diary), and couching his musical behaviors within his daily routine of sober, solitary reflection after a long day of manly industry, Hollis managed to maintain a musical life free of any negative social stigma. This was the kind of gentlemanly music-making that eighteenth-century moralists would have tolerated, even if only grudgingly.

But what could have precipitated this change in Hollis's musical life? One interesting feature of his diary was his remarkably close relationship with Thomas Brand (later, Thomas Brand-Hollis), the friend with whom he had made the Grand Tour. Brand, the son of a mercer, came from a relatively newly-moneyed family.[32] The two men saw each other nearly every day in the early 1760s

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[30] *THD,* Vol. 3 (1764) June 8.
[31] *THD,* Vol. 3 (1765) March 29.
[32] According to his modern biographer, Brand was a political radical who sympathized with the American colonists struggle for independence. He corresponded with Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, hosting the latter in his London house in 1786. See Caroline Robbins, "Thomas Brand Hollis (1719-1804), English Admirer of Franklin and Intimate of John Adams," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 97, no. 3 (1953): 239-247.

when Brand was in London for the season, and when Brand was at his country seat in Essex, Hollis often sent him books, sculptures, and paintings as gifts. Their close relationship might have made Hollis vulnerable to gossip. That homoeroticism was universally perceived as a threat to virtuous masculinity during this period (or even that warm male friendships were seen as potentially homoerotic, or homosexual in nature) should not be assumed.[33] However, the possibility bears mentioning for several reasons. Hollis never married, and even the suggestion of marriage seemed totally absurd to him to judge from the underlining and capitalization (uncharacteristic of his writing) when describing his intent to answer a particular letter from his friend, Mr. Foy, alerting him to a "RICH Young Widow" who had lately become available.

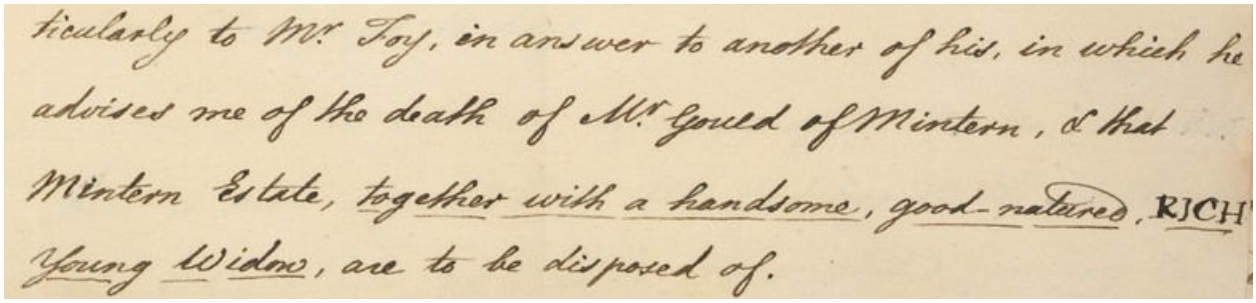
ticularly to Mr. Foy, in answer to another of his, in which he
advises me of the death of Mr. Gould of Mintern, & that
Mintern Estate, together with a handsome, good-natured, RICH
Young Widow, are to be disposed of.

Fig. 3.3. Extract from Hollis's diary: "…particularly to Mr. Foy, in answer to another of his, in which he advises me of the death of Mr. Gould of Mintern, & that Mintern Estate, together with a handsome, good-natured, RICH Young Widow, are to be disposed of." *DTH,* Vol. 1 (1760) August 23.

Indeed, he was very rarely in the company of women, socializing primarily with other unmarried gentlemen. The company he enjoyed most was that of his dearest and longest friend, Thomas Brand, to whom he entailed his fortune, properties, and surname when he died. When Brand was in London they went to the playhouse and the opera together, dined out together, and Brand often stayed at Hollis's lodgings in Pall Mall, near St. James's Square, talking late into the evening. When

[33] The issue of who could openly have warm male-male friendships, especially if they involved making music together (above suspicion), seems to have been a function of class and context. The 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam and his cello teacher John Crosdill, for example, had a long and close friendship and musical relationship that crossed class boundaries and was well-known and remarked on by their friends. This topic will be explored in detail in Chapter 4.

Brand left for his country house in Essex every summer, Hollis would always mark the occasion solemnly in his diary, and sometimes elaborately:

> My old friend Mr. Brand went into the country today for the summer, whose intended absence and the prospect of a dull time for several months particularly to come made me uncommonly low & dejected but I will support myself manfully in my own honest, & it may be, magnanimous pursuits, & behave with so much more steadiness & resolution as I have no one to advise, assist, or cherish me in them.[34]

Hollis left his entire estate to Brand after he died, causing a posthumous scandal. The eldest living male relative was his cousin, Timothy Hollis, who had expected to inherit. After Brand-Hollis died in 1804 the scandal entered the public eye when it became the subject of a two-year-long argument in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. The argument was primarily between an anonymous gentleman and John Hollis, a descendent who was furious that Brand-Hollis did not "return the alienated property" to the descendants of Thomas Hollis upon his death. It began innocuously enough with an obituary of Brand-Hollis by the editor in which the author tried to explain away the strangeness of the entail by stating that, shortly before his death, Thomas Hollis had quarreled with Timothy Hollis, and decided to leave everything instead to his "dear friend and travelling companion."[35]

But a few months later, John Hollis asked the editor to insert a correction to the obituary, saying that Hollis in fact never quarreled with Timothy, and that by "*alienating his property* [Thomas Hollis] was doing that which few people will hesitate to pronounce altogether unjustifiable."[36] Though John Hollis admitted that he "never expected that [Brand] would restore the alienated property" he thought that a man "in [Brand's] situation, without children . . . would have so done." With palpable contempt, however, he went on to confess, "I did expect that he would, for *decency's* sake, and to avoid *censure*, have left a handsome legacy to . . . a representative of a family from which

[34] *THD,* Vol. 2 (1761) July 4.
[35] *GM,* Vol. 74, Part 2 (1804), 888.
[36] Ibid., 1098.

he had derived much the greatest part of his fortune."[37] This rebuke was scathingly criticized in the next issue by an anonymous author, condemning John Hollis for dealing out "invective and insinuation against the character of the lately-deceased Brand Hollis."[38]

> [W]hen one sees all this, with the interested principle which creeps at the bottom, or more truly floats at the top, of the whole that he has written; one cannot but lament that a worthy and respectable man, like Mr J. H. of High Wycombe, should betray the weakness of his feelings in so strange and unguarded a way, and, in the pique of disappointment, *discredit* both his family and himself.[39]

John Hollis retaliated in the following issue, taking particular umbrage with the "extraordinary accusation" that his public condemnation of the entail was motivated by "an attachment to sordid interest." An accusation that had "never before [been] ascribed to any one, on the ground of his professing to think that the property alienated from his family had been *unjustifiably* alienated." John Hollis so resented such a "base and slanderous accusation" that he refused to respond further on the subject.[40] Another attack by the anonymous author followed in the next issue, which was then answered by an unidentified "J.J." coming to the defense of John Hollis.[41] The matter finally came to rest in an essay titled "Conclusion to the *Hollisian* Controversy" in which the same anonymous author repeats his criticism of John Hollis, musing that "if that 'handsome legacy' aforesaid, whether for *'decency's sake,'* or 'to avoid *censure'* or for *any other reason why*, had only formed the codicil to a certain last will and testament, I call upon any man of common sense to say, whether the pages of your Magazine for December 1804 would ever have been darkened with the Anecdotes of the House of Hollis."[42]

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[37] Ibid.
[38] *GM,* Vol. 75, Part 1 (1805), 8.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., 117.
[41] *GM,* Vol. 75, Part 2 (1805), 714-717.
[42] Ibid., 1199-1201.

This extraordinary and public dispute over the character and motivations of Thomas Brand-Hollis (recently deceased) and Thomas Hollis (long dead) not only exposed a deep resentment on the part of John Hollis for being left out of Brand-Hollis's will (and bitterness about Brand being made heir to Hollis's fortune in the first place), but also demonstrated a desire to slander both men, and throw suspicion on Hollis's decision to entail his estate to Brand. It is possible that this controversy became so long and bitter because the way in which John Hollis disputed the entail implied that there was something illicit about Hollis's and Brand's relationship. That the anonymous author (clearly a close friend of Brand) remained anonymous even after J.H. and J.J. both criticized his anonymity—calling into question his masculinity—suggests that the author was reluctant to have his name associated with this controversy.[43] His desire to remain anonymous may have at least in part arisen from a fear of endangering his own reputation by publicly defending a man who was being accused (even obliquely) of illicit sexuality. It is not clear what John Hollis hoped to accomplish in airing his grievances; perhaps by implying an unlawful relationship between Thomas Hollis and Brand, he hoped to fight the entail in court and regain the "alienated property" that he believed was due to him.

Though Thomas Hollis was a relatively private gentleman, and lived a life free of scandal (aside, for some, that he never married), his love of *virtú* created a challenge for his early biographer, Francis Blackburne (1705-1787), an Anglican priest.

> The candid reader will perhaps forgive our exhibiting a testimony given to Mr. Hollis, in reference to his attention to and regard for virtú . . . Hollis made this kind of study subservient to valuable and excellent purposes; to preserve the memories of great men, made illustrious by their actions and benefits to mankind, and thereby exciting others to imitate them. . . . it would become every wise and good government to counteract the vitiated taste of the times for effeminate dissipation, masquerades, gaming parties, &c. by directing it to such manly and noble pursuits as may bring to the minds of our youth the merits of our virtuous ancestors, and incite them to an emulation of them.[44]

[43] "With a kind of pertinacity that would incline one to believe this writer of the other sex, if there was any correspondent softens in his manner, he seems determined to have the last word." Ibid., 714.
[44] Blackburne, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis,* 177.

By framing Hollis's obsession with collecting and commissioning objects of *virtú* (e.g. medals, portraits, sculptures, etc.) as a "manly" and patriotic mission of combatting "effeminate dissipation" while encouraging young people to emulate their "virtuous ancestors," Blackburne is able to deflect the association between connoisseurship and illicit sexuality. While not all connoisseurs were necessarily libertines and debauchees, many influential collectors of *virtú,* such as the Earl of Sandwich and Frederick, Prince of Wales (George IV), were infamous for their sexual promiscuity and general debauchery.[45] As John Brewer has noted, "The very study of *virtu* was tainted with sex."[46] While some objects that interested collectors such as Hollis were coins and medals depicting the noble profiles of ancient heroes (See Fig. 3.4), many more included "the nude female figure, phallic objects, depictions of amorous intrigue and energetic copulation on Greek and Roman vases and wall paintings" (See Fig. 3.5).[47] Blackburne's defense of Hollis's "exquisite taste for what are called the fine arts," therefore, was lengthy and determined.

> It is alleged indeed, that a general and national attachment to [fine arts] leads to slavery. And possibly it may be true, that to set too high a polish upon the manners of any country, may have this pernicious effect; and the French are pointed out as an influence. But it may be justly answered, that slavery is not a necessary consequence of cultivating the fine arts; of which the example of Mr. Hollis may be appealed to; who, though his judgement as a connoisseur was not perhaps exceeded by many of that denomination . . . spent by much the greater part of his time in inculcating the principles, and inspiring the love of [liberty].[48]

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[45] John Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 211.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid. The front page of the auction catalogue for Hollis's and Brand-Hollis's combined collection of *virtú* described it in the following words: "COMPRISING Numerous and highly preserved Specimens of the British Saxon and English Coins, in Gold, Silver and Copper. Amongst which will be found., that curious and rare Piece, the Quarter Florin; a Mary's Ryal; Oliver's Fifty Shilling Piece; the Leopard of Edward III; the Chaise of Edward the Black Prince; Half Angel of Henry VI; and others equally interesting and valuable. The Patterns in Gold, Silver and Copper consist of many very rare and unique Specimens. The Medals illustrative of, and struck during, the Period of the Commonwealth, are more rich in choice Pieces than any ever offered to Public Sale . . .; a few choice Greek Tetradrachms; a numerous parcel of Roman Brass, Pope's Medals, &c. &c. TOGETHER WITH A considerable Collection of Bronzes, Vases, Lacrymatories [sic], Lamps, Terracottas, Raphael's China, and other Curiosities." *A Catalogue of the Very Valuable and Extensive Collection of Ancient & Modern Coins & Medals, Collected by Thomas Hollis, Esq. and Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq., Removed from the Hyde, near Ingatestone, Essex . . . . Which will be sold by Auction by Mr. Sotheby* (London: Wright & Murphy).
[48] Blackburne, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis,* 178. Here Blackburne is not referring to the literal enslavement of people (though England certainly profited economically from slavery during the Georgian era); rather he is arguing that when a

Blackburne aimed to defend Hollis's reputation as a "connoisseur" by drawing attention to the fact that, while this was true, Hollis spent "much the greater part of his time" promoting and "inspiring the love of liberty," referring to his work in the 1750s reprinting and distributing important treatises on government and philosophy (e.g. John Toland's *Life of Milton* and John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*). Indeed, the objects of *virtú* for which Hollis was best known for collecting were medals, such as the one below depicting John Milton. He exhibited his medals proudly in display cases in his London home, and often mentioned in his diary that he had shown them to his friends and acquaintances when they came to visit.[49]

Fig 3.4. Medal depicting John Milton (1737), given to the British Museum by Thomas Hollis

But according to the auction catalogue recording "the very valuable and extensive collection of Ancient & Modern Coins & Medals collected by Thomas Hollis, Esq. and Thomas Brand Hollis," which were sold in 1817 after Brand-Hollis's death, Hollis also seemed to have had an interest in objects of *virtú* of which Blackburne would likely not have approved. For example, amidst the

society is too concerned with "fine arts" (citing the French as an example) they risk becoming slaves to the fashions and trends of high culture.

[49] "Mr. Ducarell & Mr. Brand spent the whole day with me. Shewed them all my Medals & much Virtú." *THD,* Vol. 2 (1761) May 3. "Captain Kennedy with me in the morning. Shewed him the collection of medals which I have…" *THD,* Vol. 1 (1760) September 3.

dizzying array of miscellaneous Greek, Roman, and Egyptian art and artifacts, Hollis had no fewer than five phallic amulets and four figures of Priapus (See Fig. 3.5 for examples of both).[50] Though some of the objects in the catalogue had been collected by Brand-Hollis, it is likely—since Thomas Hollis was the more avid collector—that the majority of this collection had been amassed by Hollis and then bequeathed to Brand-Hollis. It is unclear where objects such as these would have been displayed in Hollis's London home, or if they would have been hidden away and only shown to certain guests.

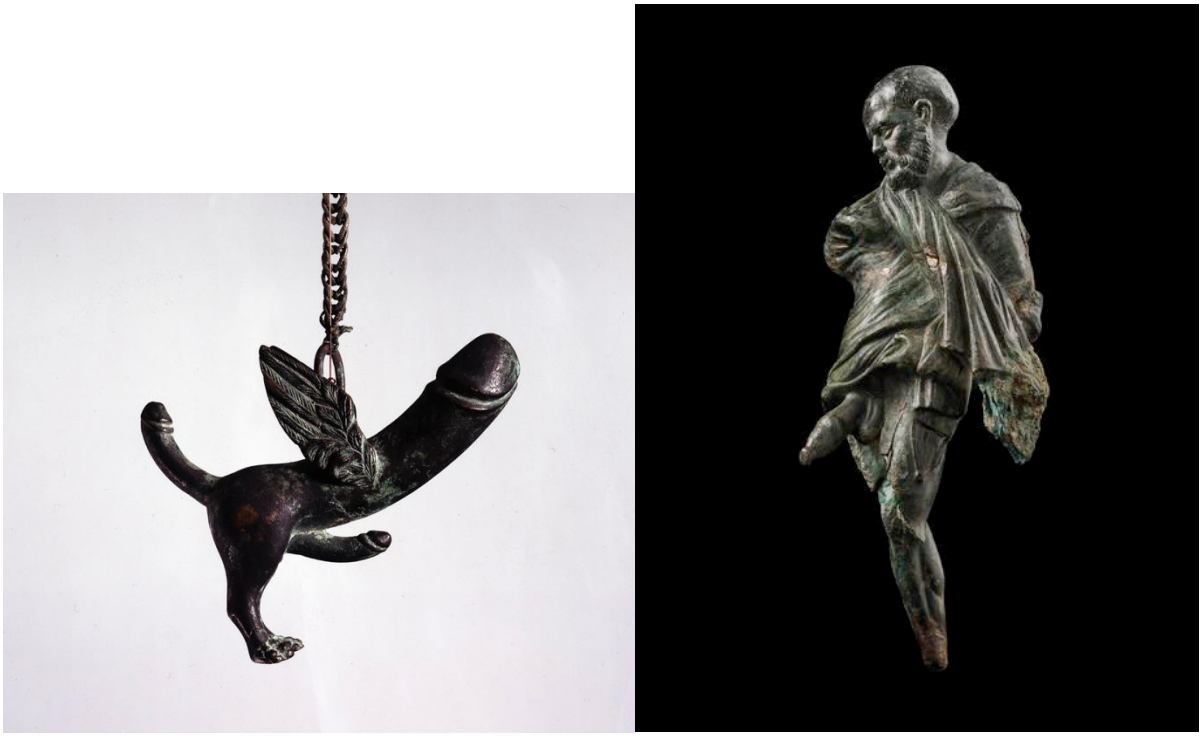

Fig 3.5. Phallic amulet and figure of Priapus (1st Century CE), British Museum

[50] Item 653, "Five Phallic amulets, a small Figure of Priapus, and two Seals." 678 "A Soldier in Armour, a small Statue of Hercules, and a Figure of Priapus." Item 699, "A Figure of Venus, 11 inches high; it is supported on the side by a small Figure of Priapus." Item 709, "A Bas-Relief in Bronze; the subject is a Sacrifice to Priapus, and a great many Figures are introduced; the work of John de Bologna; height 8 ½ inches, length 20 inches." *A Catalogue of the Very Valuable and Extensive Collection,* 50-53.

Hollis's biographer, echoing other moralists of the late eighteenth century, was expressing a contemporaneous anxiety that the cosmopolitan nature of connoisseurship would have a deleterious and, in particular, an effeminizing effect on English society. But he assured the reader that, at least in the case of Thomas Hollis, there was no threat, as "there is little danger that sensible men should transgress the bounds of wisdom and moderation" in their pursuits.

> A good man, though ever so qualified by his skill in the fine arts, either as a judge or an artist, would scorn to prostitute his taste in assisting to decorate a Carlisle-house, or a Pantheon, convinced, as he must be, that the disorders and follies practiced at such places, are among the most serious evils that can befall a people who can compute the value of virtue and virtuous liberty . . . unbroken by vicious luxury, or not effeminated by such licentious intercourses of thoughtless and shameless multitudes.[51]

By specifically naming two of the most fashionable London music venues of the period, Carlisle House and the Pantheon, Blackburne calls to mind scenes of musical revelry and debauchery.[52] Identifying "vicious luxury" and effeminacy as agents of destruction, dangerous to "virtue and virtuous liberty" Blackburne calls to mind the language of contemporary moralists (as discussed in Chapter 2). For him, the specter of effeminacy was always lurking in places where the arts were celebrated, and this certainly would have included music.

It should come as no surprise, then, that the only kind of musicking that Blackburne described in Hollis's memoir was his solitary flute-playing, never mentioning that he participated in

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[51] Blackburne, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis,* 178.

[52] Between 1761 and 1772 a series of lavish entertainments (e.g. masquerades, concerts, unlicensed operas) were hosted at Carlisle House in Soho Square by the scandalous Italian soprano, Teresa Cornelys. The events, which took place twice a month during the Winter season, were tremendously popular among the gentry and nobility, and also attended by members of the royal family, and foreign diplomats. Cornelys engaged prominent London musicians for the concerts, such as Johann Christian Bach, Carl Friederich Abel, and Stephen Storace. For a fascinating biography of Cornelys see Judith Summers, *Empress of Pleasure: The Life and Adventures of Teresa Cornelys, Queen of Masquerades and Casanova's Lover* (London: Viking, 2003). The Pantheon was also a popular concert venue at that time, hosting one of the "rival" subscription series during the late eighteenth century. See Simon McVeigh, "The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783-1793," in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle,* no. 22 (1989): 1-135. After the King's Theatre was destroyed by fire in June 1789 the Duke of Bedford and the Marquis of Salisbury endeavored to establish a kind of "English Court Opera" at the Pantheon. It survived for only one season (1790–1791) before it, too, was destroyed by a fire. See Curtis Price, Judith Milhouse and Robert D. Hume, "A Plan of the Pantheon Opera House (1790-92)" in *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3, no. 3 (November 1991): 213-246.

private concerts with other musical men.[53] Blackburne also took great pains to describe DeFesch as an honorable, moral music master and stated that Hollis chose him *for that reason.*

> It is very rare for young men to value their teachers for their virtuous manners, or the decorum of their conduct in civil life. But Mr. Hollis, in chusing his instructors, seems to have paid as much regard to their moral character, as to their professional skill; we shall see in its place the respect Mr. Hollis paid to De Fesche, his music master.[54]

However, a strange incident in DeFesch's life as explained by his modern biographer suggests that he might have been a volatile and violent character. DeFesch left Antwerp for London in 1731 after being discharged from the Cathedral where he had worked. The reason for his dismissal was, vaguely, the "mishandling of the boys of the choir," and specifically beating one of the children with a stick.[55] It seems unlikely that Hollis would have known this.

INTERLUDE: Gentlemen and their Instruments

Thomas Hollis, the Flutist

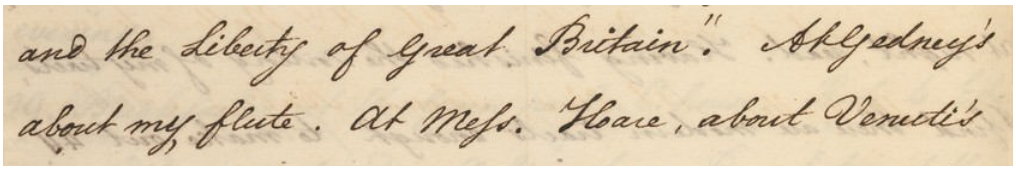
and the Liberty of Great Britain." At Gedney's
about my flute. At Mess. Hoare, about Venuti's

Fig. 3.6. Extract from Hollis's diary: "…and the Liberty of Great Britain.' At Gedney's about my flute. At Mess. Hoare about Venuti's…" *DTH,* Vol 3 (1763) October 4.

[53] "He generally read, or played on the flute, at the close of the evening, which he found to sooth and compose his mind; he was fond of music, was a judge of it, and had a large collection." Blackburne, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis,* 503.
[54] Blackburne, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis,* 410.
[55] "It has been for some time proven that he was discharged from the Cathedral for mishandling the boys of the choir, in one case accused of beating a youngster with a stick . . . this may be the only case of a choirmaster being discharged in any century before the nineteenth for beating children." This report seems to suggest that "mishandling" could have included sexual as well as physical abuse, but that DeFesch was discharged specifically for beating a child. As the author has stated that "this may be the only case . . . in any century before the nineteenth" of a choirmaster being dismissed over corporal punishment of a child, I am inclined to believe that DeFesch's dismissal may have had more to do with criminal sexual behavior than "beating a youngster with a stick." C.C. Barfoot and Richard Todd, *The Great Emporium: The Low Countries as a Cultural Crossroads in the Renaissance and the Eighteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), 201.

