


The Gender of Subscribers to Eighteenth-Century Music Publications

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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 resource remains one of the areas most neglected by academics. These lists shed considerable light on the nature of those who subscribed to music, including their social status, place of employment, residence, and musical interests. They naturally also provide details as to the gender of individual subscribers.

As expected, subscribers to most musical publications were male, but the situation changed considerably as the century progressed, with more females subscribing to the latest works by the early nineteenth century. There was also a marked difference in the proportion of male and female subscribers between works issued in the capital cities of London and Edinburgh and those written for different genres. Female subscribers also appear on lists to works that they would not ordinarily be permitted to play. Ultimately, a broad analysis of a large number of subscription lists not only provides a greater insight into the social and economic changes that took place in Britain over the course of the eighteenth century, but also reveals the types of music that were favoured by the members of each gender.

Keywords: subscription; eighteenth-century; gender; Edinburgh; London

For many reading this paper, it will no doubt come as a surprise to learn that the study of music subscription lists remains one of the most significant untouched areas in musicological research. This is in spite of the fact that most academics who write about eighteenth-century British music will regularly refer to these lists in their writings, and there are several papers and book chapters that specifically focus on this area.¹ Most authors will, however, only deal with a small handful of these lists and, as such, a wider study is long overdue. Due to the potential that subscription lists have to offer, I made a decision in 2010 to undertake a project that involves the location and indexing of every subscription list attached to a music-related publication issued in Britain before 1820. Then, in 2013, I came into contact

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1 Simon Fleming, 'Avison and his Subscribers: Musical Networking in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 49 (2018), 21–49; David Hunter and Rose Mason, 'Supporting Handel Through Subscription to Publications: The Lists of Rodelinda and Faramondo Compared', *Notes*, 56 (1999), 27–93; Margaret Seares, 'The Composer and the Subscriber: A Case Study from the 18th Century', *Early Music*, 39 (2011), 65–78; 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; Michael Kassler, 'The Bachists of 1810: Subscribers to the Wesley/Horn Edition of the "48"', *The English Bach Awakening*, ed. Michael Kassler (London, 2016), 315–40.

with Martin Perkins of the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire. He had envisaged a similar project and it made sense to combine our efforts. With the assistance of the catalogue of subscription lists compiled by Peter Wallis, and the British Library's music subscription list card index, we have been able to produce a list of around 750 works issued by subscription, although hitherto unknown examples continue to emerge on a regular basis.² It is our intention that these lists will ultimately be searchable through an online database. At the time of writing we have been able to acquire 557 lists, all of which have been included in the research for this article, the second in a series relating to our project. A great deal of work remains to be done but it is clear that these lists are an incredibly valuable resource for both musicologists and those interested in British social history.³

In deciding which lists to include in the subscription list project, it was agreed that we needed to be as broad as possible and encompass everything associated with music. As a result, this study not only incorporates musical works, but also volumes that may contain no music notation whatsoever. This includes books of songs, poetry, psalms, libretti to ballad operas, and autobiographies, as well as essays on music, dancing and music theory. There are also books that have at first glance no relationship to music, such as *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster* (1804), written by that town's organist, Edward Miller (1735–1807).⁴ Another is Harriet English's *Conversations and Amusing Tales* (1799), which, even though it has little to do with music, included a printed score to the song 'Address to the British Fair', set to music by Samuel Webbe (1740–1816).⁵ There has also been a decision to focus on works issued in Britain rather than on the continent. This was primarily done for practical reasons, although it was agreed that a few works that contained music composed by British musicians, but published on mainland Europe, should be included. Likewise, the project also incorporates several books published in other English-speaking communities outside Britain, including the United States, which until 1776 had been under British rule, some from Ireland, and one example from British India; these areas have not been covered extensively.

One important area for discussion that revealed itself as the subscription-list project proceeded was the issue of gender, and how the proportion of subscribers changed between works issued at different times, in different places and across different musical genres. In terms of this article, there was little decision making as to which lists to include. The primary reason for any particular list's inclusion was accessibility. The first port of call was my own collection, housed at Durham University's Palace Green Library, as well as those held at other libraries in relatively close proximity. They included Durham Cathedral's Dean and Chapter Library and the university libraries of Edinburgh, Nottingham, Leeds and

2 Peter Wallis and Francis Robinson, *Book Subscription Lists: A Revised Guide* (Newcastle, 1975); Peter Wallis and Ruth Wallis, *Book Subscription Lists: Extended Supplement to the Revised Guide* (Newcastle, 1996). I am grateful to Elias Mazzucco, who allowed me to view the British Library's card index. I tend to become aware of new lists through a variety of means, but more often than not through online searches. For example, at the time of writing this article, I became aware of a list, hitherto unknown to me, due to its advertisement on the internet auction site eBay. This list was attached to James Brooks, *Twelve English Ballads* (Figure 3).

3 I would be pleased to hear from anyone who has come across a list not included in [Appendix B](#) or is aware of a variant list with a different number of subscriptions.

4 The copy consulted is in the author's collection, known as the 'Simon D. I. Fleming Music Collection', held by the Palace Green Library at Durham. The catalogue reference for this book is GB-DRu: Fleming 327. Catalogue references to the copies consulted later in this article are given, without further comment, in subsequent footnotes. A catalogue of the manuscripts in the Simon D. I. Fleming Music Collection can be viewed at http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark/32150_s1fq977t890.xml&toc.id=

5 GB-NOu: PZ6.2.E6. This song was referred to in the 'Twelfth Conversation'. See Harriet English, *Conversations and Amusing Tales* (London, 1799), 371.

Glasgow. I also availed myself of numerous trips to London to consult items held by the British Library and in the Gerald Coke Handel Collection at the Foundling Museum. The internet has also made accessing a significant number of lists relatively easy. Other copies or transcripts of lists were kindly provided by fellow academics or by dealers in antiquarian music.

Analysing the lists

Although one might have expected it to be a relatively easy task to count the subscribers in any given list by their gender, this endeavour has been, to a degree, something of a minefield. (This data is presented in [Appendix B](#)). The biggest issue has been inconsistency between individual lists. Even the way lists are organized can differ considerably. Most lists tend to be grouped into sections by the first initial of a surname, although there are examples, such as James Fishar's *Twelve New Country Dances* (c.1780), where the names appear to be in the order in which subscriptions were received.⁶ Important subscribers, particularly royalty, are not included in the main body of a list but appear at its head. Within each section, the subscribers are not normally listed alphabetically; aristocrats appear first, followed by the other subscribers and not normally in alphabetical order. Even the importance of individual members of a family is reflected in the lists, with the head of the household appearing first, followed by his wife and then children. In some lists it is evident that a few names were received late. These were sometimes added to the list by hand ([Figure 1](#)) or incorporated into a second issue.⁷ In some cases, gaps were deliberately left in a list so that extra names might be added to the plates for a second volume. In such instances, the name of an aristocrat could potentially appear below the name of a person of more humble stature. This is particularly evident in Samuel Arnold's (1740–1802) edition of Handel's works, issued from 1789, in which there were so many changes to the plates over the course of publication that the engraving of an entirely new list became a necessity. Another method was to group subscribers by the place they lived, as can be seen in that attached to Charles Dibdin's (1745–1814) *Musical Tour* (1788); this is presumably due to the way subscriptions were received with agents in each town forwarding their lists of subscribers to the author.⁸ Furthermore, in cases where a significant number of subscribers were received after the subscription list was produced, a list of extra subscribers was sometimes added at the end; an example can be found in Richard Neale's *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies* (1724).⁹

The gender of a subscriber in these lists is principally determined by their title, as in most cases a Christian name is not provided. Female subscribers tend to be given the title of 'Mrs' or 'Miss', with 'Miss' without a Christian name referring to the eldest or only unmarried daughter.¹⁰ Occasionally 'Signora' or 'Madame' is also used. For members of the aristocracy, the

6 GB-Lbl: a.9.b.(4.). For Thomas Maguire's *Twelve Favorite Waltzes* (Dublin, c.1815), the subscribers were largely grouped by gender with all but one female subscriber (who was a member of the aristocracy) appearing at the end of the list. GB-Lbl: g.352.mm.(22.).

7 This happened with the first and second issues of Charles Avison's op. 9 concertos, book 1, where the first issue has several names added by hand; these names were incorporated into the second issue. In addition, Michael Kassler identified three variant lists that accompanied the first pressing of Samuel Wesley and Charles Frederick Horn's edition of J. S. Bach's *Preludes and Fugues*, book 1; one has no manuscript additions, the second, six, and a third, eight. See Kassler, 'The Bachists of 1810', 316.

8 GB-DRu: Fleming a.38. Although grouping subscribers together by place is not unusual, I have found it to be a rarity in music. Hunter and Mason 'Supporting Handel Through Subscription to Publications', 34.

9 http://hz.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/f/fff/IMSLP239368-PMLP386124-neale-pock_comp-1.pdf.

10 This practice is evident from the writings of Jane Austen. For instance, in *Sense and Sensibility*, the eldest of the Dashwood daughters is referred to as 'Miss Dashwood' while her younger sisters are known by their Christian names.

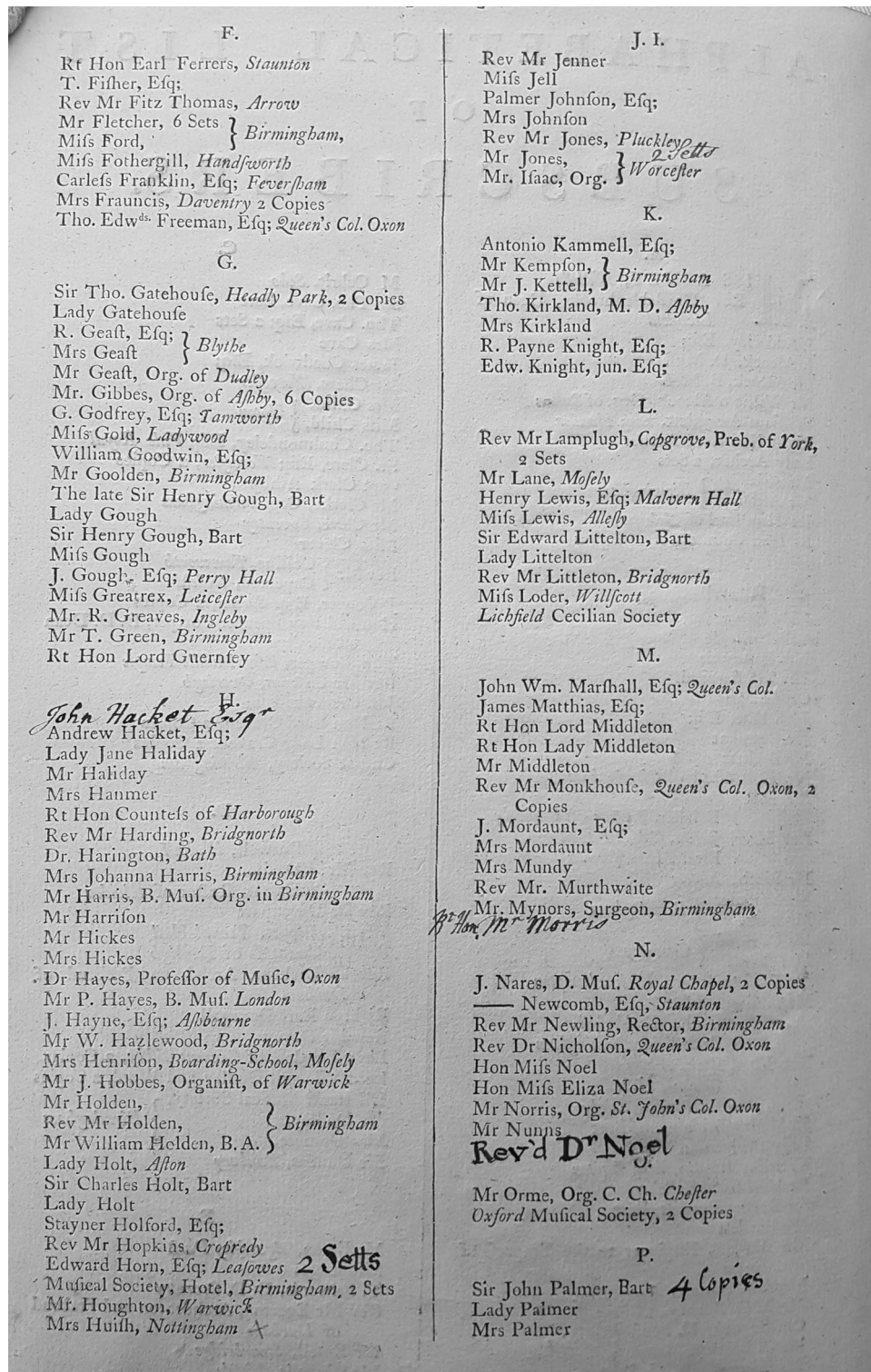


Figure 1. Second page of the subscription list to the 'Dedication Copy' of John Pixell's (1725–84) *Odes, Cantatas, Songs &c... Opera Seconda* (1775), which contains a number of manuscript additions in the composer's hand.

Note: GB-DRu: Fleming 367(c). All images are taken from the prints in the author's collection, held by Durham University's Palace Green Library. The Dedication Copy is discussed in Simon Fleming, 'John Pixell: An 18th-century Vicar and Composer', *The Musical Times*, 154 (2013), 71–83.

possible titles include 'Lady', 'Duchess' or 'Dutchess', 'Countess', 'Viscountess', 'Baroness', 'Marchioness' or even 'Princess'. For men, there are the equivalents of the aristocratic titles; other male titles include 'Mr', 'Master', 'Reverend', 'Captain', 'Colonel' or 'Doctor', with gentlemen having the additional title of 'Esquire' or 'Gent'. In some lists, a long dash symbol, '–', is given. There appears to be several reasons as to why this symbol is used. It could be that the subscriber wanted their name omitted from the list, either in full or part, and this was put in its place. Alternatively, it could be that the name of the subscriber, which would have been taken down in handwritten form, was illegible.¹¹ However, this could also be used as a shorthand to avoid the need to duplicate a common title between consecutive subscribers. In most cases though, it would seem that any anonymous or wholly illegible subscribers were simply omitted.¹² Occasionally the absence of a title has made it impossible to determine the gender of a particular subscriber, such as when the subscriber is simply recorded by their initials or is simply described as 'unknown' or 'anonymous', presumably as the name was indecipherable. In these rare instances, the subscribers have been added to the 'other' category in [Appendix B](#).

There are instances where two people, such as partners or siblings, jointly subscribed to a single copy of a work. On these occasions, only the first subscriber has been counted. In instances where two subscribers jointly subscribed to two or more copies but as a single entry in the list, both subscribers have been counted individually.¹³ If the subscription list has manuscript additions, these names have been included in the count without comment ([Figure 1](#)). Music publishers, booksellers and instrument makers, as they tend to appear in these lists as individuals, have been included in the numbers of individual subscribers but only counted once even if they were in a partnership.¹⁴

The third or 'other' category is essentially formed of non-individual or institutional subscribers. This includes musical societies, cathedral deans and chapters ([Figure 2](#)), churches, choirs, concert groups, schools and colleges at both Oxford and Cambridge. Occasionally the entry would additionally include the name of the person who sent in the subscription and, in such instances, the name has been ignored.

Publication by subscription

The issue of works by subscription was a common means of publication in eighteenth-century Britain although, certainly in regards to music publishing, it was a method that grew considerably in popularity as the eighteenth century progressed.¹⁵ Evidence of this can be seen in the data where, of the publications recorded in [Appendix B](#), the average year of publication is 1779 and the median year is 1786. The year with the most items issued by subscription was 1790 although, in reality, it is unlikely that this is the modal year, as since most items

11 Michael Talbot observed that the engraver of the list that was attached to Giacob Cervetto's op. 2 'found his copy text hard to decipher, since the names are littered with garbled readings'. Talbot, 'What Lists of Subscribers Can Tell Us', 130.

12 Henry Heron added a note to the end of the subscription list to his *Ten Voluntaries* [sic] (London, c.1765) that 'At the request of many of my Subscribers their names are not Printed' GB-Lbl: d.210.(2.).

13 For [Appendix B](#), I distinguish between the number of subscribers and the number of subscriptions received. Most authors, in counting the number of subscribers in any individual list, will refer to the latter.

14 Publishers often subscribed to new works to sell in their shops and, for that reason, frequently subscribed to multiple copies. This has previously been observed by Kessler, 'The Bachists of 1810', 318.

15 Hugh Reid observed that 'it wasn't until the eighteenth century . . . [that] the practice [of issuing works by subscription] really began to grow'. He reported that before 1701, 'fewer than 100 books [were] published by subscription. By 1801 estimates place the number between 2000 and 3000.' See Hugh Reid, *The Nature and Uses of Eighteenth-Century Book Subscription Lists* (Lewiston, 2010), 15.

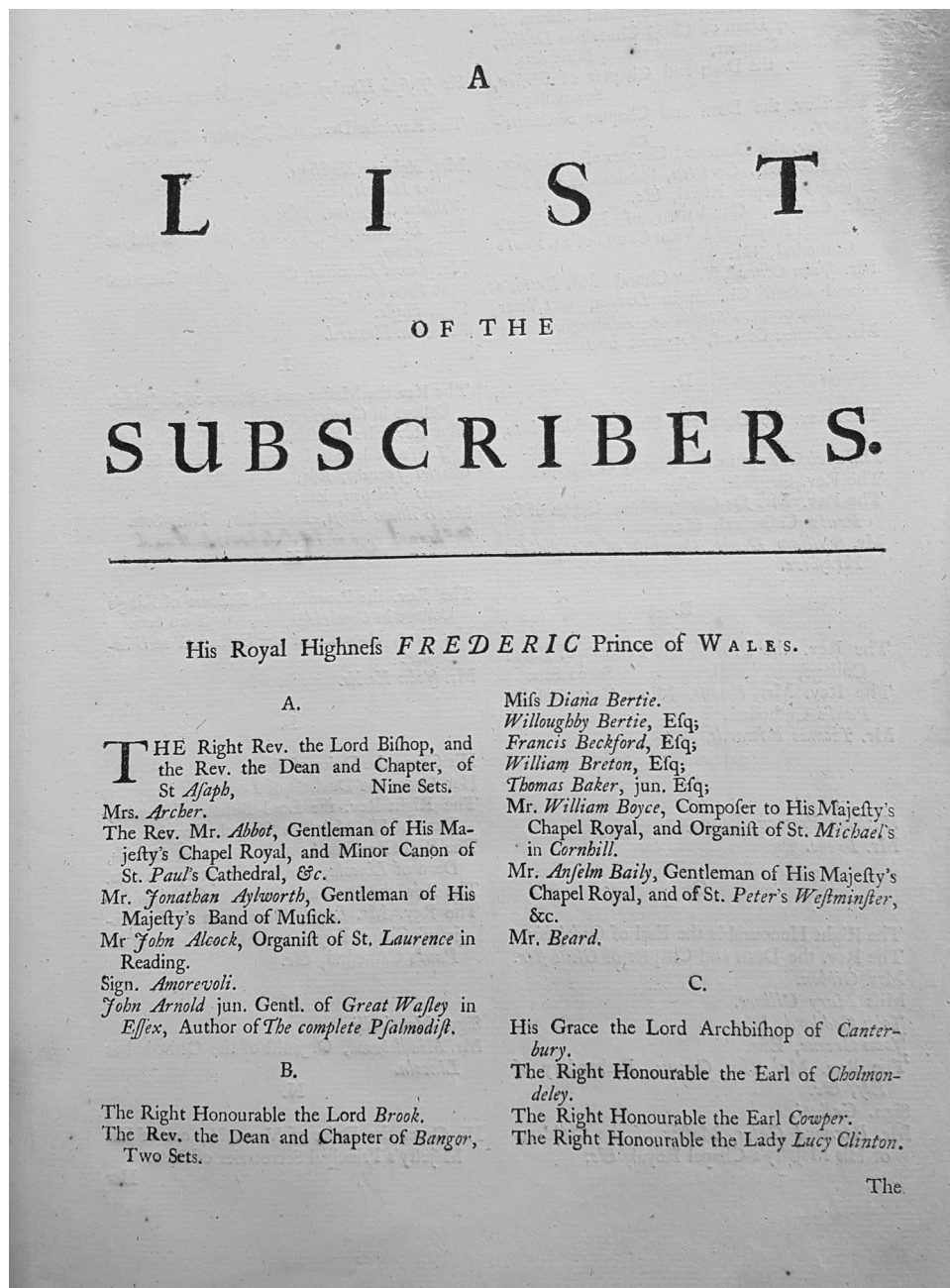


Figure 2. First page of the subscription list to Maurice Greene's (1696–1755) *Forty Select Anthems in Score*, vol. 1 (1743), which includes 24 cathedral deans and chapters amongst the subscribers. Note: GB-DRu: Fleming 487.

are not dated, the majority of dates are editorial and only approximate.¹⁶ In England, the earliest known book produced by subscription was John Minsheu's (1560–1627) *Ductor in Linguas* from 1617; by the end of the seventeenth century, this method of publication had

¹⁶ These dates were ascertained with the aid of COPAC. Multi-volume collections, such as John Garth's edition of Marcello's *Psalms*, were issued over a number of years, but it was the year volume one was published (1757) that appears on all the title pages. In this instance and in others, the given year has been retained.

become a familiar concept, although it was still something of a rarity in music.¹⁷ The earliest music-related work so far identified, for which a subscription list survives, is Thomas Mace's (c.1613–c.1706) *Musick's Monument* (1676), also the only work in this study from the seventeenth century.¹⁸ Publishing by subscription was also not irreconcilable with individual patronage, where a work would be dedicated to a person of note in the hope of eliciting a financial reward. Some works, such as James Brooks' (1760–1809) *Twelve English Ballads* (c.1805), employed both methods; in his case, the dedicatee was Prince Adolphus (1774–1850), the Duke of Cambridge and son of George III (Figure 3).¹⁹ Issuing works by subscription was of clear benefit to composers, authors and editors who wished to undertake publication themselves, but did not have the means to finance such an expensive undertaking. Through subscription, it was possible to sell enough copies in advance to meet the costs involved in engraving the plates, undertaking any typesetting and the actual printing. Often, the title page would indicate as to who had undertaken the project through the addition of the phrase 'for the author' or something to that effect (Figure 3). However, such a marking in itself does not necessarily mean that a work was published by subscription and could instead mean that the composer or editor financed the publication themselves.²⁰

Those who paid to subscribe would often receive a discount on the intended sale price, and their name would be included in a list that was attached to the work. The title page to Brook's *Twelve English Ballads*, for instance, indicates that copies were 1s 6d cheaper for subscribers, but the inclusion of this information here is unusual, particularly since one would have expected the subscription process to have been largely complete by the time the printing of the title page was undertaken; it could be that Brooks had hoped to generate more subscribers for future publications by indicating that he offered a discount. Thomas Clark (c.1775–1859), in his *A Sett of Psalm & Hymn Tunes* (c.1800), advertised the second volume at the end of the first volume's subscription list; he reported that subscribers would receive a shilling off the full price (Figure 4).²¹ There were various reasons as to why any individual might choose to subscribe. Naturally, many would have known the author personally and it is no surprise that, in the average list, a good number of the subscribers lived in the immediate vicinity of the composer's hometown or city. It is unsurprising, too, that a good number were professional musicians, some of whom subscribed reciprocally; others, particularly unmarried females, were probably pupils.²² Further subscribers may have come into contact with the composer at the time a subscription was being taken, while some would have heard about the subscription through a notice, such as a printed handbill or a newspaper advertisement. The following example is typical:

17 A wide range of books on a diverse range of other subjects was also published by subscription; these include books on mathematics, science and even works of fiction. See, for example, Ruth Wallis and Peter Wallis, 'Female Philomaths', *Historia Mathematica*, 7 (1980), 57–64; P. D. Garside, 'Jane Austen and Subscription Fiction', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 10 (1987), 175–88.

