# 3 England

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This chapter surveys solo music for harpsichord-type instruments composed in England, and in some cases elsewhere in the British Isles, between ca. 1630 and the late eighteenth century. It concentrates on the types of keyboard music often referred to in the sources as "lessons," the collective term for binary-form airs modeled on dances, settings of popular tunes, or grounds, usually written for one or more instruments of the same type and range without accompanying bass instrument.[1] Between ca. 1650 and ca. 1760, lessons were organized into suites, often called "suites ['suits' or 'setts'] of lessons" on title pages. Later, "lesson" was simply another word for a sonata. Although numerous eighteenth-century collections of lessons or sonatas for solo harpsichord contain fugues, they were distinct from collections concentrating on organ music, such as Thomas Roseingrave's *Voluntaries and Fugues Made on Purpose for the Organ or Harpsicord* (1728).

The difficulties of distinguishing late eighteenth-century harpsichord music from piano music are well known.[2] Although the Kirckman firm continued to make harpsichords into the first decade of the nineteenth century, this chapter is limited to music by composers born before 1750, the youngest of whom were educated in the 1760s when mentioning "piano forte" on title pages remained infrequent.[3] In the eighteenth century, various types of ensemble music were considered suitable for performance as solo harpsichord music, including solo sonatas written for a high melody instrument and continuo, keyboard concertos, and sonatas for keyboard with obbligato accompanying part(s).[4] There are also important stylistic affinities between seventeenth- and eighteenth-century solo keyboard and ensemble music. Nevertheless, due to the large size of the repertoire, this chapter will be concerned mostly with original keyboard music or arranged music that has undergone significant transformation.

## The Followers of Orlando Gibbons: John Cobb, Hugh Facy, and Others



An enduring model for seventeenth-century English composers was the keyboard and consort music of Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625), copied

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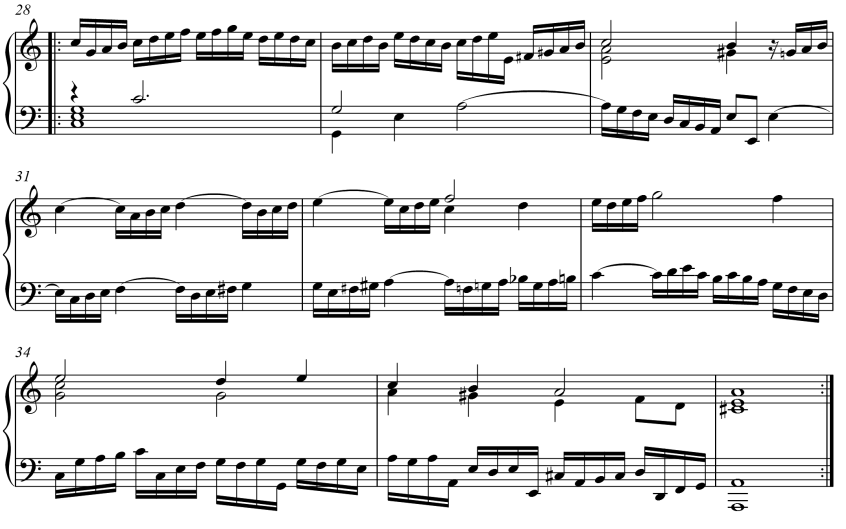
widely into manuscripts after Gibbons's death.[5] Several composers born around 1600 were his students, among them Randall Jewett of Chester (ca. 1603–1675). However, much of what survives consists of simple airs and arrangements of masque tunes.[6] Only a few dances and grounds approach the virtuoso style of earlier composers, although some simple airs have divisions, by Hugh Facy (1598–1649) and John Cobb (ca. 1600–after 1654), and there are also several grounds by the Oxford organist Arthur Phillips (1605–1695). By contrast, contemporary instrumental ensemble music emanating from the royal court, such as William Lawes's (1602–1645), is replete with sophisticated and elaborate divisions.[7]

An important source for harpsichord music by Cobb, Facy, Phillips, and their contemporaries is the Thomas Heardson manuscript, copied in the 1650s, mainly by Heardson (fl. 1637–1650s), an organist of Ludlow before the Civil War.[8] Included are Heardson's own almain-corant pairs, some with divisions, sometimes copied next to pieces by other composers in the same key to form larger units. Recent research has shown that Facy was active at the English College at Douai in present-day northern France.[9] Though interesting for their divisions, his harpsichord pieces are rather mechanical and a disappointment compared with some imaginative organ pieces we have by him. On the other hand, Cobb, an organist of the Chapel Royal, wrote a small number of high-quality pieces, including two that are anonymous but attributable on stylistic grounds.[10] Two almains, one of forty-two measures, the other of thirty-

**Example 3.1** John Cobb (ca. 1600–after 1654), Almain [and Division], mm. 28–36 (*English Keyboard Music 1650–1695*, ed. Woolley, no. 15)

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six, have divisions in the manuscript of the Oxford organist William Ellis (d. 1680).[11] The inventive divisions are built out of small germinating figures.

Cobb's pieces are arranged into almain-corant pairs in the Heardson manuscript, while in Ellis's sarabands are attached, forming some of the earliest suites in English keyboard sources. Possibly the earliest English keyboard suite is a group by Lawes called "The Golden Grove," consisting of an almain and several associated corants and sarabands, although it survives partially in consort versions and was probably not written for keyboard originally.[12] Other pieces by Lawes, with consort originals surviving, are found in several English keyboard sources of the 1650s and 1660s, including John Playford's anthology of short airs and dances, *Musick's Hand-Maid*, originally published ca. 1660 and reprinted in enlarged forms in 1663 and 1678.[13]

The Heardson and Ellis manuscripts contain several pieces by French lutenists in England, among them John Mercure (ca. 1600–before 1661), who was active 1641–1642 at the English court.[14] Mercure's widely copied Almain in A minor has elements of the lute-derived idiom known by the modern term *stile brisé*, characterized by such features as repeated-note figures and rhythmically dislocated part writing.[15] The sources preserve a number of slightly different versions, which probably reflect how several keyboard players adopted the piece and performed it. Another French musician represented in these sources is La Barre, whose first name is never given. He may also have been a lutenist, since the source texts vary to a similar degree; he has been termed the "English" La Barre to distinguish him from others belonging to the French family of musicians.[16]

The same sources contain many of the pieces by Jonas Tresure (fl. 1650s). However, it has been argued that Tresure probably originated from the Low Countries and is more likely to have written original harpsichord music.[17] A piece called "Allemand Tresoor" in a Dutch source is found in English sources in similar versions, presumably stemming from Tresure himself, and the conflicting ascriptions to the "English" La Barre for several of the pieces might have arisen if Tresure made some of the keyboard versions. The Heardson and Ellis manuscripts contain mostly French-style corants, while others preserve an attractive group of A minor pieces.[18] An Almain-Corant-Saraband Suite in E minor, unique to a source copied by Matthias Weckmann (1616–1674), has full, four-voice textures that are uncharacteristic of the other pieces.[19]

