

The Histories of Charles Burney and John Hawkins:
A Cultural Context

A thesis submitted for the degree of M.Litt., 2018

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

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Four memorable, enriching undergraduate years (1992–1996) in the then Trinity School of Music opened up the world of musicology to me and provided the impetus to continue at post-graduate level. For this I am very grateful.

I also acknowledge the support of my brother, Brendan, whose encouragement to climb mountains continues.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my parents.

Summary

The *Histories* of Charles Burney and John Hawkins are examined with reference to the observation by Carl Dahlhaus (1983) and Warren Dwight Allen (1939/62) that written history reflects the culture of the age in which it is written, and also reflects the backgrounds and conditioning of its authors. To test that theory the following methodology is used to identify the culture in question and establish the background of the authors. Music in its social context is examined with reference to eighteenth-century perceptions of music as they pertained to Charles Burney and John Hawkins as historians of music. Conditions, intellectual and practical, that shaped the writing of their *Histories* are investigated. The influence of Enlightenment philosophy is examined in its manifestation in English life and letters, as is the contribution of historiographical theory and practice. Previous histories of music are tabulated to facilitate an appraisal of such works and to contextualise the vacuum that Burney and Hawkins aimed to fill. In tracing relevant developments within larger, influential historical movements, significant influences in the seventeenth century and earlier are considered. Practical conditions which played a part in facilitating the writing of the *Histories* of Burney and Hawkins are examined. In particular, print culture is explored, and, arising from it, the culture of criticism which facilitated comment on the subject of music. Biographies of these two historians are summarised in aspects relevant to their approaches to the history-writing task they undertook.

This research finds an ambiguous attitude to music in eighteenth-century society which both authors identified and sought to correct; evidence of Enlightenment values in a humanist approach to historiography and in the empirical approach of both historians; and evidence of the growth of historical consciousness. Ideological differences between the two historians are revealed, with Burney defining music as an entertaining art, and Hawkins insisting on its identity as a science. The ancient/modern music debate fundamentally divides the two authors: Burney was a modernist and Hawkins championed ancient music. In this they reflect different facets of the cultural values of their time, both of which were essential to the establishment of a timeless canon of musical classics. Their divergences of opinion also reveal the influence of the backgrounds of the historians: Burney the socially ambitious professional musician and Hawkins the lawyer and antiquary.

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Abbreviations and Short Titles

<i>GMO</i>	<i>Grove Music Online</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>MGG</i>	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
<i>NG</i>	<i>New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i>

Note: Where multiple publication dates are given, the latest edition has been consulted.

Burney's Writings

Burney, <i>Tour 1</i>	<i>The Present State of Music in France and Italy</i> , 1771.
Burney, <i>Tour 2</i>	<i>The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces</i> , 1773; 2 nd edn 1775.
Burney <i>GH 1, GH 2</i>	<i>A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period</i> , 1776–1789; Frank Mercer (ed.), 1935, 1957, 2 vols.
Burney, <i>Memoirs</i>	<i>Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726–1769</i> , Slava Klima, Garry Bowers and Kerry S. Grant (eds.), 1988.
Burney, <i>Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of Dr. Charles Burney, vol. 1, 1751–1784</i> , A. V. F. Ribeiro (ed.), 1991.

Hawkins's Writings

Hawkins, <i>Steffani</i>	'Life of Signor Agostino Steffani,' <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> xxi, 1761.
Hawkins, <i>An Account</i>	<i>An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music, 1770</i> , Christopher Hogwood (ed.), 1998.
Hawkins, <i>GH 1, GH 2</i>	<i>A General History of the Science and Practice of Music</i> 1776; repr. of 1853 edn, 2 vols., 1963.

Other Works

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- Altick, *The Eng. Common Reader* Richard D., Altick, *The English Common Reader, A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900*, 1957.
- Avison, *Musical Espression* Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Espression*, 1752; 1775.
- Bacon, *Learning* Sir Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, 1605; G.W. Kitchin (ed.), 1973.
- Black, *The British Abroad* Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, 1992, 1997.
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- Brewer, *English Culture* John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 2013.
- Buelow, ‘The “loci topici”’ George J. Buelow, ‘The “loci topici” and Affect in Late Baroque Music: Heinichen’s Practical Demonstration,’ *The Music Review*, 1966.
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- Chambers* Melanie Parry, *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, 1997.
- Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History* Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, J. B. Robinson (trans.), 1983.
- Davis, *Life of Hawkins* Bertram H. Davis, *A Proof of Eminence: The Life of Sir John Hawkins*, 1973.
- Eggington, *Advancement of Mus.* Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music*, 2014.
- Evans, *In Defence of History* Richard. J., Evans, *In Defence of History*, 1997.

- F. G. E[dwards], ‘Hawkins, A Biog. Sketch’ F. G. E[dwards], ‘Sir John Hawkins, 1719–1789, A Biographical Sketch,’ *The Musical Times*, 1904.
- Fubini, *Aesthetics* Enrico Fubini, *The History of Music Aesthetics*, Michael Hatwell (trans.), 1990.
- Fubini, *Music and Culture* Enrico Fubini, *Music and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: A Source Book*, Wolfgang Freis, Lisa Gasbarrone, Michael Louis Leone (trans.), 1994.
- Gardiner, *Theories of History* Patrick Gardiner (ed.), *Theories of History: Readings from Classical and Contemporary Sources*, 1959.
- Gent. Mag.* *Gentleman’s Magazine*.
- Goff, *Newspapers* Moira Goff, ‘The Burney Newspapers at the British Library,’ *17th–18th-Century Burney Collection Newspapers*, 2007.
- Grant, *Burney as Critic* Kerry Scott Grant, *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*, 1983.
- Heartz, ‘Enlightenment’ Daniel Heartz ‘Enlightenment,’ *NG*.
- Hogwood, ‘Thomas Tudway’s History of Music’ Christopher Hogwood, ‘Thomas Tudway’s History of Music,’ in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England, Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (eds.), 1983.
- Hogwood, “‘Gropers into Antique Music’” Christopher Hogwood, “‘Gropers into Antique Musick’ or ‘A Very Ancient and Respectable Society’? Historical Views of the Academy of Ancient Music,’ in *Coll’ astuzia, col giudizio: Essays in Honor of Neal Zaslaw*, Cliff Eisen (ed.), 2009).
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- Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.* Roger Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney, A Literary Biography*, 1965.
- Mackerness, *Social Hist. of Eng. Mus.* E. D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, 1964.
- Peacham’s Gentleman* *Peacham’s Compleat Gentleman 1634*, G. S. Gordon (intro.), 1906.

- Porter, *Enlightenment* Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World*, 2000.
- Raynor, *Social Hist. of Mus.* Henry Raynor, *A Social History of Music, from the Middle Ages to Beethoven*, 1972; 1978.
- Roger North, *Musicall Grammarian* Roger North's *The Musicall Grammarian, 1728*, Mary Chan and Jamie Croy Kassler, (eds.), 1990.
- Rohr, *British Musicians* Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850*, 2001.
- Rumbold, 'Music Aspires to Letters' Valerie Rumbold, 'Music Aspires to Letters: Charles Burney, Queeney Thrale and the Streatham Circle,' *Music and Letters*, 1993.
- Russell, *History of Western Philosophy* Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, 1946, 1961, 1991.
- Scholes, *Hawkins* Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins*, 1953.
- Tillyard, *Aristocrats* Stella Tillyard, *Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa and Sarah Lennox, 1740–1832*, 1994.
- Turgot, *On Progress* *Turgot on Progress, Sociology and Economics*, Ronald L. Meek (trans., ed.), 1973.
- Turnbull, 'Thomas Tudway' 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection,' Edward Turnbull, *JAMS*, 1955.
- Voltaire, *Letters* Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, 1733, Nicholas Cronk (ed.), 1994.
- Weber, *Musical Classics* William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, 1992.
- Wood, *of Oxford* *The Life and Times of Henry Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–1695: Described by Himself; Collected from his Diaries and Other Papers by Andrew Clarke*, vol. 2, 1664–1681 (1891).

Introduction

The histories of both Charles Burney (1726–1814) and John Hawkins (1719–1789) were published in 1776: that of Hawkins *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* in its entirety of five volumes in November of that year; the publication of Burney's *A General History of Music* spanned thirteen years, with volume one appearing in January 1776, and the final volume, volume four, in 1789. In the preambles to their histories of music, both Burney and Hawkins claimed to meet the need for such a history. Hawkins held:

The wonder is that less of that curiosity, which leads men to enquire into the history and progress of the arts, and their gradual advances towards perfection, had been exercised in the instance [of music].¹

Burney deplored the fact that

[music] should hitherto never have had its progressive improvements and revolutions deduced through a regular history, by any English writer.²

In his analysis of the nature of history, Carl Dahlhaus states 'it is a universally accepted commonplace that written history bears the imprint of the age in which it was written.'³ He mentions the significance of the perception of the 'continuity that binds [facts] together,' and the selection process which in measuring and classifying 'leaves its mark on the object it apprehends.'⁴ Thus, if a modern history is to be understood as a narrative which aims to trace the thread of continuity between related events and developments, by virtue of its nature it offers to the reader much more than a chronicle of occurrences. As the tracing of this thread of continuity involves the identification and interpretation of links, and a selection process in the use of material, a history provides a dual record: as well as intentionally recording the culture of the time it sets out to record, at the same time it unintentionally reflects the culture of the time of its writing, and also the conditioning of its author and prejudice and motivation arising from this conditioning. Dahlhaus claims that

¹ Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: Thomas Payne, 1776; repr. of 1853 edn, 2 vols., New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1963), vol.1, xx.

² Charles Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period. To which is prefixed, a Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients* (London: printed for the author and sold by T. Beckett, J. Robson and G. Robinson, 1776–1789; Frank Mercer (ed.), 2 vols., New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1935, 1957), vol. 1, 11.

³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, J. B. Robinson (trans.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

it is by no means irrelevant to investigate [a history's] author [...] by bearing in mind who he was and what assumptions underlay his thoughts and feelings.⁵

Thus, a history, whatever its subject matter, is more than a chronicle of that subject.

Warren Dwight Allen also maintains that the literature of music histories

bears important relationships to general trends in thought and culture, in the environment of each author and in his musical and intellectual heritage.⁶

With similar aspirations presented by two English authors who were independently motivated towards the same end at around the same time, there is an implication of the existence of particular conditions conducive to such an enterprise. The aim of this dissertation is to place the histories of the two authors in the cultural context of their time, in order to explore how contemporary ideas with regard to music are reflected in the correspondence or divergence of the authors' views.

Maria Semi acknowledges that 'a literature specifically centred on Hawkins and Burney does exist, but there have been few attempts to frame their works within a broad cultural context;' her *Music as a Science of Mankind in Eighteenth-Century Britain* frames the works within the context of eighteenth-century aesthetic theory.⁷ This thesis places the histories of Burney and Hawkins in a more general cultural context.

The *Histories* themselves are the principal primary material in the literature. The most direct source of biographical information on Charles Burney was his own record in his letters and memoirs. This record, however, was subjected to the re-working of his daughter, Madame d'Arblay (Fanny Burney). Percy Scholes was first in print on the subject with *The Great Dr. Burney* (1948).⁸ Getting beyond the editorial interventions of Madame d'Arblay in her publication of the *Memoirs* (1832) has presented a challenge to all authors researching Burney's life and work. The availability in the 1950s of previously unpublished Burney papers facilitated Roger Lonsdale's comprehensive, critical approach in *Dr. Charles Burney: A Literary Biography*,⁹ which presents the more complete picture of Burney and his work, and thus supersedes the work of Scholes.

These extensive Burney papers also led to *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726–1769*, an edition by Slava Klima, Garry Bowers, and Kerry S. Grant, who present their

⁵ Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, 34.

⁶ Warren Dwight Allen, *Philosophies of Music History: A Study of General Histories of Music 1600–1960* (New York: American Books, 1939; repr. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1962), xv.

⁷ Maria Semi, *Music as a Science of Mankind in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Timothy Keates (trans.) (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2012), 105.

⁸ Percy Scholes, *The Great Dr. Burney: his Life, his Travels, his Works, his Family and his Friends*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948).

⁹ Roger Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney: A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

work as ‘an attempt to restore the surviving half (or so) of the first volume of memoirs as [Burney] wrote them.’¹⁰ Alvaro Ribeiro’s edition of the letters aimed to present ‘all of Burney’s letters that are known to be preserved;’¹¹ volume one is the only available volume of the projected four-volume edition to date. Previous editorial activity by Burney’s daughter Fanny is identified. Regarding the memoirs and letters, the publications of Klima *et al* and Ribeiro have been consulted; in both publications the editors’ annotations provide additional contextual information.

Kerry S. Grant’s *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*¹² presents a systematic, critical examination of Burney’s *History*, with a detailed analysis of his ‘Essay on Music Criticism’ including an analysis of the descriptive language used by Burney in his criticism of music, in its eighteenth-century context.