18 GB-DRc: B9.

19 GB-DRu: Fleming 534; Hunter and Mason 'Supporting Handel Through Subscription to Publications', 30; Talbot, 'What Lists of Subscribers Can Tell Us', 123.

20 This appears to have been the case with Charles Avison's opp. 6 and 8 keyboard sonatas, the publication of which was probably financed by Avison himself. See Fleming, 'Avison and his Subscribers', 27–8.

21 GB-DRu: Fleming b.100. Michael Talbot observed that, certainly in regard to music, a discount was often offered to subscribers. He did, however, wonder as to whether the notion of 'saving money could be regarded as sitting uncomfortably with the idea of patronage'. Talbot, 'What Lists of Subscribers Can Tell Us', 123.

22 This has already been observed in the case of Charles Avison where, of the 91 musicians who subscribed to Avison's published works, Avison subscribed to works by 13 of them. See Fleming, 'Avison and his Subscribers', 34.

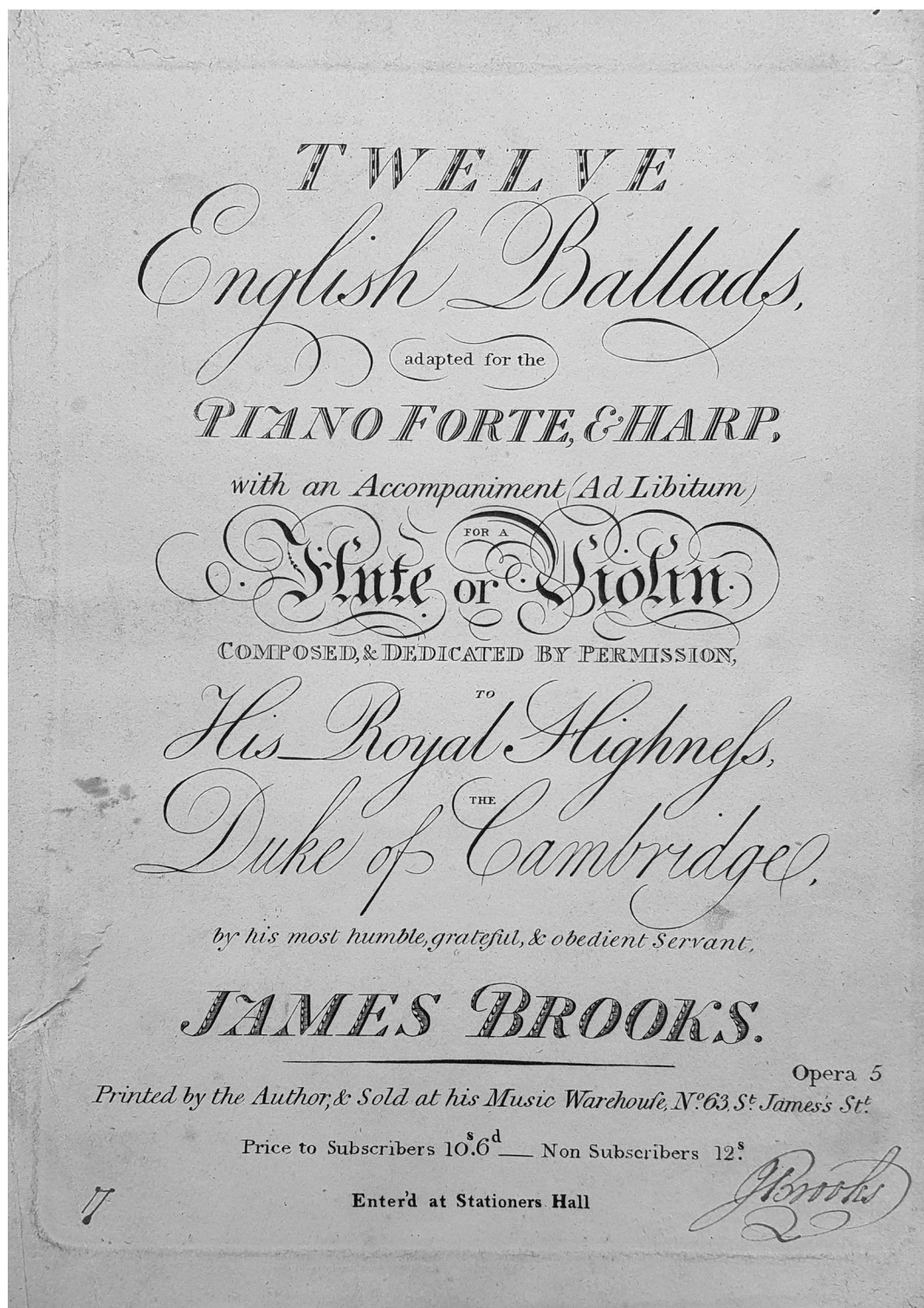


Figure 3. Title page to James Brooks' *Twelve English Ballads* (c.1805), published and printed by the composer.

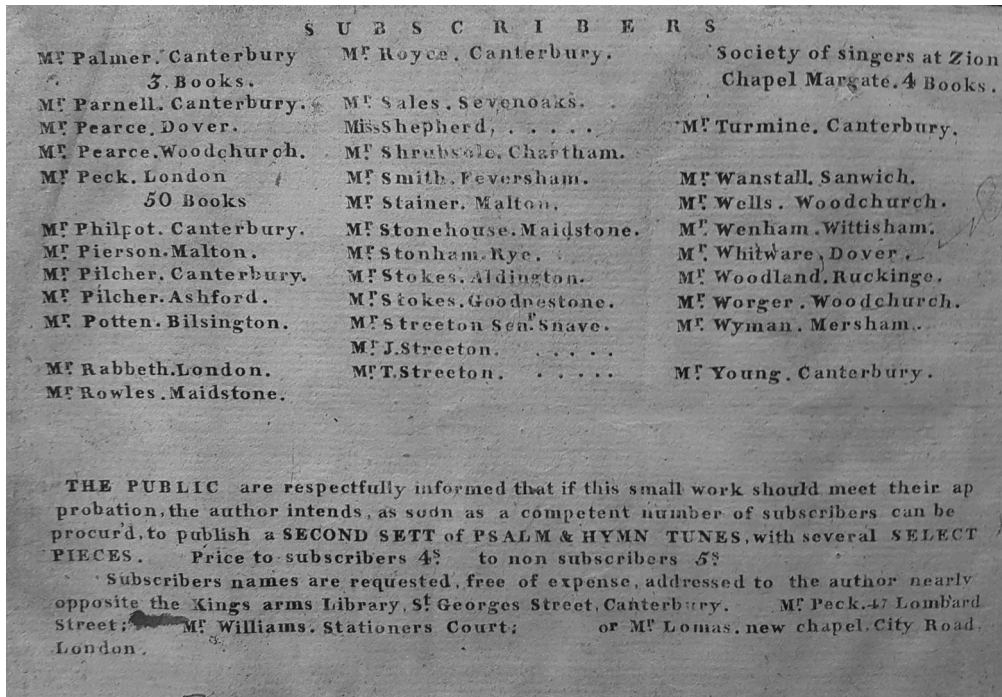


Figure 4. Second page of the subscription list to Thomas Clark's *A Sett of Psalm & Hymn Tunes* (c.1800).

To be published by Subscription,
A COLLECTION of SACRED MUSIC, as used in
the Chapel of the KING of SARDINIA, in London.
Composed by SAMUEL WEBBE.

Subscriptions (10s. 6d. each) received at Longman and
Broderip's Music Warehouses, Cheapside and
Haymarket, and my Mr. Carpue, Duke-street, Lincoln's-
Inn-Fields.

** To be delivered at Easter, after which, the Price will
be Twelve Shillings.²³

For some subscribers, particularly those in the upper classes, the presence of a list enabled them to demonstrate their patronage of the arts, and some would certainly have subscribed for outward show. This would to a degree also apply to the newly arrived members of the middle class; their inclusion would not only indicate their rise in affluence and social status, given that subscribing to new music was an expensive activity, but also provide them with a means by which their names might appear alongside those from the upper echelons of British society. For some, the music would almost certainly have been of less importance than the appearance of their name on the list; such subscribers may not even have minded if the music was of poor quality. A significant number of the clergy, who as well as being university-educated, were often capable musicians and drawn towards musical pursuits as amateurs, also tended to subscribe. Moreover, given the high incomes that many clergy received, they could afford to subscribe to the latest published works; some, such as William Felton (1715–69), were additionally active as composers and had their music published.²⁴

²³ *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 21 March 1798.

²⁴ This was certainly true in the case of Pixell who, as well as being a minor canon at Durham Cathedral, was also the vicar at Edgbaston, curate of Moseley, Birmingham, and rector of Dalton-le-Dale,

Gender and music in *circa* eighteenth-century Britain

Public music making was, during the long eighteenth century, a largely male-dominated activity. Professional musicians were, more often than not, men, and it was members of this gender that were primarily involved in concert promotion, theatre management and cathedral music.²⁵ Most female musicians, especially those of an upper or middling social status, had to be content with making music at home or in that of an acquaintance. There were of course exceptions to this rule, such as female organists or theatrical singers, but female performers often appear to have given up public music making once they were married.²⁶ Civic musicians, such as the town waits, were always, as far as current research indicates, male; this was also largely true of other town musicians, including the 'blind fiddlers'. Again, there were exceptions, such as the female blind fiddler who perished in a fire in Mitchelstown, Ireland, in 1816.²⁷ However, her low social status would have meant that she would not have been bound by the norms that governed more polite society. Instruments such as the violin, flute, recorder, oboe, bassoon and cello were then seen, according to the lawyer Roger North (1653–1734), as more appropriate for men, as were thorough-bass instruments such as the organ, harpsichord and double bass.²⁸ Others, such as the physician John Berkenhout (1726–91), viewed the harpsichord as a more effeminate instrument and advised his son against its performance in public.²⁹

Suitable instruments for women, again according to North, were keyboard instruments such as the harpsichord or spinet, and stringed instruments such as the guitar or lute.³⁰ In the second half of the century the piano became the keyboard instrument of choice for most women.³¹ The organ in some instances was also an acceptable instrument for a female to play and, for a few, it was a skill from which they might derive an income. Ann Howgill (bap. 1775), daughter of the Whitehaven organist William, was appointed organist at Staindrop Church, County Durham, in 1793 and then Penrith in 1797.³² Other well-known female organists include Ann Valentine (bap. 1762–1842) of Leicester, and Mary Hudson (d.1801) and Theophania Cecil (1782–1879) of London.³³ Women were, as a rule, prohibited from playing instruments that involved blowing or were held in slightly awkward or unsightly ways. Richard Leppert pointed out that the flute had phallic associations and, as such, was viewed as an improper instrument for a woman, although they could still play the flageolet.³⁴ The common prejudices at the

Country Durham. With the addition of any extra gifts that he may have received, his combined income would have made Pixell a wealthy man. See Fleming, 'The Howgill Family', 74, 76–7.

25 Although rare, there are examples of ladies promoting concerts. Ann Ford, for instance, organized subscription concerts, but very much against her parents' wishes. Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford, 1985), 7.

26 There were exceptions. For instance, Abigail Gawthorn reported on several concerts she attended at which married women sang. The performers she heard included Gertrud Mara, Elizabeth Billington, Angelica Catalani, Mrs Biancha and a Mrs Chapman. Adrian Henstock, ed., *The Diary of Abigail Gawthorn of Nottingham 1751–1810* (Nottingham, 1980), 93, 98.

27 *Stamford Mercury*, 1 March 1816.

28 John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), 16; Richard Leppert, *Music and Image* (Cambridge, 1993), 107, 110.

29 John Berkenhout, *A Volume of Letters from Dr. Berkenhout to his Son at the University* (Cambridge, 1790), 189.

30 Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 16; Leppert, *Music and Image*, 147.

31 Leppert, *Music and Image*, 147.

32 Simon D. I. Fleming, 'The Howgill Family: A Dynasty of Musicians from Georgian Whitehaven', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 10 (2013), 74.

33 Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge, 2001), 88; Donovan Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666–1850* ([London?] 1983), 112.

34 Leppert, *Music and Image*, 122, 150.

time are evident in the writings of the dancing master, John Essex (c.1680–1744), who said that:

The Harpsichord, Spinnet, Lute and Base Violin, are Instruments most agreeable to the LADIES: There are some others that really are unbecoming 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, as taking away too much of the Juices, which are otherwise more necessary employ'd, to promote the Appetite, and assist Digestion.³⁵

Members of the upper classes would have learnt music in their youth, principally through private tuition, although again it was different between the genders. For boys, music was of little importance to their education; they tended to be taught in areas such as mathematics, languages, geography, history and the Classics. If they did study music, it was usually as an optional extra. For upper-class ladies, who had few opportunities outside the home, their education tended to have a focus on languages, needlework, music and dancing.³⁶ Many held music as a particularly important attribute for a lady. As Essex observed: 'Musick is certainly a very great Accomplishment to the LADIES; it refines the Taste, polishes the Mind; and is an Entertainment, without other Views, that preserves them from the Rust of Idleness, the most pernicious Enemy to Virtue.'³⁷ Mary Granville (1700–88), who became Mrs Delaney, echoed this when she wrote: 'There is, I think, no accomplishment so great for a lady as music, for it tunes the mind.'³⁸

For many parents, music became an important asset to their daughter's future.³⁹ Understandably, music developed into a passion for some, but for others, it was a means by which they might entice a husband. Existing evidence suggests that such women usually gave up music once they were married.⁴⁰ For the middling classes, music was an attribute to be admired and adopted in the hope that it would raise their social standing. Allatson Burgh (1769–1856) observed in the early nineteenth century that:

In the modern System of Female Education, this fascinating accomplishment is very generally considered, as an indispensable requisite; and the Daughters of Mechanics, even in humble stations, would fancy themselves extremely ill-treated, were they debarred the Indulgence of a piano-forte . . . Music is not only a harmless amusement; but, if properly directed, capable of being eminently beneficial to his fair Countrywomen. In many instances, 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, more particularly, among the Daughters of ease and opulence, 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.⁴¹

However, what the more widespread production of domestic music did was to make a pastime that had been largely restricted to the upper echelons of society, ordinary. Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744–1817), and his daughter Maria (1768–1849), observed at the dawn of the nineteenth century that:

Every young lady (and every young woman is now a young lady) has some pretensions to accomplishments. She draws a little; or she plays a little; or she speaks French a little . . . Stop at any

35 John Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct: or, Rules for Education* (London, 1722), 84–5.

36 Leppert, *Music and Image*, 51.

37 Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct*, 85.

38 Augusta Llanover, ed., *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville*, 3 vols (London, 1861), i, 435.

39 Leppert, *Music and Image*, 29.

40 Leppert, *Music and Image*, 44; Ian Woodfield, *Music of the Raj: A Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Society* (Oxford, 2005), 209.

41 Allatson Burgh, *Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical*, 3 vols (London, 1814), i, v–vii.

good inn on the London roads, and you will probably find that the landlady's daughter can shew you some of her own framed drawing, can play a tune upon her spinnet, or support a dialogue in French. . . . accomplishments [that] have lost much of the value which they acquired from opinion, since they have become common. . . . In a wealthy mercantile nation there is nothing which can be bought for money, that will long continue to be an envied distinction.⁴²

That being said, many of the aspiring middle classes would have found it difficult to pay for private music tuition for their daughters. If they could afford to send their daughters to a boarding school, then they would have received the opportunity to learn music; these lessons, however, tended to be done in groups, which restricted the amount of time a teacher could spend with each student. Edward Miller, who had undertaken some of this type of teaching himself, observed that such girls 'seldom make any great progress in Music'. He found that 'the shortness of time a Master can allow to each Scholar, where there are numbers to be taught' detrimental, since 'a Master cannot allow a sufficient time to each Scholar for compleating [*sic*] these purposes; if, while he is engaged with one only, all the rest are unemployed.'⁴³ As a result, one suspects that those who learnt music in this manner would have only developed a very rudimentary level of skill and that, consequently, the quality of music produced in the average household could not have risen particularly high.

Overall subscribers before 1820

When the data in [appendices A and B](#) is examined, the total number of subscribers in the 557 lists is 116,310. Of these, 87,549 were male and 26,815 female, with 1,946 in the other or institutional category. This data is presented as a pie chart in [Figure 5](#).

The first observation to make is that publishing by subscription was an endeavour that primarily targeted individual subscribers. If it had been aimed at institutional subscribers, it is unlikely that publishing by subscription would have been a success, given that only 1.7% of subscribers fall into the 'other' category. This chart also strongly indicates that music subscription was, throughout the time period examined, a predominantly male-dominated activity, with 75.3% of subscribers being of this gender and 23.1% female.⁴⁴ This data will, to some degree, be influenced by the situation at home, where the eldest male most likely controlled the purse strings and would have presumably paid for the subscription even if the music were intended for a female family member.⁴⁵ When the data is broken down into 20-year periods in time, starting from 1720, a general trend is revealed; the data in the earliest two groupings from 1680 has been omitted as these are unlikely to be representative, given that only one work from each time period was examined ([Figures 6–10](#)).⁴⁶

It is evident from this series of pie charts that music subscription before 1820 was overwhelmingly male-dominated but, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the proportion

42 Maria Edgeworth and Richard Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, 3 vols (London, 2nd edn, 1801), iii, 16–18.

43 Edward Miller, *Institutes of Music, or Easy Instructions for the Harpsichord* (London, [1771]), 1–3.

44 Of the 557 lists examined, in 493 (89%) the majority of subscribers were men and, of them, 19 had no female subscribers at all.

45 There is certainly evidence that the head of a household would subscribe to a local society or group, with their payment covering that of his wife and children. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London, 1988), 210, 329, 432. Under common law, on marriage all of a woman's liquid property passed into the ownership of her husband, which made unmarried wealthy women a target for fortune hunters.

46 The fact that most of the publication years given in [Appendix B](#) are not given on the work and only approximate makes it difficult to say in any particular year the exact proportion of subscribers there were from each gender. By grouping the data into 20-year blocks, any errors in the dating process are less pronounced.

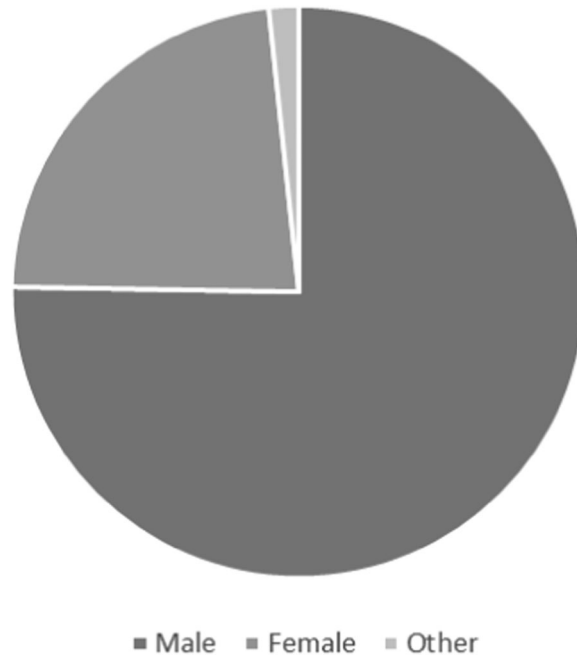


Figure 5. Subscribers to all works examined in [Appendix B](#).