"At Gedney's about my flute," Hollis wrote in 1763, first on October 4th and again two days later. On the surface this would appear to be the minutest of minutiae, but there is actually a great deal to be unpacked from these five words. First, the words indicate that he most likely played a flute made by the London woodwind maker Caleb Gedney (1729-1769), and that he brought it back to Gedney twice in October of 1763—possibly for repairs. He had not played his flute at all in the Winter of 1762 or in the Spring of 1763, but suddenly in May of that year he began playing his flute again every day for at least an hour. After six months sitting in its case, the wood contracting from the cold, one can easily imagine that the flute developed a crack from being played so much in the hot weather after not being played all winter. However, if it was a crack that needed to be filled, it seems unusual that on October 5th (the very next day) Hollis played on his flute in the evening—Gedney should have told him to wait a few days for the glue to dry. But perhaps that is why Hollis returned to Gedney once more on October 6th and waited until October 8th to play his flute again.[56]

Fig. 3.7. Flute by Caleb Gedney, Boxwood with ivory mounts and one silver key with three *corps de rechange*. Stamped "Caleb Gedney" on each joint (ca. 1755). Sotheby's Auction House

[56] There is also the possibility that Gedney loaned a flute to Hollis for him to play while his own flute was being repaired, though Hollis is so particular in his diary entries that I would have expected him to comment on playing a borrowed instrument. It is also conceivable that Hollis owned more than one flute. However, as wooden flutes require regular playing and oiling to keep from cracking, he would have needed to rotate the use of his flutes to keep them in good working order; if that were the case, I would have expected to find some indication in his diary that he periodically switched from one flute to another.

Caleb Gedney was an apprentice to the English flute maker Thomas Stanesby, Jr. Gedney took over Stanesby's London workshop in 1750 and continued producing flutes until his death in 1769. There are only three surviving flutes by Gedney: two single-keyed flutes (like the one shown above) and one six-keyed flute (the latter, dated 1769, almost certainly made by his daughter).[57] It is most likely that the single-keyed flutes (shown in Fig. 3.7) best represent the majority of his output, and therefore probably the kind of flute that Hollis bought from him. Based on this assumption, I would suggest that Hollis had his first instruction on flute from Prelleur's *The Modern Musick-Master*, first printed in 1730 and republished at least thirty times over the next forty years.[58] This method book would have given him the necessary tools for teaching himself to play without a music master: instructions on posture, holding the flute, producing a tone, as well as instructions for learning to read music notation. The book contains charts for basic fingerings as well as trills (or "shakes"), but also offers detailed instructions in prose, for example:

> [T]he first Note D, is all the holes stopt, the next E is play'd by unstoping [sic] the 6th hole as appears by the white dott on the 6th line, you must strike every Note with the tongue, as if you pronounc'd the Syllable tu. F is made by unstoping the 5th hole and stoping again the 6th this tone ought to be adjusted by the Manner of blowing . . .[59]

In addition to the basics of flute playing, the method book also addresses more advanced musical details of style and articulation, and contains twenty-five pages of pieces for solo flute (arranged in increasing levels of difficulty) and one duet for two flutes. None of the pieces are written in keys containing more than two sharps or flats, which was representative of the vast majority of flute music that Hollis would have likely encountered.

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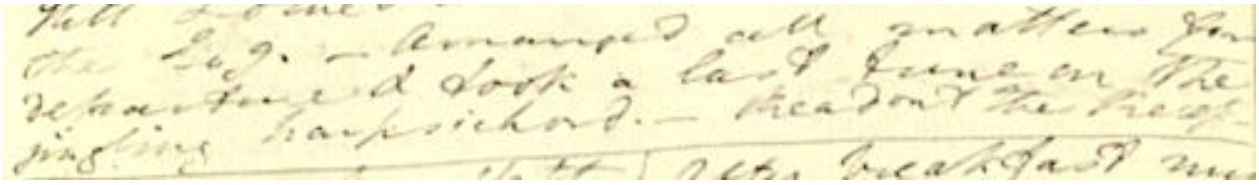
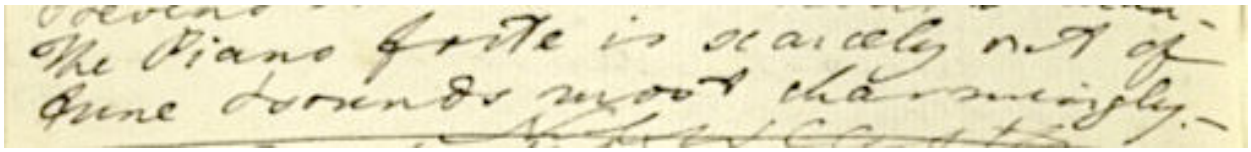
[57] David Lasocki, "Woodwind Makers in the Turners Company of London, 1604-1750," in *The Galpin Society Journal* 65 (2012): 90. The six-keyed flute is held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, one of the single-keyed flutes is a bass flute held at the University of Edinburgh, and the other single-keyed flute (pictured in Fig. 3.7.) is held privately.
[58] Ardal Powell, *The Flute,* 112.
[59] Prelleur, *The Modern Musick Master*, 2-3.

John Waldie, the Pianist

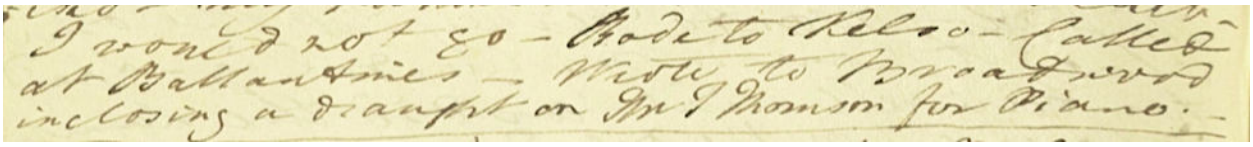
Fig. 3.8. Three Extracts from John Waldie's Diary, Beinecke Library



"…the Evg. – Arranged all matters for departure & took a last tune on the jingling harpsichord. – Read [on] the Recess"[60]



"The piano forte is scarcely out of tune & sounds most charmingly."[61]



"…I would not go – Rode to Kelso – Called at Ballantines – Wrote to Broadwood inclosing a draught on Mr J Thomson for piano."[62]

In comparison, several such fragments from John Waldie's diaries (Fig. 3.7.) indicate that he possessed some fluency on the keyboard (usually the fortepiano but in one instance he refers to a harpsichord), and that he was used to having an instrument at home. It is likely that the keyboard instruments were intended for his sister's musical education, but the following extract suggests that Waldie took pains to procure a fortepiano for his own personal use when he was away from home, as on, for example, his many visits to London.

> Got a great deal of new Music & hired a piano today from Broadwoods, so shall begin to sing again if I have not got cold which I suspect.[63]

Moreover, he seemed to have a considerable knowledge of the new developments in piano design, and an interest in hearing—and trying—the latest models.

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[60] *JWD* (1801) November 15.
[61] *JWD* (1801) November 17.
[62] *JWD* (1802) October 7.
[63] *JWJ,* Vol. 12 (1806) April 26.

> Taylor called on me, to ask me to go & hear Moore, the music master, play on a new upright Grand Piano. Sat after dinner with Gate, who played to me on the fiddle, of which he is perfect master . . . Went with him and Taylor to Moore's—heard him; most delightful—he is an excellent player & played some beautiful pieces—the instrument is the same as mine at home, but upright & like a bookcase—it is a fuller tone & has more stops.[64]

Though fragmentary, the evidence from Waldie's journal would suggest that his primary musical activity was actually singing, and his piano proficiency was merely a biproduct. He seemed to play only well enough to accompany his own singing, and never mentioned playing a keyboard in any other context. Waldie was quite specific in his journal when describing his musical activities about who was playing and who was singing:

> Hutchinson came at 8—drank tea—& we played & sung till 12—then read the tragedy of Agis—which is on the whole a good one…[65]

> Called on Llewellyn. Went with him to the Pope's. Had a most gracious reception from them. Miss Pope as easy and good natured as ever & Miss Jane charming. She played & sung & I sung.[66]

> Breakfast. Miss Grey played—I sung.[67]

However, as noted in Chapter 1, the fact that he, a gentleman, played the piano at all would have been rather unusual. Keyboard fluency was usually a signifier of a man's status as a professional musician. Professional English keyboard players were primarily church organists. Such keyboard skills were above the suspicion of effeminacy and/or Continental decadence because the practical application of their skills was directed towards the Anglican worship service.[68] Moreover, their

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[64] *JWJ,* Vol. 4 (1800) March 19. The next day he went back and tried the piano himself: "Walked with Fullerton, called at Muir's & Woods'. Got the Sicilian Mariner's Hymn & played on the Grand Piano."
[65] Ibid., February 4.
[66] *JWJ,* Vol. 11 (1805) April 2.
[67] *JWJ,* Vol. 20 (1809) Sept 7.
[68] As Deborah Rohr has noted, while the music profession in the eighteenth century could claim a long association with the "elite" professions (divinity, medicine, and law) by virtue of its connection to the church and the university, "the decline in church music careers in the eighteenth century struck at the foundation of musicians' traditional claims for professional status," so that by the late eighteenth century, "music was no longer viewed primarily as a liberal art or a liberal profession, but rather as an artisanal craft with links to the theaters and pleasure gardens, financial insecurity, and poor long-term economic or social prospects." Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 7-10.

working knowledge of music theory was considered a masculine, rather than a feminine, way of engaging with music.[69] Such men, however, were not gentlemen, but *professional* men; therefore, in most cases, keyboard fluency was also an indicator of a man's social class.

It would seem counterintuitive, then, to point out that John Marsh and William Gardiner also had keyboard skills (though it was not their primary instrument), but they obtained and deployed those skills in a completely different manner than John Waldie. Marsh began learning to play the organ through his musical friendships with local church organists, who were often hired to play keyboard continuo in the amateur orchestras in which Marsh participated. Eventually, he even became adept enough to serve as a substitute organist at the Salisbury Cathedral when their organist, his good friend, John Stevens was away.[70] But Marsh's primary interest (as well as Gardiner's) in the keyboard was that it enabled him to realize his compositions; at the keyboard he could learn the rules of harmony and hear his pieces before copying them out for his friends to play. John Waldie, on the other hand, engaged with the keyboard in a way that would have been more closely associated with women and domesticity.

JOHN WALDIE (1781-1862)

In a fond (if candid) reminiscence of his eccentric godfather titled "Overstrain versus Ennui," Sir George Douglas wrote of John Waldie that although he "distinguished himself as a connoisseur, critic, and collector," among his own friends and neighbors, he was "less noted as a virtuoso than as a 'character'."[71] After completing his studies at the University of Edinburgh Waldie,

[69] Worgan, *The Musical Reformer,* 35.
[70] Marsh's first opportunity came in 1776 when Dr. Stevens was going to be out of town and asked if Marsh "co'd not manage to accompany the choir in a plain chant on the Cathedral organ." Marsh rose to the occasion, impressing Stevens so much during his "trial" that "the Dr. tho't he might venture to leave the organ to me for that day tho' it was the 1st time I ever attempted any thing of that kind." *JMJ,* Vol. I, 154.
[71] "Overstrain versus Ennui," *Weekly Scotsman,* September 1927.

a "wandering dilettante and theatre habitué," spent his life in theatres, concert halls, and art galleries in Britain and on the Continent, obsessively pursuing what he vaguely referred to as his "profession." Although his family owned an estate and glass factory in Kelso (Scotland) as well as a house in Newcastle, Waldie had no interest in overseeing the family business or in managing the estate. Instead, he travelled frequently (to London and to the Continent) to attend concerts and theatrical performances, writing detailed reviews in his journal. His greatest aspiration was to become an influential theatre critic in the London scene. Though he never achieved this goal, he did become an important figure in the theatrical life of Newcastle as a proprietor of the Theatre Royal and was a frequent contributor to the *Newcastle Chronicle*.[72]

Waldie—who seems to have had the most leisure time of all the gentlemen in this chapter—led a particularly active musical life. He practiced nearly every day, took weekly music lessons, and cultivated many important musical relationships over the years. The musical encounters that he recorded in his diary range from private lessons and informal meetings with friends in Newcastle and Edinburgh to play and sing together, to exclusive music meetings in London with professional musicians, composers, and members of the nobility.

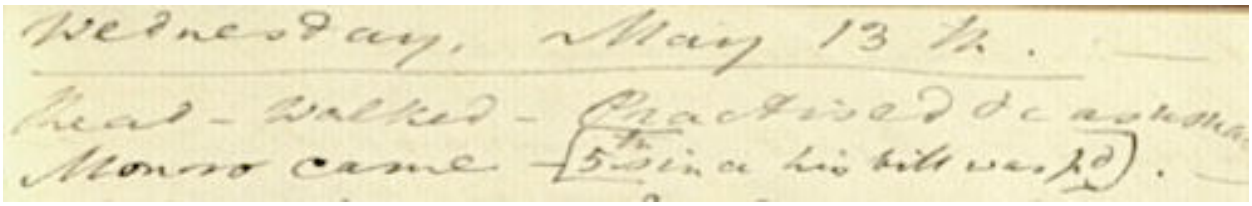


Fig. 3.9. Extract from Waldie's diary: "Read – Walked – Practiced &c as usual. Monro came – [5th since his bill was paid]

Waldie recorded taking lessons with three different music teachers, only one of whom, Henry Monro, is traceable.[73] Monro was a professional organist and fortepianist who seems to have come

[72] Fredrick Burwick, "The Journal of John Waldie: Introduction," e-Scholarship Repository, California Digital Library (2008) 5. Aside from Frederick Burwick's introduction to his transcription of Waldie's journal and theatre commentaries, Waldie has generally received little scholarly attention, and none at all within the field of musicology.

[73] Waldie also took lessons with someone by the name of "Thomas" in Edinburgh while he was a student at the University, and later while he was in London in 1805 he hired someone by the name "Elliott" for several lessons. "Called at Miss Perry's. We played & sung &c. for 2 hours. Thomas came at 6--& I got my 9th Lesson." *JWJ,* Vol. 4.

from a family of musicians in Lincoln.[74] He was appointed organist of St. Andrews in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1796 and began teaching both John Waldie and his sister Maria in 1800.[75] It is unclear what Waldie learned in his lessons with Monro, but, given the kind of music-making he engaged in with friends, he must have received lessons in singing and at least rudimentary piano. Monro was also apparently qualified to teach violin, for two years later Waldie wrote, "Monro came to teach Jona [his brother] the fiddle." There is no indication that Waldie or his sister had received any instruction on that instrument, as they had to borrow a fiddle from a friend for Jonathan's lessons.[76]

But how and in what context did Waldie apply his musical skills? His earliest regular musical acquaintances were made in Edinburgh in 1800, while he was a student at the University. Miss Perry, an actress at the theatre in Edinburgh, was a frequent musical companion of Waldie's that year:

> 16 Feb: Called on Miss Perry—sat an hour with her & played & sung &c.
> 21 Feb: Called at Miss Perry's. We played & sung &c. for 2 hours.
> 2 March: Had some music with Miss Perry, & spent a pleasant 3 hours.[77]

It is difficult to say exactly what Waldie and Miss Perry played and sang together, but it is likely that the bulk of their repertoire consisted of vocal duets with piano accompaniment that were common during the period, such as "From Night 'Till Morn," (Ex. 3.1.).

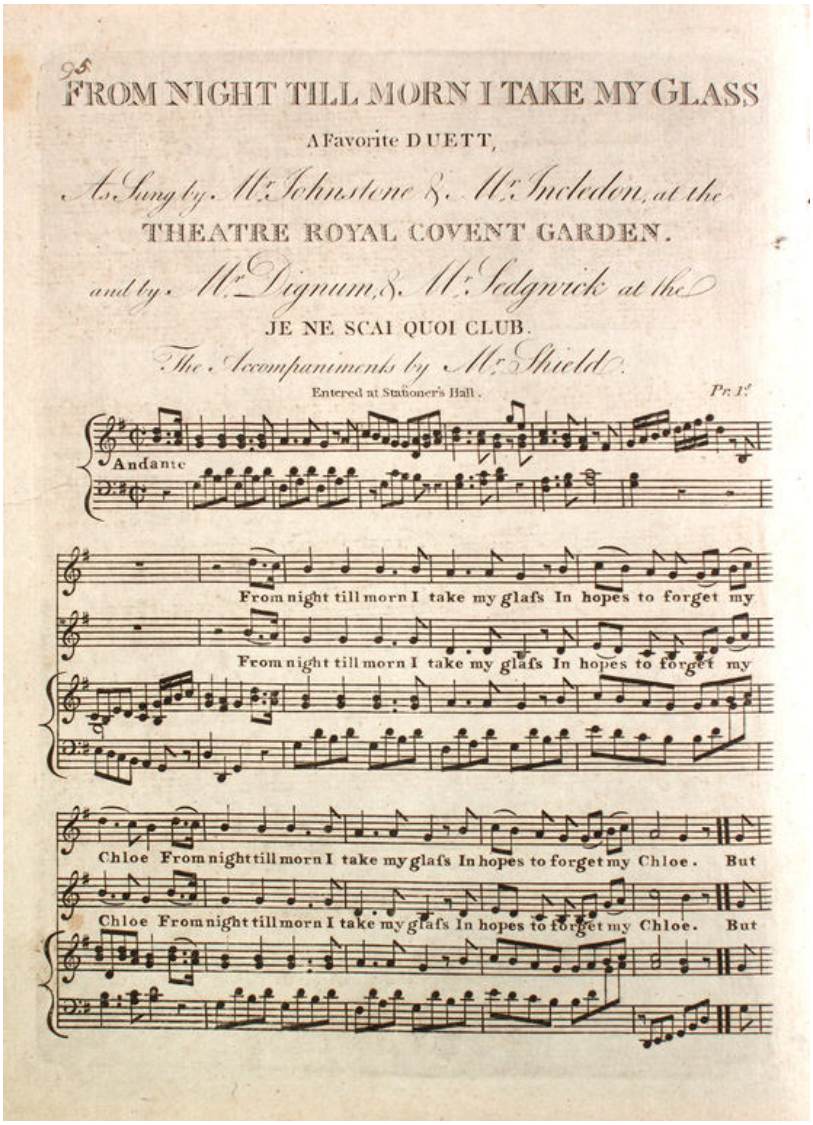
(1800) February 21; "Elliott came at 3 o'clock--& staid above an hour—he will, I think, improve me much—we sung the scale, distances, & 1 or 2 songs." *JWJ,* Vol. 11 (1805) May 4.

[74] "MONRO, (Henry) professor of music, resides at Newcastle upon Tyne. His father was a musician in Lincoln, who, discovering the great delight his son took in music, at a very early age, placed him the cathedral church of that city as a chorister." John Sainsbury, *A Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Age to the Present Time,* 171.

[75] "After dinner Monro came for the first time & gave Maria & me a lesson. He tuned the Instrument & staid till 6 o'clock." *JWD* (1800) November 23.

[76] "Monro came to teach Jona the fiddle. We have borrowed J Chatto's for a fortnight." *JWD* (1802) January 2. Jonathan eventually gets his own fiddle: "Monro came – got a fiddle of him for Jona." *JWD,* (1802) February 4.

[77] *JWJ,* Vol. 4 (1800).



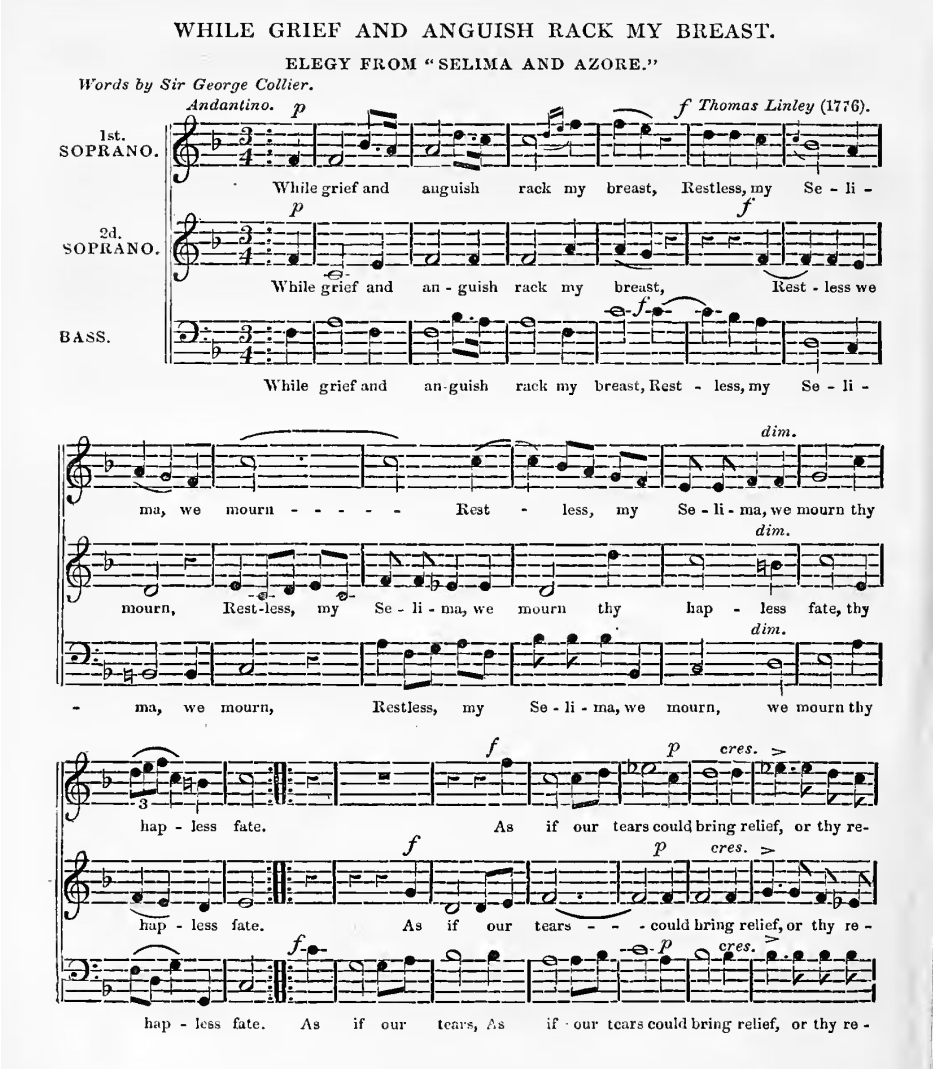
Ex. 3.1. William Shield, "From Night Till Morn I Take My Glass," (ca. 1790), Harvard Isham Library

By way of assessing Waldie's musical skills at this time, the following quote offers an interesting example of what he would have considered challenging to sing:

> We are to sing Trios, which will improve me perhaps, tho' I am afraid it will [not] be of much benefit to her—tho' she is too polite to say so—because I shall make a lame hand of it—however it is only to try.[78]

[78] *JWJ,* Vol 4 (1800) February 20.

The detail of "We are to sing Trios," is hard to parse, though I would suggest that these were vocal trios without a piano accompaniment (as in Example 3.1, "While Grief and Anguish") in which the challenge for Waldie was maintaining his part (likely the bass) while Miss Perry sang and played the two upper parts. While this would not have been a challenge for an experienced singer, Waldie had only been receiving regular musical instruction for less than a year at that time.[79]



Ex. 3.2. Thomas Linley, "While Grief and Anguish Rack My Breast" (1776) *The British Minstrel and Musical and Literary Miscellany; A Selection of Standard Music, Songs, Duets, Glees, Choruses, Etc. and Articles in Musical and General Literature,* Vol. III

[79] Waldie seems to have improved enough the following year to begin singing three-part songs as long as his part was doubled on an instrument: "…the Count, Alexander, Banks played 3 parts of a Catch, which James, Alexander & I sung – very fine." Fifteen years later, during a visit to London, he would organize an evening concert at which he sang a trio without any instrumental accompaniment. *JWD* (1801) November 2; *JWJ,* Vol. 32 (1815) February 7.