Percy Scholes was also the first to publish biographical details of Hawkins’s life, with *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins*.¹³ In the case of Hawkins, as with Burney, the work of a biased daughter, Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, is the earliest biographical material available: *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs* (1823), followed by *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions*, two vols. (1824) attributed to both Laetitia Matilda Hawkins and her brother Henry Hawkins. In recent years, Bertram Davis’s *A Proof of Eminence* is a comprehensive biography of Hawkins with a record of his literary and musical achievements, his work as an attorney and later as a magistrate.¹⁴ Both Scholes and Davis question the factual accuracy of Laetitia Matilda Hawkins’s writings, regarding her as unreliable. Both cite her works, Scholes more than Davis. Davis provides a detailed picture of the London literary life in which Hawkins actively participated. He also reconstructs what evidence there is of Hawkins’s likely early music education, of his proficiency as a performer, and his practical involvement in music. Regarding the life and works of Hawkins, the works of Scholes and Davis have been consulted.

¹⁰ Slava Klima, Garry Bowers, and Kerry S. Grant (eds.), *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726–1769* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), xxx.

¹¹ A. F. V. Ribeiro (ed.), *The Letters of Dr. Charles Burney, vol. I, 1751–1784* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

¹² Kerry Scott Grant, *Dr. Burney as Critic and Historian of Music*, Studies in Musicology, vol. 62, UMI Research Press (Ann Arbor, MI: Bowker, 1983).

¹³ Percy Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953).

¹⁴ Bertram H. Davis, *A Proof of Eminence: The Life of Sir John Hawkins* (Bloomington, London: Indiana University Press, 1973).

Chapters eight to ten of Laurence Lipking's *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* deal with 'The Ordering of Music'.¹⁵ Lipking takes Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* as the earliest writing on music criticism, and discusses the histories of Burney and Hawkins as its continuation, analysing the methodology of both authors and evaluating the extent of criticism in the histories. He acknowledges the complementarity of the two histories. In his survey of music histories, *Philosophies of Music History*, Warren Dwight Allen provides English language access to and analysis of European publications and their underlying philosophies from 1600 on, the works which Burney and Hawkins consulted in their research.

Christopher Hogwood adds to the history of the early music movement—significant in its evidence of and contribution to historical consciousness—in the introduction to his edition of Hawkins's *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music*,¹⁶ and in “Gropers into Antique Musick” or “A Very Ancient and Respectable Society”? Historical Views of the Academy of Ancient Music.¹⁷ In the latter publication Appendix C comprises ‘A History of the Academy of Ancient Music’ from Doane: *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794*. Also on the subject of the Academy of Ancient Music, Tim Eggington's *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music* provides considerable detail from primary sources.¹⁸ William Weber identifies the origin of a musical canon of classics in the early music movement and traces its progress and establishment through the eighteenth century. His ‘The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste’ places the topic in the context of the recognition of canons of classics in the arts generally.¹⁹ That subject is discussed more extensively by Weber in *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology*.²⁰

¹⁵ Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), ‘The Ordering of Music,’ 211–324.

¹⁶ Sir John Hawkins, *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music, with a Comparative View of the Music of the Past and Present Times, 1770*, Christopher Hogwood (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁷ Christopher Hogwood, “Gropers into Antique Musick” or “A Very Ancient and Respectable Society”? Historical Views of the Academy of Ancient Music,’ in *Coll’astuzia, col giudizio: Essays in Honor of Neal Zaslaw*, Cliff Eisen (ed.) (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein Publishing, 2009), 127–92.

¹⁸ Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music, Music in Britain, 1600–2000*, Byron Adams, Rachel Cowgill, Peter Holman (series eds.) (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014).

¹⁹ William Weber, ‘The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste,’ *The Musical Quarterly* 70/2 (1984), 175–94.

²⁰ *Idem*, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

The philosophical background to the *Histories* is covered in general by Bertrand Russell,²¹ and by Roy Porter in his comprehensive study of Enlightenment in England,²² with primary material by Voltaire²³ and Turgot.²⁴ The cultural background in eighteenth-century England is detailed by John Brewer.²⁵ E. D. Mackerness²⁶ and Henry Raynor²⁷ outline the historical social context of music in England. Insights into historiography are found in Ernest Breisach's *Historiography*,²⁸ and Richard J Evans's *In Defence of History*.²⁹ Patrick Gardiner's *Theories of History* provides access to European historiographical theory in translation.³⁰

The various strands represented in the literature outlined above combine to form the context from which came two comprehensive histories of music in the second half of the eighteenth century, those of Burney and Hawkins.

²¹ Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy and its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest times to the Present Day* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1946, 1961, 1991).

²² Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2000).

²³ Francois-Marie Arouet Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation, 1733*, Nicholas Cronk (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

²⁴ Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, *On Progress, Sociology and Economics*, Ronald L. Meek (trans., ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

²⁵ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2013).

²⁶ E. D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, Studies in Social History, Harold Perkin (ed.) (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).

²⁷ Henry Raynor, *A Social History of Music, from the Middle Ages to Beethoven* (London: Barrie and Jenkins Ltd., 1972, 1978).

²⁸ Ernest Breisach, *Historiography, Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

²⁹ Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta, 1997).

³⁰ Patrick Gardiner (ed.), *Theories of History: Readings from Classical and Contemporary Sources* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959).

Chapter 1

Music and Musicians in their Social Context

1.1 The place of music in eighteenth-century society

Eighteenth-century societal perceptions of music and musicians carried a legacy of prejudice from an earlier time. Sir John Hawkins throws some light on the history of how musical activity was then perceived, when, in the unlikely context of his first book publication as editor of Walton and Cotton's *The Compleat Angler* (1760), he reflects on a 'time when *Walton* wrote [1653], and long before, [when] music was generally so well understood, that a man who had any voice or ear, was always supposed to be able to sing his part in a madrigal or song at sight;¹ in this he cites Henry Peacham the Younger (1578 – c.1644), who, in *The Compleat Gentleman*, 'requires of his gentleman, only to be able "to sing his part sure, and at first sight; and withal, to play the same on the viol or lute."² It is significant that this level of participation was to be the *only* musical requirement of a gentleman, suggesting that he was expected to confine himself to private social music-making. In illustrating the norm of an earlier time, Hawkins also invokes Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) which depicts an after-dinner scene in which a gentleman was expected to participate in part-singing.³

Peacham's work deals with the subject of nobility. In the area of learning—'an essential part of Nobilitie'—the arts are recommended, their virtues extolled.⁴ Plato, Homer, Aristotle and Tully are invoked in support of the author's high opinion of the art of music. Yet Peacham cautions against an enthusiasm that might lead to an inappropriate level of involvement, warning the reader that he himself 'might runne into a Sea of the praise and use of so excellent an Art,' explaining:

because I desire not that any Noble or Gentleman should (save at his private recreation and leisurable houres) proof a Master in the same, or neglect his more

¹ Sir John Hawkins (ed.), notes, *The Compleat Angler*, Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton (London: Thomas Hope, 1760, 6th edn 1797), 203.

² *Ibid.*, 203, citing the author, *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman*, 1634, G. S. Gordon (intro.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 100. 'The most popular book in cavalier circles [...] which ran through many editions and was held in high esteem by the courtiers of the Restoration.' G. S. Gordon citing Prof. Raleigh in an intro. to Hoby's trans. of Castiglione's *Il libro del cortigliano* (1561), which may have served as a model for Peacham's work.

³ Hawkins, note, *The Compleat Angler*, 203–4.

⁴ *Peacham's Gentleman*, 18.

weighty employments: though I avouch it a skill worthy of the knowledge and exercise of the greatest Prince.⁵

Seventeenth-century diarists present the same view of music as a somewhat frivolous pastime, something that had to be justified. Archbishop Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713), Provost of Trinity College Dublin (1673–1678) expresses guilt over time spent in consort music-making:

I had [...] betaken myself to the practice of Musick, especially of the Bass Viol, and after the Fire of London [1666], I constantly kept a weekly consort (of instrumental music and sometimes vocal) in my chamber [...] as long as I lived in Oxford. This I did as an exercise, using no other, but laboring harder at my study all the rest of the week. Yet, O Lord, I beseech Thee to forgive me this loss of time and vain conversation.⁶

The antiquary, Anthony Wood (1632–1695), while at Oxford conveys the same set of values in a diary entry for Saturday, 10 July 1680:

Musick lecture and musick speech in the Theatre, 2000 people at least. All well done and gave good content [...]. But 'tis a shame that the world should be thus guided by folly, to follow an English speech and neglect divinity, philosophy, etc. Antient and solid learning decayes, as it appeared by the neglect of solid lectures to hear an English one in the Theatre and Musick.⁷

Echoes of the sentiments of these earlier writers on the place of music in society occur in Burney's acknowledgement that the 'the labour of intense application [...] should be reserved for more grave and important concerns' than the reading of a history of music.⁸ Music was not a serious subject. It is notable that the aforementioned cautions and reservations concern music as a practical art, pursued as entertainment. Burney's own view will be more fully discussed in chapter 3.2

Peacham (paraphrased incompletely by Hawkins) is quite specific as to what was permissible for a gentleman:

I desire no more in you than that you sing your part sure, and at first sight, with all, to play the same upon your Violl, or exercise of the Lute, privately to your self.⁹

This requirement in itself denoted a certain required standard of music education, but public engagement with music was beneath the dignity of the gentleman, who was to be aware of the superiority of his class over that of the professional musician. Peacham

⁵ Peacham's *Gentleman*, 98–99.

⁶ Muriel McCarthy, citing *Archbishop Marsh's Diary* (1690–1696), catalogue, *Echoes of Splendour: An Exhibition of Music Manuscripts and Early Printed Music Books in Marsh's Library* (Dublin: 1996), 18.

⁷ Anthony Wood, cited in *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford 1632–1695: Described by Himself; Collected from his Diaries and Other Papers by Andrew Clarke*, vol. 2, 1664–1681 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), 490.

⁸ Burney, *GH* 1, 19.

⁹ Peacham's *Gentleman*, 100.

designated the theory of music as a science, befitting the attention of a gentleman, for whom the practice of music was to be no more than ‘a delightfull and inoffensive recreation.’¹⁰ The noble gentleman was to be mainly concerned with affairs of state.

Some light is thrown by Peacham on the place of the perceived lower branches of professions in the social pecking order. The question of rank dominates his treatise; it was clearly important to know who was who, and it was necessary to act according to one’s rank, and not beneath it. He establishes that advocates and physicians might possibly be ranked among the ennobled, making it clear that this was in doubt.¹¹ Deborah Rohr points out that the lower branches of the elite professions of law and medicine [as referred to by Peacham] still had not achieved professional status in the eighteenth century, and similarly the practical musician also struggled for professional and social recognition.¹² There was much ground to be made up regarding status, as implied in Peacham’s designation of the practical musician; he is quite unequivocal in categorising publicly performing musicians with assorted entertainers, pronouncing that

whosoever labour for their livelihood and gain have no share at all in the Nobilitie or Gentry: as Painters, Stage-players, Tumblers, ordinary Fiddlers, Inn-keepers, Fencers, Iuglers, Dancers, Mountebankes, Bearwards and the like.¹³

Consequently, the gentleman is cautioned against social indiscretion by means of tales of many noble personages who became rather carried away by trivial pursuits ‘which [...] much eclipse State and Majesty, bringing familiarity, and by consequence contempt with the meanest.’¹⁴

The values governing the social status of the musician in a past age as outlined by Peacham and still holding sway in the eighteenth century, had their origins in the ‘medieval separation of musical theory and musical practice [...] when the theorist [...] was believed to be practising one of the liberal arts, and the performer [...] a simple craftsman exercising a menial trade.’¹⁵ Such thinking on music is exemplified particularly in the writings of the Roman philosopher and scholar of Greek theory, Boethius (c. 480–c. 524) who expressed the view in his *De institutione musica* that ‘the study of music as a rational discipline’ was ‘much nobler’ than the study of music ‘as composition and

¹⁰ *Peacham’s Gentleman*, 103.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹² Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 6–11.

¹³ *Peacham’s Gentleman*, 13.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 99–100.

¹⁵ Enrico Fubini, *The History of Music Aesthetics*, Michael Hatwell (trans.) (London: Macmillan, 1990), 122.

performance.’¹⁶ He held that ‘a musician is one who has gained knowledge of making music by weighing with the reason, not through the servitude of work, but through the sovereignty of speculation.’¹⁷ The application of this dictum in the field of education will be discussed in chapter 2.2. The phrase ‘a mere musician’ (referring to the practising musician) was a recurring one throughout the eighteenth century. It was as a branch of mathematics that music was dignified by its classification as part of the *quadrivium*: thus the speculative aspect acquired its superior position over the practical. Fubini claims that ‘the process of changing the social status of the musician was a [...] gradual one that was not completed [...] until the end of the eighteenth century at the earliest,’¹⁸ and there is evidence in the writings of both Burney and Hawkins to support that claim.