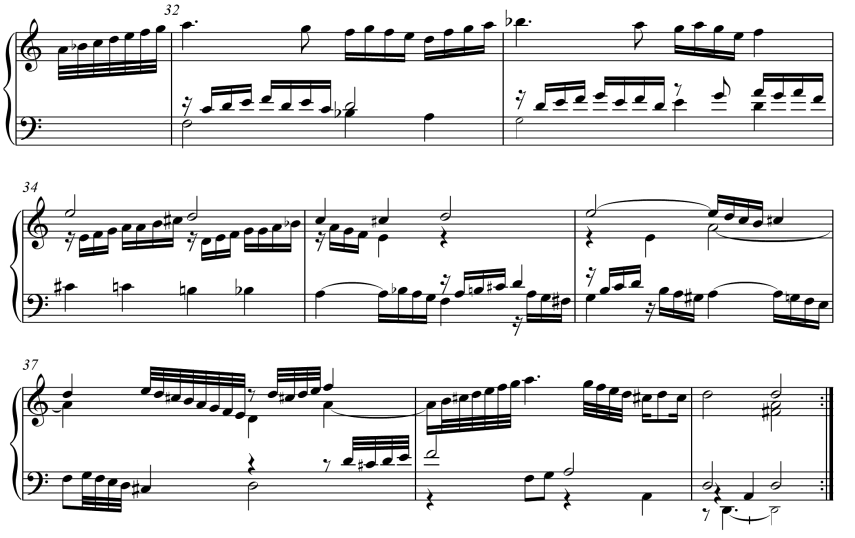
## Matthew Locke, John Roberts, Albertus Bryne, and Their Contemporaries

The quantity of surviving pieces from the late 1650s to the 1670s is higher, in part because of Matthew Locke's important anthology *Melothesia, or, Certain General Rules for Playing upon a Continued Bass* (John Carr: 1673), which contains most pieces by Locke (ca. 1622–1677) and some by John Roberts (fl. 1650s–1670s).[20] There are, however, a number of important contemporaries of these composers not represented in this collection, including Albertus Bryne (ca. 1621–1668), Benjamin Rogers (1614–1698), and the Norwich organist Richard Ayleward (?1626–1669), whose sixty pieces are mostly preserved in a copy of a lost seventeenth-century manuscript by the pianist and writer Edward Dannreuther (1844–1905).[21] Christopher Gibbons (1615–1676), Orlando Gibbons's son and an organist of the Chapel Royal, belongs with this group, but the few surviving pieces suggest he wrote little harpsichord music. Additionally, high-quality anonymous pieces, similar in style to Locke's and Roberts's, are found in a manuscript associated with the English Jesuit College at St Omer.[22]

French influence on English composers active between ca. 1650 and ca. 1680 is apparent in their adoption of *stile brisé* idioms and a melody-oriented, rather than contrapuntal manner, especially in corants. *Stile brisé* tends to be most pronounced in four-voice almains, which are often highly intricate rhythmically, and in Ayleward's case unusual syncopated patterns even extend to imitative bass parts. The melody-oriented manner may have originated in a type of music for social dancing, known in England as "French Dances," which was published as single melodic lines by John Playford, initially within editions of *The Dancing Master* in the 1650s and 1660s.[23] Locke, Roberts, Bryne, and others were also influenced by French harpsichord music directly; a few suites by Locke and Roberts are headed by preludes in imitation of French unmeasured preludes.[24] There are otherwise few preludes based on chordal elaboration in English sources before Purcell's, although such preludes may have been extemporized.

Locke's style combines French elements with a fondness for angular melodic lines and duet-like writing between an active bass and the upper part. His *Melothesia* pieces are grouped into suites of four or more pieces. Other composers, including Rogers and Bryne, wrote four-movement suites consisting of an almain, corant, saraband, and jig-almain.[25] However, Locke's are of more miscellaneous character, often ending with a country dance or hornpipe, thus anticipating later suites by John Blow, Purcell, and William Croft (see below). The basic guiding principle of Locke and his

**Example 3.2** John Roberts (fl. 1650s–1670s), Almain [and Division], mm. 32–39 (*The Collected Works*, ed. Bailey, no. 10)




contemporaries seems to have been a gradual increase in tempo, since French-style corants were slower than sarabands or hornpipes.

Nothing is known biographically about Roberts; his high-quality pieces feature elements from Locke's music but also look back to the division technique of earlier composers.[26] Roberts's French-style *doubles* (in *Melothesia* called "La double") combine *stile brisé* textures with flowing right-hand eighth notes in an attractive manner. In one Almain from the Heardson manuscript, division-like material breaks into 32nd notes and combines with an implied four-part contrapuntal texture with striking results (Example 3.2).[27]

There are at least twenty-nine pieces by Bryne, organist of St Paul's Cathedral before the Civil War and later organist of Westminster Abbey, surviving mainly in copies that seem to be autograph.[28] His pieces are also found in numerous posthumous sources and were apparently influential on later English composers; one such source, an early eighteenth-century manuscript copied by the north-eastern English musician Nicholas Harrison, includes variant versions of the D major pieces and ascribes them to Blow, Bryne's successor at Westminster Abbey, perhaps because they reflect revisions by Blow.[29] The elegant four-part *style brisé* textures in the Almain from this suite (and other Bryne almains) anticipates similar textures in some of Purcell's almands, such as Z.667/1.

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## John Blow, Henry Purcell, Giovanni Battista Draghi, and Their Contemporaries

Of the three major English composers of keyboard music in the 1680s and 1690s – John Blow (1649–1708), Henry Purcell (1658 or 1659–1695), and Giovanni Battista Draghi (ca. 1640–1708) – Blow stands out as the most prolific and arguably the most important. This is unsurprising considering his lengthy involvement in teaching as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal: as in other periods and countries, keyboard pieces were often composed for instruction purposes. The early eighteenth-century music historian Roger North (1651–1734) noted how "great performers upon organs will doe voluntary, to a prodigy of wonder, and beyond their owne skill to recover and set downe," while the publisher John Young observed how the harpsichord's "neatness & easiness in Playing on hath so particularly Recommended it to the Fair Sex, that few Ladys of Quality Omitt to Learn on it, And for their Sake it is that y$^{e}$ Masters from time to time Com[m]unicate Their Compositions."[30]

Important sources of Blow's harpsichord music include the portion of a large manuscript copied ca. 1680–1685 by the Rochester and later Canterbury Cathedral organist, Daniel Henstridge (ca. 1650–1736), and one now in Brussels copied by an anonymous English professional musician around 1700.[31] A collection of Blow's harpsichord music containing some of his finest suite movements was published by John Walsh and John Hare in 1698, but this does not include the large-scale grounds that lie at the center of his harpsichord output, most of which appear to date from before 1690. "Ground in Elami," one of the longest, may be an early piece (one of its sources is the Henstridge manuscript) and achieves its length partly because of a bipartite ground of eight measures. Others, such as "Morlake Ground," adopt bass patterns characteristic of French orchestral chaconnes of the 1680s and sometimes juxtapose a French-style idiom with English division technique, notably in the spectacular "Chacone in Faut."[32]

Purcell's posthumous *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1696, reprinted with additions in 1699 as the "third edition") was clearly a model for Blow's. It contains eight suites plus a supplement of four or six arrangements of ensemble music (the number varies between exemplars).[33] It was evidently compiled from several sources, possibly by Frances Purcell (d. 1706), the composer's widow, who dedicated the volume to the future Queen Anne.[34] Most of Purcell's harpsichord music likely dates from the 1690s, the period he was engaged by several wealthy families as a teacher.[35] It has been shown recently that the inscription "Bell Barr" above the Almand in

