

The Howgill Family: A Dynasty of Musicians from Georgian Whitehaven*

Simon D. I. Fleming
Email: simondifleming@googlemail.com

It has been often observed that Georgian Britain was alive with musical activity, and that London was one of the most important musical hubs in Europe. Most of Britain's important provincial centres were well connected to the capital by road or sea, and this helped facilitate the spread of the latest musical ideas around the country. The west Cumberland town of Whitehaven is situated over three hundred miles from London by road and, at the time, was isolated from the rest mainland Britain by the surrounding fells of the Lake District. Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century Whitehaven had grown into one of Britain's most important ports and had a musical life that rivalled that at any other major town in the country.

Musical life in Whitehaven was dominated by the Howgill family. William Howgill senior was appointed organist of St Nicholas' Church in 1756 and set himself up there as music teacher and concert promoter. Here he raised a family and was succeeded in his musical duties by his son, William Howgill junior. This article examines the Howgill family's musical activities in depth and explores their London connections. This research is based on the detailed study of primary sources including newspapers, but there has also been an effort to examine all of William Howgill junior's compositions. This study reveals that, despite Whitehaven's remote location, Howgill junior was well aware of the latest musical developments in the capital.

Recent research into the musical life of eighteenth-century Britain has uncovered a wealth of new information on the lives and musical achievements of the country's native composers, many of whom have been overlooked in favour of their continental rivals.¹ Of all these foreign musicians, the most notable was Handel, whose works came to dominate eighteenth-century concert programmes and did much to eclipse the native talent. Handel's achievements were indeed great, but the neglect of the domestically composed music led to a general

* I am grateful to the staff at the Carlisle, Whitehaven and Durham Record Offices, the Chester Archives, the Public Libraries at Carlisle, Penrith, Whitehaven, Leeds and Birmingham, the Libraries of the Royal College of Music and Trinity College, London, Birmingham University Library, the Library of Congress, Washington DC and the British Library.

¹ Throughout the eighteenth-century, Britain was awash with foreign musicians who came to reap the financial rewards of their endeavours, enabled by the popularity of continental music with British audiences. See, for example, H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske, eds, *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, IV: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); David Wyn Jones, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, eds, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

acceptance that this music was not worthy of attention.² Other important foreign musicians, such as Haydn, Mozart and Mendelssohn have likewise received notice for their contribution to British music, even though they spent relatively short periods in this country.³ In the second half of the twentieth century there was a growth in appreciation for the music produced by Britain's domestic composers, and it is now accepted that Britain was not the barren musical wasteland that some would have us believe.⁴ Today, some of the most highly regarded London-based native composers from the eighteenth century are William Boyce, William Croft, Thomas Arne, Maurice Greene and John Stanley. Even the numerous British composers that worked in the provinces have been acknowledged for their contribution to British music; some of the most distinguished of these are Charles Avison, Thomas Linley and his son Thomas Linley junior, William Hayes, William Felton and Richard Mudge. Furthermore, this research has proved that eighteenth-century Britain was far from being a musical wilderness, and that music was widely composed and performed throughout the entire country, where it found favour as an attribute of middle-class life. Important musical centres outside London included Durham, Newcastle upon Tyne, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, Leeds, Edinburgh and Dublin.⁵ Nevertheless, there still remains a great deal of work to be done on provincial music in Britain and a significant number of medium to large towns and cities, many of which were also significant hubs of musical life, have yet to be investigated in any depth.

Most towns of importance had their own resident professional musicians, many of whom had relocated to that place to fill a vacant position, often as organist at a local church. Other places, particularly those of a rural situation, drew upon what local talent they had and were either unwilling or unable to finance the salary of a more capable musician from elsewhere.⁶ Towns such as

² See, for example, Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England* (London: Clarendon Press, 1970, reprint of third edn, London, 1952); Max Kenyon, *Harpichord Music* (London: Cassell, 1949).

³ For his 2009 BBC television series, *The Birth of British Music*, Charles Hazlewood focused on four musicians, of which only one, Henry Purcell, was native to Britain. The other composers were Handel, Haydn and Mendelssohn.

⁴ See the works mentioned in footnote 1, above, and Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, eds, *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

⁵ Simon Fleming, *A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711–1811: A Documentary Study* (PhD dissertation, University of Durham, 2009); Simon Fleming, *Charles Avison (1709–1770) An Important and Influential English Composer, Musician, and Writer* (MMus dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1999); Jenny Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730–1799* (New York: Garland, 1996); Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760* (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1988).

⁶ Carlisle Cathedral relied upon local musicians to fill their organist post in the first half of the eighteenth century, all of whom were less than dedicated to their duties; as a result, the quality of the music at that cathedral remained abysmally low. The appointment of Charles Pick from York in 1749 marked a significant turning point in the musical situation of Carlisle. See Simon Fleming, 'The Eighteenth Century Musicians of Carlisle Cathedral', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, third Series, vol. xii (2012), 183–97.

Newcastle were more fortunate with their indigenous musicians, for their musical life owes a great deal to Charles Avison, the organist at St Nicholas' Church and son of a Newcastle town wait.⁷ Others, such as William Avison, Edward Miller, John White, and Matthias and Thomas Hawdon, relocated from their birth towns to fill a suitable organist position.⁸ These new arrivals would organize concerts and other public events that involved music in order to increase their incomes, a move that burgeoned the musical life in these places. At Durham there was a huge increase in the number of concerts and other public entertainments as a result of the removal of a large number of able musicians from the south of the country, all of whom were attracted to that city by the unusually high salaries that the cathedral offered.⁹ Durham Cathedral's chapter was able to afford these high salaries because of the vast tracts of land the cathedral owned, from which coal was mined and shipped to London. Other north-eastern towns such as Newcastle, and to a lesser extent Sunderland and Hull, grew wealthy on the back of the Industrial Revolution and became important ports for the shipment of coal. As these ports developed they attracted other industries, such as ship-building, and there was a growth in the number of secondary professionals including accountants, bankers, architects and dentists.¹⁰ Furthermore, as the wealth of the inhabitants grew, many of these towns also cultivated a rich musical life. It is undoubtedly because of its prosperity that Newcastle had one of the first subscription series out of London, established by Avison in 1735.¹¹ Other, smaller, ports witnessed significant growth over the course of the eighteenth century, as the thirst for mined resources grew. The most remarkable of these was Whitehaven, which grew from an inconsequential coastal hamlet into one of the most important provincial ports in the country and, in doing so, cultivated a musical life that rivalled that of any other major town.¹²

⁷ Fleming, *Charles Avison*, 5. Avison studied in London before he returned to Newcastle where he spent almost 35 years as the organist of St Nicholas Church. He rejected the offer of prestigious appointments in London, York, Edinburgh and Dublin. *Newcastle Journal*, 17 March 1759.

⁸ William Avison, Charles' elder brother, was organist at Hull. Miller was born in Norwich and moved to Doncaster in 1756; he died there in 1807. White was born at York and became the organist at All Saints, Harewood, in 1804 and Wakefield in 1821. Hawdon was born in Newcastle but succeeded William Avison at Hull in 1751 and moved on to Beverley in 1769. He returned to Newcastle in 1776 and died there in 1789. Thomas Hawdon went to Hull in 1787, but was appointed organist at All Saints', Newcastle two years later. Margaret Maddison, 'Discovering more of Avison's Family', *The Avison Ensemble Newsletter* (Autumn, 2007); Frederick Fowler, *Edward Miller Organist of Doncaster His Life and Times* (Doncaster 1979), 9, 118; Robert Demaine, 'Mr White, of Leeds', in *Music in the British Provinces*, 183–7; George Poulson, *Beverlac; or, The Antiquities and History of Beverley* (London, 1829), 684–5; *Cumberland Pacquet*, 26 October 1787, 23 September 1789.

⁹ Fleming, *A Century of Music Production*, 23

¹⁰ Peter Clark and R. A. Houston, 'Culture and leisure 1700–1840', *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, II: 1540–1840 ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge, 2000), 594.

¹¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 20 September 1735. York had an earlier subscription series, established in c.1730. See David Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality: A History of Institutional Music-Making in York c.1550–1990* (York, 1994), 104.

¹² Whitehaven had by far the most vibrant musical life of any town in Cumbria, including the city of Carlisle, which was little more than a rural backwater at this time. Fleming, 'Musicians of Carlisle Cathedral'.

Whitehaven is one of the most unlikely places to have been an important musical centre. Its location on the west coast of Cumberland (now Cumbria) made it difficult to reach, and the Lakeland fells, which hemmed in the town and prevented its expansion, isolated it from mainland Britain. Access to the town was further hampered by the poor quality of the roads.¹³ The most accessible route to Whitehaven was by sea, and it was through its harbour that it developed into a centre of considerable wealth.¹⁴ Its affluence, like that of Newcastle, was founded on the shipping of coal, although in Whitehaven's case the ore was transported to Dublin and the colonies.¹⁵ The town was also, for a time, an important centre in the trade of Virginian Tobacco and to some degree the export of iron. Whitehaven's expansion was entirely due to the efforts of the Lowther family, particularly John Lowther (1606–1675) and his son James (1673–1755). They made a fortune from their endeavours, so much so that James was considered the 'richest commoner in England'.¹⁶ There was, as part of this expansion, a huge migration to Whitehaven, evident from population numbers: in 1693 there were still a relatively modest 2,222 inhabitants, which rose to around 4,000 in 1714 and over 9,000 in 1762.¹⁷ Although Whitehaven's population never came close to that of other important ports, such as Liverpool and Bristol, according to Daniel Defoe it was 'the most eminent Port in England for shipping off Coals, except Newcastle and Sunderland' and, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was viewed as the largest town in the north of England after Newcastle and York.¹⁸ It was even important enough to warrant an attack by the American privateer 'Ranger' in the American War of Independence.¹⁹ Nevertheless, such growth was not without its consequences. As the population grew, most new building work was accommodated within the town's existing boundaries and, as a result, certain areas, particularly around the harbour, degenerated into slums of disease and vermin.²⁰

The town itself was arranged like other eighteenth-century 'new towns', in the pattern of a right-angled grid. Hutchinson recorded that the town consisted 'of wide elegant streets; the houses built in a modern style and good taste.'²¹ There were three churches, the oldest of which was dedicated to St Nicholas and located prominently at the town's centre. It was rebuilt in 1693 to accommodate the increase in population. The other two churches, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St James, were consecrated in 1715 and 1752. Of these three churches, the most important musically was St Nicholas'.

¹³ Daniel Hay, *Whitehaven: An Illustrated History* (Whitehaven: Michael Moon, 1987), 30.

¹⁴ Whitehaven is located, 331 miles from London, 38 miles from Carlisle and 99 miles from Newcastle.

¹⁵ Joyce Ellis, 'Regional and county centres 1700–1840' *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, II: 1540–1840, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge, 2000), 711.

¹⁶ J. Beckett, 'Lowther, Sir James, fourth baronet (bap. 1673, d. 1755)', rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37692, accessed 19 Oct 2009].

¹⁷ Hay, *Whitehaven*, 27–9.

¹⁸ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, ed. G.D.H. Cole, 3 vols (London: The Folio Society, 1983), III, 152; see also Hay, *Whitehaven* (1987), 29.

¹⁹ William Hutchinson, *The History and Antiquities of Cumberland*, 2 vols (Carlisle, 1794), II, 86.

²⁰ Sylvia Collier, *Whitehaven 1660–1800* (London, 1991), 22; Hay, *Whitehaven*, 30.

²¹ Hutchinson, *History and Antiquities of Cumberland*, II, 42.



Fig. 1 St Nicholas' Church, Whitehaven, from Hutchinson *The History and Antiquities of Cumberland* (1794), II, 43. Reproduced from the author's collection.

Although it is unlikely that quality of the music produced at St Nicholas' Church ever rose particularly high in the first half of the eighteenth century, the erection of an organ in 1756 by the eminent builder John Snetzler marked a turnaround in the musical situation of that church and ultimately of Whitehaven itself.²² The organ's installation would not have been without its concerns, as there were few skilled organists in the county and, as in Doncaster, Hull and Beverley, the churchwardens were forced to look elsewhere for a suitable

²² Alan Barnes and Martin Renshaw, *The Life and Work of John Snetzler* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 94–5.

candidate; as a result, the church's first organist, William Howgill, was procured from Newcastle upon Tyne.

William Howgill appears to have spent all of his formative years in the north-east of England. He was born in Sedgefield, County Durham in 1735 and baptised at his parish church of St Edmund on 12 August. He was the youngest of six children,²³ and a son of William (c.1690/1–1768), the schoolmaster at Sedgefield's Grammar School, and Jane (1693/4–1765).²⁴ Nothing certain is known about the younger William's early life, but he must have studied at Sedgefield Grammar School and been given the opportunity to learn music. He presumably received lessons from the eminent composer and concert organizer, John Garth (1721–1810), the organist at Sedgefield Church. Howgill may also have played in Garth's Durham-based concert orchestra, in which Avison also participated. By 1755 Howgill had relocated to Newcastle where he most likely played in Avison's orchestra and cut his teeth as an organist at one of the town's churches.²⁵ He subsequently moved to Whitehaven in 1756. On 4 September 1766 he married Ann Rochfort, the daughter of the parish clerk at Holy Trinity Church.²⁶ They had six children, four of whom survived childhood. These were William, Matthew, Ann and Thomas. William (hereafter referred to as William Howgill junior) was christened on 2 July 1769 at St Nicholas' and was the most musical of that family. Ann, baptised on 10 May 1775, also became an organist.²⁷

There is no record of Howgill senior's early musical life at Whitehaven. The *Cumberland Pacquet*, the main source of information on events in the town and the first established newspaper in the county, did not commence until 1774.²⁸ The first recorded concert at Whitehaven was held on 27 February 1775 in the Assembly Room on Albion Street, the regular venue for such activities.²⁹

²³ William's siblings were Margaretta (1721/2–1747), Maria (1723/4–1805), Jane (1725/6–1801), Elizabeth (1728–1813) and Thomas (1731–1754). Both Jane and Mary were shopkeepers.

²⁴ William Howgill married Jane Willy at the parish church of Hurworth-on-Tees on 4 February 1721. She had been baptised at that church on 20 October 1694. In 1734 William took legal action against a William Glawstanes, who had been teaching at Sedgefield without a licence. GB-DRu: DDR/EJ/PRC/2/1734/5.