That the acknowledgement of the practical musician as a person of polish and refinement—rather than a ‘craftsman exercising a menial trade’—should be a matter of note in eighteenth-century society is borne out by Burney when he considered it worth mentioning that the celebrated violinist Matthew Duborg—whom he met in 1743—was ‘a man of wit who had been admitted into good company without, as well as with, his fiddle.’¹⁹ Hawkins expresses a similar view regarding the questionable social acceptability of a musician, when, ‘furnished [...] by Mr. Handel with most of the particulars,’²⁰ he wrote a monograph of Agostino Steffani (1654–1728); Steffani, Handel’s predecessor at the court of Hanover, was an Italian who rose to distinction as a musician, as a cleric in the Catholic church and as a diplomat. Hawkins informs the reader that Steffani’s ‘want of the advantages of birth and fortune [...] was amply recompensed by those extraordinary talents that nature had endowed him with;’ furthermore:

The musical talents of our author, however extraordinary, were far from being the only distinguishing part of his character; he had great natural endowments, and these he had considerably improved by study, and the conversation of learned and polite men. Nor did he confine his pursuits to those branches of learning that immediately connected with his profession, but he applied himself to the study of the constitution and the interests of the empire, by which he became enabled to act in a sphere, that very few of his profession were ever known to attain, politics and the business of the public.²¹

¹⁶ Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, Calvin M. Bower (trans.) (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989), 50.

¹⁷ Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 51.

¹⁸ Fubini, *Aesthetics*, 122.

¹⁹ Burney, *Memoirs*, 38.

²⁰ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 665*.

²¹ *Idem*, ‘The Life of Agostino Steffani, a Celebrated Musician,’ the *Gentleman's Magazine* xxi (1761), 489–92; first printed privately for his friends as *Memoirs of the Life of Agostino Steffani* (1758).

The inferior position of the professional musician in the social hierarchy is made very clear by Hawkins in this same account of the career of Steffani:

He was now considered in the light of a statesman, and was besides a dignitary of the church; and having a character to sustain, with which he imagined the public profession of his art not properly consistent, he forbore the setting his name to his future compositions, and adopted that of his secretary, Gregorio Piva. Influenced, perhaps, by the same motives, in the year 1708, he resigned his employment as chapel-master [at Hanover] in favour of Mr. Handel.²²

A public acknowledgement of his accomplishment as a musician was not compatible with the superior social status acquired through his intellectual achievement. As Hawkins conveys this information without observation in two publications around mid-century, and again publishes it over twenty years later in his *History*,²³ there can have been no grounds for comment; this must have been the *status quo*. In an instance which Lonsdale describes as ‘not untypical of the fashionable music-lover at this period,’²⁴ Fulke Greville, aristocratic patron of the arts, displayed his disdain of the education and social grace of professional musicians, when he

expressed a wish to receive musical instruction from one who had mind and cultivation, as well as finger and ear; lamenting [...] that the two latter were generally dislocated from the two former.²⁵

It was to the harpsichord maker, Kirkman, that Greville made this request; his challenge led to an introduction to Charles Burney—who gave the lie to such prejudice—and to what became a mutually beneficial relationship. Burney’s successful navigation of the hazards of such prejudice is further examined in chapter 3.2.

Rohr draws attention to the distinction observed between the church musician whose well-rounded education included music theory and classical languages, and the secular, practical musician whose general and social education might have been limited. The latter was perceived to belong to a ‘lower-status artisanal branch’ of the profession of music.²⁶ This perception is borne out in Greville’s prejudice.

To become a professional practitioner in any of the arts was to provide a service to the privileged classes, and to succeed in the profession it was necessary to secure the patronage of these classes. While the artist benefitted from aristocratic patronage, members of the aristocracy who were interested in music had, in their patronage of the

²² Hawkins, *Steffani*, 491. Hawkins cites Handel on the position at Hanover, *GH 2*, 858.

²³ Hawkins, *GH 2*, 672–73.

²⁴ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 15.

²⁵ Burney, *Memoirs*, fragment 41, London, Summer 1746, 65.

²⁶ Rohr, *British Musicians*, 9.

art, on occasions to contend with the social prejudice besetting the practical musician at the time, such was the importance of observance of the social order. Alexander Montgomerie, Earl of Ellington, music lover and patron, found his friend, James Boswell, rather offended when he was expected to travel in the same coach as a gifted young musician who was a protégé of the nobleman.²⁷ The prestige of the rising artist was not always enough to transcend the boundaries of class.

The inferior position of the professional musician in the social hierarchy was not a peculiarly English phenomenon. Fubini was writing of a European context;²⁸ Hawkins's account of the life of Steffani as referred to above indicates that it was no better in Germany, the country where he engaged in his profession, and, as Steffani was an Italian who had an international profile as a musician and a diplomat, it may be assumed that his need for social caution extended to the other European countries within his ambit. At the time of the writing of Hawkins's account, Haydn was a liveried servant at Esterhaza.

1.2 Music education

The old division of music into the speculative and the practical is reflected in the forms of music education. The study of music at university meant the study of theoretical treatises. The universities concerned themselves with the provision of professional and liberal education for the gentlemen of the upper classes—the only classes who had access to such education. Those not designated for the church, the legal or medical professions, were educated to be fully rounded members of their society; an understanding and appreciation of the arts was considered part of this education, a gentleman's education.

In medieval Oxford and Cambridge, music was taught as part of the *quadrivium*, as was then the norm—this involved the study of theory—the other three subjects in the group being arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. Boethius's *De institutione musica* was the basic text in music studied as part of the *quadrivium*.²⁹ It remained so into the sixteenth century; in the seventeenth century 'Oxford mathematicians and philosophers [were] involved in both the study of ancient music theory and the modern science of music' particularly acoustic theory.³⁰ Cambridge holds the distinction of being the world's first university to confer music degrees (1463–1464), honorary degrees in

²⁷ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 55.

²⁸ Fubini, *Aesthetics*, 122.

²⁹ Claude V. Palisca (ed.), Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, xiii.

³⁰ Susan Wollenberg, 'Oxford,' in *Grove Music Online*, Deane L. Root (ed.).

recognition of musical scholarship. Oxford awarded its first music degrees early in the sixteenth century. Though the appointment of the first professor of music, William Heyther, was made at Oxford in 1627, and at Cambridge in 1684 with the appointment of Nicholas Staggins, no formal music lectures were given at either university before the middle of the nineteenth century.³¹ In both universities, primary and post-graduate degrees were merited by the submission of an exercise—a composition which also had to be performed if approved. It was by this means that Charles Burney earned the degree of D. Mus. in 1769. He wrote to his daughters from Oxford on 22 June that year:

The Performance of my anthem is just very well over, not one mistake of consequence [...]. I shall tomorrow have both my Degrees; (for I must take that of Bachelor of musick) with great unanimity & reputation.³²

This system prevailed at Oxford until 1862, when examinations were instituted; and also at Cambridge until the latter years of the nineteenth century.

As represented by the documented musical activity at Oxford, alongside the academic dominance of the speculative, the practical aspects of the art found extensive inclusion in the life of a gentleman. Music featured as a necessary part of the everyday life of the classes who received such an education. After graduation, they were to continue to engage in their own musical pursuits, foster the art in the next generation and facilitate the endeavours of the professional musician by way of patronage. As the leading members of their society by virtue of wealth and privilege, they would set the tone of future social activity, providing a context in which music featured pervasively.

While there was a lack of formally organised tuition in today's understanding of the term, contemporary accounts depict a vibrant musical life, which centred mainly around the chapel choirs of the constituent colleges of the universities, and also included chamber and concert musical activity. Public concerts were given in Oxford before the earliest public London concerts of John Bannister which began in 1672.³³ The Sheldonian Theatre, designed by Wren and built 1664–1667, was the venue for the performance of degree exercises, and later for concerts. The Holywell Music Room was opened at Oxford in 1748; concerts were given there regularly and it continues in use, claiming to be the world's oldest purpose-built concert hall. Music books were published in both towns.³⁴

³¹ Edward J. Dent, 'The Scientific Study of Music in England,' *Acta Musicologica* 2/3 (July 1930): 83–92 (84).

³² Burney, *Letters*, 52.

³³ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 763.

³⁴ Jack Westrup, 'Oxford,' Charles Cudworth, 'Cambridge,' both in 'Education,' *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie (ed.), 1st edn, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980).

Wood records that at Oxford in 1626, William Heyther instituted the office of ‘*Praelector Musices*,’ who ‘on the Saturday of the Vespers [...] had to give a lecture in English between 9 and 10 a.m. with illustrations by musical instruments.’³⁵ That Wood—who was not a music student at Oxford—was among an audience of two thousand when he berated himself for attending a ‘musick lecture and musick speech in the Theatre,’ in English (chapter 1.1), indicates that the occasion was a public rather than a curricular event, held in the Sheldonian Theatre which seated two thousand. Such an event was a likely continuation, in some form, of the tradition instituted by William Heyther.

The practice of chamber music that flourished in Oxford during the Civil War grew from the concentration in one place of a number of musicians in temporary exile, and appears to have constituted an important part of social life. The weekly music meetings begun at this time continued long after the exiles were free to go their own way after the Restoration, as is borne out by Archbishop Marsh in his account of weekly music meetings cited above. Marsh records that he engaged in this practice (beginning in 1666) as long as he lived at Oxford, which was up to the time of his departure for Dublin in 1679, and from 1688 on. The diary was kept between 1690 and 1696, after Marsh had returned to Oxford from Ireland.³⁶

The diarists John Evelyn (1620–1706) and Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) both record a practice of domestic music-making after the Restoration. Among the musicians listed by Wood in 1656 as participants in the weekly music meetings at the house of William Ellis, Bachelor of Music, Oxford, are other music masters and also men from faculties other than music, suggesting a certain level of proficiency among educated men. Wood records that ‘by the help of public masters of music, who were mixed with them, they were much improv’d.’³⁷ Wood himself studied English history, antiquities, heraldry and genealogies, and records in 1657 that by then he had ‘genuine skill in music.’³⁸ While he notes that ‘after his majesties restoration [...] the weekly meetings at Mr. Ellis's house began to decay,’ he also records that the chief meeting-place then was at the house of Narcissus Marsh.³⁹ The continuity of this practice was maintained through the involvement of the polymathic classicist, churchman, theologian, scholar and composer

³⁵ Wood, *of Oxford*, 564.

³⁶ An authoritative overview of vocal and consort music pre- and post-1660 can be seen in Chapters 4 to 7 of *The Seventeenth Century*, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, vol. 3, Ian Spink (ed.) (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992): Wood is referred to as a contemporary recorder of musical life at Oxford.

³⁷ Wood, *of Oxford*, 274.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 204.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 275.

Henry Aldrich (1647–1710). From his arrival at Oxford as a student in 1662 to his death in 1710, he organised weekly music meetings there.⁴⁰

The musician who earned his living by a combination of performance, composition and usually some teaching was likely to be a product of the widely-practised system of apprenticeship which prevailed in Europe generally. Charles Burney pursued this career path through his apprenticeship (beginning 1744) to the composer Thomas Arne.⁴¹

In the realm of preparatory education, membership of a chapel or cathedral choir was an option for a musically able boy; because musical learning was traditionally centred around church music, a member of such a choir was guaranteed a good music education. There was a link between King's College, Cambridge and the school at Eton, both of which were founded by King Henry VI; King's College chapel choir was provided with twenty-four men and boys from Eton.⁴² As membership of a chapel choir was conditional on a certain level of ability, it was possible to maintain a high standard; from its members the leading musicians of the next generation were likely to emerge.

Comprehensive as the outlined formal music education system seemed in theory, according to Henry Raynor it was not so effective in practice by the end of the sixteenth century. He states that 'by then, music as an intellectual discipline generally regarded as valuable ceased to be a part of education;' that 'the actual amount of knowledge and preparation the degree [at Oxford and Cambridge] required had sunk to a minimum;' and that the standard and availability of general music education in the school curriculum had declined in favour of what were seen as more practical subjects in an increasingly mercantile society.⁴³ He traces the origin of this deficiency to the dissolution of the monasteries (1536–1539) as a result of the Protestant Reformation, and the subsequent mixed fortunes of cathedral schools.⁴⁴ E. D. Mackerness also traces the decline in music education to the Reformation and the subsequent decline in the grammar schools and song schools previously maintained by religious foundations; as a result 'in many cases the teaching of music was left to chance' in the secular grammar schools.⁴⁵ Mackerness also advises caution regarding the prevalence of musical literacy in the sixteenth century as suggested in Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musick* cited

⁴⁰ Watkins Shaw, 'Aldrich, Henry,' *NG*.

⁴¹ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 9.

⁴² Cudworth, 'Cambridge.'

⁴³ Raynor, *Social Hist. of Mus.* 137–39.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 136.