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D minor (Z.668/1) was the name given to a summer residence of the Howard family.[36] The contrapuntal preludes in *A Choice Collection* (Z.661/1, 662/1, and 666/1) appear as independent compositions in organ manuscripts and were perhaps added to the suite movements by its compiler. Harpsichord manuscripts often contain substitutes, as in a Purcell autograph discovered in 1993 (London, British Library, MS Mus. 1), where a measured-notation transcription of an anonymous French prelude appears instead of Z.666/1.[37] Indeed, the suites have the appearance of being unbalanced and come across more effectively when supplemented by contemporary arrangements of Purcell's theater airs, songs, and vocal grounds.[38]

Draghi's ninety keyboard pieces are preserved in numerous contemporary manuscripts and a representative printed collection of six suites (1707); the manuscripts include MS Mus. 1, which contains seventeen autograph pieces at the opposite (inverted) end from the Purcell.[39] Giovanni Battista may have been a brother of the opera composer Antonio Draghi (1634 or 1635–1700); he arrived in London in the 1660s and eventually became a leading musician there.[40] Draghi's harpsichord music, surviving in sources mostly dating from the 1690s and later, is more French-influenced than that of English contemporaries, to judge from its elaborate ornamentation, suite groupings of six or more movements, and 3/2-meter corants. The remarkable B minor group, preserved in the large Charles Babel (d. 1716) manuscript, includes four extra pieces following a "core" suite of five, perhaps intended as optional additions or replacements to be incorporated at the performer's discretion.[41] However, some of Draghi's more flamboyant preludes or toccatas seem indebted to his compatriots such as Bernardo Pasquini (1637–1710), whose music is found in a manuscript housed at the Library of Congress, Washington, DC, and other sources of English origin.[42]

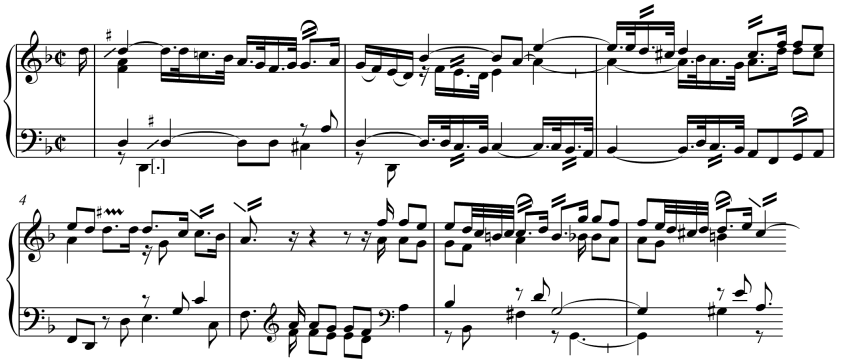
The harpsichord pieces of Francis Forcer (1649–1705) and Robert King (ca. 1660–?1726) are occasionally short-winded, but some seem worthy of revival.[43] Four partially autograph manuscripts reflect Forcer's activity as a teacher of amateurs, although his suite movements are mostly preserved in the Henstridge and Washington manuscripts.[44] Like Forcer, King was active for much of his career as a theater composer and teacher. Unusually for an English composer, he seems to have adopted the almand-corant-saraband-jig pattern consistently, while his French-style imitative jigs in 6/8 are similar to Draghi's in the way they employ flowing quaver patterns.

## Followers of Blow and Purcell: William Croft, Jeremiah Clarke, Philip Hart, and Others

In the 1690s, a new technique for music engraving was adopted (i.e., the use of punches) and it seems publishing keyboard music became more commercially viable.[45] Much of the music to be considered next survives in the various printed anthologies and single-author collections that appeared between 1697 and 1711, although manuscript sources continue to be important. Indeed, manuscripts preserve some of the higher-quality pieces, including the majority of William Croft's (1678–1727), some of another Blow pupil, Raphael Courteville (d. ca. 1735), and William Davis of Worcester's (ca. 1675/6–1745).[46] The printed sources range in quality and significance, from composer-initiated single-author collections, such as Philip Hart's (?1674–1749), to publishers' anthologies, such as the publisher John Young's *A Choice Collection of Ayres* (1700), which contains suite movements by Blow and his followers, including Croft, Francis Pigott (1666–1704), Jeremiah Clarke (ca. 1674–1707), and John Barrett (ca. 1676–?1719).[47]

The most significant figure in this group is undoubtedly Croft, who succeeded Blow as Master of the Children and as organist of Westminster Abbey in 1708. His harpsichord music, both voluminous and of high quality, was probably written early on in his career; some of the more modern-looking, Italianate pieces, such as the Almand, Corant and Saraband of the E major suite, were copied into one manuscript dating to ca. 1700.[48] The almands make much use of chromaticism, bass parts in imitative dialogue with the upper part that recall Locke, and often intricate three-part writing (Example 3.3). Copyists probably selected Croft's pieces from a larger pool to create the suites

**Example 3.3** William Croft (1678–1727), Slow Almand, opening (*Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Ferguson and Hogwood, no. 6a)



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found in their manuscripts; the pieces are grouped differently in several authoritative sources, and it is possible to discern no fewer than eight groupings for those in C minor, all of which have some degree of authority.[49]

Clarke, who succeeded to the post of Chapel Royal organist jointly with Croft after the death of Piggot, is best know today for "Prince of Denmark's March," a keyboard arrangement of which is in *A Choice Collection of Ayres*.[50] However, the principal source of his harpsichord music is the posthumous single-author *Choice Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinett* (1711). Its title page states it was "Carefully Corrected by Himself [Clarke] Being what he Design'd to Publish," and that it was "printed for & sould [*sic*] by" Charles King, the composer's brother-in-law and successor at St Paul's Cathedral, as well as for Young and John Hare; its spacious oblong format gives it the appearance of a composer-initiated publication.[51] The pieces are graceful and melodious, although uneven in quality, with rather repetitive use of *stile brisé* in the B minor, C minor, and C major almands. The seven-movement C major suite by Pigott in Young's anthology also deserves the attention of modern players; its Jig, built out of two small elements, which are combined in various permutations and inverted, is notable.

