


Avison and his Subscribers: Musical Networking in Eighteenth-Century Britain

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One of the most important and valuable resources available to researchers of eighteenth-century social history are the lists of subscribers that were attached to a wide variety of publications. Yet, the study of this type of source material remains one of the areas most neglected by academics. These lists shed considerable light on the connections that an author or composer had with other like-minded individuals and the support that they received from members of the middle and upper classes. In cases where a single composer published a series of works by subscription, there is an opportunity to gain an insight into the growth of the public's appreciation of the composer and the contacts he or she forged over the course of a lifetime. Charles Avison is one of the best known British composers from the eighteenth century. He issued six works by subscription between 1740 and 1767 and they together provide a unique insight into his growth into one of this country's leading native musicians. Although a respectable number of the associations discussed are already known through other sources, this study not only reinforces the importance of these associations, but additionally gives an insight into those links for which there is no other known evidence. This research ultimately reveals that Avison's location in the North-East of England did not significantly impact on his ability to forge connections across Britain and beyond.

Keywords: Avison; subscription; eighteenth-century; Chilcot; music societies

The composer Charles Avison (1709–1770) is well known for his contribution to eighteenth-century British music. His published works, which were widely disseminated, became a regular feature of concert programmes throughout this country in both the latter part of his lifetime and in the decades after his death; in addition, his music, or adaptations of it, continued to be performed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in both Britain and the United States.¹ Given the impact Avison had, one might have expected him to have been based in an important European musical hub, such as the city of London, but instead he opted to remain for all his working life in his place of birth, the then relatively small Northumbrian town of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Newcastle is not a place one would expect to find one of Britain's most important native-born Georgian composers. The town's location, almost 290 miles from the capital, gave it a degree of remoteness. There was a regular stage coach that connected the two centres but the journey time was excessive by modern standards, advertised as taking six

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¹ See Simon Fleming, 'The Myth of the Forgotten Composer – The Posthumous Reputation of Charles Avison', *Early Music*, 44/1 (2016), 105–17.

days in 1754.² That by no means meant that Newcastle was isolated: its residents were well aware of the latest news from the south of the country and mainland Europe. Avison also, despite his location, became well known far beyond the North-East of England and received offers of employment in London, York, Dublin and Edinburgh.³

Avison was not unfamiliar with life in London having spent time there during his youth, at which point he received lessons from the Italian musician, Francesco Geminiani; he also visited the capital later in life, such as in c.1753 when he heard Charles Chabran, Giuseppe Passerini and either Jose or Juan Pla perform.⁴ Avison's decision to remain in Newcastle was presumably because, in that town, he was the dominant musical force. In London, as one among many, he would have faced fierce competition in securing an organist post and in organizing his own concerts. The problem with Newcastle was the length of the journey and few prominent continental musicians chose to venture that far north. Avison, residing so far from the capital, did not have the same opportunities to forge relationships, although he did endeavour to cultivate links with other like-minded members of society. He was, for instance, a friend of the Scottish antiquary, John Callander, who resided at Craigforth House near Stirling; so good was their relationship that Avison stayed at Callander's home on several occasions and Callander visited the Avisons in Newcastle.⁵ Avison was also an occasional member of a 'society of very ingenious men' based in Carlisle that included Captain John Gilpin.⁶ It was apparently through the link with Gilpin that Avison had the opportunity to visit the Lake District.⁷ The poet Thomas Grey recorded that he had met Avison during a visit to the North-East in 1753 and in 1755 was awaiting receipt of what appears to have been manuscript copies of Avison's English version of Marcello's *Psalms*, produced in partnership with the Durham-based composer, John Garth.⁸ Avison was also in contact with William Mason, the vicar of Hull, who made a contribution to Avison's important treatise, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, substantiating both William Hayes' accusation and Avison's response that the *Essay* was indeed the product of a 'junto'.⁹ Furthermore, Avison corresponded with musicians such as Henry Hargrave, writing a letter in praise of Hargrave's edition of Carlo Clari's madrigals that so impressed the editor he published it in a newspaper.¹⁰ Avison had other contacts in the north of England, established when musicians

2 *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 April 1754.

3 *Newcastle Journal*, 20 March 1759.

4 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols (London, 1789), iv, 670–1; Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 2nd ed., 1753), 120. The Pla brothers were in London between 1753–4 and Chabran between 1752–3. Beryl Kenyon de Pascual: 'Pla', *Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42259pg1>; Guido Salvetti and Simon McVeigh, 'Chiabrano, Carlo', *Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05558>.

5 Simon Fleming, 'John Callander and the Avison Connection: A Recently Rediscovered Letter', *Eighteenth Century Music*, 11 (2014), 285. Callander purchased two copies of the op. 9.

6 William Jackson, ed., *Memoirs of Dr William Gilpin, of Scaleby Castle in Cumberland* (London, 1879), 74, 81.

7 William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772, on several parts of England; particularly the mountains, and lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland*, 2 vols (London, 1788), i, 191.

8 *The Correspondence of Thomas Gray and William Mason* (London, 1853), 16, 27.

9 *The Works of William Mason, M.A.*, 4 vols (London, 1811), iii, 396–7. The passage appears in the notes on pages 64–5 of the first edition of Avison's *Essay* (1752), published in London by C. Davis. William Hayes, *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 1753), 113; Charles Avison, *A Reply to the Author of Remarks On the Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 1753), 4.

10 *York Courant*, 6 January 1767.

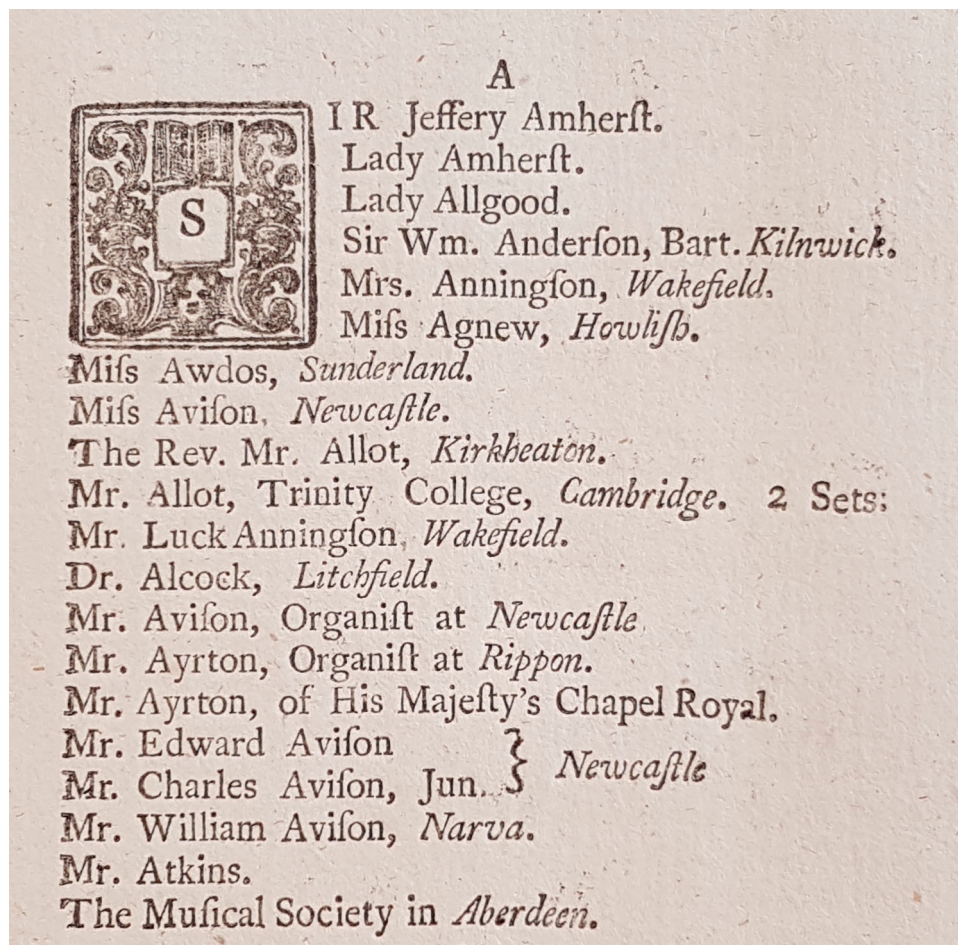


Figure 1. Excerpt from the subscription list to John Garth's *Six Sonatas*, op. 2 (1768), which included Avison and four other members of his family.
Source: Print from the author's collection, held at Durham University's Palace Green Library.

who had been based in the Newcastle area relocated elsewhere in the search for work. William Howgill, the organist at Whitehaven, had roots in the North-East and spent time in Newcastle.¹¹ Matthias Hawdon, one of Avison's pupils, was the organist at Hull and then Beverley Minster. In the first post Hawdon succeeded another member of Avison's family, possibly Charles' brother, William.¹² As we shall see, many of these persons supported Avison by subscribing to his publications and Avison also subscribed to works by others (see Figure 1) which reveal connections for which no other known evidence exists. Although more works will undoubtedly come to light, Table I lists all the identified works to which Avison subscribed.

The publication of works by subscription was a common occurrence in eighteenth-century Britain. In England, the earliest known book produced this way was John Minsheu's *Ductor in Linguas* from 1617 and, by the end of the seventeenth century, this method of publication had

11 Simon Fleming, 'The Howgill Family: A Dynasty of Musicians from Georgian Whitehaven', *Nineteenth Century Music Review*, 10 (2013), 62.

12 Southey believes that William was the brother of Avison, but another possibility is that he was Avison's cousin. See Roz Southey et al., *The Ingenious Mr Avison: Making Music and Money in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle* (Newcastle, 2009), 24; G.H. Smith, *A History of Hull Organs and Organists* (London, n.d.), 9.