⁴⁵ Mackerness, *Social Hist. of Eng. Mus.*, 53.

in chapter 1.1, saying that it has been pointed out that the situation presented by Morley in which ‘nearly all educated gentlemen were accomplished sight-singers’ was ‘more likely to be in the nature of a “puff” for his book.’⁴⁶ He also notes that ‘during the eighteenth century the music in our cathedrals lost a great deal of the vigour it had enjoyed for some years after the Restoration,’ suggesting that the original momentum in the post-Restoration revival of music was not maintained.⁴⁷ William Weber notes a ‘decline of the Chapel Royal [...] from about the 1740s,’ ‘after [which] retiring musicians were not replaced consistently.’⁴⁸ The learned music tradition could, in the normal course of events, be expected to produce a historian of music. Significantly, it was from the artisanal branch of music that Burney emerged, and from the ranks of amateurs with a deep regard for the learned tradition that Hawkins came. His status in the social and musical world will be further explored in chapter 3.2. The cumulative effect of the deficiencies in formal education in the learned music tradition over time since the Reformation may be reflected to some extent in the educational aims of the Academy of Ancient Music as a system of redress, which will be discussed in chapter 2.1.4.

Inspired by the systems of music education in the countries he visited, Burney formulated a plan to establish a music school in the Foundling Hospital in London, ‘after the manner of an Italian Conservatorio’—an ambition which was not realised.⁴⁹ Though he had some reservations regarding the aforesaid Italian system, he observed that ‘constant perseverance, for a number of years, with genius and good teaching, must produce great musicians.’⁵⁰ He also discovered that ‘in Bohemia [...], Moravia, Hungary and part of Austria, children are taught music at the common reading schools.’⁵¹ That this was a matter of note to Burney suggests a deficiency in music education at primary school level in England. Mackerness has shown that it was not until the nineteenth century that attempts were made to introduce a systematic approach to music teaching in national schools.⁵²

⁴⁶ Mackerness, *Social Hist. of Eng. Mus.*, 53.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁴⁸ Weber, *Musical Classics*, 9.

⁴⁹ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, citing a letter from Charles Burney to Thomas Twining, June 1774, 151.

⁵⁰ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy, or the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music* (London: T. Beckett and Co., 1771), 327.

⁵¹ *Idem.*, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces, or the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music* (London: T. Beckett, J. Robson and G. Robinson, 1773; 2nd edn, 1775), vol. 2, 14.

⁵² Mackerness, *Social Hist. of Eng. Mus.*, 156–61.

Regarding music education for women, educational opportunity or the lack of it, and convention both musical and social, formed a symbiotic relationship; convention dictated that women were not to be among those who benefitted from the public forms of education available in acclaimed establishments; at the same time, their exclusion created a need for alternative educational arrangements which conformed with social expectations and social strictures. While immersion in the learned music tradition was possible for boys in cathedral choirs, there was no equivalent opportunity for girls; for this aspect of their schooling, girls were dependent on the private teaching practices of music masters. This stratification of music education created an employment opportunity for musicians such as Charles Burney. Teachers in private practice were less likely to be able to select their pupils from the musically able, dependent as they were for their livelihoods—at least in part—on such employment by the privileged classes. They were more likely to have pupils with a wide range of musical abilities and received attitudes to music, rather than an entire class who took a serious, academic interest in the art. Private boarding schools for young ladies also provided music education through the employment of visiting music masters, just as was done in the homes of pupils. Burney found some employment through this channel too.

The learned musician's lower expectation of the ability of women to receive music in a rarified context, was an outcome of this dual system and of the general perception of both women's intellectual capacity and their social role, and their consequent exclusion from all public areas of academic life. There was no doubt that women were, as a general rule, deemed to be on a lower intellectual plane than men. In a letter to Samuel Johnson in praise of his writing, Burney—who had good reason to see his own wife, Esther, as an exception to this rule—makes a revealing comment as he informs Johnson that he considers himself fortunate in having

a female Companion whose Intellects are sufficiently Masculine to enter Into the true Spirit of your Writings, and Consequently to have an Enthusiastic Zeal for them and their Author.⁵³

In promoting its cause in his pamphlet *An Account of the Institution and Progress of The Academy of Ancient Music*, Hawkins expresses the view that this music would 'afford a manly and rational delight to all the votaries of this noble science.'⁵⁴ (The two words, 'manly' and 'rational' seem to be associated in meaning.) While it is clear that music was

⁵³ Burney, *Letters*, Charles Burney writing to Samuel Johnson, 14 April 1755, 20.

⁵⁴ Hawkins, *An Account*, 23.

not perceived as an appropriate subject to be pursued professionally by gentlemen, though it was seen as a fit topic for sober discussion and performance in the private club, as was the case in The Academy of Ancient Music, women were admitted only to the outer circle. According to Hawkins's daughter, Laetitia Matilda, at the meetings of the Academy of Ancient Music,

Ladies were tolerated as auditors, only by submitting to sit in a small passage-room, made warm and comfortable, but certainly no show-shop for themselves and their finery.⁵⁵

They were not to be given an opportunity to indulge any interest other than musical, nor to distract the Academy members whose involvement in the meeting as a social occasion was only for the performance of music they considered to be of academic worth. It is evident that the concerns and motivation of women at such gatherings were understood to be at least partly frivolous—certainly not wholly academic. Laetitia Matilda Hawkins's account appears to be consistent with what is known of general practice in amateur musical societies. Women were not usually members of these societies and were admitted only on their once- or twice-yearly 'public nights.'⁵⁶ One such occasion of the Academy of Ancient Music was advertised in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 6 February 1765, with the caution that 'no ladies will be admitted without tickets.'⁵⁷ The association of women with the lighter side of music—if not the shady—is also to be observed in Arthur Bedford's denunciation of modern music; it is notable that his protagonist is specifically female, as the masculine pronoun would normally have been employed for generic usage.

Her own Fancy, and the Humour Age, will naturally lead her to be acquainted with the new Pieces of *Music*, as they come out. [...] In these Collections [*The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music*] she is furnished every Month with new Matter for Debauchery.⁵⁸

In conjunction with the study of music as an academic discipline, boys and men also had access to instrumental instruction from masters and experienced musicians in their choirs. Though these channels of learning in the theory and performance of music were not open to women, at the same time some level of accomplishment seems to have

⁵⁵ Laetitia Matilda Hawkins, *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs* (1823), cited by Hogwood, intro., Hawkins, *An Account*.

⁵⁶ Weber, *Musical Classics*, 82.

⁵⁷ Goff, Moira, 'The Burney Newspapers at the British Library,' *17th–18th-Century Burney Collection Newspapers* (Detroit: Gale, 2007), for all newspaper references.

⁵⁸ Arthur Bedford (1668–1745), *The Great Abuse of Musick* (London, 1711), cited by Weber, *Musical Classics*, 54.

had a place as part of their decorative function; it featured among the social graces expected of them.

The necessary skills could only be acquired through the profession of the private music teacher. With the educational requirements of boys and men catered for as outlined, it is not surprising that it should appear, from Burney's own account in his memoirs and letters, that his pupils were mostly women, daughters of the aristocracy and the wealthy middle classes. In outlining his busy schedule, he tells of days when there was 'hardly an hour unappropriated to some fair disciple.'⁵⁹ Though regarded as intellectually inferior, women were by no means excluded from music education; on the contrary, as Burney's teaching practice testifies, it was the aspiration of the rising middle classes as well as the established practice among the aristocracy to provide private music education for their daughters. Their general education was similarly privately provided. From their achievements, private education appears to have served them well. An option chosen by some families for their daughters' education was the private boarding school. In 1760, Burney secured a post as music-master at 'a great boarding-school in Queen Square, Bloomsbury [...] run by a Mrs. Sheeles.'⁶⁰

The women of the aristocracy and the wealthy middle classes fulfilled an important function in providing teaching employment for the professional musician, and their social standing ensured that the socially ambitious musician was glad of the possibility of some inclusion in their social circle. In 1776, Burney was engaged to teach the eldest daughter of the Thrale family of Streatham Park—one of the many families in whose employment he benefitted socially as well as financially.

Because music pervaded social activity generally—to the extent that there was hardly any escaping it for anyone with a modicum of musical interest and ability, it was very much a part of life for all educated classes.⁶¹ Much of Hawkins's own music education seems to have come about through his association with other amateur musicians as a member of musical clubs which held regular meetings. In the 1740s he became a member of the Madrigal Society and of The Academy of Ancient Music.⁶² In the latter he would have encountered, studied and performed with experienced professional musicians.

⁵⁹ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 55, citing Burney, *Memoirs*, 135.

⁶⁰ Burney, *Memoirs*, 132.

⁶¹ Alexander Ringer, 'Education,' IV, *NG*.

⁶² Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 54.

Burney received his early music education while in secondary school, where he had an opportunity to play the organ when the organist was indisposed; his apprenticeship to the composer Thomas Arne followed. The gentleman of means also employed the private music master for his own instruction, either for instrumental music lessons or as a full-time musician in his household. Fulke Greville, an aristocrat who employed Burney in the latter capacity (1748–1749) had already retained the services of two French horn players who accompanied him on his travels.⁶³ A wealthy, eccentric and lonely London banker, Fraser Honeywood, paid Burney £100 a year for ‘dining with him [...] of a Sunday,’ though it would appear that he gained more from the companionship of Burney than from his teaching, despite which Burney ‘was unable to make a musician of him.’⁶⁴

While formal education had, according to Raynor, Mackerness and Rohr declined, it would seem that informal education was prevalent. Lorraine Anne Casella writes of ‘the growth of music’s role in society and the decline of music as an element in liberal education.’⁶⁵ At every level of society, it was possible to learn from someone who already knew. In a society where domestic music making was part of living, exposure to music was the norm for all classes, and learning was as likely to take place through a form of osmosis as by formal teaching. Roger North wrote, early in the eighteenth century:

As to the learning of music in general I must out of my experience say, that of those persons who are happy to acquire it, more teach themselves, than are taught; and all that advantage is from society. For all the arts are more effectually learnt under a social than under a solitary discipli[ne], and none more eminently than musick. For the learning is imitation, and the exercise society, and ambition no less than emulation are the procurers.⁶⁶

Testament to North’s account can be found in the musical activities of the coal-man, Thomas Britton (1644–1714). Britton had become musically accomplished to the extent that he held concerts in a room above his premises in Clerkenwell:

The first assembly of the kind deserving the name of concert in London, was established under circumstances that tended rather to degrade than recommend such an entertainment, as being set on foot by a person of the lowest class among men in this country, in a suburb of the town, difficult of access, unfit for the resort of persons of fashion, and in a room that afforded them scarce decent accommodation when they had escaped the dangers of getting at it: in short [...] the dwelling of one Thomas Britton. [Between 1678 and 1714] Tom Britton’s concert was the weekly

⁶³ Burney, *Memoirs*, frag. 42, 69–70.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, frag. 101, n. 7, 152–53.

⁶⁵ Lorraine Ann Casella, ‘Charles Burney the Pedagogue: A Critical Evaluation of the Great Historian as Music Educator’ (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1979), 2.

⁶⁶ Roger North, *Roger North’s The Musicall Grammarian 1728*, Mary Chan and Jamie Croy Kassler (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 126.

resort of the old, the young, the gay and the fair of all ranks, including the highest order of the nobility.⁶⁷

Among the performers at this venue were ‘Dr. Pepusch, and frequently Mr. Handel played the harpsichord, Mr. Bannister, and also Mr. Henry Needler [...], and other capital performers for that time;’ the violinist Matthew Duborg, still a child, gave his first public performance there.⁶⁸ Hawkins records that ‘those who remember [Britton] say that he could tune a harpsichord, and that he frequently played the viol da gamba in his own concert.’⁶⁹

Thomas Britton’s interest in music performance extended to the provision of instruments for his concerts. Along with the books sold after his death there was a collection of ‘extraordinary musical instruments made by the most eminent workmen both at home and abroad.’⁷⁰

Regarding Thomas Britton, Burney provides a short entry:

In 1678 [...] the club or private concert established by Thomas Britton [...] the celebrated small-coal man, in Clerkenwell, had its beginning and continued till 1714.⁷¹

As regards general access to music in the first half of the eighteenth century, Burney records that ‘the upper gallery of the opera, [...] was then appropriated to domestics.’⁷² A further instance of general access to music and informal music education occurs in Hawkins’s account of The Madrigal Society and its members (some unlikely to have benefited from formal music education)

who had spent their lives in the practice of psalmody [...] and who, [...] with the help of the ordinary solmisation [...] soon became able to sing, almost at sight, a part in an English, or even an Italian madrigal. They were mostly mechanics; some, weavers from Spitalfields, others of various trades and occupations.⁷³

The director of The Madrigal Society, John Immyns, is said to have taught himself the lute at the age of forty, using Thomas Mace’s *Musick’s Monument* (1676); he subsequently became lutenist to the Chapel Royal.⁷⁴ Britton’s musical activities and those of the Madrigal Society suggest that even in a highly stratified society it was possible, by means of informal education through exposure to music and personal endeavour, to

⁶⁷ Hawkins, *GH 2*, 700.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 790–91.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 791.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 792, from the printed catalogue of the sale.

⁷¹ Burney, *GH 2*, 369.

⁷² Burney, *GH 2*, 1001.