²⁵ Howgill was living at Newcastle when he subscribed to Avison's op. 4 concertos (1755), and he may have been Avison's deputy at St John's church. In 1748, when the organ at St John's was in poor repair, Avison offered £100 towards its refurbishment if he was appointed organist at a salary of £20 per annum with permission to appoint a suitable deputy. Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle Corporation Minute Books, MD/NC/2/4-7.

²⁶ H.B. Stout, ed., *The Registers of St. Nicholas Church Whitehaven*, 3 vols. ([Kendal]: Cumbria Family History Society, 2002), III, 77. Ann's father, Matthew, was a barber and later a wig maker. She was baptised on 6 September 1737 at Holy Trinity Church, Whitehaven.

²⁷ Matthew was christened on 15 November 1770 and Thomas on 11 June 1779 at St Nicholas' Church. Both John (bap. 1773, d.1788) and Walter (bap. 1777, d.1778) died prematurely. Families of musicians were common in the eighteenth century. Examples include the Avisons at Newcastle, the Sharps at Stamford and the Valentines at Leicester. See Karl Kroeger, 'John Valentine: Eighteenth-Century Music Master in the English Midlands', *Notes* 44/ 3 (1998), 444–55.

²⁸ Hutchinson, *History and Antiquities of Cumberland*, II, 83. Another newspaper, the *Whitehaven Gazette*, ran between 1819 and 1826 before its purchase by the owners of the *Pacquet*. Samuel Jefferson, *The History and Antiquities of Allerdale Ward, Above Derwent, in the County of Cumberland* (Carlisle, 1842), 360.

²⁹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 23 February 1775.

Public concerts had first been established at London in 1672 and had quickly spread. They had certainly reached the north-east by the first decade of the eighteenth century.³⁰ Howgill, given his association with Garth and Avison, must have been aware of the profits that could be made from concert organization, and he almost certainly held his first concert soon after his arrival, perhaps even to mark the opening of the Whitehaven organ. He held concerts biannually at the Assembly Rooms, usually in March and November, both of which were followed by a ball.³¹ He also held smaller weekly concerts at his home.³² Howgill's ticket prices, at two shillings each, were substantially cheaper than those in the capital and even cheaper than those at other provincial centres such as Durham and Newcastle.³³ He may also have initiated the Whitehaven Musical Society, which subscribed to Avison's op. 9 concertos in 1766.³⁴

Little is known about the programmes of Howgill's early concerts. He did subscribe to several works, the music of which must have been used at Whitehaven. Almost all of these works have a north-east connection, and include Avison's opp 3 and 4 concertos (1751 and 1755), Thomas Ebdon's keyboard sonatas (c.1765), Garth's op. 2 keyboard sonatas (1768), Garth's English version of Marcello's psalms (1757), Robert Barber's op. 1 keyboard sonatas (c1775) and Matthias Hawdon's *An Ode on the King of Prussia* (c1760).³⁵ From 1778 programmes began to appear in the *Pacquet* alongside concert advertisements. These lists reveal that, in spite of Whitehaven's isolated location, the domestic concerts included some of the most recently published music. For example, the harpsichord concerto by Johann Samuel Schröter, which was performed on 25 March 1778, was probably from his op. 3, published in London in 1774.³⁶ There was an even shorter time lag between the London and Whitehaven performances of William Shield's 'Ode in Honour of Captain Cook' from the

³⁰ The first recorded concerts were held at York in 1709, Newcastle in 1712 and Durham in 1735. Simon McVeigh, 'Introduction', *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 1; Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* no. 1 (1961), 73, 82; *North County Journal*, 21 June 1735.

³¹ Other provincial towns, such as York, Durham and Newcastle, also used their assembly rooms for concerts. Balls regularly followed concerts, since they were a good way to extend an evening's entertainment and ensure higher ticket sales. One of the largest balls at Whitehaven was held to mark Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 9 October 1798.

³² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 2 November 1775, 13 March 1777, 11 November 1777, 24 March 1778, 14 March 1780, 13 March 1781, 5 November 1782, 16 March 1784, 2 November 1784, 8 March 1785, 9 November 1785, 8 November 1786, 28 March 1787, 21 November 1787, 23 March 1788, 27 October 1790, 18 April 1815.

³³ At both Durham and Newcastle the regular ticket price at the mid-point of the eighteenth century was 2s 6d. The cost of a London concert ticket at this time could be as much as a half guinea (10s 6d). *Newcastle Courant*, 21 July 1753; *London Daily Advertiser*, 10 February 1753, 26 March 1753.

³⁴ In 1777 a member of the Whitehaven Musical Society assisted at a Carlisle concert organized by Pick. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 14 April 1777.

³⁵ Howgill also subscribed to non-musical works, such as Wardhaugh Thompson, *The Accountant's Oracle* (Whitehaven, 1771).

³⁶ Ronald Kidd, 'Schröter' *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. 23 Sep. 2010 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43982pg3>>.

pantomime *Omai*; it was performed on 3 April 1786 after its Covent Garden premiere on 20 December 1785.³⁷ The fact that some of the most contemporaneous music was performed at Whitehaven indicates that either the Howgills made regular trips to London to acquire the most recent publications, or that they had contacts in London who were able to forward new music to them. This contact does not appear to have been one of Howgill's siblings, as they remained in Sedgefield and had little cause to visit the capital. However, his wife's family were firmly established in London and may have provided assistance.

Another place where Howgill may have been involved with music production is Whitehaven Castle, the town residence of the Lowther family; James Boswell recorded that in January 1788 the dancing there was accompanied by 'two fiddles, a bass, a tabor pipe, and two clarinets.'³⁸ Music was also played at the Whitehaven theatre, and Howgill senior supplied them with an orchestra.³⁹ The theatre was a regular venue for ballad operas and pantomimes, a large number of which were composed by Shield.⁴⁰ Howgill senior clearly had a huge impact on the musical life of this insular community. The high esteem in which he was held by the local populace is evident from his obituary:

Friday last, in Roper-street, in the 55th year of his age, and after a long illness sustained with much fortitude, Mr. WILLIAM HOWGILL, organist of St. Nicholas's Chapel in this town; which office he filled with great propriety during a period of thirty-four years; respected in his profession, and in private life, by a very numerous acquaintance. His remains were interred at the said chapel, on Sunday evening, attended by a large concourse of people. He is succeeded in the office of organist by his eldest son, Mr. William Howgill, who has performed the duties of it for some years past.⁴¹

William Howgill junior, like his father, was an able musician. He was also something of a child prodigy and participated in his father's concerts from a young age. In 1779, at age ten, he played the upper part of a harpsichord duet that 'gave astonishing proofs of an early knowledge of the science in which he

³⁷ Linda Troost, 'Shield, William' *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. 23 Sep. 2010 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25638>>.

³⁸ Irma Lustig, ed., *Boswell: The English Experiment 1785–1789* (London, 1986), 183.

³⁹ Hutchinson, *History and Antiquities of Cumberland*, II, 88; *Cumberland Pacquet*, 7 December 1785. Workington was another west Cumbrian town with a theatre. In other provincial towns, such as Newcastle, professional musicians were involved with music at the theatre. For example, Charles Avison junior appeared there in 1780 under the alias 'Signior Carlos Avisonsini'. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 19 September 1780; *Newcastle Courant*, 25 March 1780.

⁴⁰ William Shield's operas were popular in Britain at the time and widely performed. Those Shield opera known to have been staged at Whitehaven are *A Flitch of Bacon*, *Rosina*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *The Poor Soldier*. Other operas performed there include Dibdin's *The Padlock* and *Lionel and Clarissa*, Linley's *The Duenna*, John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*, Samuel Arnold's *Peeping Tom of Coventry*, and Arne's *Love in a Village*. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 14 November 1776, 23 September 1777, 22 November 1777, 20 December 1777, 24 December 1778, 5 January 1779, 19 January 1779, 28 January 1779, 26 December 1780, 20 August 1782, 29 October 1782, 5 November 1782, 20 January 1784, 30 November 1784, 18 January 1785, 14 December 1785, 21 December 1785, 11 January 1786, 18 January 1786, 21 June 1786, 20 December 1786, 2 March 1787, 5 June 1792, 25 January 1803, 3 December 1805, 13 December 1808.

⁴¹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 15 December 1790. Howgill junior was elected organist at St Nicholas' on 28 December 1790. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 5 January 1791.

promises to be very eminent.⁴² Less than two years later he had his first opportunity to play for both Sunday services at St Nicholas' Church:

Sunday last, at the Old Church, Master Howgill (who is only eleven years of age) son of Mr. Howgill, organist of this town, performed the whole service on the organ both parts of the day, which consisted of six psalm-tunes, and four voluntaries. The former were executed with such steadiness and solemnity as would have done credit to a performer of long practice; and when it is considered that this instrument has a hard touch, it is a matter of astonishment how such a smooth succession of tones could be produced by the fingers of so young a person. His voluntaries were not less surprizing. The intermediate one in the evening service, however, gave him an opportunity of displaying still more uncommon abilities at his years. It contained four different movements, and his frequent and easy transitions from the chair organ, to the swell, and the full organ, while it afforded great pleasure to all those who are alive to the divine impressions of music, excited real amazement in those who are acquainted with the construction of the instrument. – It may very reasonably be presumed that Master Howgill is in the way of becoming very eminent in his profession if these exertions of so young a genius do not already entitle him to that character.⁴³

A few months later another performance at one of his father's concerts aroused the attention of the *Pacquet*:

Wednesday evening there was a very genteel company at the Public Concert, and a more numerous one than has been for some years past. The performances gave universal pleasure, particularly [George] *Rush's* celebrated Harpsichord Concerto, the harpsichord by Master Howgill, which he played in a manner that astonished and delighted all present. His performance as to exactness of time, and neatness of execution, was allowed to be such as might have been applauded by the greatest connoisseurs in Music.⁴⁴

In some ways the achievements of Howgill junior mirrored those of another child prodigy, William Crotch (1775–1847). In 1781, at the tender age of six, Crotch visited Whitehaven where he performed at a benefit concert on 21 November alongside Howgill junior.⁴⁵ Crotch's abilities are particularly evident from a report of a second performance, this time at the organ of St Nicholas':

Thursday last Master Crotch played upwards of an hour upon the organ in the Old Church, and, if possible, surprized his auditors more than he had done before by his performances on the harpsichord and piano-forte. The curtains were tucked up close, to give all present a view of this musical prodigy, who was seated on his mother's lap, and ran his fingers over the keys with a fluency peculiar to himself, in perfect harmony, through a great variety of pieces, and occasionally on the full organ producing such a tone (the weakness of an infant's fingers considered) as must exceed all belief, except in those who have had an opportunity of feeling and hearing him.⁴⁶

⁴² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 2 November 1779.

⁴³ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 24 July 1781.

⁴⁴ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 30 October 1781. The *Rush* concerto is presumably his *First Concerto for the Harpsichord*, published in c.1770.

⁴⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 20 November 1781. Howgill junior played two harpsichord concertos at Crotch's benefit concert.

⁴⁶ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 27 November 1781.

Howgill junior continued to participate in his father's concerts where he played some of the latest and most fashionable music available. In 1785 he performed a keyboard sonata by Luigi Boccherini, presumably taken from his popular op. 5 set from 1775, while in 1787 he executed a keyboard concerto by Johann Sterkel.⁴⁷ *A Favorite Concerto* from Sterkel's op. 20 was published at London in 1786 and it was probably this edition that was used.⁴⁸ This work and others may have been acquired in 1786 when Howgill junior went to London to receive music tuition.⁴⁹ Howgill senior took advantage of his son's trip for further profit as he offered to procure musical material from the capital for interested parties.⁵⁰ After his father's death, Howgill junior provided a similar purchasing service and made several trips to London to acquire new music and instruments.⁵¹ According to an 1814 advertisement, new music was sent to him once a month and he sold pianos from his house.⁵²

In the years immediately after his father's death, Howgill junior appears to have carried on his father's musical activities with little interruption. The biannual concerts were still held at the Assembly Rooms, the programmes for which appeared in the *Pacquet* until 1797. Howgill junior expanded his musical productions into other neighbouring towns and organized concerts at Cocker-mouth in 1789 and 1791. However, as the end of the century approached there was a clear reduction in the number of concerts organized at Whitehaven, a situation that has already been observed at other provincial towns and cities.⁵³ The reason behind this decline appears to have been financial, caused by a reduction in the numbers of tickets sold. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that at this time Britain was at war with France, and it was presumably the threat of an invasion that diverted people's attention onto more pressing matters.⁵⁴ Howgill junior also continued his father's role as a music teacher, and he appears to have enjoyed considerable success. He set up a music school at Cocker-mouth, which ran from at least 1791 until 1793.⁵⁵ At Whitehaven, Howgill junior taught the pianoforte, harpsichord and violin on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday at his home on Church Street and at the homes of his pupils. Like James Hesletine,

⁴⁷ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 March 1785, 4 April 1787.

⁴⁸ Sterkel's first set of keyboard concertos, the op. 20, had been published in Mainz in 1785. Other recently published works performed at Whitehaven include Johann Hummel's variations on 'The Lass of Richmond Hill' and 'Jem of Aberdeen', both of which had been published in 1791. They were first performed at Whitehaven on 18 October 1792. Charles Dignum's song 'The Soldier encamp'd on the coast' was published in 1796 and performed at Whitehaven on 19 April 1797. Ronald Kidd, 'Sterkel, Johann Franz Xaver' *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26714> (accessed February 17, 2010).

⁴⁹ It was common for provincial musicians to spend time in London studying under a professional musician. Avison studied under Geminiani and Francis Sharp was a pupil of J.C. Bach. The Dean and Chapter of Durham occasionally agreed to let members of the cathedral choir study music in London. Fleming, *Charles Avison*, 8–10; *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 27 March 1789; Fleming, *A Century of Music Production*, 92–93, 296.

⁵⁰ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 March 1786.

⁵¹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 3 May 1796.

⁵² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 November 1814.

⁵³ A decline in the number of concerts produced at this time has also been observed at Newcastle and Durham. Fleming, *A Century of Music Production*, 74.

⁵⁴ Fleming, *A Century of Music Production*, 74.

⁵⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 March 1791, 9 April 1793.