Table I. Published works to which Avison subscribed.*

Composer	Title	Publisher	Year	No. of copies Avison purchased
Carl Frederich Abel	<i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord ... Opera II</i>	For the author, London	1760	6
William Adey	<i>Sixteen Discourses, on several Practical and Important Subjects</i>	Isaac Thompson, Newcastle	1760	1
John Alcock	<i>Six Suites of Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord</i>	For the author, Reading	1741	2
John Alcock	<i>Twelve English Songs</i>	For the author, Reading	1743	1
Giorgio Antoniotto	<i>L'Arte Armonica or a Treatise on the Composition of Musick</i>	John Johnson, London	1760	1
Francesco Barsanti	<i>Nove Overture a Quattro ... Opera Quatra</i>	Edinburgh?	1745	1
Alessandro Besozzi	<i>Six Solos for the German-flute, Hautboy or Violin</i>	Edmund Chapman, London	1759	1
Capel Bond	<i>Six Concertos in Seven Parts</i>	For the author and sold by Mrs Johnson, London	1766	1
Thomas Chilcot	<i>Six Concertos for the Harpsichord</i>	John Johnson, London	1756	1
Thomas Chilcot	<i>Twelve English Songs</i>	John Johnson, London	1744	5
Jasper Clarke	<i>A Cantata and Five English Songs</i>	For the author by Thompson and Son, London	1760	1
John Cunningham	<i>Poems, Chiefly Pastoral</i>	For the author and sold by James Dodsley, London	1766	1
Joseph Eyre	<i>Eight Sonatas In Three Parts</i>	For the Author and Sold by Robert Thompson, London	1765	1
Michael Christian Festing	<i>Eight Concerto's in Seven Parts ... Opera Quinta</i>	William Smith, London	1739	1
Michael Christian Festing	<i>Six Sonata's for Two Violins and a Bass ... Opera Sesta</i>	William Smith, London	1742	1
William Felton	<i>Six Concerto's for the Organ or Harpsichord [op. 1]</i>	John Johnson, London	1744	1
John Garth	<i>Six Sonata's for the Harpsichord Piano Forte and Organ; with Accompanymnts for two Violins ... Opera Seconda</i>	For the author and Sold by Robert Bremner, London	1768	1
John Garth (ed)	<i>The First Fifty Psalms. Set to Music by Benedetto Marcello</i>	John Johnson, London	1757	1
John Green (ed)	<i>A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels: Consisting of the most Esteemed Relations, which have been hitherto published in any Language</i>	Thomas Astley, London	1745	1
Henry Hargrave	<i>Five Concertos, the Principal Part for a Bassoon or Violoncello</i>	For the author, London	c.1765	1
Henry Hargrave (ed)	<i>Sei Madrigali, Messi in Musica Dal Sigr Gio: Carlo Maria Clari ... Parte Prima</i>	No publisher given; reissued by Robert Bremner, London	1767	1

Matthias Hawdon	<i>An Ode on the King of Prussia and Six Songs</i>	John Johnson, London	c.1760	1
Musgrave Heighington	<i>Six Select Odes of Anacreon in Greek and Six of Horace in Latin Set to Musick</i>	For the author, by John Simpson, London	1744	1
Thomas Hudson	<i>Poems on Several Occasions: In Two Parts</i>	Isaac Thompson, Newcastle upon Tyne	1752	1
John Jones	<i>Lessons for the Harpsichord</i>	For the author, London	1761	4
Anthony Munton	<i>Several Sermons Preached in Newcastle upon Tyne</i>	John White, Newcastle	1756	1
James Nares	<i>Eight Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord</i>	John Johnson, London	1747	1
Francis Peacock	<i>Fifty Favourite Scotch Airs</i>	For the publisher in Aberdeen and sold by Mrs Johnson, London	c.1762	1
Thomas Roseingrave (ed)	<i>XLII Suites de Pieces Pour le Clavecin . . . par Domenico Scarlatti</i>	Benjamin Cooke, London	1739	1
Christopher Smart	<i>A Translation of the Psalms of David</i>	For the author by Dryden Leach, London	1765	1
Christopher Smart	<i>Poems on Several Occasions</i>	For the author by William Strahan, London	1752	2
Henry Swinhoe	<i>The First Four Books of Telemachus</i>	J White, Newcastle	1743	1

Note: *I am grateful to H. Diack Johnstone, who provided most of the references in this list. Some of the other references are from Southey, *The Ingenious Mr Avison*, 106–8 and from the Otto Haas's *Recueil de Different Airs* catalogue, published in May 2017. http://www.ottohaas-music.com/SO_2017.May.pdf, accessed 4 July 2017.

become a familiar concept.¹³ Publishing by subscription was of benefit to composers and authors who wished to undertake publication themselves, but who did not have the means to finance such a costly undertaking. Through subscription, a composer, editor or publisher could sell enough copies in advance to meet the costs involved in engraving the plates, undertaking any typesetting and the printing itself. Those who paid to subscribe would often receive a discount on the intended sale price and their name would normally be included in a list that was attached to the work.¹⁴ These lists are of tremendous benefit to anyone wishing to research social history as they shed considerable light on a subscriber's status, interests, position, place of residence and links to the author of the work. Given the fragmentary nature of many eighteenth-century records, subscription lists are a valuable resource and it is not unusual for the information that they contain not to survive elsewhere.¹⁵ Lists are, unfortunately, far from perfect. Not to mention any mistakes or misspellings that may occur, it is often difficult to identify subscribers where only a title and surname are provided.

There have already been several articles that have investigated this type of resource. Margaret Seares discussed the subscribers of one list as a case study, that of James Nares' *Eight Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord*.¹⁶ Michael Talbot also investigated the two lists attached to works by Giacob Cervetto.¹⁷ In addition, there is an article on two of Handel's lists, written by David Hunter and Rose Mason.¹⁸ This is, however, the first time that a survey of all the lists associated with a single native British composer has been undertaken.

Avison, like many of his contemporaries, published works by subscription. In total, there are eight different extant subscription lists attached to Avison's various publications, which cover a period of over a quarter of a century. They, as such, represent a hitherto largely untapped resource that sheds considerable light on the growth of Avison as a composer and the links he forged across Britain and beyond. The earliest of these lists was attached to his 1740 op. 2 concertos. They are, for the most part, attached to early works and particularly sets of concertos with the 1755 op. 4 being the last of these 'early' publications (see Figure 2); there is then a gap of over a decade until the appearance of his op. 9 12 concertos, published in two parts in 1766 and 1767.

Of the works issued in this 'gap', none of Avison's three sets of accompanied keyboard sonatas, the opp. 5, 7 and 8, published respectively in 1756, 1760 and 1764 has lists, nor does his set of 12 op. 6 concertos from 1758. It appears to be that Avison, feeling financially stable and relatively affluent after his op. 4, had the means to finance the publication of some of these works himself.¹⁹ This certainly appears to have been the situation with the

13 David Hunter and Rose Mason, 'Supporting Handel Through Subscription to Publications: The Lists of Rodelinda and Faramondo Compared', *Notes*, 56/1 (1999), 30–1.

14 This was certainly true of Avison's *Two Concertos*. *Daily Gazetteer*, 7 January 1742. See also Hunter and Mason, 'Supporting Handel', 32.

15 The problem with subscription lists is accessibility and, even though there have been huge advances in this area during the past half century, it can be impractical for a researcher to scour lists in search of a single name, unless they are readily accessible through an online database, such as *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. A useful starting point for anyone investigating lists is Peter Wallis and Francis Robinson: *Book Subscription Lists: a Revised Guide* (Newcastle, 1975) and Peter Wallis and Ruth Wallis: *Book Subscription Lists: Extended Supplement to the Revised Guide* (Newcastle, 1996) but these are far from complete. There is an ongoing effort to produce a new online database of all music subscription lists produced in Britain before 1820, compiled by the author in partnership with Martin Perkins of Birmingham Conservatory. We have so far identified over 700 lists that date from before 1820.

16 Margaret Seares, 'The Composer and the Subscriber: a Case Study from the 18th Century', *Early Music*, 39/1 (2011), 65–78.

17 Michael Talbot, 'What Lists of Subscribers Can Tell Us: The Cases of Giacob Basevi Cervetto's Opp. 1 and 2', *De Musica Disserenda*, 10 (2014), 121–39.

18 Hunter and Mason, 'Supporting Handel', 27–93.

19 As Avison's op. 4 concertos were popular enough to warrant a reissue by Johnson, they were clearly far more widely known than the subscription list to this work indicates.

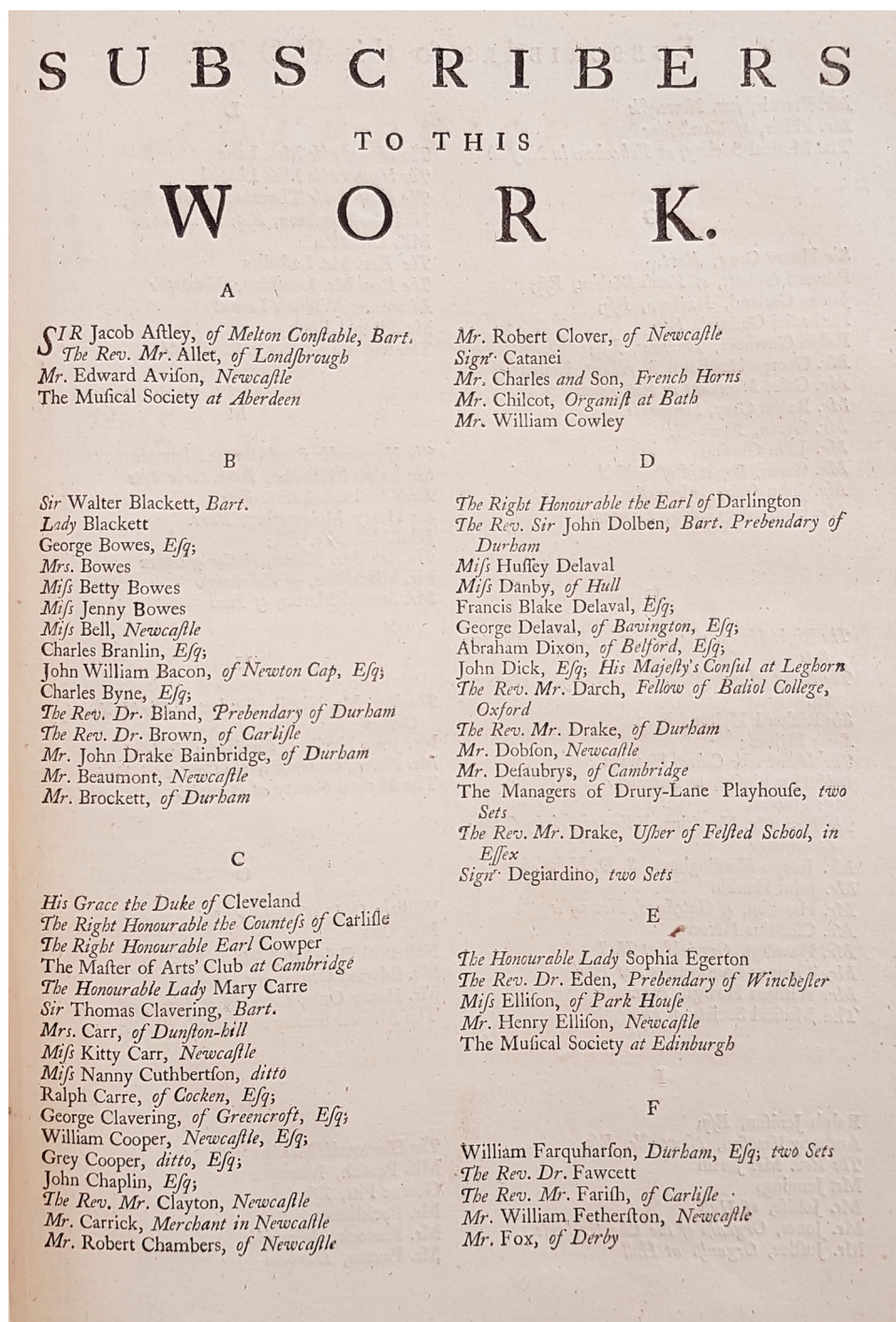


Figure 2. First page of the subscription list to Charles Avison's *Eight Concertos*, op. 4. Source: Print from the author's collection, held at Durham University's Palace Green Library.