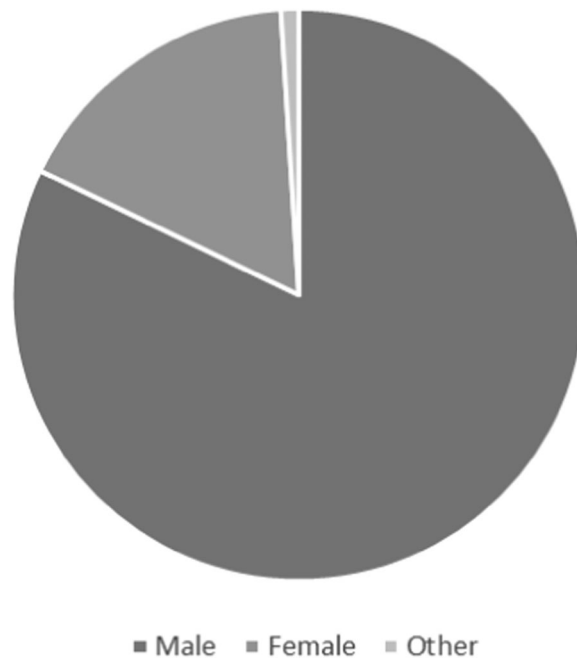


Figure 6. Subscribers 1721–40.

of female subscribers increased so that, by the early nineteenth century, 28.4% of subscribers were members of this gender. This will be, to a degree, representative of changes in society during this period, with an increasing number of women having the financial freedom to subscribe under their own names. However, this data suggests that music subscription may have been more progressive in terms of gender equality than other types of subscription. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall examined the extant subscription lists of the societies based in Birmingham between 1780 and 1850 to find that ‘at most women constituted 10 per cent

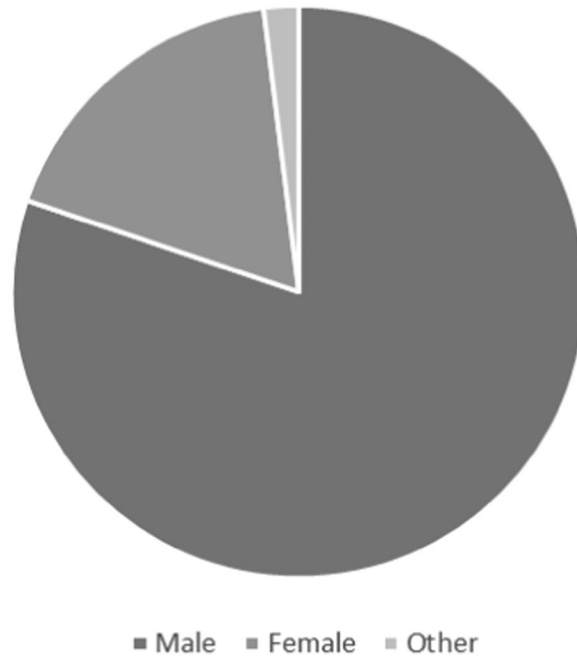


Figure 7. Subscribers 1741–60.

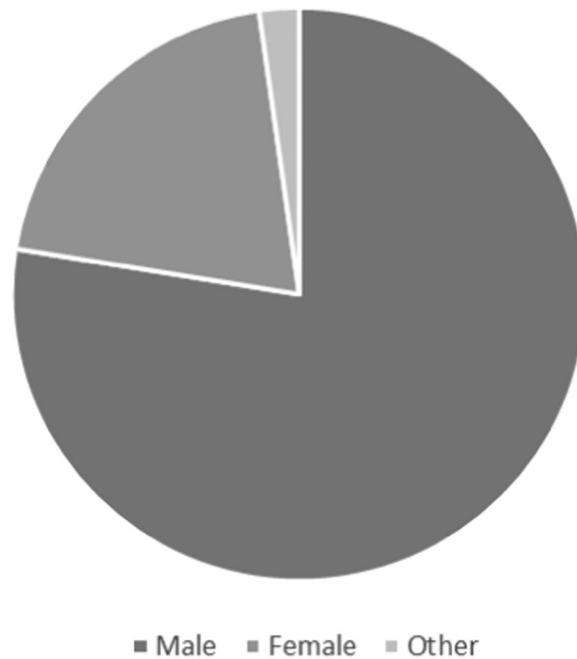


Figure 8. Subscribers 1761–80.

of the subscribers'.⁴⁷ Six works included in [Appendix B](#) were published in Birmingham and, when their attached lists are viewed as a whole, 20.1% of the subscribers were female. Of these, the highest proportion of female subscribers was to James Lyndon's *Six Solo's for a Violin* (1751), where 40% of his subscribers were of this gender.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 432.

⁴⁸ GB-Lbl: f.83.

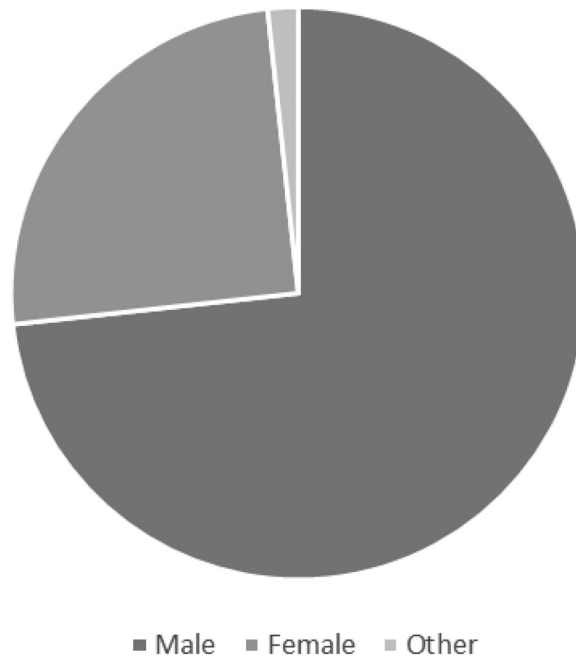


Figure 9. Subscribers 1781–1800.

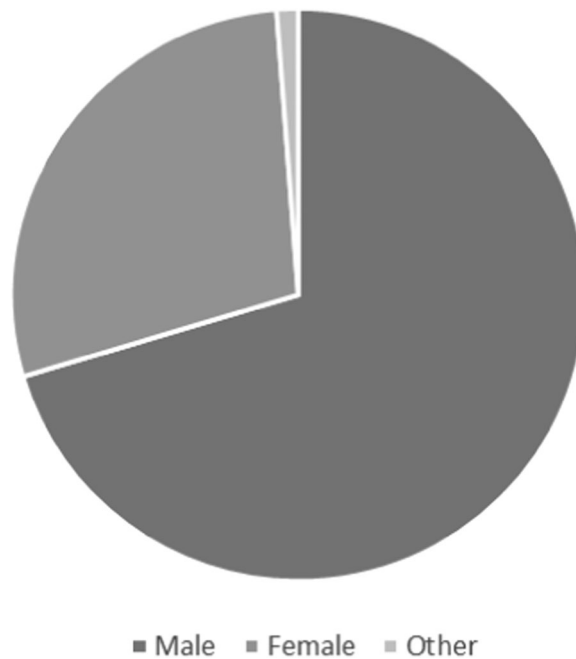


Figure 10. Subscribers 1801–20.

Those in the ‘other’ category remained only a tiny proportion of the total subscribers, with a marginal increase in the number of these subscribers from the 1740s through to the end of the century, which dropped slightly at the start of the nineteenth.

Sacred and secular music

Of the lists examined, 26.6% were attached to works primarily intended for sacred purposes, – whether that was collections of hymns, psalm-tunes, anthems or organ voluntaries – although,

naturally, much of this music could also be performed in a secular environment.⁴⁹ That means that the majority of works published, 73.4%, were intended for secular use. This will again be representative of wider trends and indicates that there was a greater demand for secular music than sacred. However, the data also suggests that publication by subscription may have been more commonly employed for the publication of sacred music as, when one examines William Smith and Charles Humphries' catalogue of the publications issued by John Walsh between 1721 and 1766, of the 1,564 numbered items, only 45 (2.9%) were intended for sacred purposes.⁵⁰ The subscription data also indicates that secular music was more popular than sacred music with female subscribers, attracting a higher proportion (25.7% against 15.7%). Sacred music did, however, attract more institutional subscriptions, particularly from cathedral deans and chapters and choral groups (3.6% sacred against 1% secular).

Subscribers to works by Handel

Of all the composers represented, it was Handel whose music was most commonly issued by subscription. Appendix B contains 57 items associated with this composer, including arrangements of his music by others and William Coxe's (1748–1828) book of *Anecdotes* (1799).⁵¹ This is far higher than the ten items that David Hunter and Rose Mason identified, although they primarily limited their research to publications issued during Handel's lifetime.⁵² The 57 items constitute 10% of the total lists examined. What is perhaps most interesting is that Handel did not take responsibility for issuing the works himself. The only work by him published 'for the author' is his 1740 set of *Twelve Grand Concertos*. Apparently, his publishers were happy enough to take responsibility for the publication of his works themselves, perhaps assuming that Handel was a well-known and highly regarded composer whose music was going to sell. However, the numbers of his subscribers do not indicate this at first glance. The average number of subscribers per list comes out at 209 while, for Handel, this works out as 187. When one only examines those lists issued in his lifetime, then the average number of subscribers is 104. These lists were issued between 1725 and 1740 and when all the lists from the same period are examined, the average comes to 189. So, the question is: why did Handel's music attract so few subscribers? Much of this could have been due to the way in which members of the public purchased Handel's music, where significantly more copies would be purchased after publication. Customers could come across the score or set of parts in a shop and, either having already heard the music at a concert, or being aware of the esteem in which the composer was held, would purchase a copy. The publication by subscription could have been a tactic employed by the publishers John Cluer and John Walsh to sell extra copies to those who were more interested in having their names included in the list than in the music itself.⁵³ Handel's music did grow in popularity after his death, with the average number of subscribers in the posthumous lists being 213. This figure includes the collections of his music

49 This figure does not include oratorios.

50 William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the years 1721–1766* (London, 1968).

51 <https://archive.org/details/anecdotesofgeorg00coxe>.

52 Hunter and Mason, 'Supporting Handel Through Subscription to Publications', 7. A few works by Handel, which were reissued by the same or a different publisher, utilized the same subscription lists; this is somewhat surprising as one might have expected the number of subscribers to increase between editions.

53 Hunter and Mason also observed that the number of subscribers Handel received was significantly lower than other contemporary works. Hunter and Mason, 'Supporting Handel Through Subscription to Publications', 35.

produced by John Clarke-Whitfield (1770–1836), the second edition of which had an impressive 730 subscribers. When we examine the breakdown by gender, overall it reveals that Handel was more popular with a male audience, with 80.4% of subscribers being of this gender. This is only slightly above the total percentage of male subscribers before 1820 (75.3%).

When comparing the percentage of subscribers from before and after Handel's death, the breakdown between genders remains largely static, with 16% of subscribers being female, increasing to 17.2% after 1759. For Arnold's edition of Handel's music, 22% of subscribers were female, which can be accounted for in the general trends at the time, although it is important to note that a significant number of women continued to have an interest in Handel's music 30 years after the composer's death; this indicates that some women's taste in music was not merely driven by the fashion for what was new.

Subscribers by country

When the subscriptions are broken down by country some interesting trends emerge. Firstly, that there were proportionally more institutional subscribers to works issued in England.⁵⁴ Only one of the works issued in America had any institutional subscribers, and the sole work from India examined had none. This was presumably due to the situation in these countries, where there would have been far fewer formal organizations than in Britain, and certainly few that saw a benefit in subscribing to any of the works examined.⁵⁵ Some foreign-based groups did, however, subscribe to musical works published in Britain; for instance, a musical society based in New York subscribed to Capel Bond's (c.1730–90) *Six Anthems in Score* (1769).⁵⁶ The proportion of female subscribers is largely the same in England (23.3%) and Ireland (22.2%), with a reduction for both America (6.4%) and India (15.4%).⁵⁷ Scotland overall had a similar proportion of subscribers to England and Ireland (22.2%) but, as this research only includes 26 works issued in this country, small changes to the selection produces a markedly different figure. For instance, if we exclude the works issued in Scotland that contain no music notation, then the proportion of female subscribers increases to 36.1%.

If we look at those works issued in the capital cities of England and Scotland, the disparity in the proportion of subscribers is more evident. London was, at this time, one of Europe's most important centres for music production, so it is unsurprising that 424 (76%) of the works examined in this study indicate that they were published in this city.⁵⁸ Of the total number of subscriptions taken, 70% were to a London-published work. The 23.7% of

54 It had been the aim of this survey to examine all the countries that came to form the United Kingdom but the paucity of examples from Wales and Ireland have made this difficult, so the focus of this article is on England and Scotland alone.

55 The 'Musical Choir' at Dartmouth College subscribed to three copies of Samuel Holyoke's *The Columbian Repository* (1809).

56 GB-Lbl: H.3033.

57 Ian Woodfield has demonstrated that there was a vibrant music scene in British India, with both private and public concerts public taking place. The author of this book from which the subscription data is derived, William Bird, promoted two series' of six subscription concerts at Calcutta in 1789. The music performed at these events reflects what was popular in Britain at the time. Woodfield, *Music of the Raj*, 143–4, 248–9.

58 As this percentage only includes works where London is given on the title page as the place of publication, the proportion is in reality going to be higher. The dominance of London as a British centre for music publication has already been observed by Frank Kidson in *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers* (New York, 1900, 1967 reprint) where, of the 229 pages, 166 (72%) are devoted to London. The second biggest centre for music publication, Edinburgh, only accounts for 24 pages (10%).

female subscribers discovered across all the London-published works is not dissimilar to England as a whole (23.3%).

In Scotland's capital city of Edinburgh, the proportion of subscribers is markedly different to London, where 36.1% of subscribers were female. Much of this will have been due to differences, both socially and culturally, with more females having the means and freedom to subscribe. It also indicates that music in this city may have been an art more strongly associated with women and that it was one area where female patronage was particularly acceptable.

The differences between the Enlightenment culture in England and Scotland has already been discussed by Rosalind Carr, who observed that Scottish Enlightenment had a 'specific national character', evidence of which can be seen in the 'different character of women's involvement'.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Carr also observed that 'Scottish intellectual culture was still manifestly male'. She went on to assert that:

Women were involved in informal, tea-party intellectual conversation, but they were excluded from intellectual clubs and their contribution to print culture was negligible . . . Only in the early 1800s did female writers such as Elizabeth Hamilton orientate themselves towards the Scottish capital, and this orientation suggests a major cultural shift as Scotland entered the nineteenth century . . . [Nevertheless,] time spent in Edinburgh or London participating in the social circuits of visiting, balls, and promenading was deemed to be an essential component of the education of elite young Scotswomen.⁶⁰

Carr did note, however, that from 1775 women were permitted to attend the debates of the Edinburgh Pantheon Society, and could even vote upon each meeting's discussion; she also observed that, from the 1790s, there was 'increased female involvement in intellectual associational culture'.⁶¹ This change in the position of women in Edinburgh society is also event in several music works, issued there in the final decade of the eighteenth century, which received considerably more female subscribers than male.

John Watlen, Natale Corri and John Valentine

The two sets of *The Celebrated Circus Tunes* (1791 and 1798) produced by the music publisher and composer John Watlen (c.1764–1833), received together 329 subscribers, of which an impressive 76.9% were female.⁶² Watlen was well established in Edinburgh, where he had his own shop from which he could promote his forthcoming publications to potential subscribers, and was active as a music teacher; no doubt many of the unmarried females were pupils.⁶³ If we examine a breakdown of female subscribers to his first set of circus tunes, it is apparent that the majority (70%) of his female subscribers gave their title as 'Miss' (112 subscribers). This perhaps gives some indication of not only how large Watlen's teaching practice was, but also that, in the 1790s, domestic music production was booming among Edinburgh's young ladies, some of whom presumably were not only aspiring to rise socially, but also wanted to imitate the fashion for music south of the border (Figure 11).

Watlen's subscribers were by no means limited to Scotland, and his lists include several from the North-East of England. One of the most notable of these is the organist of

59 Rosalind Carr, *Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2014), 6.

60 *Ibid.*, 75–6.

61 *Ibid.*, 86–8, 95.

62 http://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/3/30/IMSLP176915-PMLP311118-Circus_Tunes_reels_strathspeys_nla.aus-vn2696244-p.pdf; GB-Gu: Sp Coll Ca12-x.29. Of the 22 works published in Edinburgh and examined in this study, ten (45%) have more female subscribers than male.

63 Kidson, *British Music Publishers*, 200–1.

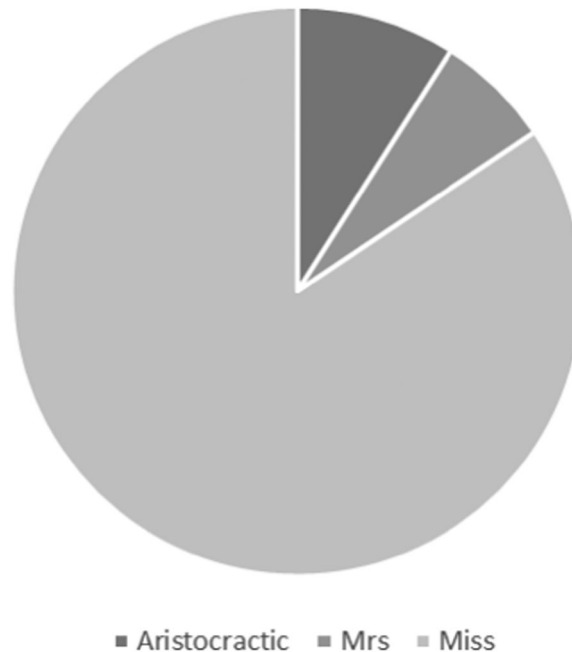


Figure 11. Titles of Female Subscribers to John Watlen's *The Celebrated Circus Tunes* (1791). Note: This data is based on the titles as given in the lists, whether this is Mrs, Miss or an aristocratic title. In reality some of those with aristocratic titles would have been married, others not, while some of those who are titled 'Miss' would have been from aristocratic families.

Durham Cathedral, Thomas Ebdon (1738–1811), who subscribed to the second collection. At this time, Edinburgh had grown significantly as an important centre for the publication of music; evidence of this can be seen in Frank Kidson's book on music publishers where, of the 36 Edinburgh-based printers and publishers he mentions, 17 (47%) were active in the 1780s and 1790s, as opposed to two (6%) before 1750.⁶⁴ Among the list of musicians from Newcastle and Durham to have works published in Edinburgh at around this time, and mostly by Watlen, we find Ebdon, the Durham Cathedral lay-clerks John Friend and Charles Stanley, and the Newcastle organists Thomas Hawdon (c.1765–93) and Thomas Thompson (1777–1830).⁶⁵

Watlen, given his occupation, would have been astutely aware of what sold well, and aimed his circus music specifically at the amateur keyboard market. There was clearly a vogue for circus-related music at this time, presumably as a result of the establishment, in 1790, of the Edinburgh Equestrian Circus, an adjunct of both the London-based Sadler's Wells and Royal Circus.⁶⁶ The pieces in Watlen's collection are relatively simple and suitable for a keyboardist of limited skill; they make use of typical left-hand devices such as the Alberti bass, broken chord figurations and parallel octaves. Much of the melodic material is based upon traditional Scottish music and it is certainly possible that the right-hand part could be played on an instrument such as the flute or violin. Watlen was himself a prolific publisher

64 Ibid., 177–201.

65 Thomas Ebdon, *Rothsay & Caithness Fencibles* (Edinburgh, c.1795); John Friend, *Hymn for Sunday Morning* (Edinburgh, c.1805); Charles Stanley, *A Favorite Song on Sir John Jervis's Victory* (Edinburgh, c.1797); Thomas Hawdon, *A Favorite Rondo* (Edinburgh, c.1780); Thomas Thompson, *Lira, Lira, La* (Edinburgh, c.1797).

66 Kim Baston, 'Harlequin Highlander: Spectacular Geographies at the Edinburgh Equestrian Circus, 1790–1800', *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 12 (2014), 283.

of traditional Scottish music, or music that he composed in that style, which he arranged for piano.

Further evidence of this wider shift in the position of Edinburgh-based women as musical patrons can also be seen in the published works of Natale Corri (1765–1822), the younger brother of Domenico (1746–1825). He, like Watlen, was involved in music publication through his family firm Corri & Co., a business that had close connections with the London-based firm of the same name.⁶⁷ He also taught music, with the Irish tenor and theatre manager, Michael Kelly (1762–1826), referring to him as ‘the first singing master in Edinburgh’.⁶⁸ For Corri’s Op 1 *Three Sonatas, for the Piano Forte of Harpsichord*, an astounding 91% of his subscribers were female.⁶⁹ This will again reflect his teaching practice, which primarily focused on the musical education of unmarried women; those titled ‘Miss’ accounted for 84% (103) of his subscribers (Figure 12).

As Watlen’s and Corri’s collections were published at around the same time, and are both primarily intended for performance on a keyboard instrument, one would expect some individual subscribers to appear on both lists, which they clearly do. However, due to the lack of information provided in the lists it is impossible to determine an exact number of those who subscribed to both works, although the number could potentially be as high as 30. This would mean that around 9% of Watlen’s subscribers also subscribed to Corri; for Corri, it could have been 22% of his subscribers who also subscribed to Watlen. This indicates that both musicians had their own circles from which they might solicit subscriptions but, naturally, as they were both located in Edinburgh, there was some crossover between the two. However, this data also indicates who the most prominent music publisher was and who appears to have had the largest teaching practice.⁷⁰

At the other end of the spectrum was the Leicester-based musician, John Valentine (1730–91). He, like his Edinburgh counterparts, was active in music tuition, but the breakdown of his subscribers by gender paints a very different picture, where only 1.9% of his subscribers were female.⁷¹ This indicates that Valentine’s teaching practice, unlike that of his Edinburgh counterparts, was dominated by male students.⁷² On the one side, it is no surprise that his *Eight Easy Symphonies* (1782) had no female subscribers.⁷³ The instruments they employ,

67 The London-based company, an offshoot of that in Edinburgh, was run by Domenico Corri. Kidson, *British Music Publishers*, 33.

68 Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), ii, 74; David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1972), 58; Peter Ward Jones, Rachel E. Cowgill, J. Bunker Clark, and Nathan Buckner, ‘Corri Family’, *Grove Music Online* (12 May 2018).

69 GB-Lbl: g.271.f.(1.)

70 Watlen had been a clerk at Corri and Co. before he set up his own business a few doors away from his former employer, and presumably used his position to poach both students and subscribers. Watlen could certainly be underhand in his dealings, as it appears that he had been selling Broadwood pianos, pretending to be an official seller. However, Broadwood already had two official sellers in Edinburgh and had earlier decided not to work with Watlen. Once the issue became public, it was damaging for Watlen, and is probably why he went bankrupt. *Caledonian Mercury*, 15 February 1798, 20 August 1798, 4 October 1800. See also John Leonard Cranmer, ‘Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh c.1780–c.1830’ (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1991), 240, 284–5.

71 Karl Kroeger: ‘Valentine, John’, *Grove Music Online*, 12 May 2018. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044257>.