⁷³ Hawkins, *GH 2*, 887.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 733.

transcend class boundaries and achieve musical excellence, and to enjoy recognition by virtue of innate ability and accomplishment.

Chapter 2

Conditions that shaped the writing of a music history

2.1 Intellectual conditions

2.1.1 Prevailing philosophical theory: Enlightenment¹

The *Histories* of Burney and Hawkins represent distinctive historiographic positions. These positions are rooted in philosophy, as the writing of history, an exercise driven by the thought process takes place against a background of prevailing philosophical theories. While it must be acknowledged that such theories defy absolute, precise categorisation, nevertheless, certain emphases in man's world view have prevailed at particular times and in particular places; they have found expression in the theories of prominent thinkers some of whom have held conflicting if not diametrically opposed views. These views are the products of time, place and personal experience; they may have prevailed successively or simultaneously. The fact that they could exist simultaneously underlines the fact that essentially they are manifestations of different facets of man's understanding of the world and his place in it. Therefore, philosophical theories are both the products of history, and the shapers of history-in-the-making.

The idea of acquiring and transmitting knowledge was central to Enlightenment philosophy, the prevailing influence in eighteenth-century European thinking; the concept of enlightenment was evident as a guiding force in eighteenth-century England. Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1768) defines 'to enlighten' as 'to instruct; to furnish with increase of knowledge.' In the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* it is defined as

a movement in eighteenth-century thought dedicated to raising the level of general education by combating superstition and inherited prejudices, and by placing human betterment above preoccupation with the supernatural. 'The proper study of mankind is man.' (Pope, *Essay on Man*, 1773)²

Usage of the term 'Enlightenment' in this context is traced from the French philosophers Montesquieu (1689–1755), Voltaire (1694–1778) and Diderot (1713–1784) who, early in the eighteenth century were committed to the diffusion of '*les lumières*'—to the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1725–1804), who brought the expression into more

¹ For the fundamentals of philosophy, I have drawn upon: Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*; Simon Blackburn, *Think: A Compelling Introduction to Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Melanie Parry, *Chambers Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Larousse, 1997).

² Daniel Hertz, 'Enlightenment,' *NG*.

widespread use in his essay *Was ist Aufklärung?* (1784).³ As the term was in current use during the time to which it refers, it must be inferred that the movement was a conscious one.

At the core of Enlightenment belief was an emphasis on man as an independent, rational being; thus, the development of the intellect and the dissemination of knowledge on which this development depended, were fundamental issues in Enlightenment concerns. The humanist philosophy of the Enlightenment had been foreshadowed in the Renaissance. The value of knowledge and the importance of ensuring the continuity of its transmission by the recording of man's achievements in its acquisition and understanding, had been stressed by the English philosopher, Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626), in his *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), a treatise 'concerning the excellency of Learning and Knowledge and the excellency of the merit and true glory in the augmentation and propagation thereof.'⁴ In support of his thesis, Bacon observes:

It is generally to be found in the wisdom of the more ancient times, that as men found out any observation that they thought was good for life, they would gather it and express it in parable, or aphorism, or fable.⁵

The recording of knowledge was perceived to be of crucial importance for the advancement of man in the field of learning. In a continuation of Renaissance ideology on the promotion of learning, one of the manifestations of eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophy appears in the work of lexicographers and encyclopaedists. The emphasis on the importance of knowledge led to the perception of a necessity to catalogue and publish all that was known on every subject, in order to ensure its accessibility and transmission.

England was to the fore in the publication of encyclopaedias and dictionaries. The first modern English encyclopaedia, *Lexicon Technicum* (1704), was compiled by John Harris; inspired by this work, Ephraim Chambers compiled the more comprehensive *Cyclopaedia: or An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1728). The first part of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* appeared in 1768.⁶ The French *Encyclopédie* began as a translation of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* and was compiled by Diderot and d'Alembert between 1751 and 1772.⁷ Abraham Rees re-edited Chambers *Cyclopaedia*

³ Daniel Hertz, 'Enlightenment,' *NG*.

⁴ Sir Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* (1605; G.W. Kitchin (ed.), London: Dent, 1973), 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁶ Porter, *Enlightenment*, 92.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

(1778); Burney wrote the musical entries between 1801 and 1806 for a later edition. Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) also reflected the spirit of the age, and is likely to have provided inspiration for Burney and Hawkins, both of whom associated with Johnson. In this publication, Johnson defines 'encyclopaedia' as 'the circle of sciences; the round of learning.'

The concept of an all-encompassing history of music is consistent with Enlightenment thought and practice. The cataloguing of all knowledge by the Encyclopaedists was to be paralleled in the chronicling of the history of that knowledge in specific fields. Bacon, in the treatise quoted above, had, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, averred 'A just story of learning [...] I may truly affirm to be wanting.'⁸ This deficiency had been made up by such diverse works as Hermann Moll's *The Compleat Geographer* (1723) and new editions of Walton and Cotton's *The Compleat Angler* (1653, 1760, 1797); in the arts by W. R. Chetwood's *A General History of the Stage, from its Origin in Greece down to the Present Time* (1749), Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762), and Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774–1781). Both Burney and Hawkins deplored the absence of a history of music from such publications.

In their Prefaces both authors cite Bacon in support of their claims that a history of music would meet a social, intellectual need,⁹ in the preambles to their histories, both authors also express a sense of mission to promote learning in their subject. In order to achieve the declared end of increasing the knowledge of its readers, the communication of the story in a readily intelligible form was seen as important by both historians. Though his awkward prose bears no witness to this aspiration, Hawkins, in his introduction, promised that the style was to be 'uniformly narratory' and stated:

Care has been taken not to degrade the work by the use of fantastical phrases and modes of expression[...] that were invented yesterday and will die tomorrow [...], nonsense sublimated.¹⁰

Burney complained of 'wading through innumerable volumes with promising titles,' in which 'technical jargon and unintelligible pedantry [...] loaded each page' —written by 'persons who were more ambitious of appearing learned themselves than of making others so,' while he proposed 'talking in common language.'¹¹ Hawkins, in considering

⁸ Bacon, *Learning*, 68.

⁹ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xxii–xxiii; Burney *GH* 1, 11.

¹⁰ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xix.

¹¹ Burney, *GH* 1, 17–19.

previous authors on the history of music, finds inadequacies and lacunae of information, and also concludes that previous works are accessible only to ‘those who have devoted themselves to the study of the science.’¹² He aimed to reach a general readership. Burney, in outlining the demands of his task, informs the reader of his consultation of ‘old and scarce books [...] of which the dulness and pedantry were almost petrific.’¹³

In the field of general history also, eighteenth-century authors pursued the goals of clarity and accessibility. The Scottish historian and philosopher David Hume (1711–1776), for his *History of England* (1763) was regarded by the historian, Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) as the ‘Tacitus of Scotland,’¹⁴ while Gibbon himself in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1789) ‘succeeded in fusing erudition and its admirable products with eloquence and elegance of style.’¹⁵

It would appear that both Burney and Hawkins were attuned to the Enlightenment principle according to which the ideal treatise should be both instructive and intelligible to the non-specialist reader.¹⁶ This qualification had been specified by Bacon, who is cited by Burney as ‘[recommending] histories of art upon the principle of utility as well as amusement.’¹⁷

In accordance with Enlightenment philosophy, the writing of a treatise on music had to be justified by its appeal to reason, the subject being presented in the dedication to Burney's *History* as ‘the art which unites corporal with intellectual pleasure.’¹⁸ Hawkins, in his promotion of a history of music, presents it as a subject worthy of serious study, ‘a science worthy the exercise of our rational as well as audible faculties.’¹⁹ In their mission to transmit knowledge, and in their appeal to reason, both authors subscribe to the fundamental tenets of Enlightenment philosophy.

2.1.2 Enlightenment in England, empiricism

The dominant philosophical views of the eighteenth century had their beginnings in the seventeenth-century break with the scholastic tradition—a tradition in which the predominant philosophy was likely to be an articulation of Church teaching. Early in the

¹² Hawkins, *GH* 1, xxi.

¹³ Burney, *GH* 1, 14.

¹⁴ Breisach, *Historiography*, citing Gibbon, 215–16.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 216.

¹⁶ Hertz, ‘Enlightenment’.

¹⁷ Burney, *GH* 1, 11.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁹ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xxiii.

eighteenth century Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671–1713) the third Earl of Shaftesbury, had held:

There is a mighty Light which spreads its self all over the world especially in these two free Nations of England and Holland; [...] I wish the Establishment of an intire Philosophical Liberty.²⁰

Francis Bacon (1561–1626)—cited by both Burney and Hawkins—enquirer and man of science, had pioneered the inductive method in investigation. He had put in place the ‘Scaffold by which the new Philosophy was raised [...], *Novum Organum Scientiarum*’ and, according to Voltaire, was the ‘Father of experimental Philosophy’ as ‘no one, before Lord Bacon, was acquainted with [it].’²¹ According to the French economist and statesman, Turgot (1727–1781), writing c.1750–1751,

although Aristotle had put forward the notion that all ideas came from the senses, it was a very long time before anyone began looking for causes other than the so-called abstract ideas and going back to their origin. Bacon was the first to feel the necessity for submitting all these notions to examination again.²²

The English philosopher, John Locke (1632–1704) and the Irishman George Berkeley (1685–1753) also propounded the empiricist view that knowledge is not innate but acquired through experience.

The philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries functioned and perceived themselves less as teachers than as discoverers. Bacon, Descartes (both lawyers by profession) and Locke (a physician) were interested in science and mathematics, and operated outside of the university tradition. As discoverers, they, like others of their time, presented their findings to other educated men in general rather than exclusively to specialists or students in their discipline, and this is reflected in an eminently readable style in the case of many writing on this subject at the time. This principle of communication is outlined in Bacon’s suggestion that ‘it is a thing not hastily to be condemned, to clothe and adorn the obscurity even of Philosophy itself with sensible and plausible elocution.’²³ According to Voltaire, Bacon himself was an innovator in this regard, ‘an elegant writer [...] in an Age in which the art of writing justly and elegantly was little known, much less true Philosophy.’²⁴ This feature of communication was proposed by Burney and Hawkins as essential.

²⁰ Shaftesbury (1706), cited in Porter, *Enlightenment*, 3.

²¹ Voltaire, *Letters*, 50.

²² Turgot, *On Progress*, 94.

²³ Bacon, *Learning*, 25.

²⁴ Voltaire, *Letters*, 49.

The very idea of questioning the fundamentals of received wisdom in the area of man's effort to make sense of his world had begun in the field of scientific investigation, and indeed there is often no clear dividing line between philosophy and science in this regard during the age in question. It would be more apt to deal with them both under the umbrella of discovery, as they were then perceived, rather than as separate disciplines. Voltaire's *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, the product of his sojourn in that country during the years 1726–1728, provides an early eighteenth-century visitor's view:

The philosophers of the last Age found out a new Universe; and a circumstance which made its Discovery more difficult was, that no one had so much as suspected its Existence. [...] Galileo [...] Kepler [...] Des Cartes [...] and Sir Isaac Newton severally saw the Mechanism of the Springs of the world.²⁵

Scientific investigation in the seventeenth century resulted in the deduction of the answers to many of nature's puzzles. New means of scientific investigation were developed with the invention of instruments such as the microscope (just before the seventeenth century), the telescope, the thermometer and the barometer, and with the great advances in mathematics, astronomy and physics. In the last of these fields, the work of Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo culminated in the achievements of the English scientist, Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727). As everything in nature was perceived to be precisely calculable, other disciplines were subjected to rigorous scientific investigation.

By Voltaire's account, England was to the forefront in the shattering of long-held views of the workings of the world. In 1728 he wrote regarding Newton's discoveries in the field of physics:

A Frenchman arriving in London finds things very different, in natural science as in everything else [...]. Furthermore, you will note that the sun, which in France doesn't come into the picture at all, here plays its fair share. For your Cartesians everything is moved by an impulsion you don't understand, for Mr. Newton it is by gravitation, the cause of which is hardly better known [...]. For a Cartesian light exists in the air, for a Newtonian it comes from the sun in six and a half minutes.²⁶

Newton had formulated the law of gravitation in 1665 or 1666, and had published his findings in *De motu corporum* in 1684; a comprehensive story of his discoveries had been published as *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* in 1687. Following his return to France, Voltaire contributed to the propagation of Newton's findings, being 'even so bold as to introduce into France some of his discoveries,'²⁷ publishing *Elements de la philosophie de Newton* in 1738.

²⁵ Voltaire, *Letters*, 76.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 68.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

The notion of literary style in the expression of philosophical views is epitomised in Voltaire's mastering of the English language during his two-and-a-half-year sojourn in that country, in order to give to his views expression appropriate for the intended readership in his host country. He aimed, not just at acquiring a functional knowledge of the language for the purpose of being well-informed in his commentaries, but he entertained an ambition to become a writer in the Augustan tradition, believing that the 'Reign of King Charles the Second [...] was the Age of Politeness, and the Golden Age of the Liberal Arts.'²⁸ To this end he conducted all his correspondence—including that to his compatriots—in the language he strove to perfect.²⁹

Early in the century, the periodical, the *Spectator* (1711–1712) indicated an aim to bring 'philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and in coffee-houses.'³⁰ Later, the French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) explored moral values in the form of a novel, *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), 'one of the most sensational and popular novels of the century,'³¹ and presented his theory of education in *Émile* (1762) 'a semi-novelised manual of moral and practical education,'³² subtitled *de l'éducation*.

