

Mudge's Medley Concerto

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Two titles: one concerto

THERE cannot be many individually published concertos from the eighteenth century for which no composer is named in the title, but the British Library possesses a particularly interesting example that – uniquely in the eighteenth-century English concerto repertory – makes systematic use of material taken from traditional music. This consists of a set of nine engraved partbooks (not ten as stated in the library catalogue) in upright format, each of which comprises a bifolio containing music only on the inner pages (numbered 2 and 3), the outer pages remaining blank.¹ The names of the parts are: violino primo concertino; violino primo ripieno; violino secondo concertino; violino secondo ripieno; alto viola; violoncello; basso continuo; corno primo; corno secondo. Exceptionally, the basso continuo part, which was evidently intended to serve as a folder for the rest, has a title engraved in a framed box on its otherwise void opening page. This reads: 'A | CONCERTO | *Principally form'd upon subjects | taken from three Country Dances, | accompanied by a first & second Horn. | London | Printed by John Johnson in Cheapside*'.

Johnson was continuously active as a music dealer and publisher between 1740 and the year of his death (1761), and his widow, Ruth, appears occasionally to have continued to use his imprint up to her own death in 1777. No *catalogue raisonné* of his productions yet exists, and estimated dates for them (the British Library has '1745?' for the present concerto) vary widely and fairly arbitrarily. Around 1754, Johnson issued a catalogue of his publications.² This does not list the 'country dance' concerto, a fact that gives us at least a working *terminus post quem*.

For a first mention of the concerto, we must go to an advertisement in the *London Chronicle* of 9–11 November 1762. In it, Johnson's widow announced publication of the arias from the third act of Thomas Arne's *Artaxerxes*, but also took the opportunity to list several other items from her current stock, among which we

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¹ London, British Library, h.1568.f.(1.). RISM does not list this item at the time of writing, although it is given in *The British Union-Catalogue of Early Music Published before the Year 1801: A Record of the Holdings of Over One Hundred Libraries Throughout the British Isles*, ed. Edith B. Schnapper, 2 vols. (London: Butterworths Scientific Publications, 1957), i, 211.

² *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music Printed for and Sold by John Johnson, Opposite Bow Church, in Cheapside, London* (London: John Johnson, c.1754).

find 'A Concerto from three Country Dances'. The significance of this mention is twofold: it shows that there was already a move to condense the title, and it provides a *terminus ad quem*. Catalogues issued by Ruth in her late husband's name in 1764 and 1770 list the work under the same title, priced at 2s.³

Much later, around 1782, the music dealer and publisher Robert Bremner issued what he called an *Additional Catalogue* listing items acquired, via their respective widows, from the stocks of Peter Welcker and John Johnson. He introduced the catalogue with this notice:

The following, among which are many valuable and classical Works, were formerly the Property of the late *Mrs. Johnson* of *Cheapside*, *Mrs. Welcker*, of *Gerrard-street, Soho*, and others; and are now to be had at *Mr. Bremner's*, he having purchased the Plates and Copies. Those who have seen the Catalogues of the original Publishers, will discover that the Articles are, in general, greatly reduced from their former Prices. The Reduction will continue 'till the remaining Copies are sold.⁴

Under the rubric 'Concerts' (meaning 'Concertos') Bremner lists no concerto based on country dances, but an item entitled simply 'A Medley Concerto —', priced at 1s 6d, catches the eye.⁵ A sequence of three country dances, presumably independent of each other in their original state, self-evidently constitutes a 'medley', so this altered title could plausibly be an alternative description of the same concerto that had either gained a certain currency in concert life or was coined especially for the Bremner catalogue.

When one considers the output of eighteenth-century London publishers, it always pays to study the preposition before the name on the imprint. 'By' implies that the publisher is executing the task of engraving and printing on behalf of someone else, usually the author, whereas 'for' implies that he is acting on his own behalf. In the first case, the publisher is generally the chief financial beneficiary of the edition, although the author may recoup his costs via subsidy from a patron, from subscribers or from acting himself as a stockist and seller of the publication. In the second case, the publisher bears all the costs, relying on sales alone to recoup his outlay.⁶ So it is fairly clear that the author decided on and financed the publication of the parts for this concerto 'printed by John Johnson'. Presumably he also proofread them, which may account for their high level of accuracy by contemporary standards.

³ These catalogues are held by the British Library under the shelfmarks L.23.c.10.(12.) and Hirsch IV.1111.(9.) respectively.

⁴ *Additional Catalogue* (London: Robert Bremner, [c.1782]), [1].

⁵ The long dash following the title might in certain circumstances be interpreted as equivalent to 'ditto', thus referring back to a detail in a previous entry, but in Bremner's catalogue such dashes appear to have been inserted merely in order to fill up some of the vacant space between the end of the description and the price. A reduction in price from 2s to 1s 6d is consistent with the claim made in the title of Bremner's *Additional Catalogue*.

⁶ These two principal alternative modes of publication are discussed in Michael Kassler, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710–1818* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. xx, n. 24.

Less accurate, however, was an anonymous keyboard arrangement of the same concerto published around the same time or a little later by Johnson.⁷ Headed 'A Concerto, the subjects taken from 3 Country Dances', with 'LONDON. Printed for J. Johnson in Cheapside' appearing at the foot of the same opening page of music (there are five pages in all), this is a piece of hackwork that can hardly have involved the composer. It belongs to the vast corpus of such arrangements down the ages that are just about adequate to remind players of music heard by them earlier in its original state but not imaginative or skilful enough to be either musically effective or technically well fitted to the instrument. However, the fact that the arrangement was made at all tells us something important: the concerto must have ranked as – employing the jargon of the time – a 'favourite' work, frequently heard in public performance at theatres, pleasure gardens or concert rooms.⁸

From the records of London theatrical life, as reported in contemporary press notices, we are able to establish with some degree of certainty both the period and the context of the *Medley Concerto*. On 6 December 1752, the *London Daily Advertiser* announced a forthcoming season of 'M. Midnight's Medley Concert and Oratory' at the New Theatre in the Haymarket (the 'Little Haymarket'). The named impresario was the eccentric poet, cleric and former academic Christopher Smart, using his favourite pseudonym of 'Mother [Mary] Midnight'. The Little Haymarket, not being one of the two licensed patent theatres (these were Covent Garden and Drury Lane), was not permitted to present spoken drama 'neat': there needed to be an admixture of other kinds of entertainment – principally music, which was variously supplemented by dancing, pantomime, comic orations, conjuring, acrobatics, novelty acts of any kind and even mock auctions.⁹ In this instance, the result was something resembling a modern variety show.

On Smart's possibly abortive venture in 1752 there is little information, but the format of a medley concert was revived successfully at the same theatre in the second half of 1757 by the actor-manager Theophilus Cibber (son of the playwright and actor Colley Cibber). Cibber retained the character of 'Mother Midnight' and even introduced a 'daughter' for her, 'Dorothy Midnight', played by the eminent comic actor Samuel Foote. Bills and press advertisements for the early shows shed little light on the identity of the music performed

⁷ This keyboard arrangement survives, apparently uniquely, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, under the shelfmark Vet. Mus. 137 c. 88 (4). The authors are extremely grateful to Jennifer Ward at RISM for alerting them to this source, and to Harry Johnstone for providing scans of it. The Johnson catalogues of 1764 and 1770 list the item, priced at 6d, in the section for 'Lessons and Concertos for the Harpsichord', but it is not present in Bremner's *Additional Catalogue*.

⁸ A good comparator would be the concerto with horns by Johann Adolph Hasse (originally the *sinfonia* to his opera *Asteria*) first published by John Walsh in 1740 as op. 4 no. 1 and subsequently much copied and published both in orchestral parts and in keyboard arrangement (Johnson's catalogue of c.1754 lists it as 'Hasse's Concerto, F[or] Horns'; Bremner's *Additional Catalogue* as 'Hasse's favourite Concerto'). 'Favourite', in its eighteenth-century sense, denotes a piece that prior to publication had received public performances, where it had been (or at least was claimed to have been) well received.

⁹ The restriction of spoken drama to the patent theatres was enshrined in the Licensing Act of 1737.