opp. 6, 7 and 8 which were 'Printed for the Author'. However, in the case of the op. 5 it appears that Johnson was willing to assume, given that Avison was by the mid-1750s an established and well-known composer, that any publication under his name would be profitable and paid to produce this set himself. The fact that the two subsequent sets of sonatas were printed for Avison suggests that this first set did not meet Johnson's

expectations.²⁰ As for the op. 6, this set contains re-workings of his op. 2 concertos. As these are not entirely new works it could be that Avison decided to finance this edition himself to avoid any disappointment to potential subscribers. There is one other musical work by subscription with which Avison was involved and that is the English edition of Marcello's *Psalms*, published in eight volumes from 1757.²¹

As already mentioned, Avison's final list was attached to the op. 9 concertos. This work was published in two sets, both of which have an individual list.²² This work is also something of an anomaly as the first set has two different subscription lists. What appears to have happened is that the first volume was published by John Johnson's widow, Ruth, in March 1766. It was then reissued by her, probably later that same year, with an updated list. By the time the second volume appeared, in March 1767, she had been replaced as publisher by Robert Bremner who brought out the second set with yet another updated list; he additionally reissued the first set, presumably once all copies of Johnson's imprint had been sold.²³ When comparing these three lists it is clear that Avison received a good number of extra subscribers in the time between each set's publication, although one name, John Cuthbert of Newcastle, who appears in the list to the first edition of set 1, was removed from the second edition; this was presumably because he had not made his promised payment.²⁴ In some cases, a name may change between lists. Mary Eleanor Bowes, who had married the 9th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne on 26 February 1767, subscribed in her maiden name to set 1, issue 2, but married name to set 2.²⁵ Additionally, it was not unusual for subscriptions to be taken after the list of subscribers had been produced and a number of lists,

20 Avison might well have been taken aback by the reception of his op. 5 sonatas as, perhaps anticipating that the best-selling domestic music should be flexible, he made them performable in several ways. The keyboard parts are complete in themselves and could be performed as solos. Also, Avison's chosen arrangement with accompaniments, for two violins and a cello, meant that these sonatas could be performed in a variety of different combinations, whether that was as duos, trios or quartets.

21 For this article, these eight lists have been viewed as a unified whole, although each volume has its own unique subscription list, between each of which there is a good amount of variation. However, since it was Garth's name and not Avison's that was given as editor, these lists have only been included in the tables where it is possible to trace subscribers from Avison's own works; any subscribers unique to their edition of Marcello's *Psalms* have not been included.

22 Set 1 contains the first six concertos and set 2 the remaining six (concertos 7 to 12).

23 I am grateful to Gordon Dixon who provided me with a copy of the list to the second edition of set 1, which came from the collection of Newcastle's Literary and Philosophical Society. I am also grateful to James Smith who allowed me to consult the original document. We do not know why Avison decided to switch publishers midway through the production of his op. 9. Although Ruth Johnson may have decided for some reason not to produce the rest of the set, it could be that there was some tension over the first issue of book 1, brought about by the omission of certain names from the list of subscribers. One suspects that such issues were not unusual. The Edinburgh publisher, John Watlen, added a note to the subscription list attached to his second volume of *The Celebrated Circus Tunes* (1798) to mitigate any arising problems: 'As there are several Subscription Papers in the Country, and are not yet come to hand, the Author hopes those Ladies and Gentlemen, whose Names are not here inserted, will excuse the omission.'

24 It is possible that Cuthbert had died but, if he had, he had almost certainly not paid for his copy. It was not unusual for the names of the recently deceased to appear in subscription lists, sometimes with the addition of the word 'late'. This happens in the lists to Marcello's *Psalms*, to which Sir John Dolben subscribed. Dolben sadly died in 1756, before the first volume appeared, but his name was included in all eight lists.

25 Rosalind Marshall, 'Bowes, Mary Eleanor, Countess of Strathmore and Kinghorne (1749–1800)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., edited by David Cannadine (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3056> (accessed January 31, 2017). Mary Eleanor Bowes subscribed to the op. 9, but as 'Miss Bowes' in list G and as 'The Right Hon. the Countess of Strathmore' in list H.

Table II. Subscription lists to Avison's publications.

List Ref.	Title of work	Publisher	Year published	No. of subscribers	No. of copies
A	<i>Six Concertos ... Opera Secunda</i>	Joseph Barber, Newcastle	1740	170	173
B	<i>Two Concertos the First for an Organ or Harpsichord</i>	Joseph Barber, Newcastle	1742	144	163
C	<i>TWELVE Concerto's ... done from the two Books of Lessons ... by Sigr Domenico Scarlatti</i>	Joseph Barber, Newcastle	1744	151	157
D	<i>Six Concertos ... Opera Terza</i>	John Johnson, London	1751	174	192
E	<i>Eight Concertos ... Opera Quarta</i>	John Johnson, London	1755	198	218
F	<i>Twelve Concertos ... Opera Nona [Set 1 – First Issue]</i>	Ruth Johnson, London	1766	209	273
G	<i>Twelve Concertos ... Opera Nona [Set 1 – Second Issue]</i>	Ruth Johnson, London	1766	229	293
H	<i>Twelve Concertos ... Opera Nona [Set 2]</i>	Robert Bremner, London	1767	253	317
I	<i>The First Fifty Psalms Set to Music by Benedetto Marcello</i>	John Johnson, London	From 1757	122 (vol. 8)	148 (vol. 8)

including the first edition of set 1, have names added by hand.²⁶ What is perhaps so unusual about the op. 9 lists is that there are not only three lists, printed at different times for one single opus, but that there was also an impressive 20% increase in the number of subscribers between the first and final lists. An index of all Avison's subscription lists with the number of subscribers and copies subscribed to is given in Table II.

The figures in Table II reveal a general growth in sales between 1740 to 1767, during which time Avison had almost doubled the number of copies he was selling by subscription. Avison's ultimate success with the op. 9 appears to have been due to several factors. Firstly, that by 1766 Avison's reputation had grown significantly and there were more who were willing to take a chance on the quality and usefulness of his music. Secondly, that Avison, in his desire to increase the number of copies sold, set out to make these works adaptable. They could be performed as keyboard solos, as Avison provided a partially realized harpsichord part; he also intended that they could be performed as quartets and so were ideal for domestic purposes.²⁷

Of the works with subscription lists, the earliest three were published in Newcastle while the later examples were produced in London. Avison presumably knew Joseph Barber personally, which may have led to his decision to have these editions published locally. Of course, the difficulty was that Newcastle, even with the improvements in communication, was still a considerable distance from London. If Avison wanted to increase his sales and make himself more widely recognized as a composer then it was to this city that he needed to look to sell his

26 There are four names added in manuscript to the British Library copy of the first edition of set 1 (GB-Lbl: h72b). They are all included in the list to the second edition.

27 Avison's concertos were performed as quartets in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Fleming, 'The Myth of the Forgotten Composer', 110, 112. The flexibility of the op. 9 enabled them to be performed in a variety of other ways; for example, they could easily be performed as duos for violin and keyboard.