This particular aspect of eighteenth-century philosophy—its accessibility—is crucial to the breadth of its influence, due to its capacity both to engage and shape public opinion. In his novel, *Tom Jones* (1749), Henry Fielding provides evidence of an assumption that a general readership would be acquainted with the writings of John Locke. Without any explanation, he refers to 'Mr. Locke's blind man,'³³ suggesting that the reader would be familiar not alone with the principle presented in Locke's philosophy on sense perception, but also with the detail of his proof; one of the characters in Fielding's novel—a young woman—listed 'Locke's *Human Understanding*' among her recently read books.³⁴ The philosophical essays of Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733) became an eighteenth-century best-seller in Britain and Ireland, with fourteen further editions published in the course of the century. An instance of the

²⁸ Voltaire, *Letters*, 88.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Cronk, intro., 'Voltaire: An Augustan Author,' vii–ix.

³⁰ The *Spectator*, 10, 1:44, cited by Brian Cowan in 'Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37/3 (Spring 2004): 345–66 (359).

³¹ Stella Tillyard, *Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa and Sarah Lennox, 1740–1832* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1994), 240.

³² *Ibid.*, 243.

³³ Henry Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (London, 1749; repr. London: Penguin, 1994), 127, referring to a passage in ch. ix 'Of Perception' in John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1690; Peter H. Nidditch (ed.), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 124.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 505.

popular appeal and practical application of Rousseau's *Emile* can be found in the papers of the Fitzgerald family of Carton, Co. Kildare: an example of the influence of this work is revealed in the letters of Emily, who put some of Rousseau's ideas into practice in the education of her own large family from the year 1766 on.³⁵

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Bacon had criticised the practice of abstract and obscure theorising; his own aim was to place philosophy in the domain of all thinking people. The very idea of presenting philosophical theories interwoven with the entertainment of a novel as Rousseau did in the latter half of the eighteenth century is symbolic of the concept of philosophy as belonging in the domain of the everyday life of the layperson; it is symbolic of Enlightenment thinking in that it places philosophy in the realm of popular literature rather than exclusively that of academic treatise or learned discourse.

Achievement in the field of science and a consciousness of the importance of education went hand-in-hand in the seventeenth century, and this continued in the eighteenth century; belief in man's intellectual potential both facilitated and was fuelled by his accomplishment in science and philosophy. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Bacon, philosopher and man of science, offered 'divine testimony and evidence concerning the true dignity and value of learning,'³⁶ and in *The Advancement of Learning* attempted a comprehensive and scientific systematisation of knowledge.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century Locke's *Thoughts Concerning the Education of Children* (1693) was written as a result of the request of friends for advice on the education of their son. The fundamental importance of education was of the very essence of empirical thinking. The *tabula rasa* of the mind offered limitless potential to be well furnished with ideas absorbed in the course of education. Much of the intellectual progress of the century might have been informed by such thinking as that of Bacon:

But of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable; and therefore appeared to be good in itself simply, without fallacy or accident.³⁷

The eclectic nature of the intellectual pursuits and writings of many individual seventeenth-century writers is in itself testimony to an insatiable thirst for knowledge in all fields of learning. Bacon—lawyer, courtier, historian and scientist foreshadowed later scientific discovery. His writings cover several disciplines, and according to Voltaire,

³⁵ Tillyard, *Aristocrats*, 244.

³⁶ Bacon, *Learning*, 42.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

[of] the several physical experiments which have been made since his Time, scarce one of them but is hinted at in his Work, and he himself made several.³⁸

The works of Locke range widely, spanning the fields of philosophy, religion, politics, economics, education and biblical studies.

In eighteenth-century perception, knowledge enabled man to take greater control of his world due to a deeper understanding of its workings. The practical application of new knowledge in the areas of navigation and agriculture resulted in the perception of knowledge as having a direct bearing on man's material welfare and personal happiness. In the mid-eighteenth century, Turgot claimed that

Education brought about an even greater difference between various parts of one and the same nation than did wealth, and as between different nations it was the same.³⁹

A perceived improvement in man's welfare directly attributable to knowledge, led to contemplation on the subject of happiness. The pursuit of happiness came to be acknowledged as laudable when seen to be synonymous with good, as it is in Locke's philosophy. In 1761, the Scottish philosopher, Adam Smith (1723–1790) wrote: 'the happiness of mankind [...] seems to have been the original purpose intended by the Author of nature,'⁴⁰ and 'of the Imitative Arts: after the pleasures which arise from the gratification of bodily appetites, there seem to be none more natural to man than Music and Dancing.'⁴¹

All philosophical theories of this time on the subject of the pursuit of knowledge pre-suppose freedom in that pursuit and in the subsequent expression of one's findings. Voltaire records that

'twas [Newton's] peculiar Felicity, not only to be born in a Country of Liberty, but in an Age when all scholastic Impertinences were banish'd from the World. Reason alone was cultivated and Mankind could only be his Pupil and not his Enemy.⁴²

Political philosophy had a very direct bearing on the freedom of thought and on opportunity for the enlightenment of the individual. Voltaire himself resorted to England to publish the second edition of *La Ligue* under the title *La Henriade*. An epic poem on

³⁸ Voltaire, *Letters*, 52.

³⁹ Turgot, *On Progress*, 89.

⁴⁰ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1761; 1790; D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie (eds.), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 166.

⁴¹ *Idem.*, *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1795; W. P. D. Wightman and J. C. Bryce (eds.), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 187.

⁴² Voltaire, *Letters*, 64.

the subject of the religious wars of the late seventeenth century in France, it denounced religious fanaticism and upheld toleration.

Having experienced the restrictions of the *ancien régime* in France, Voltaire did not take for granted and was enthusiastic in his praise of the liberalism he experienced in England, noting that ‘the civil wars of [...] the English [...] ended [...] in liberty.’⁴³ The liberty in question had earlier been suggested by Bacon (quoting Plato) as the possible result when politics were informed by a reasonable philosophy: ‘then should people and estates be happy, when either kings were philosophers, or philosophers kings.’⁴⁴ It was outlined in principle by Locke in the first of his *Two Treatises of Government* (1690). The principle of a mitigating force in the shape of a parliament created a situation in which a certain autonomy was granted to the individual. With the removal of the emphasis on hereditary privilege, education was seen as a means of opportunity for all; the idea of meritocracy began to make inroads of the concept of aristocracy. The positive consequences filtered down through several strata of society. As a result, Voltaire was able to report that ‘the English generally think, and Learning is had in greater Honour among them than in our Country;’⁴⁵ indeed, he observed that ‘their Condition of Life requires a cultivated and enlightened Mind.’⁴⁶ He acknowledged this to be

an Advantage that results from the Form of their Government. There are about eight hundred Persons in England who have a Right to speak in publick, and to support the Interest of the Kingdom; and near five or six Thousand may in their Turns, aspire to the same Honour. The whole Nation set themselves up as Judges over these, and every Man has the Liberty of publishing his Thoughts with regard to public Affairs, which shews, that all the People in general are indispensably oblig’d to cultivate their Understandings. In *England* the Governments of Greece and Rome are the subject of every Conversation, so that every Man is under the Necessity of perusing such Authors as treat of them [...] and this study leads naturally to that of polite Literature.⁴⁷

The esteem in which ‘polite literature’ was held in England greatly impressed Voltaire, and was seen by him as evidence of a self-perpetuating positive attitude towards intellectual achievement. In contrast, he pointed out that while France was unique in having its Academies for the promotion of the arts, nevertheless, the artist was as likely to be imprisoned as to be exalted to membership of an Academy in recognition of innovative work. Accordingly,

⁴³ Voltaire, *Letters*, 34.

⁴⁴ Bacon, *Learning*, 59.

⁴⁵ Voltaire, *Letters*, 98.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 98–99.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

Mr. Addison in France would have been elected a Member of one of the Academies [...] or else might have been imprisoned in the Bastille, upon Pretence that certain Strokes in his Tragedy of Cato had been discover'd which glance at the Porter of some Man in Power.⁴⁸

Voltaire claimed that 'the Circumstance which mostly encourages the Arts in England, is the great Veneration which is paid to them;' consequently, 'a Man of Merit in their Country is always sure of making his fortune.'⁴⁹ In a lifetime the practical rewards were considerable, in the form of public office. In evidence of the esteem in which the arts were held, Voltaire directs the reader to Westminster Abbey, holding that

what raised the Admiration of the Spectator is not the Mausoleums of the English Kings, but the Monuments which the Gratitude of the Nation has erected to perpetuate the Memory of those illustrious men who contributed to its Glory.⁵⁰

As a result of the prevalence of a liberal philosophy in England, considerable benefits accrued in the area of trade, bringing wealth and the means of access to education to a new class of society which was to become the middle class.

As Trade enrich'd the Citizens in England, so it contributed to their Freedom, and this Freedom on the other side extended their Commerce, whence arose the Grandeur of the State.⁵¹

All these developments show the translation of liberal philosophy into the practicalities of an 'open[ness] to innovation and entrepreneurial skill' which in turn led to the wider distribution of wealth.⁵² This essentially pragmatic view of life owed much to the dominance of empiricism in philosophy, government and institutional practices. According to Russell,

the first comprehensive statement of the liberal philosophy is to be found in Locke, the most influential [...] of the modern philosophers. In England his views were in Harmony with those of most intelligent men.⁵³

Some evidence of this will be shown in the writings of Voltaire and Turgot.

In the 1660s, Paris was regarded as the centre of world achievement in philosophy and mathematics. The work of Descartes in mathematics and astronomy was universally recognised. However, from the 1670s onwards, the discoveries of Newton in the field of mathematics and astronomy gradually focused international intellectual attention on England and commanded respect for the work being done there. Notice was directed

⁴⁸ Voltaire, *Letters*, 112.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 113, 112.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁵² Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political & Social History 1688–1832*, The Arnold History of Britain (London: E. Arnold, 1997, 2004), 110–12.

⁵³ Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, 580.

towards Newton and the German polymath and philosopher Leibniz, in their controversy over priority in the discovery of the differential calculus, though it is now acknowledged that they had independently formulated their theories around the same time. Though Leibniz's intellectual prowess was beyond question in his time, his influence, hindered by a dull writing style, was little felt outside Germany.⁵⁴ He was subsequently overshadowed by Newton when, though in the service of the House of Hanover (from 1673 until his death), Leibniz was left behind in Germany when George I became King of England (1714).⁵⁵ By the late 1720s, Voltaire, writing on the subject of the great men of all time, concluded that 'the greatest man [...] was unquestionably Isaac Newton.'⁵⁶

Newton's achievements in challenges to the mathematicians of Europe placed him to the forefront in an area where the conclusions of Descartes had previously prevailed.⁵⁷ From Copernicus's first intimations of a heliocentric world in which planets had two forms of motion, astronomy had reached a state where the exact time taken for the journey of light from sun to earth had been calculated by Newton. The widespread respect for Newton's discoveries in the field of cosmological order extended to Locke's theory of the ordering of the learning process and to his political philosophy.

During his stay in England in the 1720s, Voltaire was influenced by the empiricist approach to science. In referring to Newton's law of gravitation, or 'attraction', he points out that 'Attraction [...] is a real thing because its Effects are demonstrated and the Proportions of it are calculated.'⁵⁸ He was equally convinced of the merits of empiricist philosophy, as is found outlined in his *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733).⁵⁹ The publication in France of this work as *Lettres philosophiques* (1734), was instrumental in promoting empiricism and ousting Cartesian philosophy from its dominant position in France. Voltaire refers to 'our Descartes, born to uncover the errors of antiquity but to substitute his own,'⁶⁰ and to Newton as 'the destroyer of the Cartesian system';⁶¹ he records that 'Locke, having destroyed innate ideas, having abandoned the vanity of believing that we are always thinking, establishes that all our ideas come to us

⁵⁴ Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, 576.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 564.

⁵⁶ Voltaire, *Letters*, 57.

⁵⁷ Chambers, 1363.

⁵⁸ Voltaire, *Letters*, 73.

⁵⁹ More than half of the *Letters* were written in England during the years 1726–1728, and published in London (in English) in 1733.

⁶⁰ Voltaire, *Letters*, 68.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 63.

through the senses.’⁶² Voltaire adopted empirical methods in his effort to inform himself on English life and English ways. ‘When sufficiently initiated into our language, he joined in companies of every rank: lords, poets, and artisans were successively visited.’⁶³

In his praise of Newton, Voltaire expresses his own views on liberalism, in what amounts to an English manifesto:

For if true greatness consists in having received from heaven a powerful genius and in having used it to enlighten himself and others, a man such as Newton, the like of whom is scarcely to be found in ten centuries is the truly great man [...]. It is to the man who rules over minds by the power of truth, not to those who enslave men by violence, it is to the man who understands the universe, and not to those who disfigure it that we owe our respect.⁶⁴

Those views were influential in France, commanding a following which included the *philosophes* and the moderates.