Ebdon and Garth, Howgill junior taught in the country, but the rate he charged was subject to the pupil's distance from Whitehaven.⁵⁶ In 1802 he proposed to return to teach in both Cocker mouth and Workington once he had sufficient pupils in those towns, but it is unknown whether this proposal came to fruition.⁵⁷ Presumably many of Howgill junior's pupils made up his concert orchestra, although little is known about who they were. At a concert held in 1789 two pupils, 'a brother and sister the eldest 14 years of age', performed a harpsichord duet by Tommaso Giordani.⁵⁸

At St Nicholas' the Howgills, aided by their parish clerks, played an important role in the training of the singers.⁵⁹ From the 1750s, the parish clerk was Joseph Wilde (1711/2–1785), who may have been ill at Christmas 1774 when the pupils of a Mr Parcival sang.⁶⁰ Wilde was succeeded by Isaac Wilkinson (1743/4–1795) in 1785 and he was followed by Wilkinson's son Matthew in 1795.⁶¹ The Howgills certainly had access to a choir from an early stage and were able to perform choruses at concerts from at least 1779. In 1788 there was an established 'Choral Society', presumably run by William Howgill junior.⁶² For Easter 1785, a 'Choral Hymn' setting of Psalm 96 by William Jackson, organist at Exeter Cathedral was sung, a performance that was spoilt by the 'intrusion and rude behav[i]our of some people'.⁶³ Another performance in 1786 was directed by Wilkinson and performed by his scholars with the assistance of 'several bass and tenor voices'.⁶⁴ By 1786 the choir had grown to '46 men and boys'.⁶⁵ On one occasion the 'Sunday Scholars' that had attended the evening service, which numbered one hundred and sixty strong, sang several psalms with the organ after the service's conclusion and there were plans to repeat this event every second Sunday.⁶⁶ Such large numbers of young singers was not unusual, and places such as Box in Wiltshire had similarly sized choirs of boys much earlier in the century.⁶⁷ The church at Lancaster also had a large number of boy trebles in their choir.⁶⁸ After the death of his father, Howgill junior took over the tuition of the Sunday school

⁵⁶ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 30 November 1802. In 1790 Howgill junior advertised for 'a Boarder or two' and offered to provide them with music lessons. It was common practice for music teachers to travel into the country to instruct their pupils at their homes. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 December 1790; Fleming, *A Century of Music Production*, 186–7.

⁵⁷ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 30 November 1802.

⁵⁸ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 28 October 1789. There were a number of published keyboard duets by Giordani, including *A First Sett of Three Duetts* (c.1780), *A Second Sett of Three Duetts* (c.1780), *A duetto for two performers* (1783) and *Four favorite Duettinios* (1784).

⁵⁹ Some of the earlier parish clerks were Anthony Barns (d.1710), Francis Yates (d.1720), Nicholas Hale (d.1721), Anthony Davies (d.1731), William Boucher (d.1738), and William Bragg. Yates was also the minister at St Nicholas' Church.

⁶⁰ Parcival may have been the clerk at the Holy Trinity Church. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 29 December 1774, 11 January 1785.

⁶¹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 25 January 1785, 24 March 1795.

⁶² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 30 March 1779, 15 October 1788.

⁶³ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 March 1785, 29 March 1785.

⁶⁴ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 26 April 1786.

⁶⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 27 December 1786.

⁶⁶ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 9 August 1786.

⁶⁷ Sally Drage, 'A Reappraisal of Provincial Church Music', *Music in Eighteenth Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 173.

⁶⁸ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 10 October 1776. The report records that, on this occasion, a hymn was performed by fifty boys.

singers, assisted by Edward Miller's important hymnbook *The Psalms of David*.⁶⁹ This collection of hymns was, according to the Miller, 'the first publication of congregational psalmody that ... [had] appeared since the Reformation', and it was exceptionally well subscribed.⁷⁰ The *Pacquet* thought that its introduction had greatly enhanced worship at St Nicholas', and produced printed books of the words.⁷¹ It may have been because of Howgill junior's recommendations that in February 1792 it was agreed that pews would be erected on either side of the organ to seat the choir in emulation of the practice at other provincial churches where the choir was positioned on the west gallery.⁷² Other works performed at around this time at St Nicholas' include an anthem from Ebdon's first collection of *Sacred Music*, sung on Christmas Day 1793; another by Ebdon, 'Teach me, O God', was executed in 1817.⁷³ John Alcock junior's anthems 'Clap your hands ye people' and 'This is the day which the Lord hath made' were both performed in 1791; for the latter performance, also held on Christmas Day, Howgill junior performed 'two solos' and a 'verse' while Ann Howgill was praised for the way she sang a high C 'full and clear; a height which very few voices can reach'.⁷⁴ Ann's participation in the anthem was not unusual as mixed choirs were in existence at this time. The choirs of both the Hey and Shaw chapels in Lancashire had included women since the 1750s, and the Halifax 1766 musical festival used female sopranos rather than boy trebles. Cowgill attributed the presence of female trebles to the fact that Halifax was not a cathedral city; however, even though there was no salaried cathedral choir at Whitehaven, boys were commonly employed to sing the treble line.⁷⁵ The extent of the involvement of female voices at Whitehaven is unknown, but a few may have been used to support the treble line on a regular basis and take on the more difficult solos.

In terms of organ music, Corelli's 'Natale' (the 'Christmas Concerto' op. 6, No. 8) was frequently performed on Christmas Day.⁷⁶ The organ voluntaries of

⁶⁹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 26 April 1791, 5 July 1791.

⁷⁰ Edward Miller, 'Preface' *The Psalms of David* (1790), ix. There were 3,420 copies subscribed, of which Howgill (probably junior) received six.

⁷¹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 7 February 1792, 13 March 1792.

⁷² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 7 February 1792; Drage, 'A Reappraisal', 172.

⁷³ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 31 December 1793, 9 September 1817.

⁷⁴ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 March 1785, 26 April 1791, 27 December 1791. These two anthems appear to have been first issued as separate works. 'Clap your hands' was published as *A new anthem for Easter Day* 1776 and 'This is the day' as *A new anthem for Christmas Day* 1774.

⁷⁵ Rachel Cowgill, 'Disputing Choruses in 1760s Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel, and the Messiah Club', in *Music in the British Provinces*, 104–05; *Cumberland Pacquet*, 19 April 1786.

⁷⁶ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 31 December 1799, 29 December 1801, 27 December 1802. This tradition appears to have been established by a Mr Gledhill, organist at St Nicholas' between 1799 and 1801. Howgill junior then maintained it after his reinstatement. Keyboard arrangements of Corelli's 'Christmas Concerto' had been produced by Thomas Billington (1784) and Domenico Corri (c.1785). A third arrangement was published in *The Piano-Forte Magazine* vol. VII, no. 2 (1799). Nevertheless, there appears to have been an earlier arrangement as John Marsh regularly played Corelli's 'Natale' at Christmas, the first recorded instance of which was in 1776. Brian Robins, ed., *The John Marsh Journals The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828)*, vol. 1, revised edition (Hillsdale, 2011), 155, 190, 276, 424.

Matthias Hawdon also appear to have been popular.⁷⁷ A more usual performance took place in 1783 when William Howgill and his son gave the premiere of a version of the 'Hallelujah Chorus', arranged for organ duet by the Whitehaven amateur musician Thomas Bacon.⁷⁸

Although the Howgill family was the dominant musical force in the Whitehaven area, they were by no means the only professional musicians to live or work in that place, although most of them were of little or no competition to either Howgill senior or his son.⁷⁹ Many of the dancing instructors who worked in the town were capable musicians, but they never sought to infringe on the Howgills territory and did not organize any concerts. One of the most notable of these dance masters was a Mr Hadwen, who organized an annual ball at the theatre that showcased his pupil's abilities.⁸⁰ Another amateur musician was a Mr Wilson who set a song in memory of William III.⁸¹ Even outside Whitehaven itself, the Howgills appear to have experienced little rivalry. Public concerts at other west Cumbrian towns appear to have been rare events and, even when they did happen, they were usually organized by Whitehaven-based musicians. One of the few advertised concerts not organized from Whitehaven was held at Workington in 1781 and promoted by a Mr Eckford and a Mr Mingay.⁸²

⁷⁷ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 25 March 1789. Hawdon's obituary said that he was 'a gentleman whose musical abilities produced universal admiration; and whose compositions (particularly his six voluntaries) will be long esteemed.' The voluntaries mentioned are probably his op. 4 *First Sett of Six Sonatas Spirituale or Voluntaries, for the Harpsichord, Organ or Piano Forte* (c.1780).

⁷⁸ *Chester Courant*, 14 October 1783. Bacon was thought 'to shine as a musician' and was described as an 'exquisite performer'. He composed several pieces of music under the pen of 'Signior Lardini'. Hutchinson, *History and Antiquities of Cumberland*, II, 42. I am grateful for the assistance of David Joinson, of the Chester Archives, who located the *Chester Courant* report on my behalf.

⁷⁹ The parochial records for Whitehaven's churches, particularly those for Holy Trinity, reveal that there were a significant number of professional musicians in that town.

⁸⁰ Hadwen taught at Carlisle, Leeds and Cockermouth, and at Mrs Durand's boarding school in Whitehaven. He frequently received favourable reviews in the *Pacquet* for his pupil's performances; the following example, published on 1 February 1776, is typical: 'Mr. Hadwen's Ball at the Theatre on Friday night last was the genteelst ever seen here, and afforded infinite satisfaction to a great number of spectators. The boxes and pit were so much crowded, that many of the gentlemen were obliged to go into the gallery. –The curtain was drawn at six o'clock, and exhibited a very pleasing appearance, The pupils (in number 63) were all seated on the stage; the young ladies at the head, and the gentlemen on benches, by the sidewings: –the Ball was then opened by Master Shepherd and Miss Betty Heywood, being the two youngest; a number of minuets were danced very judiciously interspersed with cottillons, hornpipes, &c. which kept up the spirit of the entertainment till half past ten, when it concluded with a bough-dance. –the whole of the performance, as has been before observed, gave general pleasure, and reflects the greatest credit on Mr. Hadwen's abilities and success as a teacher.' *Cumberland Pacquet*, 25 April 1776, 7 November 1776, 14 April 1777, 22 September 1778.

⁸¹ This work, the text of which was by a Mr Jackson from Catgill and set to the words 'Another age has roll'd away', was, according to the *Pacquet*, to be published in London. No copy of this song is known to have survived. Another song by Jackson was set by William Hayes in 1791. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 12 November 1790, 3 December 1790, 18 October 1791.

⁸² Mingay taught dance, music and French at Cockermouth, Hawkshead, Lancaster, Carlisle, and on the Isle of Man. Even though concerts at other towns were rarely advertised in the *Pacquet*, advertisements for assemblies and balls did frequently appear.

Like many other provincial towns, Whitehaven was visited by numerous transient musicians, though few are recorded. In 1800, Charles Dibdin came as part of his tour of the northwest; Charles Incedon (1763–1826) was there in 1820.⁸³ Other visitors include a Signor Rossignol, who imitated a violin and produced birdsong with his voice, the singer Mrs Boyle and a Mr Roche, who played the psaltery.⁸⁴ Mr Saxoni, the tightrope dancer, was there in 1798; Howgill junior certainly attended one of his performances as he composed a set of variations on *Saxoni's favourite Dance*.⁸⁵ The polish dwarf, Joseph Boruwlaski, visited in September and October 1799, and described the town as 'a hive of industrious bees, forbidding the butterfly to taste their honey.'⁸⁶ He was assisted at one of his concerts by the Band from the Regiment of the Isles.⁸⁷ It was common for visiting bands to be used in this way, and they were similarly employed for concerts at Carlisle, Newcastle and Durham.⁸⁸ In 1783 the Howgill's were assisted by the forty-seventh regiment, who played between the acts of the concert; they presumably also played at the subsequent ball which featured country dances and 'continued till after three the next morning.'⁸⁹ Another visiting musician was notable for his strange behaviour. He was the Frenchman Mr Martinis, who had arrived in Whitehaven in May 1789. Like Rossignol, he had the ability to imitate numerous musical instruments with his voice and was well received at his first performance.⁹⁰ Another performance was arranged for the following week but, even though the audience assembled for his recital, Martinis never appeared. He subsequently reappeared at Ulveston without any prior announcement from whence he disappeared after only two nights.⁹¹

Howgill junior continued to dominate musical production at Whitehaven in the years immediately after the death of his father although his importance began to wane as others sought to gain a bigger foothold in the town. The start of Howgill junior's decline appears to have been his decision to resign from the organist's post at St Nicholas' in 1795. There is no known reason why he suddenly gave his notice, but it may have been due to a dispute with the minister

Such events were held at Cockermouth, Carlisle, Appleby, St Bees, Workington, Keswick, Egremont, Hawkshead, Dalston and Penrith. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 14 April 1777, 7 July 1778, 20 October 1778, 10 October 1778, 27 March 1781, 24 July 1781, 6 November 1781, 22 October 1782, 16 December 1783, 4 May 1784, 18 January 1786, 27 February 1788, 29 October 1788, 17 November 1778, 7 July 1790, 9 February 1791.

⁸³ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 6 May 1800; *Whitehaven Gazette*, 24 January 1820.

⁸⁴ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 8 February 1776, 27 April 1784, 6 May 1777.

⁸⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 11 December 1798. A review of Howgill junior's variations said that this 'dance, which is well suited to the purpose to which it is here converted, forms, by Mr. Howgill's ingenious variations, a desirable exercise for the piano-forte. The subject is every where scrupulously adhered to, and the turns of thought are of a description to throw on the whole a considerable novelty of effect. The adagio and a prelude are fair specimens of real taste and science, and combine well with the melody to which they are made the vehicles.' *Monthly Magazine* (May, 1805), 370.

⁸⁶ Joseph Boruwlaski, *Memoirs of Count Boruwlaski* (Durham, 1820), 348.

⁸⁷ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 24 September 1799, 1 October 1799, 15 October 1799.

⁸⁸ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 7 June 1786; *Newcastle Courant*, 6 May 1769; *Newcastle Journal*, 8 April 1769.

⁸⁹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 4 November 1783, 28 August 1783.

⁹⁰ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 27 May 1789.