<p>A.</p> <p>SIR Jacob Atley, <i>Bart.</i> of Melton- Constable in Norfolk Edward Atley, <i>Esq.</i> in Norfolk Miss Allgood, of the Riding Reverend Mr. Allet, <i>five Sets</i> Mr. Atkinson, of Durham Mr. Edward Avison Mr. William Avison, <i>Organist at Hull</i> <i>Musical Society at Aberdeen, two Sets</i></p> <p>B.</p> <p>Sir Walter Blackett, <i>Bart.</i> Lady Blackett George Bowes, <i>Esq.</i> Mrs. Bowes Miss Betty Bowes Miss Jenny Bowes Miss Byne Miss Bell John Bagnall, <i>Esq.</i> John Berchenhout, <i>Esq.</i> of Leeds Rev. Doctor Bland, <i>Prebendary of Durham</i> Charles Byne, <i>Esq.</i> Rev. Mr. Brown, of Carlisle Rev. Mr. Branfoot, of Bosthal Mr. Samuel Berry Mr. Ra. Brockett, of Durham Mr. Burdus, of Newcastle Mr. Thomas Brummell, <i>ditto</i> Mr. Robert Beaumont, <i>ditto</i> Mr. Barfanti Mr. Blenkinsop, of Durham.</p> <p>C.</p> <p>His Grace the Duke of Cleveland The Right Hon. Earl Cowper Sir Thomas Clavering, <i>Bart.</i> Lady Clavering Miss Kitty Carr, Newcastle Percival Clennell, <i>Esq.</i> <i>ditto</i> Grey Cooper, <i>Esq.</i> <i>Fellow of Trinity- College in Cambridge</i> Rev. Mr. Clayton, Newcastle Mr. Carrick, <i>Merchant, ditto</i> Mr. Coyle, in York. Mr. James Cliffe, Newcastle Master Cooper, <i>ditto</i> Mr. Clover, <i>ditto</i> Signior Cattanei <i>Musical Society at Carlisle</i></p> <p>D.</p> <p>Rev. Sir John Dolben, <i>Bart.</i> <i>Prebendary of Durham</i> Robert Dennison, <i>Esq.</i> of Leeds Jeremy Dixon, <i>Esq.</i> <i>ditto</i> Abraham Dixon, <i>Esq.</i> Newcastle George Delaval, of Bavington, <i>Esq.</i> Mr. Dillingham, <i>three Sets</i> Rev. Mr. John Dick, <i>Merchant in Rotterdam</i> Rev. Mr. Drake of Houghton le Spring <i>Lieutenant Dunn</i> Mr. Michael Dobson, Newcastle Mr. William Douglas, for the <i>Musical So- ciety at St. Marys Chapel in Edinbo- rough, two Sets</i></p> <p>E.</p> <p>Miss Ellison, of Park-House. Miss Ellison, Newcastle.</p> <p>F.</p> <p>Christ. Fawcett, <i>Esq.</i> Newcastle Rev. Doctor Fawcett</p>	<p>Captain Edward Page, York Mr. William Fetherston, Newcastle Mr. John Forbes, <i>Merchant in Rotterdam</i> Rev. Mr. Farith, in Carlisle <i>Musical Society at Fakenham in Norfolk.</i></p> <p>G.</p> <p>The Right Hon. the Marchioness of Grey Sir Henry Grey, <i>Bart.</i> Edward Gilbert, of Pauls Walden, <i>Esq.</i> Miss Betty Gilpin, of Whitehaven Mr. Gale, <i>Merchant in Rotterdam</i> Signior Geminiani Doctor Maurice Green Mr. Green, Newcastle Mr. Robert Green, <i>ditto</i> Mr. John Garth, <i>Organist of Sedgfield</i> Mr. John Gales, Newcastle Mr. Cornforth Gelson, <i>ditto</i></p> <p>H.</p> <p>Lady Hilton Colonel Honeywood Hon. Charles James Hamilton, York Michael Hatton, <i>Esq.</i> <i>His Majesty's Consul at Ostend.</i> Miss Holmes, Carlisle Miss Hallowell, Newcastle Mr. George Headlam, <i>Merchant in New- castle</i> Mr. Archibald Hamilton, <i>Merchant in Rotterdam</i> Mr. Joseph Hardingham, of Norwich, <i>two Sets</i> Mr. Hankin Mr. Claudius Heron Mr. Charles Handasyde Mr. Mathias Hawden, Newcastle Mr. William Howgil</p> <p>I.</p> <p>Ra. Jenison, <i>Esq.</i> Mrs. Jessup Mr. Anthony Isaacson, Newcastle Mr. Jones, York.</p> <p>K.</p> <p>Mr. Simpson Kell, Newcastle.</p> <p>L.</p> <p>The Honourable Mrs. Lane Sir Digby Legard, <i>Bart.</i> The Honourable Miss Liddell Miss Lambton, of Biddick Thomas Liddell, <i>Esq.</i> Nicholas Lambton, <i>Esq.</i> Miss Lambert, Newcastle Captain Leigh, York Rev. Mr. Lafcels Thomas Lowfield, <i>Esq.</i> Mr. Ronjat Lehook, <i>Merchant Lieutenant Lowes</i> Mr. Christ. Lambert, Newcastle Mr. Robert Lowes, <i>ditto</i></p> <p>M.</p> <p>Lady Grate Montgomery Sir Ralph Milbanke, <i>Bart.</i> Lady Milbanke Sir Henry Mainwaring, <i>Bart.</i> Captain Edward Milbanke Francis Middleton, <i>Esq.</i> Durham Edward Mounteny, of South-Shields, <i>Esq.</i> Mr. Mason, <i>Fellow of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge</i> Mr. John Marley, of Dunston.</p>	<p>N.</p> <p>Mr. Nares, <i>Organist of the Cathedral, in York.</i></p> <p>O.</p> <p>William Ord, of Fenham, <i>Esq.</i> <i>three Sets</i> Mrs. Ord, <i>three Sets</i> Nathaniel Ogle, of Kirkley, <i>Esq.</i> <i>two Sets</i> John Ord, of Morpeth, <i>Esq.</i> Captain O Carrol, York Mr. Henry Ogle. <i>The Musical Society at Oxford.</i></p> <p>P.</p> <p>Mr. Perkins, of York Mr. Peacock, Newcastle.</p> <p>R.</p> <p>The Right Honourable Lord Ravensworth, <i>two Sets</i> Lady Ravensworth Mrs. Ridley, of Heaton Mrs. Reay, Newcastle Miss Reay, <i>ditto</i> Miss Rutter, <i>ditto</i> John Reed, of Chipchase, <i>Esq.</i> Thomas Rudd, <i>Esq.</i> Durham Mr. Henry Richmond, Newcastle Mr. Allen Robinson, <i>ditto</i> Mr. Rofcingrave.</p> <p>S.</p> <p>The Right Honourable Lord St. John, of Bletloe Rev. Doctor Sharp, <i>Archdeacon of Nor- thumberland, &c.</i> Walter Scot, of Harding, <i>Esq.</i> Rev. Doctor Smith, <i>Master of Trinity- College, Cambridge.</i> Mrs. Sheperdson, of Hall-Garth Miss Shalto, of Dunston Robert Shafto, of Benwell, <i>Esq.</i> Henry Stephenon, <i>Esq.</i> Rev. Mr. Sharp, of Hartburn, <i>two Sets</i> Rev. Mr. Thomas Sharp, <i>Fellow of Tri- nity College, Cambridge</i> Mr. Smelt, of Carlisle Mr. Edward Stewart, Newcastle Mr. Mat. Stephenson, <i>ditto</i> Mr. Robert Smart Master Scot, Newcastle Mr. Solinus Mr. Joshua Shudi.</p> <p>V.</p> <p>The Right Honourable Henry Vane Miss Vane Mr. P. A. Van Hagan, Rotterdam.</p> <p>W.</p> <p>Right Hon. Lord Widdrington, <i>two Sets</i> Lady Widdrington Miss Williams, Newcastle Ra. Widdrington, <i>Esq.</i> <i>two Sets</i> Henry Lee Warner, <i>jun. Esq.</i> of Norfolk Edward Ward, of Morpeth, <i>Esq.</i> Rev. Mr. Wray Mr. Winnington, of Whitehaven Mr. Westfield Webb Mr. John Williams, <i>jun.</i> Newcastle Mr. John Widdrington, <i>ditto</i> Master Mitford Wilkinson, <i>ditto</i> Mr. William Wright, at Lincoln Mr. John Wallh</p> <p>Y.</p> <p>The Musical Society in Blake-street, York.</p>
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Figure 3. List of subscribers to Charles Avison's *Six Concertos*, op. 3.

Source: Print from the author's collection, held at Durham University's Palace Green Library.

works, then one of the biggest marketplaces for music in the world.²⁸ The earliest two works issued by Barber were, according to the title pages, also available for purchase from the

28 In c.1750, the population of London was around 675,000. The next biggest town, Norwich, had a population of around 50,000. See E. Anthony Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period', *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in Urban History 1688–1820*, ed. Peter Borsay (London, 1990), 42. The book trade was London-centric, with well-developed links that enabled the spread of books out into the provinces, but it was not geared for transportation in the opposite direction. See David Shaw, 'Canterbury's External Links: Book-Trade Relations at the Regional and National Level in the Eighteenth Century', *The*

Table III. Publishers who subscribed to Avison's music.

Publisher	List Ref.
Joseph Barber	A, C
[Robert] Bremner	F (7), G (7), H (7), I (3)*
Benjamin Cooke	A, B
[John] Johnson	B (12), I (12)**
[Charles] Thompson	F (14), G (14), H (14)
[John] Walsh	B (6), D, E (7), F (14), G (14), H (14), I (6)
[Peter or John] Welcker	F, G, H

Notes: Numbers in brackets indicate the number of copies purchased.

*Bremner did not subscribe to volume 1 of Marcello's *Psalms*, and only one copy of volume 2. He subscribed to three copies of all subsequent volumes.

**Johnson subscribed to six copies of volume 1 of Marcello's *Psalms* and twelve of all subsequent volumes, although his subscription, from volume 6, was ascribed to his wife Ruth.

London publisher, Benjamin Cooke; Cooke additionally took subscriptions for both works.²⁹ Cooke died c.1743 so the Scarlatti concertos were simply recorded as 'Sold by the Musick Shops in Town'.³⁰ By the time Avison's op. 3 appeared, (see Figure 3) he had switched allegiance to John Johnson who, as well as publishing all of Avison's new works and Marcello's *Psalms*, also reissued the op. 1 sonatas. Avison's final publisher, Robert Bremner, produced the complete op. 9 and the op. 10 concertos; Bremner furthermore reissued the op. 7 sonatas, but it is unclear whether his imprint appeared before or after Avison's death.

All of Avison's publishers subscribed to his music (Table III), including works that they themselves printed. A few publishers, however, subscribed to works with which they had no direct association, although some did act as agents by taking subscriptions.³¹ The most notable of them all is John Walsh who subscribed to everything but the op. 2 and Avison's Scarlatti concertos. Walsh was, nevertheless, clearly aware of the op. 2 as he brought out a set of eight organ concertos, six of which were based on the concertino parts from this set and designed to work with the already available ripieno parts.³² In addition, several publishers, particularly Walsh, subscribed to a large number of copies that were presumably intended for sale in their shops; subscribing would certainly have made financial sense if, by doing so, they were provided with a discount.

Musical societies

During the eighteenth century, there was a significant growth in the number of musical societies throughout Britain. These societies tended to be a mix of both professional and amateur musicians who came together on a regular basis to make music, often at a local

Mighty Engine: The Printing Press and its Impact, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester, 2000), 110–11.

29 *Daily Gazetteer*, 7 January 1742. Cooke also published the first edition of Avison's op. 1 trio sonatas.

30 William Smith and Peter Ward Jones, 'Cooke, Benjamin (i)', *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed December 30, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06393>.

31 This is known to be true of the op. 9 first pressing of set 1, where subscriptions were also taken by both John Walsh and Robert Bremner. East Riding Archives: DDGR/42/16/23: a printed notice advertising the publication of the op. 9 concertos. I am grateful to Helen Clark who provided me with a copy of this document.

32 These were published as *Eight Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord*. Of the two remaining 'Walsh' organ concertos, one was based on the second concerto from his *Two Concertos* and the other on a now lost published concerto. Revised versions of all eight concertos were included by Avison in his op. 6.

Table IV. Musical societies which subscribed to Avison's publications.

Musical society	List ref.
Aberdeen	D (2), E, F, G, H
Cambridge (Master of Arts' Club)	E
Carlisle	B, C, D
Darlington	F, G, H
Derby	F, G, H
Dublin (The Philharmonic Society)	A
Dundee	G, H
Durham	A, B
Edinburgh	A, B, E, F (4), G (4), H (4), I
Edinburgh (at St Mary's Chapel)	D (2)
Fakenham	D, E
Glasgow	C
Hull	A, B, E
Lichfield	E, H
Lincoln	A, B
London (The Academy of Ancient Music)	F (3), G (3), H (3), I (2)
London (The Philharmonic Society at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand)	C (3)
Newcastle	A, B
Newcastle (in the Close)	F, G, H
Norwich	A (3), B (2), C (2), E
Nottingham (The Senior Musical Society)	F, G, H
Oxford	C, D, E (2), I (2)
Spalding	B
Whitehaven	F, G, H
York	C (2)
York (in Blake Street)	D, E (2)

tavern. Avison was himself a member of the Newcastle Musical Society and it was at their meetings that his op. 1 trios were performed.³³ The index of musical societies given in Table IV outlines not only how far Avison's reputation spread, but also how highly he was regarded by some individual groups.

Of these societies, a respectable number subscribed to only one publication while others subscribed to more. Of those which subscribed to one, it was mostly the op. 9, which indicates that these groups may not have encountered Avison's music until a later date and certainly saw no need, if they were aware of him at the time, to subscribe to anything earlier. Some societies subscribed to an early publication but not to any later works. This could be due to changes in taste, but these groups could possibly have experienced a drop in their numbers, which meant that they were either unable to afford the subscription, or that they no longer had the numbers required to perform concertos; this certainly appears to have been the situation with that at Spalding.³⁴ In the case of Durham, their musical society subscribed to the first two works but nothing later. This was presumably due to the longstanding dispute that existed between Avison and the organist of Durham Cathedral, James Hesletine. The source of this argument appears to originate in 1742, when Avison proposed a series of concerts to coincide with Durham's race week. Hesletine, who had a fiery temperament and was, in the words of

33 In the dedication to his op. 1 sonatas, Avison wrote that 'I had then no thoughts of their ever being made Publick, but beyond expectation meeting with some applause in private and being importun'd by the Musical Society in Newcastle to publish them, I could no longer refuse to comply.'

34 Simon Fleming, 'The Musical Activities of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 48/1 (2017), 74.

Durham's Dean, Spencer Cowper, unable 'to bear a Competitor', subsequently refused to be involved in any musical event that involved Avison.³⁵ Although Hesletine never personally subscribed to any of Avison's publications himself, he did subscribe to Marcello's *Psalms* presumably as his relationship with Garth was less strained.