72 Valentine’s advertisements, however, indicate that he did take both male and female students. See Karl Kroeger, ‘John Valentine: Eighteenth-Century Music Master in the English Midlands’, *Notes*, 44: 3, 451, 1988.

73 <http://hz.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/8/82/IMSLP372043-PMLP600846-eighteasysymphon00vale.pdf>.

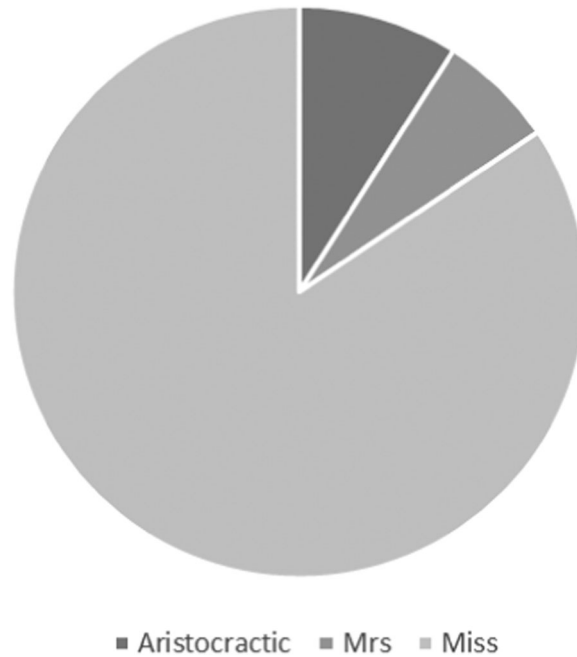


Figure 12. Titles of the Female Subscribers to Natale Corri's *Three Sonatas*, op. 1 (c.1790).

and the fact that such works were intended for public performance, made them unsuitable for women. However, one might have expected some of his female supporters to have subscribed as purely a supportive measure or for outward show, which they clearly did not. For his other two works, his *Thirty Psalm Tunes* (1784) had only one female subscriber, and for his sole theatrical work, *The Epithalamium in the Tragedy of Isabella* (c.1765), only 4.7% of his subscribers were female.⁷⁴ Ultimately, many of Valentine's subscribers may have come from any male-only clubs in which he was involved, such as local music societies or the freemasons, but the subscription lists attached to his works even stand in stark contrast to the other London-published works of this period.⁷⁵

Music for strings

Given what we have already observed in relation to Valentine's symphonies, one might have expected orchestral works, such as concerti grossi, to have had few or no female subscribers. However, such an observation would be inaccurate, as a substantial 16% of subscribers to such works were women. The resistance to women playing stringed instruments has already been discussed; however, some are known to have played the violin in private. Elizabeth Ford reported on two female violinists, Lady Sophia Hope (d.1813) and Elizabeth Rose of Kilravock (1708–89).⁷⁶ The judge, historian and antiquary, Cosmo Innes (1798–1874), said of the latter:

⁷⁴ http://hz.imsalp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/c/c2/IMSLP372051-PMLP600860-Valentine_30_psalmtunes_1784.pdf; I am grateful to Martin Perkins who provided me with a copy of the subscription list to Valentine's *Epithalamium*.

⁷⁵ Valentine's *Eight Easy Symphonies* were dedicated to 'all Junior Performers and Musical Societies'. In addition, among his subscribers can be found various Leicester-based musical groups, including both the choir and catch-club attached to St Margaret's Church and the Musical Society at All Saints. Valentine was probably closely associated with all these organizations.

⁷⁶ Elizabeth Cary Ford, 'The Flute in Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Scotland' (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2016), 71; Helen Goodwill, 'The Musical Involvement of the Landed Classes in Eastern Scotland, 1685–1760' (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2000), 45, 58.

She sung the airs of her own country, and she had learnt to take a part in catches and glees to make up the party with her father and brother. The same motive led her to study the violin, which she played admirably, handling it like male artists, supported against her shoulder.⁷⁷

Women could also have played the harpsichord part, although it was unlikely that they would have done so in public. However, some women were able to play a thorough bass, including Grisie, the eldest daughter of Lady Grisell of Mellerstain House, Berwickshire.⁷⁸ In addition, the 25.2% of female subscribers to George Jackson's *A Treatise on Practical Thorough Bass* . . . Op. 5 (1791) suggests that a significant number of women did indeed learn to play a figured bass.⁷⁹

The nature of concertos meant that it was usually possible to play them as quartets, and they were certainly known to have been played this way in the nineteenth century.⁸⁰ The Newcastle composer, Charles Avison (1709–70), in an attempt to increase sales, indicated that his op. 9 concertos (1766) were performable as concertos, quartets or keyboard solos, and he included a partially completed keyboard part to facilitate this. Avison was a prolific composer of concerti grossi, issuing six sets of six or more, including his set of *Twelve Concerto's . . . done from the two Books of Lessons . . . by Sigr Domenico Scarlatti* (1744). When the subscribers to these six works are compared, an average of 15.9% of his subscribers were female, which is comparable to the overall proportion for concerti grossi (16%). This is a slight increase on the proportion received for his op. 2, where 8.2% were female; this had risen by the time of his op. 4, where 19.2% were members of this gender.

Given that by including a realized keyboard part Avison was making his op. 9 concertos more suitable for the female domestic performer, one might have expected him to receive an increase in the number of this type of subscriber. Although Avison did receive, when compared with the op. 4, an extra 55 subscribers, the list to book 2 records that still only 19% of the total were female, indicating that the inclusion of a partially realized keyboard part did not make much of an impact. This could possibly be why Avison returned to a more standard thorough-bass part for his 1769 op. 10 concertos.

Keyboard concertos, like concerti grossi, were also intended for orchestral performance, but they tended to be arranged with a self-sufficient keyboard part, enabling their performance either as keyboard solos, or with one or more of the accompanying string parts. Such works understandably attracted more female subscribers, with 34.9% overall being female. Avison's only published keyboard concerto, the 1742 *Two Concertos*, did not come close to this, where a mere 11.8% were female.⁸¹ Nevertheless, other composers did much better at appealing to female subscribers. The proportion of female subscribers to the two sets of keyboard concertos by the organist at Bath Abbey, Thomas Chilcot (c1707–1766), is 30.1%. However, this figure should not be taken at face value, as even if Chilcot did attract more subscriptions from women, he was not able to attract anywhere near as many subscribers in total for his first set (101) as Avison did for his op. 9 (253).⁸²

77 Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scotch History and Social Progress* (Edinburgh, 1861), 483. Roger Williams also believed, after examining the music library at Castle Fraser, near Aberdeen, that Elyza Fraser (1734–1814) and her lifelong companion, Mary Bristow, 'seemed to have played violin and keyboard'. Certainly their collection contains a good number of keyboard concertos and sonatas with string accompaniments. Roger B. Fraser, *Catalogue of the Castle Fraser Music Collection* (Aberdeen, 1994), xi, 3–35.

78 Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 26–7.

79 GB-Lbl: g.302.(1.). I am grateful to Martin Perkins who provided me with a copy of this list.

80 *Bury and Norwich Post*, 14 April 1847; Simon Fleming, 'The Myth of the Forgotten Composer: The Posthumous Reputation of Charles Avison', *Early Music*, 44 (February 2016), 105–17.

81 GB-DRc: M184.

82 The subscription list to Avison's op. 9, set 2, is at GB-Lbl: g.256.h. I am grateful to Timothy Rishton, who provided me with copies of the subscription lists attached to Chilton's published works. The

The trio sonata, although clearly more suitable for domestic performance than the concerto, was again string dominated, and, as such, primarily aimed at the male subscriber. Only 11.6% of the subscribers to such works were female, so less than what was typical for the string concerto (16%). Given that the type of instruments employed are the same as the concerto grosso, the use of strings cannot account for this difference. A possible reason could be the way in which subscribers were made aware of such works. Women who attended concerts would hear concertos performed and, if they knew the composer, may have decided to support them through subscription. There is some evidence of this in the lists themselves, such as in Avison's op. 4.⁸³ When one examines the non-aristocratic female subscribers who gave a place of residence, it is striking that most lived relatively close to Newcastle. Male subscribers could be located much further afield and this implies that it was they who responded to published advertisements. By implication this means that many female subscribers to Avison's concertos may not have utilized the music themselves.⁸⁴ Trio sonatas, which were primarily intended for domestic use, would have not have been as frequently performed at concerts, and certainly not in the lead-up to publication, which could account for the drop in the proportion of female subscribers.

Keyboard music

In terms of keyboard music, there was a substantial number of publications produced, aimed at those who wanted to perform such works domestically. There were essentially two types of keyboard sonata in this period: there are those that were issued with accompaniments and those that had none. Nevertheless, even when accompaniments were provided, the keyboard part was usually self-sufficient and could be performed on its own. The accompaniments themselves tended to be fairly simple and intended for performers with only a rudimentary skill. As expected, this genre was more popular with females, who account for 46.7% of the subscribers, than some of the genres previously discussed. With sonatas for solo keyboard, the proportion of female subscribers is higher still, achieving 49.4%. Given Michael Cole's observation that, in c.1765, around 'eighty percent of [pianoforte] players were female', the subscription list data indicates that a significant number of men did indeed subscribe on behalf of a female relative.⁸⁵ This data, however, only includes works that were entitled 'sonatas', while this term was interchangeable with 'lessons'. Prior to 1756, all published keyboard sonatas in Britain were called lessons, irrespective of whether they were intended for tuition or not. Sets of lessons for keyboard had been published as far back as the seventeenth century, for example, those in Matthew Locke's 1673 collection, *Melothesia: or, Certain General Rules for Playing upon a Continued-Bass*.⁸⁶ Avison

character of Chilcot's concertos is discussed in Timothy J. Rishton, 'The Eighteenth-Century British Keyboard Concerto After Handel', *Aspects of Keyboard Music: Essays in Honour of Susi Jeans*, ed. Robert Judd (Oxford, 1992), 126–8. See also, Tim Rishton, 'Chilcot, Thomas', *Grove Music Online*, 12 May 2018. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000005581>. The Dean of Durham, Spencer Cowper (1713–44), visited Bath in 1745. He wrote that the 'best musician they have is Chilcot the Organist, who indeed plays delightfully, and upon one of the finest organs I ever heard'. Edward Hughes, ed., *Letters of Spencer Cowper Dean of Durham 1746–74* (Durham, 1956), 42.

83 GB-DRu: Fleming 30.

84 Talbot has already observed that female subscribers to the works produced by Jacob Cervetto may not have utilized this music themselves. Talbot, 'What Lists of Subscribers Can Tell Us', 129, 131.

85 Michael Cole, 'Transition from Harpsichord to Pianoforte – the Important Rôle of Women', paper given at Kloster Michaelstein in 2002, 1–8. I am grateful to Michael Cole who kindly provided a copy of his paper.

86 Published in London.

was the first British composer, in 1756 with his op. 5, to refer to his published keyboard works as 'sonatas'. Curiously though, works called 'lessons' tended to attract proportionally fewer female subscribers (43.2%).

The organist of St Mary's, Nottingham, Samuel Wise, issued a set of keyboard works entitled *Six Lessons for the Harpsichord* in around 1763.⁸⁷ His six lessons are essentially multi-movement sonatas that incorporate a range of dances, including the allemande, courante, gavotte and jig; in this sense these are not too dissimilar from Locke's much earlier examples. The difficulty ranges from simple two-part textures through to the more challenging crossing of hands and demi-semi quaver runs. The range of different techniques employed indicates that this set was primarily put together as an aid to develop keyboardist technique and presumably would have been used by Wise as part of his teaching activities. However, as pieces of music for performance they are rather insipid. Wise's set attracted a higher proportion of female subscribers, with 118 (60%) being of this gender. Of the female subscribers, 100 (51% of the total) were unmarried. Many of them would have been Wise's students and would have purchased a copy for their own use. One of the married subscribers was Mrs Mary Gawthorn, who most probably purchased a copy for the use of her daughter, Margaret.⁸⁸ It is also interesting that around a third of Wise's male subscribers (33%) were professional musicians, which gives some indication as to not only how well connected he was, but also to how few men might have bought this set for their personal improvement or pleasure.⁸⁹ Others, who presumably did not subscribe to use the music themselves, include the booksellers Daniel Fox of Derby and Mr Ward of Nottingham, and the Nottingham-based printer and publisher Samuel Creswell. It was not unusual for those in the book trade to appear in subscription lists, and they frequently purchased more than one copy of any individual work.⁹⁰ Their subscription, as well as demonstrating their support for the arts, could also be a way of advertising their business. In addition, any copies subscribed to would have been purchased at a discount and could then be sold on at full price in their shops.

Another popular genre of keyboard music was the organ voluntary. Although such works were, by their very nature, intended for use in church, the absence of pedals on British organs of this period meant that such pieces were playable on a variety of keyboard instruments and in both sacred and secular environments. In addition, such works could be very secular in style and, one wonders, given the more austere type of worship that was prevalent in the eighteenth century, if some examples were ever viewed as suitable for religious purposes.⁹¹ Given

87 GB-Lbl: e.5.(5.). Andrew Abbott and John Whittle, *The Organs and Organists of St. Mary's Church Nottingham* (Nottingham, 1993), 74–6; Henstock, *The Diary of Abigail Gawthorn of Nottingham 1751–1810*, 27. See also Rosemary Evans, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century Nottingham' (MA diss., University of Loughborough, 1983).

88 Henstock, *The Diary of Abigail Gawthorn of Nottingham 1751–1810*, 13.

89 The list includes the musicians John Alcock, Edmund Ayrton of Southwell, William Boulton of Leicester, William Boyce, John Camidge of York, John Cowper of Lincoln, William Denby of Derby, Mr Doubleday of St Neots, John Garth of Durham, Anthony Greatorex of North-Wingfield, Henry Hargrave of Nottingham, one of the Kirkman family of harpsichord makers, Thomas Layland of Chesterfield, Bailey Marley of Hull, Edward Miller of Doncaster, John Scamardine of Grantham, Francis Sharp of Stamford, the organ builder John Snetzler, Andrew Strother of Grantham, William Tireman of Cambridge, Thomas Vandernan of the Chapel Royal, Mr Vercal and Thomas Weeley of Lincoln, John Wainwright of Manchester and George Wright of Peterborough.

90 Fleming, 'Avison and his Subscribers', 31.

91 Several early eighteenth-century writers, including Arthur Bedford (1668–1745), spoke out against the use of secular sounding organ music. This argument was still festering later in the century, as can be seen in the case of the organist at St Mary's, Truro, Charles Bennett, who was regularly reprimanded by the vicar for playing 'jig voluntaries'. Arthur Bedford, *The Great Abuse of Musick* (London, 1711), 238; Richard McGrady, *Music and Musicians in Early Nineteenth-Century Cornwall* (Exeter, 1991), 114. See also Nicholas Temperley, *Studies in English Church Music, 1550–1900* (Aldershot, 2009), 203.

that voluntaries could be played at home, one might have expected such works to attract a relatively high proportion of female subscribers, but only 27.3% were members of this gender, indicating that this genre was more closely associated with the male performer than other forms of keyboard music.

Ignace Pleyel

One distinct anomaly in the London-originated subscription lists is that to the arrangement of Ignaz Pleyel's (1757–1831) *Three Celebrated Trios*, produced by the harpist, John Elouis (1758–1833).⁹² Although arranged as harp sonatas they, for the most part, are performable on a keyboard instrument. Of the subscribers, 91.2% were female. There are several reasons as to why this work might have received such a high proportion of female subscribers. Firstly, that the majority of subscribers, one assumes, were his female students. Secondly, that the harp was a predominantly feminine instrument, which would account for the low number of male subscribers (five in total). Such a view is supported by another collection of harp music, a *Notturmo & Quintetto, for the Harp . . . Op. 14*, by Marie Marin that attracted 142 subscribers, of which 72.5% were female.⁹³ A third possibility is that Pleyel's music was particularly popular with female amateurs. One cannot deny that Pleyel's music was held in particularly high esteem during the 1790s. As Rita Benton observed, the 'most telling evidence of the appeal [of Pleyel] . . . lies in the thousands of manuscript copies that filled the shelves of archives, libraries, churches, castles and private homes and in the thousands of editions produced in Europe and North America.'⁹⁴ However, there is some evidence that the popularity of Pleyel's keyboard works lay with the female music-buying public, while his string music was more popular with men. The catalogue of the music assembled by Henry, the Tenth Earl of Exeter (1754–1804), contains two sets of string quartets by Pleyel, but none of his keyboard music. The one keyboard sonata by Pleyel in the Burghley House collection belonged to Isabella (1803–79), wife of Brownlaw, the Second Marquess of Exeter (1795–1867).⁹⁵ There is also a substantial amount of Pleyel's keyboard music in the collection at Tatton Park in Cheshire that once belonged to Elizabeth Egerton (1777–1853), and in the collections that belonged to Jane Austen (1775–1817) and Tryphena Wynne Pendarves (1780–1873).⁹⁶ Further research into the ownership of Pleyel's music may shed more light onto this matter, but this last point raises an interesting possibility, particularly when the ratio of subscribers to Handel's music is taken into account: certain composers could be more popular with women than men and vice versa.

92 GB-Lbl: g.198.(5.).

93 http://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/4/44/IMSLP175786-PMLP309651-notturmoquintett00mari_bw.pdf.

94 Rita Benton, 'Pleyel (i)', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, (accessed May 28, 2017) <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21940pg1>. Komlós described Pleyel as having 'a somewhat impersonal style, devoid of a strong character; a style that sought to please and to entertain'. Katalin Komlós, *Fortepianos and their Music* (Oxford, 2001), 101.

95 Gerald Gifford, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music Collection at Burghley House, Stamford* (Aldershot, 2002), 66, 286–7, 419–20. John Marsh also knew Pleyel's quartets. See Brian Robins, ed., *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer*, 2nd revised edition, vol. 1 (Hillsdale, 2011), 447, 516.

96 Shirley Pargeter, *A Catalogue of the Library at Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire* (Chester, 1977), 298–9; Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music* (St Albans, 2013), 17, 20–1; Simon D. I. Fleming, 'The Music Collection Belonging to Tryphena Wynne Pendarves', *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music* (London, 2017), xxi, 40–1, 69.

Music and dance tutors

Given that most women learnt the rudiments of music as part of their schooling, one might expect that, unless they wished to push their musical knowledge above a basic level, few women would subscribe to music tutors. Edward Miller, writing in 1771, observed that there was a 'great deficiency of Ladies in general with regard to the grammatical part of Music' but thought: 'Perhaps it is not necessary for them to enter into the Minutæ of the Science.'⁹⁷ Leppert also pointed out that, for men, the purchase of a book of lessons could be a means by which a gentleman might avoid dependence on a socially inferior music master while, for women, it might help reduce the need to spend money on a teacher.⁹⁸ However, such works were clearly more successful with men, who account for 83.6% of subscribers.⁹⁹

Given the resistance there was to female string players, it comes as no surprise to find that no ladies subscribed to John Gunn's (c.1765–c.1824) *The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello* (c.1790).¹⁰⁰ One may have expected a few female subscribers, purely as a supportive measure, or purchases on behalf of another family member, but it is possible, given the way a cello was held, that women did not want to be associated with what was then viewed as a distinctly masculine instrument. Nevertheless, there was an appreciable number of female subscribers to works advertised as being for the cello, such as the 21.5% who subscribed to Jacob Cervetto's *Twelve Solos* (1748).¹⁰¹ Michael Talbot did wonder as to whether 'one or two of them [Cervetto's subscribers] played the cello', but thought that the majority probably subscribed for other reasons.¹⁰²

Tutors were also available for those who wanted to learn how to dance, a pastime favoured by both genders. As well as the health benefits of this activity, it also helped in the development of a good posture, greater social confidence, and the acquisition of a more assured bearing in any social situation.¹⁰³ It was also an important social pastime, with people attending balls and assemblies to see the great and good of local society, and to be seen themselves. Judith Milbanke (1751–1822) of Seaham Hall, County Durham, often recorded in her letters the events she had attended and whom she met. In July 1779, she attended the Durham race week, for which she wrote:

I danced a good deal at both Balls, at the first with Sir John Eden, at the second with Mr. Gowland: I made Count Yeo dance a Minuet to the entertainment of the whole Room by betting him a Guinea he would not which alas! I was obliged to pay! [Sir Ralph] Milbanke danced Minuets without end, and one night opened the Ball with the beautiful Countess of Strathmore.¹⁰⁴

Girls were taught to dance at an early age, and often at schools in groups.¹⁰⁵ Men, even though dancing was an important social activity, did not, so it is not surprising that most subscribers

97 Miller, *Institutes of Music*, 2.

98 Leppert, *Music and Image*, 68.

99 Musical works, not originally intended for instruction, were also acquired for educational purposes. For instance, Kassler pointed out a Mrs Oom, who purchased multiple copies of Bach's 48 Preludes and Fugues presumably to sell to her students. Kassler, 'The Bachists of 1810', 325.

100 GB-Lbl: g.500.(6.).

101 A transcript of this subscription list was kindly provided by Michael Talbot.

102 Talbot, 'What Lists of Subscribers Can Tell Us', 129, 131.

103 Leppert, *Music and Image*, 71.

104 Malcolm Elwin, *The Noels and The Milbankes: Their Letters for Twenty-Five Years 1767–1792* (London, 1967), 139. Abigail Gawthorn also attended a large number of such events, recording whom she had danced with in her diary. Henstock, *The Diary of Abigail Gawthorn of Nottingham 1751–1810*, passim.

105 Leppert, *Music and Image*, 80. For a detailed account of dancing in Bath see Trevor Fawcett, 'Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth Century Bath', *Bath History*, 2 (1988), 27–48.

were male (57%). However, this does not provide a complete picture as Pemberton's 1711 instructor had no female subscribers, Tomlinson's 1735 primer had 112 male subscribers and 57 female, while Gallini's c.1770 primer had 218 female subscribers and only 195 male. When placed as a series of pie charts, the results give a clear indication that, as the eighteenth century progressed, books on dancing became increasingly popular with female subscribers (Figures 13–15).