⁹¹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 17 June 1789.

or another senior member of that church. The first evidence that there was a problem comes from the *Pacquet* where the following advertisement appeared:

To ORGANISTS
WANTED, an ORGANIST for ST. NICHOLAS'S CHAPEL.
No Attendance required but on SUNDAYS. Salary
TWENTY POUNDS. Application to be made to the Chapel
Wardens.⁹²

There must have been few applicants, for a month later the advertisement reappeared with the following addition: 'It is requested that any Person inclinable to offer, will be speedy in the Application.'⁹³ By mid-August, the issue that forced Howgill junior's resignation appears to have been at least partially resolved, as he opted to remain in post. However, even though this storm had passed, another appears to have struck in 1799, when Howgill junior resigned a second time.⁹⁴ If he believed that his reinstatement was assured then he was to be disappointed, as a Mr Gledhill, a pupil of Johann Salomon, was appointed in his place.⁹⁵ Losing his post would have only been the start of Howgill junior's troubles, for Gledhill set himself up as a rival tutor and seller of music and instruments. Later that same year Gledhill proposed to re-establish the weekly concerts, which had presumably been discontinued in 1797. This move led to Howgill junior's proposition for a weekly series the following year.⁹⁶ Fortunately for Howgill junior, in 1801 Gledhill was elected organist at the New Chapel in Horbury, and Howgill was able to regain the organist's post at St Nicholas'.⁹⁷ He must have received some satisfaction from his reappointment, but any complacency was to be short-lived, as other competitors began to appear. In 1802 a Mr Cummins, who taught at one of the Whitehaven schools, offered lessons on the violin and piano. A more serious threat emerged in 1815, when a self-proclaimed 'Professor of Music', James Scruton, set himself up as a music teacher and concert promoter at Whitehaven and offered to procure instruments from London.⁹⁸ For an 1816 concert Scruton was assisted by the Whitehaven 'Harmonic Society', a group that appears to have been established in that year.⁹⁹ The Harmonic Society quickly grew in stature, and they instigated a subscription series in 1818.¹⁰⁰ Another of Howgill junior's competitors, George Frederic Orre, led the orchestra for one of Scruton's concerts in 1816.¹⁰¹ In 1819 Orre was appointed organist at St James' after that instrument's installation; he also taught music and ran concerts, some of which were held at the theatre.¹⁰² There is no reference to Howgill junior participating in any of Scruton's or Orre's concerts and it appears he was shunned by the competition.¹⁰³ He was

⁹² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 26 May 1795.

⁹³ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 23 June 1795.

⁹⁴ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 18 August 1795, 14 May 1799.

⁹⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 11 June 1799.

⁹⁶ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 18 June 1799, 25 June 1799, 2 July 1799, 17 June 1800.

⁹⁷ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 6 January 1801.

⁹⁸ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 4 May 1802, 31 January 1815, 12 March 1816, 14 May 1816.

⁹⁹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 7 May 1816.

¹⁰⁰ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 28 May 1816; 13 October 1818.

¹⁰¹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 3 December 1816.

¹⁰² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 15 October 1817, 15 January 1818.

¹⁰³ Quarrels between rival musicians were not uncommon. For example, there was a prolonged dispute at Durham between Avison and Hesletine, and at Bath between

conspicuously absent from the concert that marked the opening of the organ at St James'; another concert, run by Orre in 1819, included Thomas Hill, the organist at Carlisle Cathedral, and a Mr Parrin, the organist at Penrith, but not Howgill junior.¹⁰⁴ Orre went on to hold an annual benefit concert and branched out into other local towns such as Cockermouth.¹⁰⁵ Other competitors, such as Henry Sloan, set themselves up as music teachers, while William Stuart established a music business in Whitehaven.¹⁰⁶ Howgill junior, perhaps unwilling to step back into the fray, stopped advertising his concerts in the newspaper.¹⁰⁷ All of his later advertisements were aimed at those seeking instrumental lessons, or to promote his recent publications.¹⁰⁸

One of the biggest musical events to take place at Whitehaven in Howgill junior's lifetime occurred in October 1815 when a 'Grand Musical Festival' was organized by brothers General and Charles Ashley, and held at St Nicholas' Church and the theatre.¹⁰⁹ Such musical festivals were not uncommon and most were in emulation of the London Handel commemorations, first held at Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon in 1784.¹¹⁰ Other provincial cities and towns that held musical festivals in the wake of the Handel commemoration include Liverpool and Birmingham (1784), Leicester (1785), Sheffield and Louth (1786), Doncaster (1787), Derby and Norwich (1788), Manchester (1789), York and Newcastle (1791), Durham and Kendal (1792), and Carlisle (1807).¹¹¹ For the Whitehaven festival, Scruton played the oboe and Howgill junior the organ; the remainder of the band came from places such as London, York, Leeds, and Manchester. The selection included the motet 'O God, when thou appearest' by Mozart, excerpts from Haydn's *Creation*, Beethoven's *Mount of Olives*, Handel's *Coronation Anthem*, and a version of *Messiah* with additional accompaniments by Mozart.¹¹² A 'Miscellaneous Concert' was held each evening that included music

William Herschel and Thomas Linley senior. Orre, in spite of his rivalry with Howgill junior, subscribed to his *Four Voluntaries*. See Fleming, *A Century of Music Production*, 63–6; Ian Woodfield, *The Celebrated Quarrel between Thomas Linley (Senior) and William Herschel: An Episode in the Musical Life of 18th-Century Bath* (Bath, 1977).

¹⁰⁴ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 31 December 1793, 2 February 1819. Parrin went on to become organist at Workington. *Whitehaven Gazette*, 21 August 1820.

¹⁰⁵ *Whitehaven Gazette*, 7 June 1819, 11 January 1820, 9 February 1824.

¹⁰⁶ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 19 October 1819, 7 July 1818.

¹⁰⁷ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 11 January 1820.

¹⁰⁸ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 25 January 1820, 15 May 1821, 22 October 1821, 4 November 1822.

¹⁰⁹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 27 June 1815.

¹¹⁰ Musical festivals were held before the 1784 Handel commemoration, such as that held in Manchester in 1777. The origins of the musical festival can be traced back to the mid-seventeenth century and the celebrations of St Cecilia's Day. This stimulated the 'Three Choirs' festivals, first held in the early eighteenth century. Catherine Dale, 'The Provincial Musical Festival in Nineteenth-century England: A Case Study of Bridlington', in *Music in the British Provinces*, 325; Roger Fiske, 'Music and Society' & 'Concert Music II' *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, IV: The Eighteenth Century*, 20, 255; Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts?*, 268.

¹¹¹ *General Evening Post*, 8 September 1785; *Newcastle Courant*, 20 August 1791, 2 July 1791, 20 October 1792; *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 9 June 1786; *York Courant*, 11 September 1787; *Cumberland Pacquet*, 28 September 1784, 18 October 1786, 31 July 1792, 1 September 1807; *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 30 October 1788, Dale, 'The Provincial Musical Festival', 325.

¹¹² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 August 1815.

by Corri, Bach (probably Johann Christian), Gluck, Webbe, Knyvett and other contemporary musicians. The Covent Garden organ was transported to Whitehaven for use in the theatre. Tickets were by no means cheap: £1 11 s 6d for all six events. Single tickets, except for the theatre gallery, were 7 s 6d.

Even though Howgill junior's importance in Whitehaven's musical life had begun to depreciate significantly by the early 1820s, there were some who still praised him for his musical talents. In October 1822 a substantial piece on Howgill junior and his music appeared in the *Whitehaven Gazette* that extolled his many achievements, particularly his musical publications, and drew heavily on the numerous reviews that had appeared in the *Monthly Magazine*. Howgill junior was clearly pleased with the *Gazette's* tribute, for he included a copy in the prefatory material to his *Four Voluntaries* (1824).¹¹³ The week after the *Gazette's* accolade, the *Pacquet* added their praise:

The musical talents of Mr. Howgill have received so many and merited acknowledgements, that the necessity of saying more appears almost to be superseded. We should feel ourselves, however, liable to the charge of a want of taste did we withhold our tribute from Mr Howgill, or any one who has so successfully cultivated a science which communicates to all, in the least susceptible of feelings that at once "embellish and exalt," the noblest and most refined satisfaction.¹¹⁴

Howgill junior died childless in November 1824, at age 55, and his obituaries reflect the high esteem in which he was held. The *Pacquet* said that he was:

eminent for his musical talents, and much beloved of those who had opportunities of knowing him for many good qualities – firmness and independence of character, goodness of heart, and perfect integrity. To these he added an enthusiasm in every thing connected with his profession. His works are an honourable monument of his genius.¹¹⁵

The *Gazette* said that:

[though he was] somewhat eccentric in his manners, he possessed a noble and generous disposition. Few men could equal him as a performer; and he was the author of a variety of works which have justly obtained celebrity in the musical world. – But however high his name may rank as a musician, and however long his fame may live after him, it is for the kindly quality of his heart, his perfect integrity, the unassuming modesty of his demeanour, and for his good-humoured frankness towards his friends, that they will deeply mourn his loss and respect his memory.¹¹⁶

His wife, Mary Ann (nee Bragg), whom he had married at St Nicholas' on 13 November 1796, lived until August 1831.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ *Four Voluntaries; Part of the Third Chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon, (Three Voices)... and Six Favourite Psalm Tunes: With an Accompaniment for the Organ or Piano Forte. Also a Capriccio for the Grand Piano Forte.*

¹¹⁴ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 4 November 1822.

¹¹⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 9 November 1824.

¹¹⁶ *Whitehaven Gazette*, 8 November 1824. The *Newcastle Magazine* referred to him as a 'celebrated composer'. *Newcastle Magazine*, December 1824.

¹¹⁷ Mary was buried at St Nicholas' Church on 9 August.

There is little that we can say about the musical achievements of Howgill's two brothers, Matthew and Thomas, and neither appears to have had any involvement with the Whitehaven concerts. Matthew relocated to London, where he married his first cousin, Augusta Rochford (c.1768–1844), on 22 August 1799 at St Paul's Church, Covent Garden.¹¹⁸ He followed in the footsteps of his father-in-law, Walter, and became a pawnbroker; Matthew died in 1813.¹¹⁹ Thomas' career is something of a mystery, although he may have worked with Matthew. He had moved to London by 1800 where he appears to have died in 1833.¹²⁰ Ann was unquestionably the most musical of William Howgill junior's siblings. She was appointed organist at Staindrop Church, County Durham in 1793, where she succeeded George Chrishop (1772–1803), the new sub-organist at Durham Cathedral.¹²¹ In 1797 Ann became organist at St Andrew's Church, Penrith. She was still in post in 1805 when her mother died, but had left by 1816.¹²² At Penrith she taught the harpsichord and the piano, and was able to procure music and instruments from London.¹²³ Ann disappears, presumably after her marriage, and it has been impossible to trace her subsequent movements.¹²⁴

Although it seems likely that all members of the Howgill family would have composed music, most extant pieces were written by William Howgill junior. The only secular piece that may have been composed by his father is the hunting song, 'The Glowing East Aurora streaks'. It was published in 1786, but no copy has been traced.¹²⁵ Howgill junior was a fertile composer and had a considerable amount published. In this respect he was not unique, as other provincial composers had their own works published.¹²⁶ However, despite the number of Howgill junior's publications, few specimens have found their way into public

¹¹⁸ Augusta was baptised on 26 June 1768 at St Paul's, Covent Garden and buried at St George's Church, Southwark. They had at least two children. Matthew, born on 23 November 1801 and baptised at St Paul's on 13 January 1802, and William, born on 23 March 1804 and baptised on 21 June. Matthew Howgill junior, in 1841, ran an oil and colour warehouse; he died in 1849. William Hunt, ed., *The Registers of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London*, 5 vols (London; M. Hughes & Clarke, 1906), II, 179, 188; *The Post Office London Directory* (London, 1841), 256.

¹¹⁹ I am grateful to both Jessie Aylen and Nicholas Williams for their assistance in establishing the London Howgills biographic details. Neither Matthew nor Thomas are mentioned in Donovan Dawe, *Organists of the City of London 1666–1850* (Padstow, 1983), and they presumably were not organists. Matthew's will is held by the National Archives, prob 11/1547.

¹²⁰ Thomas was resident in London in 1800 when he subscribed to Howgill's *An Original Anthem & Two Voluntaries*. A Thomas Howgill was buried at St Luke's Church, Chelsea on 20 July 1833.

¹²¹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 30 July 1793. In that year Ebdon was appointed organist at Auckland Castle, the official residence of the Bishop of Durham, after the resignation of Garth. Fleming, *A Century of Music Production*, 16, 19–20.

¹²² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 30 May 1797. Ann was certainly in Penrith in 1805 when her mother was buried at St Andrew's Church. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 23 July 1805; Francis Haswell and Charles Jackson, *The Registers of St. Andrew's Parish Church, Penrith*, 5 vols (Penrith, 1942), V, 267; Parrin, *The Psalms of David, as sung in Penrith Church* (Penrith, 1816).

¹²³ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 8 August 1797.

¹²⁴ There was an Ann Howgill who married James Kelly at Carlisle Cathedral on 12 November 1808. Ann was not a subscriber to William Howgill junior's *Four Voluntaries* and may have died before their publication in 1824.

¹²⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 15 November 1786.

¹²⁶ For example, Garth, Avison, Ebdon, Hawdon and Thomas Thompson.

libraries and only two items are held in multiple copies.¹²⁷ Another item, *Sweet is the Seraph* – a song with parts for piano, violin, and trumpet – is known to survive in a private collection.¹²⁸ Nonetheless, a good cross-section of material survives, and most of these publications were reviewed in the *Monthly Magazine*. Both of Howgill junior's collections of sacred music were issued by subscription; the earliest of these, *An Original Anthem and Two Voluntaries... with a Selection of Thirty eight Favorite Psalm Tunes*, appeared in 1800. It appears to have been a success, for it received 174 subscribers for 267 copies.¹²⁹ His *Four Voluntaries*, from 1824, was also well supported and received 351 subscribers for 377 copies. However, there were long delays in the issue of the latter as Howgill junior had difficulty procuring subscribers.¹³⁰

Howgill junior's earliest known composition, which was never published and is now lost, is a duet for performance by two musicians on one organ. It received its premiere at St Nicholas' in October 1783, played by the composer and his father. According to the report, the work consisted of three movements, one of which was an adaptation of a 'favourite Andante' from Arne's *Artaxerxes*.¹³¹ Another organ duet, performed the following year, had two movements, an 'Andante' and an 'Allegro'.¹³² A third duet, executed in May 1785, received an excellent review in the *Pacquet*:

It contains a great variety; and every idea of the youth of the composer must be lost, in attending to the ingenuity displayed in this most difficult species of musical composition. We suppose it would require a considerable share of knowledge in the science to distinguish in what the chief merit of this piece consists; the judges of music will probably soon have an opportunity of examining it; some of the passages adapted for the swell, and one movement for the flute-stop, will be found to possess uncommon beauty, –and we have only to add, that there is evidently a great and uniform sublimity of thought throughout the whole, the effect of which is solemnly grand and pleasing.¹³³

¹²⁷ See Appendix A.