Some societies subscribed to a series of Avison's works. Aberdeen for example subscribed to everything from the op. 3. That town had a vibrant musical society, founded in 1748; one of its founding members, the dancing teacher Francis Peacock, was an individual subscriber to Avison's music.³⁶ In Edinburgh there was another, earlier established society, which appears to have given private concerts by the second decade of the eighteenth century.³⁷ Avison's links with the Scottish capital appears to be more significant than evidence initially suggests, as the *Solemn Dirge*, that Avison composed for a performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, was possibly written for use at Edinburgh.³⁸ Edinburgh appears twice in Table III, but it is likely that the St Mary's Chapel society is the same as that which subscribed to the other works; the addition of a name would have been a way of distinguishing themselves from another similar group.³⁹ An Edinburgh society subscribed to all of Avison's publications, except for the Scarlatti concertos, probably because they found Avison's music, with its easier ripieno parts, ideal for their players; some members may even have known Avison personally.⁴⁰

One of the most notable societies to subscribe was that in Oxford, which had existed since the seventeenth century. By 1740 this musical society had grown to such an extent that they required their own purpose-built accommodation; this resulted in the construction of the Holywell Music Room, opened in 1748.⁴¹ The Oxford group was usually led by the Professor of Music who, from 1741, was William Hayes.⁴² Hayes had a notoriously low opinion of Avison's music, and savagely criticized the op. 3 in his 1753 pamphlet *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression*. The Oxford Musical Society subscribed to the Scarlatti concertos, the op. 3 and the 1755 op. 4 concertos. The society's rules set out that '[t]he Steward ... shall not ... subscribe to any Books to be published ... without an Order from a Meeting', which presumably means that before a subscription was placed a consensus had to be reached amongst the society's members.⁴³ The fact that they subscribed to the op. 4 indicates that a sizeable number of Hayes' immediate musical circle not only appreciated Avison's music, but were happy to perform or listen to it. Regarding Hayes himself, he may have had little choice but to tolerate it.

Some musical societies subscribed to more than one set and there are several reasons why this might have been the case. Some might have been large enough to warrant more than one desk to

35 Simon Fleming, *A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711–1811: A Documentary Study* (PhD diss., U. of Durham, 2009), 61–70, 112.

36 Henry Farmer, *Music Making in the Olden Days: The Story of the Aberdeen Concerts 1748–1801* (London, 1950), 13–15.

37 Henry Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London, n.d.), 309.

38 Simon Fleming, 'Charles Avison's Dirge for Romeo and Juliet', *Early Music Performer*, 36 (2015), 14.

39 Further evidence that those groups that appear twice are the same can be observed in that they never subscribed to the same work.

40 The concerto grosso was a popular form in Britain due to the nature of concert orchestras, which would perform with little rehearsal time beforehand. The main body of the orchestra would play the simpler ripieno parts leaving the more difficult concertino parts to the concert organizers or other billed performers.

41 Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 2001), 44–9.

42 Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford*; Peter Ward Jones and Simon Heighes, 'Hayes' Grove Music Online, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed January 21, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12621pg1>.

43 John Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe: A Record of Eighteenth-Century Enterprise at Oxford* (London, 1911), 49–50. I am grateful to Simon Heighes for his advice and for pointing out this reference to me.

some parts. Of course, multiple copies could have been purchased if one of a society's members wanted their own copy but the purchase was made through the society itself; likewise, some individuals who subscribed might have used their parts at a society meeting. Several musical societies subscribed to more than one copy of some publications, including those at Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Oxford and York. The Norwich musical society stands out as they purchased three sets of the op. 2, two sets of the *Two Concertos* and the Scarlatti concertos and one set of the op. 4, which could be taken as evidence of a reduction in their numbers. However, the top prize goes to that in Edinburgh, which purchased four copies of the op. 9. This society was particularly large. On its founding in 1728 it had 70 members, which had risen to 195 by 1775.⁴⁴ Presumably many were there to hear the music and socialize, rather than to play, but their subscription indicates that they may have had in the region of eight players on some parts.⁴⁵

Musician subscribers

Just as Avison subscribed to a large number of musical works, a significant number of musicians subscribed to Avison's own works. Table V contains a list of the musician subscribers, not including amateurs, along with the positions as given in the lists. For other subscribers, it has taken some detective work to determine exactly who were musicians because of the lack of a Christian or place name; for this reason, there are undoubtedly others who remain to be identified.

This list of musicians can be subdivided into three groups. Firstly, there are those who appear to have subscribed reciprocally to Avison's works. Of the 91 names listed here, Avison subscribed to works by 13 of them. A second group are those who worked or studied in the North-East and knew Avison personally; they were presumably asked to subscribe and may even have felt obligated to do so whether they had any use for this music. Finally, there are those with no other known connection with Avison. The first category is of interest as it reveals at least one hitherto unknown relationship.

Thomas Chilcot, the organist at Bath Abbey, subscribed to all of Avison's publications, except for the op. 3, and Avison returned the favour by subscribing to two publications by Chilcot. What is unusual is that Avison took five copies of Chilcot's *Twelve English Songs*, which raises the question as to why Avison required so many prints. It seems likely that he may have taken the extra copies to support a fellow musician, perhaps even one he knew quite well.⁴⁶ According to Rishton, Chilcot rarely travelled far from Bath so it is unlikely that he would have visited the North-East, but there may have been a link through Masonic circles.⁴⁷ Chilcot was certainly a freemason and evidence suggests that Avison may have been one as well.⁴⁸ What is perhaps even more striking about Bath is the number of subscribers from that place who purchased a

44 Peter Holman and Richard Maunder, 'The Accompaniment of Concertos in 18th-century England', *Early Music*, 28/4 (2000), 646.

45 This assumes, as per modern practice, that two performers could share one part placed on a stand. However, it is also possible that, if more parts were required, these could be produced in manuscript. See Holman and Maunder, 'The Accompaniment of Concertos', 645–6.

46 It is unlikely that Avison bought the extra copies for resale purposes as, for most works, he only subscribed to a single copy.

47 Tim Rishton, 'Chilcot, Thomas', *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed January 14, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05581>.

48 Gwilym Beechey, 'Thomas Chilcot and His Music', *Music & Letters*, 54/2 (1973), 184. I am grateful to Tim Rishton who suggested the Masonic link. There is no firm evidence that Avison was himself a freemason although Garth certainly was, as was Avison's youngest son Charles. See Simon Fleming, 'Charles Avison Jnr and his Book of Organ Voluntaries', *The Musical Times*, 153/1918 (2012), 99; Simon Fleming, 'John Garth and his Music: an Important Provincial Composer from 18th-Century Britain', *The Musical Times*, 153/1921 (2012), 66.

Table V. Individual musicians who subscribed to Avison's publications.

Musician subscriber*	List ref.
Thomas Arne	A, B
William Ayrton, Organist of the Cathedral, Ripon	F, G, H, I
Edward Avison, Newcastle [brother of Avison]	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H
William Avison, Organist at Hull [?brother of Avison]	A, B, C, D
[Francesco] Barsanti	B, D
[Thomas] Beilby, Organist at Scarborough	F, G, H
[Edward] Bets, Organist at Manchester	A
[Peter] Blenkinsop, of Durham [cathedral lay-clerk]	D
[Capel] Bond, Organist at Coventry	H
William Boyce, Composer, and one of the Organists of his Majesty's Chapel-Royal	B, I
Ralph Brockett, of Durham [former cathedral chorister]	D, E, I
[William] Broderip, Organist at Bristol	F, G, H
[Charles] Burney	G, H
[John] Camidge, Organist of the Cathedral, York	F, G, H
Mr Carr, Organist at Leeds	B
[Giuseppe] Cattanei	D, E
Mr Charles and Son, French Horns	E
Thomas Chilcot, Organist at Bath	A, B, C, E, F, G, H
[John] Clark, of the Choir of Durham	F, G, H
James Clarke, Organist of St John's in Newcastle	A
Stephen Clark, Organist at Dundee	G, H
Walter Cottingham, Organist at Newark upon Trent	A, B, C
William Cowley [played organ at Sedgefield]	E
[?Miles] Coyle, York	D
Mr Denby, Organist at Wakefield	A
[William] Denby, Organist at Derby	F, G, H
[Abraham] Dobinson, Organist of the Cathedral, Carlisle	A
William Douglas, Edinburgh	D
[Thomas] Ebdon, Organist of the Cathedral, Durham	F, G, H
William Felton	C
Michael Christian Festing	A, B, C
John Garth, Organist at Sedgefield	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H
Cornforth Gelson, Durham [cathedral lay-clerk]	D, E
[Francesco] Geminiani	A, C, D
[Felice] Giardini**	E (2), F (2) G (2), H (2), I
Maurice Greene	C, D
[Barnabus] Gunn, Organist at Birmingham	B
Henry Hargrave, Nottingham	F, G, H
Matthias Hawdon, Newcastle then Organist at Hull	D, E, F (2), G (2), H (2), I
[Thomas] Haxby, York	F (7), G (7), H (7)
John Hebden, York	A, B
[Musgrave] Heighington	C
Claudius Heron, [Newcastle then] London	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H
[William] Herschel, Organist at Halifax	F (4), G (4), H (4)
William Howgill, Newcastle then Organist at Whitehaven	D, E, F, G, H, I
Mr. Humberston, Organist at Yarm.	F, G, H
[William] Jackson, Exeter	F (2), G (2), H (2), I
[Robert] Jobson, Organist at Wakefield	F, G, H
John Jones, Organist of the Charter-house	E, I
Thomas Jones, Dancing-Master, in Newcastle	A
[Richard] Justice, Organist at Hull	E
Mr King, Organist at Stockton	F, G, H
[Thomas] Linley, Bath	F, G, H

(Continued)

Table V. Continued.

Musician subscriber*	List ref.
William Linley, Bath	F, G, H
[Joseph] Mahoon, Harpsichord-maker to His Majesty	B
[Bailey] Marley, Organist at Hull	F, G, H
John Marshall, Durham [cathedral lay-clerk]	F, G, H
[John] Matthews, of the Choir of Durham	F, G, H
[Benjamin] Milgrove, Bath	F, G, H
[James] Nares, Organist of the Cathedral, York	A, B, C, D, E
[Giovanni] Noferi	F, G, H
[Niccolo] Pasquali, Cambridge	B
Henry Ogle, Organist at Liverpool	E
[Thomas] Orpin, Organist at Devizes	F, G, H
[Robert] Page, Newcastle	F, G, H
[Stephen] Paxton, London [formerly of Durham]	F, G, H
[?William] Paxton, Durham	E
[Francis] Peacock, Aberdeen	F, G, H
[Thomas] Perkins, of York	D
John Randall, Organist of King's College, Cambridge	E, I
[David] Richards, Bath	F, G, H, I
[William] Rogers, Bath	F, G, H
Thomas Roseingrave	A, D
[George] Rush, Composer of Music	F, G, H
[John] Scamardine, Grantham	F, G, H
Francis Sharp, Stamford	F, G, H
Joseph Shaw, York	F (2), G (2), H (2)
[Thomas] Shaw, Bath	F, G, H
Burkat Shudi	C, E, F (3), G (3), H (3), I
Joshua Shudi	D
John Simpson, Newcastle	F, G, H
[?Timothy] Smart, London	F, G, H
[John] Snetzler [organ builder]	F (3), G (3), H (3)
Mr Stobbs, Organist, Birmingham	H
Abraham Taylor, Durham [cathedral lay-clerk]	A, B, C
William Tireman, [a York wait, then] Organist of Trinity College, Cambridge	A, B, F, G, H
[John] Travers, one of the Organists of His Majesty's Chapel-Royal	B
[Bernard] Turner, Organist of St. John's, Cambridge	B
John Valentine, Leicester	F, G, H
[John] Wainwright, Organist in Manchester	E, I
[John] Worgan [Organist in London]	G, H

Notes: *For this and all subsequent tables all biographical data has been derived from the subscription lists, although this information has been standardized. In most cases the lists also omit Christian names; where this is the case they have been added in square brackets with the title, if it is 'Mr' or 'Segnor' in the source, omitted. Surnames, which are occasionally spelt inconsistently, have been standardized.