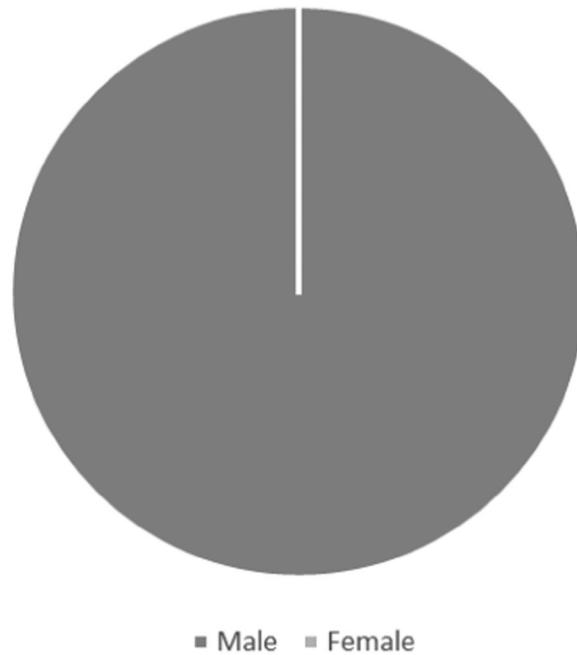


Figure 13. Subscribers to E. Pemberton's *An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing* (1711). Note: Viewed on ECCO.

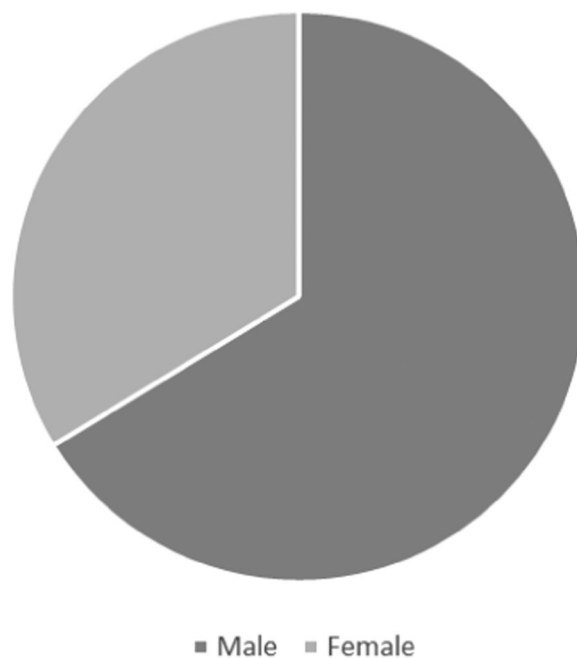


Figure 14. Subscribers to Kellom Tomlinson's *The Art of Dancing* (1735). Note: Viewed on ECCO.

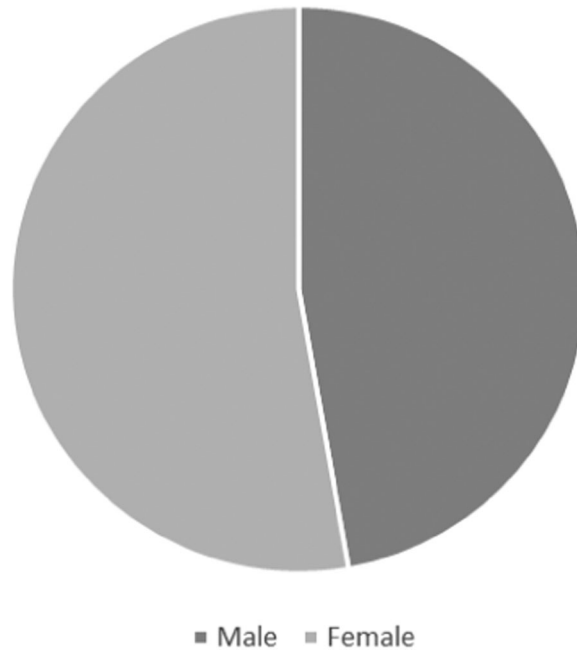


Figure 15. Subscribers to Giovanni-Andrea Gallini's *Critical Observations on the Art of Dancing* (c.1770).

Note: Viewed on ECCO.

This trend is probably representative of changes in society over the course of the century. Early on, most women would have learnt dancing as part of their education and had little need of a printed tutor, although it is certainly possible that a father might have subscribed under his own name when the book was intended for the use of a daughter. For men, dancing, as Leppert observed, increasingly became a required skill, although there were those who never learnt how to dance as a child, as the activity was frowned upon by a parent, and would have need for such a book.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, dancing became an activity enjoyed by all, a trend that ultimately blurred the distinction between the classes.¹⁰⁷ Events such as balls and assemblies became increasingly commonplace over the course of the eighteenth century and musical events, such as concerts, often concluded with a ball; there were also standalone balls, timed to coincide with important local events, such as race week.¹⁰⁸ Another factor in the growth in the number of female subscribers could have been the rise of the expanding middle classes, where presumably some of the women would have needed to learn how to dance, having not received a private education.

Vocal music

Given the association of cathedral music with male choirs, one would naturally expect there to be few female subscribers to such works, and this is certainly true of the two important collections of *Cathedral Music* by Boyce and Arnold. Only 4.6% of their subscribers were female, which is considerably less than the 17.4% in the 'other' category, the latter primarily made up of cathedral deans and chapters who purchased this music for the use of their choirs.

¹⁰⁶ Leppert, *Music and Image*, 81.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, those held in Stamford, Lincolnshire. Simon Fleming, 'Music and Concert Promotion in Georgian Stamford', *The Consort*, 73 (2017), 61–83.

When we examine Boyce's set more closely, it becomes apparent that the first edition did not appeal to women at all, as it attracted a single female subscriber, Miss Mary Ann Chase, who only subscribed to the first volume.¹⁰⁹ The poor reception greatly disappointed Boyce, who then decided against the publication of his own anthems, although his widow ultimately issued two collections in 1780 and 1790.¹¹⁰

There was in England at this time a movement that aimed to, as Stanley Sadie put it, 'retain the "ancient" style' of music.¹¹¹ Two of the most notable groups associated with the performance of old music were The Academy of Ancient Music and The Madrigal Society. There were also some prominent musicians researching the music of the past, including Johann Christoph Pepusch, Charles Burney, John Hawkins, Maurice Greene and Boyce. Some composers even attempted to adopt the manner of the past, producing works such as madrigals.¹¹² However, the majority of those interested in the music of the past were male, with little interest in this area shown by women. Nevertheless, as time went on, it is clear that a small but increasing number of women did cultivate an interest in old music, including Elizabeth Egerton, whose brother presented to her a four-volume set of anthems, odes and other works by Henry Purcell, which had been transcribed by Philip Hayes between 1781 and 1785, and had formerly belonged to Samuel Arnold.¹¹³ The 1788 reissue of Boyce's *Cathedral Music* was far more successful than the first edition, having more than three times the number of subscribers, of which an appreciable 8.9% were female.¹¹⁴ Arnold's collection of *Cathedral Music* attracted a small number of female subscribers (4.1%), while the 1801 collection of Thomas Morley's *Canzonets and Madrigals* attracted 238 subscribers, of which 36 (15.1%) were female.¹¹⁵

When we look at anthems in general, there are proportionally more female subscribers, but again the percentage is low, only 15.6%. However, this increase from the sets of *Cathedral Music* by Boyce and Arnold was probably because it was easier to convince a potential subscriber to purchase a copy of newly composed music, rather than an edition of old works. Collections of hymns and psalms attracted a slightly lower proportion of female subscribers (15.1%), presumably as most church choirs, like those in cathedrals, were often formed from men and boys.¹¹⁶ Even Edward Miller's landmark collection, *The*

109 GB-DRc: E66, E67, E69. For more on Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, see H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Genesis of Boyce's "Cathedral Music"', *Music & Letters*, 56 (1975), 26–40.

110 Johnstone, 'The Genesis of Boyce's "Cathedral Music"', 32.

111 Stanley Sadie, 'Music in the Home II', *Music in Britain, The Eighteenth Century*, eds. H. Diack Johnston and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 322–3.

112 Ibid., 322–3; Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III* (Warren, 2003), 73. Rubin observed that the 'two leading music clubs in London', the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and the Madrigal Society complemented each other. While 'the Catch Club sought to generate new English music in the currently popular style . . . the Madrigal Society held to its mission of preserving the old.' Nevertheless, he also observed that Tudor madrigals were commonly included in collections of more modern works, such as glees; he found the most popular of these Tudor composers were Thomas Morley, Thomas Ford, John Wilbye and Michael Este. Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III*, 72, 98–9.

113 Pargeter, *A Catalogue of the Library at Tatton Park*, 306.

114 GB-DRu: Fleming 20.

115 GB-DRu: Fleming 185, 187; GB-DRc: Men's Music Library, Copy 7; GB-NOu: Oversize M1579 MOR.

116 Women are known to have sung in some church choirs, such as Ann Howgill at Whitehaven. The choirs of both the Hey and Shaw chapels in Lancashire had also included women since the 1750s, and the Halifax 1766 musical festival used female sopranos rather than boy trebles. See Fleming, 'The Howgill Family', 68, and Rachel Cowgill, 'Disputing Choruses in 1760s Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel, and the Messiah Club', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, eds. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot, 2007), 104–5.

Psalms of David (1790), which attracted 2,603 subscribers, had only 386 that were female (14.8%).¹¹⁷ This indicates quite clearly that even simple parochial music was more popular with men.¹¹⁸

Even if men more commonly subscribed to sacred and ancient vocal music, singing was an activity, much like dancing, that was popular with both genders. Collections of secular vocal music, however, still tended to attract more male subscribers, but a greater proportion were female, equating to 24.9%. However, this does not paint the full picture, as there was a considerable difference in the ratio of subscribers between individual collections. It perhaps comes as no surprise, given that it was published in Edinburgh, that Natale Corri's *A Set of Six Italian Songs* (1791) attracted a high proportion of female subscribers, in this case 87.4%.¹¹⁹ For the London-published collection of songs by Ann Hodges, 56.8% of subscribers were female.¹²⁰ The music in this volume was harmonized by Nicolas-Joseph Hüllmandel and published by him for 'the Benefit of Her Orphan Children'; it no doubt attracted a significant number of subscribers, including Queen Charlotte, the wife of George III, who wished to contribute to and be publicly associated with a charitable cause. In contrast to these, *Broderick's Medley*, which despite its title is a book of words, attracted no female subscribers.¹²¹ Its target audience was the Freemasons, which could account for the lack of women, although some collections of music intended for use in masonic circles, such as Thomas Hale's *Social Harmony* (1763) and William Riley's *Fraternal Melody* (1773), did appeal to a few members of this gender (respectively 2.6% and 1.1%).¹²²

Another popular form of vocal music in the second half of the eighteenth century was the glee. This type of music is largely associated with club activity, where it would have been performed by men and, as expected, the majority of subscribers to such works were indeed male. Nevertheless, there were a significant number of female subscribers, accounting for 22.1% of the total.¹²³ Although women would not, as a rule, have performed such works in public, they are known to have done so in private.¹²⁴ For example, Mary Noel (1776–1802), in a letter from 1784, wrote: 'We have spent the week pleasantly – in good truth we are as merry as so many Beggars in a Barn. Diana rides with me, we eat, drink & sing Catches & Glee.'¹²⁵ John Marsh (1752–1828) also reported on how he had accompanied the performance of a glee in 1794, sung by, among others, 'Mrs S. Heming'.¹²⁶ The music books assembled in the early nineteenth century by Elizabeth Egerton, and Lydia Acland of Killerton House, Devon, contain large numbers of glees, catches and canons, including songs normally associated with more masculine topics, such as naval battles,¹²⁷ as does a volume of music that once

117 14.8% is also the proportion of female subscribers for all sacred vocal works examined.

118 <http://hz.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/2/2f/IMSLP372040-PMLP600840-psalmsofdavidfor00mill.pdf>.

119 GB-Lbl: H.1771.ss.(8.). I am grateful to Martin Perkins, who provided me with a copy of this list.

120 GB-Lbl: R.M.13.e.23.

121 Viewed on ECCO.

122 GB-DRu: Fleming a.76; *Fraternal Melody* was viewed on ECCO. For more information on female involvement with freemasonry in Britain at this time, see the *Journal for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism*, 4 (2013) which focuses is on 'Women and Freemasonry'. I am grateful to Andrew Pink for making me aware of this source.

123 For more on the performance of catches and glees see Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2006) and Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III*.

124 This has already been observed by Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, 104, and Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III*, 151–6.

125 Elwin, *The Noels and The Milbankes*, 248.

126 Robins, *The John Marsh Journals*, 533.

127 Leena Asha Rana, 'Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c.1790–1840' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2012), 210.

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Say not fo Friar. Friar fay not fo, that Men are constant never, that Men are constant never, for my true Love has

Say not fo Friar. Friar fay not fo, that Men are constant never, that Men are constant never, for my true Love has

Say not fo Friar. Friar fay not fo, that Men are constant never, that Men are constant never, for my true Love has

Say not fo Friar. Friar fay not fo, that Men are constant never, that Men are constant never, for my true Love has

Say not fo Friar. Friar fay not fo, that Men are constant never, that Men are constant never, for my true Love has

Say not fo Friar. Friar fay not fo, that Men are constant never, that Men are constant never, for my true Love has

Say not fo Friar. Friar fay not fo, that Men are constant never, that Men are constant never, for my true Love has

Say not fo Friar. Friar fay not fo, that Men are constant never, that Men are constant never, for my true Love has

Adapted for two Voices

Say not fo Friar. Friar fay not fo, that Men are constant never, that Men are constant never, for my true Love has

Say not fo Friar. Friar fay not fo, that Men are constant never, that Men are constant never, for my true Love has

Skarratt Sculp Battle Bridge

H.C. Capell
186

Figure 16. Copy of a Glee by John Percy that belonged to Harriet Capell, the Countess of Essex. Note: GB-DRu: Fleming b.38(a).

belonged to Harriet Capell (c.1735–1821), the Countess of Essex. It contains, amongst other works, glees by John Percy (Figure 16) and Richard Stevens, and a catch by the Earl of Mornington.¹²⁸

Glees were even composed by female musicians, including Maria Hester Park (1760–1813) whose op. 3 *A Set of Glees* (c.1790) was dedicated to Mary Bertie (c.1730–93), the Duchess of Ancaster.¹²⁹ Surprisingly, she had more female subscribers than male. Of the 131 subscribers, 57.3% were female and, of these female subscribers, 36% had aristocratic titles, 28% were titled ‘Mrs’, and 36% ‘Miss’. Although some of these subscribers would no doubt have subscribed for reasons not to do with the music, these figures would indicate that the performance of glees by female amateurs took place on all levels of society and whether a woman was married or not did not necessarily have an impact. Even for Park herself, being married did not mean that she had to leave music behind. Her 1785 op. 1 set of *Sonatas for the Harpsichord* were published under her maiden name of Reynolds, and she continued to issue music in the early nineteenth century, including *A Divertimento for the Piano Forte*, in around 1801 (Figure 17).¹³⁰

Music for flute

The flute, as has already been observed, was viewed as a particularly unsuitable instrument for a woman, although, like the violin, ladies are known to have played this instrument in private.

128 DRu: Fleming b.38. Glees for performance, at least in part by women, were published in the eighteenth century; one of the earliest collections aimed at the female performer was Samuel Webbe’s 1764 collection, *The Ladies Catch-Book*. See Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III*, 154.

129 GB-Lbl: E.207.c.(5.).

130 Published in London.

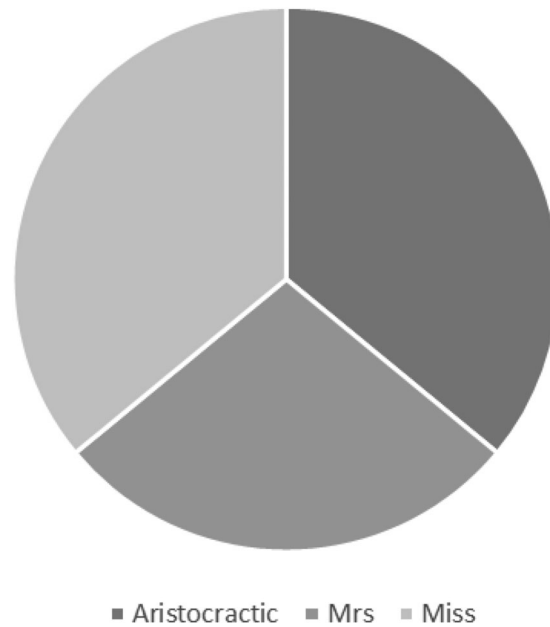


Figure 17. Titles of Female Subscribers to Maria Hester Park's *A Set of Glee's*, op. 3 (c.1790).

Ford, for instance, reported on Susanna Montgomerie (1690–1780), Lady Rachel Binning (1696–1773) and Lady Catherine Gairlies (d.1786), all of whom played the flute or recorder.¹³¹ In December 1735 Alexander Baillie published his *Airs for the Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*, which he dedicated to Lady Gairlies. The dedication to this work indicates that she had studied the recorder for some time:

The following Airs have been composed by a Gentleman for your Ladyship's Use when you began to practice the Flute a Beque [Bec]; I thought I could not chuse a better Subject for my First Essay as an Engraver of Musick than these Airs; as well because they were made for Beginners on the Flute & Harpsichord, as that they were composed by a Gentleman who first put a Pencil in my Hand and then an Engraver. But chiefly because they were originally made for your Ladyship's Use which gives me so fair a Handle to send them into the World under the Protection of your Ladyship's Name.¹³²

Other closet flautists include Marianne Davies (c.1744–c.1818), the daughter of an Irish musician, and Anne Lister (1791–1814) of Shibden Hall, today best known for her intimate relationships with other women.¹³³ Although only 11.2% of subscribers to music advertised for the flute were women, their subscription indicates that some might have played this instrument in private. The issue, however, in assuming this is that such works were laid out on two staves, with the solo instrument on the treble stave and the keyboard part, with a figured bass, on the lower stave. As such, it is possible to play these works as keyboard solos. However, if the public generally viewed these as playable as keyboard solos, the question arises as to why the proportion of female subscribers is so much lower than what was seen with the set of keyboard lessons and sonatas. In terms of individual collections, Alexander Munro's *A Collection Of the Best Scots Tunes Fited to the German Flute* (1732), perhaps understandably, had no female

131 Ford, 'The Flute in Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', 74–80.

132 Quoted from Ford, 'The Flute in Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', 79.

133 Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century*, 15; Helena Whitbread, ed., *I Know My Own Heart: The Diaries of Anne Lister 1791–1840* (New York, 1992), xxiii, 1, 17, 304–5.

subscribers, while Alessandro Besozzi's (1702–93) *Six Solos for the German-Flute, Hautboy or Violin* (1759) had 15 (6% of subscribers).¹³⁴ These subscribers come from different social strata and include aristocracy, married and unmarried women. Sadly, it has been impossible to ascertain if any of these subscribers played one of these instruments.

Other permutations of the data

Of all the lists examined, 20 (3.6%) were attached to works by female composers or authors, indicating just how much music publication in the eighteenth century was male dominated. Unsurprisingly, this music includes genres that were more popular with female performers, such as keyboard lessons, sonatas and concertos, along with songs and music for harp. There is also the 1809 set of *Twelve Voluntaries* by Theophania Cecil that attracted a higher proportion of female subscribers (45.5%) than was typically associated with this genre (27.3%).¹³⁵

Given what we have already observed in relation to books on music theory and the collections of *Cathedral Music* by Boyce and Arnold, one would anticipate that Charles Burney's (1726–1814) *A General History of Music* (1776) would receive a low proportion of female subscribers. This turns out to be the situation: only 15.1% of subscribers were of this gender.¹³⁶ However, the autobiography of a practising musician and Polish immigrant, Joseph Boruwlaski (1739–1837), attracted more female subscribers, with the average proportion of female subscribers over the three editions of his memoirs being 29.5%. This is far higher than the 8.5% that Charles Dibdin attracted for his 1788 *Musical Tour*. Clearly the personal accounts of a musician were also, as a rule, more popular with male subscribers.

Conclusion

The material contained in subscription lists issued over the long eighteenth century has, before now, not been analysed in any great depth; nevertheless, the importance of this data and what it can reveal is more than evident from this study. This research has given an important insight into what types of music were popular with the music-buying public, and the changes in society that took place over the course of that century. It is obvious that the publication of music was a male-dominated activity, and it was members of this gender that primarily subscribed to the latest publications. However, a closer perusal of the data reveals that there were clear changes in the patterns of subscription over the course of the century, with an increasing proportion of female subscribers. There are, furthermore, distinct differences in the patterns of subscription, depending on in which country or city the music was issued. This not only reflects the way in which music was viewed by the population in these areas, but also the teaching practices and wider networking of the composers involved.

Women tended to have a preference for secular music rather than sacred, with the most popular genres for them being composed for the keyboard, a class of instrument that society thought particularly suitable for a lady. However, women also subscribed to works intended for inappropriate instruments, such as the violin, flute or cello, or for works primarily intended for public performance. Many of these subscriptions may have been taken out in

134 http://hz.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8d/IMSLP412169-PMLP667887-Munro_scots_tunes_opt.pdf; http://hz.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/1/13/IMSLP379632-PMLP257683-a_besozzi_6_solos.pdf.

135 GB-Lbl: e.174.k.(1.).

136 GB-DRu: Fleming 9.

support of the composer, for the benefit of a male family member, or for outward show, but it is intriguing that some of these women may have been involved with the performance of such works in private. Vocal music was performable by members of both genders, and even the music chiefly associated with male-only music clubs, such as glees, was performed by women. There was also little distinction between the classes; glees were equally performable by members of the aristocracy, gentry and middling classes.

There is, in addition, the realization that individual composers could have been more popular with a particular gender. Handel, for instance, was more popular with male subscribers, while there are indications that Pleyel's keyboard music may have been more popular with women. In addition, men had a stronger interest in old music, and it was they who sought to advance their musical understanding through the purchase of a primer. Dancing tutors, given the association of this activity with important social events, attracted an appreciable number of subscribers from both genders, although such works enticed a higher proportion of female subscribers later in the century; this again reflects broader changes in society.

The effort required to analyse a significant number of subscription lists has certainly been considerable, but the importance of these documents in our understanding of British society and the changes that took place during the Georgian period cannot be understated. They are a hugely valuable resource which, when linked with other types of documents such as diaries and advertisements, provides us with a far greater insight into the patterns of musical activity in eighteenth-century Britain than has ever been seen before.