Turgot, referring to empiricism, held that

men learned to analyse the way in which (our senses) give us an account of external objects. Locke succeeded in carrying the analysis much further, and Berkeley and Condillac followed him.⁶⁵

He expressed his own conviction:

The senses constitute the unique source of our ideas: the whole power of our mental faculties is restricted to combining the ideas which they have received from the senses.⁶⁶

The preponderance of this philosophy he outlines:

To discover and verify truth, it is no longer a question of establishing a small number of simple principles and then merely allowing the mind to be borne along by the current of their consequences. One must start from nature as it is, and from that infinite variety of effects which so many causes, counterbalanced one by the other, have combined to produce. Notions are no longer assemblages of ideas which the mind forms of its own accord, and of whose range it has exact knowledge.⁶⁷

The influence of Locke’s liberal philosophy extended to America, where the ideas expressed in his *Essay Concerning Toleration* (1667, unpublished) appear to a great extent in *Fundamental Constitution for the Government of North Carolina* (1699); the American constitution bears the influence of Locke’s ideas.

Two other philosophers influential in the eighteenth century were Rousseau and the German philosopher Kant, positioned at opposite ends of the spectrum of thought.

⁶² Voltaire, *Letters*, 64.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁶⁵ Turgot, *On Progress*, 95.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 44–45.

Rousseau denied the importance of reason, scientific advancement, formal education and even civilisation itself in favour of ‘sensibility’, or personal feeling, holding primitive man—the ‘noble savage’—as an example of the ideal. His writings were influential in the Romantic movement. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), in his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), while acknowledging that we owe our knowledge both to reason and experience, places the emphasis once again on *a priori* knowledge. Kant was a university professor, whose work was directed to a learned audience rather than to the educated amateur.

2.1.3 Theories of history, historical consciousness⁶⁸

While the momentous scientific discoveries of the seventeenth century secured for science the intellectual limelight at the time, leaving extra-scientific pursuits such as history somewhat in the shade, nevertheless, the very scientific advances which deflected attention from other disciplines had crucial implications for attitudes to history and its methodology. The discovery of a world order which depended not on the mysterious whim of its creator, but rather on its own very precise in-built and measurable system of functioning, demanded a whole new approach to the writing of the story of the world and of its inhabitants and their activities. Secondary causes in this story acquired greater importance as they were found to be more determinable; the deeds of man were to be seen in a new light, and to be found of greater interest in the unfolding of the story than hitherto perceived. The Italian political philosopher Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), writing on the subject of history as the ‘new science’ held that

the physics of the ignorant is a vulgar metaphysics by which they refer to the causes of the things they do not know to the will of God without considering the means by which the divine will operates.⁶⁹

The investigation of these means, which are the very stuff of which history in the modern sense is made, was to receive a new emphasis.

In the alternative view proposed by Vico, ‘this Science [history] must [...] be a rational civil theology of divine providence.’⁷⁰ Where a theologically oriented view of history had previously been dominant, secular, civil history increasingly engaged the minds of men while at the same time the idea of a transcendental purpose was not necessarily rejected. Historical study gradually became a subject to be pursued in its own

⁶⁸ For the fundamentals of historiography, I have drawn upon Breisach, *Historiography*, Evans, *In Defence of History*, Gardiner, *Theories of History* and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

⁶⁹ Giambattista Vico, *Scienza Nuova* (1725), in Gardiner, *Theories of History*, 15.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

right rather than a tool for uncovering the workings of a world system driven by a divine purpose. Previously, history's civil application had been limited to its use as a means of understanding legal systems. Indeed, its employment in the investigation of such systems focused attention on society in all aspects of its functioning as a subject for historical study.

Since the Renaissance, the organisation of historical time had already been seen from a new perspective with the erosion of a traditional unified Christian view of history in a biblical chronology; it had given way to the secular scheme of ancient, medieval and modern. The intellectual reaction against medievalism continued to manifest itself self-consciously throughout the seventeenth century, culminating in a cultural *risorgimento* in Naples at the end of the century.⁷¹ Vico's manifesto of 1725 in *Scienza Nuova* (cited above) indicates that it was still necessary to take a stand against a medieval outlook. Even in the years 1782–1791, the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) refers to the 'phantom of a magic creation' (cited at the end of this section) as if such thinking was still a force to be reckoned with in the writing of history.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in particular, political and religious disputes drove rival powers to searching the past for validation of their authority. Bacon, on the subject of modern history in *The Advancement of Learning*, clearly saw a need to set the record straight in his time:

But for modern histories, whereof there are some few worthy, but the greater part beneath mediocrity, [...] I cannot but fail to represent to your majesty the unworthiness of England in the main continuance thereof, and the partiality and obliquity of that of Scotland in the latest and largest author that I have seen: supposing that it would be an honour for your Majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as it is now joined in monarchy for the ages to come, so were joined in one history for the times passed.⁷²

Political and religious conflicts of interest inspired men to seek new interpretations of history to uphold their own philosophy and ultimately their position of power; this demanded a critical approach to the ancient texts invoked in the cause in question. All investigation of the past increased historical consciousness, as a parallel to the momentous scientific discoveries contributing to an awareness of change in man's understanding of his world. The appeal to ancient texts called upon and developed diplomatic and palaeographic skills, highlighting the importance of original material and

⁷¹ Vico, *Scienza Nuova*, in Gardiner, *Theories of History*, 9

⁷² Bacon, *Learning*, 75.

developing the idea of text criticism. In such an approach where religious dispute was concerned, the subjection of hitherto uncriticised sacred texts to scrutiny as historical documents furthered the growing sense of historical consciousness.

Early evidence of the influence of the scientific approach on matters literary can be found in the phenomenon of antiquarianism. In the climate of precise scientific enquiry, antiquarianism prospered. The trend towards minute and meticulous investigation with recourse to primary sources and thorough and accurate recording of data favourably affected this discipline. In England, the Society of Antiquaries of London was founded in 1707 ‘for the encouragement, advancement and furtherance of the study and knowledge of the antiquities and history of this and other countries,’ according to its Royal Charter of 1751.⁷³ History in the style of antiquarianism tended to be an erudite study rather than a subject of interest to the general public.

In his *Scienza Nuova*, Vico, writing of history as an intellectual discipline in its own right, expressed views which, according to Gardiner, constitute a ‘highly original contribution to historical thought’, ‘providing the ground-plan of a whole mode of thinking.’⁷⁴ In claiming for the discipline of history equal importance with that of science, Vico pointed to a fact which had not previously received attention, to

a truth beyond all question: that the world of civil society has certainly been made by men, and that its principles are therefore to be found within the modifications of our own human mind. Whoever reflects on this cannot but marvel that the philosophers should have bent all their energies to the study of the world of nature which, since God made it, He alone knows; and that they should have neglected the study of the world of nations or civil world, which since men had made it, men could hope to know.⁷⁵

Among Vico's contribution to ideas governing this new science is his delineation of a theory of progress. He expressed such a concept in terms of a cyclical type of progress.

The nature of peoples is first crude, then severe, then benign, then delicate, finally dissolute[...], the principles of the ideal history traversed in time by every nation in its rise, development, maturity, decline and fall.⁷⁶

The idea of man's progress as linear or continuous was expressed by Voltaire, also in the 1720s, when he observed that ‘the world grows steadily more refined.’⁷⁷ Turgot, around

⁷³ Website <https://www.sal.org.uk/about-us/#sthash.zXB0xYCL.dpuf>. (November 2016). One of the co-founders was librarian Humfrey Wanley, associate of Thomas Tudway. See ch. 3.1.

⁷⁴ Gardiner, *Theories of History*, 10, 12.

⁷⁵ Vico, *Scienza Nuova*, in Gardiner, *Theories of History*, 17–18.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷⁷ Voltaire, *Letters*, 62.

mid-century, outlined ‘A Philosophical Review of the Successive Advances of the Human Mind,’ in which he claimed that the human race ‘had its infancy and its advancement.’⁷⁸ To support this claim he offers evidence available as result of the perceived uneven rate of human development in different parts of the world, presenting cultures other than that of western Europe as primitive, and at an earlier stage of progress.⁷⁹

Also in Turgot’s view the path of man’s progress was not always smooth, nor did it proceed at a constant rate, sometimes undergoing temporary reversal. ‘Progress, although inevitable, is intermingled with periods of decline as a result of the occurrences and revolutions which come to interrupt it.’⁸⁰ Ideas on progress continued to feature in writings on history throughout the eighteenth century. In an essay on the subject in 1784, the German philosopher Kant expressed the view that man’s ‘natural capacities which are directed towards the use of his reason could be completely developed only in the species and not in the individual.’⁸¹ He outlines a procedure in which

reason would require the production of an almost inconceivable series of generations, the one handing down its enlightenment to the other, in order that her germs, as implanted in our species may be at last unfolded to that stage of development which is completely conformable to her inherent design.⁸²

Such theory had significant implications for historiography. In the discourse on progress, history and progress were seen to be interlinked: the tracing of progress being the material of history, and history’s recording of it being the means of further progress through the consequential enlargement of the store of knowledge and development of philosophy. Turgot viewed knowledge as ‘a common treasure-house which one generation transmits to another, an inheritance which is always being enlarged by the discoveries of each age,’ and concluded that ‘the whole human race [...] goes on advancing, although at a slow pace, towards greater perfection.’⁸³ As a result of such thinking, history was placed on a footing of great significance, playing a key role in the scheme of human perfectibility.

The political and religious reasons for the writing of history in former times gave way in the eighteenth century to a new motivation. In his *Scienza Nuova*, Vico gives reasons which involve setting the record straight for considerations intellectual rather than

⁷⁸ Turgot, *On Progress*, 41.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁸¹ Immanuel Kant, ‘Idea of a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View,’ in Gardiner, *Theories of History*, 24.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 24

⁸³ Turgot, *On Progress*, 41.

material, a need to reach a greater understanding of the human condition through the discovery of the origin of ideas and the tracing of their development.

In search of these natures of human things our Science proceeds by a severe analysis of human thoughts about the human necessities or utilities of social life, which are the two perennial springs of the natural law of nations [...]. In its second principal aspect our Science is therefore a history of human ideas, on which it seems the metaphysics of the human mind must proceed.⁸⁴

As well as attempting to adjust the concept of history, Vico addresses the problems of its methodology. A 'severe analysis' suggests an empirical approach, and points to the fact that historiography, involving as it does the accumulation of evidence from which conclusions are drawn, is in itself an empirical discipline; as such, its development was aided by the dominance of empiricist philosophy. In an oblique way, Vico endorses Locke's philosophy on the acquisition of knowledge through sense experience and the consequent reflection on it:

The human mind is naturally inclined by the senses to see itself externally in the body, and only with great difficulty does it come to attend to itself by means of reflection.⁸⁵

Turgot also reflects empirical philosophy in his view of 'men's knowledge, all of which is contained within actual sensation.'⁸⁶ In his approach to the writing of history he favours an empirical method, and he draws attention to a continuity resulting from the connectedness of events:

Thus, if any method is to be preferred, it is that of tracing the steps of the human mind in its discoveries, of bringing home the general axioms which spring from all the particular truths, and at the same time making known the Manner in which all the preceding truths are bound up in them.⁸⁷

Kant, in 1784, referred to 'the empirical cultivation of history, or the narration of the actual facts of experience.'⁸⁸

The very study of the 'world of nature' which Vico observed had claimed all of man's attention in the seventeenth century, contributed directly to a new interest in the history of the civil world. This was the case in particular as a result of the study of astronomy, which, by throwing a fresh light on a subject central to the study of history—chronology—led to new thinking on that subject. Newton's discoveries enabled him to

⁸⁴ Vico, *Scienza Nuova*, in Gardiner, *Theories of History*, 20.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸⁶ Turgot, *On Progress*, 93.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁸⁸ Kant, in Gardiner, *Theories of History*, 33.

‘fix an uncertain Chronology,’⁸⁹ revealing the world to be ‘five hundred years younger than Chronologers declare it to be.’⁹⁰ Such a revelation demanded a radical re-appraisal of the history of the world.

The certainty of scientific and mathematical truth came to be held up as standard for the ascertaining of historical truth. Herder, in his *Ideas towards a Philosophy of the History of Man* towards the end of the eighteenth century, (1784–1791), bears witness to an awareness of the merits of the scientific approach, the empirical methodology:

Every historian agrees with me, that a barren wonder and recital deserve not the name of history, and if this be just, the examining mind must exert all its acumen on every historical event, as on a natural phenomenon. Thus in the narration of history it will seek the strictest truths; in forming its conception and judgement, the most complete connexion: and never attempt to explain a thing which is, or happens, by a thing which is not. With this rigorous principle, every thing ideal, all the phantoms of a magic creation will vanish: it will endeavor to see simply what is: and as soon as this is seen, the causes why it could not be otherwise will commonly appear. As soon as the mind has acquired this habit in history it will have found the way to that sound philosophy, which rarely occurs except in natural history and mathematics.