(all of which seems, however, to have featured some kind of comic or novelty element), but a notice placed in the *Public Advertiser* for 11 August 1757 takes the form of a full programme for the evening's entertainment. This is transcribed below:

At the Theatre in the Hay-Market
 This Day will be A MEDLEY CONCERT;
 Or, An IMPROMPTU of WHIM and NOVELTY.
 Consisting of Variety of Entertainments; particularly,
 An Address, by Mr. CIBBER.
 A Scots Song, A Concerto.
 First Comic Lecture, by Mr. CIBBER and Co.
 A grand Concerto for French Horns.
 Second Comic Lecture, by Mr. CIBBER and Co.
 A Comic Dance, call'd the Italian Peasants.
 A new Cantata, call'd the Wheelbarrow,
 A Comic Medley Overture.
 An Auction of choice Coriosities [*sic*], of extraordinary Value:
 Mr. CIBBER, Auctioneer.
 A favourite Italian Air, by La Signora Mimicotti accompanied on
 the Bassoon by Mynheer Van-poop-poop Broomstickado.
 An Oration called the Pig or Advice to the Critics, By Miss Dorothy
 Midnight, lately returned from her Travels.
 Also a grand comic Ballet, call'd
The Marine Boys marching to Portsmouth.
 Mr. Handel's Water Music, with a Preamble on the Kettle-drums
 by Mother Midnight.
 With a Lilliputian Pantomime, called
 HARLEQUIN's FROLIC.
 Or, A VOYAGE to PRUSSIA.
 Concluding with a Ballet, called *The Prussians March to Bohemia.*
 And a new Grotesque Dance call'd *Colin and his Rival Losses* [*sic*].
 With new Scenes, Machines, Habits, and other Decorations.
 Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. Gallery 2s.
 On Account of the Variety of the Performances, the Curtain
 will positively rise exactly at Half an Hour after Six.
 Nothing under the full Price will be taken during the Perform-
 ance, nor any Money to be returned after the Curtain is drawn up.
 No Persons can be admitted behind the Scenes, or into the Or-
 chestra.

The presence in the programme of a 'Comic Medley Overture' deserves comment. The medley overture took the form of a piece introducing in succession various popular tunes generally familiar to the audience. It was a characteristically English and highly popular genre that had taken root during the 1730s in the wake of its prototype, Johann Christoph Pepusch's overture to *The Beggar's Opera* (1728). Notable contributors to the genre in its

early phase were two brothers-in-law of Theophilus Cibber (Richard Charke, who died c.1738, and Thomas Arne), as well as Arne's brother-in-law John Frederick Lampe and Peter Preleur.¹⁰ In contrast, there was no parallel tradition of a 'medley concerto', a term that gained currency as a title only towards the end of the century. It is our belief that the 'grand Concerto for French Horns' performed earlier in the programme was the concerto based on three country dances that we have been discussing. ('Grand' is a standard reference to concerto grosso instrumentation with differentiated concertino and ripieno violin and cello parts, and the mention of horn parts also fits.) If we are right (and the circumstantial evidence all points in the same direction), the attribute 'medley' refers not only to the structure and thematic basis of the concerto itself but also to its customization for a medley concert that made a special feature of containing elements of a humorous or popular kind. The composer may indeed have intended the concerto's incorporation of country dances to be the aspect brought to the fore in the work's original title, but perhaps its alternative, and in the end more widely circulated, description as a 'medley concerto' was the one preferred by the *vox populi*.

The 'grand Concerto for French Horns' remained on the programme, to judge from the press notices, up to 5 September 1757. It then appears to have been dropped. The Medley Concerts themselves came to an end on 7 November,¹¹ just over a month before Cibber died (on 11 December 1757). An attempt was made to revive them after Christmas as the 'New Medley Concerts', but this initiative quickly fizzled out. It is probable that Johnson, following normal publishing practice, brought out the concerto in both its versions (ensemble and keyboard) while it still remained fresh in the public's mind, thus in late 1757 or 1758.

The identity of the composers of the pieces performed at Cibber's Medley Concerts, Handel excepted, is well hidden – very likely in order to safeguard the reputation of musicians for whom anonymity was the necessary price to pay for letting their hair down so brazenly in public. However, one only slightly later source appears to disclose the name of the author of the *Medley Concerto*. The last two entries for the letter 'M' in the manuscript catalogue of the Oxford Musical Society (compiled c.1770) are 'Mudge's 6 Concertos. One of them for the Harpsichord or Organ' and 'Mudge's Medley Concerto, with Horns'.¹²

Those who have more recently investigated Richard Mudge's life and music, in particular his most assiduous champion, Richard Platt (1928–2013), have always

¹⁰ The thought occurs that, as a bassoonist, the German-born Lampe could even have played the part of 'Mynheer Van-poop-poop Broomstickado' in the show.

¹¹ The last advertisement for them appeared in the *Public Advertiser* of 5 November 1757.

¹² A transcription of the entry is given in John Henry Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe: A Record of Eighteenth-Century Enterprise at Oxford* (London: John Lane, 1911), 57. As an Anglican cleric, Mudge had a stronger than usual reason not to be associated (beyond his circle of intimates) with a boisterous and satirical public entertainment. Like certain other Anglican clergymen who were composers, Mudge styles himself plain 'M.^r' (rather than 'Rev.^d' or 'Rev.^d M.^r') on the title page of his concertos – a clear sign of prudence.

listed this concerto among his works, believing it to be lost. Assuming that we have now correctly identified the piece in question (as seems likely, since there is no hint that more than one concerto was similarly labelled at the time), we need to assess the strength of the evidence that Mudge was indeed its composer.

Richard Mudge and his music

English musical life of the mid-eighteenth century boasted a small number of active composers among the Anglican parish clergy, among whom Mudge (1718–63) was perhaps the most talented.¹³ Born in Bideford in north Devon, he was the son of Zachariah Mudge (1694–1769), headmaster of the local free grammar school and later to become a well-regarded churchman (vicar of St Andrew's, Plymouth, from 1732 and prebendary of Exeter Cathedral from 1736). All of Zachariah's sons distinguished themselves. His homonymous eldest son (1714–53) became a surgeon and apothecary at Tiverton before taking to the seas as a naval doctor and ending his days in Canton (now Guangzhou, China). Thomas (1715–94), the second son, was a leading horologist who was appointed King's Watchmaker in 1776. John (1721–92), the youngest, practised as a surgeon and apothecary at Plymouth before moving over to the profession of general physician. Richard was the only one of the sons to attend university.¹⁴ In 1734 he went up to Pembroke College, Oxford, obtaining his BA in 1738 and his MA in 1741.¹⁵ Like so many other university students, he opted for a clerical career. He was ordained priest on 23 February 1743, but even before then, in 1741, he had obtained curacies at Little Packington and Great Packington near Birmingham, thanks to the patronage of the music-loving Lord Guernsey (Heneage Finch, later to become third Earl of Aylesford). Guernsey was a friend and relative of the librettist and musical connoisseur Charles Jennens, who lived at nearby Gopsall, and through these men Mudge gained access at least to the outer periphery of Handel's circle.¹⁶ As a performer, Mudge distinguished himself mainly as a harpsichordist: Platt

¹³ Others were William Felton (1716–69), John Pixell (1725–84) and Thomas Bowman (1728–92). On the tensions between pastoral duties and musical leanings, see Michael Talbot, 'Thomas Bowman, Vicar of Martham: Evangelist and Composer', *Early Music*, 44 (2016), 77–88.

¹⁴ Unless otherwise referenced, the details given here about Richard Mudge's life reprise or paraphrase information found in the most substantial and up-to-date account of the composer: Richard Platt, 'New Light on Richard Mudge, 1718–63: Some Aspects of Social Status and Amateur Music-Making', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), 531–45.

¹⁵ There is no information so far on Mudge's musical activity at Oxford. It would be typical of his age if he retained a lifelong connection with university circles there: perhaps the disclosure, in the Oxford Musical Society's inventory, of his authorship of the *Medley Concerto* hints at such a relationship.