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Notes on contributor

Simon Fleming is Head of Music at the Queen Elizabeth Sixth Form College in Darlington and teaches part-time in the Music Department at Durham University. His main area of expertise is the music in the British provinces during the long eighteenth century, with a particular focus on that produced in the north of England. He has written numerous articles on this topic, including several on the Newcastle-based composer, Charles Avison; other papers are on William Howgill, John Pixell, James Nares, the musicians of Carlisle Cathedral, the Spalding Gentlemen's Society and the music produced in eighteenth-century Stamford. He is currently working on a project that involves indexing the subscribers to every music-related publication produced in Britain before 1820. As part of his college position, Simon runs a Baroque ensemble, whose repertory includes music that he has either researched or edited. The ensemble has performed at venues across Europe. Simon lives in Durham and is organist of that city's St Nicholas' Church.

Appendices

Appendix A. The percentage of subscribers (male/female/other-institutional) to each category and list discussed in this study, given to one decimal place.

Category	Men%	Women%	Institutional/Other%
Subscribers to all works	75.3	23.1	1.7
Subscribers before 1700	98.3	1.7	0
Subscribers 1701-1720	100	0	0
Subscribers 1721-1740	82.1	16.9	1
Subscribers 1741-1760	80.2	17.9	2
Subscribers 1761-1780	77.5	20.2	2.2
Subscribers 1781-1800	73.3	25	1.7
Subscribers 1801-1820	70.4	28.4	1.2
Subscribers to works issued in Birmingham	79.1	20.1	0.7
Subscribers to James Lyndon's <i>Six Solo's</i> (1751)	60	40	0
Subscribers to Sacred Works	80.7	15.7	3.6
Subscribers to Secular Works	73.3	25.7	1
Subscribers to works by Handel	80.4	17	2.5
Subscribers to Handel's Works Issued in the Composer's Lifetime	81.4	16	2.5
Subscribers to Handel's Works Issued Posthumously	80.3	17.2	2.5
Subscribers to Samuel Arnold's Edition of Handel's Works	76.2	22	1.7
Subscribers to Works Issued in England	74.8	23.3	1.9
Subscribers to Works Issued in Scotland	77.5	22.2	0.3
Subscribers to Works Issued in Ireland	77.5	22.2	0.3
Subscribers to Works Issued in America	92.4	6.4	1.3
Subscribers to Works Issued in India	84.6	15.4	0
Subscribers to Works Issued in London	74.3	23.7	2
Subscribers to Works Issued in Edinburgh	63.3	36.1	0.6
Subscribers to John Watlen's Two Books of Circus Tunes (1791 & 1798)	23.1	76.9	0
Subscribers to Natale Corri's <i>Three Sonatas</i> , Op 1 (c.1790)	9	91	0
Subscribers to Works by John Valentine	93.4	1.9	4.7
Subscribers to John Valentine's <i>The Epithalamium in the Tragedy of Isabella</i> (c.1765)	94.7	4.7	0.6
Subscribers to String Concertos	79.1	16	4.8
Subscribers to George Jackson's <i>A Treatise on Practical Thorough Bass ... Op. 5</i> (1791)	74.8	25.2	0

(Continued)

Continued.

Category	Men%	Women%	Institutional/Other%
Subscribers to Charles Avison's Concertos	80	15.9	4.1
Subscribers to Charles Avison's <i>Six Concertos</i> , Op 2 (1740)	87.1	8.2	4.7
Subscribers to Charles Avison's <i>Eight Concertos</i> , Op 4 (1755)	75.8	19.2	5
Subscribers to Charles Avison's <i>Twelve Concertos</i> , Op 9, Book 2 (1767)	76.7	19	4.3
Subscribers to Keyboard Concertos	63.5	34.9	1.6
Subscribers to Charles Avison's <i>Two Concertos</i> (1742)	82.6	11.8	5.6
Subscribers to Thomas Chilcot's Keyboard Concertos (1756 & 1765)	67.6	30.1	2.3
Subscribers to Trio Sonatas	86.4	11.6	2
Subscribers to Accompanied Keyboard Sonatas	53	46.7	0.3
Subscribers to Sonatas for Solo Keyboard	50.6	49.4	0
Subscribers to Lessons for Solo Keyboard	56.7	43.2	0.1
Subscribers to Samuel Wise's <i>Six Lessons for the Harpsichord</i> (c.1765)	40	60	0
Subscribers to John Elouis' Arrangement of <i>Three Celebrated Trios</i> by Ignace Pleyel (1800)	8.8	91.2	0
Subscribers to Marie Marin's <i>Notturmo & Quintetto, for the Harp ... Op. 14</i> (1801)	27.5	72.5	0
Subscribers to Organ Voluntaries	72.5	27.3	0.2
Subscribers to Music Tutors	83.6	16.2	0.2
Subscribers to John Gunn's <i>The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello</i> (c.1790)	98.8	0	1.2
Subscribers to Giacob Cervetto's <i>Twelve Solos for a Violoncello</i> (1748)	78.5	21.5	0
Subscribers to Music Advertised for the Cello	90	10	0.1
Subscribers to Dance Tutors	57	43	0
Subscribers to E. Pemberton's <i>An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing</i> (1711)	100	0	0
Subscribers to Kellom Tomlinson's <i>The Art of Dancing</i> (1735)	66.3	33.7	0
Subscribers to Giovanni-Andrea Gallini's <i>Critical Observations on the Art of Dancing</i> (c.1770)	47.2	52.8	0
Subscribers to William Boyce's and Samuel Arnold's Collections of Cathedral Music	78	4.6	17.4
Subscribers to the First Edition of Boyce's <i>Cathedral Music</i> (1760, 1768 & 1773)	68	0.3	31.7
Subscribers to the 1788 Reissue of Boyce's <i>Cathedral Music</i>	83	8.9	8.1
Subscribers to Samuel Arnold's <i>Cathedral Music</i> (1790)	82.7	4.1	13.2
Subscribers to Thomas Morley's <i>Canzonets and Madrigals</i> (1801)	83.2	15.1	1.7
Subscribers to Collections of Anthems	79.4	15.6	5
Subscribers to Collections of Psalms and Hymns	82.5	15.1	2.5
Subscribers to Edward Miller's <i>The Psalms of David</i> (1790)	81.3	14.8	3.9
Subscribers to Sacred Vocal Music	81.3	14.8	3.9

(Continued)

Continued.

Category	Men%	Women%	Institutional/Other%
Subscribers to Secular Vocal Music	74.5	24.9	0.6
Subscribers to Collections of Songs	69	30.5	0.4
Subscribers to Natale Corri's <i>A Set of Six Italian Songs</i> (1791)	12.6	87.4	0
Subscribers to Ann Hodges' <i>Collection of Songs</i> (1798)	42.9	56.8	0.2
Subscribers to <i>Broderick's Medley</i> (c.1780)	100	0	0
Subscribers to Thomas Hale's <i>Social Harmony</i> (1763)	94	2.6	3.5
Subscribers to William Riley's <i>Fraternal Melody</i> (1773)	98.6	1.1	0.4
Subscribers to Glees	77.2	21.1	1.7
Subscribers to Maria Hester Park's <i>A Set of Glees</i> , op. 3 (c.1790)	42.7	57.3	0
Subscribers to Music Advertised for the Flute	88.6	11.2	0.2
Subscribers to Alexander Munro's <i>A Collection Of the Best Scots Tunes Fited to the German Flute</i> (1732)	100	0	0
Subscribers to Alessandro Besozzi's <i>Six Solos for the German-Flute, Hautboy or Violin</i> (1759)	94	6	0
Subscribers to Works Produced by Female Composers and Authors	56.1	43.5	0.5
Subscribers to Theophania Cecil's <i>Twelve Voluntaries</i> (1809)	54.5	45.5	0
Subscribers to Charles Burney's <i>A General History of Music</i> (1776), volume 1	83.2	15.1	1.8
Subscribers to Joseph Boruwłaski's <i>Three Autobiographies</i> (1788, 1792 & 1820)	70.3	29.5	0.2
Subscribers to Charles Dibdin's <i>Musical Tour</i> (1788)	90.8	8.5	0.7

Appendix B. The numbers of subscribers to every work examined in this study.

Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Charles Abel	Six Sonatas for the HarpsichordOpera II	London, for the author	1760	105	79	26	0
Thomas Adams	Six Voluntaries for the Organ	London, for the author	1820?	76	52	24	0
John Addison	Six Sonatas or DuetsOpera Prima	London?	1772	90	90	0	0
John Alcock	Harmonia Festi	Lichfield, for the author	1791	197	152	41	4
John Alcock	Six and Twenty Select Anthems in Score	Lichfield?	1771	81	60	2	19
John Alcock	Six Concerto's	London, for the author	1750	279	174	97	8
John Alcock	The Pious Soul's Heavenly Exercise	Lichfield, for the author	1756	150	128	22	0
John Alcock	Twelve English Songs	London, for the author	1743	354	238	115	1
An Amateur	Odes, Songs, and Marches	London, for the author	1807	330	169	161	0
Giovanni Androux	Six Trios for Two German Flutes or Two Violins	London, George Terry	1760?	245	219	26	0
J. Angier	Six Hymns	London, for the author	1795?	172	141	31	0
Giorgio Antoniotto	L'Arte ArmonicaVol. 1	London, John Johnson	1760	107	98	9	0
Attilio Ariosti	Alla Maesta di Giorgio	London?	1728?	761	652	109	0
Samuel Arnold	Cathedral MusicVolume the First	London, for the editor	1790	126	104	5	17
Samuel Arnold	Cathedral MusicVolume the Second	London, for the editor	1790	118	98	5	15
Samuel Arnold	Cathedral MusicVolume the Third	London, for the editor	1790	126	104	5	17
Samuel Ashby	Miscellaneous PoemsAddress to Music and Poesy	London, William Miller	1794	461	379	80	2
Luffman Atterbury	A Collection of Twelve Glee's, Rounds &c.	London, George Goulding	1790?	116	94	20	2
Charles Avison	Eight ConcertosOpera Quarta	London, John Johnson	1755	198	150	38	10
Charles Avison	Six ConcertosOpera Secunda	Newcastle, Joseph Barber	1740	170	149	14	7
Charles Avison	Six ConcertosOpera Terza	London, John Johnson	1751	174	136	33	5
Charles Avison	Twelve Concerto's ... done from the two Books of Lessons ... by Sigr Domenico Scarlatti	London, for the author	1744	151	125	20	6
Charles Avison	Twelve ConcertosOpera Nona [Book 1 - Issue 1]	London, for the author	1766	209	168	32	9
Charles Avison	Twelve ConcertosOpera Nona [Book 1 - Issue 2]	London, for the author	1766	229	184	35	10
Charles Avison	Twelve ConcertosOpera Nona [Book 2]	London, for the author	1766	253	194	48	11
Charles Avison	Two Concertos the First for an Organ or Harpsichord	Newcastle, Joseph Barber	1742	144	119	17	8
Edmund Ayrton	An Anthem	London, for the author	1788	165	162	0	3
Johann Christian Bach	Four sonatas ... adapted ... by John Christian Luther	London, for the Proprietor	1785	144	70	72	2

(Continued)

Continued.

Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Johann Sebastian Bach	S. Wesley and C. Horn's New And correct Edition of the Preludes and Fugues of ... Bach. Book 1st [Issue 2]	London, for the editors	1808?	152	118	34	0
Charles Barbandt	Six Sonatas for Two Violins, two German Flutes or two HautboysOpera I	London?	1752	105	86	19	0
Robert Barber	Six SonatasOpera Prima	London, for the author	1775?	97	79	18	0
R F J Bardouleau	A Collection of Sacred Music	London, for the author	1819	126	113	12	1
Francesco Barsanti	Concerti GrossiOpera Terza	Edinburgh, for the author	1743?	139	118	13	8
Francesco Barsanti	Nove Overture a Quatro Due Violini, Viola e Basso	London?	1745	118	107	7	4
Francesco Barsanti	Sei Antifone ... Opa Quinta	London?	1750?	82	78	0	4
Morris Barford	Barford's Collection of Rondos, Airs, Marches, SongsBook. II	Cambridge, Morris Barford	1795?	387	321	66	0
Cecilia Barthelemon	Three SonatasOpera Prima	London, for the author	1791	340	179	161	0
Maria Barthelemon	Six English and Italian Songs	London, for the author	1786	211	144	67	0
Maria Barthelemon	Three Hymns, and Three AnthemsOp. 3	London, for the author	1795	295	180	114	1
John Barwick	Harmonia Cantica Divina	London, for the author	1783?	283	280	0	3
William Bates	Six Sonata's for Two Violins with a Thorough Bass	London, for the author	1750?	176	160	16	0
William Beale	A First Book of Madrigals, Gless, &c.	London, for the author	1815	48	35	12	1
Daniel Bearden	The Inscription Songs & Ode to Charity	London, Longman & Broderip	1788	174	121	53	0
James Beattie	Essays. On the nature and immutability of Truth	Edinburgh, William Creech	1776	476	380	89	7
James Beattie	Essays. On the nature and immutability of Truth [same list as 1776 edition]	Edinburgh, for the author	1777	476	380	89	7
John Beckwith	Six Anthems in Score	London, for the author	1785?	85	76	6	3
John Beckwith	Six Voluntaries	London, for the author	1780	140	119	21	0
John Beckwith	The First Verse of every Psalm of David	London, for the author	1808	191	130	46	15
Daniel Belknap	The Evangelical Harmony	Boston [USA], Isaac Thomas & Ebenezer Andrews	1800	119	117	2	0
Sanders Bennet	Six Glees	Oxford, for the author	1802?	67	42	25	0
Anton Bemetzrieder	Music made Easy to every Capacity	London, R. Ayre & J. Moore	1778	116	97	17	2

(Continued)

Continued.

Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Charles Bennett	Twelve Songs and a Cantata	London, for the author	1765?	83	60	23	0
John Bennett	Ten Voluntaries	London, for the author	1750?	228	175	53	0
Mr Benson	Love and Money	London, John Wallis	1798?	198	163	31	4
George Berg	Six Concertos ... Opera Prima	London, for the author	1755	117	95	19	3
Alessandro Besozzi	Six Solos for the German-Flute, Hautboy or Violin	London, Edmund Chapman	1759	248	233	15	0
George Bickham	The Musical Entertainer ... Vol. I	London, for the editor	1737	548	520	28	0
William Bird	The Oriental Miscellany	Calcutta [India], Joseph Cooper	1789	260	220	40	0
Henry Bishop	Twelve Original Glee	London, for the author	1812?	64	44	20	0
Benjamin Blake	A Miscellaneous Collection of Vocal Music ... Op.6	London, for the author	1814	163	62	101	0
Jonas Blewitt	Ten Voluntaries ... Op. 2.	London, for the author	1796	101	97	4	0
Isaac Bloomfield	Six Anthems	London, for the author	1805?	129	92	37	0
Mr Bolton	The Opera Miscellany	London, John Brown	1730?	115	95	20	0
Capel Bond	Six Anthems in Score	London, for the author	1769	218	167	31	20
Capel Bond	Six Concertos in Seven Parts	London, for the author	1766	129	98	19	12
Hugh Bond	Twelve Hymns and Four Anthems	London, for the author	1776?	162	139	20	3
Giovanni Bononcini	Cantate e Duetti	London	1721	236	192	44	0
Francesco Borosini	One Hunderd Cantici	London, John Simpson	1746	51	32	19	0
Joseph Boruwlaski	A Second Edition of the Memoirs of the Celebrated Dwarf	Birmingham, John Thompson	1792	329	249	80	0
Joseph Boruwlaski	Memoirs of Joseph Boruwlaski	Durham, Francis Humble	1820	292	195	95	2
Joseph Boruwlaski	Memoirs of the Celebrated Dwarf	London	1788	439	301	138	0
John Bowie	A Collection of Strathspey Reels & Country Dances	Edinburgh, for the author	1786?	310	215	95	0
William Boyce	A Collection of Anthems and a Short Service	London, for the author's widow	1790	48	38	0	10
William Boyce	Cathedral Music ... Volume the First	London, for the editor	1760	113	74	1	38
William Boyce	Cathedral Music ... Volume the First [Reissue]	London, John Ashley	1788	405	336	36	33
William Boyce	Cathedral Music ... Volume the Second	London, for the editor	1768	122	84	0	38
William Boyce	Cathedral Music ... Volume the Third	London, for the editor	1773	128	88	0	40
William Boyce	Fifteen Anthems together with a Te Deum, and Jubilate	London, for the author's widow and family	1780	168	135	3	30

(Continued)

Continued.

Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
William Boyce	Solomon. A Serenata	London, for the author	1743	268	201	55	12
William Boyce	Twelve Sonatas	London, for the author	1767	486	420	48	18
Ralph Bradshaw	Twenty Four Psalm or Hymn Tunes	London, for the author	1820	114	96	9	9
William Brocas	A Favorite Air and Polonaise for the Flute	Dublin, Isaac Willis	1820?	45	37	8	0
Brother Broderick	Broderick's Medley, or, a Compleat Collection of Songs	London, for the editor	1780?	124	124	0	0
John & Robert Broderip	Portions of the Psalms	Bath, for the author	1798	165	117	45	3
Robert Broderip	A Miscellaneous Collection of Vocal MusicOp.IX	London, for the author	1791	174	83	89	2
James Brooks	A Second Sett, of Twelve Gleees	London, for the author	1798?	139	115	22	2
James Brooks	Twelve English BalladsOpera 5	London, for the author	1805?	151	97	54	0
J. C. Brown	A Collection of Original Sacred Music	London, for the author	1818	60	48	11	1
Thomas Brown	A Collection of Songs and a Cantata	London, for the author	1774	95	79	15	1
William Brown	Three Rondos	Philadelphia [USA], for the author	1787	107	59	48	0
David Bruguier	Krommer's Grand Symphony in D, Arranged as a Duet for Two Performers on the Piano Forte	London, Mitchell	1820?	219	82	137	0
Cornelius Bryan	Six SongsOp 2	London, Broderip & Wilkinson	1801	48	34	14	0
John Buckenham	The Psalm-Singer's Devout Exercise	London, for the author	1741	136	130	3	3
Adrien Buee	Three Sonatas	London, for the author	1799	63	29	34	0
Henry Burgess	A Collection of English Songs and Cantatas	London, John Walsh	1749	126	104	22	0
Henry Burgess	Six Concertos, for the Organ and Harpsicord	London, John Walsh	1743	78	63	14	1
William Burgiss	Eight Anthems, Twelve Psalm Tunes, and Gloria Patri	London, for the author	1808	107	83	17	7
William Burgiss	Three Anthems, Two Psalm Tunes, and a Funeral Piece	London, Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co	1810?	97	78	1	18
Charles Burney	A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present PeriodVolume the First	London, for the author	1776	856	712	129	15
John Camidge	Six Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord	York, for the author	1763	119	65	53	1
Matthew Camidge	Cathedral Music	London, for the author	1806	166	122	34	10
Matthew Camidge	Three Sonatas, for the Piano Forte	London, Preston & Son	1793	96	29	67	0
Henry Carey	Six Cantatas	London	1732	237	189	47	1

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Henry Carey	The Dramatick Works	London, S. Gilbert	1743	251	160	91	0
Henry Carey	The Musical CenturyVol. I	London, for the author	1737	217	153	64	0
Henry Carey	The Musical CenturyVol. IThe Second Edition	London, for the author	1740	215	151	64	0
Henry Carey	The Musical CenturyVol. II	London, for the author	1740	295	211	84	0
William Carnaby	Six Canzonetts, for Two Voices	London, for the author	1794	110	81	29	0
William Carnaby	Six Songs	London, for the author	1810	101	55	46	0
John Carr	The Grove or Rural Harmony	London, for the author	1760?	123	117	6	0
Richard Carter	Six Solos For the Use of young Practioners on the Violin of HarpsichordOpera Prima	London, William Smith	1750?	118	77	41	0
John Casson	Eight Favorite Airs with Variations	London, for the author	1793	143	82	61	0
Robert Catchpole	A Choice Collection of Church Music, for the Use of Country Choirs	Bury, for the author	1761	216	209	6	1
Giuseppe Cattanei	VI Sonate a Violino e BassoOpera Seconda	London, for the author	1765?	57	33	24	0
Theophania Cecil	Twelve Voluntaries	London, for the author	1809	123	67	56	0
Giacob Cervetto	Six Sonatas or Trios for Three Violoncellos	London, John Walsh	1745?	57	52	5	0
Giacob Cervetto	Twelve Solos for a Violoncello	London, for the author	1748	135	106	29	0
George Chard	A Collection of Twelve Glees	London, for the author	1811	159	127	31	1
George Chard	Six Favorite Songs	London, for the author	1795	101	69	32	0
William Chetwood	A General History of the Stage	Dublin, for the author	1749	390	332	58	0
Thomas Chilcot	Six Concertos for the Harpsichord	London, John Johnson	1756	101	66	33	2
Thomas Chilcot	Six Concertos for the HarpsichordOpera Seconda	Bath?, for the author	1765	72	51	19	2
Thomas Chilcot	Six Suites of Lessons	London, William Smith	1734	84	72	12	0
Thomas Chilcot	Twelve English Songs	London, John Johnson	1744	278	236	38	4
Carlo Clari	Sei MadrigaliParte Prima	London?	1767	175	144	28	3
Edward Clark	A New Anthem	Norwich, for the author	1770?	178	137	40	1
Edward Clark	Six Easy Hymns or Anthems	London, for the author	1767?	106	59	46	1
Jeremiah Clark	Eight Songs with Instrumental PartsOpera Seconda	London, for the author	1775?	408	348	59	1
Jeremiah Clark	Eight Songs with the Instrumental Parts	London, for the author	1763?	433	380	51	2
Jeremiah Clark	Six Sonata'sOpera Terza	London, for the author	1779	228	165	62	1
Jeremiah Clark	Ten SongsOp. IV	London, for the author	1791	334	243	90	1
Thomas Clark	A Sett of Psalm & Hymn Tunes	London, for the author	1800?	109	106	2	1