While the evidence is fragmentary, it suggests that any "improvement" that Waldie sought from singing trios was in his vocal skills, not in his piano-playing. For example, upon hiring a new music teacher in London, Waldie commented, "he will, I think, improve me much—we sung the scale, distances, & 1 or 2 songs," indicating that he hoped the teacher would help him with his vocal flexibility and precision of pitch.[80] Later, after Waldie rented a piano to use while he was in London he wrote that he had, "hired a piano today from Broadwoods, so shall begin to sing again" suggesting that he was not interested in gaining more technical fluency on the piano; rather, that the instrument was just a tool for accompanying his singing.[81]

Waldie also had musical friendships with other men. The earliest recorded in his diary was with someone by the name "Hutchinson," who may have also played the fortepiano.

> 4 Feb: Hutchinson came at 8—drank tea—& we played & sung till 12
> 22 Feb: Came home [from the play] with Hutchinson, who drank tea, & sat & played & sung an hour.

Since Waldie consistently used precise language in his journal to describe who "played" and who "sung," I believe these two quotes indicate that the two gentlemen *both* "played" *and* "sung" together. Yet, given Waldie's rudimentary piano skills, I don't believe there is enough evidence to support the idea that they played four-hand piano duets (though there isn't exactly evidence *against* it either), but perhaps they took turns accompanying each other's singing.

In Newcastle, Waldie's closest friends and musical companions were the Ballantynes—particularly James (1772-1833) and Alexander (1776-1847)—both of whom sang and played violin. One unusually long and detailed account of his music-making with the Ballantynes recounts an

[80] *JWJ,* Vol. 11 (1805) May 4.
[81] *JWJ,* Vol. 12 (1806) April 26.

evening of music-making while the family was hosting a celebrity: the Polish musician Jozef Boruwłaski (1739-1837).[82]

> After dinner the music began which was very delightful – the count had brought his Guitar, and Alexander Ballantyne his violin. Both perform with the greatest taste and execution. The Count exact in Time, taste, and every requisite – he makes the guitar quite a perfect instrument – but Alexander B on the violin is capital – far superior to Stabilini,[83] tho' inferior to Pinto, yet with equal taste . . . . We had several delightful duets by him and the Count. A. Ballantyne had a good voice and can take any part in the songs &c – indeed he is a perfect master of music, & I found him very pleasant and sensible on other subjects also, tho' not equal to James B. in abilities and knowledge. He & James & I sung "The Mariners" – Alexander & I sung "Gilderoy" – James & Alexander sung "When Bibo thought fit" with a beautiful effect. Miss Jane Lundie of Edinburgh sung "Her mouth with a smile" and "John Anderson" very sweetly, and James sung The Bravura of "The Desert of Wildness" in a magnificent style, accompanied by Alexander on the violin . . . . I spent a most delightful day, and have seldom had a greater treat than the conversation of the Count Borulaski – and the music both vocal and instrumental, was, as R Lundie said, truly exquisite.[84]

The musical society that Waldie enjoyed in Newcastle was vibrant, if only on a small scale. While in London, however, Waldie moved in a fashionable social circle of famous musicians, actors, dramatists, and their fans and patrons. During his first trip to London in 1803, he often attended the music parties of Miss Pope.[85] On one such occasion he gave his London debut singing a duet with a "Mr. Arnold":[86]

> Mr. Arnold & I favored the company (which were above a hundred) with Mozart's duet of "Ah perdona." I was much frightened at first, but I did not sing worse than common. Mr. Arnold has a fine bass & tenor voice, strong & sweet, but no great compass of high notes—

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[82] He was known as "Count" Boruwłaski not because he was a member of the aristocracy but because he was a person with dwarfism, and during this period it was common for individuals born with that condition (who desired to live public lives) to take "stage names" with a military title. See Roz Southley, *Music-making in North-east England During the Eighteenth-century* (Ashgate: Basingstoke, 2006) 203; Joseph Boruwłaski, *Memoirs Of Count Boruwłaski: Containing A Sketch Of His Travels, With An Account Of His Reception At The Different Courts Of Europe* (Durham, 1820).

[83] Girolamo Stabilini was an Italian violinist who served as principal violin in the St. Cecilia orchestra (Edinburgh) from c. 1784 until his death in 1815. David Fraser Harris, *Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd: Chapter I the History of the Music of the Past in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1899), 84-95.

[84] *JWD* (1801) October 29.

[85] Jane Pope (1744-1818) was a famous actress at the Drury Lane theatre. Daughter of a London wig-maker, she began her theatrical career in 1756 under the direction of David Garrick. She was the original "Mrs. Candour" in his *School for Scandal* in 1777. Hugh Chisholm, ed., "Pope, Jane," in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911), 87.

[86] Probably the English librettist and impresario Samuel James Arnold (1774-1852), son of the composer, Samuel Arnold. In 1809 when the Drury Lane theatre burnt down, Arnold began staging his own plays at the Lyceum, which he would later rename the English Opera House where he presented original works as well as adaptations of foreign pieces. Leanne Langley, "Arnold, Samuel James," *Grove Music Online* (2001).

> his taste & expression & manner are in the most finished style. We sung 2 or 3 songs alone at intervals.[87]

The duet "Ah perdona al primo affetto," from Mozart's opera *La Clemenza di Tito,* would seem an unusual choice for two men to sing together, given that it was a love duet scored for two high voices, one of which would have been sung on stage by a castrato. But, apparently, Waldie's song selection was entirely premeditated, as earlier that same day he had gone to Monzani & Cimador's specifically to buy "a good deal of Mozart's Italian songs."[88] It is likely that the two gentlemen simply transposed the music down one octave into their vocal range.

During his next musical and theatrical sojourn to London in 1805, Waldie's social engagements included the elite music parties given by a Duchess with a house on Hill Street, which were attended by other members of the nobility.[89] At one of these parties Waldie met the beguiling Lady Hamilton (wife of Sir William Hamilton, mistress to Lord Nelson) and gave an amusing review of her singing:

> [W]e arrived in Hill street at the Duchess's, where there was a very large party . . . . After the concert was over Lady Hamilton sung—her voice is immensely powerful but her manner is at times violent—she looks as if going to eat one […] She is quite the female Incledon – & sung Black eyed Susan in great style. Lady H is an enormous woman – & much painted – but has fine features – she still has the air of the Cook Maid but seems uncommonly good humored . . . . The concert was directed by a Mr Paddon & Miss Parke & Bartleman sung divinely, assisted by Sale and Mr Knyvett – but it was after all the musical people retired that Lady H sung.[90]

On subsequent trips to London, Waldie regularly socialized and attended informal musical gatherings with renowned musicians such as composer Stephen Storace, and famous singers Angelica Catalani, John Braham, and Michael Kelly.[91] On one such informal musical evening, Waldie

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[87] *JWJ,* Vol. 8 (1803) June 16.
[88] Ibid.
[89] It is not clear to which Duchess Waldie was referring: "walked to Hill street & had a long talk with the Duchess—tried her new piano forte—excellent," and a few weeks later, "arrived in Hill street at the Duchess's, where there was a very large party" *JMJ,* Vol. 11 (1805) May 22, June 17.
[90] Ibid., June 17.
[91] Stephen Storace (1762-1796) was an English composer active in London known primarily for his operas. Angelica Catalani (1780-1849) was one of the most famous Italian opera divas in London during the early nineteenth century.

was even brave enough to put his own musical talents on display, recording the occasion briefly but proudly (albeit briefly) in his diary: "Catalani & I sung, both with applause."[92]

From 1816 through 1827, Waldie spent a great deal of his time touring the Continent. Although he recorded fewer occurrences of recreational music-making with friends during this period than before, this does not necessarily indicate that he became less interested in music-making; it is possible that he filled his diary with so many detailed descriptions and reviews (ever the critic) of public entertainments that there was little room for anything else. But his appetite for acquiring new music to sing had clearly not abated: after meeting Rossini at an opera in 1820, Waldie wrote that the composer, "promised to get me some of his best pieces written out for the pianoforte and voice."[93]

"The various weaknesses of my constitution…": Waldie's same-sex desires

On the surface, John Waldie and Thomas Hollis would seem to have very little in common, and were certainly different in their personalities: Hollis was repressed and disciplined, while Waldie seemed to revel in the leisure that his situation afforded him. However, reading Waldie's remorseful birthday entries, there is a discernable echo of Hollis's own annual review of his life and conduct:

> I am now 32—too old to be much better or different to what I am. I do not expect to number many more years—being quite sure that the various weaknesses of my constitution will not allow it—but I hope that I may pass thro' life without injury to any one. I fear I cannot say much more for myself.[94]

John Braham (1774-1856) and Michael Kelly (1762-1826) were both prominent operatic tenors active in London at the time. A memoir of Kelly's life, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly,* was published shortly after his death and provides vivid details of his musical life in London (though it does not happen to mention Waldie).

[92] *JWJ,* Vol. 13 (1806) September 21. His friendship with the opera singer Angelica Catalani (1780-1849) and her husband, Paul Valabrègue, was long-lasting: they reconnected in Frankfurt in 1816 on one of Waldie's European tours, and the three of them sang together often (informally) while they were in the same city. *JWJ,* Vol. 35 (1816).

[93] *JMJ,* Vol 45 (1820) March 19; Waldie had actually met Rossini once before in Rome: "At dinner I had Mr. Strictland on one side, and on the other side Signor Rossini, whom I have so much wished to see. He is the only great Italian composer now living – and not above 30. He has composed a great many fine Operas […] I was highly pleased with his modesty and excellent manners, and information. I hope I may see more of him. We had a very long musical conversation, & he asked me to call on him at the Teatro della Valle." *JMJ,* Vol. 37 (1817) January 2.

[94] *JMJ,* Vol. 28 (1813) May 1.

> This day I complete my 34th year. I wish I had completed any thing worthy of so ripe an age—but my physical & moral constitution being not of the strongest order—I fear I am only fit to amuse myself & sometimes assist in amusing others.[95]

While the lack of documentary evidence does not allow for more than speculation about Hollis's private life and romantic relationships, Waldie recorded vivid details of his personal life. According to modern literature in theatre studies, John Waldie was homosexual, though it is not clear what actual evidence the secondary sources are using to substantiate such a broad and anachronistic claim.[96] However, clues from his journal would seem to indicate that he had an amorous relationship with the Scottish actor Augustus Conway. They met at the theatre in Newcastle in February of 1809 (Conway on the stage, Waldie in the audience) and struck up an instant, warm friendship:

> 23 February: Went to Mr. Conway; he & I had a long walk together . . . he really is most amiable, amusing, & animated, & the most perfectly genteel & delicate young man in his manners & ideas.
>
> 28 March: … Dined with Conway at his lodging, quietly—tete a tete—most pleasant conversation:—we walked out for an hour—tea—& then went thro' Hamlet, the first 2 acts—I giving the other parts & he Hamlet. He does it most beautifully—with elegance, judgement, & feeling very much like Roscius. We sung together a little. He makes a tolerable second. After a most agreeable evening, home at 10.
>
> 31 March: Before 10, Conway came & he & I set off on horseback to Lemington to spend the day…Beautiful evening. We walked 4 miles & rode 9. Most delightful day.

Indeed, they were very like-minded, and just a few days after their first meeting they had already established such a closeness that Waldie reported they could "exchange [their] observations by looks" alone.[97]

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[95] *JMJ,* Vol. 31 (1815) May 1.

[96] For example, Frederick Burwick describes Waldie in the following manner, without any citation: "John Waldie, a theatre critic who was himself homosexual…" Frederick Burwick, "Homosexuality," in *Romanticism: Keywords* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 116-117. Though Rictor Norton has argued for the development of a distinct homosexual identity early in the eighteenth century, other scholars have positioned that development much later: "Over time, the fop merged with other male characters—the molly and the queen—for whom effeminacy was a marker of their desire for other men, finally becoming the (modern) exclusive sodomite." Karen Harvey, "The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800," in *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005) 300. See also Rictor Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England 1700-1830* (Hornchurch, UK: Chalford Press, 2006).

[97] "Saw 3 acts of the Provoked Husband. Conway was sitting in the pit – he & I exchanged our observations by looks." *JWJ,* Vol. 19 (1809) February 24.

Conway's acting skills and Waldie's enthusiasm for the theatre combined with his abundance of capital (and, no doubt, their desire to spend time with each other) resulted in the two putting on their own production of Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *Pizarro* (1799) in April of that year. Their endeavor was apparently not looked on favorably by Waldie's father. Noting in his journal the date on which the rehearsal began, Waldie clarified his involvement in the production: "I merely as Conductor of the business, for I promised my father not to take part, as he is much against it."[98] Though at the end of the entry he added, rebelliously, "I shall stand at the wing and sing all the Choruses."[99] Shortly after this, Waldie left Newcastle for an extended trip to London. He expressed profound sadness at leaving his friend Conway behind:

> Conway is to write to me in London. I took leave of him with the deepest regret. I feel now from our intimacy so attached to him, & am so delighted with his temper, manners, & genius that I shall feel a sad loss in the want of his society . . . . I took him this morning to our house & introduced him to my Sisters, who were delighted with him, & he with them.[100]

Reflecting on his last four months in Newcastle, Waldie recalled it as the best Winter he had ever had. Of all the pleasant things that occurred, Waldie wrote that "the best [was] the acquisition of Conway's acquaintance, & the commencement of an intimacy with him which I doubt not will be lasting, & I am sure will be delightful—as his character appears to me truly amiable, his principles correct, & manners delicate & pleasing. On the whole I recollect no period that I look back upon with more pleasure than the last four months…"[101]

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[98] It is not clear what exactly Waldie's responsibilities were as "Conductor," though I would suggest his role was something of an "artistic director." William Parke noted in his memoir the confusing coexistence of the terms "conductor," "leader," and "director," the latter title always reserved for a nobleman. "The leader of the orchestra was formerly considered the conductor (leader and conductor being synonymous terms) but latterly the fashion crept in of having a leader and a conductor also, and the practice has at length become so familiar, that no apparent jealously exists between them, though the conductor evidently considers himself the best man of the two, feeling perhaps that degree of superiority over the leader which the physician does over the apothecary." *WP,* Vol. II, 150-151.

[99] *JWJ,* Vol. 19 (1809) April 21.

[100] Ibid.

[101] In London the following month Waldie received a letter from Conway: "Got a most delightful letter from Conway, who retains the liveliest sense of our intimacy & friendship, & expresses himself in a manner truly natural & affecting--& yet with most amusing naivete & simplicity. He is an excellent young man […] I hope Fate will again throw us together—certainly none of my friends ever suited me so well--& I really feel a great regard for him." Ibid., May 17.

While Waldie was eager to display his musical talents, other avid amateurs were more careful to couch their musical proclivities in composition, downplaying their practical musical skills despite the fact that they regularly and enthusiastically played and sang together, with professionals and with other amateurs. As amateur *composers* they may have perceived their efforts to be patriotic—filling a void in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century with music by native composers, and anticipating the desire for a national musical style that would soon be articulated in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*. Though the musical skills of singing or playing an instrument were widely considered a form of manual labor—the purview of tradesmen—composition could be construed as a labor of the mind rather than a labor of the body.[102] Moreover, as composition was coded masculine on account of being connected with the "science of music," in this activity an English gentleman would not risk compromising the performance of his masculinity. The narrower, riskier line that amateur composers walked was the social distinction between *gentleman* and *professional musician.*

JOHN MARSH (1752-1828)

> Indeed I must confess . . . I never attended the Assizes, Sessions, or the courts at Westminster without my imagination being haunted by musical ideas at all times when nothing very interesting was going on . . . in consequence of w'ch when I return'd to my lodgings, instead of some point of law or some new decision to insert in my note book I frequently had some new thoughts to put down in my *musical* common place book.
>
> John Marsh, Feb. 1774

John Marsh came from an upper-middle-class family in the town of Gosport, in Hampshire. His father and brother were captains in the Navy, and Marsh was destined to become an attorney.

[102] The music profession in eighteenth-century England inhabited a nebulous area between the "trades" (e.g. blacksmiths, shopkeepers) and the traditional professions (divinity, medicine, and law); it was sometimes classed as a "science" and other times considered a "mechanical trade," like the work of a blacksmith or weaver. See Deborah Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians,* 7; Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 8-9.

Thanks to a rather providential inheritance from a distant relation, however, Marsh ended up practicing law for only four years before suddenly becoming a member of the landed gentry.[103] His shift in social rank and the detailed descriptions of music-making in his journals make Marsh a particularly interesting candidate for this study.

Two significant features of Marsh's journals suggest that he was an extremely unusual gentleman musician: the tremendous and intimate detail with which he recorded every musical encounter, no matter how small, and his palpable disdain for the social class to which he belonged. Not only was he uninterested in social-climbing, but he also appeared to prefer the company of his lower-class musician friends. He was often frustrated with, what seemed to him, the arbitrary boundaries of social class that prevented the musicians from enjoying the same privileges he did. His musical life proves a fascinating case-study in the complex performance of a gentleman's social class through musical behaviors.

Marsh's formal musical training began rather late, when he was fifteen years old, because his father was reluctant to allow it any earlier, on the pretext that it would interfere with his school work.

> For as to the smallest cultivation of my musical ear, that was totally out of the question, as my father, the whole time I was at school never wo'd let me learn an instrument, prudently forseeing that it wo'd engross too much of my attention & divert it from other more material studies. Indeed I never had much inclination to learn the violin (the only instrument taught at school) which I account for from my never then having heard it well played; there being only 2 or 3 boys that I remember learnt music & they made a miserable scraping.[104]

But, in 1767, upon finishing his schooling, Marsh prevailed upon his father to let him learn the violin, "which being a portable instrument wo'd be attended with no inconvenience on a change of

[103] Marsh's inheritance of Nethersole, an estate in Kent, is an unusual story. His father was the legal successor to Counsellor John Marsh (a distant relative) who owned Nethersole but was disinherited, "happening to displease the Counsellor by his marriage, or rather not chusing to marry a lady he had look'd out for him." *JMJ*, Vol. I, 72.
[104] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 10-11.

residence etc. & would enable [him] to accompany [his] sister."[105] His father grudgingly consented, and shortly thereafter young Marsh began taking lessons with Mr. Wafer, a local professional violinist.[106]

Marsh learned quickly and within a year had made his way through all four sets of Corelli's Trio Sonatas (opp. 1-4), and twelve Concerti Grossi (op. 6), and had become an adept sight-reader in the process.[107] Around this time, his teacher began inviting him to a weekly music meeting that he hosted, which were informal gatherings, attended almost exclusively by amateur musicians. There they mostly played concertos by Handel and Corelli—though rather outdated—since, as Marsh noted, the older amateurs had trouble keeping up with the new style of "symphony or overture" such as "the first two setts of Bach & Abel . . . with hautboy & horn parts instead of ripieno violins."[108] The continued appeal of Baroque concertos in England is also understandable, as the clear division between solo and ripieno parts allowed a band comprised mostly of amateurs to play with a just a handful of professionals. Although Marsh was eager to play the more modern repertoire, his enthusiasm for group music-making far outweighed his impatience with the older generation of amateurs with whom he played.

Unfortunately for Marsh, this period was short-lived: as soon as he turned sixteen, he was sent to Romsey to begin his apprenticeship with an attorney there. Thus ended his formal musical training, "my subsequent knowledge of composition, thorough bass, with the practice of the organ & violoncello being all acquir'd myself from treatises, books of instruction, hints from other amateurs etc."[109] Though Marsh had already begun composing (and would continue producing a

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[105] Ibid., 41.
[106] Mr. Wafer is difficult to trace, but he is mentioned in John Marsh's entry in Sainsbury's *Dictionary of Musicians* as "Wafer the organist." Vol. II, 119.
[107] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 45.
[108] Ibid., 47-48.
[109] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 52.

steady stream of compositions over the course of his life), he did so without any formal training in music theory. His compositions largely reflected the repertoire of the subscription concerts in which he played: in his youth, the "ancient style" of Handel and Corelli prevailed, so he wrote many violin concertos and trios in this style; later when he had more experience playing in the "modern" style of Johann Christian Bach and Carl Friedrich Abel, he began composing symphonies, and quintets with parts for wind instruments. He learned by doing: though early on he occasionally mentions asking one of his professional friends to look over his work for errors (such as consecutive fifths and octaves) once he gained some fluency on the keyboard he was able to catch such mistakes on his own.[110]

Marsh the violinist

After moving to Romsey to begin his five-year apprenticeship with the attorney Mr. Daman, Marsh was resigned yet optimistic: he was determined to continue practicing the violin and wasted no time in scouting out the local professionals who would introduce him into the society of local amateur musicians. An interesting, recurring theme in his journal during this period is the way in which his musical interests and musical relationships called attention to his ambiguous social status within the Daman household and called into question his professional prospects as an attorney.

The Damans were a prominent family in Romsey and quite exclusive about which families they visited. As their resident apprentice, Marsh always accompanied the Damans when they went out, so he became acquainted with "the principal families at Romsey," all of which were considered strongly middle-class. Marsh was disappointed to find that, in the circle in which the Damans moved, "the only musical people were Mr Burch [the curate] who played the harpsichord a little, Mr Van Rixtel, son of a Dutch wine merchant (a very eccentric man with a moderate fortune) who had

[110] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 48-49, 102.

considerable execution on the flute but no idea of time & Mr. May [Alderman] who played a little upon the hautboy."[111] Marsh, never one to look down his nose on any opportunity to make music, made the best of the situation and soon gained a reputation as the chief musical amateur in the neighborhood.

For the Damans, Marsh's musical proclivities were at once a cause for derision and an object of freak-show fascination, as the following anecdotes will demonstrate. Marsh was in the habit of playing violin in his room for an hour at the same time every day—except, Marsh noted, when he was "now & then called down to play to any client of Mr. D's who happen'd to call in at that time whom Mr D thought it might amuse as well as himself. This however (which indeed I did not much like) was soon discontinued."[112] It is easy to understand why Marsh, though an enthusiastic musician, "did not much like" to display his talents in this way. To be summoned and forced to play on command for a stranger was to treat him as though he were the music master, or some other paid professional musician in the household.

Daman often teased Marsh about his musical interests, saying to friends and clients alike, "he had a clerk whose head was so full of crochets & quavers instead of law that whenever he had occasion in his draughts to make a reference in the margin etc. instead of an asterisk or common note or mark he wo'd put a sharp or flat, or select some musical character for the purpose."[113] Harmless as this may sound, Daman would eventually use Marsh's keenness for music against him. In 1775, near the end of Marsh's apprenticeship, Mr. Daman decided to take another job in nearby Southampton, but wanted to keep his office in Romsey. Marsh, keen on settling in Romsey, believed this would be the ideal time to suggest going into partnership with Daman. Intent on this plan,

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[111] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 56-57. There was also a Mr Elletson, a Lieutenant in the Navy, who played the flute and who he sometimes met at Mr. Burch's. Though Marsh makes very clear in his journal that the Damans *did not* visit him.
[112] Ibid.
[113] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 108.