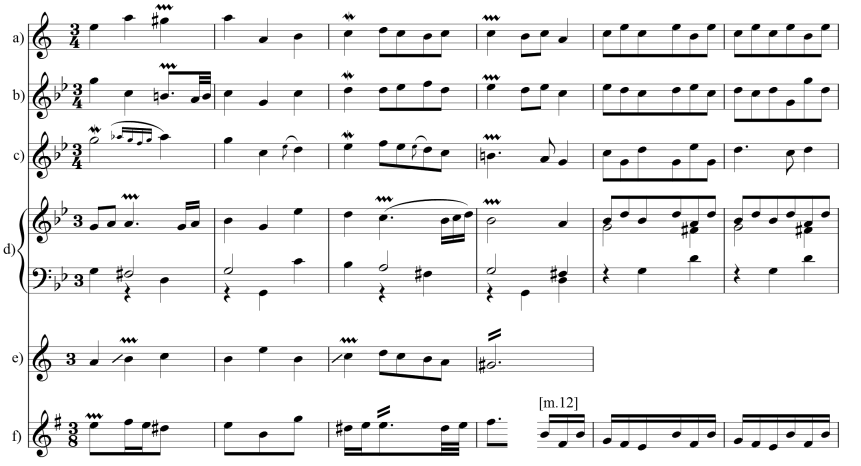
Philip Hart's *Fugues for the Organ or Harpsichord: with Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1704) stands out for its dedication to a patron, John Jeffries of Llywell, and fine-quality engraving from the workshop of Thomas Cross junior. Two slightly later collections that may have been inspired by this one – Abiell Whichello's *Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1707) and William Richardson's *Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinet* (1708) – have title pages similar in appearance and also seem to have been engraved in the Cross workshop.[52] The collection survives in two states, one with two extra suites, in C minor and D major.[53] The first of the three fugues, in A major, with its arpeggio prelude, seems suited to the harpsichord, while the lessons employ a distinctive, highly ornamented idiom derived from Blow. The late eighteenth-century historian Sir John Hawkins pointed out that Hart "entertained little relish for those refinements in music which followed the introduction of the Italian opera into this country," while at the same time criticizing his playing for being overornamented. However, the style of ornamentation is not much dissimilar from what is encountered in some of Blow's harpsichord music.

## Handel's Contemporaries: Thomas Roseingrave, John Baptist Loeillet "of London," Richard Jones, and Others

An important influence on English harpsichord music composed between ca. 1710 and ca. 1730 was Arcangelo Corelli's Op. 5 solo sonatas for violin (1700). Esteemed for their formal perfection, these sonatas were used widely as compositional models, while in performance they were associated with a new virtuosic style of ornamentation. Corelli's music was performed in public by violinists and recorder players who were also keyboard players, among them William Babell (1688–1723), the son of Charles; Charles Dieupart (ca. 1670–ca. 1740), whose harpsichord music was composed before he arrived in England; and John Baptist Loeillet "of London" (1680–1730). As members of the orchestra at the Haymarket theater, they would also have been familiar with the extensive ornamentation used in Italian opera, the spirit of which may have been captured in the flamboyant arrangements of Handel's and other composers' arias by Babell, John Reading (?1685–1764), and others.[54] Later, Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), who came to London in 1714 and spent most of the remainder of his career in the British Isles, and the theater violinist Richard Jones (d. 1744), arranged their solo sonatas for violin or wrote keyboard music in a violinistic idiom. The former was regarded as Corelli's disciple in England.

Representative of the new Italianate style of the second and third decades of the eighteenth century is Loeillet's *Six Suits of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnet* (1723). Loeillet, born in Ghent, was a recorder and oboe player in the Haymarket orchestra, held a concert series at his house, and, according to Hawkins, was a "teacher of the harpsichord, and an excellent composer for that instrument."[55] The regular construction of each suite (each consists of allemande, corente, *sarabanda*, gavotte or common-time "aria," minuet and giga) recalls his colleague Dieupart's *Six suittes de clavessin* (1701), which contains suites of similar makeup but with the addition of overtures. Loeillet's English contemporaries emulated him through borrowing, notably from a Minuet in A minor, which appears to have originated in a suite that was never published and, according to Hawkins (writing in the late eighteenth century), was "a great favourite with the ladies of the last age"; its opening figure was reused several times by Loeillet himself as well as by other composers (see Example 3.4).[56] Loeillet's influence is also apparent from collections such as Anthony Young's *Suits of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnet* (1719), where Italianate pieces sit rather uneasily alongside dances in the style of Blow or Croft.[57] A more effective synthesis of English and Italianate elements is found in John

**Example 3.4** a) John Baptist Loeillet (1680–1730), Minuet in A minor; (*Suite in A minor*, ed. Woolley, no. 5); b) Loeillet, Saraband in C minor (*Six Suits*, p. 22); c) Loeillet, Minuet in C minor (*Six Suits*, p. 27); d) Loeillet, Minuet in G minor (*Six Suits*, p. 8); e) Minuet from "Suite of Lessons By Geo: Spencer" (London, Foundling Museum, Gerald Coke Handel Collection, MS 1576, fol. 28v); f) John Sheeles (1695–1765), Minuet in E minor(*Suites of Lessons* [Vol. 1], p. 12)




Sheeles's (1695–1765) *Suites of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinett* (1724) and a similarly titled second collection (ca. 1730).[58] In the first collection, three of the suites contain Corellian fugues, while in the second, two suites (called "sett") begin with a French overture. A chaconne concluding the second collection's Fourth Sett, headed "To an old Ground," uses the eight-bar bass pattern from a harpsichord piece known in the late eighteenth century as "Purcell's Ground" (Z. S122).

A new benchmark had been reached in 1720 with the publication of Handel's suites, and a few harpsichord collections of the 1720s and 1730s may have attempted to rival these highly influential pieces. The most ambitious is Thomas Roseingrave's (1690/1–1766) *Eight Suits of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnet* (1728).[59] In offering eight suites it matched Handel's plan, and its contents were evidently conceived as a set, with major and minor, and flat and sharp keys, more or less balanced. In common with Handel, Roseingrave spent a period in Italy (sometime between 1709 and 1712), where he encountered Domenico Scarlatti and was deeply impressed. Hawkins thought his style was "harsh and disgusting," though he admired its learnedness. Roseingrave's experimental approach to harmony and structure could have stemmed from his contact with Scarlatti; he was later responsible for *XLII Suites de pièces . . . composées par Domenico Scarlatti* (1739), an

expanded edition of Scarlatti's [30] *Essercizi per gravicembalo* (1738 or 1739). Roseingrave's pieces often combine harmonic twists and turns with complex counterpoint, as in the piece called "Chacone" concluding the First Sett where four stepwise notes of the chaconne bass are enmeshed in a three-part texture full of inversions. Allemandes adopt an unusual formal design, found in at least one Scarlatti sonata (K52), where the second halves begin with a tonic chord instead of the dominant.

It is not clear whether some pieces in Richard Jones's *Suits or Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1732) originated in solo sonatas for violin; their frequent violinistic leaps, sometimes extending to almost two octaves in the middle of right-hand passagework, suggest so, and there was precedent in Giovanni Bononcini's *Divertimenti da camera traddotti pel cembalo* (London, 1722), later published as Bononcini's *Suites de pièces pour le clavecin* (ca. 1735). Jones's highly inventive pieces possess a concerto-like expansiveness and encompass a diverse range of styles.[60] Around the same time, the Neapolitan Francesco Mancini's *XII Sonatas* for recorder and basso continuo (1724) were advertised on their title page as "proper Lessons for the Harpsicord. / carefully Revis'd and Corected / By Mr: Geminiani." However, Geminiani's *Pièces de clavecin* (1743) and *The Second Collection of Pieces for the Harpsichord* (1762), containing arrangements of pieces selected mostly from his Op. 1 (1716), Op. 4 (1739), and Op. 5 (1747), are idiomatic transcriptions to rival the *pièces* of French composers as well as Handel's suites. A revised version of Geminiani's Op. 1 solo sonatas was published in 1739, and the impressive *stile antico* fugue from the sixth was expanded considerably in the process. In the 1743 keyboard transcription, the four-part texture is presented on a three-stave score; the player is advised to perform the music that appears on the two lower staves using the left hand.[61]