¹²⁸ A copy of *Sweet is the Seraph* was sold by Colin Coleman in his online catalogue as item no. 1223. I am grateful to him for the report of its sale. A review of *Sweet is the Seraph* said that 'Mr. Howgill has acquitted himself in this song with considerable ability. The several passages and harmonic transitions are well suited to the sentiments of the poetry, and produce all that varied effect for which a judicious composer would be solicitous.' *Monthly Magazine* (December, 1806), 484.

¹²⁹ On 12 February 1800 Howgill got the Whitehaven printer, John Ware, to produce fifty copies of his proposal to issue this work and had more printed the next month. Barry McKay, 'John Ware, Printer and Bookseller of Whitehaven: a Year from his Day-books, 1799–1800', in *The Mighty Engine The Printing Press and its Impact*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: Oak Knoll, 2000), 171.

¹³⁰ Howgill junior's dedicatee changed over time. The first advertisement indicated that the *Four Voluntaries* would be dedicated to 'a FRIEND'. Advertisements from later that year reveal that the friend was Jonathan Peile, organist at Cocker mouth Church. By 1822, the dedicatee was Andrew Hudleston, the minister at St Nicholas' Church, the wardens, vestry, and congregation. The reason for this change appears to have been the presentation to Howgill junior of a silver snuff box in recognition 'for his splendid talents, and private worth'. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 25 January 1820, 14 August 1820, 9 September 1822; *Cumberland Gazette*, 28 October 1822, 28 June 1824.

¹³¹ *Chester Courant*, 14 October 1783.

¹³² *Cumberland Pacquet*, 28 September 1784.

¹³³ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 10 May 1785.

Of the songs that Howgill junior published in the 1790s, only 'Gaffer Gray' survives, although not in its first impression. It was popular enough to be included in two Whitehaven concerts. A slightly later song, 'Marian's Complaint', is also lost, but received a scathing review in the *Monthly Magazine*:

'Marian's Complaint', is one of those compositions which may defy criticism, because the reviewer, lost in the quantity of its defects, knows not where to commence his remarks.¹³⁴

His *Madrigal, for One, Two and Three Voices* (see Figure 2) and his lost setting of the *Ode on their Majesties' Coronation* received more favourable reviews in the *Monthly Magazine*.¹³⁵ The *Madrigal*, which has little in common those from the Renaissance period, has integral parts for piano and violin; it is a euphonious, but wholly Classical in style.¹³⁶ Another two songs, 'Crazy Jane's Epitaph' and 'The Shopkeepers', are extant; in the latter of these Howgill junior introduced several well-known themes, including 'Rule, Britannia', 'Hearts of Oak', 'The Duke of York's March' and the 'Roast Beef of Old England'.¹³⁷ Howgill junior commonly included popular tunes in his compositions, and this is particularly evident in his secular piano sonatas. The use of popular tunes in keyboard sonatas was not unusual, and numerous examples can be found in the works of Jan Ladislav Dussek and, to a lesser extent, Muzio Clementi.¹³⁸ Many native British composers similarly employed such tunes in their sonatas, examples of which include those by James Hook, Matthew Camidge, Thomas Haigh and George Pinto.¹³⁹ One of

¹³⁴ *Monthly Magazine* (March, 1797), 226.

¹³⁵ A review of the *Madrigal* said that 'MR. Howgill, in the music he has given to these words, has, we must in candour say, evinced much taste and judgment. The sense, in most instances, is well expressed; the general cast of the melody is fanciful and engaging, and the accompaniments are spirited and appropriate.' *Monthly Magazine* (November, 1806), 383. A review of the *Ode on their Majesties' Coronation* said that the 'music Mr. Howgill has applied to Dr. Brown's words, bears in many instances evident marks both of genius and good design. The opening with the bells is judicious: the air is simple and natural, and the chorus is well constructed.' *Monthly Magazine* (November, 1811), 363. A further choral work by Howgill junior was performed at a concert in 1788, the choruses of which 'were correctly sung by a select number of voices from the *Choral Society*'. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 15 October 1788.

¹³⁶ There had been a revival of Renaissance part-songs in the eighteenth century, the origin of which stems from the formation of the Academy of Ancient Music and the Madrigal Society. Published collections of madrigals began to appear from 1770 but, despite the popularity of such works, Howgill junior made no attempt to imitate them stylistically. David Johnson, 'The 18th-Century Glee', *The Musical Times*, vol. 120 no. 1633 (1979), 201.

¹³⁷ A review said that the 'old tune Mr. Howgill has adopted for these humorous [sic] words, written in answer to the French Emperor's calling the English a "nation of shopkeepers," is that of the well-known song of "If you have the sense to balance a straw," and which very aptly express the meaning of the poet. In the symphonies we find introduced the popular airs ... all of which are so ingeniously incorporated with the vocal part of the music as to produce a national and striking effect.' *Monthly Magazine* (November 1806), 383.

¹³⁸ Katalin Komlós, *Fortepianos and their Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 87–8.

¹³⁹ James Hook, *Three grand sonatas for the piano forte, with an accompaniment for a violin in which are introduced for the subjects of the adagios & last movements, favorite Irish airs* op. 78 (1795); *Three sonata s... interspersed with a variety of English, Scotch and Irish Airs* op. 109 (1805?); Matthew Camidge, *Three Sonatas ... with favorite airs* (c1800); Thomas Haigh, *Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte, in which are introduced favorite airs from the grand ballet of Pizare &*

Howgill junior's lost sonatas, dedicated to Lady Viscountess Lowther, included an exceptionally large number of these popular melodies.¹⁴⁰

(MADRIGAL,
FOR
One, Two & Three Voices.)
with Piano Forte & Violin.
ACCOMPANIMENTS.

*"Why represses fond Love's Emotion?"
"Why the mighty Power disown."
"Call it not fantastic Notion?"
"Oods, the pleasing Pain have known."* Verse 1st

THE WORDS BY
W. Hamper Esq. of Birmingham.
(The MUSIC BY)
W. Howgill, Organist Whitehaven.

LONDON. Price 2/-

Printed by Priston, No. 97, Strand, for the Author?
and sold by all the Dealers in Music? W. Howgill.

No. 3.

Fig. 2 Title page of Howgill junior's *Madrigal, for One, Two & Three Voices*. Reproduced from the author's collection.

les *Délassements militaires* op. 14 (1796), *Three Sonatas, for the piano forte, in which are introduced Irish airs* op. 15 (1798); George Pinto, *Three sonatas for the piano-forte in which are introduced marches, quick steps, waltzes, and Scotch airs* op. 4 (1803?).

¹⁴⁰ Although this work is lost, the *Monthly Magazine* said that this sonata 'included the "Blue Bell of Scotland," "Spanish Guittar," an Irish air in Harlequin Amulet, "Away

Most of Howgill junior's secular keyboard works, which are in the form of a keyboard sonata, were influenced by what was being published in the capital at that time; this important arena for the development of piano technique has become known as 'The London Piano School'. Two of the most important proponents of this movement were J.C. Bach and Clementi, composers whose music featured in Whitehaven concert programmes.¹⁴¹ In his sonatas, Howgill junior elected for a three-movement structure formed of an initial slow movement, followed by a faster and much longer central movement, and concluding with a theme and variations.¹⁴² This tripartite layout was quite rare; far more sonatas from this period were written with two outer fast movements that enclose a central slow movement. Nevertheless, such a schema can be found in the sonatas of Leopold Kozeluch.¹⁴³

Most of Howgill junior's sonatas were written for pianoforte alone, although two have accompanying parts. His sonata dedicated to the Doncaster organist, Edward Miller, has accompaniments for a flute and a tenor (i.e. viola) while a later example, dedicated to a Miss Younger, has parts for flute and cello.¹⁴⁴ It appears in both cases that the accompanying instruments had an equal role to the keyboard. Little can be said of that role with Miller's sonata, as the accompanying parts are missing, although there are several instances, most conspicuously in the theme and variations, where the keyboard part adopts an accompanying role.¹⁴⁵ The equal sharing of melodic material is more evident in his sonata to Miss Younger where the flute frequently takes the lead.

The style of writing in these sonatas demonstrates a wide range of influences. One of the strongest of these was Dussek who, like Howgill junior, had a fondness for full, thick chords. Another important influence was Clementi, who was known for his rapid writing in thirds, sixths and octaves.¹⁴⁶ His influence is evident in the central movements of Howgill junior's sonatas, which have long passages of rapid octaves and thirds, fast semiquaver arpeggios and scales, the crossing of hands and large leaps of up to an eleventh. This virtuosic nature can be seen from the closing bars of the penultimate movement of the sonata dedicated to Lady Lawson (see Example 1).

The central movement of the sonata dedicated to Miller stands out among Howgill junior's sonatas, as it has a clear sense of structure, evident from the use of sonata form (see Table 1).

with Melancholy," and "Viva Tutti," all with variations'. The review went on to say that 'this publication ... is calculated to increase Mr. Howgill's professional reputation, and we hope its sale will be such as to well reward his ingenious labours.' *Monthly Magazine* (September, 1805), 169.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix B.

¹⁴² It was quite common to conclude a keyboard sonata with a theme and variations. Examples can be found in the works of Dussek. Komlós, *Fortepianos and their Music*, 88.

¹⁴³ For examples, see Kozeluch's op. 15, No. 1; op. 17, No. 1, and op. 38 No. 3. Kozeluch used a variety of different schemas, unlike Howgill junior who preferred the three-movement plan.

¹⁴⁴ The sonata dedicated to Miller has an unusual scoring; nevertheless, an earlier example can be seen in Giordani's *Three Sonatas* op. 30 (1782) which is scored for a violin or flute and a viola de gamba or tenor.

¹⁴⁵ There is a five-bar rest in the keyboard part, which was presumably filled out by the other instruments.

¹⁴⁶ Mozart, who disliked Clementi's style, referred to him as a 'mechanicus'. Komlós, *Fortepianos and their Music*, 55.

Ex. 1 Howgill junior: Sonata dedicated to Lady Lawson, second movement, bars 194–204

[Allegro Spiritoso]

The musical score consists of five systems of piano and bass staves. The first system starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic and includes a *cresc.* marking. The second system features a forte (*f*) dynamic. The third system includes a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic and trills (*tr*). The fourth system is marked *Presto* and contains numerous triplets. The fifth system continues with triplets and concludes with a final note.

Table 1 Plan of the ‘Allegro Spiritoso’ from Howgill jnr’s sonata dedicated to Edward Miller.

Section	Bars	Key	
Exposition I	1–61	F	
Exposition II	62–99	F	
Development	100–260	F–G–F	
Recapitulation I	261–266	F	Last six bars of EI only
Recapitulation II	267–304	F	Almost identical statement of EII
Coda	305–336	F	Ideas from ‘development’

Although the material used in the ‘development’ is more transformed in nature than in earlier British sonatas, the music is not truly developmental; in fact, the music gets stuck in G major and there is little effort to push it any further from the tonic, which is unlike the mature sonata forms of Mozart and Haydn or

even those of Howgill junior's London contemporaries. Instead, his 'development' is little more than a series of rapid semiquaver scales and arpeggios.¹⁴⁷

Howgill junior's preferred structure for his long central sonata movements was to have two tonally closed sections, each of which are through-composed with *no* recapitulated material. This plan can be seen in his sonata dedicated to Mrs Dykes of Dovenby Hall, near Cockermouth. The first half of the central movement is in B \flat major, and the second in E \flat .¹⁴⁸ Although it is unlikely that Howgill junior was the only composer to use this form, it never caught on.¹⁴⁹ Even though Dyke's sonata has a distinctly Mozartian flavour, as seen in Example 2, this entire movement is little more than a series of disparate, and rather tedious, pianistic textures.¹⁵⁰

Ex. 2 Howgill junior: Sonata dedicated to Mrs Dykes, second movement, bars 1–14

Allegro

¹⁴⁷ A review of Miller's sonata said that it 'comprizes three movements, the styles of which are attractive and consonant; many of the passages are of a new cast, and distinguished by their spirit and clearness. The Accompaniments are arranged with considerable fancy and judgement, and the combined effect does honour to Mr. Howgill's professional abilities.' *Monthly Magazine*, (December, 1805), 461.

¹⁴⁸ This sonata is also a three-movement work; it begins with a short 'Largo' and ends with a theme and variations.

¹⁴⁹ Howgill junior was criticized for the lack of structure in his *Grand March for the Whitehaven Loyal Volunteers*, but he does not appear to have taken such criticism seriously. The critic said that though 'we are far from thinking this composition destitute of excellent ideas, yet we cannot but observe, that they would have been exhibited to much greater advantage had they been recommended by somewhat more of order and method. The general construction of both movements bespeaks more force of genius than maturity of judgment; and the whole gives us a picture of materials which better experience might have worked up to a first-rate production.' *Monthly Magazine* (April, 1805), 269.

¹⁵⁰ A review of Mrs Dykes' sonata said that we 'find interspersed in this sonata many very pleasing passages. We are not sure, that amidst the numerous proofs of a good natural fancy, there are not some marks of rusticity, and the want of a more intimate

In his sonata dedicated to Miss Younger, Howgill junior opens with a short prelude by Handel and concludes with a series of variations on 'Je suis Lindor'.¹⁵¹ Mozart was almost certainly Howgill junior's influence in his choice of 'Lindor' as his theme. Mozart's 'Lindor' variations were written at Paris in 1778 and published in London by 1802.¹⁵² The final movement of Howgill junior's lost sonata, dedicated to Miss Dawson, uses another Mozart theme for its variations, 'Lison dormoit'.¹⁵³

Other points of note in Howgill junior's sonatas are the four-movement layout of his sonata to Lady Lawson. In this work the first two movements are short, and full of rapid keyboard flourishes, while the third movement is a substantial bisectional movement. The sonata concludes with a march written for the Royal Lancashire Volunteers. Military marches were common at this time and many composers wrote then to support their own local militias. Examples were published by Shield, John Friend, Humphrey Hime, John Clarkson and William Russell.¹⁵⁴ Howgill junior's other extant sonatas are both dedicated to local hunts, the *Inglewood Hunt* and the *Whitehaven Hunt*, and follow in the wake of similar sonatas by H.B. Schroeder and James Hook.¹⁵⁵ Both of Howgill junior's hunt sonatas are programmatic and provide, in music, an account of a day's chase.¹⁵⁶ Most individual movements in these two sonatas are through-composed,

familiarity with the polish of the present day: yet it behoves us to allow considerable merit to this production; nor can we, in justice, dismiss it without predicting much improvement and future excellence in the author.' *Monthly Magazine* (April, 1805), 268.