¹⁶ Mudge was certainly a collector and copyist of Handel's music. See John H. Roberts, 'The Aylesford Collection', *Handel Collections and their History*, ed. Terence Best (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 39–85 (pp. 47–8).

relates an anecdote from the historian of the Mudge family Stamford Raffles Flint, according to which Handel, entering a room in which Mudge was playing one of the great man's compositions, is supposed to have exclaimed, 'That must be Mudge for no other man could play my pieces so.'¹⁷ That this compliment was not merely ironic is suggested by a further alleged comment by Handel, not reported by Platt, that Mudge was 'second only to himself' as a harpsichordist.¹⁸

In 1745, Mudge was elevated to the rectorate of Little Packington, a living he continued to hold until 1757; but the remoteness of his location was irksome to him, and in 1750 he sought and obtained a curacy at St Bartholomew's chapel of ease in Digbeth, Birmingham.¹⁹ This brought him close to his friend John Pixell, who was vicar of the church of the same dedication in Edgbaston. Mudge gave up this curacy in 1758, having finally obtained, in 1756, a post in which he could see out his days in material comfort: as rector of Bedworth in Warwickshire, another living of which Lord Guernsey was patron.

Ever since Gerald Finzi discovered their virtues in the 1950s, the centrepiece of Mudge's reputation as a composer has always been the *Six Concertos in Seven Parts* [...], *To which is added, Non Nobis Domine, in 8 Parts*, brought out by John Walsh in 1749. The concertos stand very much in the tradition of the similarly scored ones by Handel and Geminiani, except that the first adds a solo trumpet and the last a solo harpsichord. Critical reception was very favourable at the time, to judge from the number of surviving copies and the frequent appearance of the concertos in inventories and catalogues.²⁰ Modern reception, leaving aside the passionate advocacy of Finzi and Platt, has been more nuanced. Arthur Hutchings's influential study of the Baroque concerto reproached Mudge for conservatism, especially in comparison with his imitator Capel Bond, and for a certain lack of vitality.²¹ But a very good recent recording of the set makes these reservations seem misplaced:²² the works are revealed as sophisticated, well constructed and inventive, with touches of real power and originality.

At some point, probably after the composer's death, Guernsey, now Earl of Aylesford, appears to have come into possession of a large portion of Mudge's collection of music, including numerous autograph compositions and preparatory sketches. As a result of the dispersal of the Aylesford manuscripts following their auction in 1918, the

¹⁷ Stamford Raffles Flint, *Mudge Memoirs: Being a Record of Zachariah Mudge and Some Members of his Family: Together with a Genealogical List of the Same Compiled from Family Papers and Other Sources, Illustrated with Portraits* (Truro: Netherton & Worth, 1883), 68.

¹⁸ Anon., 'Memoirs of the Life and Mechanical Labours of the Late Mr. Thomas Mudge', *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, 97 (1795), 41–7 (p. 41n.).

¹⁹ A chapel of ease was a subsidiary church erected on the outskirts of a parish for the convenience of those living at a distance from the parish church itself.

²⁰ RISM lists, as A/I M7726 and MM7726, no fewer than 16 examples of the print.

²¹ Arthur Hutchings, *The Baroque Concerto* (London: Faber & Faber, 1961), 264–6.

²² Richard Mudge, *Six Concertos in Seven Parts* (rec. 2009), perf. by Capriccio Barockorchester, dir. by Dominik Kiefer, Tudor: TUDOR7173.

known Mudge manuscripts are today divided between two locations: the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester and the Gerald Coke Handel Collection at the Foundling Museum, London.²³ Most of the longer and more complete pieces are early or alternative versions of the *Six Concertos* and *Non nobis, domine*. Their chronology and interrelationship is extremely complex, to judge from the brief descriptions of individual items given by Platt. However, it does certainly appear that the manuscripts belong in the main to the pre-Birmingham period in Mudge's life, when he was active with music-making at Packington and Gopsall. There is no item among these manuscripts that obviously connects in any direct way with the *Medley Concerto*, although a violin part in Manchester for a 'Sonata Cômposta a la gusto del Seign.^{or} Bombardini', related by material to the second published concerto, is of interest for revealing the same partiality for humour that informs the composition under discussion.²⁴

Before we proceed to a closer examination of the *Medley Concerto*, it is worth pausing for a moment to consider, in the light of Mudge's authenticated compositions, how supportive its general stylistic features are towards the hypothesis of his authorship. Leaving aside those portions of the first and fourth movements that are not merely based on dance material but also treat it in a manner close to the practices of traditional music (an absolute novelty in a concerto), it is fair to claim that the basic ingredients of Mudge's orchestral style as we know it from elsewhere – rich, often chromatic harmony; contrapuntal interest of a self-consciously 'learned' kind; robust but rarely ornate melody, with a generally simple (that is, pre-*galant*) rhythmic profile; a keyboard player's typical fondness for bass pedals with complex, shifting harmonies above – are abundantly present in this concerto. The idea of introducing familiar 'popular' material but flanking it with more orthodox material that subtly paraphrases it thematically, as seen in the first and fourth movements of the *Medley Concerto*, is strikingly prefigured in Mudge's *Non nobis, domine* setting. In that work, the first 86 bars are all 'prelude', adumbrating the canon with rising and falling scale-based figures, before the canon itself finally makes its triumphant appearance in bar 87, continuing (with optional 'circular' repeats) up to the notated bar 109.²⁵ The climactic effect

²³ Details in Platt, 'New Light on Richard Mudge', 538–41. The group of Mudge manuscripts in the Coke collection held by Hampshire Record Office under the shelfmark HC 3070 C(S)2 at the time of Platt's article is now Accession no. 3070 at the new site for that collection in the Foundling Museum.

²⁴ Roberts, 'The Aylesford Collection', 47.

²⁵ Mudge does not supply among the parts the notes and words of the canon (most suitably sung by ATB or TTB), since these were ultra-familiar to every musical Englishman: this perpetual canon 'three in one', dubiously attributed to William Byrd (but based on an earlier motet by Philip van Wilder), became identified as early as the seventeenth century as an emblem of patriotism and religious orthodoxy – ironically, since in the sixteenth century it had served, with its original text opening 'Aspice, domine', as a rallying cry for recusants. *Non nobis, domine* was sung as the customary conclusion of meetings of the Academy of Ancient Music, the Madrigal Society, the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and doubtless many other musical bodies. The information in the literature on the canon *Non nobis, domine* is very dispersed. The most comprehensive summary currently available is probably the Wikipedia entry: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non_nobis> (accessed 20 January 2018).

Example 1. (a) *Medley Concerto*, movement II, violino primo concertino, bars 4–6; (b) *Medley Concerto*, movement II, violino secondo concertino, bars 53–5; (c) *Concerto I* (1749), movement I, violino primo concertino, bars 43–6; (d) *Concerto VI* (1749), movement II, violoncello, bars 4–8. © British Library Board, h.1568.f.(1.).

Example 1 consists of four musical staves, each labeled with a letter and a bar number. Staff (a) is in treble clef, key of D major, starting at bar 4. It shows a melodic line with a trill (tr) on the second beat and a double asterisk (*) at the end. Staff (b) is in treble clef, key of D major, starting at bar 53. It shows a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with a double asterisk (*) at the end. Staff (c) is in treble clef, key of D major, starting at bar 43. It shows a melodic line with a trill (tr) on the second beat and a double asterisk (*) at the end. Staff (d) is in bass clef, key of B minor, starting at bar 4. It shows a melodic line with a double asterisk (*) at the end.

reminds one of the long-delayed arrival of *Gaudeamus igitur* in Brahms's *Academic Festival Overture*.²⁶

But oddly enough the strongest argument in favour of Mudge's authorship of the *Medley Concerto* is not stylistic but notational. A preliminary explanation is required. Leaving aside the special case of repeated notes, eighteenth-century notation follows the general principle that chromatic inflections indicated by an accidental automatically lapse (without the need for any cancelling accidental) after the move to a new beat. Nineteenth-century and subsequent notation places the point of 'automatic lapse' after the barline following the original accidental. Naturally, both old and new systems allow the use of precautionary accidentals to make the cancellation more explicit, but the general principle is that the greater the distance from the original accidental, the less the need for a precautionary, cancelling one.

In Mudge's autograph score of the *Six Concertos*,²⁷ Walsh's print of the same works and Johnson's two editions of the *Medley Concerto* we find the same, almost pedantic idiosyncrasy: an insistence on cancelling all chromatic inflections with a new accidental, regardless of context or of the distance from the original accidental. Some instances are shown as [Example 1](#) (all accidentals are given as in the source:

²⁶ Perhaps Julie Anne Sadie was thinking of this very piece when she aptly wrote of Mudge's 'flair for the unconventional'. See Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music* (London: Dent, 1990), 312.