Marsh recruited a colleague to introduce the idea to Mr. Daman and put in a good word for Marsh in the process. Mr. Daman, however, was reluctant, and gave the following reasons (which Marsh heard second hand) for not wanting to go into partnership with Marsh:

> by way of excuse that[,] as I was bro't up with the idea of certainly coming into possession of an estate in Kent on the death of Mr Winchester, I never *heartily* enter'd into the practice of the law; in addition to which my musical ideas seem'd always so to divert my attention from it that he fear'd I sho'd by no means make so active & intelligent a legal assistant as he wanted.[114]

Although his apprenticeship with Mr. Daman was less than satisfying, Marsh made the most of his time in Romsey by seeking other musical gentlemen with whom he could play. Early on in his apprenticeship he accompanied Mrs. Daman on a visit to nearby Southampton, but instead of going with her to visit her friend, he set out on his own and went straight to the Cathedral, in hopes of finding the organist, Mr. Day. Marsh and Day immediately struck up a musical friendship, much to the chagrin of Mrs. Daman:

> [Mr. Day] was so obliging as to play to me on the harpsichord & finding I was an amateur was pleased to say that he sho'd at any time be glad to see [me] when I was in Southton of an evening & have a little music together; of w'ch I took care afterward occasionally to avail myself & our acquaintance was further increased […] which however I found Mrs. Daman was much disconcerted at, who never spoke of him as organist or music master but always as *Day the shoemaker's son.*[115]

Indeed, Mrs. Daman's prejudice against "Day, the shoemaker's son" came to a head in a heated standoff with Marsh. March's recollection of the contretemps, recorded in his journal, is worth quoting at length:

> In the course of my meetings with Mr Day at Southton & Winton in the preceed'g year he had frequently hinted to me that being fond of dancing & hearing that we had a very snug Assembly at Romsey, he sho'd like to subscribe to it, as he suppos'd the people were not so proud as at Southton, which being a public place he co'd not be admitted, if he had desir'd it to the balls, as being organist & ranking in their opinion with tradespeople. As Mr Day was then something of a beau & always fashionably dress'd & a very well behav'd man, I tho't as he did & gave him every encouragem't to come to the Assemblies which he did at the beginning of this season & brought Mr

[114] Ibid., 120.
[115] *JMJ,* Vol I, 62.

> Burgat dancing master . . . with him both of whom subscribed, danced & were well enough receiv'd by everyone present. The next day however Mrs D (who had not been at the Assembly) hearing of it, told me she was surprized to hear that *Day the shoemaker's son* (as she call'd him) had been suffer'd to become a subscriber to the Assembly & that therefore she sho'd not now be surpriz'd if all the shoemakers & cobblers in Romsey were to come to it . . . As to his being the son of a shoemaker it was undoubtedly true enough . . . but I did not see, as I told Mrs D what we had to do with the son's pedigree who was only known in general as an organist & music master in which profession he had always acquitted himself perfectly well. This however did not satisfy Mrs D who as soon as it was known that L'd Palmerston & Mrs Heathcote etc. were to be at the 3d Assembly . . . obersv'd that as it would be highly improper for them to appear in the same room as "Day, the shoemaker's son" & Burgat the dancing master, that I ought as Master of Ceremonies to return them their subscriptions & not admit them into the room, or in short to *turn them out* if they presum'd to come in . . . To this I at length replied that I sho'd be entirely guided by the subscribers at large, the rest of whom had taken no notice to me of the matter, w'ch there rested, & L'd Palmerston & Mrs Heathcote etc. all met in the same room with "Day, the shoemaker's son" without being contaminated by it.[116]

This account of Mrs. Daman's snobbery sets Marsh's opinion on the matter in sharp relief: for Marsh, that Day was widely known as an organist and music master "in which profession he had always acquitted himself perfectly well," put him on sufficiently equal footing to attend Assemblies with the likes of, for example, Lord Palmerston (a peer). But for Mrs. Daman, Day's status as a professional musician did nothing to raise him in her estimation from his lowly "pedigree." She was clearly not alone in her opinion, as Day had originally asked Marsh about subscribing to the Assemblies in Romsey precisely because the society in Southampton would not allow him to attend theirs, "as being organist & ranking in their opinion with tradespeople."

Marsh (especially in his youth) seemed to have an irreverence for class distinctions. Perhaps living with the Damans exacerbated this impulse, for he subsequently showed a preference for the bourgeois over the aristocratic in a variety of situations. When he wasn't running off to Southampton to play music with Mr. Day and Mr. Burgat, he spent time with the Pearce family in Romsey—another household that the Damans *did not* visit:

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[116] Ibid., 73-74.

> I spent the evening at Mr Pearces, a very respectable ironmonger . . . . As these were sensible agreeable people (& if without the polish of some reckon'd their superiors were without also the insipidity peculiar to some of them) I used frequently with the Godfreys etc. to spend the evening with them, where in the summer time I used to meet with large fruit pies in pewter dishes full of syrup such as I used to have formerly at school & w'ch I have ever since prefer'd to more delicate pastry.[117]

Marsh preferred to be in the company of tradesmen, with their lack of "insipidity," their unpretentious desserts, and their country dances (having no patience at all for minuets).[118] Even years later, after he had finished his apprenticeship, his mockery of upper-class pretentiousness persisted. On one occasion he attended an oratorio at Covent Garden with a friend, Mr. Attwick, a fellow attorney who had "agreed to sit incog[nito] in the 3s/6 (or lower) gallery, in w'ch we got front places, but had not been long seated before we saw Capt Brett of Gosport enter the pit." Seeing someone they knew "caused Mr. A to hang back," Marsh wrote, with a palpable eye-roll, "as if he fear'd a discovery of his sitting in so ungenteel a place."[119]

After finishing his apprenticeship in 1776, Marsh, who had recently married, decided to move to Salisbury where he would share a law practice with an elderly Mr. Slater. While at Romsey, Marsh had often traveled to Salisbury to play at music meetings, subscription concerts, and especially at the annual music festival on St. Cecilia's Day. Indeed, the lively musical scene in Salisbury was a primary motivation for settling there. Marsh was already a familiar face and reliable player among the local amateurs, and while his violin-playing had acquired a quality of "roughness" in Romsey, he endeavored to get rid of it by imitating the professional violinists with whom he played. Marsh pursued his musical hobbies with alacrity and without any thought to what it might do to his public image. His wife, however, was more cautious, as Marsh noted in his journal:

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[117] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 88.
[118] Describing a ball in Salisbury: "after having our patience pretty well exhausted by a great number of minuets w'ch were first danced w'ch made it 12 o'clock before the country dances began." Robins notes that here Marsh is expressing a preference for the "bourgeois" country dances over the "aristocratic" minuet. Ibid., 112-113.
[119] Ibid., 158.

> I was of course solicited to play a violin in the oratorios etc. at the Cathedral & evening concerts, but declined it at Mrs M's request & agreed to play ripieno bass instead, w'ch would be rather less of an exhibition at so public a meeting.[120]

In subsequent years when Marsh was invited to play at this music festival, he always agreed, but he usually opted to play the kettle drums so that he would not be seen at all, as the drums were completely obstructed from view.[121]

Professional jealousies

Passages describing jealousy and territorial behavior between professional and amateur musicians occur throughout Marsh's journals. As previously mentioned, Marsh did not generally see himself as being of a significantly higher social class than his professional friends, or if he did, it did not seem to affect his interactions with them in everyday life. However, when it came to actually making music with professional musicians, class distinctions seemed to play a complex role in his communication and collaboration with them.

In some cases, Marsh's status as a "gentleman musician" gave him more clout at music meetings and allowed him to have a greater influence over the proceedings. Though this was not something that he explicitly articulated in his journal, it is hinted at in passages where he writes of feeling that deference should have been given to him because of his status as an "amateur." One such occasion took place (ca. 1775) at a music meeting in his hometown of Gosport, where Marsh suggested that the assembled musicians play some "new music" from London, specifically, the "eccentric Overture to the Deserter."[122] Even though this was apparently not a popular choice, everyone went along with it except for the professional cellist, a Mr. Hudson, who did not even try

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[120] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 147.
[121] "[…] out of sight in the back of the orchestra, I availed myself of that circumstance & beat them as usual without appearing to take part in the performance," Ibid., 204.
[122] This likely refers to the comic opera *Le déserteur* (1769) by the French composer Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny (1729-1817).

to hide his displeasure with the selection. The piece was "so little to Mr Hudson's taste […] that he kept abusing it pretty freely as he play'd it, notwithstanding its having been introduced by an amateur present."[123] The saltiness of his final clause would suggest that Marsh found Mr. Hudson's behavior particularly rude *because* it was directed at the musical selection of "an amateur present." As an amateur, Marsh believed that he deserved to be shown respect by the professional musicians with whom he played.

In one case, his gentlemanly status helped him to secure the principal violin position in the Salisbury subscription concerts, which would have normally been reserved for a professional player. The broader circumstances are significant and provide crucial context for the jealousies that resulted from this appointment. It was highly unusual for an amateur to be given such a prominent role in the orchestra, especially when there were other professionals who could have assumed it—Marsh's appointment, however, was presented as a cost-saving measure, since, as a rule, gentlemen musicians were not paid.[124]

> at a meeting of the subscribers to the Concert, to consider the low state of finances it was suggested that if I wo'd take poor Tewksbury's place (who indeed was not likely ever to recover being almost in the last stage of a consumption) it wo'd be a saving to the Concert of £30 a y'r & (as Mr Harris was pleased to observe) "except as to solos & solo concertos, the business might be nearly as well done as before."[125]

Thus, Marsh was appointed "*violin primo*" of the Salisbury subscription concerts. Joseph Corfe, a professional violinist and longtime friend and musical collaborator of Marsh, was understandably angry at being thrown over for an amateur. Marsh, however, only saw that *he* was the stronger player and thus deserving of the appointment; he rationalized in his journal: "[Corfe] had so little

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[123] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 132.
[124] This seems to have been pretty widely understood. Marsh described one situation in which a Mr. Carter was asked to play the organ at the church in Salisbury "not as a professor but as a gent'n," which was meant to indicate that he would not be paid for his services. However, he seems not have understood and still expected to get paid: "Mr Carter having, as we thought, agreed to take the organ at the church as a gent'n, we were much surprized at his giving strong hints when the concert was over of expecting to be paid." *JMJ,* Vol. I, 249-251.
[125] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 222.

execution upon that instrum't that if a common quartetto of Abel or Bach was desired & was in the least obligato for the 1st fiddle he always used to ask me to take it & play second himself." Even though Corfe was primarily an organist, and, as Marsh described, was not as technically fluent on the violin as Marsh, Corfe had *still expected* to be appointed first violin because of his status as a professional musician. In an interesting act of showing that he deserved the position, Marsh chose to demonstrate that he could in fact hold his own leading a concerto, contrary to Mr. Harris's observation that they would have to do without "solo concertos" since they would no longer have a professional violinist as principal:

> On the 19th therefor I took possession of my new post & by way of shewing that violin concertos must not be wholly given up on account of the loss of Tewksbury . . . I played Giardini's first & easiest concerto (which was compos'd for the Duke of Cumberland).[126]

Marsh's choice of repertoire for the occasion was also significant. Assuming the position of principal violin in a mixed ensemble of professionals and amateurs was highly unusual for a gentleman. By choosing Giardini's "easiest" concerto, he ensured that his musical display would not be too showy, and the fact that it had originally been composed for the Duke of Cumberland reinforced the propriety of his performing it.

Corfe, however, was still in charge of programming the subscription concerts and would use that power to put Marsh in his place whenever he had the opportunity. On one such occasion, Marsh was scheduled to play a solo violin concerto, but, on hearing that Mr. Day would be in town, Corfe unceremoniously struck Marsh's concerto from the program and put an organ concerto for Mr. Day in its place. Not only was this a clear snub to Marsh, it showed Corfe's obvious preference for promoting professional musicians, and his disdain for amateurs who tried to encroach on their territory.[127]

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[126] Ibid.
[127] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 237.

Over the course of Marsh's life, the ensembles in which he played went from being populated almost entirely by amateurs to including, first, a healthy mix of both amateurs and professionals and, eventually, to becoming composed almost entirely of "professors." His realization, in 1805, that the only amateurs left in the Chichester orchestra were himself and Mr. Smith led Marsh to remark, "I began to think it high time to retire myself from the orchestra."[128] The dwindling number of orchestras comprised of both amateurs and professionals was one symptom of the broader trend toward specialization and professionalization of the orchestra in the nineteenth century.[129]

Marsh the composer

Marsh had begun dabbling in composition very early on, completing his first symphony in 1770, only three years after he had begun learning the violin. The vast majority of his works were intended to be performed by his musical friends at subscription concerts and at informal music meetings.[130] His compositional style was, therefore, utilitarian: he wrote for the players that were available, often designing his works so that they could still be enjoyed by fewer players if necessary:

> Mr Shaw [cellist] now attending our musical club pretty regularly, we co'd sometimes with Mr Haverfield's assistance raise a quartetto in consequence of w'ch on the 11th I began composing one in Bflat, w'ch I had hardly finish'd when I set about another in the same key, being my 3d. & 4th quartettoes [sic] & No 14 & 15 in my catalogue. These I made as compleat as possible without the tenor, in order that they might occasionally be play'd as trios when more parts could not be had.[131]

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[128] *JMJ,* Vol. II, 92.

[129] William Weber has discussed the professionalization of the orchestra in Europe during the nineteenth century as a symptom of the rise of "mass culture." As the public concert became a larger-scale event, open to a broader population of concert-goers, the social fabric connecting players and auditors at concerts, which had been so important in the previous century, began to disintegrate. The new, nineteenth-century audience cared more for "true professional standards of performance," than their predecessors had, contributing to the gradual decline in amateur participation in orchestras. William Weber, "Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Tate, 1770-1870," in *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 8, no. 1 (June 1977): 5-22.

[130] According to Brian Robins' catalogue of Marsh's works (including both extant and lost scores), Marsh composed 39 symphonies, 20 concertos, 25 pieces of chamber music, 72 sacred choral works, 60 secular songs, 28 works for organ, 5 pieces for military band, and some 20 other miscellaneous instrumental pieces. *JMJ,* Vol. II, 398-407.

[131] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 135.

Marsh's various endeavors to publish his compositions were marred by prejudice against his amateur status. The first attempt recorded in his journal took place in 1779, when he tried to publish his keyboard arrangements of opera overtures from Bononcini's *Astarto* and Arne's *Artaxerxes* ("having been continually applied to for copies & to lend the Ms. […] to ladies that play'd").[132] He decided to try offering the manuscripts to a music seller in London who he hoped would simply print it and then give him a few copies to distribute among his musical friends.[133] Once he found a publisher, he became a bit more ambitious and brought along "some composit'ns of *my own* that I was also willing to publish upon the same terms as the 2 overtures" (those terms being payment in the form of printed copies). However, the first publisher was not at all helpful, so he tried a different one, who, unfortunately for Marsh, "seem'd to speak rather slightingly of amateur compositions & advis'd me not to be too eager to print my works," giving him instead the vague advice that he "wait a few years" until his "judgement became more matur'd."[134] Not easily discouraged, four years later, in 1783, Marsh managed to get his "Double Orchestra piece" printed by Preston under the "German sounding name of Sharm" instead of Marsh, since the publisher "had told me that my name, as a mere *amateur*, had spoilt the sale of the Fugues for Two Performers, which he had lately published of mine."[135]

He not only encountered prejudices against his works by publishers, but also by music critics and, in his opinion, professional musicians. In the following excerpt Marsh recounts the performance of his Symphony in F at the Anacreontic Society, and its reception in the papers the following day:

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[132] Giovanni Bononcini, *Astarto,* opera (first London performance at King's Theatre, 19 November 1720); Thomas Arne, *Artaxerxes,* opera (first London performance at Covent Garden, 2 February 1762).
[133] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 196.
[134] Ibid., 198.
[135] *JMJ,* Vol. I, 309. This must have been his *Conversation Symphony for Two Orchestras* No. 10 in E-flat Major.

> [I was] admitted thro' Mr Smart, as a perfomer, (i.e. by playing in the 1st overture) at the Anacreontic Society in the course of w'ch concert my 4th Symphony in F was performe'd being led by Cramer, every strain of w'ch was much applauded . . . . In however the usual account of the performance in the next morning papers written as I suspected, by Dr Arnold who sat at the harpsichord, my piece was most unmercifully criticis'd upon, not however that any specific fault in the composition was pointed out, but merely accusing the author of imitating Haydn whose style (as might naturally have been expected) it *fell short of*. It was also said to want spirit but this I co'd not help attributing principally to the performers who (except Cramer) finding it to be a dilettante composition by no means exerted themselves as they usually did in Haydn's symphonies but played it as I co'd not help thinking in a very languid manner.[136]

That Marsh was understandably annoyed and offended by the review. In his journal, he comes to his own defense, making excuse after excuse about the poor reception of his piece. But on the whole, his language belies a pitiable sense of helplessness in the matter. To Marsh, it seemed unfair that his work should not be taken seriously simply because of his status as a gentleman musician—so much so that he was inclined to blame the performers for playing his piece in a "very languid manner" instead of exerting themselves as they did for Haydn's symphonies. Whether or not that had actually been the case, Marsh knew that the deck was stacked against him simply because of his social status, something that he was powerless to change. Nevertheless, Marsh continued writing music (publishing little of it), becoming the most prolific English composer of his time.[137]

It is surprising to find a complete absence of relationships with, or even knowledge of, other gentlemen composers recorded in Marsh's journals. It is as though he was the only one, or believed himself to be the only one, which of course he was not. Given the tenuous place of the gentleman composer within the broader musical life of Georgian England, I have wondered why they did not seek each other out, found a consortium, or at least meet quietly to confide in each other about the

[136] "A new Overture ascribed to a Mr MARSH was introduced. This composition seemed to be a studied imitation of HAYDN but had little spirit and less variety." From the London Evening Post, February 1792, quoted in *JMJ,* Vol. I, 511.
[137] Of Marsh's 279 known compositions, only 38 are extant. No manuscripts of his work survive. *JMJ,* Vol. II, 398-407.

difficulty of their situation. However, the paucity of anecdotes in Marsh's journals featuring other gentlemen composers makes the following story all the more enticing and delightful.

In Birmingham in 1817 Marsh attended an open rehearsal where he happened to sit next to a rather eccentric gentleman:

> who seemed to be an enthusiastical admirer of the modern composers to whose performance alone he seemed to think one morning's selection sho'd be confined, I told him he put me in mind of a . . . Mr. Gardiner of Leicester, author of the Sacred melodies, & asked if he knew him & whether he thought he wo'd be at this meeting, to which he replied that he did know him & he probably wo'd be there.[138]

The two men chatted companionably for some time, sharing their views on the advantages and disadvantages of the "modern style," particularly regarding Mozart's "additions" to Handel's *Messiah*.[139] The gentleman observed that Marsh spoke "with more candour & fairness than most people," to which Marsh confessed that he had actually published an article recently on the "merits & demerits of both [ancient and modern] styles," which the gentleman recalled having read. Upon learning with whom he was speaking, the gentleman finally confessed that he was, in fact, none other than Mr. Gardiner of Leicester.[140]

WILLIAM GARDINER (1770-1852)

Though Gardiner did not recount his chance meeting with Marsh in his own memoir, he did remember John Marsh fondly, and it would seem that they met each other regularly at music festivals over the years.

> [I] spent a pleasant week with the literati of [Southwell]. At the residentiary we had quartettes in the morning, and regular concerts in the evening, to which the gentry of the place were invited. Our first violin was a Captain Marsh, of the navy, who was so deaf that he could not hear any instrument but his own, yet so steady in his time that

[138] *JMJ,* Vol. II, 258-259.
[139] Which Marsh thought "upon the whole broke in too much upon the simplicity of one of the great beauties of that oratorio," but allowed that "in some parts he had certainly improved the general effect by doing what Handel himself wo'd probably have done had wind instruments been brought into the use in his time." Ibid., 258.
[140] Ibid., 259.

> we had no difficulty in accompanying him. This gentleman [William] was brother to William [he means John] Marsh, Esq, of Chichester, a well-known composer* and astronomer. For further particulars of this untaught genius, see a Life of him in the Dictionary of Musicians.
> *For years I was in the habit of meeting him at musical festivals. We made a point of sitting together, as I was both honoured and gratified by his company.[141]

Unfortunately, there is no other documented exchange between the two men, and one can only imagine that they must have shared many more fascinating conversations on the relative merits of "ancient" and "modern" music, among other things. Gardiner only mentions meeting one other gentleman composer in his memoir, George Onslow Esq., who he described as "a composer of the highest rank," and noting specifically that he "had a sympathetic pleasure in his company as he aspired to no higher rank than an amateur."[142]

William Gardiner was well known for his progressive musical views, which is what tipped Marsh off to his identity. Though Gardiner had not yet published any essays on the topic, he had recently published his *Sacred Melodies*, a not entirely successful attempt to revamp English psalmody with the instrumental music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. A review of the work appeared in the *The Gentleman's Magazine* of March 1814, and in it was quoted a passage from Gardiner's preface to the collection singing the praises of the "German school," which represented the "highest fountain of musical taste and expression."[143] Unlike Marsh's journals, the tone and structure of *Music and Friends* is completely retrospective, and his recollections are often colored by the new musical values of nineteenth-century Romanticism.[144]

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[141] *WG,* Vol. II, 405. Though he mixed up the names of John Marsh and his brother, William. Unlike Marsh's memoirs, which were based on daily journals, Gardiner's memoirs were based entirely on "recollections," and as such they often suffer from misremembered dates, places, and names.
[142] *WG,* Vol. II, 511. George Onslow (André George Louis Onslow, 1784-1853) was the son of Edward "Ned" Onslow, an English Member of Parliament who was caught in a same-sex relationship with a gentleman by the name of Phelim Macarty (See Chapter 4). Onslow senior was forced to resign his seat in parliament and flee to France. Perhaps by the time Gardiner met George, the scandal having to do with his father had been buried or forgotten.
[143] *GM,* Vol. 84, Part I (1814), 266.
[144] Occasionally Gardiner offered the reader some insight into the shift in musical values that he experienced; for example, when describing his reaction to Rossini's music: "To me, Mozart appears the sincere lover, who expresses his intense sentiments in pathetic strains; Rossini gay and foppish, but captivating, even in his most trifling mood. These

William Gardiner, "tradesman and amateur"

William Gardiner was a wealthy hosiery manufacturer, having inherited his father's business, who self-identified as a "tradesman and amateur."[145] Unlike young Marsh, Gardiner had no trouble gaining permission from his father to learn an instrument as a boy; however, he had less of a say in choosing the instrument. His father—himself an amateur flutist and cellist—having a "sensual pleasure in the *tone* of an instrument," more than in "the brilliant effects of [its] execution," would not let ten-year-old Gardiner learn the violin but insisted on the viola instead. Young Gardiner found this to be a terrible punishment, likening it to being "set in the pillory" because of the "contortions" it caused in his body. He was "punished for a quarter of a year" in this manner after which his mother bought him a fortepiano "of German make, not much bigger than two writing-desks put together."[146] However, the instrument that Gardiner would go on to actually play at concerts and with friends was the violin. In fact, he never received any formal instruction on the fortepiano, and the memoir never again mentions him playing a keyboard instrument. Curiously, Gardiner gave two different accounts in his memoir of *why* he never received formal instruction on the fortepiano. First, he claimed that there were no music masters in Leicester, so he was "obliged to

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were my opinion on the first hearing of this author; but I have lived to change them entirely […] I have discovered that he abounds in passages both beautiful and sublime." *WG,* Vol. II, 561-562.

[145] *WG,* Vol. I, vi. Gardiner consistently identifies himself as a "tradesman" in his memoir. This characterization is curious considering he was a wealthy manufacturer; the term "tradesman" in the late Georgian era typically referred to someone employed in some form of manual labor, and while it could also refer to anyone whose business involved the buying and selling of goods, typically the secondary definition was reserved for shopkeepers and other small-scale businesses. As Deborah Rohr has observed: "The traditional professions [divinity, medicine, and law] were characterized primarily by their suitability as careers for gentlemen: they involved no manual labor, were based on a liberal (classical) education, and were protected by the church, state, and university from undue competition." But within these professions there were also "lower branches," such as attorneys, surgeons, and apothecaries that were "distinguished from their elite branches of the professions by the social origins of their members, who generally emerged from a lower, artisanal stratum of the 'middling sort,' and by their educations, which were largely practical and obtained through apprenticeship." Emerging from this latter social stratum, it is odd that Gardiner identified so strongly as a tradesman, since professional men were generally eager to dissociate themselves from tradesmen, intent on approaching the social position of the landed gentry. Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians,* 7.