## Thomas Chilcot, James Nares, Maurice Greene, and Their Contemporaries

The harpsichord music to be considered next was written between ca. 1730 and ca. 1765 by composers who were born mostly within the first two decades of the eighteenth century. This was a period that saw the expansion of regional musical centers in Britain, where burgeoning concert societies provided employment for musicians as performers and teachers.[62] Several English keyboard composers of this period built their

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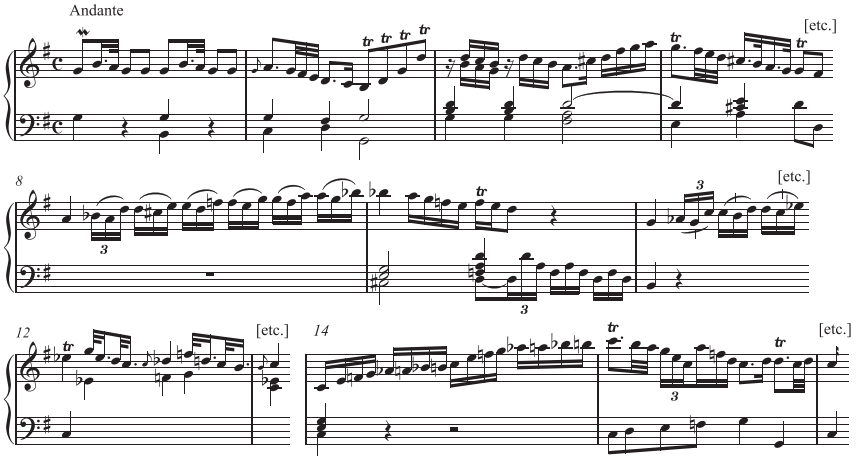
careers outside of London, among them Barnabas Gunn of Birmingham (d. 1753), Thomas Chilcot of Bath (ca. 1707–66), James Nares (1715–1783) – organist of York for over twenty years before an appointment at the Chapel Royal – and John Alcock of Lichfield (1715–1806). Handel's assistant John Christopher Smith (born Johann Christoph Schmidt) (1712–1795), Chilcot, and Nares chose to make their mark early in their careers by offering a collection of harpsichord lessons in the manner of Handel's 1720 collection, while Thomas Arne (1710–1778) and Joseph Kelway (ca. 1702–1782) issued their pieces later in life and may have composed them over a longer period. Several of these composers took advantage of the rise of John Johnson's publishing firm in the 1740s, which issued harpsichord music on high-quality paper in a spacious format, upright or oblong.

A style associated with solo sonatas continued to be adopted in English harpsichord music of the 1730s. The textures in Alcock's *Six Suites of Easy Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnet with a Trumpet Piece* (1741), for example, are overwhelmingly in two parts,[63] although the lighter-textured pieces that appear towards the end of Walsh's unauthorized "Second Volume" of Handel's harpsichord music (1733) were undoubtedly among Alcock's models: the Courant from Alcock's "Third Suite" (C minor) is directly modeled on one of these pieces (HWV441/3; G major).[64] Chilcot's *Six Suites of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnet* (1734) has a number of pieces that are similarly thin-textured, but many are also longer and more impressive.[65] The first suite, consisting of a Handelian French overture followed by five dances, is notable. Handel's influence is also evident in the second movement of "Suite the Second," which relates to a keyboard arrangement (HWV428/6) of the final movement of the overture to *Il Pastor Fido* (1712).[66] The mid-century *galant* style starts to make its appearance in Chilcot's pieces, notably in the sarabands with their triplet figures and in the minuet conclusions to several of the suites.

While retaining a formal plan in three or four movements, English composers of the 1740s started to adopt some of the signature traits of Scarlatti's one-movement sonatas, such as rapid repeated notes, rapid hand crossings, and special harmonic effects. The change is illustrated clearly in Smith's pieces. His first two collections (1732, 1735) look like student exercises and contain several pieces modeled directly on Handel's. In contrast, his later collections, *Six Suits of Lessons for the Harpsicord*, Op. 3 (1755), *A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsicord*, Op. 4 (1757), and, to some extent, *XII Sonatas for the Harpsicord*, Op. 5 (1765) are arguably the most Scarlatti-influenced of any English composer; some of their pieces are harmonically and formally quite experimental, and the first halves of two movements from Lessons VIII and XI

**Example 3.5** John Christopher Smith (1712–1795), Lesson XI, first movement, mm. 1–16, from *A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsicord*, Op. 4 (1757)




in Op. 4 even close in the subdominant (Example 3.5). Nares's *Eight Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1747) and a follow-up volume, *These Lessons for the Harpsicord . . . are Humbly Dedicated to . . . The Countess of Carlisle*, Op. 2 (1759), feature Scarlattian acrobatics in equal measure and are effectively written but are mostly in a more harmonically straightforward style (with the exception of the chromatic "Larghetto" from Lesson V). In the prefatory text to Op. 2, Nares calls rising chromatic-scale figures in sixteenth notes, which occur with some frequency in Smith's Opp. 3 and 4 (see Example 3.5), "wanton and improper," although he does not identify the music to which he is referring; similar figures appear in Sonata VII from Domenico Paradies's (1707–1791) *Sonate di gravicembalo* (London, 1754). It is not clear why the historian Charles Burney denigrated Kelway's *Six Sonatas for the Harpsicord* (1764) as "perhaps, the most crude, aukward [*sic*], and unpleasant pieces of the kind that have ever been engraved"; he may have been put off by old-fashioned features, such as movements closely resembling the old dance prototypes (one is actually called "Allemande") and harmonic complexity in both slow and fast movements.[67]

Around 1750 a simpler type of harpsichord music modeled on Domenico Alberti's Op. 1 sonatas (1748) started to appear, characterized by melody-oriented textures and left-hand accompaniments consisting of arpeggio figuration or tremolo basses in eighth notes. A similar style was adopted by Maurice Greene (1696–1755) in *A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1750) and by the clergyman William Felton

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(1715–1769) in his Op. 3 and Op. 6 *Suits of Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1752, 1757).[68] Later in the eighteenth century these types of collection were labeled "easy" or "progressive" with greater frequency, although Arne's *VIII Sonatas or Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1756), Elizabeth Turner's (d. 1756) *A Collection of Songs . . . with Six Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1756), and Smith's Op. 5 belong in the same category. There is little evidence of Scarlattian influence in Arne's. Turner's lessons each begin with a substantial toccata-like movement, while the dances that follow sometimes recall the two-part idioms of Alcock and Chilcot.[69]