²⁷ Manchester, Henry Watson Music Library, MS130Hd4, vols. 86–92. We are most grateful to the library's Ros Edwards for sending scans of sample pages. The text of this autograph manuscript is so close to that of the Walsh edition that, as Platt comments, it quite probably served as the final printer's copy. Platt, 'New Light on Richard Mudge', 540.

‘remote’ precautionary accidentals are indicated by an asterisk). To anyone familiar with mid-eighteenth-century notation, this compulsive insertion of unnecessary cancelling accidentals has the appearance of a private, self-imposed rule.²⁸ If Mudge shared it with someone else, that person remains to be identified, but even if not unique to Mudge, this strikingly similar use of precautionary accidentals in the *Medley Concerto* and Mudge’s concertos is unusual enough to hint strongly at common authorship.

The *Medley Concerto* described

The scoring of the *Medley Concerto* for seven-part strings (including the continuo part) and two French horns is absolutely typical for its time and place. Francesco Geminiani’s edition (1726) of his arrangements of the first six of Arcangelo Corelli’s op. 5 violin sonatas, followed soon afterwards by his own opp. 2 and 3 (1732), inaugurated a fashion – one should rather describe it as a standard layout – for the provision of ripieno in addition to concertino violin parts plus a separate cello part that could, if desired, emancipate itself from, or play without the support of, the continuo bass. The distinction between concertino and ripieno, inherited from the Roman tradition exemplified by Corelli, was particularly suited to British conditions, where professional musicians so often played alongside amateurs. Long after the seven-part concerto grosso layout had been abandoned on the Continent (Pietro Antonio Locatelli’s op. 4 of 1736 is the last example to spring to mind), it remained the norm in Britain. As late as 1785 it was still being used by Charles Wesley. The great virtue of the seven-part format was that it provided a catch-all receptacle for orchestral string music: it could accommodate equally well solo violin concertos, concertos for two violins and (as in Handel’s op. 6 no. 7) ripieno concertos without soloist.²⁹ It was also well suited to chamber-style performance (one instrument to a part), since the omission of either or both of the ripieno violins and sometimes even of the viola could often be undertaken without noticeably damaging the music.

The addition of two French horns to this ensemble had become by the 1750s a popular, albeit not indispensable, feature of British orchestral writing for ‘public’ venues such as theatres, pleasure gardens and concert halls. Restricting our remarks

²⁸ Mudge’s belt-and-braces approach to the notation of chromatic inflection may reflect his experience of amateur music-making in the provinces, where knowledge of the standard rules could perhaps not be taken absolutely for granted.

²⁹ Whenever the concertino violins or the cello have nothing independent to play, their partbooks merely duplicate the text of the corresponding ripieno part. Conversely, the ripieno parts for violins hardly ever contain anything distinctive: when they are not simply doubling the concertino line, they variously pause, present a simplified version of it and (but much less frequently) contribute a simple harmonic support.

to the concerto genre (horns had appeared slightly earlier in overtures), we find mention of concertos including them as early as 1723 (Handel's 'New Concerto for the French Horns', HWV 331, and a 'Grand Concerto' by Vivaldi with oboes and horns performed at the New Theatre in the Haymarket).³⁰ There then appears to be a short lull in the appearance of horns in concertos, but the momentum picks up again in 1740 with the publication of Johann Adolph Hasse's op. 4 concertos (actually a collection of six two- or three-movement overtures written in a concerto-like manner). Francesco Barsanti uses a pair of horns in five of his op. 3 *Concerti grossi* (1742); Handel includes horns in his *Concerto a due cori*, HWV 333 (1748); and by the 1750s concertos 'with' or 'for' French horns are all the rage: the near-interchangeability of the two prepositions in titles expresses the great variability of the instruments' treatment, which ranges from the ostentatiously *concertante* to the modestly accompanimental. The ambitious and taxing horn parts in the *Medley Concerto* constitute a veritable recipe book of the many possibilities: indeed, the slipping in and out of melodic prominence by the two horns is a major contributor to the work's musical vitality. As he had done earlier in the concerto with trumpet which heads his *Six Concertos*, Mudge shows great skill in his handling of the natural brass instruments, turning their limited choice of available notes into an asset feeding his imagination.³¹

In the *Medley Concerto*, as in his other published concertos, Mudge employs the standard four-movement plan (Slow–Fast–Slow–Fast) taken over, like the seven-part string scoring layout, from the Roman concerto tradition as exemplified by Corelli and popularized in Britain by Geminiani, which in its turn went back to sonata models of the late seventeenth century. Likewise inherited from this tradition is the concentration of the contrapuntal and structural heft in the first of the two quick movements (II) and the use of the internal slow movement (III) for tonal and modal contrast.

In schematic outline, the four movements, of which the incipits (all taken from the violino primo concertino part) appear as [Example 2](#), are as follows:

- I D major, Largo–Andante–Largo, C, 40 (6 + 28 + 6) bars, ending on V
- II D major, Allegro vivace, 6/8, 107 bars
- III B minor, Largo, C, 4 bars, ending on V (Phrygian cadence)
- IV D major, Moderato, C, 92 bars.

The design and character of each movement will now be described.

³⁰ Richard Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 131.

³¹ Mudge writes for horns pitched in D, the home key of the work, notating the parts in C major, a minor seventh above sounding pitch. Between them, the parts employ a compass running from written c' (fourth harmonic) to c''' (sixteenth harmonic). The described transposition is retained in Michael Talbot's edition of the *Medley Concerto* (Launton: Edition HH, 2015).

Example 2. *Medley Concerto*, movement incipits (with sectional incipits for movement I). © British Library Board, h.1568.f.(1.).

The image displays six staves of musical notation, each representing a different tempo or section of the piece. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#).

- Staff I(a):** Marked **Largo**. It begins with a half rest, followed by a quarter note G, a quarter rest, a quarter note A, a quarter rest, a half note B, a quarter note C, a quarter rest, a quarter note D, a quarter note E, a quarter note F#, and a quarter note G.
- Staff I(b):** Marked **Andante**. It features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a trill (tr) on the final note.
- Staff I(c):** Marked **Largo**. It follows the same initial sequence as I(a), but with a more complex rhythmic pattern in the final two bars, including dotted rhythms and eighth notes.
- Staff II:** Marked **Allegro vivace**. The time signature changes to 6/8. It features a lively eighth-note melody with a trill (tr) on the final note.
- Staff III:** Marked **Largo**. It consists of a few notes, including a trill (tr) on the final note.
- Staff IV:** Marked **Moderato**. It features a steady eighth-note melody.

Movement I

This movement employs the popular device of a frame enclosing the main, essentially lyrical, section.³² This six-bar frame, which is virtually identical on its two appearances (Mudge slightly elaborates the fourth and fifth bar the second time) has a conventionally dramatic character, opening with breathless chords separated by rests. The emphatic imperfect cadence with which it ends serves the first time to introduce the main section, the second time to introduce the next movement. No inkling of the ‘country dance’ nature of the principal material is given.³³

The main section, making up bars 7–34, comprises seven consecutive statements of the four-bar Scottish dance tune best known today from its later use as an American

³² For example, the first and third movements of Telemann’s *Concerto in E minor for flute and recorder*, TWV 52:e1, use the ‘frame’ device in a very similar way.

³³ There is, however, a subtle anticipation of the first bar of the dance (in rhythm, and partly in melodic contour) in bar 4.

Example 3. *Medley Concerto*, movement I, bars 11–14 (bass figures omitted). © British Library Board, h.1568.f.(1.).