[146] Later Gardiner mentions that it was made by John Pholman, "I suppose in Germany, and before any were made in England." However, fortepianos had been produced in England by German makers (such as Pholman) since the late 1760s. Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 218-223.

hammer by [himself]" using as a pedagogical guide the lessons of Casper Heck and the "thorough-bass of Pasquali."[147] "Bad as it was," he considered keyboard playing "celestial music compared to my fiddling."[148] But, just a few pages later he recounted the following:

> At that time we had only two teachers of the harpsichord in Leicester, who both refused to give me lessons, supposing that I was intended for the musical profession. I was thus left to struggle on as well as I could.[149]

The second telling of this story would suggest that the local harpsichordists were reluctant to teach someone who might someday become their professional competition.[150] Unlike Marsh, who was an attorney and heir to a large estate, Gardiner stood lower down on the social ladder, and, as such, he could have entered the musical profession if he had received the correct training. Marsh, on the other hand, received some instruction from his organist friends; they were even glad to have him serve as their occasional substitute because they knew he could never seriously compete with them for their jobs.

Sometime in the 1780s, when Gardiner was a teenager, he began playing "in concert" with other amateur musicians.

> Though so indifferent a performer on the violin I undertook to establish a junior musical society, to play overtures and symphonies, of which I took the lead. Our pieces were Valentine's Marches, Humphrey's Symphonies, and as much as we could play of Handel's and Corelli's Concertos.[151]

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[147] Little is known about Casper Heck (ca.1740-1791) other than that he was a German-born music theorist who came to England sometime in the middle of the eighteenth century. Paradoxically, however, the English translations of portions of treatises by Mattheson (1713), Quantz (1752), and Fux (1725) published in London in the second half of the eighteenth century have been attributed to him. Jamie C. Kassler and Michael Kassler, "Heck, Casper," in *Grove Music Online,* 2001. The "thorough-bass of Pasquali," likely refers to the figured bass treatise, *Thorough-bass Made Easy,* published in 1757 in Edinburgh by the Italian-born composer and violinist, Niccolo Pasquali (1718-1757). See David Johnson, "Pasquali, Niccolo," *Grove Music Online,* 2001.

[148] *WG,* Vol. I, 11-13.

[149] Ibid., 24.

[150] Cyril Ehrlich has also cited this excerpt from Gardiner's memoir as an example of how a "musician's willingness to give lessons might be dampened by any suggestion that his pupil could become a competitor, particularly in places where the market appeared to be small and unlikely to expand." Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain,* 6.

[151] *WG,* Vol. I, 14.

The concertos of Handel and Corelli that Marsh had considered rather old-fashioned in the late 1760s, were still common fare in the amateur ensembles in which Gardiner played nearly twenty years later. It was also around this time that Gardiner began composing, though, like Marsh, he did so "[w]ithout having any knowledge of the principles of composition." Gardiner's first composition was a song, entitled "Ah Well A Day," (ca. 1785), which he had published by Longman and Broderip under the initials "W G of Leicester."[152] Curiously, after that first publication, Gardiner wrote that his "enthusiasm cooled," and he did not publish another work until his collection of *Sacred Melodies* (1814).

Like Marsh, Gardiner also performed at subscription concerts and private music meetings, though descriptions of them figure less prominently in his memoir than in Marsh's journals. This could be due in part to the nature of the documents: Marsh wrote a diary with daily entries and Gardiner wrote a retrospective memoir based solely on "recollections." Another hypothesis is that Gardiner simply had a different relationship with music-making than did Marsh.[153] It is possible that Gardiner, already in his late 60's when he wrote the first volume of his memoir (1832), had come to embrace the nineteenth-century valorization of the musical "work" over the performance of that work. One way in which this viewpoint manifested itself was in Gardiner's criticism of amateurs who displayed their musical skills with too much alacrity. His disdain for musical amateurs who relished the physical act of musicking is especially vivid in the following excerpt.

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[152] "Ah Well A Day, A Favorite Song, Music by W G of Lester" in *Catalogue of printed music published between 1487 and 1800 now in the British Museum*, Vol. I, by W. Barclay Squire (1912), 490. It is unclear whether or not Gardiner paid to have this composition published. He mentioned the circumstances of the publication in the following manner: "Without having any knowledge of the principles of composition, I was desirous of shining as an author amongst my compeers, for we were all young, and I wrote a first movement and a gavotte, which gained me some applause; but I thought, if I could appear in print, my reputation would be stamped at once. Accordingly, I composed a song . . . which was published by Longman and Broderip."

[153] For example, when Gardiner was fifteen (the same age that Marsh began playing "in concert") he founded the first subscription concerts in Leicester. But all he wrote about the concerts in his memoir was that the "Orchestra consisted of: Rev. Robert Burnaby (vicar of St. Margaret's); his son Rev. Thomas Burnaby; William Tilley (an attorney), John Brooke, William Hodges, and Robert Coleman, Esqrs.; Mr. Carick, my father, and myself . . . . Added to these were the five professors of music, the Misses Ann and Fanny, with Messrs John and Henry Valentine, and Robert Valentine, jun. […] The professors received half-a-crown a night." *WG,* Vol. I, 66-67.

> [N]o one has so little claim to good taste as the mere fiddler, who is only gratified by his own performance, and hears no one but himself. Two worthy persons of my acquaintance were of this class: the violoncello player did not possess a feeling beyond the pleasure he had of wagging his elbow with his grumbling bass; and my other friend with his fiddle 'relieved his vacant hours,' but once in a quarter, would have, what he called, a grand crash. We mustered five. At our musical parties we played Haydn's symphonies, compressed into quintets. Our leader, who attacked every piece as a bull-dog would a badger, set off at a furious rate, and being a corpulent man, soon fiddled himself into such a heat that he took off his coat. The violoncello player was not behind him in fervor . . .[154]

He goes on to describe in graphic detail how the cellist screwed up his mouth during difficult passages so that it looked like "the mouth of a bottle," and the way that the leader would sweat so profusely that at the end of each symphony he would have to rub his hands in a bowl of dry oatmeal to soak up the sweat. "A performer of this kind is insensible to the combined effect of musical sounds," Gardiner concluded, "he hears no one but himself, and may be regarded as a mere musical machine."[155] The description of musicians as mere "machines," implying that the act of making music was less noble than the hearing of it, smacks of the new musical values of nineteenth-century Romanticism.[156] Gardiner is assuming that there is something more virtuous about listening to music than playing it. His repulsion towards these gentlemen's musical display is also focused on the physicality of their musical exertions, a sentiment shared by moralists and social commentators of the period (as discussed in Chapter 2). Similarly, Gardiner ridiculed musical gentlemen who pursued music as a hobby even though they were not "naturally" talented. Describing an acquaintance, Dr.

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154 *WG,* Vol. I, 274-276.

155 Ibid.

156 The new ideology of listening to music that developed in the nineteenth century and the profound and lasting effects it had on audience and performance culture have been widely discussed. As Peter Gay has observed, the nineteenth century "was a time when the art of listening to music […] developed into a posture almost religious in its ardour," in contrast to the eighteenth century, when, as William Weber has written, "music was more closely linked to other social activities." While during most of the Georgian era, listening was one among many activities attendant to a musical performance, over the course of the nineteenth century listening (in silence) became the only appropriate activity at a musical performance. See William Weber, "Did People Listen in the 18th Century?" in *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (November 1997): 678-691. A fascinating study by Charles McGuire on the development in listening culture specifically at British musical festivals in the early nineteenth century has demonstrated the concerted effort taken to educate "auditors" on aspects of music-listening and appreciation. Charles McGuire, "Amateurs and Auditors: Listening to the British Musical Festival, 1810-1835," in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries,* eds. Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Ziemer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Kirkland, a rather famous surgeon and enthusiastic amateur oboist, Gardiner commented that though "he was an acknowledged genius" when it came to surgery, "he seemed not at all to estimate the talent which made him great, but attempted to distinguish himself in a science for which Nature had not fitted him."[157] Likening him to Thomas Gainsborough for what he considered misplaced "musical ardour," Gardiner seemed to be shaking his head at these silly gentlemen and their musical pursuits.

A "tradesman and amateur" among the Nobility

Gardiner was clearly a skilled musician and was even invited once, in 1818, to sing as a guest at the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club. As Gardiner was not in the habit of being surrounded by Noblemen, the experience left quite an impression on him and he recounted the evening in great detail:

> I had the honor or being introduced to the Noblemen's Catch Club, at the Thatched House Tavern, by Temple West, Esq., who was president of the evening, and I sat next to him in the chair of the Duke of Argyle, who happened to be absent. On my left was the Lord Dunstanville, Sir George Warrender, the Earl of Oxford, and Sir Charles Bamfield. On the right was Lord Clinton, Sir Gore Ousely, Lord Blessington, the Earl of Fortescue, and Lord Lonsdale. Besides these noblemen, and many other distinguished persons, there were not less than twenty professional gentlemen, eminent as vocalists; Mr. William Linley, the brother of Mrs. Sheridan, holding the permanent office of vice-president.[158]

It was a rule of the Club that, as a visitor, he should give the first toast and name the first glee. Once the music books were wheeled around on the table in "five or six little wagons," Gardiner chose Webb's glee "If Love and all the world were young." Then Lord Clinton, sitting to his right and

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[157] *WG,* Vol. I, 94-95. Dr. Kirkland was a good friend of several professional musicians, such as William Parke, who described him warmly in his memoir as a "country gentleman" who was "very fond of music and played on the oboe after the fashion of the old school." Perhaps Gardiner's criticism of Kirkland's oboe playing also had something to do with the Doctor's preference for the "ancient style" of music, which the oboist William Parke noted in his memoir. *WP,* Vol. I, 322.

[158] *WG,* Vol. II, 513.

helping him now and then with the protocols of the evening, instructed Gardiner to "please call up, from the lower end of the table, those professional gentlemen you should like to join in the glee." Gardiner was incredulous at these instructions, and humbly replied "My Lord, I could soon make my election, but I cannot put on a face to call up such eminent vocalists to join their voices with mine."[159] Lord Clinton, having no problem commanding the presence of "such eminent vocalists," asked Gardiner to simply name the singers he wished to accompany him and said he would call them up for him, which he did: Mr. Knyvett, Mr. Vaughn, and Mr. Greatorex. As they made their way up to the head of the table Gardiner offered his chair to Greatorex (the oldest of the three men) but "with a slight nod from one of the peers it was intimated that there was no occasion."[160] So with the three professional men standing behind him, reading the music over his shoulders, they sang the glee together.

Gardiner's account brings to light a series of formalities observed by the Club that regulated the way in which the professional ("privileged") members interacted with the noblemen and gentlemen ("full") members. As a businessman, Gardiner ranked among the professional members, but his status as a musical amateur, briefly raised him above that station within the context of recreational music-making. His obvious discomfort with presuming to order one of the professional musicians to sing with him (in stark contrast to the ease with which Lord Clinton called on the singers) illustrates his failure to code-switch in his temporary role as a gentleman. The rest of the account continues to show him struggling to fit in among the noblemen, his candor giving him away at every turn. At one point in the evening, Lord Dunstanville, mistaking him for "a man of consequence," turned to Gardiner and said, "I understand, Sir, you live in Leicestershire.

[159] Ibid., 515.
[160] Ibid., 516.

Whereabouts is your place?" Gardiner, taken aback by the mistake, replied simply, "I am a tradesman, and live at Leicester."[161] Gardiner continued:

> I saw that he was pleased with my openness, and, to relieve me from that embarrassment to which my frankness had exposed me, he replied, 'I am a tradesman too, Sir. Come, let us have a glass of wine together; I deal in tin, the mines in Cornwall belong to me.'

Saved by the social grace of Lord Dunstanville, Gardiner continued to enjoy himself at the Catch Club all night and into the next morning.[162]

As a composer, Gardiner's *magnum opus* was a collection of worship music titled *The Sacred Melodies*. The collection was rather unusual, as it consisted of psalm texts set to melodies from the instrumental music of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and several other contemporaries. Gardiner described his impetus for the project in his memoir:

> In perusing the instrumental pieces of Beethoven I could not but be struck with those exquisite bits of melody that lie scattered throughout the works of the great author. Like flowers in the forest, we find them beautifying his compositions, amid the most entangled harmonies. I never listen to them without regretting that the author did not dwell longer upon them . . . and I feel an unconquerable disposition to finish the strain which this divine author has begun. As these subjects, or themes, are of the most elevated cast, I thought they might be extended to that metrical length which melody requires, and applied to the purpose of devotion.[163]

The collection, however, received an unfavorable review in *The Gentleman's Magazine* soon after it was published. The reviewer opined that the entire project was misguided, as it "confus[ed] the different styles of musick," and that psalm tunes should "consist chiefly of semibreves and minims," with only the simplest harmonies.[164] The reviewer also noted the mistakes in Gardiner's collection with snide comments, such as: "For remarkable failures or mistakes of character, we may refer to p. 71,

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[161] *WG,* Vol. II, 521.
[162] "About nine o'clock the servants brought the clothes of several gentlemen, to dress for the opera; but such was our growing hilarity, after the professors had left . . . that the opera was given up, and I continued with the noble guests till one o'clock in the morning." Ibid., 522.
[163] *WG,* Vol. I, 461.
[164] "In our opinion much of the musick in this volume, however excellent in itself . . . is not well suited to church service…" *GM*, Vol. 84, Part 1 (1814), 266.

and 113," and on incorrect keyboard realizations in the collection the review assured the reader that "The slightest knowledge of thorough bass will enable the performer to correct them."[165]

After the first volume (dedicated to the Prince of Wales, then Prince Regent) was published, Gardiner was "anxious that it should be placed in the royal library," as his object was to "form a standard national psalmody."[166] On the advice of his friend, the poet and composer Thomas Moore, Gardiner determined that he should go to the levee and present a copy formally to the Prince. After a long ordeal of acquiring the correct clothes and accoutrements for appearing at court, and feeling utterly ridiculous once he had dressed and seen himself in a mirror, he made his way to meet to court.[167] Gardiner's long and detailed account of being presented at court is written with his characteristic openness and candor, reaching its climax upon coming face to face with the Prince.

> [The Prince] received me kindly, and, to inspire more confidence than I possessed, in elegant terms he complimented me upon the [Sacred Melodies] . . . . Still detaining me, in a manner truly fascinating, he said he should always be happy to see me at Carlton House. As I was about to pass from him, he held out the back of his right hand for me to kiss, which ceremony I should have forgotten had he not prevented me from moving by keeping me with the left hand.[168]

Gardiner had also forgotten to "go down upon one knee" but the Prince seemed not to mind that either, as later the Prince gave him "a pleasant nod . . . as he passed through the crowd." The Prince's casual invitation to Carlton House (surely suggesting the concerts that he hosted there) is

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[165] Ibid.
[166] *WG,* Vol. I, 465.
[167] "When I looked in the glass involuntarily, I turned away, not believing that I looked at myself, so ridiculous did I appear in my own eyes." Later when at court he observed, "When I got into the golden room, though I had been well stared at before, no one cast a look upon me. We were all fools pretty much alike." Ibid., 466-467.
[168] Amusingly, this was not the first time that the Prince of Wales had used his status to cover for Gardiner's ignorance of protocol. When just a young man, Gardiner visited the House of Commons and was completely bowled over by a particular oration given by Charles James Fox. "He was the last speaker, and I was so excited by his oratory that, without reflecting where I was, I vehemently called out *'Bravo!'*" which was an egregious disruption and an officer immediately came to take him out; but just when Gardiner thought he was bound for the Tower, "a tall handsome man sitting alone in the side gallery approached me and said, with a countenance almost breaking into a laugh, 'How could you be so indiscreet, young man?' 'Sir,' I replied, 'I hope you will excuse me, I am but a countryman.'" The handsome stranger was none other than the Prince of Wales! With a wave of the Prince's hand the officer let Gardiner go in peace. *WG,* Vol. I, 161.

curious: was it meant sincerely or merely an empty pleasantry? There is no indication in Gardiner's memoirs that he ever actually attended the Carlton House concerts.

Conclusion

While the four gentlemen in this chapter do not represent all gentlemen living in the Georgian era, their stories shed light on the largely invisible world of gentlemanly music-making during that period. Since the Georgian gentleman left such weak traces of his musical activities, gathering a significant number of cases to study proved difficult; of the sixteen unpublished diaries I examined for this project only two—the diaries of Thomas Hollis and John Waldie—contained a critical mass of musical information to study. Others, such as the delightful diary of Samuel Boddington (?–1845), a London fishmonger, hinted that the author might have been an amateur musician but did not provide enough concrete evidence to be included in this study. For example, Boddington recorded attending performances at Covent Garden, the Lyceum, Drury Lane, and a number of benefit concerts and "musical parties." He would note in his diary: "music in the evening," or "morning music," but he never offered any more details of what I can only assume was some kind of recreational music-making.[169]

Although the journals and memoirs of John Marsh and William Gardiner are certainly not new to the field of musicology, I have taken a fresh approach in the interpretation of their written accounts by focusing on the details of their recreational music-making insomuch as they inform our understanding of music-making as a performance of class, gender, and nationality. Using their unusually elaborate descriptions to help interpret the relatively sparse accounts found in diaries such as those written by Thomas Hollis and John Waldie, I have also endeavored to develop a model by which other contemporary accounts of recreational music-making can be examined.

[169] Diary of Samuel Boddington, Guildhall L MS 10,823/5c.

While studying the musical lives of Marsh and Gardiner has highlighted the narrow line between gentleman and professional musician that such amateurs walked, the musical lives of Thomas Hollis and John Waldie illuminate another precarious boundary, that existing between masculinity and effeminacy. I have interpreted Hollis's solitary flute playing—eschewing his previous association with other musical gentlemen—as a performance of his chaste and sober masculinity in his later years in an attempt to avoid suspicions about his personal life. Moreover, this shift in his musical behavior was followed four years later by the disappearance of Thomas Brand from his regular journal entries. In his will, Hollis referred to this interruption:

> I give my manors, advowsons, messages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and all my real estate whatsoever and wheresoever, and all the rest and residue of my personal estate, to my dear friend and fellow traveller Thomas Brand, esq. of Hide in Essex, from whom a severe plan in life has kept me much more separate for some years past than otherwise I wished to have been.[170]

I believe the two gentlemen shared a romantic attachment that made them vulnerable to gossip; indeed, the long and public debate that erupted in *The Gentleman's Magazine* around the entail of Brand-Hollis's estate strongly suggests it.

Waldie, on the other hand, was far less cautious than Hollis, openly and enthusiastically displaying his musical skills, befriending Italian opera singers, and even writing affectionately in his journal about his lover, Augustus Conway. It is difficult, however, to fully understand how Waldie's behavior might have been perceived by his friends, family, and society more broadly considered—unlike Hollis, he had no early biographer, and almost all of the written accounts of his life come from his own point of view. For now, we must rely on the reminiscences of his godson, Sir George Douglas, who, though he did not comment on Waldie's effeminacy, certainly emphasized his eccentricity.

[170] Francis Blackburne, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis* (London: J. Nichols, 1780), 504.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Nobleman at Music

> [W]hen you arrive at Turin, where we beg you will indulge us in following what I have mentioned in my letter […] particularly as to Dancing, Tennis, Drawing, Musick, fencing, & riding regularly & frequently.
>
> Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke to his son on the Grand Tour, April 1779

A gentleman's musical life was either a private affair or a carefully navigated minefield of activities with social consequences. For a nobleman, however, not only was music-making his birthright, he was generally expected to patronize musicians and musical institutions. As a result, noblemen were (largely) free from the negative associations that musical skills posed to gentlemen and, whether from the landed gentry or the industrial wealth at the top of the middle class. Indeed, music could even figure prominently in a young nobleman's education, as the above quotation indicates. Henry Herbert, Lord Pembroke (1734-1794), an avid amateur cellist, was particularly attentive to his son's musical education on the cello and often nagged him to hear or take lessons with a particular performer, or buy a particular piece of music, especially when his son was abroad on his Grand Tour.[1] The following passage from a letter to his son's tutor and traveling companion illustrates the level of detail in which he advised his son on his music studies.

> I shall send the musick to Ld Herbert as soon as I can. He will remember that there are 24 tones in musick, & that each tone corresponds to the piece of the same number from 1 to 24; also, that there are eight keys, each of which is used in the slow part of the eight first pieces, in their order, as in the book, from 1 to 8 inclusively, & afterwards occasionally only some of them, in the subsequent pieces. I have played them over myself carefully with Giardini, Cramer, Bach, Abel, Crosdill, Cervetto, & Gehot, who have examined & corrected them carefully; so that, I daresay, they are right, though

[1] "Hear *Reeves,* a Violoncello player at Norwich; a good one after Crosdill, & Cervetto. Better than our old friend Ciabrano, I am afraid." *Pembroke Papers* Vol I p. 34 Lord Pembroke to Lord Herbert Aug 20th 1780; "I am glad you like Ciabrano […] If the eldest Du Port is not at Paris, when you get there, pray take lessons of the younger brother, who is there, & who, if fame says true, e píu [sic] bravo del' fratello. Upon the whole, I am apt to think Crosdill the best of all . . . . Pray bring me all the good solos, & duos you can get at Turin…" *PP,* Vol. I (Lord Pembroke to Lord Herbert, February 1780), 402.

> many musicians, & good ones too, may not probably at first think them so, from not being used to that kind of thing, of which he must be aware, or the musick will be all spoilt by false corrections […] I had omitted to mention, that at Turin, before he learns to play the Solo's and Duos I shall send him, he had better hear them executed by Ciabrano [sic], & Pugnani, or Ciglionetto.[2]

His son, George Augustus Herbert, 11th Earl of Pembroke (1759-1827), became such a devoted amateur cellist that he needed to have an instrument available wherever he travelled.[3] After becoming a member of the royal household in 1784, Lord Herbert regularly accompanied both King George III and the Prince of Wales to the King's Theatre for opera, the oratorio, and the Concert of Antient Music.[4] His musical training helped to advance his political career by creating common ground with the Royals, for whom music was such a central part of their social engagements and entertainments.[5]

In this chapter I will examine the musical activities of the English nobility, focusing particularly on the Prince of Wales (George IV, 1762-1830) and prominent musical noblemen in his social circle, such as the 10th and 11th Earls of Pembroke (Henry Herbert, 1734-1794, and George

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[2] Gaetano Chiabrano (1725-1802) was a well-known Italian cellist who Lord Pembroke had taken lessons with in Turin in 1769. It is unusual that Pembroke should note that he played these pieces for all of the most famous musicians and composers of the day, and that they "examined & corrected them carefully." This detail may suggest that Pembroke himself actually composed or transcribed/arranged this collection of 24 etudes for his son. I am very grateful to Sarah Bish for noticing this possibility and bringing it to my attention. *PP,* Vol. I (Lord Pembroke to Coxe, 23 March 1779), 156-157.

[3] Even during a short trip to Bath for his health, Lord Herbert evidently wrote to his father in Wilton to try to have his cello sent to him there. His father replied: "I believe there is no case to the Violoncello, so that I doubt Harry's having been able to send it to you to night, & I do not believe the Wilton carpenters are capable of making one. It is not either an instrument of the first water, & I dare say you may hire a better one at Bath, or get your other sooner from J. Morris in London." *PP,* Vol. I (Lord Pembroke to Lord Herbert, 27 December 1780), 78.

[4] *PP*, Vol. I, 264. Lord Herbert's pocket diary was, unfortunately, not transcribed into the *Pembroke Papers*. The editor mentions only that the pages of the diary were full of social engagements, many of them with the Prince of Wales, with whom he "attended the theater, the Ancient Music Concerts, and also oratorios." I have assumed that "the theatre" referred to the King's Theatre.