## The Late Eighteenth Century: John Jones, John Worgan, Jacob Kirckman, and Others

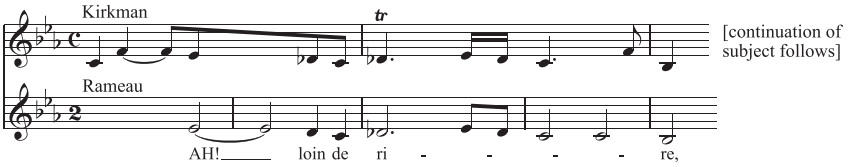
A large number of collections of harpsichord music were published in Britain between ca. 1760 and ca. 1785, which from the 1770s onwards were increasingly publicized on title pages as suitable "for harpsichord or piano forte" (for discussion of this phrase, see below).[70] Many reflect the tastes of this period, which gave preference to simple harmonies and brilliant effects. Alberti's sonatas introduced a two-movement structure, which was also used by Paradies and Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785), opera composers resident in London in the 1750s. Paradies's twelve *Sonate* and Galuppi's Opp. 1 and 2 *Sonate per cembalo* (1756, 1759) both offered the winning combination of singing melodies and toccata-like passagework.[71] Two-movement form was adopted by several English composers, including Charles Burney (1726–1814), whose *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (1761) appends examples of improvised preludes to each pair of movements. Later generations of Italians in Britain, such as Tommaso Giordani (ca. 1733–1806), the violinist Felice Giardini (1716–1796), and the castratos Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci (ca. 1735–1790) and Venanzio Rauzzini (1746–1810) also published solo harpsichord music but tended to concentrate on sonatas with obbligato parts or concertos. As the title of Giordani's *Six Progressive Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte Calculated for the Improvement of Young Performers* (1780) suggests, their solo music, although often charming, was written for teaching beginners or intermediate players. More ambitious sonatas were written by John Christian Bach (1735–1782), youngest son of Johann Sebastian, and Jacob Kirckman (1746–1812), as well as by English organists, such

as John Worgan (1724–1790), John Jones (1728–1796) and George Berg (1730–1775).[72]

Worgan's *Six Sonatas for the Harpsicord* (1768) mixes styles in a way that is characteristic of late eighteenth-century English solo harpsichord collections. The first three sonatas are modern sinfonia-like pieces in three movements, while the remainder recall earlier music by incorporating movements based on a gavotte and a sarabande (Sonata VI is a "Sarabande with Variations"). The fourth sonata is a Scarlattian piece in two movements; its second movement, marked "Bizzaria," begins in slow 2/4 tempo, but has varied repeats written out in the sixteenth notes and 3/8 meter of the first movement. Worgan studied with Roseingrave, edited a collection of Scarlatti sonatas, and possessed more in manuscript.[73] Ostensibly, Jones's *Eight Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1754), and his two-volume *Lessons for the Harpsichord* (1761), harken back to collections of suites. However, within each key group there is clearly an attempt to create a unified, sonata-like whole from diverse elements. Lesson V (E♭) from the 1754 volume is representative in its synthesis of different moods, keys, and textures; it begins with a weighty prelude (Andante Moderato), followed by an Allmand and Corrante, then an Andante in C minor, which begins with an adapted version of the theme from the first movement, followed by a light-hearted Minuet. The 1761 volumes include such things as extended evocations of accompanied recitative (Vol. 1, pp. 28–29), and a suite based on horn idioms (Vol. 1, pp. 33–36).

Although the title-page expression "for the harpsichord or piano forte" could indicate that the two instruments were considered alternatives, it also seems to have been used to describe collections combining sonatas for harpsichord and sonatas for piano, as well as for collections containing mostly or entirely harpsichord music. Bach's Op. 5, published by Welcker as *Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord* (1766), but self-published as *Six sonates pour le clavecin ou le piano*, features crescendo markings in Sonatas I–IV, which may have been intended for piano, but not in Sonatas V–VI, which lack dynamic indications and may have been written for harpsichord.[74] On the other hand, *Eight Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte*, Op. 7 (ca. 1771) and *Six Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte* (ca. 1772), by theater composers Samuel Arnold (1740–1802) and Charles Dibdin (1745–1814) respectively, seem suited to harpsichord throughout; many of the *piano* and *forte* contrasts in Arnold's can be accommodated by a double-manual instrument, while Dibdin's lacks dynamic markings and has a dedication to Miss Louisa Chauvet describing

**Example 3.6** Jacob Kirckman (1746–1812), Fugue in F minor, opening of fugue subject, from *Six Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte*, Op. 3 (ca. 1780), p. 8; Jean-Philippe Rameau, "Canon, à la quinte" ("Ah! loin de rire"), subject, from *Traité de l'harmonie* (1722), p. 360, transposed to F minor




it as "a Set of Harpsicord Sonatas, which were compos'd for your use." Similarly, Berg's *Ten Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte*, Op. 7 (1768) contains works that may have been intended for the harpsichord, although diminuendo and crescendo markings appear sporadically. In common with several other Johnson-firm publications, Berg's Op. 7 includes the text of a royal privilege, designed to protect it from unauthorized reprinting, brought out initially to protect the composer's Op. 3 sonatinas (1759).

A late collection of special interest is the *Six Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte*, Op. 3 (ca. 1780) of Jacob Kirckman, nephew and namesake of the harpsichord and piano maker.[75] Its date is uncertain, but it appeared before 19 March 1783, when Longman and Broderip advertised it among music "this day … republished," and it is presumably later than Kirckman's *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte* (without opus number), an edition of which was issued by James Blundell, who was active between ca. 1778 and ca. 1782.[76] The collection juxtaposes three grand two-movement sonatas, with three Handel-inspired groups that include fugues; it culminates in a Prelude-Fugue-Allemande-Courante-Gigue suite in E minor. The Lesson II fugue is headed "The Subject No.1 by desire is taken from an Air of Rameau," perhaps because its first subject was suggested to Kirckman by the collection's dedicatee, the fifth Earl of Plymouth, Other Windsor (1751–1799), who was a member of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club in 1775. The theme is uncharacteristic of Rameau but resembles the subject from the "Canon, à la quinte" ("Ah! loin de rire") from Rameau's influential *Traité de l'harmonie* (1722) (Example 3.6). If this canon was the source, Kirckman has added a head motif (fifth degree of the scale to first degree) and continuation, presumably to make it suited to the fugal context, although the changes transform it in a way that make it almost unrecognizable. These pieces doubtless reflect the interest in what was known at the time as "ancient" music and the veneration of classic composers such as Rameau and Handel that came with it.[77]

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## Notes

Biographical information has been obtained from *Oxford Music Online: Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane L. Root (www.oxfordmusiconline) and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (www.oxforddnb.com/). Where obtained from elsewhere, the source is cited. All printed sources were consulted in the British Library, London, or via the IMSLP/Petrucci Music Library (http://imslp.org/). Secondary literature on manuscripts has been given where unavailable or incomplete in modern editions. Musical examples from modern editions have been checked against the original sources. I am indebted to the existing studies, especially those listed in "Further Reading." I am grateful to Michael Talbot for helpful comments on a draft.