** In some lists Giardini's name is given as 'Sign' Degiardino'.

copy of Avison's op. 9. Bath, as a major spa town, had one of the most vibrant musical scenes in provincial Britain. Many of those who visited Bath would drink the waters in the 'Pump Room' where music was provided as entertainment; the musicians who played in the 'Pump Room Band' also formed the core of Bath's concert orchestras, with 63% of this quite small group subscribing to the op. 9.⁴⁹ The subscribers were Thomas Linley (who played violin), Benjamin

49 Robert Hyman and Nicola Hyman, *The Pump Room Orchestra Bath: Three Centuries of Music and Social History* (Salisbury, 2011), 3–4.

Milgrove (French horn), Thomas Shaw (clarinet/viola/violin), David Richards (cello/violin) and William Rogers (trumpet/horn).⁵⁰ No Bath-based group subscribed to anything by Avison yet there was clearly some sort of relationship between Avison and Bath's musicians.⁵¹ It is certainly within the realms of possibility that Avison visited the town. Although there is no concrete evidence to prove this, recent research has underscored just how well-connected Avison was and that he did take excursions to Carlisle, London, Derwentwater, Edinburgh and Stirling. Bath would have been a more challenging endeavour but he may have made the journey if, in addition to visiting Chilcot, he or his wife Catherine wished to take the waters for health reasons.⁵²

Another notable musician, with whom Avison appears to have been associated, is Carl Frederick Abel. Although Abel did not subscribe to any of Avison's publications, Avison did subscribe to Abel's op. 2 sonatas, purchasing six copies. Other subscribers to this work from the North-East include Garth, who purchased four copies, and Lady Milbanke.⁵³

Of the musicians based in the North-East, there were a few who subscribed to all of Avison's publications, including Garth, Edward Avison and Claudius Heron, the last of whom was a Newcastle-based cellist.⁵⁴ Hestletine's successor as organist at Durham Cathedral, Thomas Ebdon, did not share his predecessor's prejudices and had no qualms about subscribing to the op. 9. Other Durham Cathedral musician subscribers include Peter Blenkinsop and Cornforth Gelson; their subscription was a precursor to a later decision in which they switched allegiance from the cathedral choir's concert series to a rival series run by Garth in partnership with Avison.⁵⁵ There were also subscribers from York, including two of the cathedral's organists, James Nares and John Camidge, the concert promoter, John Hebden and the instrument-maker Thomas Haxby. The future astronomer William Herschel also appears, having previously been bandleader for the Durham militia.⁵⁶

There were also a few subscribers who were not based in the area but who came to North-East to perform at concerts. Felice Giardini played violin at Avison's Newcastle concerts during the 1750s; he was, in the 1760s, succeeded by another subscriber, Giovanni Noferi. Another was Mr Charles, the Hungarian horn player, who had passed through Newcastle in 1755, at which point Avison must have sought his subscription to the op. 4.⁵⁷

There are a sizable number of subscribers for which there is no other known connection with Avison, such as the Newark organist Walter Cottingham. Unless he was particularly enamoured by Avison's music, one suspects that there was a relationship between the two men. One likewise suspects that Avison was familiar with the Shudi family of instrument-makers. Another subscriber was Francis Sharp II of Stamford. Sharp's subscription is of interest as he is unlikely to have known Avison well, even though Avison would certainly have passed through Stamford on his way to and from London. However, Sharp acted as an agent in Stamford, taking subscriptions for various musical publications,

50 For more on Milgrove see Matthew Spring, 'Benjamin Milgrove, the Musical "Toy Man", and the "Guittar" in Bath 1757–1790', *Early Music*, 41/2 (2013), 14.

51 This orchestra in 1767 consisted of eight musicians. Hyman and Hyman, *The Pump Room Orchestra Bath*, 16–19.

52 Catherine had a 'lingering indisposition' which ultimately led to her death in 1766. Simon Fleming, *Charles Avison (1709–1770) An Important and Influential English Composer, Musician, and Writer* (MMus diss., U. of Liverpool, 1999), 47.

53 A copy of this list was supplied with the courtesy of Otto Haas. I am also grateful to Colin Coleman who arranged for this copy to be made.

54 Edward was presumably Avison's older brother rather than his eldest son. Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2006), 211.

55 Fleming, *A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711–1811*, 66, 69.

56 Fleming, *A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711–1811*, 164, 171.

57 Fleming, *A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711–1811*, 97–9; *Newcastle Courant*, 28 December 1754.

including Henry Hargrave's *Five Concertos*, and may well have acted in this capacity for Avison's op. 9.⁵⁸

Agents were just one method used to attract subscriptions. A composer or publisher would additionally often place an advertisement in a newspaper. The following advertisement, which appeared in the London press, announced the publication of Avison's *Two Concertos*:

In February next will be published,

THE First Yearly Number of CONCERTO's

(*Compos'd by Mr. CHARLES AVISON, of Newcastle upon Tyne.*)

Containing one for the Harpsichord or Organ, the other for Violins, &c.

The Price of those that do not subscribe will be Four Shillings; and Subscribers at 3s. 6d. will be taken in by Mr. Benj[amin]. Cooke in New-street Covent-garden, and Mr. Walmsley in Piccadilly.

N.B. As in the Course of this Work there will be Concerto's for a Harpsichord, Violoncello, German Flute, &c. These will consist of Eight Parts, and those for Violins of Seven.⁵⁹

Another method was to produce a printed notice that would be sent to potential subscribers to encourage them to pre-order a copy. Avison is known to have utilized this method for the op. 9, as a rare example survives in the papers of John Grimston of Kilnwick. Avison was clearly successful in this endeavour as Grimston subscribed to the second set:

*To be Published, by SUBSCRIPTION, a NEW WORK, of
TWELVE CONCERTOS,*

In FOUR PARTS; Viz.

*For two VIOLINS, one ALTO VIOLA, and a VIOLONCELLO,
figured for the Harpsicord.*

Composed by

CHARLES AVISON, ORGANIST, in Newcastle.

OPERA NONA.

These CONCERTOS will be divided in two Sets: The first to be published in March, 1766; and the other, the Year following.

The SUBSCRIPTION (Half a Guinea each Set) to be paid on Delivery of the Books.

This WORK is calculated for the Service of both public and private Concerts; and may be⁶⁰ also adapted to the Practice of the Organ and Harpsicord.

SUBSCRIPTIONS will be taken by Mrs JOHNSON, Mr WALSH, and Mr BREMNER, in London; Mr Haxby, in York; and by the Author, in Newcastle.

March, 1765.

To the foot of this printed announcement, Avison added the following handwritten note:

58 *London Chronicle for the Year 1763*, 446. See also Simon Fleming: 'Music and Concert Promotion in Georgian Stamford', *The Consort*, 73 (Summer 2017), 61–83.

59 *Daily Gazetteer*, 7 January 1742. Avison also placed advertisements for works to be published by subscription in the local press. See, for example, the *Newcastle Courant*, 1 September 1750 where there appears an advertisement for the op. 3.

60 In the source, the words 'may be' are crossed out in ink with the word 'is' written above.

Sir/

I beg Pardon for y^e Liberty of this Application for y^e Honour of your name among my Subscribers to y^e last Work I shall probably offer to y^e Public, the first Part of which will be published y^e latter End of this Month. I am, Sir, yo[u]^r most obed[ien]^t humble Serv[ant]^t.

Cha[rle]^s Avison

Newcastle. March 3^d. 1766.⁶¹

Members of the clergy

A considerable number of clergy, as well as being university-educated, were not only able musicians but were often drawn towards musical pursuits as amateurs. Additionally, given the high incomes that many received, they could afford to indulge in musical activities and subscribe to the latest published works; some, such as William Felton, were active as composers and had their music published. Most, if not all of those listed in Table VI, would have had an interest in music, although there are many that Avison would have known personally. A few were associated with Durham Cathedral making it clear that Hesletine's strong views had little or no influence on them, although it is notable that Dean Spencer Cowper only subscribed to Marcello's *Psalms*. John Sharp however subscribed to all of Avison's publications; John's father, Thomas, was also a subscriber. Additionally, there was the prebendary Sir John Dolben and the minor canon, Jonathan Branfoot.

Other subscribers were associated with the Carlisle literary club, including James Farish and John Brown, both of whom subscribed to all of Avison's publications; another member of this group, Captain Leonard Smelt, subscribed to the op. 3 and op. 9.⁶² One also suspects that Avison met the organist at Carlisle Cathedral, Abraham Dobinson, on one of his visits; he subscribed to the op. 2. Others to work in the North-East include two vicars choral from York Minster, Bryan Allet and Joseph Bridges, along with William Pawson, who had been an assistant curate at York, Spencer Madan, vicar at Bossall near York, and William Becher, a deacon and then priest at Brodsworth, South Yorkshire. There was also John Darch, vicar at Long Benton, Newcastle, Nathaniel Clayton, 'lecturer' at Newcastle's St John's Church and Utrick Lowthian, vicar of Whitfield, Northumberland.⁶³

Some clergy subscribers were authors themselves and not only published their own writings, but may have contributed to the *Essay*. Mason has already been mentioned, but Norris Stephens suspects that John Brown may have been another, although Callander denied Brown's involvement.⁶⁴ Brown published several important treatises, most notably his *A Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power ... of Poetry and Music*.⁶⁵ Another possible contributor, again according to Stephens, was John Jortin; he penned an account on the 'Music of the Ancients' which was attached to the second and third editions of Avison's *Essay*.⁶⁶

Other vicar subscribers had no known association with Avison, including Robert Eden of Winchester and Edward Howkins of Cambridge. Richard Fawcett, even though he became vicar at St Nicholas' Church, Newcastle in 1766, had no apparent connection before that

61 East Riding Archives: DDGR/42/16/23. Christopher Roberts, *Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Yorkshire* (PhD diss., U. of Leeds, 2014), 141.

62 Jackson, *Memoirs of Dr William Gilpin*, 74–81.

63 The positions of these subscribers were ascertained through the *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>, accessed 23–24 January 2017.

64 Norris Stephens, *Charles Avison: An Eighteenth-Century English Composer, Musician and Writer* (PhD diss., U. of Pittsburgh, 1968), 61; Fleming, 'John Callander and the Avison Connection', 285.

65 London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1763. Brown refers to Avison's *Essay* on page 214.

66 Stephens, *Charles Avison*, 60.

Table VI. Ordained ministers who subscribed to Avison's publications.