The image displays a musical score for four instruments: Horns 1+2, Violins 1+2, Viola, and Vlc. + Basso. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It begins at bar 11. The Horns 1+2 part features a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and a trill in bar 14. The Violins 1+2 part provides harmonic support with chords and some melodic fragments. The Viola part has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The Vlc. + Basso part has a simple eighth-note bass line. The score is marked with '11' at the beginning and includes various musical notations such as stems, beams, and trills.

revolutionary song by the name of ‘Roxbury Reel’ (its provenance and history will be discussed in the next section). For each statement, Mudge adopts a technique of variation characteristic of traditional music rather than art music: instead of fixing the identity of each variation by constructing it around a distinctive and consistently maintained ‘idea’ (rhythmic, figurational, textural, harmonic and so on), he allows the variations to evolve through free paraphrase around the more or less fixed harmonic scheme based on primary triads. Statements 1, 4 and 7, in which the melody is carried by the first violins, coax it into different patterns that one could almost encounter in an ordinary concerto *Andante*, complete with appoggiaturas and trills (although the naive symmetry of the phrase structure is a little at odds with the melodic polish); the two pairs of statements (2–3 and 5–6) where the first horn has the melody present it in a more traditional guise, albeit each time with small, playful alterations (and matching variations in the accompanying parts). [Example 3](#) shows the initial entry of the horns.

Movement II

This is a complex and fairly lengthy fugue that utilizes practically the entirety of a Scottish traditional melody in the course of its fugal expositions, intervening episodes and final peroration.³⁴ The melody is given as [Example 4](#) in the version that Mudge is most likely to have used. Entitled ‘The Highlanders’ March’, the tune appears in a

³⁴ We use the term ‘exposition’ here in its American and German sense (*Durchführung* in German), referring to any block of entries – even an isolated entry – of the subject occurring in the course of the movement, rather than in its older British sense referring only to the first such block.

Example 4. 'The Highlanders' March' (*The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, vol. ii, book 7 (London: James Oswald, c.1756), 32). National Library of Scotland, Ing.86.(7).

Slow

The musical score is presented in three staves. The first staff (bars 1-4) contains segments A and B. The second staff (bars 5-8) contains segments C and D. The third staff (bars 9-12) contains segments AA and BB. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The tempo marking is 'Slow'.

monophonic setting (for flute or violin) in book 7 of James Oswald's multi-volume collection *The Caledonian Pocket Companion* (hereafter *CPC*).³⁵ Cast in rounded binary form with twin repeats (A:BA:), it comprises six segments, identified in Example 4 as A–D, followed by AA and BB (the segments with duplicated letters are variants belonging to the 'free paraphrase' type mentioned above). To the student of fugue and the devotee of thematic economy alike, this movement is an impressive compositional achievement in which erudition and humour support and actually intensify each other.

The first exposition occupies bars 1–18. The subject, identical to segment A (except for the evening out of the dotted rhythm), is presented successively in D (violin 1, bar 1), A (violin 2, bar 3), D (united basses, bar 5), A (viola, bar 11) and D (horns, bar 17).³⁶ There is no regular countersubject, but Mudge uses the codettas between the last three entries to quote material from segments B, C, D (in both plain and elaborated form) and BB.

The first episode, comprising bars 19–28, travels via E minor to B minor, utilizing material from the same five segments in repetition, juxtaposition and contrapuntal combination. Bars 29–30, a single entry of a truncated and freely continued

³⁵ *The Caledonian Pocket Companion Containing a Favourite Collection of Scotch Tunes with Variations for the German Flute or Violin*, 12 books bound in 2 vols. (London: James Oswald, c.1745–c.1760), vol. ii, book 7 (c.1756), 32.

³⁶ In the present description, concertino and ripieno violins are assumed to be in unison unless otherwise stated.

version of the subject in the bass, bring the period to a close. Immediately, a complementary second episode (bars 31–6) takes over, returning the music to D major. This develops the material of segments C and D intensively. Once again, an isolated entry of the subject in the bass – this time in complete, but cunningly inverted, form – underpins the close of the period in bars 37–8. Bars 31–8 are shown as [Example 5](#).

The third episode (bars 39–44) is a brief interlude in lightened texture (horns and ripieno violins drop out) based entirely on sequential reiteration of segment C. Bars 45–8 are a canonic restatement of the subject in D major, proposed in successive bars (thus in *stretto*) by violin 1, violin 2 and united basses, with viola doubling the last two entries. Bars 49–52 bring the fourth episode, based on segments C and D, which is rounded off in bars 53–4 by another ‘altered’ entry of the subject in the bass, this time cadencing in F♯ minor. The complementary fifth episode returning the music to D major (bars 55–8), which has the character of a retransition, is based mainly on the first bar of segment BB. It, too, is rounded off by a single statement of the subject – this time, unexpectedly, on unaccompanied unison violins, as if in the manner of traditional fiddlers. The longer sixth episode (bars 59–74) begins by intensively repeating the second bar of the subject sequentially, before coming to rest, in bar 67, on a bass pedal, over which versions of the first bar of segment BB are repetitively hammered out.

Bars 75–80 are a new exposition with three entries (violin 1 in A; unison violins in D; united basses in D). This exposition is orthodox in employing the cherished device of *rovescio* (‘reversal’: the announcement of the subject in its ‘answer’ form before it is restated at the original pitch), but less so in once again making both entries monophonic (the bass entry, however, is accompanied by the full ensemble). Bars 81–107 constitute what we have termed the final peroration, in which all the segments of the original tune are at some point revisited. In bars 80–1 the horns blast out a monotone in alternation, hunting-style. Bars 87–9 give the concertino violins a touch of arpeggiated bravura in accompaniment to motivic play in the other parts. From bar 94 onwards Mudge reintroduces the characteristic motif of a ‘drooping’ third (as found in the second bar of segments B and BB), which has been strangely – but, in the event, certainly not accidentally – absent since bar 8. With extended forms of this exuberant material, the whooping horns, abetted by their partners, bring this movement to a not exactly fugal close.

There is a close precedent for this type of movement in three of the *Nove overture a quattro*, op. 4, published privately by subscription in London around 1750 by Barsanti, who had settled in Britain in the early 1720s. The fugal sections of the initial movements of Barsanti’s first, sixth and ninth overtures all have subjects based on popular melodies; that of the ninth overture is in fact a country dance known in Scotland as ‘Babbity Bowster’ (and various other names besides), although Barsanti captions it with its English name of ‘Country Bumpkin’. Mudge was not among the

Example 5. *Medley Concerto*, movement II, bars 31–8 (bass figures omitted). © British Library Board, h.1568.f.(1.).

The musical score is presented in three systems, each containing four staves. The staves are labeled as follows: Horns 1+2, Violins 1+2, Viola, and Vlc. + Basso. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The first system (bars 31-32) shows the Horns playing chords, Violins playing a rhythmic eighth-note pattern, Viola playing a steady eighth-note line, and Vlc. + Basso playing long notes. The second system (bars 33-35) continues these patterns. The third system (bars 36-38) introduces trills (tr) in the Violins and Vlc. + Basso parts.

subscribers to Barsanti's collection, but he could very well have known it and set out to imitate the half-learned, half-jocular character of its fugal writing.³⁷

Movement III

The most familiar suitable comparator for this movement is the two-chord central movement of Bach's Third Brandenburg Concerto. Its sole function is to act as a parenthesis between the two faster movements, clearing the air with a switch to the relative minor key and a few seconds of slow tempo. Even under these limitations, Mudge shows a touch of class with his expressive rising major sixth (see above, [Example 2](#)), which restores the first violin to its natural position as the highest voice.

Movement IV

As the basis of his final movement Mudge chose the tune opening the sixth book of *CPC*, entitled there 'The Old Highland Laddie' ('old' referring to the tune rather than to the laddie!).³⁸ Like the 'Roxbury Reel', it comprises 12 bars in rounded binary form (A:BA:), each component having four bars. Oswald's starting version of the tune is already fairly ornate; Mudge's starting version (occupying bars 5–28, the repeats being fully written out) is by comparison rather skeletal. Whether this was a deliberate compositional modification or arose simply from the fact that Mudge quoted the tune by ear or from a different written source is not possible to say.³⁹ The two versions are compared in [Example 6](#).

The form of the movement is articulated in six sections as follows:

bars 1–4: introduction loosely paraphrasing bars 1–4 of the tune; melody on unison violins.

bars 5–28: statement 1 of the tune; melody on horn 1.

bars 29–36: episode 1, scored for unaccompanied concertino violins; modulates from B minor to F♯ minor.

bars 37–60: statement 2 of the tune; melody as before on horn 1, but this time with elaborate and varied figurations on horn 2 and the accompanying strings (introducing some semiquaver motion and double-stopping). The tension is ratcheted up further by use of a 'drum' bass.