1. John Caldwell, "Lesson," in *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Root. The term was associated with mixed consorts in the late sixteenth century and retained an association with consort music modeled on dances before 1700.
2. John Harley, *British Harpsichord Music* 2 vols. (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1992, 1994), Vol. 2, pp. 118–144.
3. For a chronological list of publications, see Harley, *British Harpsichord Music*, Vol. 1.
4. *English Keyboard Concertos, 1740–1815*, ed. Peter Lynan, Musica Britannica, Vol. 94 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2013); Ronald R. Kidd, "The Emergence of Chamber Music with Obligato Keyboard in England," *Acta Musicologica* 44 (1972), pp. 122–144, especially p. 131.
5. Orlando Gibbons, *Keyboard Music*, ed. Gerald Hendrie, Musica Britannica, Vol. 20, third edition (London: Stainer and Bell, 2010).
6. See, for example, *English Pastime Music 1630–1660*, ed. Martha Maas, Collegium Musicum, Yale University, 2nd series, Vol. 4 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1974). Other editions based on single sources are listed in Virginia Brookes, *British Keyboard Music to c.1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), xii–xiii, abbreviated to "BPBV," "BVPB," "CER," "DPIV," "CEKM, xix" and "FCVB."
7. John Cunningham, *The Consort Music of William Lawes, 1602–1645* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010).
8. Heardson's location at the time he copied this manuscript is not known. See Bruce Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century: A Thematic Catalogue of the Sources with Commentary*, 3 vols. (Ann Arbor: UMT Press, 1979), Vol. 1, pp. 63–65, Vol. 2, pp. 133–40, and Candace Bailey, "New York Public Library Drexel MS 5611: English Keyboard Music of the Early Restoration," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 47 (2000), pp. 51–67, and the further literature cited.
9. Andrew Cichy, "Lost and Found: Hugh Facy," *Early Music* 42 (2014), pp. 95–104; Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, p. 309.
10. See *English Keyboard Music 1650–1695: Perspectives on Purcell*, ed. Andrew Woolley, Purcell Society Companion Series, Vol. 6 (London: Stainer and Bell, in press), nos. 7A–17.
11. Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, Vol. 1, pp. 62–63, Vol. 2, pp. 123–132; Candace Bailey, "William Ellis and the Transmission of Continental Keyboard Music in Restoration England," *Journal of*

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*Musicological Research* 20 (2001), pp. 211–242; John Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*, http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music.

12. Barry Cooper, "The Keyboard Suite in England before the Restoration," *Music & Letters* 53 (1972), pp. 309–319, especially p. 312.
13. *Musick's Hand-Maid*, ed. Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1969); Peter Alan Munstedt, *John Playford, Music Publisher: A Bibliographical Catalogue* (PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 1983), pp. 225–227; Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, pp. 339–342.
14. *Œuvres des Mercure*, ed. Monique Rollin and Jean Michel Vaccaro (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977); Brookes, *British Keyboard Music*, no. 1948.
15. On this style of keyboard writing, see David J. Buch, "*Style brisé, Style luthé*, and the *Choses luthées*," *The Musical Quarterly* 71 (1985), pp. 52–67, and David Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France* (London: Macmillan, 1987).
16. Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, Vol. 1, pp. 58–60; *Harpsichord Music Associated with the Name La Barre*, ed. Bruce Gustafson and R. Peter Wolf, The Art of the Keyboard, Vol. 4 (New York: The Broude Trust, 1999).
17. Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music*, Vol. 1, pp. 64–65.
18. Andrew Woolley, "The Harpsichord Music of Richard Ayleward, an 'Excellent Organist' of the Commonwealth and Early Restoration," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 15 (2009) (www.sscm-jscm.org/v15/no1/woolley.html), section 5.2 and Table 2.
19. In Matthias Weckmann, *Sämtliche freie Orgel- und Clavierwerke*, ed. Siegbert Rampe, third edition (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), Appendix II, nos. 1–3.
20. *Matthew Locke: Melothesia*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Matthew Locke, *Thirteen Pieces*, ed. Terence Charlston (Hebden Bridge: Peacock Press, 2004).
21. Benjamin Rogers, *Complete Keyboard Works*, ed. Richard Rastall (London: Stainer and Bell, 1973); Richard Ayleward, *Harpsichord Music*, ed. Andrew Woolley, Web Library of Seventeenth-Century Music, Vol. 27 (2013), www.sscm-wlscm.org/index.php/.
22. *The Selosse Manuscript: Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Keyboard Music*, ed. Peter Leech, second edition (Launton: Edition HH, 2009). The contents of a related source are in *"Fitt for the Manicorde." A Seventeenth-Century English Collection of Keyboard Music*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Launton: Edition HH, 2003).
23. See *English Keyboard Music 1650–1695*, ed. Woolley, Preface (discussion of nos. 27–29).
24. Candace Bailey, "Des préludes 'non mesurés' en Angleterre?", *Revue de Musicologie*, 87 (2001), pp. 289–305. See also *English Keyboard Music 1650–1695*, ed. Woolley, no. 43.
25. A type of jig notated in common time probably performed as if written in compound time.
26. John Roberts, *The Complete Works*, ed. Candace Bailey, The Art of the Keyboard, Vol. 8 (New York: The Broude Trust, 2003).

27. *The Complete Works*, ed. Bailey, no 10.
28. Albertus Bryne, *Keyboard Music for Harpsichord and Organ*, ed. Terence Charlston and Heather Windram (Oslo: Norsk Musikforlag, 2008); *English Keyboard Music 1650–1695*, ed. Woolley, nos. 33–36.
29. Bryne, *Keyboard Music*, ed. Charlston and Windram, nos. C3–C5.
30. *Roger North on Music*, ed. John Wilson (London: Novello, 1959), p. 139n; *A Choice Collection of Ayres* (London: John Young, 1700), 1 ("The Publisher to the Reader").
31. John Blow, *Complete Harpsichord Music*, ed. Robert Klakowich, Musica Britannica, Vol. 73 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1998); Peter Holman, "A New Source of Restoration Keyboard Music," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 20 (1986/1987), pp. 53–57. For the Henstridge manuscript (London, British Library, Add. MS 31403) see also *English Keyboard Music 1650–1695*, ed. Woolley.
32. Blow, *Complete Harpsichord Music*, nos. 42, 60, and 46.
33. Christopher Hogwood, "The 'Complete Keyboard Music' of Henry Purcell," in *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 67–89, where modern editions are cited; Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 93–98.
34. Thurston Dart, "Purcell's Harpsichord Music," *The Musical Times* 100 (1959), pp. 324–325.
35. The manuscript sources are considered in Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 276–290. See also Andrew Woolley, *English Keyboard Sources and Their Contexts, c. 1660–1720* (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2008), pp. 179–197.
36. Robert Thompson, "'A particular Friendship': Bell Barr, Annabella Howard and Sarah Churchill," *Early Music* 43 (2015), pp. 213–223.
37. Illustrated in Hogwood, "The 'Complete Keyboard Music,'" pp. 76–77. A digital reproduction of MS Mus. 1 is available at www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=MS_Mus._1. It is discussed in Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, pp. 278–282, where further literature is cited.
38. See, for example, Terence Charlston, *Purcell: Suites and Transcriptions* (Naxos, 8.553982: 1993), and Kenneth Gilbert, *Purcell: Harpsichord Suites* (Harmonia Mundi, HMA1951496: 1994). Modern editions of arrangements include *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-Maid*, ed. Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1969) and *Twenty Keyboard Pieces. Henry Purcell and One Piece by Orlando Gibbons*, ed. Davitt Moroney (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1999). See also Henry Purcell, *Keyboard Music*, ed. Christopher Hogwood, David J. Smith and Andrew Woolley, The Complete Works of Henry Purcell, Vol. 6 (in preparation).
39. Giovanni Battista Draghi, *Harpsichord Music*, ed. Robert Klakowich, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, Vol. 56 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1986); *English Keyboard Music 1650–1695*, ed. Woolley, nos. 106–122.