Priest subscriber	List ref.
Rev. Mr [Bryan] Allet, York then Londesborough	A, C, D (5), E, I
Rev. Mr Barnaby, Fellow of St John's, Cambridge	B
Rev. Mr William Becher, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge	F, G, H
Rev. Mr Dr [Henry] Bland, Dean of Durham	A, C
Rev. Mr Dr [Henry] Bland, Prebendary of Durham	A, B, C, D, E, I
Rev. Mr [Joseph] Brackenbury, Spilsby	F, G, H
Rev. Mr Jonathan Branfoot, Durham then Bossal	A, B, C, D, I
Rev. Mr Joseph Bridges, York	A
Rev. Dr John Brown, Carlisle then Newcastle	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I
Rev. Mr Caley [?Cayley]	F, G, H
Rev. Mr Joseph Carr	B
Rev. Mr [?Jeffrey] Clarkson, Windsor	F, G, H, I
Rev. Mr Nathaniel Clayton, Newcastle	A, B, C, D, E
Rev. Mr [Thomas] Cooper, Berwick	A
Rev. Mr [John] Darch, Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford	E, F, G, H, I
Rev. Sir John Dolben, Bart. Prebendary of Durham	A, D, E, I
Rev. Mr [Thomas] Drake, Norham then Houghton le Spring and Durham	A, B, C, D, E, I
Rev. Mr [William] Drake, Usher of Felsted School, in Essex	E
Rev. Dr [Robert] Eden, Prebendary of Winchester	E, I
Rev. Mr James Farish, Whitehaven then Carlisle	A, B, D, E, F, G, H, I
Rev. Dr [Richard] Fawcett, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford	B (2), C, D, E
Rev. Mr [William] Felton	C
Rev. Mr [?Samuel] Hall, Newcastle	F, G, H
Rev. Mr [Edward] Howkins, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge	E
Rev. Dr [John] Jortin	E, F (2), G (2), H (2)
Rev. Mr [Robert] Lascelles	D, E, I
Rev. Mr [Utrick] Lowthian, Newcastle	E, I
Rev. Mr [Spencer] Madan	G, H
Rev. Mr [William] Mason, Rector of Aston then York	E, F, G, H, I
Rev. Mr Nicholl, Student of Christ Church, Oxford	E
Rev. Mr [William] Pawson of Lincoln	A
Rev. Dr [John] Sharp, Prebendary of Durham then Archdeacon of Northumberland	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I
Rev. Mr [Thomas] Sharp, Hartburn	D (2), E, I
Rev. Mr Thomas Sharp, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, then London	D, H
Rev. Dr [Robert] Smith, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge	D, E
Rev. Mr [?William] Wray, Derbyshire	E, F, G, H

time. There was also Joseph Brackenbury who was chaplain to Peregrine Bertie, the third Duke of Ancaster; Bertie's younger brother, Brownlow, was yet another subscriber.

Other notable subscribers

Table VII contains a selection of aristocracy, gentry and other notable subscribers who have not appeared in any earlier tables. What is perhaps most interesting about this group is that most only subscribed to one or two works. Subscribing to a musical publication was, for many of the upper classes, an act that demonstrated their patronage of the arts, and some would certainly have subscribed for outward show.⁶⁷ For most though, there was clearly no attachment to Avison.

Some in this group are known to have been associated with Avison although it appears that Christopher Smart was the only non-musician author to whose work

⁶⁷ Hunter and Mason, 'Supporting Handel', 32.

Table VII. Other notable subscribers.

Subscriber	List ref.
Sir Edmund Anderson, Bart.	B
Sir William Anderson, Bart.	F, G, H
Sir Jacob Astley, Bart., of Melton-Constable in Norfolk	A, D, E
The Right Honourable Lord Bellfield	A
The Right Honourable Lady Bellfield	A
The Honourable Lord Brownlow Bertie	G, H
The Honourable Lady Rob. Bertie	H
Lady Bewick	F, G, H
Capt. Bisset	F, G, H
The Right Honourable Lady Bingley	F, G, H
Walter Blackett, Esq.	A, C, D, E, F (2), G (2), H (2)
Lady [Elizabeth] Blackett	D, E
The Right Honourable the Lord Blantyre	C
The Honourable Colonel Blathwayt	A
George Bowes, Esq.	A, C, D, E
Mrs [Mary] Bowes	C, D, E, F, G, H, I
The Right Honourable the Earl of Buckinghamshire	F, G, H, I
The Right Honourable Lord Buttivant	A
The Right Honourable the Lord Byron	C
The Right Honourable the Countess of Carlisle	E, F, G, H
The Honourable Lady Mary Carre	E, I
William Carre, Esq; F. R. S.	A, B
Mr Carrick, Merchant in Newcastle	D, E
Sir Thomas Clavering, Bart.	D, E
His Grace the Duke of Cleveland	A, D, E, I
Her Grace the Duchess of Cleveland	A
Sir Bryan Cooke, Bart.	F, G, H
The Right Honourable Earl Cowper	D, E
The Right Honourable the Earl of Darlington	E, I (2)
The Right Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth	G, H
The Right Honourable the Countess of Dartmouth	G, H
George Shaftoe Delaval, Esq.	A, C
Sir Robert Eden, Bart.	A
The Right Honourable the Earl of Effingham	C
The Honourable Lady Sophia Egerton	E
Captain Edward Fage, York	D
The Honourable Mr Fitzpatrick, London	F, G, H
The Honourable Mr Fitzwilliams, London	F, G, H
Captain Robert Franklin of Lynn-Regis	A, B
Captain Gilpin, Carlisle	F, G, H
The Honourable Alexander Gordon	G, H
The Honourable Mr Baron Grant	F (2), G (2), H (2)
Captain Grant, Monymusk	F, G, H
Captain Nathaniel Green of Preston	A
The Right Honourable the Marchioness of Grey	D
Sir Henry Grey, Bart.	D, E
The Right Honourable the Marchioness of Hartington	E
George Headlam, Merchant in Newcastle	D, E
Sir Robert Hildyard, Bart.	F, G, H
Lady Hilton	D
The Right Honourable the Earl of Holderness	E (2), I
The Right Honourable the Earl of Home	C
Colonel Honeywood	D
The Honourable Captain [Colonel] George Howard	B, E

(Continued)

Table VII. Continued.

Subscriber	List ref.
Sir Richard Hylton, Bart.	E
Lady Hylton	E
Capt. Ralph Jenison	A, C (2), D, E, I
Charles Jennins, Esq.	F, G, H
Nicholas Lambton, Esq. of Biddick	E, I
Sir Robert Lawly Bart.	C
Sir Digby Legard, Bart.	D
Captain Leigh, York	D
Sir Henry Liddell Bart.	C
The Honourable Thomas Liddell, Esq.	E
Lady Liddell	C
The Right Honourable the Earl of Lichfield	C
The Honourable Lord George Manners	E
Sir Henry Manwaring Bart.	C, D, E
Sir William Middleton, Bart.	A, C
Captain Edward Milbanke	D
Sir Ralph Milbanke, Bart.	A, C, D, E (3), F, G, H
Lady Milbanke	A, C, D, E (3), F, G, H, I
The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Molesworth	A
The Honourable Miss Molesworth	G, H
Lady Grace Montgomery	D
Coll ⁿ Noel	C
Captain O Carrol, York	D
[Anne] Ord	D(3), E, F, G, H, I
The Honourable Miss Paulet	F, G, H
Sir Lionall Pilkington Bart.	C
The Right Honourable the Earl of Plymouth	G, H
The Right Honourable Lord Ravensworth	D (2), E (2)
The Right Honourable Lady Ravensworth	D, E (2)
The Honourable Miss Anne Rochfort	A
The Honourable Miss Tamazon Rochfort	A
The Honourable William Rochfort	A
The Right Honourable the Marchioness of Rockingham	E, I
The Right Honourable Lord St John of Bletsoe	D
Sir George Saville Bart.	C, E, I
The Right Honourable the Countess of Scarborough	E
The Honourable Lady Jane Scott	E
Mr. Walter Scott, of Harding, then Mertoun, Esq.	B (2), C, D, E (3), F, G, H
The Honourable Miss Fitzroy Scudamore	F, G, H
Robert Shaftoe, of Benwell, Esq.	D, E, F, G, H
[Christopher] Smart, London	F, G, H
Leonard Smelt, Carlisle, then Leases	D, F, G, H
The Right Honourable the Earl of Strathmore	H
The Right Honourable the Countess of Strathmore	H
The Right Honourable Lady Grace Vane	A
The Honourable Lady Harriot Vane	E, I
The Honourable Henry Vane, Esq.	A, D
The Honourable Charles Hope Weir	E
The Right Honourable the Earl of Wemys	A
The Honourable Mr Widdrington	C, D
The Right Honourable the Lord Widdrington	D (2), E, F, G, H, I
The Right Honourable Lady Widdrington	D, E
The Honourable Lady Frances Williams	E
The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Windsor	A, E
The Honourable Mr Withrington	A, B
Sir Marmaduke Wyvil, Bart.	F, G, H

Avison subscribed who reciprocated. Walter Blackett supported Avison by subscribing to everything except the *Two Concertos*. Blackett was an Alderman and the MP for Newcastle; his wife, Lady Elizabeth Blackett, was the dedicatee of Avison's op. 5. Another committed subscriber was Sir Ralph Milbanke, whose wife, the Lady Anne, was the dedicatee of op. 4.⁶⁸ Yet another devotee of Avison was Walter Scott, MP for Roxburghshire, a man with whom Avison, as far as we are currently aware, had no other connection.⁶⁹ Ralph Jenison, for whom Avison had worked in his youth and who had provided opportunities for Avison to study music in London, was a subscriber and the dedicatee of Avison's op. 1.⁷⁰ There was, furthermore, Robert Shaftoe, an MP whose family estate was located at Whitworth, near Durham,⁷¹ and George Bowes, who lived at Gibside near Newcastle; Bowes' wife was the dedicatee of the Scarlatti concertos and his daughter, the aforementioned Mary Eleanor, the dedicatee of the op. 8.⁷² Anne Ord of Fenham was the dedicatee of op. 3, of which she purchased three copies; the Ord family were important supporters of Avison and members of this family appear in all of Avison's lists. Yet another was Colonel John Blathwayt, the dedicatee of Avison's op. 2. A final important subscriber, although another with otherwise no known connection with Avison, was Charles Jennens, famous for his association with Handel.