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Jasper Clarke	A Cantata and Five English Songs	London, for the author	1760	107	88	16	3
John Clarke	A Miscellaneous Volume of Morning and Evening ServicesVol. 2	London, for the author	1805	68	46	7	15
John Clarke	A Morning and Evening Service with Six AnthemsVol. 1	London, for the author	1800	94	70	9	15
John Clarke	Eight GleesOp: 4	Dublin, Gough	1798	122	57	63	2
John Clarke	Three Sonatas, for the Piano Forte or HarpsichordOp. I	London, for the author	1789	95	67	28	0
Philip Cogan	Three Sonatas for the Piano ForteOp: 7	Dublin, Edmund Lee	1795?	204	77	127	0
William Cole	A Morning and Evening Service	London, for the author	1793	79	79	0	0
William Cole	The Psalmists Exercise	London, for the author	1766?	73	71	0	2
Thomas Collins	A Collection of Anthems and Psalms	Nuneaton, John Baraclough	1790?	148	136	4	8
Benjamin Cooke	Collin's Ode on the Passions	London, for the author	1784	153	124	26	3
Benjamin Cooke	Nine Glees and Two DuetsOpera V	London, for the editor	1795	246	150	89	7
Benjamin Cooke	The Morning Hymn, taken from the Fifth Book of Milton's Paradise Lost	London, Welcker	1773	149	108	40	1
James Coombs	A Te Deum and Jubilate	London, for the author	1800?	54	48	4	2
James Coombs	Eight Canzonets	London, for the author	1807?	135	76	59	0
Arcangelo Corelli	Four Trios, Selected from Corelli's Concertos Adapted for the Piano ForteBy Osmond Saffery	London, Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine	1803?	91	28	62	1
Joseph Corfe	The Beauties of HandelVol. II	London, for the author	1804	292	183	109	0
Joseph Corfe	Twelve Glees	London	1791	216	169	41	6
Domenico Corri	A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs, Duets, &c.	Edinburgh, John Corri	1779?	228	91	135	2
Domenico Corri	The Singers Preceptor or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music	London, Mr Silvester	1810	846	545	301	0
Natale Corri	A Selection of German, French & Italian Duettinos	London, Corri, Dussek & Co	1796	123	33	90	0
Natale Corri	A Set of Six Italian Songs	Edinburgh, for the arranger	1791	103	13	90	0
Natale Corri	Three SonatasOp. 1st	Edinburgh, Corri & Sutherland	1790?	134	12	122	0
William Coxe	Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel, and John Christopher Smith	London, William Bulmer	1799	241	188	51	2
Miles Coyle	Six Lessons for the Harpsichord	London, John Preston	1785?	146	73	73	0
William Crisp	Divine Harmony: or, the Psalm-Singer instructed	London, for the author	1755	130	124	6	0
William Croft	Musica Sacra: or, Select Anthems in ScoreVol. I	London, John Walsh	1724?	155	146	2	7

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
John Crompton	The Psalm Singer's Assistant	London, for the author	1778	267	259	8	0
William Crotch	Ten Anthems	Cambridge?	1798	97	81	7	9
Richard Cudmore	Twelve Select Pieces of Poetry, on Sacred Subjects, or the Voice & Piano Forte	London, for the author	1804	40	31	9	0
Angus Cumming	A Collection of Strathspey, or Old Highland Reels	Edinburgh	1780	361	286	75	0
Benjamin Curzons	Divine Harmony	London, for the author	1787	91	88	1	2
William Dale	Six Divertimenti ... Opera Prima	London, for the author	1783?	97	63	34	0
William Dale	Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte with Accompaniment	London, for the author	1783	106	70	36	0
John Danby	Danby's First Book of Catches, Canons and Glees	London, J. Bland	1785	111	99	10	2
John Danby	Danby's Posthumous Glees	London, R. Jaubert	1798	274	231	38	5
John Danby	Danby's Second Book of Catches, Canons, & Glees	London, for the author	1789	118	104	11	3
John Davy	Six Quartetts for Voices ... Opera Prima	London, for the author	1790?	108	84	23	1
John Day	Twelve Songs and Elegies ... Op. II	London, for the author	1791	69	42	27	0
Charles Denby	Three Duets for the Piano Forte & German Flute, or Violin ... Op. 3	London, for the proprietor	1790?	95	52	43	0
M Dingle	Three Songs and Three Favorite Airs for the Pedal Harp or Piano Forte	London, Thomas Cahusac	1805?	99	11	88	0
R Denson	A Collection of New and Favourite English and French Songs	The Hague, R. Denson	1749	56	46	10	0
Lieutenant General Dickson	Vol: 1 One Hundred Airs ... Arranged ... By Alex[ande]r Munro Kinloch	London, for Kinloch	1816?	410	230	180	0
Charles Dibdin	A Collection of English Songs and Cantatas	London, for the author	1761	98	96	2	0
Charles Dibdin	The Musical Tour	Sheffield, for the author	1788	458	416	39	3
Thomas Dibdin	The Director	London, William Savage	1807	122	105	17	0
William Dinsley	Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord	London, for the author	1795	183	76	107	0
William Dixon	A Collection of Glees and Round	Cambridge, for the editor	1796	131	123	3	5
William Dixon	Moralities	Cambridge, for the author	1800?	89	87	2	0
William Dixon	Psalmodia Christiana	London, Preston	1814	232	214	11	7
Joseph Dorman	The Curiosity: Or, the Gentleman and Lady's General Library	York, Alexander Staples	1738	168	139	26	3
Daniel Dow	A Collection of Ancient Scots Music	Edinburgh, for the author	1778	143	127	15	1
George Drummond	Six Double Fugues	London, Birchall	1818	90	31	59	0

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Archibald Duff	A Collection of Strathspey Reels	Edinburgh, for the author	1794	149	120	29	0
Thomas Dupuis	Organ Part to the Cathedral Music	London, Smart	1797	73	61	7	5
Thomas Dupuis	Six Concertos for the Organ ...Opera Prima	London, for the author	1760	149	98	51	0
Richard Eastcott	Six Sonatas ...Opera Prima	London, Welcker	1773	218	164	54	0
Richard Eastcott	Sketches of the Origin, Progress and Effects of Music [1st and 2nd editions have identical lists]	Bath, S Hazard	1793	195	135	60	0
Richard Eastcott	The Harmony of the Muses	London, for the author	1790?	148	87	61	0
Thomas Ebdon	A Second Volume, of Sacred Music	London, for the author	1810?	210	129	65	16
Thomas Ebdon	Sacred Music	London, for the author	1790?	422	291	106	25
Thomas Ebdon	Six Glees ...Op. III	London, for the author	1795	227	115	111	1
Thomas Ebdon	Six Sonata's for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ	London, for the author	1772?	212	129	83	0
Georg Heinrich Egestorf	A Practical Dissertation on the Science of Singing	London, for the author	1816	43	37	6	0
John Elouis	A Second Volume of a Selection of Favorite Scots Songs	London, Robert Birchall	1807	249	81	166	2
Harriet English	Conversations and Amusing Tales	London, for the author	1799	294	118	176	0
William Evance	A favorite Concerto	London, Longman & Broderip	1784?	148	82	64	2
Charles Evans	Six Glees	London, for the author	1811	179	170	7	2
Joseph Eyre	Eight Sonatas in Three Parts	London, for the author	1765	467	383	82	2
Samuel Felsted	Jonah an Oratorio	London, for the author	1775	243	192	51	0
William Felton	Six Concerto's for the Organ or Harpsichord	London, John Johnson	1744	162	138	21	3
William Felton	Six Concerto's for the Organ or Harpsichord ...Opera Settima	London, John Johnson	1758?	127	93	30	4
Giacomo Ferrari	Capi D'Opera	London, for the author	1801	133	55	78	0
Giacomo Ferrari	Six Notturni Two Rondos, and a Duett	London, for the author	1797?	93	18	75	0
William de Fesch	VIII Concerto's in seven parts ...Opera the Tenth	London?	1741	97	86	7	4
William de Fesch	X Sonatas for Two German Flutes or, Two Violins	London, for the author	1733	126	118	6	2
Michael Festing	Eight Concerto's ...Opera Quinta	London, William Smith	1739	154	134	5	15
Michael Festing	Six Solo's for a Violin ...Opera Settima	London, William Smith	1744	220	183	31	6
Michael Festing	Six Sonata's for Two Violins ...Opera Sesta	London, William Smith	1742	182	161	10	11
Michael Festing	Twelve Concerto's ...Opera Terza	London, for the author	1734	172	147	7	18

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Michael Festing	Twelve Solo's for a ViolinOpera Prima	London, for the author	1730	150	139	10	1
W. Figg	A First Collection of Four Anthems	London, for the author	1802	104	89	12	3
James Fishar	Twelve New Country Dances	London, for the author	1780?	111	38	73	0
George Fitch	The Country Chorister	London, for the author	1799?	278	269	4	5
William Flackton	Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Violoncello or a Harpsichord	London, for the author	1758	137	113	22	2
William Flackton	The Chace	London, for the author	1743	207	179	22	6
John Fleming	Psalms Selected For the Use of St. Peter's Church, Drogheda	Drogheda, John Fleming	1777	57	25	32	0
Jean-François de La Fond	A New System of Music	London, for the author	1725	159	153	6	0
James Fordyce	A Collection of Hymns and Sacred Poems	Aberdeen, for the publisher	1787	1920	1814	106	0
Margaret Forrest	Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with AccompanimentsOp. 1	London, for the author	1780?	500	193	306	1
Theodosius Forrest	Ways to Kill Care. A Collection of Original Songsby Young D'Urfey	London, for the author	1761	122	104	18	0
John Foster	Sacred Music	York, Samuel Knapton	1800?	317	262	23	32
Peter Fraser	The Delightfull Musical Companion for Gentlemen and LadiesVol. I	London, Peter Fraser	1725?	185	154	31	0
John Freeth	The Political Songster ... The Sixth Edition	Birmingham, for the author	1790	396	396	0	0
Johann Galliard	The Hymn of Adam and Eve	London?	1728	244	170	74	0
Giovanni-Andrea Gallini	Critical Observations on the Art of Dancing	London, for the author	1770?	413	195	218	0
Elisabetta de Gambarini	Lessons for the Harpsichord Intermix'd with Italian and English SongsOpera 2	London, for the author	1748	161	128	33	0
Joseph Ganthony	An Anthem for Christmas-Day	London, for the author	1774	205	197	6	2
William Gardiner	Sacred Melodies from Haydn, Mozart and BeethovenVol. 1	London, for the author	1812	327	253	69	5
John Garth	Six SonatasOpera Seconda	London, for the author	1768	261	163	96	2
John Gay	Poems on Several Occasions	Dublin, S. Powell	1729	110	106	4	0
Francesco Geminiani	Concerti Grossi ... Composti delli sei soli della prima parte dell'Opera quinta d' Arcangelo Corelli	London, William Smith & John Barrett	1726	156	140	13	3

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Joseph Gibbs	Eight Solos For a Violin with a Thorough Bass	London, for the author	1746	159	138	19	2
Jean Claude Gillier	Recueil D'Airs François	London, Thomas Edlin	1723	69	60	9	0
Giovanni Giornovich	Two Violin Concertos	London, Longman & Broderip	1791	83	23	60	0
Thomas Gladwin	Eight Lessons for the Harpsichord or Organ	London, for the author	1765	83	37	46	0
William Goode	An Entire New Version of the Book of PsalmsVol. II	London, for the author	1811	360	304	56	0
Neil Gow	A Second Collection of Strathspey Reels	Edinburgh, for the author	1788?	624	503	120	1
Maurice Greene	Forty Select Anthems in ScoreVolume First	London, John Walsh	1743	134	91	13	30
George Griffin	Ode to Charity	London, for the author	1820	179	81	97	1
George Guest	Sixteen Pieces or VoluntariesOp. 3	London, for the author	1799	134	60	74	0
Barnabus Gunn	Two Cantata's and Six Songs	Gloucester, R. Raikes	1736	465	376	87	2
John Gunn	The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello	London, for the author	1790?	162	160	0	2
Charles Hague	A Collection of Songs Moral, Sentimental, Instructive, and Amusing	London, Preston	1805	570	377	191	2
Charles Hague	A Second Collection of Glee's, Rounds, & Canons	Cambridge, for the editor	1800	156	127	26	3
Charles Hague	An Anthem in Score	London, for the author	1794	152	122	30	0
Charles Hague	The Ode as Performed in the Senate-House at Cambridge	London, for the author	1811	201	165	35	1
Thomas Hale	Social Harmony	London?	1763	543	510	14	19
Thomas Douglas Halley	Twelve Hymns appropriate to Charity Sermons	London, for the author	1813	168	134	34	0
George F. Handel	A Second Set of Six Concertos [Arnold Edition]	[London]	1789	323	249	68	6
George F. Handel	Admetus	London, John Cluer	1727	57	48	8	1
George F. Handel	Alexander	London, John Cluer	1726	80	70	9	1
George F. Handel	Alexanders Feast, An Ode on Saint Cecilia's Day [Arnold Edition]	[London]	1789	362	275	81	6
George F. Handel	Alexander's Feast or the Power of Musick [first issue]	London, John Walsh	1738	124	90	28	6
George F. Handel	Alexander's Feast or the Power of Musick [second issue]	London, John Walsh	1738	125	91	28	6
George F. Handel	Anthem. For the Coronation of George IID [Arnold Edition]	[London]	1789	325	251	68	6
George F. Handel	Anthem, In Score, Composed at Cannons, For his Grace the Duke of Chandos [Arnold Edition]	[London]	1789	362	273	83	6
George F. Handel	Arminius	London, John Walsh	1737	109	95	11	3
George F. Handel	Atalanta [First Issue]	London, John Walsh	1736	142	119	21	2

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
George F. Handel	Atalanta [Second Issue]	London, John Walsh	1736	155	132	21	2
George F. Handel	Athalia [Arnold Edition]	[London]	1789	381	285	90	6
George F. Handel	Belshazzar	London, H. Wright	1784	78	70	1	7
George F. Handel	Coronation and Funeral Anthems ... Arranged ... by Dr John Clarke	London, Button & Whitaker	1810	628	480	146	2
George F. Handel	Deborah	London, Wright & Co	1784	70	61	3	6
George F. Handel	Deborah [Arnold Edition]	[London]	1789	325	250	68	7
George F. Handel	Eight AnthemsWith an accompaniment ... by William Sexton ... and John Page	London, for the editors	1808?	197	157	36	4
George F. Handel	Eighteen Songs ... Adapted ... By Henry Hardy	London, for the editor	1800?	67	58	9	0
George F. Handel	Esther	London, Wright & Co	1783	68	60	2	6
George F. Handel	Faramondo [First and second issues have the same list]	London, John Walsh	1738?	76	65	10	1
George F. Handel	Giulio Cesare [Arnold Edition]	[London]	1789	382	289	87	6
George F. Handel	Israel in Egypt	London, William Randall	1770	180	156	13	11
George F. Handel	Israel in Egypt [Arnold Edition]	[London]	1789	333	258	69	6
George F. Handel	Jephtha	London, William Randall	1770?	161	138	14	9
George F. Handel	Jephtha	London, Wright & Co	1786?	161	138	14	9
George F. Handel	Joseph	London, H. Wright	1785	73	65	1	7
George F. Handel	Joshua	London, H. Wright	1790?	161	138	14	9
George F. Handel	Joshua [first issue]	London, William Randall	1773?	161	138	14	9
George F. Handel	Joshua [second issue]	London, William Randall	1774?	192	166	13	13
George F. Handel	Joshua [Arnold Edition]	[London]	1789	367	279	82	6
George F. Handel	Judas Macchabaus	London, William Randall	1769	148	128	12	8
George F. Handel	Judas Macchabaus	London, H. Wright	1785?	148	127	13	8
George F. Handel	Justin	London, John Walsh	1737	105	91	13	1
George F. Handel	Messiah A Sacred Oratorio	London, James Peck	1813	178	174	4	0
George F. Handel	Messiah an Oratorio in Score [6 issues, 5 seen, all with the same list]	London, Randall & Abell	1767	92	82	8	2
George F. Handel	Messiah an Oratorio in Score	London, H. Wright	1785?	92	82	8	2
George F. Handel	Rodelinda [first issue]	London, John Cluer	1725?	120	90	29	1
George F. Handel	Rodelinda [second issue]	London, John Cluer	1725?	121	91	29	1
George F. Handel	Saul	London, William Randall	1773	191	164	14	13

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
George F. Handel	Scipio	London, John Cluer	1726	58	51	6	1
George F. Handel	Solomon	London, H. Wright	1787?	79	71	1	7
George F. Handel	Susanna	London, Wright & Co	1784	69	60	3	6
George F. Handel	The Messiah	Boston, [USA], James Loring	1816	131	131	0	0
George F. Handel	The Occasional Oratorio	London, Wright & Co	1784	69	60	3	6
George F. Handel	The Vocal Works ... by G. F. Handel, Arranged ... by Dr John ClarkeVol. V [same list in vol. 6]	London, Button, Whitaker & Beadnell	1819?	730	564	164	2
George F. Handel	Theodora	London, H. Wright	1787	78	70	1	7
George F. Handel	Thirteen Celebrated Italian Duets	London, William Randall	1777	109	93	15	1
George F. Handel	Twelve Anthems ... selected from the sacred Oratorios of Mr Handel ... by Hugh Bond	London, for the editor	1789?	76	64	1	11
George F. Handel	Twelve Grand Concertos in Seven Parts	London, for the author	1740	106	86	10	10
Elizabeth Hardin	Six Lessons for the Harpsichord	London, for the author	1770?	140	71	69	0
Henry Hargrave	Five Concertos	London, for the author	1765?	221	173	44	4
Thomas Harrington	Twenty-Four Country Dances	London, Longman & Broderip	1797	120	21	99	0
George Frederick Harris	An Ode, For Three Voices. A Tribute to the Memory of ... King George the Third	London, for the author	1820?	160	128	31	1
Joseph Harris	Eight Songs	London, for the author	1767?	173	139	34	0
Joseph MacDonald Harris	Six Favorite Airs	London, for the author	1807	87	68	19	0
W Harrod	Select Psalms of David, in the Old Version, Set to Music in Two Parts	Stamford, W Harrod	1789	84	57	26	1
Matthias Hawdon	An Ode on the King of Prussia	London, John Johnson	1760?	148	111	35	2
William Hawes	Six Favorite Airs	London, for the author	1810?	83	68	15	0
William Hawes	Six Glees	London, Robert Birchall	1805?	90	68	21	1
Joseph Haydn	A Selection of Original Scots Songs ... The Harmony by HaydnVol. II	London, William Napier	1792	396	309	85	2
Philip Hayes	Six Concertos ... for the Organ, Harpsichord, or Forte-Piano	London, for the author	1769	276	212	61	3
William Hayes	Cathedral Music	London?	1795?	151	115	11	25
William Hayes	Six Cantatas	London, for the author	1748	316	259	52	5
William Hayes	Twelve Arietts or Ballads, and Two Cantatas	Oxford	1735	537	454	79	4

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
William Hayes	Vocal and Instrumental Musick, in Three Parts	Oxford, for the author	1742	104	94	7	3
John Hebden	Six ConcertosOpera IIa	London, for the author	1745	148	129	6	13
Musgrave	Six Select Odes of Anacreon in Greek And Six of Horace in Heighington Latin Set to Musick	London, for the author	1744	161	153	7	1
Peter Hellendall	Two Glees	Cambridge, for the author	1785?	179	163	14	2
Peter Hellendall Snr & Jnr	A Collection of Psalms for the Use of Parish Churches	Cambridge, for the editor	1794	407	359	32	16
Charles Hemple	Sacred Melodies	London, Clementi & Company	1812	138	71	65	2
John Hering	Twelve Hymns in Four Parts	London, for the author	1796	161	114	45	2
Henry Heron	Ten Volentaries	London, for the author	1765?	162	92	70	0
James Hewett	An Introduction to Singing	London, for the author	1765	198	184	14	0
John Hill	A New Book of Psalmody	London, John Johnson	1760?	102	97	5	0
John Hindle	A Collection of Songs	London, for the author	1792	305	195	109	1
William Hine	Harmonia Sacra Glocestriensis	London?	1731?	235	182	48	5
Ann Hodges	Songs ... Harmonized and Published by Mr Hullmandel	London?	1798	906	389	515	2
Henry Holcombe	Six Solos for a Violin and Thorough BassOpera Prima	London, William Smith	1745	208	141	67	0
Smollet Holden	A Collection of Quick and Slow Marches Troops &c	Dublin, B. Cooke	1795?	242	183	59	0
Samuel Holyoke	Harmonia Americana	Boston [USA], Isaac Thomas & Ebenezer Andrews	1791	130	126	4	0
Samuel Holyoke	The Columbian Repository	Exeter [USA], Henry Ranlet	1809	216	209	6	1
William Hodson	Fourteen Songs with a Glee	Greenwich, for the author	1785?	106	48	58	0
F E Horsley	Six Spanish Airs	London, for the author	1815?	445	161	283	1
John Howgate	Sacred Music	Manchester, for the author	1810?	186	162	24	0
William Howgill	An Original Anthem & Two Voluntaries for the Organ or Piano Forte	London, for the author	1800	174	132	39	3
Robert Hudson	The Myrtle	London, for the author	1755?	163	135	28	0
John Hughes	Poems on Several OccasionsVolume the First	London, J. Tonson & J Watts	1735	350	271	79	0
		London, for the author	1792	197	136	61	0