40. Peter Holman, "The Italian Connection: Giovanni Battista Draghi and Henry Purcell," *Early Music Performer* 22 (2008), pp. 4–19, reprinted in *Purcell*, ed. Holman, The Baroque Composers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), chapter 2.
41. London, British Library MS Add. 39569 ("Babell MS"), facsimile with an introduction by Bruce Gustafson (New York: Garland, 1987), pp. 24–31; Draghi, *Harpsichord Music*, ed. Klakowich, nos. 65–73.
42. Washington, DC, Library of Congress, MS M21.M185 case, facsimile with introduction by Alexander Silbiger (New York: Garland, 1989).
43. *English Keyboard Music 1650–1695*, ed. Woolley, nos. 49–58, 94–95, 101–105.
44. One Forcer autograph is edited as nos. 51 and 59–75 in *English Keyboard Music 1650–1695*.
45. Punches were initially developed for frequently reoccurring symbols, such as noteheads and clefs; they obviated the need to use a stylus for these symbols and were used on specially prepared plates. See H. Edmund Poole, "Engraving," in *Music Printing and Publishing*, ed. D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), pp. 40–53, especially pp. 43–44, and Richard Hardie, "'All Fairly Engraven'?: Punches in England, 1695 to 1706," *Notes* 61 (2005), pp. 617–633.
46. John Brian Hodge, *English Harpsichord Repertoire: 1660–1714* (PhD diss., 3 vols., University of Manchester, 1989), Vol. 2, pp. 34–35; Davis, *Keyboard Suite in C Minor*, ed. David Newsholme (York: York Early Music Press, 2016).
47. For Barrett, see Hodge, *English Harpsichord Repertoire*, Vol. 2, pp. 8–12.
48. William Croft, *Complete Harpsichord Works*, 2 vols., ed. Howard Ferguson and Christopher Hogwood, rev. Peter Holman (London: Stainer and Bell, 1982), Vol. 1, pp. 31–33.
49. Andrew Woolley, "An Unknown Autograph of Harpsichord Music by William Croft," *Music & Letters* 91 (2010), pp. 149–170, especially pp. 168–169.
50. Charles Cudworth and Franklin B. Zimmerman, "The Trumpet Voluntary," *Music & Letters* 41 (1960), pp. 342–348.
51. Jeremiah Clarke, *Seven Suites*, ed. John Harley (London: Stainer and Bell, 1985) and *Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces*, ed. John Harley (London: Stainer and Bell, 1988).
52. The two engravers of the Whichello collection are not identified on its title page; all but the first page was engraved by the same person who engraved Richardson's, the title page of which is inscribed "T. Cross Jun$^{r}$. Sculp." Hart's collection is also inscribed "T. Cross Jun$^{r}$. Sculp." but neither of these engravers was responsible for it. For Cross-associated engravers, see Hardie, "'All Fairly Engraven'?", pp. 621–624.
53. Barry Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music of the Middle and Late Baroque* (New York: Garland, 1989), p. 160. For manuscript sources of Hart's pieces, see Woolley, *English Keyboard Sources*, pp. 60–68.
54. Babell's arrangements are considered in detail in Sandra Mangsen, *Songs Without Words: Keyboard Arrangements of Vocal Music in England, 1560–1760* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2016),

pp. 59–155. A manuscript of anonymous keyboard music containing eleven toccatas, two suites, and seven preludes, partially concordant with known works by Babell, has recently come to light in the Biblioteca Musicale Gaetano Donizetti, Bergamo, and appears to be a collection of Babell's keyboard music. See Andrew Woolley, "New Light on William Babell's Development as a Keyboard Composer," *Early Music*, 46 (2018), pp. 251–270.

55. *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* [1776], 2 vols. (London: Novello, 1853), Vol. 2, p. 823.
56. Loeillet, *Suite in A minor for Harpsichord*, ed. Andrew Woolley (Hebden Bridge: Peacock Press, 2009).
57. Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music*, pp. 251–252.
58. Andrew Pink, "John Sheeles: Eighteenth-Century Composer, Harpsichordist, and Teacher," *Early Music Performer* 30 (2012), pp. 18–20; Michael Talbot, "More on the Life and Music of John Sheeles (1695–1765), Part 1: Origins and Early Years," and "More on the Life and Music . . . Part 2: Later Years and Legacy," *Early Music Performer*, 42 (2018), pp. 3–10 and 43 (2018), pp. 3–9.
59. Thomas Roseingrave, *Complete Keyboard Music*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Richard Platt, Musica Britannica, Vol. 84 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2006).
60. Richard Jones, *Lessons for the Harpsichord*, ed. Stoddard Lincoln (Paris: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1974).
61. See *12 Sonatas for Violin and Figured Bass (1716) (H. 1–12): 12 Sonatas for Violin and Figured Bass (Revised, 1739) (H. 13–24)*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2015) and *12 Sonatas for Violin and Figured Bass Op. 4 (1739) (H. 85–96)*, ed. Mark Kroll (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2016). These are Vols. 1A and 4A respectively in the Francesco Geminiani Opera Omnia.
62. Jenny Birchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730–1799* (New York: Garland, 1996).
63. Alcock, *Six Suites of Easy Lessons*, ed. Richard Jones (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1985). The "Trumpet Piece" is a keyboard piece imitating a natural trumpet.
64. On the doubtful authenticity of HWV 441, see Terence Best, "How Authentic Is Handel's G-major Suite HWV 441?," in *"Critica musica:" Studien zum 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Festschrift Hans Joachim Marx zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Nicole Ristow, Wolfgang Sandberger and Dorothea Schröder (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2001), pp. 1–11, and Woolley, "New Light on William Babell's Development."
65. Chilcot, *Six Suites of Lessons for the Harpsichord*, ed. Davitt Moroney (Paris: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1981). Keyboard manuscripts have recently been identified as being in Chilcot's hand; see Gerald Gifford, "Some Recently Identified Sources of Handelian Keyboard Music at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge," *The Consort* 65 (2009), pp. 46–59, and the catalogue at www.idiscover.lib.cam.ac.uk/.

66. Chilcot, *Six Suites*, ed. Moroney.
67. *A General History of Music*, 4 vols. (London: Payne & Son, et al., 1776–89), Vol. 4 [1789], p. 665.
68. H. Diack Johnstone, "Maurice Greene's Harpsichord Music: Sources and Style," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 261–281.
69. Margaret Yelloly, "'The Ingenious Miss Turner': Elizabeth Turner (d. 1756), Singer, Harpsichordist and Composer," *Early Music* 33 (2005), pp. 65–79.
70. See the list in Harley, *British Harpsichord Music*, Vol.1.
71. Donald C. Sanders, "Sunday Music: The Sonatas of Domenico Paradies," *The Musical Times* 145 (2004), pp. 68–74.
72. For Berg, see George Berg, *Twelve Sonatinas Op. 3*, 2 vols., ed. Michael Talbot (Launton: Edition HH, 2017), and *Eight Suites of Lessons, Op. 5*, 2 vols., ed. Michael Talbot (Launton: Edition HH, 2017 and 2018).
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76. *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, Wednesday 19 March 1783; Frank Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers* (London: W. E. Hill, 1900), pp. 13–14.
77. Guy Boas, Harald Christopherson, and Herbert Gladstone, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays Towards Its History* (London: Cypher Press, 1996), p. 109. I am grateful to Graham Sadler for suggesting a possible connection to Rameau's treatises. In 1763, Rameau sent the manuscript of a "Méthode pour faire les canons" to the NGCC, which is likely to have contained "Ah! Loin de rire;" see Graham Sadler, *The Rameau Compendium* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), entry for "Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club."

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