³⁷ Francesco Barsanti (c.1690–1775) was resident in Scotland from 1735 to 1743, and published an influential collection of *Old Scots Tunes* in 1742. On Barsanti's life and career, see Jasmin Cameron and Michael Talbot, 'A Many-Sided Musician: The Life of Francesco Barsanti (c.1690–1775) Revisited', *Recercare*, 25 (2013), 95–154; on his use of popular material in op. 4, see Michael Talbot, 'Francesco Barsanti and the Lure of National Song', *Il saggiatore musicale*, 22 (2015), 33–59.

³⁸ *CPC*, vol. i, book 6 (c.1755), 1. This version appends three variations to the tune.

³⁹ The melody could of course have been simplified deliberately to suit the character and technique of the natural horn.

bars 61–8: episode 2, scored for concertino violins and cello; in B minor, cadencing on the dominant.

bars 69–92: statement 3 of the tune; melody on violin 1, with assorted *concertante* figurations in the upper and middle parts.

The insertion of episodes resembling the *couplets* of French-style rondos is a feature very popular in the British music of the time, not excepting movements otherwise very Italianate in style. Here, their role is to offer tonal and textural contrast between the successive statements of the tune.⁴⁰ What the tabulation above does not show is the considerable amount of ‘microvariation’ between sections and their immediate

Example 6. ‘The Old Highland Laddie’, bars 1–12 (*The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, vol. i, book 6 (London: James Oswald, c.1755), 1, transposed from G major to D major; National Library of Scotland, Ing.68(6)), compared with Mudge, *Medley Concerto*, movement IV, horn 1, bars 5–28 (notated with the use of repeat signs; © British Library Board, h.1568.f.(1.)).

Brisk
Oswald

Moderato
Mudge

5

13/21

9

17/25

★

★Quavers E and D on second playing.

⁴⁰ Peter Holman has pointed out to us in private correspondence how the sparse writing for two unaccompanied solo violins in bars 61–8 suggests the influence of William Boyce, who used the same effect in his overture to *Peleus and Thetis* (c.1740).

repetitions: Mudge truly enters into the spirit of traditional music, seeking ever new inflections of the original melody and its accompaniment.

The *Medley Concerto* resists easy categorization: quite simply, it is *sui generis*. But it is important to view it not merely through the lens of the concerto but also in the context of the dances and their melodies that make up most of its raw material. To this subject we now turn.

The three country dances

The challenge of identifying the melodies chosen by Mudge as the basis for the *Medley Concerto* was lessened considerably by Charles Gore's *Scottish Fiddle Music Index*. That work lists the titles and 'tune codes' (numerical sequences derived from the on-beat pitches of the opening two bars) of tunes from printed collections of Scottish dance music published from 1700 to 1900.⁴¹ 'The Old Highland Laddie' and 'The Highlanders' March' were easily identifiable on the strength of their tune codes and located to books 6 and 7 respectively of *CPC*.⁴² *CPC* is the only known source for the latter tune, but the former is found in many later sources, and remains in the repertoire of Scottish dance-band musicians to this day under the new title of 'Kate Dalrymple'. In the nineteenth century, a tune of the same name ('The Old Highland Laddie') was among those set by Haydn in a commission from the Scottish music publisher George Thomson, and Ferdinand Ries chose it as his theme for an air with variations for piano.⁴³ However, this is different from the tune included by Mudge. Thomas Arne composed a setting of 'The [New] Highland Laddie' that was published as a broadside in the same period, but its melody bears no similarity to that of 'The Old Highland Laddie'.⁴⁴

The tune we are referring to as 'Roxbury Reel' proved more problematic to identify, its 'tune code' most closely resembling a tune called 'Ambelree' that was first published well after Mudge composed the concerto.⁴⁵ However, an examination of book 7 of *CPC* revealed the tune, seemingly untitled but marked 'Brisk', on the same page

⁴¹ Charles Gore, *The Scottish Fiddle Music Index: Tune Titles from the Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Printed Instrumental Music Collections; List of Indexed and Related Collections and Where to Find Them; Index to Numerical Musical Theme Codes* (Musselburgh: Amasing Publishing House, 1994).

⁴² *CPC*, vol. i, book 6 (c.1755), 1; vol. ii, book 7 (c.1756), 32. Assuming *CPC* was Mudge's source, it is interesting to observe that books 6 and 7 were published only in c.1755 and c.1756 respectively – thus only shortly before the probable date of publication of the parts for the *Medley Concerto*.

⁴³ *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice*, 5 vols. (Edinburgh: George Thomson, 1799–1818), iv (1805), 189; Ferdinand Ries, *The Old Highland Laddie: A Favorite Scotch Air with Variations for the Piano Forte* (London: E. Lavenu, [1820?]).

⁴⁴ Thomas Arne, *The Highland Laddie*, National Library of Scotland (2004), <<http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/15922>> (accessed 9 November 2015).

⁴⁵ *Part Third of the Complete Repository of Original Scots Slow Strathspeys, and Dances (the Dances Arranged as Medleys) for the Harp or Piano-Forte Violin and Violoncello, etc.* (Edinburgh: Gow & Shepherd, c.1806), 18.

as and immediately following ‘The Highlanders’ March’ (which is marked ‘Slow’), and followed by five variations (see Figure 1, where the contiguous repeat marks between the slow and brisk sections imply a single, multi-sectioned tune rather than two autonomous tunes). John Purser claims that the melody of the slow section is an adaptation of ‘A Rock and a wi Pickle Tow’ from book 1 of *CPC*, with the brisk



Figure 1. ‘The Highlanders’ March’ (*The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, vol. ii, book 7 (London: James Oswald, c.1756), 32). National Library of Scotland, Ing.68(7). Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Example 7. (a) 'A Rock and a wi Pickle Tow (Gig)' (*The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, vol. i, book 1 (London: James Oswald, c.1745), 8); National Library of Scotland, Ing.68(1). (b) 'The Highlanders' March (Slow)' (*ibid.*, vol. ii, book 7 (London: James Oswald, c.1756), 32), transposed from D major to G major; National Library of Scotland, Ing.68(7).

section a set of 'three variations in reel time'.⁴⁶ Example 7 highlights the commonalities between 'The Highlanders' March (Slow)' and the 'Gig' variation from 'A Rock and a wi Pickle Tow'. Alternatively, it is possible that the brisk section was intended as an autonomous tune, its title omitted in error. This would better explain its inclusion in Mudge's concerto, as his decision to base separate movements on two sections of a tune seems incongruous. However, the connective repeat marks and commonality of key strongly support its interpretation as a single, multi-sectional tune. Further, Oswald went on to publish a larger-scale multi-section work in book 9, 'A Highland Battle', for which 'The Highlanders' March' may have been a prototype.⁴⁷

The similarity between 'The Highlanders' March (Brisk)' and 'Ambelree' is unlikely to be coincidental, the collector of the latter tune, Nathaniel Gow, probably

⁴⁶ John Purser, 'Notes to Volume II Book VII of James Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion*', *The Caledonian Pocket Companion by James Oswald*, CD-ROM (East Drayton: Nick Parkes, 2007), [14].

⁴⁷ *CPC*, vol.ii, book 9 (c.1758), 68–9.

having ‘borrowed’ the seemingly untitled tune from *CPC* and updated it to suit the preferences of his early nineteenth-century market.⁴⁸ ‘Roxbury Reel’ was identified via a RISM incipit search, its opening bars bearing a strong resemblance to the ‘brisk’ section of ‘The Highlanders’ March’. The tune was published under the latter title in *The Fifer’s Companion* (1805), and it is included in William A. Brown’s untitled manuscript book for clarinet (c.1840) together with other traditional melodies and rudimentary pedagogical material.⁴⁹ As is common in the transmission of traditional music, the tune was renamed when exported to North America, Roxbury being a former municipality of Boston, Massachusetts, and a place of strategic significance in the Siege of Boston, which marked the start of the War of American Independence.