Location of subscribers

The problem with dealing with subscribers by location is that, in many cases, no town is given alongside their names. This makes it particularly difficult to ascertain who subscribers with a common name were, although in the case of Avison many would have resided within the Newcastle area. Some subscribers are accompanied in the lists by the name of the town in which they lived, while others who lived or worked near a larger town provided its name. Organists tended to give the town where the church in which they were employed was located. Garth, for instance, lived in Durham City but in Avison's lists generally describes himself as the 'Organist of Sedgfield'. A few are even more precise and gave the name of the house in which they lived, while others simply gave the county. A list of all the places referred to in the lists is given in Table VIII; members of the aristocracy, whose title included a place name, have been excluded:

When plotted on a series of maps (Figures 4–6), this information provides an indication of just how much Avison's reputation as a composer grew between 1740 and 1767:

Although these maps are far from complete, in that they only include places recorded in the lists, what is clear from all three is that there was a core of Avison's subscribers who resided in the north of England. Nevertheless, even by the publication of the op. 2 Avison's reputation had spread a significant distance from Newcastle, with subscribers as far north

68 Although it appears from the table that Sir Ralph and Lady Anne Milbanke subscribed to most of Avison's publications, neither of these subscribers is likely to have been the same person. Sir Ralph Milbanke, 4th bart. died in 1748 and was succeeded by his son who was also called Ralph. Lady Anne Milbanke died in 1765; her daughter-in-law was called Elizabeth. Malcolm Elwin, *The Noels and The Milbankes* (London, 1767), 13.

69 Charles Rogers, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Family of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. of Abbotsford* (London, 1877), xix; see also the subscription list to Francis Hutcheson, *A System of Moral Philosophy in Three Books* (Glasgow, 1755), i.

70 Fleming, 'John Callander and the Avison Connection', 287–8.

71 Jessica Kilburn, 'Shafto, Robert (c.1732–1797)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/75159> (accessed January 31, 2017).

72 Mary Eleanor Bowes was a pupil of Avison. Presumably many of the other unmarried young ladies who appear in the lists were also his students.

Table VIII. List of places of residence or work referred to in the lists, with the number of times each place is mentioned.

Place of residence/employment	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Aberdeen				1	1	2	2	2
Aston [S. Yorks]					1			
Bath	1	2	1		1	10	10	10
Baddow, Essex						1	1	1
Bavington [N ^h umberland]					1			
Belford [N ^h umberland]					1	1	1	1
Bellford-Grange [N ^h umberland]	1							
Benwell [Newcastle]				1	1	1	1	1
Berwick	2							
Beverley					1	1	1	1
Biddick [Durham]				1	1	1	1	1
Birmingham		1						3
[Bishop] Auckland	1							
[Bishop] Middleham					1			
Bishopwearmouth [Durham]	1							
Blaigdon [N ^h umberland]	1	1						
Bossal [N. Yorks]			1	1				
Bristol						1	1	1
Brough						1	1	1
Bywell [N ^h umberland]	1	1	1					
Cambridge		9		4	6	5	5	5
Carlisle	2	3	2	5	2	3	3	3
Causey [Durham]					1			
Chester					2			
Chilton [Durham]		1	1					
Chipchase [Durham]	1			1	1			
Cleadon [Sunderland]						1	1	1
Cocken [Durham]		1			1	1	1	1
Cockerington [Lincs]						1	1	1
Colchester								1
Coventry								1
Craigforth [Stirling]						1	1	1
Culdares [Peebles]						1	1	1
Darlington						1	1	1
Derby					1	2	2	2
Derbyshire						1	1	1
Devizes						1	1	1
Dougalstone [Glasgow]						1	1	1
Dublin	5							
Dundee							2	2
Dunston [Newcastle]				2	1			
Dunston Hill [Newcastle]					1			
Durham	6	8	6	7	12	4	4	4
Easington [Durham]		1						
Edinburgh	2	1		1	4	5	5	6
Ewart, Northumberland	1							
Exeter						2	2	2
Fakenham, Norfolk				1	1			
Fatfield [Durham]						1	1	1
Felsted School, Essex					1			
Fenham [N ^h umberland]			1		1	1	1	1
Fern Acre [?Cornwall]					1			
Gateshead, Newcastle					1			

(Continued)

Table VIII. Continued.

Place of residence/employment	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Gaulston, Ireland	1	1			1			
Glasgow			1					
Gosport						1	1	1
Goswick [N'humberland]					1			
Grantham						1	1	1
Green Court, Newcastle						1	1	1
Greencroft [Durham]					1			
Greenwich						1	1	1
Halifax						1	1	1
Hall-Garth [Durham]				1				
Harding				1	1			
Hartburn [N'humberland]				1	1			
Heaton [Newcastle]								
Horncastle						1	1	1
Houghton le Spring [Durham]				1				
Hull	2	5		1	7	7	9	13
Kilwick [E. Yorks]								1
Kilraick [Nairnshire]								1
King's Lynn* [Norfolk]	1	1				1	1	1
Kirkley [N'humberland]		1			1			
Leases [Bedale]						1	1	1
Leeds		1		3				
Leicester						1	1	1
Lichfield					1			1
Lincoln	2	1		1				
Lincolnshire						1	1	1
Liverpool					2			
Londesborough [E. Yorks]					1			
London						30	30	31
London, Chapel Royal		2						
London, Charter-house					1			
London, Cheapside		1						
London, Drury Lane Theatre*					1	1	1	1
London, The Strand			1					
Louth						1	1	1
Manchester	1				1			
Melton Constable [Norfolk]				1	1			
Mertoun [House, St Boswells]						1	1	1
Monymusk [Aberdeenshire]						1	1	1
Morpeth [N'humberland]			1	2				
Netherfall [Doncaster]						1	1	1
Newark		1	1					
Newcastle	3	1		40	36	29	28	30
Newton Cap [Durham]					1			
Norfolk				2				
Norham [N'humberland]	1	1	1					
[North] Shields		1						
Northallerton						1	1	1
Norwich	3	1	2	1	2			
Nottingham						4	4	4
Oxford		1	2	1	3	2	2	2
Park House [?Newcastle]				1	1			
Paston [N'humberland]	1		1					
Pittington [Durham]		1						

(Continued)

Table VIII. Continued.

Place of residence/employment	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Portsmouth								1
Preston	1							
Reading								1
The Riding [N ^o humberland]				1				
Ripon						1	1	1
St James', Bridgnorth [Shrops]						1	1	1
[St] Paul's Walden [Herts]				1	1			
Scarborough	1					1	1	1
Sedgefield		1		1	1			
Shipwash [N ^o humberland]	1	1						
South Shields		1		1				
Spalding		1						
Spilsby [Lincs]						2	2	2
Spindlestone [N ^o humberland]					1			
Staindrop					1	1	1	1
Stamford						2	2	2
Stannington-Bridge [N ^o humberland]	1							
Stockton						1	1	1
Sudwick [Durham]		1						
Sunderland	1	1	1					
Swinburn [N ^o humberland]					1			
Wakefield	1					2	2	2
Walsingham					1			
Walworth [Durham]						1	1	1
Wells						1	1	1
Whitehaven	1	1	1	2	1	3	3	3
Whitley [N. Yorks]	1							
Winchester			1		1			
Windsor						1	1	1
Yarm						1	1	1
Yarmouth			1					
York	5	2	3	9	2	6	6	6

Notes: *As Lynn Regis in the source.

**The Drury Lane Theatre, which was then managed by David Garrick, purchased two copies of the op. 4 and four copies of the op. 9.

as Edinburgh and as far south as Lincolnshire and Norfolk. Although London was not recorded as a place in that list, there were subscribers, such as Cooke, who lived there. There is additionally the anomaly that is Bath through Chilcot's subscription. By the time of the op. 4, Avison's reputation had spread further north to Aberdeen and had greatly expanded across England, but it is with the op. 9 that a significant growth of Avison's reputation as a composer is evident, with a sizeable number of subscribers from Scotland and significantly more from across England, with copies purchased by subscribers from as far away as Devon and the south coast.

Subscribers from outside the British mainland

There are a small number of subscribers who gave their place of residence as being located outside the British mainland (Table IX). This includes William Avison who, in the mid-1760s, resided at the Baltic seaport of Danzig. Many of these subscribers were merchants and presumably traded in Newcastle, which might be how Avison made these contacts. The fact that they individually subscribed to relatively few works might indicate that Avison sought their subscription during an opportune visit to Newcastle. The prevalence of



Figure 4. Location of subscribers to Avison's op. 2 (1740 – List A).



Figure 5. Location of subscribers to Avison's op. 4 (1755 – List E).

merchants in Newcastle is evident from the following description, which records that the town's St Nicholas' Church, where Avison was organist, had 'one of the most numerous Congregations in the kingdom; consisting greatly of seamen, who, if they ever learned to sing in parts, could probably only learn it in Dutchland'.⁷³

Conclusion

Any investigation that uses subscription lists to reveal the trends and connections that existed in the eighteenth century is only going to provide an incomplete picture. Nevertheless, this study of

⁷³ *The Works of William Mason* (1811), iii, 385.



Figure 6. Location of subscribers to Avison's op. 9, set 2 (1767 – List H).

Table IX. Subscribers from outside mainland Britain.

Subscriber	List ref.
William Avison, Danzig	F, G, H
Robert Barber of Dunkirk [France]	B
John Church of Dublin	A
John Dick at Dunkirk [France], then Rotterdam and Leghorn	B, D, E
Williams Dobbs of Dublin	A
John Forbes, Merchant in Rotterdam	D
Mr Gale, Merchant in Rotterdam	D, E
Mr Groneman, Lisbon	H
Mr Archibald Hamilton, Merchant in Rotterdam	D
Michael Hatton, of Dunkirk [France] then His Majesty's Consul at Ostend	B, D
George Lyndon of Dublin	A
Henry Meredith of Dublin	A
John Nevil, of Gaulston in Ireland	B
James Robertson, Lisbon	H
Margaritta Smyth, of Christian-Sands in Norway	B
Matthew Stephenson, Merchant at Oporto	E
P. A. Van Hagen, Rotterdam	D

Avison's subscription lists not only reinforces the importance of those networks of which we are already aware, but additionally provides a glimpse into others for which there is no other known evidence. His links with towns such as Bath are otherwise unexplored, just as are his connections with musicians such as Chilcot and Cottingham. Avison was additionally in contact with a sizable number of the clergy, some of whom contributed to his important *Essay*, along with quite a few merchants; he was also well supported by members of the aristocracy and gentry, although many did not have a strong attachment to Avison himself.

Subscribers would have had a range of reasons for subscribing to Avison's music. For some it was clearly a reciprocal process; others had a personal connection with the composer through living in the North-East, or were members of either a local or national organization, such as the freemasons. Some may have had no connection with Avison at all, with their subscription being elicited through a printed advertisement.

Avison additionally had a core of supporters who were willing to subscribe to most or all his publications; this includes musical societies, for whose meetings Avison's music appears to have been a popular choice; this, in addition, indicates that Avison's music was far more widely performed than any extant concert programmes might suggest. There is also the matter that his music appears to have been popular with the Oxford Musical Society, a datum that somewhat tempers Hayes' virulent attack on Avison's music.

Ultimately, this research is just the beginning of what could develop into a wider study of the web of connections as revealed through subscription lists. Further work could, for example, include an examination of the composers that individual aristocrats supported through subscription, or the wider links between musician subscribers. This research could also be allied with other types of data, such as letters and diaries, and any extant documentary evidence of performances that arose from subscription.

Avison was born and spent most of his life in Newcastle, but his location did little to impair his growth as a composer. Other investigations have revealed just how widely performed Avison's music was posthumously,⁷⁴ but this study underscores the importance of Avison's extensive networking through subscription and his growth into one of Britain's leading composers of the mid-eighteenth century.

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74 See Fleming, 'The Myth of the Forgotten Composer'.