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
John [Johann] Hummel	Three Sonatas for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord with AccompanimentsOp. III						
John Humphries	XII Sonatas, for Two Violins; with a Through BassOpera Prima	London, for the author	1734	97	93	3	1
J. Huttenes	Six English Canzonets	London, for the author	1797	92	22	70	0
John Ireland	Three Grand Sonatas ... With an Accompaniment for a Violin ObligatoOpera 1st	London, Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine	1805?	95	62	33	0
Tomás de Iriarte	Music, A Didactic Poem, In Five Cantos. Translated from the Spanishby John Belfour	London, William Miller	1807	198	192	6	0
George Jackson	A Treatise on Practical Thorough BassOp. 5	London, for the author	1791	155	116	39	0
James Jackson	Six Voluntaries, for the Organ or Harpsichord	London, for the author	1775?	62	29	33	0
Thomas Jackson	Twelve Psalm Tunes	London, Thomas Straight	1780?	150	204	37	9
William Jackson	Anthems and Church Services ... Edited ... By ... James Paddon	Exeter, for the editor	1819	155	119	28	9
William Jackson	Eight SonatasOpera X	London, for the author	1773	218	166	52	0
Benjamin Jacob	Dr Watts' Divine & Moral Songs	London, for the author	1810?	178	102	76	0
Benjamin Jacob	National Psalmody	London, for the author	1815?	326	256	61	9
Louis Jansen	Three SonatasOp. 1	London, for the author	1793	148	33	115	0
Samuel Jarvis	Six Songs and a Cantata	London, for the author	1764	87	82	5	0
Stephen Jarvis	Twelve Psalm Tunes, and Eight Anthems	London, for the author	1816	165	142	16	7
Catherine Jemmat	Miscellanies in Prose and Verse	London, for the author	1766	587	378	185	24
George Jenkins	Eighteen Aires for two Violins or German Flutes and a Bass	London, for the author	1785?	112	100	12	0
George Jenkins	New Scotch Music	London, for the author	1791?	372	192	179	1
Nicolo Jomelli	La Passione	London, Robert Bremner	1770	89	77	8	4
Edward Jones	Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards	London, for the author	1794	286	184	99	3
John Jones	Lessons for the HarpsichordVolume II	London, for the author	1761	296	137	159	0
John Jeremiah Jones	Six Fugues with Introductions	London, for the author	1811	227	167	60	0
William Jones	A Treatise on the Art of Music	Colchester, for the author	1784	51	44	7	0
William Jones	Ten Church Pieces for the Organ with Four AnthemsOpera II	London, for the author	1789	107	90	17	0
James Kent	A Morning & Evening Service with Eight AnthemsVol 2d Revised and arranged by Joseph Corfe	London, for the editor	1794?	226	181	7	38
James Kent	Twelve Anthems	London, for the author	1773	245	186	39	20

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Joseph Key	Eight AnthemsBook IThe Second Edition	London, Purday & Button	1805?	209	191	8	10
T. Kilvington	Fourteen Country Dances	London, for the author	1785?	134	95	39	0
T. Kilvington	Twelve Country Dances	London, for the author	1791	144	92	52	0
J King	Six Songs	London, Longman & Broderip	1786?	145	80	65	0
Alexander Kinloch	One Hundred Airs, (principally Irish) Selected & Composed by Lieut.Gen. Dickson [Vol. 2]	London, for the editor	1815?	410	230	180	0
Augustus Kollmann	Essay on Practical Musical Composition	London, for the author	1799	103	90	13	0
William Knapp	A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems	London, for the author	1738	167	162	5	0
Richard Langdon	Ten Songs and a Cantata	London, John Johnson	1759	296	236	59	1
Richard Langdon	Twelve Songs and Two CantatasOpera IV	London, for the author	1769	164	113	50	1
Christian Latrobe	Anthems ... performed in the Church of the United Brethren	London, for the editor	1811	164	100	64	0
Christian Latrobe	Selection of Sacred Music [Vol. 1]	London, Robert Birchall	1806	197	148	49	0
Christian Latrobe	The Dawn of Glory	London, for the author	1803	202	128	73	1
Francis Linley & Joseph Hartley	Fourteen Country Dances	London?	1790?	97	68	29	0
Thomas Linley	The Posthumous Vocal WorksVol. II	London, Preston	1800?	189	121	64	4
Charles Lockhart	An Epithamamium or Nuptial Ode	London, for the author	1775	124	76	48	0
Charles Lockhart	Four Songs and a Hunting Cantata	London, for the author	1775?	146	104	42	0
Samuel Long	Four Lessons and Two Voluntaries for the Harpsichord or Organ	London, for the widow	1770?	153	98	55	0
James Lyndon	Six Solo's for a Violin	Birmingham, Michael Broome	1751	145	87	58	0
James Lyon	Urania	[USA]	1761	141	132	9	0
Thomas Mace	Musick's Monument	London, T. Ratcliffe & N. Thompson	1676	301	296	5	0
Kenneth Mackenzie	Orain Ghaidhealach	Dunadainn, Clo-bhuailt'	1792	993	976	17	0
Robert Mackintosh	Sixty eight New Reels Strathspeys and Quicksteps	Edinburgh, for the author	1793	304	187	117	0
Charles Macklean	Twelve Solo's or Sonata's for a Violin and VioloncelloOpera Prima	Edinburgh, R. Cooper	1737	58	50	7	1
Thomas Maguire	Twelve Favorite Waltzes	Dublin, for the author	1815?	58	31	27	0

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
John Mantel	Six Setts of Lessons For the Harpsicord or OrganOpera Prima	London, William Smith	1750?	53	45	8	0
Benedetto Marcello	The First Fifty Psalms Set to Music ... adapted to the English Version by John Garth. Vol. I	London, John Johnson	1757	118	86	29	3
Benedetto Marcello	The First Fifty Psalms Set to Music ... adapted to the English Version by John Garth. Vol. II	London, John Johnson	1757	116	88	24	4
Benedetto Marcello	The First Fifty Psalms Set to Music ... adapted to the English Version by John Garth. Vol. III	London, John Johnson	1757	122	91	26	5
Benedetto Marcello	The First Fifty Psalms Set to Music ... adapted to the English Version by John Garth. Vol. IV	London, John Johnson	1757	124	90	28	6
Benedetto Marcello	The First Fifty Psalms Set to Music ... adapted to the English Version by John Garth. Vol. V	London, John Johnson	1757	122	90	27	5
Benedetto Marcello	The First Fifty Psalms Set to Music ... adapted to the English Version by John Garth. Vol. VI	London, John Johnson	1757	123	89	29	5
Benedetto Marcello	The First Fifty Psalms Set to Music ... adapted to the English Version by John Garth. Vol. VII	London, John Johnson	1757	122	87	30	5
Benedetto Marcello	The First Fifty Psalms Set to Music ... adapted to the English Version by John Garth. Vol. VIII	London, John Johnson	1757	122	86	30	6
Marie Marin	Notturmo & Quintetto, for the HarpOp. 14	London, for the author	1801	142	39	103	0
William Mather	Sacred Music	London, for the author	1806	209	150	35	24
Johann Mayer	Twelve Songs Six English and Six Italian	London, for the author	1801	52	27	25	0
Joseph Mazzinghi	Three Sonatas for the Piano-ForteOpera Quinta	London, for the author	1790	209	75	134	0
Malcolm McDonald	A Second Collection of Strathspey Reels	Edinburgh. for the author	1789	143	113	30	0
Patrick McDonald	A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs	Edinburgh. for the publisher	1784	837	675	159	3
Duncan McIntyre	Orain Ghaidhealach	Dunedin, Clo-bhuailt'	1790	1480	1447	33	0
Joseph McMurdie	Sacred Music	London, for the editor	1820	182	149	33	0
John McVity	Select Psalm and Hymn TunesSecond Edition	Dublin, George Bonham	1787	101	76	25	0
Edward Miller	A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata	London, John Johnson	1755?	234	183	51	0
Edward Miller	Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns	London, for the author	1802?	261	193	63	5
Edward Miller	Elegies. Songs, and an OdeOpera Terza	London, for the author	1770?	214	128	83	3
Edward Miller	The History and Antiquities of Doncaster		1804	496	453	40	3

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
		Doncaster, William Sheardown					
Edward Miller	The Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches	London, William Miller	1790	2603	2116	386	101
Thomas Morley	A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music	London, William Randall	1771	236	209	16	11
Thomas Morley	The Canzonets and MadrigalsArranged ... by W. W. Holland, A. M. and W. Cooke, A. B	London, for the editors	1801	238	198	36	4
Thomas Morley	The Triumphs of OrianaPublished in Score ... by Wm Hawes	London, for the editor	1814	139	131	6	2
Antonio Mortellari	Twelve Arrietts	London, Henry Holland	1791?	88	27	61	0
Domenico Motta	Six Italian Songs	London?	1775?	56	13	43	0
Domenico Motta	Six Songs	London, for the author	1780?	125	27	98	0
Wolfgang Mozart	A Concerto By Mozart, Adapted as a Sonata ... By D. Bruguier	London, H. Savory	1810?	113	34	89	0
Alexander Munro	A Collection Of the Best Scots Tunes Fited to the German Flute	Paris	1732	110	110	0	0
John Murphy	A Collection of Irish Airs and Jiggs with Variations	Edinburgh?	1810?	287	176	111	0
William Napier	A Selection of the most Favourite Scots Songs Chiefly Pastoral Music. Proposals for Publishing by Subscription, a Complete	London, William Napier	1790?	484	353	129	2
William Napier	Collection of the Pastoral Music of Scotland [only know copy defective]	London, William Napier	1789	168	133	34	1
James Nares	Eight Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord	London, for the author	1747	151	113	38	0
James Nares	Twenty Anthems in Score	London, for the author	1778	146	111	2	33
Richard Neale	A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies	London, John Cluer	1724	466	398	68	0
Richard Neale	A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies [Vol II]	London, John Cluer	1725	392	304	87	1
James Newton	Psalmody Improved	Ipswich, for the author	1775	135	125	10	0
Thomas Norris	Eight Solo Songs	Oxford, for William Mathews	1795?	80	62	18	0
Thomas Norris	Six SimphoniesOpera I	London, for the author	1774	211	188	11	12
Vincent Novello	A Collection of Sacred MusicVol. 1	London, Phipps & Co	1811	306	246	60	0
Mrs G. O'Moran	Six Ballads	London, H. Savory	1809	184	56	128	0
Mark Olivier	An Air with Accomanyments and Four Divertimentis	London?	1790?	35	28	7	0
	A Cantata and Six Songs	London, John Johnson	1750?	456	387	69	0

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
A Gentleman of Oxford							
S Pach	Caroline A Pastoral Elegy	London, for the author	1794	51	22	29	0
John Page	A Collection of Hymns	London, for the editor	1804	569	365	195	9
John Page	Divine Harmony	London, for the editor	1798	141	122	17	2
John Page	Festive Harmony	London, for the editor	1804	121	108	6	7
John Page	Harmonia Sacra	London, for the editor	1800	165	153	7	5
Maria Hester Park	A ConcertoOp. VI	London, for the author	1795?	187	48	139	0
Maria Hester Park	A Set of GleeesOp. 3	London, for the author	1790?	131	56	75	0
Stephen Paxton	A Collection of Gleees Catches &c	London, for the author	1782	119	97	20	2
Francis Peacock	Fifty Favourite Scotch Airs	London, for the publisher in Aberdeen	1762?	165	135	28	2
E Pemberton	An Essay For the further Improvement of Dancing	London, John Walsh	1711	58	58	0	0
Robert Petrie	A Third Collection of Strathspey Reels	London, for the author	1805?	598	433	165	0
David Perez	Mattutino de Morti	London, Robert Bremner	1774	183	167	15	1
Dodd Perkins	Ten Songs	London, for the author	1796	307	228	78	1
Louis Pillotti	Four Italian & Two English Ariettes	London, for the author	1795	143	66	77	0
George Pinto	Four Canzonets and a Sonata	London	1807	169	93	76	0
George Pinto	Six Canzonets	Birmingham, Woodward	1804	45	31	14	0
George Pinto	Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin	London, Mrs Sanders	1806	156	57	99	0
Thomas Pitt	Church MusicVolume the First	London?, for the editor	1788	112	88	11	13
Thomas Pitt	Church MusicVolume the Second	London, for the editor	1789	141	110	13	18
John Pixell	A Collection of Songs, with their Recitatives and Symphonies	Birmingham, for the author	1759	343	251	86	6
John Pixell	Odes, Cantatas, Songs &cOpera Seconda	Birmingham, for the author	1775	315	232	78	5
Ignace Pleyel	Three Celebrated Trios of Pleyel Arranged ... by J[ohn]. Elouis	London, for the author	1800	57	5	52	0
William Porter	Two Anthems	London, for the author	1795?	138	78	60	0
John Pratt	Psalmodia Cantabrigiensis [Second Edition]	London, for the author	1809	241	216	21	4
Jacob Pring	Eight Anthems	London, for the author	1791	55	49	5	1
Henry Purcell	Proposals for Publishing by Subscription, I. The following Works of Purcell [Handbill 3]	London	1790?	69	59	9	1

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Henry Purcell	Proposals for Publishing by Subscription, The Works of Henry Purcell, in Five Classes [Handbill 4]	London	1790?	90	72	17	1
Henry Purcell	Proposals for Publishing by Subscription, The Works of Henry Purcell, in Five Classes [Handbill 5]	London	1790?	99	20	78	1
James Radcliffe	Church Music	London, for the author	1801	58	40	12	6
Ignatius Raimondi	Six Grand Marches	London, for the author	1795	83	51	32	0
Allan Ramsey	The Gentle Shepherd, A Scotch Pastoral ... Attempted in English by Margaret Turner	London, for the author	1790	688	494	194	0
Venanzio Rauzzini	A Periodical Collection of Vocal MusicVol: I	Bath, for the author	1797	288	101	187	0
Eliza Reeves	Poems on Various Subjects	London, for the author	1780	129	83	46	0
Josiah Relph	A Miscellany of Poems	Glasgow, for Mr Tomlinson in Wigton	1747	542	426	116	0
Maria Hester Reynolds	Sonatas for the Harpsichord	London?	1785	309	164	145	0
William Riley	Fraternal Melody	London, for the author	1773	562	554	6	2
William Riley	Parochial Music Corrected	London, for the author	1762	387	378	9	0
Eli Roberts	The Hartford Collection of Classical Church Music	New-London, [USA], for the compiler	1812	482	455	10	17
G. van Rooyen	A Selection of Hymns for the Use of the English Presbyterian Church, in Rotterdam	Rotterdam, for the author	1790?	77	60	17	0
Thomas Roseingrave	Six Cantatas	London?	1735?	58	44	14	0
Anna Ross	The Cottagers; A Comic OperaThe Third Edition	London, for the author	1788	351	319	32	0
William Russell	Twelve Voluntaries	London, for the author	1804	227	192	35	0
R. S.	Eight Songs	London, Mrs Johnson	1763?	301	227	69	5
P Saizoi	Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord	London, for the author	1770?	218	138	79	1
John Sale	A Collection of New Glee's	London, John Johnson	1800?	215	185	28	2
George Sandy et al	Psalmody For a Single Voice	York, W. Blanchard	1789	178	119	58	1
George Sandy et al	Psalmody For a Single VoiceThe Second Edition	York, W. Blanchard	1790	190	128	60	2
Alessandro Scarlatti	Thirty Six Arietta's	London, for Thomas Vandernan	1756	110	86	24	0
Domenico Scarlatti	XLII Suites de Pieces Pour le ClavecinVol: I	London, Benjamin Cooke	1739	93	76	17	0

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Domenico Scarlatti	XLII Suites de Pieces Pour le Clavecin ... Vol: II	London, Benjamin Cooke	1739	114	95	19	0
John Second	New Bath Dances	London, Fentum	1789	100	44	55	1
William Shield	A Collection of Favourite Songs ... Book 1st	London, for the author	1775?	329	281	48	0
Thomas Shell	Twenty New Psalms	Bath, G. Steart	1801	230	181	49	0
Thomas Shoel	Twenty-Four Psalm Tunes Two Hymns	London, for the author	1800	80	71	0	9
George Slatter	Six Canzonets, a Trio ... and a Glee	London, for the author	1815?	107	60	47	0
William Smethergell	Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte	London, for the author	1775?	107	55	52	0
John Smith	A Set of Services, Anthems & Psalm Tunes, for County Choirs	London, for the author	1748	62	60	2	0
John Smith	Book the Second Containing Twelve Anthems and Twelve Psalm Tunes for County Choirs	Lavington, for the author	1751	90	83	0	7
John Christopher Smith	Suites de Pieces pour le Clavecin ... Premier Volume	London, for the author	1732?	111	81	30	0
John Christopher Smith	Suites de Pieces pour le Clavecin ... Second Volume	London, John Walsh	1737?	66	47	19	0
John Stafford Smith	A Collection of English Songs in Score	London, John Bland	1779	105	96	7	2
John Stafford Smith	Musica Antiqua ... Vol. 1	London, Preston	1812	147	119	27	1
John Snow	Variations for the Harpsichord	London, John Johnson	1760?	131	115	16	0
Reginald Spofforth	Six Glee ... Book 1st	London, for the author	1810?	138	123	7	8
William Steetz	A Treatise on the Elements of Music	Tiverton, T. Smith	1812	107	55	52	0
Stephen Storace	Storace's Collection of Original Harpsichord Music. No. 1	London, for the author	1788	144	82	62	0
Stephen Storace	The Favorite Operas of Mahmoud & The Iron Chest	London, for the author	1797	357	136	221	0
George Surr	Three Sonatas ... Op. 1	London, Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow	1796	89	29	60	0
Henry Symonds	Six Sets of Lessons	London, for the author	1733	116	45	71	0
William Tattersall	Improved Psalmody Vol 1	London: T Skillern	1794	463	369	86	8
William Thompson	Orpheus Caledonius: or, A Collection of Scots Songs ... Vol. I. [1st and 2nd editions have identical lists]	London, for the author	1733	499	381	117	1
William Thomson	Six Anthems Performed in Hillsborough Church	Hillsborough, for the author	1786	364	278	86	0
John Ely Tipper	Sacred Music	[London], for the author	1806?	128	100	25	3
Henry Tolhurst	Six Anthems, and Six Psalms ... for the use of Country Choirs	[London], for the author	1813	128	121	0	7
Kellom Tomlinson	The Art of Dancing	London, for the author	1735	169	112	57	0

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Robert Topliff	A Selection of the most popular Melodies of the Tyne and Wear	London, for the author	1815?	390	307	82	1
Michael Topping	Twelve English Songs for a Voice Violin and Harpsichord	London, for the author	1767?	243	138	105	0
John Travers	Eighteen Canzonets	London, for the author	1750?	161	147	9	5
Thomas Tremain	Eight Vocal Duets, and a OvertureOp. VI	London, Thomas Skillern	1790?	65	35	29	1
Thomas Tremain	Hymns and Psalms	London, Thomas Skillern	1790?	62	51	3	8
Signor Trivella	Grand Concerto	London?	1800?	51	19	32	0
Timothy Tulip	The Merry Mountebank	London, A. Holbeche	1732	167	158	9	0
Elizabeth Turner	A Collection of Songs with Symphonies	London, for the author	1760	356	280	76	0
Elizabeth Turner	Twelve Songs with Symphonies	London, for the author	1750	458	323	135	0
Peter Urbani	A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs	Edinburgh, Urbani & Liston	1804	320	151	169	0
Peter Urbani	A Selection of Scots SongsBook 1	Edinburgh, for the author	1792	251	104	146	1
Peter Urbani	A Selection of Scots SongsBook 2	Edinburgh, for the author	1795?	289	105	183	1
Peter Urbani	A Selection of Scots SongsBook 3	Edinburgh, Urbani & Liston	1798?	108	18	90	0
Peter Urbani	A Selection of Scots SongsVolume. IV	Edinburgh, Urbani & Liston	1800?	155	34	120	1
John Valentine	Eight Easy SymphoniesOp VI	London, for the author	1782	299	287	0	12
John Valentine	The Epithalamium in the Tragedy of Isabella	London, for the author	1765?	341	323	16	2
John Valentine	Thirty Psalm TunesOpera 7	London, for the author	1784	239	211	1	27
Harriet Wainwright	Comàla, A Dramatic Poem from Ossian	London, for the author	1803	230	169	61	0
Robert Wainwright	Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, With an Accompniment for a Violin	London, for the author	1774	93	59	32	2
William Walond	Mr Pope's Ode on St Cecilia's Day	London, for the author	1759	117	104	10	3
William Walond	Six Voluntaries for the Organ	London, John Johnson	1752?	146	138	8	0
John Watlen	The Celebrated Circus Tunes	Edinburgh, for the author	1791	204	44	160	0
John Watlen	The Celebrated Circus TunesBook II	Edinburgh, for the author	1798	125	32	93	0
Richard Webb	A Collection of Madrigals	London, for the editor	1808	268	234	30	4
Samuel Webbe	A Third Book of Catches Canons and Glees	London, Welcker	1775?	103	92	7	4
Samuel Webbe Jnr	A Book of Glees	Liverpool, for the author	1807	258	196	60	2
Samuel Webbe Jnr	Convito ArmonicoVol. 2	Liverpool, for the publisher	1808	220	188	31	1
	Ninth Book. A Collection of Vocal Music	London, for the authors	1795?	127	119	6	2

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Composer/Editor/ Author	Title	Publisher	Year	Total	Male	Female	Other/ Institutional
Samuel Webbe Sen & Jnr							
David Weyman	Melodia Sacra [Vol. 1]	Dublin, George Allen	1816	790	563	220	7
Samuel Whyte	The Shamrock: or, Hibernian Cresses	Dublin, for the editor	1772	1053	971	82	0
John Wignell	A Collection of Original Pieces	London, for the author	1762	402	306	95	1
William Wilson	Twelve Original Scotch SongsOp.III	London, for the author	1792	218	133	85	0
Samuel Wise	Six Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord	London, for the author	1770?	51	34	14	3
Samuel Wise	Six Lessons for the Harpsichord	London, for the author	1763?	198	80	118	0
William Woakes	A Catechism of Music	Hereford, for the author	1817	93	58	35	0
Richard Woodward	Songs, Canons and CatchesOpera Prima	London, for the author	1767	140	120	13	7
Richard Worgan	A Set of Sonnets	[London, William Parsons]	1807	187	51	136	0
John Wright	The Essex Melody	London, for the author	1790?	82	81	1	0
Thomas Wright	A Concerto for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte	London, for the author	1797	137	59	78	0
Thomas Wright	Six Songs	Newcastle	1785?	210	179	27	4
Joseph Yarrow	Love at First Sight: or, the Wit of a Woman. A Ballad Opera of Two Acts	York, Thomas Gent	1742	334	302	32	0
John Young	Young's Vocal and Instrumental Musical Miscellany [No. 1]	Philadelphia [USA], for the author	1773?	87	76	11	0