The four settings of the tune thus identified are given alongside Mudge’s setting in [Example 8](#). Oswald’s setting (Example 8b) was probably Mudge’s source of the melody, no earlier or contemporaneous setting having been found. Mudge’s adaptation reflects both his stylistic preference (the dotted rhythms and Andante marking) and the need for instrumentally idiomatic figurations (the slurred semiquavers in *CPC* bar 3, which are idiomatic for performance on the flute, are adapted to suit the natural horn). The *f*’s in bar 2 of Gow’s setting of ‘Amberree’ (Example 8e) highlight a potential ‘Scoticism’ of the tune not exploited by Mudge, which is described rather imperfectly by Francis Collinson as the double tonic.⁵⁰ The term refers to the perceived harmonic basis of many traditional Scottish melodies that consists of an alternation between chords I and bVII. Taking the Oswald setting as our example, the minim *e*’ in bar 2 could be taken to imply a double tonic rather than dominant harmony (in this case, a chord of C rather than A).⁵¹ ‘Roxbury Reel’ (Examples 8c and d), while clearly

⁴⁸ Nathaniel Gow had a reputation for such ‘borrowing’. See Mary Anne Alburger, *Scottish Fiddlers and their Music* (London: Gollancz, 1983), 126–30.

⁴⁹ *The Fifer’s Companion N° 1, Containing Instructions for Playing the Fife, and a Collection of Music, Consisting of Marches, Airs, etc. with their Seconds Added*, ed. Joshua Cushing (Salem: Cushing & Appleton, 1805), 21; William A. Brown, untitled manuscript book for clarinet, Peabody and Essex Museums, James Duncan Phillips Library (US-SA), MSS 475, box 4, folder 5, fol. 7^v.

⁵⁰ Francis Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), 26.

⁵¹ Interestingly, there is a Jacobite association with Gow’s setting, Amulree being a hamlet in Perthshire where, it is said, a meeting was held ‘to ascertain the feelings of individuals towards the cause’. *Jacobite Minstrelsy; With Notes Illustrative of the Text, and Containing Historical Details in Relation to the House of Stuart, from 1640 to 1784* (Glasgow: Richard Griffen, 1829), 118. Further settings of ‘Amberree’ were published throughout the nineteenth century in collections including Joseph Lowe, *Lowe’s Collection of Reels, Strathspeys and Jigs, Being a New and Complete Selection of the Best Dancing Tunes in their Proper Keys*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Paterson, c.1844), vi, 14; John Thomas Surenne, *The Dance Music of Scotland: A Collection of All the Best Strathspeys and Reels, Both of the Highlands and Lowlands* (Edinburgh: Bayley & Ferguson, 1850), 38; James Kerr, *Kerr’s Second Collection of Merry Melodies for the Violin: Consisting of Scotch and Irish Reels and Jigs, Highland Schottisches, Country Dances, Hornpipes, Clog Dances, Waltzes, Polkas, etc., in all 445 Airs, Specially Arranged for the Ballroom* (Glasgow: Bayley & Ferguson, c.1870), 16; James Stewart Robertson, *The Athole Collection of the Dance Music of Scotland* (Edinburgh: MacLachlan & Stewart; London: J. B. Cramer, 1884), 155.

Example 8. (a) *Medley Concerto*, movement I, bars 11–14 (horn I); © British Library Board, h.1568.f.(1.). (b) ‘The Highlanders’ March (Brisk)’, bars 1–4 (*The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, vol. ii, book 7 (London: James Oswald, c.1756), 32); National Library of Scotland, Ing.68(7). (c) ‘Roxbury Reel’, bars 1–4 (*The Fifer’s Companion N^o 1*, ed. Joshua Cushing (Salem: Cushing & Appleton, 1805), 21); original time signature 2/4, note values doubled. (d) ‘Roxbury Reel’, bars 1–4 (William A. Brown, [Marches, Dance Music, Duets in Treble Clef. Includes ‘A Plain Scale for the Clarionette’, ‘Scale of Flats and Sharps’. Inscribed ‘William A. Brown’], Peabody and Essex Museums, James Duncan Phillips Library (US-SA), MSS 475, box 4, folder 5, fol. 7^v); original time signature 2/4, note values doubled. (e) ‘Ambleree’, bars 1–4 (*Part Third of the Complete Repository of Original Scots Slow Strathspeys, and Dances* (Edinburgh: Gow & Shepherd, c.1806), 18; opening quaver anacrusis omitted); Brigham Young University Library, M0525.

belonging to the same tune family as Oswald’s setting, was either copied from an unidentified (later) source or transcribed from performance.⁵²

Interestingly, Mudge’s source seems most likely to have been books 6 and 7 of *CPC*, which Purser dates to c.1755 and c.1756 respectively.⁵³ The designation of the melodies as ‘three country dances’ implies that each had an accompanying choreography, but none has been identified. Mudge’s choice of ‘The Highlanders’ March (Slow)’ which, unlike the other melodies, is not a dance tune, suggests that the term may have been used loosely for marketing purposes and to imply a general repertory rather than anything more specific. Both ‘The Old Highland Laddie’ and ‘The Highlanders’ March (Brisk)’ are reels, as is reflected in their shared tempo marking, but their presentation in a series such as *CPC* is more indicative of domestic

⁵² The *b*'' in bar 3 of Example 8(d) is perhaps a miscopied or mistranscribed note rather than a genuine variant. The dissociation of the slow and brisk sections of ‘The Highlanders’ March’ is not surprising, given that traditional music is typically transmitted aurally – one impact being the inevitable lessening of the fixity of the musical text.

⁵³ John Purser, ‘James Oswald: Caledonian Pocket Companion’, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion by James Oswald*, [4]–[5].

performance as chamber music by amateur music-makers than of performance by professional dance-band musicians at an assembly.⁵⁴

Scottish traditional music in London

London was an attractive destination to musicians from throughout Europe and the British Isles in the eighteenth century, and Scottish musicians were no exception. Scottish song and dance music were already familiar to many Londoners from the performances of servants attached to noble Scottish households that were in town to attend court, and from publications such as *The English Dancing Master* and *A Collection of Original Scots Tunes, (Full of the Highland Humours)*.⁵⁵ However, the emergence of new fashions and performance contexts in the course of the eighteenth century raised the status of Scottish music and musicians. By mid-century, 'Scotch song' was a regular entertainment on the theatre stage, and Walsh's series *Caledonian Country Dances* exemplifies the enthusiasm for Scottish country dances in the capital throughout the period.⁵⁶ However, as George Emmerson writes of the choreography at the time:

It is likely that a number of the dances emanated from Scotland, but it is not possible to distinguish these from the English dances except, perhaps, where they contain the figures reel of three at the sides and set to and turn corners, figures which became popular in Scotland.⁵⁷

The same was true of the music, with many of the melodies newly composed to satisfy demand. Writing in 1822 or 1823, Thomson gave an account of earlier practices among English composers that Claire Nelson interprets as distinguishing between a non-original 'Scottish style' and a native 'Scottish character':

A short time before the publication of the Tea-Table Miscellany, it had become very much the fashion in London to write and compose songs and tunes in the Scottish style, for the theatres and public gardens. Some of these were adopted by Ramsay; and, by this means, have obtained a place among our popular airs, though they possess very little of the Scottish character. The composers of those airs, from Dr Green down to Dr Arne, seem to have adopted a kind of conventional style, which they chose to call Scottish; and a good many

⁵⁴ Oswald limits himself to only two tempo directions throughout *CPC*, vol. ii, book 7: 'slow' and 'brisk', with the addition of 'tender' and 'mod[erately] quick' in book 6.

⁵⁵ *The English Dancing Master or, Plaine and Easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to Each Dance* (London: John Playford, 1651); *A Collection of Original Scots Tunes, (Full of the Highland Humours), for the Violin being the First of this Kind Yet Printed: Most of Them Being in the Compass of the Flute* (London: Henry Playford, 1700).

⁵⁶ *Caledonian Country Dances*, 9 vols. (London: John Walsh, 1733–c.1760).