¹⁵¹ A review of Younger's sonata said that this 'sonata, which is accompanied with parts for a flute and violoncello, after opening with a fine movement from Handel's lessons, presents us with an Adagio in three crotchets, followed by a lively movement in two crotche[t]s, leading us to the celebrated air of "Lindor," to which Mr. Howgill has subjoined thirteen variations. Taken in the aggregate, this publication, we must say, is honourable to Mr. H. both as a man of talent and a master. The compiled portion of the work is judiciously selected and ably arranged, and the original movements evince both invention and taste, and will not fail to reward the attention of every cultivated ear.' *Monthly Magazine* (April, 1812), 273.

¹⁵² Komlós, *Fortepianos and their Music*, 88. Mozart's variations were published by Longman, Clementi & Co. Longman and Clementi parted ways in 1801 or 1802. Frank Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967, reprint of London, 1900), 73.

¹⁵³ *Monthly Magazine* (October, 1805), 252. Mozart's variations on 'Lison dormoit' were composed in 1778 and published in Britain by Bland and Weller in c.1805.

¹⁵⁴ William Shield, *The South Shields Loyal Volunteers* (c.1800), *The Union Volunteers* (c.1800), John Friend, *The Durham City Loyal Volunteers* (c.1810), Humphrey Hime, *The Liverpool Volunteers* (c.1800), John Clarkson, *The Royal Perth Volunteers* (1796), *The Aberdeen Volunteers* (c.1800), William Russell, *A Favorite March composed for the Guildford Volunteers* (1795).

¹⁵⁵ H. B. Schroeder, *The Chace or Royal Windsor Hunt* (1783), James Hook, *The Royal Chace or Windsor Hunt* (c1790). Hook's *Royal Chace* was performed at Whitehaven in 1791. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 March 1791.

¹⁵⁶ Howgill's lost sonata, *Ten to One*, conveys in a similar manner an encounter with the French fleet at the 1804 Battle of Pulo Aura. The review of this work said that the 'circumstances Mr. Howgill has taken up for musical imitation in this sonata are those of "exertion to get into battle," the "general attack," the "French Admiral's ship damaged," the "cries of the wounded," "the pursuit of the Admiral's ship by Captain Dance," the "remainder of the French squadron stealing away," and "the loss of the Admiral's ship." So far as these particulars are capable of the imitation intended, the composer has acquitted himself much to the credit of his judgment: the circumstances and situations here selected do not, perhaps, properly speaking, come within the province of musical

although some, such as the movement 'Returning home' from the *Inglewood Hunt*, have a ternary form. Several movements are challenging with the use of hemidemisemiquavers that rapidly cross the keyboard. The *Whitehaven Hunt* concludes with an arrangement of 'God save the King'.¹⁵⁷

Other works for keyboard by Howgill junior include his variations on Saxon's dance and his hundred variations on the 'Welsh Ground',¹⁵⁸ spuriously attributed to Purcell.¹⁵⁹ Another piece for piano, a capriccio, was included in his *Four Voluntaries*.¹⁶⁰ This capriccio begins with a theme and four variations before Howgill junior launches into the main body of the work, a series of incongruent movements that explore the piano and pianistic technique. One uninspired movement is based upon the 'Old 100th' psalm tune (see Example 3):

Ex. 3 Howgill junior: A Capriccio, sixth movement, bars 1–10

The 100th Psalm

delineation; but fashion is powerfully on the side of Mr Howgill, and if he errs in his choice, the practice of some of the most respectable modern composers will keep him in good countenance.' *Monthly Magazine* (September, 1805), 169.

¹⁵⁷ A review of the *Whitehaven Hunt* said that this 'imitation of a chase, commencing with the *salutation*, and ending with the *death*, exhibits a lively imagination and a power of clear expression. The "*unkenneling the hounds*" is given with great effect, and the "*returning home*" is highly spirited and cheerful. The whole, we must in justice say, forms an attractive and well-variegated composition, and does much credit to Mr. Howgill's imitative talents.' A review of the *Inglewood Hunt* said that the 'general description of this sonata would not be dissimilar from that of the foregoing article; we shall therefore only say, that its merit, taken in the aggregate, is no way inferior; and that Mr. Howgill's qualification for productions of this kind is rendered very conspicuous by his present efforts.' *Monthly Magazine* (October, 1805), 251.

¹⁵⁸ A review said that these 'variations are, for the most part, written with judgment and spirit, and cannot fail to improve the finger of the young practitioner. Mr. Howgill has, with equal care, attended to the execution of both hands, and arranged the whole with a judgment which bespeaks patient and mature consideration. We are, we must confess, very partial to the old variations of this *Ground*, but, nevertheless, are disposed to acknowledge considerable attraction and utility in the present publication.' *Monthly Magazine* (November, 1805), 355–356.

¹⁵⁹ John Parry, 'Welsh Music. – No. V.' *The Cambro-Briton* (March, 1820), 254; Franklin Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659–1695: An analytical catalogue of his music* (London: Macmillan, 1963), 439. Other composers who produced variations on the 'Welsh Ground' include Thomas Howell and Edward Jones.

¹⁶⁰ A capriccio is a piece that has unexpected and original effects. 'Capriccio.' *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev. Ed. Michael Kennedy. *Oxford Music Online*. 4 Mar. 2011 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e1817>>.

Other sections are more 'mechanical', such as the extract from the 'Allegro' in Example 4; similar devices appear habitually throughout his piano music.

Ex. 4 Howgill junior: A Capriccio, second movement, bar 19



Capriccios were not uncommon in Britain at this time. Published examples include those by Clementi, Pleyel, Thomas Cooke, Fredrich Kalkbrenner, Daniel Steibelt and Johann Baptist Cramer.

None of Howgill's orchestral works have survived. His *Grand Symphony* for an orchestra with parts for piano, strings and flutes was, according to the *Monthly Magazine*, 'highly successful'.¹⁶¹ They also held in high esteem his *Overture to the Hero of Vittoria*, which was written for a similar orchestration, but without piano.¹⁶²

Howgill junior wrote a considerable amount of church music. I have already mentioned the three organ duets that were performed between 1783 and 1785, but one such duet, dedicated to William Hamper, was published in 1807.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ 'MR. HOWGILL, of whose professional merits we have too frequently spoken, for our readers to be unacquainted with his claims upon the public estimation, has, in the composition here offered to our notice, been highly successful. Consisting of well variegated movements, it attracts attention; and that attention is not ill re-paid by the spirit, taste, and liveliness, with which passages, generally speaking, are marked and featured.'

Considering that the ingenious composer is a country gentleman, and that the perpetual fluctuations of taste, so readily felt and understood in the metropolis, are with difficulty acquired in provincial situations; we give him great credit for the easy, and (if we may allow ourselves the expression) fashionable cast of his ideas. With respect to the harmonic combinations, and the colouring given to them by the arrangement of the various instruments, though we know them to be legitimate, and think them frequently fortunate, we cannot award them our unqualified approbation. The instruments are not always selected and mixed with the happiest effect; and sometimes, both the harmony and its modulation are susceptible of improvement. We, however, offer these remarks, under a due impression of the general excellence of this ingenious and elaborate composition, and would by no means be understood as meaning to detract from the aggregate of its title to our honourable notice. Its defects are few; its merits numerous; and, regarded *en masse*, it ranks far above mediocrity.' *Monthly Magazine* (April, 1817), 251.

¹⁶² 'This piece comprises three movements: one in common time of four crotchets; one in common time of two crotchets; and one in triple time of three quavers. These succeed each other with good effect; and while the traits of fancy and judicious arrangement and combination of harmony, bespeak the ingenious and sound musician, the general result is such as would not discredit any first-rate composer of the present day.' *Monthly Magazine* (April, 1814), 448.

¹⁶³ William Hamper (1776–1831) was a noted antiquary and writer. It is believed that he began his career working for the Birmingham brass-founders James Yates & Co., and

This work, which can be easily played on a piano, consists of two movements, a 'Largo' and a 'Con Brio'.¹⁶⁴ Keyboard duets were rare at the time of publication, even though this genre can be traced back to the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁵ It is possible that Howgill junior may have known the two keyboard duets by Charles Rousseau Burney, published in 1781 and 1786.¹⁶⁶ A further duet by John Marsh, specifically written for organ, was published in 1783 along with two duets adapted from the works of Handel.¹⁶⁷ Of Howgill junior's published organ voluntaries, the earliest appeared in his collection of sacred music, *An Original Anthem & Two Voluntaries*.¹⁶⁸ These are again rather secular in style, and formed into suites with a strong pianistic feel. A pleasant minuet opens the second voluntary (see Example 5).

Ex. 5 Howgill junior: Voluntary II (1800), first movement, bars 1–15

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system (bars 1-8) is marked 'Andante' and features a treble clef with a trill (tr) and a bass clef with a trill (tr). The second system (bars 9-15) features a treble clef with a trill (tr) and a bass clef with a trill (tr). The score includes performance instructions: 'C[hoir].O[rgan].' and 'F[ull].O[rgan].' in the first system, and 'C.O.' and 'F.O.' in the second system.

became a partner in their firm in 1803. From 1807 he held various public offices in Birmingham. W. P. Courtney, 'Hamper, William (1776–1831)', rev. D. A. Johnson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12173, accessed 6 Jan 2010]

¹⁶⁴ 'This Duett offers proofs of ingenuity, and a tolerably intimate acquaintance with the character and power of the instrument for which it is written. It consists of two movements; the first in triple, the second in common time. They are pleasingly imagined and well contrasted, and the general effect is honorable to Mr. Howgill's talents and science.' *Monthly Magazine* (February, 1810), 74–75. An edition of the *Duett* was published by Fitzjohn Music in 2011.

¹⁶⁵ John Caldwell, *English Keyboard Music before the Nineteenth Century* (London: Dover, 1985), 113.

¹⁶⁶ Caldwell, *English Keyboard Music*, 260. Charles Rousseau Burney was the nephew and son-in-law of Charles Burney, the eminent eighteenth-century musician and music historian.

¹⁶⁷ The Handel works Marsh arranged as organ duets were the 'Hallelujah Chorus' and the 'Coronation Anthem'. Other composers of organ duets include Benjamin Cooke and Samuel Wesley. However, Cooke's were not published in his lifetime and the earliest published example by Wesley did not appear until 1812. I am grateful to David Patrick for his assistance in researching the history of the organ duet.

¹⁶⁸ Of the 1800 voluntaries, a reviewer said they 'are calculated both to please the ear and shew the performer to advantage.' *Monthly Magazine* (September, 1805), 169.

Other movements, such the second of Voluntary II with its use of the 'cornet' stop, were clearly influenced by the eighteenth-century organ voluntary.¹⁶⁹

A further collection of ten voluntaries, now lost, was published in 1811. They were written for different seasons of the year and were criticized in the *Monthly Magazine* for their lack of distinguishing features.¹⁷⁰ Others, however, such as Edward Miller, praised them for their originality.¹⁷¹ Howgill junior's final work was a collection of *Four Voluntaries*, all of which are cast in a similar mould to his earlier examples; several have opening movements influenced by the 'cornet' voluntary.¹⁷²

Perhaps the feature of most interest in Howgill junior's voluntaries is that they are written for an instrument with three manuals. Whether the Snetzler instrument at Whitehaven had three manuals is debatable. As we have already seen in the 1781 account of Howgill junior's performance on that instrument, there are references in the newspapers that indicate that this organ had three

¹⁶⁹ The cornet voluntary was a bisectonal work for organ, the first movement of which was written for diapasons and given a slow tempo. The second movement was always much livelier and featured a solo stop, usually a cornet.

¹⁷⁰ 'OF these voluntaries, two are for Christmas-day, two for Good Friday, two for Easter-day, one for Whit-Sunday, one for Ascension-day, one for Trinity Sunday, and one for the first Sunday in Advent.

The selection and original matter, of which these voluntaries are formed, give each piece as much appropriateness to the day for the celebration of which it is designed, as perhaps could in reason have been expected. We are not certain that the *occasions* Mr. Howgill has embraced, afford that characteristic diversity which the general mind might expect should distinguish each from the others. If we are best pleased with the voluntary for Christmas-day, we owe it, perhaps, to the superior opportunity it allows for distinctive feature, rather than from any display of judgement beyond what we observe in the succeeding pieces. We are fairly authorised to say, that what *discrimination* the different subjects allowed, Mr. Howgill has exercised, and produced a valuable addition to our stock of organ music, and which will not fail to be highly useful to provincial organists in general. In the introductory preface, we find a general description of the character and powers of the organ, (extracted from Dr. Busby's Musical Dictionary,) as also a definition of the appellation *voluntary*, and a tolerably copious vocabulary of terms connected with church service.' *Monthly Magazine* (November, 1811), 362.

¹⁷¹ Edward Miller said that 'I am particularly well pleased with the Voluntaries, dedicated to the Rev. W. Hudleston, which are quite original. Mr. Howgill has found out a new path, and I would have him continue to travel it, notwithstanding he will incur the censure of many critics for his wildness and eccentricity. Dull, plodding minds are content to follow old beaten paths – are content with observing old school rules. A native genius cannot be so confused; his ideas lead him to explore new sources of beauty, to scorn abiding by old musty rules, and boldly to venture into new regions of harmony. Mr. Howgill's music will certainly afford much matter for those critics who are held fast in the trammels of old counterpoint, and will not allow of the least departure from the doctrine of their forefathers; but let him not fear such judges; let him follow the impulse of his own genius, and he will produce what they may fondly *censure*, but cannot *attain*.' *Whitehaven Gazette*, 28 October 1822.