[5] Jennifer Hall-Witt's work on elite culture in London has demonstrated the ways in which the opera became an important venue for the ruling class and leaders of fashionable society to perform their rank, especially after the addition of horseshoe tiers of boxes at the King's Theatre in the 1780s, making it easier to "see and be seen." Hall-Witt has noted that "the expansion of the peerage and the growing ambitions of the commercial elite threw social hierarchies within the upper class into flux," during the late eighteenth century, "heightening the value of the opera as a venue where one's rank and prestige could be confirmed by others." Jennifer Hall-Witt, "To See and to Be Seen: Opera and the 'Theatre of the Greats,'" Chapter 3 in *Fashionable Acts: Opera and elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007), 98-142.

Augustus, 1759-1827), the 7th Viscount Richard Fitzwilliam (1745-1816), and Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803). By illustrating the openness and abandon with which these men engaged in recreational music-making, with each other and with professional musicians, at home and abroad, I aim to show a stark contrast with the musical lives of the gentlemen in the previous chapter, and propose that a nobleman's engagement in music-making reflected his secure social status and nationality, all within a flexible masculinity. It is likely that the nobleman at music was not worried about appearing low-class: he was born into his title, and therefore, even if he were mistaken for a "professional" because he had attained a high degree of musical skills, the person who mistook him would be at fault, not the nobleman. The nobleman was at ease with appearing fond of Continental culture; within his social circle, extensive travel in Europe was a marker of education and sophistication. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, even effeminacy of character (indeed, even same-sex relations with other men) seems to have been permissible among the nobility.

While the gentlemen in the previous chapter belonged to a social class above professional musicians, the gentlemen in this chapter far outranked the professional musicians with whom they interacted. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the social mixing of gentlemen from disparate social classes made moralists and social commentators of the period extremely anxious—but, as will be demonstrated in this chapter, the stakes were much lower for noblemen whose social status was secured at birth with an inherited title. While too much enthusiasm for music-making, or too much time spent with professional musicians, could severely compromise the gentlemanliness of a Thomas Hollis or a John Marsh, the respectability of men such as Lord Pembroke or the Prince of Wales was much harder to tarnish. Moreover, and contrary to the nationalistic agenda of middle-class moralists and social commentators outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, English noblemen valorized the musical culture and customs of the Continent, particularly Italy, cultivating friendships with foreign musicians and spending a great deal of time among them, at home and abroad. The nobleman's easy

relationship to music praxis was a symptom of his more cosmopolitan world view as well as his significant social power, and with it came a more relaxed attitude towards foreigners, Catholics, and even sodomites. The specter of effeminacy that plagued moralists and their gentleman readers during this period seems to have taken shape and walked freely among the English nobility.

The Prince of Wales (though an extreme example of a "nobleman," given that he was the heir apparent) cultivated an important site of recreational music-making in his Carlton House concerts in London, a space in which professional musicians gathered with friends and family of the Royal household to play and listen to music together.[6] This chapter will examine written accounts of these concerts, and similar concerts hosted by noblemen, from the memoirs of William Parke, Michael Kelly, Giacomo Ferrari, and the correspondence of Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke. The correspondence and account books of the Prince of Wales also illuminate certain details of these music meetings, such as the broader guest lists, and the particular expenses for these events.[7]

Like the Prince of Wales, Richard Fitzwilliam, the 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam (1745-1816) was an enthusiastic musician and patron of the arts. A member of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, a skilled amateur cellist, and one of the directors of the Concerts of Antient Music, Fitzwilliam was a prominent figure in the Georgian musical world.[8] In this chapter I will examine an overlooked

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[6] As stated in the Introduction, there was not as robust a tradition of *professional* music at court in Georgian England as there had been before the English Civil War. While courts on the Continent still maintained numerous, and sometimes large professional ensembles, the professional musicians who gathered with the Royal family for the Carlton House concerts were not hired for those events, nor were they employees of the court. See Appendix, "Quarterly Account Books of George IV as Prince of Wales, 1790-1812 showing all expenses relating to music."

[7] The Prince's Carlton House concerts, and similar concerts held by members of the nobility, were not like subscription concerts, benefit concerts, or other concerts given by societies like the Catch Club or Anacreontic Society. The musicians and audience members had to be invited by the Prince, there was no price for admission, and the musicians were not paid directly for their services. For a broader examination of music at court during this period, see Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn,* 49-52.

[8] The cello was a common instrument among English noblemen, and seems to have been slightly more popular than the violin or flute. This may have been due in part to the perception of the cello as a particularly manly instrument. George Kennaway has argued that the cello was perceived as distinctly masculine during the Georgian era, citing early nineteenth-century descriptions in the *Harmonicon* of the cello as "manly," as well as its size, low register, and grounded "controlling" role in chamber music. George Kennaway, "The Manly Cello?" in *Playing the Cello, 1780-1930* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 171-205.

aspect of his biography: his intimate friendship with the professional cellist John Crosdill. Such a friendship represented everything that moralists feared about recreational music-making: it created opportunities for transgressive behavior, such as men from different rungs of the social ladder mixing with each other, potentially blurring the boundaries of class distinction. Moreover, its association with Italianate effeminacy produced an anxiety that recreational music-making could lead to illicit sexual behavior between men.

The Prince of Wales at Music

> George the Fourth, when Prince of Wales, soon after his establishment, in the year 1783, began to cultivate music. His favourite instrument was that noble one, the violoncello, on which he was instructed by the greatest master in Europe, John Crosdill, Esq. As the Prince advanced in his musical studies, he became more strongly attached to the pursuit; and so rapid was the progress of his Royal Highness, that at the expiration of a year he played in concert.[9]

William Parke, a professional oboist and principal player in the premier musical establishments in London, was prone to hyperbole when it came to the Prince of Wales—whom he adored—but his detailed and up-close accounts of the Prince's musical life consistently paint a vivid picture of a devoted and talented amateur. Parke was invited to attend the Prince's concerts almost as soon as they began in 1784 along with other prominent London musicians, such as Johann Baptist Cramer, William Shield, Benjamin Blake, and the Prince's cello teacher, John Crosdill.[10] However, at these concerts the musicians were not merely entertaining the Prince and his guests; they formed an ensemble *with* the Prince and other members of the Royal family, such as the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland. By Parke's account, the Prince took enthusiastic pleasure in group music-making, as the following anecdote illustrates.

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[9] *WP,* Vol. II, 319.

[10] "I attended those [concerts] of the Prince of Wales at Carlton House, in which his Royal Highness performed on the violoncello. The band consisted of Cramer, Crosdill, Parke, (myself) Shield, Blake, Schroeter, and Waterhouse." *WP,* Vol. I, 88-89.

> I frequently afterwards attended concerts of the Prince of Wales, in one of which I played a concerted piece for the oboe, composed by Haydn, and was honoured with the distinguishing approbation of His Royal highness, who, whilst playing the violoncello, called two foreign noblemen to him to listen, and repeatedly exclaimed "Bravi!—the finest tone in the world!"[11]

This endearing image of the Prince playing an accompaniment to Parke's concerto, and being so impressed with his playing that he—while continuing to play—called over two of his guests to listen with him, all the while vocalizing his admiration for Parke's tone, illustrates the ease with which he engaged in recreational music-making. This scene also serves as a small window into the performance practices at Carlton House concerts; the fact that the Prince "called two foreign noblemen to him to listen" suggests a fluidity at these events between auditor and performer. Moreover, it would seem that although some guests were invited primarily to play and others were invited primarily to listen, the "listeners" were not a static audience just as the "players" were not a stationary ensemble; they mixed, moved about, talked to each other, and, at some point in the evening, sat down at the same table for supper.[12]

The Prince and other members of the Royal family not only played at the Carlton House concerts, but also at concerts hosted by other members of the nobility. Parke described a weekly concert series given by Lord Hampden (3rd Viscount, John Trevor), an avid amateur flute player, at which the Prince and the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland all performed.

> The Sunday concerts for which I was engaged commenced on the 14th of January (1787) at Lord Hampden's . . . Cramer led the excellent band of the professional concert. In one of the overtures the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland performed. The two former on the violoncello, and the latter on the violin. The company on that occasion, which consisted of the flower of the nobility and gentry of England, amounted to at least four hundred persons . . .[13]

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[11] Ibid., 199.
[12] Parke credited the Prince of Wales with being the first nobleman to allow musicians to dine with him. *WP,* Vol. I, 241.
[13] Ibid., 89.

Understanding the way in which such concerts were financed, and the economic relationship it produced between the nobility and professional musicians is crucial to understanding other nuances and complexities of these musical relationships that traversed class boundaries. The accounts of the Prince of Wales during the period in which the Carlton House concerts were taking place show detailed lists of expenses for the concerts—wine, food, candles, table linen—but not a single line item for musicians: none of the musicians named by Parke were being paid for these concerts.[14] Parke confirmed this in his memoir with the following story:

> During the same year [1795] when the debts of the Prince of Wales were in a course of liquidation . . . I was desired by the Prince's musical page, Mr. Cole, to send to him my account for seven years' services, which I did, to enable him to forward it to the commissioners. Having ever felt the most profound respect for my royal master, I subsequently determined not to claim the amount due to me, considering it, under existing circumstances, a delicate mode of acting.[15]

Though one could argue that perhaps professional musicians attended the Prince's concerts in hopes that they would eventually receive payment for their services (as Parke described), seven years is a long time for the proverbial check to be "in the mail." It is more likely that professional musicians saw these concerts as an opportunity to meet and befriend other noblemen, which might in turn lead to other modes of gainful employment.[16]

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[14] See Appendix for my transcription of the account books of the Prince of Wales showing the musicians who *were* paid out of the Royal purse at this time. John Crosdill may have been the only musician who was actually paid for his services for these concerts; a "Mr. Crosdale" appears on the roster for musicians paid by the Prince of Wales between 1790 and 1792. However, as he was paid nearly three times more than any other musician in the Prince's account books, perhaps that fee was for private cello lessons.

[15] *WP,* Vol. II, 326. "Greisbach, the German oboe player, when he felt nervous about his fees, was not so "delicate" [as Parke]. He took the very unusual and vulgar course of writing a letter direct to the prince with a request for the cash due to him, and was generally satisfied." Adam Carse, "The Prince Regent's Band," in *Music & Letters* 27, no. 3 (July, 1946): 148.

[16] Simon McVeigh's work has drawn attention to the complex and diverse musical structures that provided employment to London musicians during this period, and particularly to the ways in which the benefit concert reflected English musician's blended, public-private music careers. Simon McVeigh"The Benefit Concert in Nineteenth-Century London: From 'tax on the nobility' to 'monstrous nuisance," in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* (London: Routledge, 1999), 245-247.

The forms of employment that noblemen could offer professional musicians were both varied and nebulous; they took many forms, but the conditions (especially with regard to payment) were seldom clear for either party. One particular construction that comes up frequently in Parke's memoir is the "bread-and-butter" party:

> [Johann Peter] Salomon's connections were extensive, and he devoted a great portion of his time to bread-and-butter parties . . . those in which professors of talent are invited to dinner, where a little bit of music is given in a friendly way in the evening. These parties gave birth to the benefit concert; for as the professors so invited could not satisfy their own butchers and bakers by such engagements, they hit on the expedient of taking annual benefits, to afford their exalted friends an opportunity of returning the favor by taking tickets.[17]

What Parke described here will sound all too familiar to modern freelance musicians who, similarly, cannot "satisfy their own butchers and bakers" with the "exposure" that they are so often offered by wealthy patrons of the arts. However, as Parke observed, "such engagements" could lead to benefit concerts in which a nobleman hosted the event, invited their friends, and the musician walked away with the revenue generated by the ticket sales.[18] But not everyone was willing to participate in this exchange of services. The famous oboist, Johann Christian Fischer, a contemporary of Parke's (who he described as "remarkable for the oddity of his manner"), was said to have rebuffed a nobleman who had invited him to dine one evening, but had qualified the invitation by adding, "You'll bring your oboe with you!" To which Fischer replied, "My Lord, my oboe never sups!"[19]

Another way in which professional musicians might be employed by a nobleman was to be "in residence," usually at the nobleman's country seat during the summer months when the concert season in London was not active.[20] It seems as though musicians were not paid for these residencies,

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[17] *WP,* Vol. II, 16-17.
[18] This is still a major way that musicians make a living in the United States. See Marianna Ritchey, *Composing Capital: Classical Music in the Neoliberal Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).
[19] *WP,* Vol. II, 17.
[20] Ian Woodfield examines the complex social, financial, and musical dimensions of the country visit through the diaries and memoirs of the Burney family. "The Country Visit," in *Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 22-24.

but they were taken care of during their stay: they were fed, given leisure time to compose, and some were even invited to join the family in aristocratic pastimes such as hunting and riding.[21]

Expectations of the musician's duties varied widely. The Italian composer Giacomo Ferrari's observations on nobility while in residence at various noble households illustrate the various musical responsibilities a professional musician might have during such a residence. First, an invitation would be extended to the musician in a vague and friendly manner:

> (in 1802) . . . the Duke of Richmond proposed that I spend some time at his elegant and admirable abode at Goodwood, giving lessons to various young ladies and his friends, and to make a little music in the evenings, etc.[22]

Occasionally Ferrari would find himself in the household of a nobleman like the 3rd Viscount Lord Hampden, who required very little from him in the way of musical attention:

> My duty was to sit at the piano every day after lunch and after dinner to accompany Lord Hampden, who played the flute and who was so transported by the music of Handel that he was happy to hear it played simply by himself and myself, that is, by flute and piano alone. That annoyed me a little, but our playing did not last long, because the viscount got tired quickly and fell asleep. The flute fell to his knees without him noticing, and I then went out with a shotgun to shoot birds.[23]

Around 1803 Ferrari was invited by Lord and Lady Hamilton to stay with them at Lord Nelson's country house in Merton.[24] Though Lord Nelson was not much interested in music, Lord and Lady Hamilton were both very enthusiastic amateur musicians, he on the viola and she as a singer. While

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[21] "We have Soderini, pretty Soderini, & his Wife, for nothing but keeping I believe." Here Lady Pembroke is indicating that they have the Soderinis in residence "for nothing" except "keeping," i.e. room and board. *PP,* Vol. I (Lady Pembroke to Lord Herbert, 13 August 1781), 136. This may have been the Italian violinist, Giuseppe Soderini, of whom very little is known. Michael Kelly mentions dining with him in Italy in the 1780s, saying that Soderini "had just returned from England, where he had been for several years one of the violin players at the Opera House, while Giardini was leader. He was one of the ugliest men I ever saw." Perhaps Lady Pembroke's odd descriptor, "pretty Soderini," was meant as a knowing joke. Soderini also appears on an orchestral roster as one of the leaders for Arne's oratorio *Judith* in Gloucester and Salisbury in 1766. Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences,* 103; Simon McVeigh and Peter Lynan, eds., "Thomas Arne: *Judith: An Oratorio (1761),"* Supplement to *Musica Britannica* 100 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2016).

[22] Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, *Pleasing and Interesting Anecdotes: An Autobiography of Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari*, trans. Stephen Thompson Moore, ed. Deborah Heckert (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2018), 148.

[23] Ferrari spent two months at Lord Hampden's country house in Bromham (June-July 1792). Ibid., 134.

[24] Ferrari gave the year as 1805 but he must be misremembering the exact year because Sir William Hamilton died in 1803. Hamilton's wife (originally his mistress) was the famous Lady Emma Hamilton. When Ferrari met them all together in Merton she was involved—quite openly—in a ménage-a-trois, living with Lord Nelson while still married to Lord Hamilton.

staying with them, Ferrari's primary duties were to write songs for Lady Hamilton to sing, and to accompany Lord Hamilton's tedious viola playing:

> Sir Hamilton was already at an advanced age but of good humor and full of courtesy, however, he bored us sometimes with making us hear his instruments, and above all in playing the quartets of his teacher Felice Giardini all by himself with the viola part only.[25]

On one such occasion, Giuseppe Viganoni, an Italian opera singer and friend of Ferrari's who had also been invited to stay at Merton, asked Hamilton (being "a brave soul, and having known the man for many years"): "But for the love of heaven, most esteemed sir, what in the devil do you find of interest in that viola part that always goes in unison with the bass?" Lord Hamilton replied earnestly, "A most rich harmony!"[26]

While Ferrari's *Anecdotes* illustrate some of the drudgery experienced by professional musicians who had to cater to the whims of the nobility, other professional musicians seem to have been treated more like friends of the family than like servants. The following story recounted by William Parke in his memoir describes John Crosdill and (the famously absent-minded) Muzio Clementi enjoying a summertime frolic at (Henry Herbert) Lord Pembroke's home at Wilton.

> A prominent ornament in this park is a beautiful and extensive sheet of water, in which, one sultry evening, they agreed to recreate themselves by bathing. After remaining in the water a certain time, Crosdill retired to the dressing rooms, erected on the margin of the lake; but Clementi expressing his intention to remain longer, the former, having dressed himself, and being one of those who entertained doubts whether Clementi's absence [of mind] was real or assumed, determined to embrace the opportunity […] and therefore privately conveyed Clementi's shirt into the house; of which frolic he informed Lord Pembroke, who appeared to enjoy the joke exceedingly.[27]

Clementi, new to England at that time, had probably secured an invitation through Crosdill, who was a favorite of the Earl's, and close to the Pembroke family—the fact that they could share such a

[25] Ferrari, *Anecdotes,* 169-170.
[26] Ibid., 170.
[27] *WP,* Vol. I, 217-218.

joke at Clementi's expense further illustrates their camaraderie. Living up to his reputation as an uncommonly forgetful fellow, Clementi returned to the house wearing his waistcoat but with no shirt underneath, not appearing to notice that anything was missing. Pembroke and Crosdill, totally committed to the prank, said nothing to him about it even when a few of the Earl's friends stopped by for a visit, and requested that Clementi play one of his own piano sonatas for them, to which he readily agreed.

> Having taken his seat and fidgeted a little in his peculiar way he played the first movement of one of his most difficult pieces, and was about to begin the adagio, when, being oppressed with heat, he unconsciously unbuttoned nearly the whole of his waistcoat, and was proceeding, when the lady, greatly surprised, hastily retired to the farthest part of the room, while Lord Pembroke, almost convulsed with laughter, apprised Clementi of his situation, who, staring wildly, darted out of the room, and could not by any entreaties be prevailed on to rejoin the party.[28]

Another anecdote from William Gardiner's memoir described the four most famous English singers of the day enjoying their summer holidays with the 5th Earl of Chesterfield.[29] During their stay at the Earl's country estate, Thomas Greatorex, William Knyvett, James Bartleman, and Samuel Harrison seemed to have had no musical responsibilities whatsoever.

> When the season of music closed in town, his Lordship invited them, like so many school boys, to spend the holidays with him in Bradby, during which (except now and then,) music was to be totally abandoned. Out-door amusements, such as cricket, quoits, and trap-ball were their delight, not forgetting the silent angle. These occupied the day, till the dinner-bell rang, when our devotes to Apollo and Bacchus soon convinced his Lordship how well they could also play their part in the sale-a-manger. Under no restraint, the delights of the evening surpassed the sports of the day. If they sang, it was for their own amusement, giving way to sallies of mirth and humour, like a set of wild creatures, compared to their staid and cautious demeanour [sic] in town.[30]

In stark contrast to the "working vacations" that Ferrari described, this account depicts a primarily social visit in which the only music-making that was expected of the professional musicians was "for

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[28] Ibid., 218.
[29] Rather ironically, Philip Stanhope, 5th Earl of Chesterfield (1755-1815), had inherited his estate and title from his distant cousin and godfather, Philip Dormer Stanhope, whose famous *Letters to His Son* (1778) decried recreational music-making and any associations with professional musicians.
[30] *WG,* Vol. III, 106.

their own amusement." The Earl of Chesterfield appears to have invited these men to spend the summer holiday with him simply because he enjoyed their company. To judge from these examples, it would appear that the nobility cultivated warmer and friendlier relationships with native English musicians than foreign ones. This may have been due in part to the fact that English nobility were used to seeing foreigners as servants in their households, in such roles as *valet de chambre*, music master, and dancing master.[31]

Cultivating relationships with members of the nobility was not only a way for professional musicians to secure a luxurious summer holiday at a country estate, but it could also lead to enjoying better career prospects in the long term.[32] Noblemen often intervened on behalf of the musicians that they liked, exerting their power, influence, and capital where they believed it could help a musician who had gained their high opinion. The following excerpt from Lord Pembroke's letter to his son about a professional cellist the Earl had taken under his wing illuminates some of the competing motivations that a nobleman might have had for promoting a musician they liked.

> The appointment of the lad Mr Bates as preferred to Sperati is really a too ridiculous piece of quackery & injustice. The young man is really both as to play, & to knowledge of any possible stile of musick, as I am to Crosdill or Cervetto . . . . Pray tell Sperati, don't fail, I beg, that I am very sorry he has not got *Il Posto,* & that I write again to Ld Fitzwilliam about him. I very much wish to get him some footing, & to disembarrass myself of him, for he is a very useless expense to me, & not a very inconsiderable one. Do speak to Sir James Wright about him, & tell him the sad tale of his disappointment with the Ancients.[33]

Here, Pembroke is furious that Joah Bates has been hired to lead the Concerts of Antient Music instead of John Sperati.[34] Hyperbolic in his anger, Pembroke goes so far as to suggest that *he himself*

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[31] Though foreign, particularly Italian, music masters were sought after in England during the eighteenth century, they were also viewed with suspicion, condescension, and were the victims of continuous ridicule. As Richard Leppert has observed, "So ubiquitous were these individuals in London society that they were regularly satirized in print and on the stage – it is indeed difficult to find a comedy of manners wherein a music master is represented as English-born." Leppert, *Music and Image,* 56.

[32] See Ian Woodfield, *Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003).

[33] *PP*, Vol. I (Lord Pembroke to Lord Herbert, from Orleans, 13 February 1788), 377.

[34] Very little is known about John Sperati, except that he was one of the many Italian cellists performing in England during the eighteenth century. Perhaps it was not long after his "disappointment with the Ancients" (the precise date is

would have been as a good a choice as Bates for the position. Indicating that he had been trying to help Sperati find "some footing" for some time, he promises to "write again" to Lord Fitzwilliam about him. Presumably Fitzwilliam, one the directors of the Concerts of Antient Music at that time, would have been in a position to help secure the post for Sperati if he had wanted to.[35] But if that was not possible, then perhaps Pembroke hoped, seeing as Fitzwilliam was an active amateur cellist, that he would have known other cello-playing noblemen to whom he could have recommended Sperati as a teacher. Although Pembroke seems at first to have been motivated by altruism and indignation at Sperati being thrown over for Bates, his motivations were also self-interested, as he wished to "disembarrass" himself of the musician, whom he described not only as "a very useless expense" but "not a very inconsiderable one." It is not clear how Pembroke was supporting Sperati financially: he may have been taking cello lessons from him, but, if that were the case, then it is confusing that he would have considered him a "useless" expense. Nevertheless, or whether Pembroke genuinely recognized Sperati's talent and wanted to see him prosper in his career, or he simply wanted to pass this expensive musician off to another nobleman, he used his influence and connections to try to find a good situation for Sperati.

The great disparity of social class between noblemen and the professional musicians with whom they interacted created a vast and nebulous area for both parties to navigate. As a result, one might expect that a myriad of rules and rituals would have emerged to govern their interactions. However, the rigid decorum that William Gardiner observed at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, for example, was largely absent from the exchanges between noblemen and professional

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not known) that he became the principal cellist at the Italian Opera in London, a position he held until 1794 when he was replaced by Robert Lindley. Lowell Lindgren, "Italian Violoncellists and some Violoncello solos Published in Eighteenth-century Britain," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* ed. David Wyn Jones (London: Routledge, 2000), 121-124.