⁵⁷ George S. Emmerson, *A Social History of Scottish Country Dancing: Ane Celestial Recreation* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), 271.

of their airs having found their way into Scotland, have become naturalized among us.⁵⁸ Indeed, Roger Fiske highlights how lyrics were often more important than the music in defining the style of a 'Scotch song'.⁵⁹

The Jacobite campaign of 1745–6 stimulated a renewed interest in Scottish music, with Highland culture perceived as 'exotic' once the threat posed by Prince Charles Edward Stuart had been neutralized. The vogue achieved its most infamous manifestation in James Macpherson's Ossianic poetry from around 1760, but Oswald had been publishing music since about 1745 that propagated a 'Highland' topos. Tunes with 'Highland' titles pervade the 12 books of his *CPC* (the series from which Mudge selected the melodies for his *Medley Concerto*), where Scottish-cum-Highland musical features (such as the implication of a 'double-tonic' tonality, pentatonicism and the rhythmic profile of a Scottish dance type) were also widely used. Indeed, Mary Anne Alburger notes that the series is a collection of 'traditional Scottish and *Scottish Gaelic* music', Highland culture being synonymous with Gaelic culture at this time.⁶⁰ Of particular interest are the variation sets composed by Oswald to many popular tunes, in addition to melodies of his own composition (identifiable as those marked by a cross on the original contents pages).

Oswald was one of several Scottish musicians active in London in the eighteenth century, and had the biggest impact on the popularization of Scottish music there.⁶¹ He was born in Crail on the East Neuk of Fife, and was a dancing-master in the area before moving to Edinburgh by 1736, where his earliest compositions were published. He moved to London in 1741, and by 1747 had established a music-publishing firm at St Martin's Church Yard in the Strand.⁶² Notable among his compositions are two sets of 48 sonatas in which each sonata is named after a flower, a shrub or a tree, and they are grouped according to the seasons.⁶³

⁵⁸ See, for example, *The Select Melodies of Scotland, Interspersed with Those of Ireland and Wales United to the Songs of Robt. Burns, Sir Walter Scott Bart. and Other Distinguished Poets; with Symphonies and Accompaniments for the Piano Forte by Pleyel, Kozeluch, Haydn and Beethoven*, 5 vols. (London: Preston; Edinburgh: George Thomson, 1822–3), cited in Claire Nelson, 'Creating a Notion of "Britishness": The Role of Scottish Music in the Negotiation of a Common Culture, with Particular Reference to the 18th Century Accompanied Sonata' (D.Mus. thesis, Royal College of Music, 2003), 170.

⁵⁹ Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 5–6.

⁶⁰ Mary Anne Alburger, 'Musical Scots and Scottish Music Patrons in London and Edinburgh', *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Stana Nenadic (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2010), 186–203 (p. 191; emphasis added).

⁶¹ Others include the music publisher Robert Bremner, the singer William Thomson and the composer Thomas Erskine, sixth Earl of Kellie.

⁶² Purser, 'James Oswald: Caledonian Pocket Companion', [15–18].

⁶³ [*Airs for the Seasons*], 2 sets of 4 vols. each, published as (1) *Airs for Spring* and *Airs for Summer*, and (2) *Airs for Autumn* and *Airs for Winter* (London: James Oswald, 1755–61). Purser has demonstrated the symbolic numerological associations of many of the sonatas; see John Purser, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh: Mainstream in conjunction with BBC Scotland, 1992; 2nd edn, Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2007), 156.

Oswald's reception in the twentieth century has been made problematic by the seemingly incongruous combination of 'classical' and 'folk' works in his oeuvre. Modern attitudes towards music categorization are marked by a stark divide between the two, but, as Matthew Gelbart explains, ideas about musical categorization were different in the eighteenth century:

Back before the folk–art split, a composer such as Oswald could straddle Scottish and international styles without worrying about being a 'folk composer' or an 'art composer', he was just a composer [...] but by the time the Scottish Fiddler Niel Gow (1727–1807) was flourishing, to be a great Scottish musician meant to be a great 'folk' musician.⁶⁴

In a similar vein, David Johnson discusses the 'cross currents' in Scottish music at this time, namely those between art music and folk music, whether in the setting of traditional dance melodies as chamber music with 'tasteful' ornamentation, or in the composition of chamber music with identifiably Scottish musical characteristics.⁶⁵ However, this frame of reference is made problematic by the historical contingency of these musical categories, with ideas about folk music and art music emerging only in the course of the eighteenth century and not becoming established in common use until late in the nineteenth century. As Gelbart explains, music was more readily categorized according to its function in the eighteenth century – as dance music or concert music, for instance.⁶⁶ Thus the identification of traditional music at this time is complicated by modern attitudes that place significantly more value on authorship and recognize a sharp divide between 'folk music' and 'art music'. Oswald's duality as a composer of chamber music and 'traditional' variations on popular dance tunes therefore seems incongruous.

Viewing Mudge's *Medley Concerto* in this context, his choice of Scottish themes followed the precedent set by Geminiani in his arrangements of Scots songs in his *Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick*.⁶⁷ More than two decades later, J. C. Bach also derived inspiration from Scottish tunes, for example in his use of the popular Scottish air 'The Yellow Hair'd Laddie' for a theme and variations finale to his keyboard concerto op. 13 no. 4 in 1777. What had begun as a trickle in the second half of the eighteenth century was to become a flood in the nineteenth century, when Scottish (or other 'national') melodies sometimes came to permeate the entire substance of a potpourri-like composition. This occurs with high artistic effect in Ignaz Moscheles's *Anticipations of Scotland*, op. 75 (1828), for piano and orchestra and Max Bruch's

⁶⁴ Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music': Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 239–40.

⁶⁵ David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 3–22.

⁶⁶ Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'*, 15.

⁶⁷ Francesco Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick Dedicated to His Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales* (London, 1749).

better-known *Scottish Fantasy*, op. 46 (1880), for violin and orchestra. As in Mudge's prototype (as one might term it), the favoured structural vehicle always remains variation form, with occasional ventures into fugal texture. Constant Lambert's strident insistence on an 'obvious technical conflict between the folk song and classical form' was unquestionably a considerable overstatement,⁶⁸ but it does correctly recognize that orthodox developmental processes, such as are inherent in sonata form, often sound forced when applied to folk material. In contrast, variation form, which is at root only a sophisticated type of strophic form, is common to traditional music and art music and therefore an ideal bridge between them. In all the quoted instances, the melodies, popularized through song or dance, were abstracted from their original performance context and arranged to suit contemporary tastes and fashions in the sure knowledge that they would appeal to the public.

Conclusion

Mudge's *Medley Concerto* is a historically significant work in the canon of British compositions from the eighteenth century, being unique in form for its time and demonstrating the composer's ability in the concerto grosso genre. Indeed, the attribution to Mudge contributes an important new work to his small oeuvre, placing on show his assured writing for horns and successfully taking over modalities of melodic variation more closely associated today with traditional music.

Even if Mudge's *Medley Concerto* has more the character of an ephemeral novelty than that of a work conceived by its creator as pioneering in the sense of inviting successors, it nevertheless deserves to be seen as a straw in the wind. One might have imagined that the eighteenth century, with its rigid social hierarchies and extreme inequalities, would have been unsympathetic to the idea of joining art music to folk music, but the reverse turned out to be the case. Crucial was the fact that in British urban and rural society as a whole the different social classes lived in close proximity to one another, servants next to masters and tenants next to landlords, making inevitable the mingling of 'high' and 'low' cultures within the everyday soundscape. Moreover, in a period, the 1750s, when national cohesion in the face of foreign threats (or in support of fresh imperial adventures) was universally sensed as a necessity, an overt cultural gesture towards the populace at large, and especially towards the 'North Britons', not long since welcomed into the fold (as southerners would see it) and not yet fully integrated politically, would be more likely than ever to win approval among the London theatre-goers or members of music clubs who first heard this concerto. In this respect, the *Medley Concerto* goes beyond its genre and function to throw a revealing spotlight on its time and place.

⁶⁸ Constant Lambert, *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline* (London: Faber & Faber, 1934), 164.

ABSTRACT

A previously unnoticed concerto for two horns and strings published anonymously in London probably in late 1757 or 1758 is attributable to Richard Mudge (1718–63), a clergyman-composer best known for his *Six Concertos in Seven Parts*. The print names it *A Concerto Principally Form'd upon Subjects Taken from Three Country Dances*, and there is evidence to suggest that it is identical to the *Medley Concerto* listed elsewhere under Mudge's name. The concerto can in turn be linked to so-called 'Medley Concerts' that took place in London in 1757. The country dances, on whose material Mudge draws with obvious respect for the originals, are all Scottish tunes found in James Oswald's slightly earlier collections. Mudge's original and attractive work testifies to the great interest in Scottish, in particular 'Highland', music in mid-eighteenth-century London, prompting reflection on the many-sided and surprisingly intimate relationship that then existed between traditional music and art music.