¹⁷² Voluntary I in the 1824 collection begins with a 'Largo' for full organ followed by an 'Andantino' for diapasons while the third movement, an 'Allegro con Spirito', is written for solo trumpet and oboe. The second movement of Voluntary II is also written for solo oboe. The third voluntary, which also reuses material from the organ duet dedicated to Hamper, begins with a 'Largo' for diapasons. Howgill junior also composed some variations on 'God save the King' that were performed on the organ at St Nicholas' to mark the Golden Jubilee of George III in 1809. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 31 October 1809.

manuals. Howgill junior also described the instrument as having three in the prefatory material to his *Four Voluntaries*.¹⁷³ He gave the specification as:

Great Organ	Swell Organ	Choir Organ
Open Diapason	Open Diapason	Open Diapason
Stopt Diapason	Principal	Stopt Diapason
Flute	Dulciana	Flute
Principal	Hautboy	Principal
Twelfth		
Fifteenth		
Sesquialtera		
Cornet (five ranks)		
Trumpet-Treble		
Trumpet-Bass		

The issue with Howgill junior's stop list is that both John Sperling and Alexander Buckingham independently recorded that the organ had two manuals.¹⁷⁴ A possible solution is that the swell was played on the choir, as it was on the Snetzler organ at St Margaret's Chapel, Bath.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the Whitehaven instrument was thought of highly enough to be described in 1809 as 'the best organ in the north of England, (Durham [Cathedral] only excepted)'.¹⁷⁶

Howgill junior composed a significant sacred vocal music, all of which must have been performed at Whitehaven. An anthem by him was sung at St Nicholas' on Easter Day 1794; this may have been the anthem that he included in his 1800 collection. The *Monthly Magazine* said that this 'anthem, though not without some traits of disuse in this species of composition, possesses many points that entitle it to our commendation'.¹⁷⁷ This work is quite typical of other anthems composed in the late eighteenth century, pleasing but not progressive and, as such, it is similar to those by Ebdon. The organ part, which is written out in full, is pianistic in style, which is unusual for its time.¹⁷⁸ The work includes

¹⁷³ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 24 July 1781. This report gives the three manuals as 'chair', 'swell' and 'full' (i.e. 'great').

¹⁷⁴ Simon Fleming, 'New Research into the Snetzler Organ of St Nicholas' Church, Whitehaven, During the Time of the Howgill Family', *Bios Reporter*, 34/4 (2010), 19–22.

¹⁷⁵ Barnes and Renshaw, *The Life and Work of John Snetzler*, 167–8. This instrument had a long compass for the choir and a short compass for the swell. I am grateful to Richard Hird who drew my attention to this organ.

¹⁷⁶ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 31 October 1809. The organ had to be repaired on several occasions. In 1779 Snetzler was re-engaged. Subsequent repairs in 1783, 1790 and 1805 were all undertaken by John Donaldson. Ivy, presumably Donaldson's daughter, died at Whitehaven in 1783. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 11 February 1783, 1 December 1790, 31 December 1805; Stout (2002), III, 171.

¹⁷⁷ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 April 1794; *Monthly Magazine* (September, 1805), 169.

¹⁷⁸ More traditional organ parts can be seen in the collections of anthems by Ebdon, Boyce and James Kent, all three of whom use a figured bass. Later anthems, such as those by John Tipper (organist at Romford) and Joseph Corfe, have a fully written out organ part, but their style of organ writing has a greater affinity with the organ voluntary.

several duets, a trio and a solo for tenor or bass. The fact that Howgill junior could write cathedral style anthems for use in a relatively small town church is unusual but not unprecedented, as anthems written for church use had already been published.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, few parish churches had organs at this time and most relied on an instrumental band to accompany the singing. A further sacred vocal work by Howgill junior, a trio setting of the 'Third Chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon', was included in his 1824 collection.

Howgill junior included 42 psalm tunes in his 1800 collection of sacred music.¹⁸⁰ Naturally, there are examples from Howgill junior's pen, but there are also tunes by Garth, James Nares, Greene, Croft, John Langshaw (the organist at Lancaster), Theodore Smith, Ignace Pleyel, and Dibdin, as well as two by William Howgill senior. Many of Howgill junior's own tunes were given local names, such as 'Penrith', 'Appleby', 'Workington' and 'Wigton'. Others psalm tunes were adapted from the works of Avison, Geminiani and Handel.¹⁸¹ A further set of six were included in his *Four Voluntaries*, all of which are more substantial than the earlier examples with sections for solo organ.¹⁸²

The Howgill family, despite their importance as provincial musicians, are hardly known today. Even in Whitehaven, few are aware of their town's distinguished musical heritage, nor how that place came to dominate the musical life of Cumberland in the second half of the eighteenth century. On a national level the Howgills are not of great importance, as the majority of them had little or no impact outside the north of England. William Howgill senior, as was typical of a provincial organist, promoted concerts and balls and provided music tuition in his adopted town. Rather sadly, he left few original compositions. Ann was also a respected organist, but she also had little impact beyond her immediate surroundings, and Matthew and Thomas appear to have had no interest in a musical career. William Howgill junior, through his publications, achieved a much wider fame, and a great deal of his music was favourably received in London. However, in spite of this approbation, he had no influence on the development of music in Britain during the early nineteenth century. An analysis of his surviving compositions, particularly his sonatas, reveals that he was aware of the latest developments in keyboard technique, a

See William Boyce, *Fifteen Anthems* (1780), James Kent, *A Morning & Evening Service with Eight Anthems* (c1800), John Tipper, *Sacred Music* (c1806) and Joseph Corfe, *Church Music* (c1815).

¹⁷⁹ Drage, 'A Reappraisal', 178–83. Drage provided an anthem by Uriah Davenport (c.1690–1784) as a 'typical example' of such a work written for use in a rural community. This anthem was first published in 1758 and written for the choir at Rushton Spencer, a tiny village located on the Staffordshire–Cheshire border. It is in four parts, and was presumably performed *a cappella*, as no instruments are mentioned. The choir at the church of Douglas on the Isle of Man was able to perform a four-part anthem on Christmas Day 1786 through the assistance of their musical society. Anthems are also known to have been sung at the church in Lancaster. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 3 January 1787, 5 June 1792.

¹⁸⁰ On the title page Howgill junior said that there were 38 tunes but may have intended that some of the tunes be performed together as one work.

¹⁸¹ A review said that of 'the psalm tunes, those which were already known to the public are selected with taste, and those which come from the pen of Mr. Howgill exhibit considerable talent for the production of the familiar kind of church music.' *Monthly Magazine* (September, 1805), 169.

¹⁸² Two of the later psalm tunes borrow from Greene and Geminiani.

surprise given Whitehaven's isolation from London; these works also disclose that he was by no means equal as a composer to his London contemporaries. Some of his secular compositions do have merit, but far too much of his piano music consists of little more than a series of difficult and banal pianistic textures. His sacred music also has value, but makes no effort to advance the sacred style of that time. In spite of these deficiencies, it was through his published works that Howgill junior drew attention to himself and his home town of Whitehaven, a move that garnered him the deep respect and admiration of that town's inhabitants and secured himself a place, however small, in the history of music composition in Georgian Britain.

**Appendix A: List of the known publications issued by William Howgill junior, with year of publication.
(Unless otherwise stated, all appear to have been issued in London by Preston.)**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Dedicatee</i>	<i>Holdings</i>
1791	Inglewood Hunt, a Sonata for the Piano-forte	Mrs Curwen	GB-Ltc
1794*	Whitehaven Hunt, a Sonata for the Piano-forte	Stewards and Gentlemen of the Meeting	GB-Ltc
1794	Gaffer Gray, A favourite Ballad, with Piano Forte and Flute Accompaniments		
c1794	Gaffer Gray : a favorite new song [published by J. Kearns, Dublin]		IRL-Dtc
1796	A New Sonata for the Harpsichord and Piano-Forte+		
1796	Marian's Complaint		
1800	A Sonata, for the Grand or Small Piano Forte, with Accompaniments for a German Flute, and Tenor	Edward Miller	GB-Bu
1800	An Original Anthem and Two Voluntaries...with a Selection of Thirty eight Favorite Psalm Tunes	Revd Fergus Graham	GB-Lbl GB-WHr
1800	An Overture in Eight Parts; with a Figured Bass for the Organ, or Harpsicord		
1801	Crazy Jane's Epitaph		GB-Lbl
1801*	A Sonata for the Grand Piano-Forte	Mrs Dykes of Dovenby Hall	US-Wc

*Publication was on sale by this year

+This sonata is almost certainly one of those dated 1801*

Appendix A: (Continued)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Dedicatee</i>	<i>Holdings</i>
1801*	A Sonata for the Harpsichord, or Grand Piano Forte	Miss Ellison	
1801*	A Sonata for the Harpsichord, or Piano Forte	Lady Lawson	GB-LE
1801*	Retirement, an Ode		
1801*	Saxoni's favourite Dance, with Variations; to which are added an Adagio and Prelude for the Piano-forte		
1801*	The Orphan Boy		
1803	A Grand March for the Whitehaven Loyal Volunteers, with an Introduction and Quick Step		
1803	A Sonata for the Grand Piano-forte, two Waltzes, an Air with Variations, two Grand Marches, four Dances, and the Favourite Scotch Air of Duncan Gray	Lady Viscountess Lowther	
1804	"The Shopkeepers", a new Song to an old Tune		GB-Cu
1805	A Sonata for the Grand Piano-forte	Miss Dawson of Papcastle	
1805*	Purcell's, or the Welsh Ground, with One Hundred Variations for the Grand Piano Forte		GB-Lbl
1805	Ten to One; or Linois's Dance, a Sonata for the Grand Piano-forte	Joseph Huddart	
1806	A Madrigal for One, Two, and Three Voices 'Why reprises fond love's emotion?' (words by William Hamper)		Library of Simon Fleming
1806	Sweet is the Seraph, A Song, with Piano Forte, Violin and Trumpet Accompaniments; the Words by Wm Hamper		

Appendix A: (Continued)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Dedicatee</i>	<i>Holdings</i>
1807	A Duett for the Organ, of Grand Piano Forte	William Hamper	GB-Bp
1811	Ode on their Majesties' Coronation, the 22d of September, 1761. Written by Joseph Brown		
1811	Ten Occasional Voluntaries for the Organ, with a Miserere, and Gloria Tibi Domine	Revd Wilfred Hudleston	
1811	A Sonata for the Grand Piano Forte with Flute and Violoncello Accompaniments, With an Introductory Prelude by George Frederick Handel	Miss Younger of Whitehaven	GB-Lbl
1814	Overture to the Hero of Vittoria and his brave Companions in Arms	Hero of Vittoria	
1815	Grand Symphony for an Orchestra, with Piano-forte, Violins, Viola, Flutes, Violoncellos, &c. – Written in Commemoration of the glorious Victory of Waterloo	William, Earl of Lonsdale	
1815	Interludes for the Organ, or Piano Forte, adapted to Miller's Psalms; with a Favorite Psalm Tune by Purcell	Revd Andrew Hudleston	
1817	A Duett, for One or Two Piano Fortes	L. Adamson	
1824	Four Voluntaries; Part of the Third Chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon ...and Six Favourite Psalm Tunes	Revd Andrew Hudleston, Minister of St. Nicholas' Chapel, the Wardens, Vestry and Congregation.	GB-Lbl GB-Lcm

Appendix B: Programmes for concerts organized by the Howgill family.
All concerts, except those marked otherwise, were held at the Whitehaven Assembly Rooms.
Original spellings are retained.

<i>Date of Advertisement</i>	<i>Date of Concert</i>	<i>Act I</i>	<i>Act II</i>
24 March 1778	25 March 1778	Overture, <i>Bach</i> Harpsichord Concerto, <i>Schroeter</i> Song, <i>Giordani</i> A Full Piece, <i>Stamitz</i>	Over, <i>Ditters[dorf]</i> German Flute Concerto, <i>Toesini</i> Song, <i>Hook</i> A Full Piece, <i>Haydn</i>
20 October 1778	21 October 1778	Overture, <i>Abel</i> . Concerto for the German Flute. Song, <i>Gaudry</i> . Full Piece, <i>Tenducci</i> .	Overture, <i>Stamitz</i> . Duett for Violoncellos, with Accompaniments. Song, <i>Gaudry</i> . Full Piece, <i>Lord Kelly</i> .
13 March 1781	14 March 1781	Overture, <i>Gosseu</i> Harpsichord Concerto, <i>Giordani</i> Solo Concerto for the German Flute Full Piece, <i>Vanhal</i>	Overture, <i>Lord Kelly</i> Duett for Violoncellos, with Accompaniments. Song, <i>Heron</i> Full Piece, <i>Giordani</i>
9 November 1785	10 November 1785	Overture, <i>Gossec</i> Harpsicord Sonata, <i>Boccherini</i> Song, <i>Hook</i> Full Piece, <i>Haydn</i>	Overture, <i>Gossec</i> Quartett, <i>Haydn</i> Hunting Song, <i>Hook</i> Full Piece, <i>Haydn</i>
29 March 1786	3 April 1786	Overture, <i>Schwindl</i> Harpsicord Sonata, <i>Diettenhofer</i> Hunting Song, with a Chorus, <i>Dibdin</i> Full Piece, <i>Abel</i>	Overture, <i>Schmitt</i> Quartett, <i>Haydn</i> Ode in Honour of Capt. Cook, with a Chorus, <i>Shield</i> Full Piece, <i>Abel</i>

Appendix B: (Continued)

<i>Date of Advertisement</i>	<i>Date of Concert</i>	<i>Act I</i>	<i>Act II</i>
8 November 1786	9 November 1786	Overture, <i>Abel</i> Harpsicord Sonata, <i>Fichner</i> Hunting Song, "The Twins of Latona, &c." <i>Shield</i> A Favourite Scotch Tune, with Variations for the Harpsicord, by <i>Signior Corri</i> Full Piece, <i>Vanhal</i>	Overture, <i>Schmitt</i> Harpsicord Sonata, <i>Clementi</i> Quatett, <i>Haydn</i> Hunting Song, "The glowing East Aurora streaks &c." Full Piece, <i>Vanhal</i>
28 March 1787	28 March 1787	Overture, <i>Gossec</i> Harpsicord Sonata, <i>Edelmann</i> Song, An Elegiac Sonnet to the Willow Trio, <i>Haydn</i> Full Piece, <i>Gossec</i>	Overture, <i>Gossec</i> Harpsicord Concerto, <i>Sterkel</i> Quartet, <i>Haydn</i> Song, The Brunette, <i>Davy</i> Full Piece, <i>Haydn</i>
21 November 1787	29 November 1787	Overture, <i>Lord Kelly</i> Harpsichord Concerto, <i>Dale</i> Glee, <i>Warren</i> Trio, <i>Haydn</i> Full Piece, in Artaxerxes, <i>Dr. Arne</i>	Overture, <i>Iomello</i> Hunting Song, "The glowing East, &c." with a Chorus La Chasse, (Harpsichord) <i>Kozeluck</i> Chorus in Acis & Galatea, <i>Handel</i> Full Piece, <i>Giordani</i>
23 March 1788	31 March 1788	Overture, <i>Stamitz</i> Harpsicord Concerto, <i>Bach</i> Glee, <i>Dibdin</i> Quartet, <i>Haydn</i> Full Piece, <i>Gossec</i>	Overture, <i>Gossec</i> Song, <i>Hook</i> Lewie Gordon, (Harpsicord) <i>Butler</i> Chorus from the Messiah [Lift up you heads], <i>Handel</i> Full Piece, <i>Barthelomon</i>