[35] The Concerts of Antient Music established the convention by which an aristocratic amateur would serve as director for each concert. Other directors during this period included the Earl of Sandwich and the Duke of Leeds. See William Weber, "Repertory of the Concert of Antient Music," 190.

musicians examined thus far. The great social distance between their classes insulated noblemen from the class-slippage to which a gentleman was prone, and when members of the "middling" class were not present, the noblemen did not need to perform their status so strictly. Under these conditions, there were far more opportunities for professional relationships to transgress/transcend class boundaries into true friendships.

The Nobility and their Musical Friends

> [H]is Royal Highness George, Prince of Wales, through his liberality and condescension . . . burst the barrier which had kept the arts at a chilling distance; and through its hitherto impervious portal, to admit some talented men to the high distinction of sitting at his royal table.
>
> William Parke, *Musical Memoirs,* Vol. I

As previously mentioned, Parke was inclined to exaggerate when it came to the Prince of Wales, but when examined closely this excerpt begins to illuminate some of the intricacies of relationships between members of the English nobility and the professional musicians who gained their favor. Parke contrasts the Prince's treatment of musicians by recounting a story about the Duke of Cumberland and renowned Italian violinist, Felice Giardini.

> The late Duke of Cumberland being a great admirer of Giardini's superior talent, once engaged him to attend his music parties during a week at his lodge in Windsor Great Park . . . On being informed that [he was to dine] at the pages' table, he appeared to be greatly disappointed; and on its being explained to him that no part of his Royal Highness's establishment . . . were admitted to his table, he replied, "Oh, very well, when you want me, you'll find me at the White Hart in Windsor;" and drove off immediately.[36]

[36] *WP,* Vol. I, 241. Another similar incident involving Giardini in England: "Giardini . . . had for several years given musical instruction to the Duchess of Marlborough, and had been in the habit of passing two or three months of the summer for that purpose at the family seat, Blenheim, in Oxfordshire, where he had lived as of the family. The duke, who was a very reserved man, at length considering his presence at meals to be a restraint caused the duchess to request Giardini would have a table furnished for him in his own apartment, which he refused, declining to stay any longer at Blenheim." Ibid, 51-52.

After recounting this story Parke was at a loss to explain Giardini's surprise and disappointment at not being invited to dine with this host, "as it was well known that no professional man had at that period enjoyed the honor he aimed at."[37] Whether or not the Prince of Wales was actually the first nobleman to invite professional musicians to dine with him, as Parke claims, what is important to notice is the ambiguity of the relationship between the nobleman and the professional musician. That Giardini took such offense to not being allowed to dine with the Duke would suggest that, at the homes of other English noblemen, he was used to enjoying that privilege.[38] Or perhaps "the barrier which had kept the arts at a chilling distance" that Parke described was an English phenomenon that did not exist in Italy. As mentioned previously, England had a unique history regarding music at court. Perhaps the absence of a tradition that made professional musicians part of the institutional fabric of court life contributed to an ambivalence or ambiguity of decorum when professional musicians and the nobility found themselves interacting with each other.

Not only was the Prince said to be warm in his hospitality with his musical acquaintances, but he seemed to have cultivated close, even chummy relationships with them. For example, one such acquaintance was with the organist Thomas Greatorex, who was invited to dine with the Prince. On one occasion, after dinner, the Prince and Greatorex both went to hear an oratorio—the Prince, as a member of the audience, and Greatorex as one of the performers. William Parke happened to be in the audience sitting close enough to the Prince to observe that "the Prince was so much pleased with an introductory piece [Greatorex] played on the organ that he called loudly to

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Simon McVeigh has credited Giardini with playing "a significant part in raising the status of the violinists, in terms of both financial remuneration and social acceptance." Simon McVeigh, "Felice Giardini: A Violinist in Late Eighteenth-Century London," in *Music and Letters* 64, no. 3-4 (July 1983): 171-172. For a comprehensive study of Giardini's London career see Simon McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life, 1750-1784: Felice Giardini and his Contemporaries* (New York: Garland, 1989).

encore it." Parke reported this to Greatorex the following day, to which he replied, "Ah! . . . he thought he had made me so drunk that I could not play it."[39]

There seems to have also been a long-lasting friendship between the Prince and his cello teacher, John Crosdill (1751-1825). After retiring from public performances in 1790, Crosdill would frequently host his own private music parties for "his professional and other friends," where he continued to perform. Among the close friends who attended his music parties was, occasionally, the Prince of Wales.[40] Although these parties were most likely held at his home on Titchfield Street, in London, the Prince did not seem to mind attending a concert at the private address of a professional musician.

Crosdill was also close with another member of the nobility. In a brief biography of John Crosdill, Parke made a point to mention the warmth and closeness that characterized the friendship he shared with the Richard Fitzwilliam, the 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam. "This friendship, which originated when they were young boys at Westminster school, was remarkable" Parke observed, given the "great disparity between them, the one being heir to a noble title and estate, and the other only a member of the choir of Westminster Abbey."[41] In fact, Parke was only half-right about this particular detail: while Crosdill was a member of the choir at Westminster Abbey, Richard Fitzwilliam actually attended Charterhouse School, in Surrey. Parke might have conflated him and his father, the 6th Viscount Fitzwilliam (also named Richard) who *did* attend Westminster school, but long before Crosdill would have been a boy in the choir.[42] However, the fact that Parke *assumed* this as the backstory for their "remarkable" friendship is telling, suggesting perhaps that, to Parke, only

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[39] *WG,* Vol. II, 529.
[40] *WP,* Vol. II, 232
[41] *WP,* Vol. II, 231. Parke also mentions another such musical friendship between the composer William Parsons (knighted in 1795) and the Marquis of Salisbury. Ibid., 231-232.
[42] Alan Herbert Stenning, and George Fisher Russell Barker, *The Record of Old Westminsters: a Biographical List of All Those Who Are Known to Have Been Educated At Westminster School From the Earliest Times to 1927,* Vol I (London: Chiswick Press, 1928) 335. Parke clearly meant the 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam because he described him as "a director of the concert of Ancient Music." *WP,* Vol. II, 231.

"the force of early friendship" could have created such a close and lasting bond between men of such disparate social classes. Curiously, Parke went on to note that although Fitzwilliam owned "a splendid mansion in Richmond […] he usually preferred living in the house of his friend Crosdill [in Titchfield street]."[43] The closeness between these two men was also observed by Fitzwilliam's friends and family. A frustrated Lord Pembroke writing to his son from Paris in 1787 demanded, "Where, pray, is Ld Fitzwilliam, our Cousin? In Ireland or in England?" The matter being of an urgent nature, Pembroke continued, "The sooner the enclosed is conveyed to him the better; & Crosdill, who you can easily get at, certainly knows how to direct to him."[44] Pembroke's confidence in Crosdill knowing better than anyone in the family where to find Fitzwilliam, and entrusting a sensitive letter to him would suggest that he recognized a close and trusting bond between them.

While this is not necessarily enough evidence to suggest that the two men were engaged in a same-sex relationship with each other, Fitzwilliam never married and Crosdill did not appear to live with a wife (though Parke noted that he had one son). Their cohabitation eventually ended sometime in the early 1780s: Fitzwilliam began travelling extensively in Europe, and Crosdill went to live with "his particular friend, B. Thompson Esq., in Grosvenor Square, where, as usual, he gave music parties to his professional and other friends."[45] Crosdill outlived Thompson but was cared for in his old age by Thompson's nephew at the family's country seat at Escrick in Yorkshire.[46]

These friendships with professional musicians never compromised the social status of the nobility, but what effect did it have on the performance of their virtuous, chaste, and above all, *English* masculinity, which was such a crucial component of gentlemanliness in this period? In much

[43] It seems this was not a secret, as Parke recorded that he "frequently had the pleasure of dining [with him] at the house of Mr. Crosdill, in Titchfield Street." Ibid.
[44] *PP,* Vol. II (Lord Pembroke to Lord Herbert, from Paris, 15 February 1787), 336.
[45] *WP,* Vol. II, 233. "B. Thompson, esq." was most likely Beilby Thompson (1742-1799), a member of parliament from 1768 to 1780 and again from 1796 until his death.
[46] Ibid.

the same way that noblemen were immune to class-slippage, I argue that they were above compulsory masculinity. Moreover, as the following section will illustrate, I propose that noblemen were not required to perform their Englishness by nurturing a disdain for Continental culture.

Musical Noblemen, Illicit Sexuality, and Continental Effeminacy

Particularly among the musical noblemen examined in this chapter, there seems to have existed a fluidity of nationality, gender expression, and sexuality, which was not perceived as dangerous or deleterious, but rather sophisticated and cosmopolitan. The correspondence of Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke is exceptionally illuminating, as he traveled extensively on the Continent and kept in touch with many English friends who decided to settle there for extended periods of time, such as Sir William Hamilton. His letters to Hamilton often expressed his longing to be abroad (particularly in Italy) when he was in England, and are peppered with Italian and French expressions, woven seamlessly into his English prose.

> I speak as one generally does, from selfishness, & par un retour secret sur moi même; for I really believe your life pleasanter at Naples than it could be in England, tout bien considéré . . . . What of Ld Tylney, & Co:?[47]

Pembroke asking after Lord Tylney "& Co" indicated his familiarity with the interconnected group of English noblemen living as expatriates in Naples and Florence. Many of them were active members of the Society of Dilettanti (discussed in Chapter 1), and all of them shared a love of *virtú*, music, and antiquity. The group was full of men known in England as "sodomites," such as William Beckford, Sir Horace Mann, Lord Tylney (2nd Earl), Sir Horace Walpole, and George Clavering-Cowper (3rd Earl), many of whom had moved to Italy specifically to escape the gossip in England regarding their illicit sexuality.[48] The caricature in Figure 4.1 shows several members of the Dilettanti

[47] *PP,* Vol. II (Lord Pembroke to William Hamilton, 1 May 1781), 120.
[48] Gossip about a nobleman's sexuality often became a public matter, with oblique (or sometimes overt) references in the newspapers, such as was the case with William Beckford and Lord Tylney. However, even when the details of their

at the residence of Sir Horace Mann (in pink, seated with his back towards the table) in Florence who seem to be raising their glasses to the man in blue, presumably Lord Tylney.

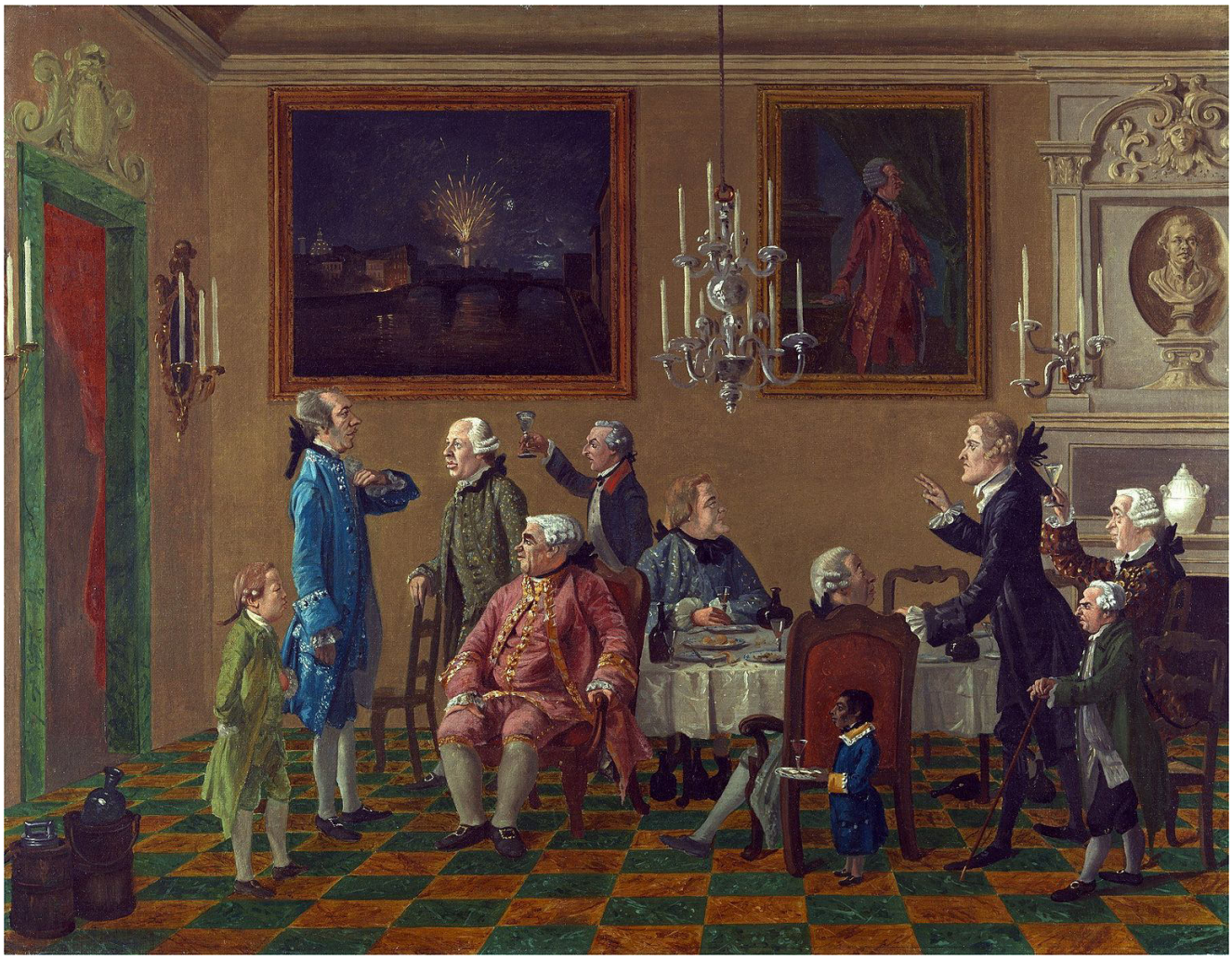

Fig. 4.1. Thomas Patch, "Caricature Group of English Dilettanti in Florence, Including Earl Tylney of Castlemaine" (ca.1765)

Perhaps the most (in)famous publication to have been issued by The Dilettanti was Richard Payne Knight's *An Account of the Remains of the Worship of Priapus* (1786), based on the field work of Sir

private life were not aired so publicly, modern historians have argued that when a nobleman "exchanged England for Italy," in the Georgian era it was widely understood that he preferred to live somewhere that was more tolerant of his unlawful desires. See George Sebastian Rousseau, *Perilous Enlightenment: Pre-and Post-Modern Discourses: Sexual, Historical* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991) 176; Rictor Norton, *Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England: A Sourcebook* (Updated 27 February 2021 http://rictornorton.co.uk/eighteen).

William Hamilton. Hamilton had, completely by accident, discovered a pre-Christian "Cult of Priapus" in the small Italian town of Isernia.[49] He apparently wrote to his friend Pembroke about it before sharing his findings more widely, and Pembroke was eager to know all of the details:

> Pray let me have an early sight of your letter to the Antiquarian Society upon the Cult of Priapus, which you have discovered under the name of Santo Cosmo at Isernia in Abruzzo. So superb a Deity ought allways [sic] to have been treated with every possible mark of religion & respect; but from the natural perverseness & exclusive monopoly of the Christian faith, he has been neglected for too long a series of ages . . . I shall like to see our Matrons handling the great toe of Santo Cosmo in the British Museum. I wish ye would send me one for mine, since they are not scarce, as I understand by your letter.[50]

The "toe of Santo Cosmo," which Pembroke mentioned, was a reference to the phallic votives made of wax (as seen in Fig. 4.2 on the frontispiece of Knight's publication). His enthusiasm for the topic, and his praise for "so superb a Deity," would seem to be in contradiction with the chaste manliness to which English society was supposed to aspire.

[49] In Greek mythology, Priapus was a minor fertility god. The protector of livestock, fruiting plants, and male genitals, he was commonly depicted with a prominent erection.
[50] *PP,* Vol. II, (Lord Pembroke to William Hamilton, 1 May 1781), 117-120.

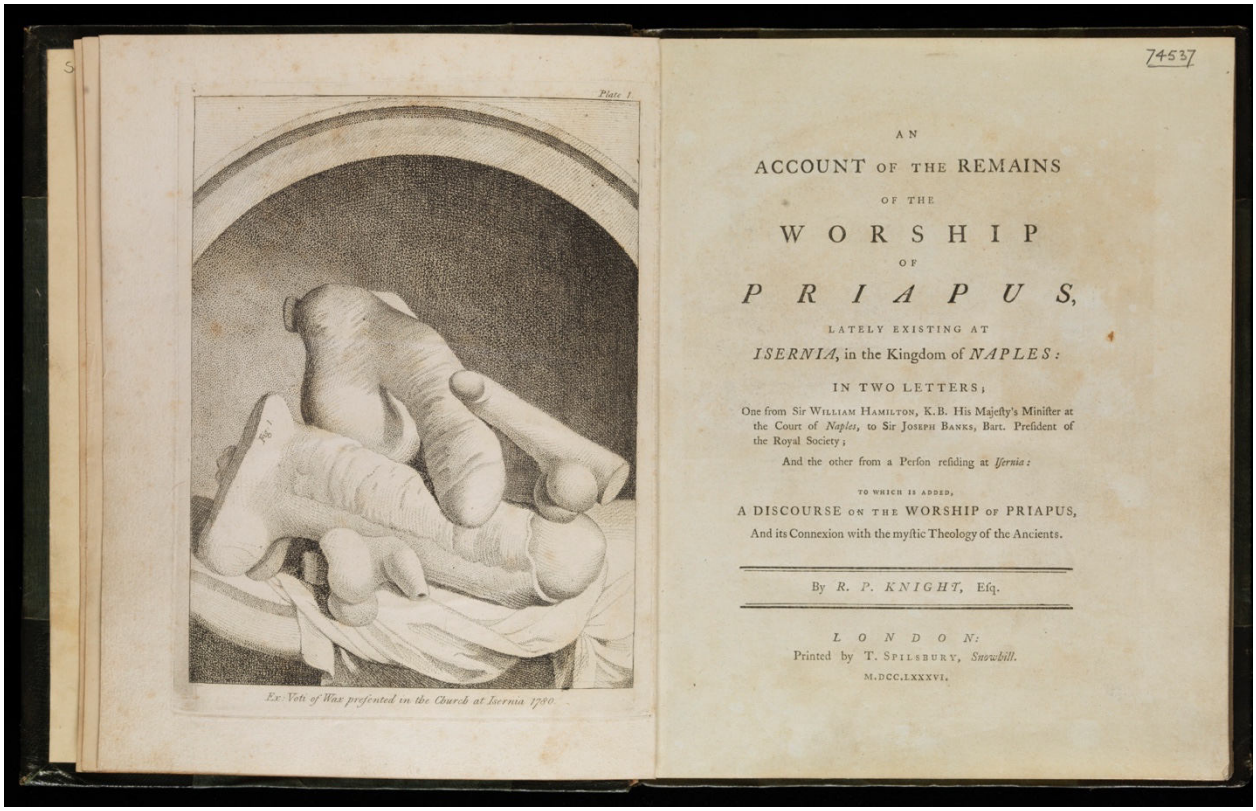

Fig. 4.2. Frontispiece to Richard Payne Knight's, *An Account of the Remains of the Worship of Priapus* (1786)

Moreover, Pembroke's letters indicated that he was not only quite calm, and even humorous on the topic of sodomy, but that he was also well aware that many of his friends in Italy engaged in such illicit sexuality. In the following excerpt from a letter to William Hamilton, Pembroke asked that Hamilton take particular care of his young protégé who would soon be arriving in Naples:

> I can not find out to what part of the world Augustus's ship is bound. Should it be your way, & ye see the Mercury, (a 28 Gun Frigate) Capt: Augustus Montgomery, sailing into your Bay, pray be kind to the Commander, & civil to the surgeon's Mate, a Protégé of mine, & God son, as is also Montgomery, to the late Lord Bristol, Augustus Hervey; but keep the Mate out of the way of Dilettanti, for he is young & handsome, un' boccone da Cardinale.[51]

The fact that Pembroke would have to ask Hamilton to make sure that the young man was kept away from the "Dilettanti" because he was young and handsome hardly needs explaining. His

[51] *PP,* Vol. II (Lord Pembroke to William Hamilton, from London 15 July 1788), 388.

additional descriptor of the young man as a "mouthful for a Cardinal" echoes the sentiments espoused by moralists in Chapter 2, associating Catholicism (particularly as it was practiced in Italy) with sodomy, but using a decidedly more playful tone. For Pembroke, the idea of men desiring other men was not shocking—instead, he seemed to regard it with equal parts humor and curiosity.

Although Pembroke and many of his friends were more than just tolerant of illicit sexuality (not only sodomy, but also extramarital affairs between men and women), he seems to have been aware that not all of his compatriots shared his open views. While the English nobility seemed, in general, to tolerate the sometimes-unorthodox lifestyles of others in their own social class—whether Lord Nelson's *ménage à trois* with William Hamilton and Emma Hart, or the same-sex desires of the Dilettanti—Pembroke's letters indicate that somewhat different rules of civility applied to how the offenders (particularly sodomites) might be treated when in England. In 1787, for example, when Prince Louis d'Arenberg journeyed to England, Pembroke (in Paris at the time) wrote to his son George (Lord Herbert), asking him to show the Prince some civility, despite the fact that "his copulation morals are not exemplary." Pembroke went on to describe those morals quite graphically:

> Men, women, & children are supposed to be equal to him; the poultry even in his mama's basse cour are supposed not to have escaped his amorous embraces. Au reste, c'est un bon diable.[52]

Lord Herbert did not immediately reply to his father's repeated inquiries into how the Prince was received in society. Eventually, he gave his father the following vague report:

> Prince Louis d'Arenberg is here; it is not in my power just now to shew him any great civilities, but what are within my reach, he shall be welcome to. I told Lady P[embroke] of his being here, but she, I fear, holds him in no great estimation, indeed few here do.[53]

Another famous sodomite with whom the Pembrokes socialized was William Beckford of Fonthill (1760-1844). The Pembrokes often attended his lavish parties before he had to flee to the Continent

[52] *PP,* Vol. II (Lord Pembroke to Lord Herbert, from Paris, 29 March 1787), 345.
[53] *PP,* Vol. I (Lord Herbert to Lord Pembroke, 20 March 1787), 343-344.

after being discovered engaging in pederasty.[54] Lord Pembroke was in Rome when the news broke and he wrote to his son repeatedly for details of the affair, which, it would seem, his son never wished to commit to paper:

> Pray tell me all the particulars you can about Beckford of Fonthill's cursed affair. I am very curious and no body tells me any thing about it, thinking I know it from others.[55]
>
> Is it true that Beckford's wife will not leave him, & after all what was the exact business, how, when, and by whom, & with whom discovered? Who passive, & who active, & where le pauvre Bougre? Every body takes for granted I know all, & therefore no body gives me no more than the bare outlines.[56]

Whether or not his curiosity was ever sated is unclear, but whatever he learned about the affair, it did not prevent Pembroke from visiting Beckford in Paris just two years later. Indeed, the only time Pembroke ever seemed actually shocked or offended by the notion of illicit sexual behavior was when he learned that a member of his own family was guilty of the crime:

> In the name of wonder, My dear George, what is this Mindening story of our cousin Ned Onslow, & Phelim Macarty Esq? The latter, must, of course by his name be a deflowerer of Virgins; & I should hope that no kinsman of ours's donne dans le sexe masculine. Pray let me know seriously about it by the return of the post […] Adieu, my dear George, pray be as quick and as particular as you can about Ned Onslow, & Phelim Macarty.[57]

Perhaps for Pembroke the idea of sodomy was easier to accept when it happened elsewhere, and not so close to home. His particular line of questioning regarding the details of Beckford's affair would also suggest that he had less of a problem with a sodomite if the man was the "active" one instead of

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[54] "Beckford's Fêtes were really magnificent dans tous les genres." *PP,* Vol. II (Lord Pembroke to Lord Herbert, 2 Oct 1781), 158. "I wrote to the Dss of Buccleugh some account of the Fête of Fonthill, since which we have had some of the family party here, Mr. Beckford himself . . . & Pacchierotti for two days, & he sung delightfully." Gaspare Pacchierotti was not the only castrato who performed, Giusto Fernando Tenducci *and* Venanzio Rauzzini were also engaged for Beckford's Fête. *PP,* Vol. II (Lady Pembroke to Lord Herbert, 10 Oct 1781), 161.

[55] *PP,* Vol. II (Lord Pembroke to Lord Herbert, from Rome, 23 February 1785), 268.

[56] Ibid., (Lord Pembroke to Lord Herbert from Naples, 16 March 1785), 269. According to Rictor Norton, when Beckford was nineteen "he fell in love with the Hon. William Courtenay, later 3rd Viscount and 9th Earl of Devon, then ten years old and regarded as one of the most beautiful boys in England." The two saw each other frequently for nearly six years until in 1784 a visitor "calimed to have heard some 'strange goings on' in Courtenay's bedroom," with Beckford apparently in bed with the boy. Soon after, newspapers began circulating rumors about a "country squire" and his "Kitty," an obvious reference to Courtenay as a "catamite." Rictor Norton, "William Beckford: The Fool of Fonthill," *Gay History and Literature*, http://rictornorton.co.uk/beckfor1.htm. Updated 16 November 1999.

[57] *PP,* Vol II (Lord Pembroke to Lord Herbert, 6 May 1781) 123-124.

the "passive" one.[58] For Pembroke and the Dilettanti, same-sex male desire could be rationalized through their valorization of ancient Greeks for whom the practice of pederasty was not unusual.[59] The power dynamic of such same-sex relationships (at least as it was understood by the Georgian intellectual elite), however, was crucial to their integrity—the dominant and penetrative role corresponded to a man's social status and power, while the submissive role corresponded to a man's relatively inferior social position.[60] Within this construction, the dominant man could be seen as exerting his hegemonic masculinity in a way that was commensurate with his status as a nobleman. Therefore, when Pembroke wrote that he "should hope that no kinsman of ours's donne dans le sexe masculine"—*gives into* the male sex—Pembroke hoped that Onslow had been the dominant one in his sexual encounter with Macarty.[61]

Missing entirely from the noblemen's discourse examined so far—musical or otherwise—is the topic of effeminacy. If they were worried that their love of the Continent, their enthusiasm for music, and their generally accepting attitude towards illicit sexuality compromised their masculinity or their Englishness (or that of their countrymen), they do not seem to have been vocal about it. Though the Dilettanti were, for Englishmen of the time, at the far end of the spectrum of cosmopolitan values, they were hardly social pariahs; even though most of them went abroad when

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[58] Ibid., 269.

[59] An extraordinary defense of same-sex male desire on the grounds that it was practiced by "the best among the ancients," and "the most celebrated poets," can be found in Tobias Smollett's 1748 novel *The Adventures of Roderick Random*. Lord Strutwell, the character extolling the virtues of love between men in an attempt to seduce Roderick, is believed to have been modeled after Lord Tylney of the Dilettanti. Tobias Smollet, *Roderick Random* (London: Penguin Classics, 1995), 309-310.

[60] While this is a widely held belief among scholars, K. T. Hubbard has argued against the assumption that in ancient Greece, "no prejudice existed against homosexual activity on the part of adult citizen males, as long as they assumed the dominant and penetrative role in the relationship, isomorphic with their status of superior political empowerment." Instead, Hubbard suggests that the connection between passivity and effeminacy in male-male sexual encounters was just a manifestation of a more general societal discomfort with the institution of pederasty. See K. T. Hubbard, "Popular Perceptions of Elite Homosexuality in Classical Athens," *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 6, no. 1 (Spring - Summer, 1998): 48-78.

[61] Coincidentally, Ned Onslow's son George Onslow was the famous amateur composer that William Gardiner praised in his memoir for being a "composer of the highest rank" and for aspiring to no higher musical distinction than "amateur." See Chapter 3, 154.

they were found out in England, many eventually returned, and they were all still visited by their English friends while overseas.[62] Even Thomas Hollis corresponded with Sir Horace Mann in the 1760s, by which time Mann had been living in Italy long enough to have been suspected of sodomy.[63] The nobleman seems to have inhabited a social sphere that was, though not impervious to gossip, well-protected against its effects.

Conclusion

> 'I own (replied the Earl) that his taste is generally decried, and indeed condemned by our laws; but perhaps that may be more owing to prejudice and misapprehension, than to true reason and deliberation.' . . . . From this discourse, I began to be apprehensive that his lordship finding I had travelled, was afraid I might have been infected by this spurious and sordid desire abroad, and took this method of sounding my sentiments on the subject.
>
> Lord Strutwell to Roderick Random in *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748)[64]

In this conversation between the fictional Lord Srutwell (a nobleman) and Roderick Random (a gentleman) the reader witnesses two men performing their class, gender, and nationality. Strutwell, bringing up Petronius's *Satyricon* as a subject for discussion, and using it as a jumping off point for a lengthy defense of sodomy, demonstrates his nobility through his cosmopolitan attitude towards male sexuality. Roderick on the other hand, though he, like the Earl, had received a Classical education and had travelled abroad, performs his middle-class status through a gentlemanliness that disdains this "sordid desire" as a product of foreign effeminacy.[65]

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[62] Particularly by English musicians who wished to study with Italian masters, such as Michael Kelly, for whom the Dilettanti and their circle seem to have provided crucial professional connections and financial security. See Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences,* Vol. I, 40, 105.
[63] "At Mr. Mann's to send a letter to his brother Sir Horace Mann in Naples." *THD,* Vol. II (1762) January 19.
[64] Smollet, *Roderick Random*, 309.
[65] As Eve Sedgwick has observed, "An important, recurrent, wishful gesture of this ideological construction [of the aristocracy] was the feminization of the aristocracy as a whole, by which . . . the abstract image of the entire class, came to be seen as ethereal, decorative, and otiose in relation to the vigorous and productive values of the middle class." Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 93.

As music and effeminacy (particularly the Italian variety) became intimately connected in the Georgian imagination, recreational music-making among male amateurs came to be associated with illicit sexuality across class boundaries. The consequences for noblemen, however, were not so dire; their hegemonic masculinity, secured by an inherited title, bestowed upon them social power and privilege that made them virtually untouchable. Undeterred by the threat of effeminacy, the nobility were free to make and consume music as they pleased, while gentlemen of the middle class had to tread lightly where music was concerned.

Conclusion

"The Mental and Personal Qualifications of a Husband"

Great good nature, good humour, and good sense.
Lively by all means.
Stupid by no means.
His person agreeable rather than handsome . . .
Always clean, but not foppish in his dress . . .
Well read in the classicks [sic], but not a pedant.
Experimentally acquainted with natural philosophy.
A tolerable ear for music; but no fidler [sic]. I must repeat it again, no fidling [sic] husband.
An easy and unaffected politeness.
No bully; just as much courage as is necessary to defend his own and his wife's honour.
No traveler, no enthusiasm for the vertù.

The Gentleman's Magazine 1761[1]

Performing gentlemanliness in the Georgian era was no easy feat. A gentleman (or any man who aspired to be perceived as one) was to be polite but without affectation, well-dressed but not foppish, he ought to have had a "tolerable ear for music" but by no means was he to be an actual "fidler." As new boundaries of gender, of class, and of nationality were being established in English society, the strengthening and maintenance of those boundaries became of paramount importance. The performance of gentlemanliness became during the Georgian era a composite performance of gender, class, and nationality: how to be manly, how to be *gentle*manly, and how to be an English gentleman. Any slippage—from manly to *effeminate,* from gentlemanly to *low-class,* from English to *foreign*—threatened to compromise the entire performance. English gentlemen were therefore discouraged from pursuing music as a hobby because it had the potential to compromise the performance of their gentlemanliness on all three fronts: its association with effeminacy, its

[1] *GM,* Vol. 31 (1761), 108. On the "Mental and Personal Qualifications of a Wife" in the same volume, the author prescribed her musical attributes as well: "A more than tolerable good voice, and a little ear for music; and a capability of fingering a canzonet, or a song (in company) but no peculiar and intimate knowledge of minims, crotchets, quavers, &c. No enthusiasm for the guitar." Ibid., 36.

association with men working in the music profession, and its association with Continental otherness.

Although all three components were essential to the performance of gentlemanliness, in this study I have endeavored to underscore the profound and pervasive fear of effeminacy in Georgian society, and its foundational importance in the construction of English gentlemanliness. Transgressions of class not only disrupted the hierarchical structure of Georgian society, they threatened the hegemonic masculinity that justified the social dominance of upper-class men, and the subordination of women and men of lower social classes. Moreover, because English society was constructing a national identity couched in traditional notions of masculinity in binary opposition to the perceived effeminacy of the Continent, to be English was to be manly, and to be foreign was to be effeminate (or, at the very least, to be *less* manly). The specter of effeminacy loomed everywhere, a constant threat to English masculinity, national superiority, and social order.

While I had originally found the histrionics of moralists and social commentators during this period to be far-fetched and melodramatic—predicting the downfall of English virtue and manliness at the hands of sodomites and the Italian opera—in the end, I discovered that their fears were, at least in part, justifiable. As I have illustrated in Chapter 4, the nobility reveled in Continental culture, they frequently transgressed boundaries of social class to cultivate friendships with professional musicians, and even same-sex male desire could be rationalized by the valorization of antiquity so much in vogue among them. They did not share the anxieties of the "middling sort" because their hegemonic masculinity was secured at birth with an inherited title; as much as he might have transgressed boundaries of gender, class, and nationality, a nobleman's position in society was hard to diminish. Therefore, among the nobility, the specter of effeminacy that the conduct book writers feared was treated as more of a friendly ghost.

In bringing these topics to bear on issues of social class and music praxis, I aimed to show that gentlemen and noblemen inhabited different, though sometimes intersecting, musical realities. While the nobleman was free to music as he pleased, the gentleman walked a narrower line in society. Without an inherited title, the correct performance of his gentlemanliness was the only thing that allowed him to maintain his social dominance over other men and over women. Therefore, music-making was a risky endeavor for a gentleman, as it offered a plethora of ways in which his gentlemanliness could be compromised.

In this dissertation I have applied music as a case study to examine the boundaries of class, of gender, and of nationality in Georgian England. Recreational music-making in particular was an activity rich in social meaning and performativity. In exploring the musical relationships between men of similar social classes I found greater tension and anxiety around the activity of recreational music-making than between men of very disparate social classes. When men of similar social classes made music together the danger of class-slippage was ever-present and, indeed, sometimes it was even compulsory. As illustrated by the memoirs of William Gardiner and John Marsh, though they were both professional men in everyday life, when they engaged in recreational music-making with professional musicians, they enjoyed a briefly elevated social status as "amateur musicians," a gentlemanly moniker.

As music came to be associated in a positive way with female domesticity during this period, it also came to be associated in a negative way with male effeminacy. However, a nuanced examination of the boundaries of gender that amateur music-making enforced shows how the skill of singing or playing an instrument was gendered differently than the skill of composing music. While the physical act of playing or singing came to be seen as the purview of women, composing music was seen as a distinctly masculine endeavor. In this study I have shown how gentlemen amateurs could use this loophole to their advantage by couching their musical enthusiasm in

composition rather than in displaying their practical musical skills. By showing that their musical appetite was of the mind rather than of the body, they elevated their musical behaviors above mere "female accomplishment" (simply reproducing the work of others) to a generative, and—at that time—masculine art.[2]

The work of constructing England's national identity as distinctly masculine was carried out largely by moralists and social commentators in public discourse, but it was also promoted through various social institutions. By examining two such institutions (the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*) that developed during this period, I have demonstrated how both worked to promote English musical values that were grounded in Georgian era notions of "manliness." Moreover, I have shown that the binary understanding of what was manly and what was effeminate mapped onto notions of what was English and what was Continental.

Building on the groundbreaking work of scholars in the field of gender studies, and specifically the history of masculinity in England during this period, this study has brought their observations to bear on the unique musical culture that developed in Georgian England. A crucial component of this project has been in situating a distinct change in the perception and expression of gender within broader changes in the political and social landscape of the Georgian era. One of the significant changes that took place in the expression of masculinity during this period had to do with a fundamental change in the physical culture of sex. By bringing together the work of Michael McKeon and Tim Hitchcock, I have suggested that the eighteenth century witnessed an increasingly phallocentric definition of sex as a means of reifying patriarchal legitimacy *because* of the crisis of

[2] This misogynistic view of women's musical potential persisted (at least) to the end of the nineteenth century, and was expressed quite famously in a quote by the composer Hans van Bulow, a student of Friederich Wieck: "Reproductive genius can be admitted to the pretty sex but productive genius unconditionally cannot […] There will never be a woman composer […] I do not believe in the female form of the word 'creator.'" Quoted in Pamela Susskind, *Selected Piano Music of Clara Schumann* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), vii.

succession at the end of the seventeenth century.[3] As a result, sodomy—or, more specifically, the sodomite—became increasingly and uniquely threatening to England's social order and national identity during the Georgian era. Moreover, sodomy and effeminacy began to coalesce into the "Molly," a distinct male identity. Whereas in the previous generation a sodomite was thought to have been a man who occasionally enjoyed having sex with other men, during the Georgian era he came to be seen as man whose very nature was defined by this one sexual desire. Therefore, the kind of masculinity that Georgian society was constructing had to eschew any association with effeminacy and, by association, the sodomite.

As this study has demonstrated, sodomy, Italy, and music came to be deeply intertwined in the Georgian imagination. The influx of Italian musicians, music masters, dancing masters, and composers into England during this period cemented the association between music and Italy, while the parallel exodus of accused sodomites from England to Italy (where the practice was widely tolerated) seemed to confirm the connection between Italians and sodomy, a well-known trope in English print culture. The character of the macaroni—an English gentleman corrupted by Italian effeminacy—emerged in English society during this period as an embodiment of all three: music, sodomy, and Italy. At home among his countrymen he was a synecdoche for Italy, an avatar of the effeminacy, luxury, and vice that Italy represented.

This study uncovered a number of fruitful avenues for further research that were outside the scope of this project. First and foremost, it exposed a tremendous quantity of primary source materials that have yet to be examined for their combined social and musical significance. The papers, letters, and account books of the Prince of Wales, for example (of which I have only scraped the surface for information on the Carlton House concerts) provide a trove of data regarding the network of people and musicians around the Royal family, and, crucially, how and by whom music

[3] See Chapter 1, 27.

was financed at court. Another significant collection of letters and papers that should be gathered and edited are those of Sir William Hamilton. Judging by Lord Pembroke's letters, and the memoirs of Michael Kelly, and Giacomo Ferrari, Hamilton was an extremely influential player (if only behind the scenes) in the exchange of music and culture between Italy and England during the eighteenth century. He was the primary conduit through which English musicians passed to Italy to study with famous composers and singers, and Italian musicians passed to England to make lucrative careers on the London stage. His home in Naples also seems to have been a kind of haven for exiled sodomites (and various members of the Society of Dilettanti, with which there was some overlap) from England, and an important stop on the Grand Tour for young English noblemen. Some evidence suggests that this was arranged—at least in part—so that the former could prey upon the latter. His correspondence is voluminous but does not exist as a collected edition, nor are all of his papers held in a single archive. Transcribing Hamilton's papers with an eye to their musical content would be an enormously worthwhile project. Similarly, the day book of George Herbert, 11th Earl of Pembroke is said (by the editor of the *Pembroke Papers*) to contain information on a huge number of social engagements from the time when he was a member of the Royal household, including extensive details about attending musical entertainments with the Prince of Wales, and George III, making it a potentially rich resource for study. Recognizing that my dissertation leaned heavily on Brian Robins' extraordinary edition of John Marsh's journals, and a partial transcription of John Waldie's journals by Frederick Burwick, I appreciate how much the work of transcribing and editing helps future scholars undertake thorough studies in the social history of music-making.

The digital visualization of the social network that I have documented over the course of this dissertation will be an ongoing project. As I continue my research the network will grow, and, eventually I will open the platform to other scholars so that they may use it as a tool for their own research, and so that they may add to it as they are able. Ultimately, I envision my digital social

network map becoming an interdisciplinary repository of knowledge in the long eighteenth century: connecting people with places, institutions, events, museum objects, etc. Something that began as a way of connecting musicians and musical institutions in the Georgian era will, I hope, grow into a denser and more varied network, showing the broader social fabric of which musicians and musical institutions were a part.

I undertook the work of this dissertation with the goal of bridging a gap that I saw between scholarship on gender and music in England during the early modern era and similar scholarship on the Victorian era. Future scholars might fruitfully pick up where I have left off at the end of the Georgian era, following the themes I have explored—anxieties of effeminacy, class, and nationality—into the Victorian era and beyond. For how long did the specter of effeminacy continue to plague English society? What were the enduring consequences for a music culture that discouraged gentlemen from becoming musical, relegating that work primarily to foreigners? Did England continue to construct its national identity on eighteenth-century notions of masculinity, and if so, what effect did that have on their national musical style?

The inextricability of class, gender, and nationality in the performance of gentlemanliness during the Georgian era had a profound effect on who could music and how. The looming threat of effeminacy exerted a tremendous and until now undocumented influence on the musical culture that developed during this period. In constructing a national identity that depended so much on a narrow view of masculinity, Georgian society inadvertently silenced much of its own native musical talent. The consequences of a masculine identity circumscribed by a fear of effeminacy were certainly not limited to the oppression of the musical gentleman; it is not hard to imagine that the broad ramifications of such a culture silenced many voices, and that the magnitude of the effect on English society has not yet been fully comprehended. In the present day there is always the risk of falling prey to a fallacy of change, believing ourselves to be so far above the narrow views of eighteenth-

century moralists. Instead, perhaps the case of the Georgian gentleman might be understood as a cautionary tale: constructing national identity based on narrow views of class, of gender, and of nationality maintains and promotes the cause of patriarchalism. Hegemonic masculinity was the incantation that Georgian society used to keep the specter of effeminacy at bay; however, in the end it bound them in prescribed and oppressive roles from which it would take them generations to escape.

APPENDIX

Quarterly Account Books of George IV as Prince of Wales, 1790-1812
Showing all expenses relating to music

MUSICIANS

Quarter ending 5 January 1790 – 5 April 1792	**Pound. Farthing. Shilling.**
Mr. Suck	12.10
Mr. Crosdale	37.10[1]

Quarter ending 10 October 1795 – 5 January 1809	
William Cole	12.10
Thomas Attwood, Jr.	12.10
Christian Schram	12.10
Simon Schram	12.10
Martin Schram	12.10
George Bridgewater	12.10
Frederick Greisbach (added October 1806)	12.1.6
James Holmes (added April 1807)	12.1.6

Quarter ending 5 April 1809 – 10 October 1809	
William Cole	11.5
Thomas Attwood, Jr.	11.5
Christian Schram	12.1.6
Simon Schram	12.1.6
Martin Schram	12.1.6
Frederick Greisbach	12.1.6
James Holmes	12.1.6
George Bridgewater	12.10

TAXES & EXTRAS

Quarter ending 5 April 1791	
Mr. Lee for Professional and ancient Music	25.4

Quarter ending 5 July 1791	
Mr. Lee for Pantheon Subscription	105
Mr. Mazzinghi for Sundays Concert	42
Mr. Smith Musicians for various attendances	160.18

Quarter ending 5 April 1792	
Mr. Lee for Subscriptions to Concerts &c	25.4

Quarter ending 10 October 1792	
Messrs. Harrison & Knyvett, Subscription to vocal concert	3.3

[1] I believe that this may have been the cellist John Crosdill, discussed in Chapter 4.

ANNUITIES, PENSIONS, ALLOWENCES &c.

Quarter ending 10 October 1792
For July 1792
Mr. Suck.....12.10
Mr. Crosdale.....37.10

Quarter ending 5 April 1793
Mr. Cole ¼ allowance for Care of Music 15
For October 1792
Mr. Suck.....12.10
Mr. Crosdale.....37.10

Quarter ending 10 October 1803
Willis & Co. Subscription to Catch & Harmonic Clubs (to 5 April 1803) 5.5
William Lee Subscription to Ancient Music.....9.9
Idem. Subscription to Vocal Concert 3 Seasons 12.12
Thomas Harris, Esq. Ren of Boxes Covent Garden Theatre one year.....210
H. Leander Subs to Ladies Concert 3.3

Quarter ending 5 July 1804
Willis & Co. Subscription to Catch Club one year to 5 April 1804.....72.4.6
William Lee Subscription to Ancient Music & Vocal Concert.....13.13
Thomas Harris, Esq. Ren of Boxes Covent Garden Theatre one year.....210
Mr. Howard for annual donation to Decayed Musicians.....12.12

Quarter ending 5 April 1805
J&W Willis Subscription to Catch Club to Christmas 1806 .....33.15.10
William Lee Subscription to Ancient Music & Vocal Concert for season 1805.....14.14

Quarter ending 10 October 1805
Simcock for annual Donation to Decayed Musicians 12.11.8

Quarter ending 5 July 1806
J Willis & Co. for Catch Club to 15 April 1806.....63.12.6
William Lee Subscription to Ancient Music & Vocal Concert one year.....7.6.10

Quarter ending 5 July 1806
William Lee Subscription to Ancient Music & Vocal Concert.....15.14.8

DUES, CHARITIES & SUBSCRIPTIONS

Quarter ending 5 July 1809
Mr. William Lee annual Subscription to Ancient Music 16.15.8
J & W Willis Subscription and forfeits Catch Club one year.....50.19
J [S]imcock Annual Donation to Decayed Musicians.....12.11.8

Quarter ending 10 October 1809
William Taylor, Esq. Subscription to Opera house one year.....230.17

Quarter ending 5 July 1810
Subscription to Drury Lane Theatre one year, 115 nights to 24 Feb. 1809 630
William Lee annual subscription to Ancient Music & Vocal Concert 16.5.2
[William Lee] annual donation to Decayed Musicians.....12.11.8
[William Lee] annual subscription and fees to Catch Club.....49.7.10
[William Less] Subscription to the opera for Season to Aug. 1810 273

Quarter ending 10 October 1810
William Packwood for three yrs subs to concerts of Braham & others 15.14.8

Quarter ending 5 April 1811
J Marlindale for his Concert & Subs in July 1810 .....20.19.4

Quarter ending 5 July 1806
William Lee annual subscription to Ancient Music & Vocal Concert 16.5.2

Quarter ending 5 July 1811
J Simcock annual donation to Decayed Musicians.....12.11.8

Quarter ending 10 October 1811
J Marlindale annual subscription at White's one year to 1 Jan 14.12.6
J & W Willis Forfeits &c Catch Club Thatched House to 5 April 1811.....24.12.4

SUNDRIES

Quarter ending 5 July 1804
H. Pick Music Seller for April 1803.....18
J.W. Stodert Pianoforte Maker for 5 January 1804 .....2.12
William Forster Music Seller for 5 April 1804 .....6.12

Quarter ending 5 July 1806
M.W. Stodart for tuning grand fortepiano ..... __.15

Quarter ending 10 October 1809
Robert Birchall Music Seller.....15.17.2

Quarter ending 5 July 1810
William Forster Music Seller.....6.16.4

Quarter ending 5 April 1811

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