Appendix B: (Continued)

<i>Date of Advertisement</i>	<i>Date of Concert</i>	<i>Act I</i>	<i>Act II</i>
15 April 1789	17 April 1789	Overture, <i>Handel</i> Harpsicord Sonata, <i>Pleyel</i> Glee, <i>Paxton</i> : the Words by her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire Full Piece, <i>Lord Kelly</i>	Overture, <i>Haydn</i> Harpsicord Sonata, <i>Clementi</i> Flute Quartett, <i>Haydn</i> Hunting Dialogue Full Piece
21 October 1789	22 October 1789	Overture in Saul, <i>Handel</i> Harpsicord Sonata, <i>Angkistro</i> Glee, <i>Hook</i> Select Piece, Violin Concerto for Violins, <i>Avison</i>	Concerto for Violins, <i>Avison</i> Hunting Song, <i>Dr. Arnold</i> Duett, Harpsicord, <i>Giordani</i> Chorus in the Messiah [For the Glory of the Lord], <i>Handel</i> Full Piece, <i>Vento</i>
25 November 1789 Note: This concert was held at the Sun Inn, Cockermouth	27 November 1789	Overture, <i>Abel</i> Song, <i>Hook</i> Braes of Ballanden, with Variations, <i>Violin</i> Concerto for Violins, <i>Avison</i> Overture, <i>Otho</i> , <i>Handel</i>	Overture in Saul, <i>Handel</i> Select Duett for the Harpsicord Hunting Song, <i>Dr. Arnold</i> Select Piece for the Harpsicord "God save the King", Full Band
27 October 1790	4 November 1790	Overture, <i>Gossec</i> Harpsicord Concertante, (Violin Accompaniment) <i>Pleyel</i> Chorus in the Messiah, "Worthy is the Lamb, &c." Three favourite Airs, with Variations, <i>Piano Forte</i> Full Piece, <i>Giordani</i>	Overture, <i>Gossec</i> Hunting Song, <i>Hook</i> Sonata from <i>Pleyel's</i> Quartetts, adapted to the Harpsicord by <i>Clementi</i> . (Flute Accompaniment) Chorus in the Messiah, "Halleluia! For the Lord God, &c." Full Piece. <i>Bach</i>

Appendix B: (Continued)

<i>Date of Advertisement</i>	<i>Date of Concert</i>	<i>Act I</i>	<i>Act II</i>
22 March 1791	30 March 1791	Overture, <i>Filtz</i> Krumpholtz's favourite Harp Concerto, adapted for the Harpsicord, by Storace, with Accompaniment Song, <i>Kirkman</i> ; Piano Forte Accompaniment Catch for three voices "Hark! Hark! Ding-dong; my Lord's come in Flute Quartett, <i>Pleyel</i> Pleyel's 9th Sinfonie	Overture. <i>Haydn</i> Song, The Sailor's Return; <i>Broderip</i> The Royal Chace; or Windsor Hunt: a favourite Sonata for the Piano Forte, by <i>Hook</i> Song; "Sandy of the Green." Piano Forte Accompaniment, <i>Hook</i> Catch for three voices, "Give me the sweet Delights of Love", <i>Dr. Harrington</i> Pleyel's 5th Sinfonie, wiith Double Drums
4 October 1791	13 October 1791	Overture, <i>Pleyel</i> Quartett, <i>Pleyel</i> , Harp; adapted by M[uzio] Clementi; Flute Accompaniment Song, "Though out of Sight, ne'er out of Mind" [Carter] Four Favourite Tunes, Violin Hunting Cantata, "Soon as the Sun had raised his Head," <i>Hook</i> Overture, <i>Bach</i>	Overture, <i>Abel</i> Song, "Adieu to the Rocks of Lannow" [by Shield or Hayes] The Battle of Brajue [Prague], a favourite Sonata, with Accompaniments [Kotzwara] Catch for Three Voices, "Come, pull away, Boy" Hunting Song Overture, <i>Vento</i>

Appendix B: (Continued)

<i>Date of Advertisement</i>	<i>Date of Concert</i>	<i>Act I</i>	<i>Act II</i>
20 December 1791 Note: This concert was held at the Globe Inn, Cockermouth	30 December 1791	Overture, <i>Abel</i> Song, "Though out of Sight ne'er out of Mind, &c." <i>Carter</i> Harpsichord Sonata Song, "Whilst with Village Maids I stray, &c." <i>Shield</i> Four Favourite Tunes, Violin "Sweet is the Breath of Morn," Duet for Two Voices [by Boyce or Jomelli] Overture in the Duenna [<i>Linley</i>]	Overture, <i>Haydn</i> Hunting Cantata, "Soon as the Sun had rais'd his Head, &c." <i>Hook</i> Duet for Two Performers on One Harpsichord, with the Plough Boy, <i>Davy</i> Catch for Three Voices, "How great is the Pleasure, &c." [<i>Harrington</i>] Favourite Hunting Song, with Chorus Overture, <i>Vanhall</i>
20 March 1792	29 March 1792	Overture. <i>Dr. Arnold</i> Harpsichord Sonata, <i>Pleyel</i> , Flute Accompaniment Song, "Angel's ever bright and fair" [from <i>Theodora</i>], <i>Handel</i> Duett, Two Voices, "Sweet is the Breath of Morn", (By Desire) Overture, <i>Vento</i>	Overture. <i>Dr. Arnold</i> Song, "Ye happy Nymphs, &c", <i>Hook</i> Catch, Three Voices, "Look Neighbours, look," <i>Dr. Harrington</i> Duett, Two Voices, "From Morn till Night, &c." [by <i>Shield</i> or <i>Arnold</i>] Favourite Laughing Glee, sung with unbounded applause [at] Vauxhall Gardens [<i>Reeve</i>] Overture, <i>Jomelli</i>

Appendix B: (Continued)

<i>Date of Advertisement</i>	<i>Date of Concert</i>	<i>Act I</i>	<i>Act II</i>
2 October 1792	18 October 1792	Overture, <i>Tenducci</i> Song, "Dear is my little native Vale" [Hook?] Sonata, <i>Pleyel</i> , Harpsichord; Flute Accompaniment Song, "Bachelor's Hall," <i>Dibdin</i> Catch, Three Voices, "Look Neighbours, look" [<i>Harington</i>] Overture, <i>Lord Kelly</i>	Overture, <i>Filtz</i> Favourite Sea Song, "We conquer, dear Girls, for you," <i>Hook</i> "The Lass of Richmond Hill" and Jem of Aberdeen, "with Variations, Harpsicord", <i>J. Hummel</i> Glee, Three Voices, "Life's a Bumper," <i>Dr. Wainwright</i> Hunting Song, "See ruddy Aurora," with Horn Accompaniments, <i>Hook</i> Overture to <i>Artaxerxes</i> , <i>Dr. Arne</i>
9 April 1793	12 April 1793	Overture, <i>J.C. Bach</i> Song, <i>The Soldiers Adieu</i> , <i>Dibdin</i> Favourite Sonata, Harpsichord, Flute Accompaniment, <i>Pleyel</i> Song, <i>Captivity</i> , <i>Storace</i> Song, "Rule Britannia," with Chorus [<i>Arne</i>] Overture, <i>Stamitz</i>	Overture, <i>J.C. Bach</i> Favourite Glee, Three Voices, "With my Joy on Hand, &c'", <i>Smart</i> Sonata, Harpsichord, with "God save the King", <i>Howgill</i> Song, "I fail'd from the Downs, &c.", <i>Dibdin</i> Overture, <i>Smethergill</i> Song, "The Duke of York's Nuptials," Chorus of "God save the King"

Appendix B: (Continued)

<i>Date of Advertisement</i>	<i>Date of Concert</i>	<i>Act I</i>	<i>Act II</i>
15 October 1793	18 October 1793	Overture, <i>Abel</i> Song, "Heaving the Lead", <i>Dibdin</i> Hunting Duett, <i>Handel</i> Harpsichord Sonata Song, "Louis the Sixteenth's Lamentation," <i>Dr. Stevenson</i> Hunting Song, <i>Shield</i> Overture, <i>Bach</i>	Overture, <i>Bach</i> Hunting Song, "When Silver Fac'd Cynthia, &c.", <i>Grimshaw</i> The Siege of Valenciennes, a Sonata for the Harpsichord, dedicated to... the Duke of York... [<i>King</i>] Song, "The Loyal Soldier," <i>Linley</i> (by Desire) "Rule Britannia" [<i>Arne</i>] Overture, <i>Boccherini</i>
11 March 1794	28 March 1794	Overture, <i>Stamitz</i> Song, "Adieu! adieu! My only Life," by Desire [<i>Dibdin</i>] Sonata, Harpsichord, <i>Pleyel</i> Song, Soldier Dick: "Why, don't you know me by my Scars? [<i>Dibdin</i>] Overture, <i>Vanhall</i>	Overture, <i>J. Guglielmi</i> Song, "Poor Tow Bowling," <i>Dibdin</i> Medley, Harpsichord, <i>Giordani</i> Favourite Sea Song, "In you, my lovely Girl," <i>Hook</i> Overture, <i>Filtz</i> Rule Britannia and God Save the King; – full Chorus

Appendix B: (Continued)

<i>Date of Advertisement</i>	<i>Date of Concert</i>	<i>Act I</i>	<i>Act II</i>
11 November 1794	20 November 1794	<p>Concerto, <i>Avison</i></p> <p>A favourite Sea Song, "Twas pretty Poll and Honest Jack," <i>Hook</i></p> <p>Marshal Saxe's Minuet, with Variations, (Harpsicord), <i>T.G. Eckard</i></p> <p>Song, "The glorious First of June," <i>Hook</i></p> <p>Overture, <i>Gossec</i></p> <p>By Desire, "Stand to you Guns, my Hearts of Oak," <i>Carter</i></p>	<p>Concerto, <i>Avison</i></p> <p>Song, Gaffer Gray, <i>Howgill</i></p> <p>Harpsicord Sonata, with "Oh dear what can the Matter be!" <i>Howgill</i></p> <p>Hunting Song, <i>Howgill</i></p> <p>Overture, <i>J. Franzl</i></p> <p>Rule Britannia and God Save the King, Full Chorus</p>
14 April 1795	23 April 1795	<p>Overture, <i>Lord Kelly</i></p> <p>Song, <i>Hook</i></p> <p>Harpsicord Sonata, <i>Pleyel</i></p> <p>Duett, (two Voices), <i>Jess Macpharlane</i></p> <p>Overture, <i>Stamitz</i></p>	<p>Overture, <i>Vento</i></p> <p>Song, (by Desire) Gaffer Gray, <i>Howgill</i></p> <p>Sonata for the Harpsicord</p> <p>Song, "The Hardy Tar"</p> <p>Overture, <i>Gossec</i></p> <p>Rule Britannia and God Save the King, Full Chorus</p>
1 December 1795	18 December 1795	<p>Overture, <i>Kotzwara</i></p> <p>Song, "Smiling Nan," <i>Dibdin</i></p> <p>Harpsichord Sonata, <i>Howgill</i></p> <p>Song, "British Fair," with Chorus, "Three Times Three," <i>Hook</i></p> <p>Full Piece, <i>Abel</i></p>	<p>Overture, <i>Stamitz</i>.</p> <p>Song, (be Desire) "Tom Bowling," <i>Dibdin</i></p> <p>"Belle Catharine," with Variations, Harpsichord, <i>Hummell</i></p> <p>Hunting Song, "Old Towler," <i>Shield</i></p> <p>Full Piece, <i>Vanhall</i></p> <p>Rule Britannia and God Save the King, Full Chorus</p>

Appendix B: (Continued)

<i>Date of Advertisement</i>	<i>Date of Concert</i>	<i>Act I</i>	<i>Act II</i>
19 April 1796	27 April 1796	Concerto, <i>Avison</i> Favourite Glee, "Care thou Canker." [John Garth] Harpsichord Sonata, <i>Pleyel</i> Song, "The Token," <i>Dibdin</i> Overture, <i>Kotzwara</i>	Overture, <i>Filtz</i> Favourite Canzonet, <i>Jackson</i> "When the hollow Drum," Harpsichord, <i>T. Haigh</i> "Old Towler," (by Desire), <i>Shield</i> Overture, <i>Vanhall</i> Rule Britannia and God Save the King
22 November 1796	25 November 1796	Overture, <i>Abel</i> Song, "When whistling Winds, &c." <i>Hook</i> Medley, Harpsichord Glee, Three Voices, <i>Calcot</i> Overture, <i>Bach</i>	Overture, <i>Filtz</i> Song, "The Fair of Britain's Isle," <i>Hook</i> Duet, Two Performers, Harpsichord, <i>Doctor Arne</i> Hunting Song, <i>Howgill</i> Overture, <i>Vanhall</i> God Save the King and Rule Britannia
11 April 1797	19 April 1797	Overture, <i>Stamitz</i> Song, "The Soldier encamp'd on the Coast," <i>Dignum</i> Duett, (Harpsichord) <i>Smith</i> Song, "Tom Trigger's Adieu," <i>Hook</i> Overture, <i>Bach</i>	Overture, <i>Schwindel</i> Song, (by Desire) "Heaving of the Lead," <i>Shield</i> Sonata, (Piano Forte) <i>Mazzinghi</i> Overture, <i>Richter</i> Rule Britannia and God Save the King, Full Chorus