This philosophy will first and most eminently guard us from attributing the facts, that appear in history, to the particular hidden purposes of a scheme of invisible powers, which we would not venture to name in connexion with natural phenomena. Fate reveals its purposes through the events that occur, and as they occur: accordingly, the investigator of history develops these purposes merely from that is before him, and what displays itself in its whole extent.⁹¹

The many scientific discoveries which history records present proof of progress in their contribution to the material welfare and prosperity of man.

2.1.4 Ancient *versus* modern

The ancient *versus* modern debate is crucial to the background of modern music history in general and to an understanding of its English beginning in particular; it gave rise to a historical consciousness in relation to music, through a gradual establishment of a canon of musical classics. During the sixteenth and seventeenth century arguments in music about the ancients and moderns had tended to focus on the comparative merits of modern practice and ancient Greek practice—or a perception of it. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, it was renaissance polyphony that was seen as ‘ancient’ practice. The discourse around it reflects its political and social contexts. Its origin can be traced to the

⁸⁹ Voltaire, *Letters*, 83.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁹¹ Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte eder Menschheit*, in Gardiner, *Theories of History*, 39.

performance of old polyphonic compositions, particularly polyphonic church music, which was the realm of musical learning. Hawkins makes it quite clear that ‘ancient’ refers to

the compositions of the sixteenth century [...], no farther back than the time when Palestrina and his contemporaries, those glorious luminaries of the musical world, attracted the admiration of the ablest judges.⁹²

Cathedral choirs were significant places of music education; the practice of the transcription of compositions was part and parcel of the organisation of cathedral music. In the normal course of events, while older works were studied as models of compositional procedure, commissions for new works were much prized among aspiring composers. The demand for new compositions was guaranteed by the tradition of marking the celebration of royal events with the performance of new music. Thus, there was a natural cycle of regeneration of musical works as new talent emerged and gained prominence. In this system, older works gradually fell out of favour as they were replaced in the repertoire; that was the natural order of things.

Political events in England in the seventeenth century created a situation where this order was overturned, or indeed frozen, for the duration of the Civil War. Though prohibition on church services did not completely silence musicians for the twenty years in question, it all but brought sacred musical compositional activity to a standstill. While the musical life of the church continued covertly, there was little incentive or even opportunity for innovation; the survival of musical practice claimed all resources. With the restoration of the monarchy, a mammoth task faced the custodians of cathedral music. In order to concentrate on the urgent priority of the moment, namely, the reconstitution and re-training of choirs, compositions already available to hand—most likely pre-1641—were pressed into service and became the mainstay of performance. From this political context can be traced the origin of England’s distinctive historical consciousness in composition. The Civil War inevitably brought about a ‘profound sense of discontinuity.’⁹³ While there was discontinuity in the context of European musical trends, at the same time, the historical pause resulting from the removal of English musical life from the natural continuum, facilitated the continued use of old music by virtue of expedient.

⁹² Hawkins, *An Account*, 18–19.

⁹³ Weber, *Musical Classics*, 26.

The Standard of church Music begun by Mr. Tallis & Mr. Byrd &c. was continued for some years, after the Restoration, & all Composers conform'd themselves, to the Pattern which was set for them.⁹⁴

The practice of religious services during the Civil War, and the ancient music tradition which grew out of this practice is associated in particular with Oxford, and the royalists and Chapel Royal members who took refuge there at the time in question. Hawkins reports:

The only place to which these men could as to an asylum, resort, was to Oxford, whither the King had retired [...]. These and a few others, with the assistance of University people, made a stand against the persecution of the times; choral service was performed there after a very homely fashion, and concerts of vocal and instrumental music were sometimes had in the rooms of the Gentlemen of the University for the entertainment of each other [...]. The spirit that had been excited in favour of music during his residency there [...] contributed to an association of Gentlemen of the University, with the musicians of the place, and these together established a weekly concert.⁹⁵

In the performance of ancient music, the central figure at Oxford was Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church from 1689 to 1710, who has been credited with the assembling of an important collection of music from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is likely that with the aristocratic households who fled to Oxford had come some of their collections of church music, and that several such collections formed the nucleus of a larger one, used, and added to by Aldrich and others. Aldrich's influence in the ancient music movement can be traced in the interest and work of others in this field; two such contributors were Thomas Tudway and Arthur Bedford.

The transcription and compilation of compositions in the repertoire was a normal part of the organisation of cathedral music. One such collection, *The First Book of Selected Church Musik*, was made by John Barnard, a minor canon of St. Paul's, and published in 1641; its distribution was delayed until the Restoration. As its dissemination was not widespread, no claim can be made for it as an agent of influence; yet as it is exclusively made up of the works of composers who were dead at the time of publication, Weber holds that it has significance as a harbinger of change—change by way of 'a developing historical sensibility of a novel order.'⁹⁶ However, as it was to have been the first of many volumes, the entire collection might not have been any different from others

⁹⁴ Thomas Tudway, in the preface to his compilation of church music for the Harleian library, cited by Christopher Hogwood, 'Thomas Tudway's History of Music,' in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 19–48 (25).

⁹⁵ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 679–80.

⁹⁶ Weber, *Musical Classics*, 25.

of its kind which, quite likely, comprised works of composers of the recent past as well as works of contemporary composers. Robert Shay points out that the very extensive transcription of older music by Henry Purcell (1659–1695) in his teens and twenties, show him to have been ‘deeply affected by a sense of historical consciousness.’⁹⁷ The extraordinary extent of Purcell’s transcriptions is outlined by Robert Thompson.⁹⁸

The books published after the Restoration for the renewal of the Anglican liturgy rely, to a large extent, on works composed and repertoires in use before the Civil War. Thirty-five of forty-seven anthems sung at Durham Cathedral in 1680 were written before 1640;⁹⁹ in the 1664 publication by J. C. Clifford of *Divine Services and Anthems usually sung in his Majesties Chappell*, two-thirds of the four hundred anthems pre-date 1625.¹⁰⁰ In the latter category—repertoires in use—there are indications of a pre-1640 predilection for old music.¹⁰¹ As musical learning was based on the polyphonic tradition of church music, this was a natural outcome, which reinforced the tradition and served its continuity, independent of the new monodic style which influenced secular works from early in the seventeenth century.

The link between political history and music history enabled historical consciousness through an awareness of music pre- and post-Restoration.

The Restoration of King Charles II must be considered as a remarkable epoch in the history of music in two respects; first as the re-establishment of choral service, and the commencement of a new style of choral services is to be dated from thence [...], secondly, as it gave a new form to secular music.¹⁰²

A developing historical consciousness can be traced in music collections and in their presentation. The title of a manuscript collection of church music (probably York) of 1688 reads:

A Collection of the 120 or more of the Choicest Divine Hymns and Anthems, English and Latin, that have binne Extant within this 110 or 120 Years, to this present year 1688 [...] Composed by about 60 eminent Master both English and Italian.¹⁰³

The publisher, Henry Playford, in 1691, advertised a sale of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century music in *A Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Musick Books* [...].¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷ Robert Shay, ‘Purcell as Collector of “Ancient Music:” Fitzwilliam MS 88,’ in *Purcell Studies*, Curtis Price (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 36.

⁹⁸ Robert Thompson, ‘Purcell’s Great Autographs,’ in *Idem*, 6–34.

⁹⁹ Weber, *Musical Classics*, 26

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Hawkins, *GH* 2, 719.

¹⁰³ Cited in Weber, *Musical Classics*, 28.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

The term ‘ancient and modern’ also features in a 1714 catalogue of the library of Thomas Britton.¹⁰⁵ The phrase ‘ancient and modern church-music’ was used in a treatise on music in the 1690s (previously attributed to Henry Aldrich and now thought to have been the work of James Talbot); its use was adopted by Arthur Bedford in 1706 in an unpublished primer, and by Thomas Tudway in the Harleian collection of church music compiled between 1714 and 1720; a further endorsement of the term came with the change of its name by ‘The Academy of Vocal Music’ in 1731 to ‘The Academy of Ancient Music.’¹⁰⁶

The Harleian collection, compiled by Thomas Tudway for the library of Robert Harley (later Earl of Oxford) at Wimpole Hall, near Cambridge, has significance as a document indicating historical consciousness, in the compositions chosen for the collection and also in the history of music contained in the prefaces to its volumes. There is a double connection with Oxford and the influence of Henry Aldrich in this enterprise. While a student at Oxford, Edward, the son of Robert Harley (and later to continue the project begun under the patronage of his father), had been impressed by the work of Henry Aldrich as a collector and a composer; it was at Edward Harley’s request that some of the compositions of Aldrich were included in the Harleian collection.¹⁰⁷ Harley’s librarian, Humphrey Wanley, with whom the idea of a music collection for the Harleian library originated, albeit in a modest proposal for a ‘Little Collection of Chappell Tunes,’¹⁰⁸ had previously worked at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, from 1695 to 1700, where he met Henry Aldrich. It is likely that Wanley’s awareness of Aldrich’s collection suggested the idea of the inclusion of such a compilation in the library at Wimpole Hall.¹⁰⁹ Through Harley’s interest in the subject, the project grew to more ambitious proportions in his quest for some manuscripts at Cambridge; in this, Thomas Tudway’s aid was enlisted, as Wanley’s expertise lay in the field of literature rather than music. A former Chapel Royal chorister, and honorary professor of music at Cambridge, Tudway’s role as mediator in procuring coveted manuscripts in the ownership of a colleague at Cambridge developed to that of the controlling force in the venture. Wanley’s suggested ‘Little Collection of Chappell Tunes’ became Thomas Tudway’s *Collection of Ancient and Modern Church Music*, in six volumes.

¹⁰⁵ Hawkins, GH 2, 792–3. See ch. 2.2.1.

¹⁰⁶ Hogwood, intro. Hawkins, *An Account*; Weber, *Musical Classics*, 29.

¹⁰⁷ Edward Turnbull, ‘Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection,’ *JAMS* 8/3 (1955): 203–7 (205).

¹⁰⁸ Weber, *Musical Classics*, 41.

¹⁰⁹ Hogwood, ‘Thomas Tudway’s History of Music,’ 22.

The work, which began as a compilation of church music, had gradually taken on the shape of a history of music, and a novel one at that in its time, based as it was, entirely on musical examples rather than theoretical knowledge. The historical consciousness displayed in its original intention of presenting a collection of ancient music, is heightened by the inclusion of new music, and in its discussion of trends, with a comparative treatment of old and contemporary music. Tudway's increasing enthusiasm for the project might be seen as stemming purely from self-interest, considering that the opportunity for his involvement came at a time when he was out of academic favour; it could also be indicative of an increasing historical awareness resulting from his perusal of the compositions in the growing collection. What began with an emphatically declared stance in favour of ancient music changed to an acceptance of the modification of compositional style. Whether this was due to a certain measure of pragmatism inspired by the necessity for survival in a musical world dependent on patronage, or to a sense of the inevitability of change, is a matter for conjecture.

The first volume—and what was conceived originally as the extent of the compilation—was entitled 'A Collection of the most celebrated services and anthems used in the Church of England from the Reformation to the Restoration of K Charles.' Its title places it in the category of compilations produced in the post-Restoration Anglican revival, which by their nature were reactionary.¹¹⁰ Tudway's dedicatory preface contains a reminder of the ancient/modern music debate and reinforces its position in relation to it:

I shall think myself much Hon[our]d & very happy, if any endeavor of mine, in Obeying your Lordships commands, may contribute anything to your Pious designe of rescuing from dust, & Oblivion, our Ancient compositions of Church Musick; at this time so much mistaken, and despis'd [...]. I dare affirm my Lord, that there cou'd never have been anything better devis'd, than was composed first of that kind, by M. Tallis & Mr. Byrd. They [...] have sett an inimitable Pattern of solemn Church music, which no one since has been able to come up to.¹¹¹

In his preface Tudway expressed agreement with a former authority in the exclusion of all except ancient music from worship:

The governors of our Church in those days wisely foresaw, that any deviation in matters of Church Music, would soon destroy, the chief designe, & use thereof; And therefore guarded against all innovations, & encroachments, of the Composers of Musick.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Hogwood, 'Thomas Tudway's History of Music,' 22.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

Yet, he later invokes royal authority to excuse innovation:

His Majesty who was a brisk, & Airy Prince, coming to the Crown in the Flow'r, & vigour of his Age, was soon, if I may so say, tyr'd with the Grave & solemn way, and Order'd the composers of his Chappell, to add symphonies &c with Instruments to their Anthems; and thereupon Establis'd a select number of his private music, to play the Symphonys & Ritornellos, which he appointed.¹¹³

However, he considered it important to record that 'these new fangl'd ways' were not to supplant the traditional, but, crucially, to co-exist with it:

The King did not intend by this innovation, to alter any thing of the Establis'd way; He only appointed this to be done when he came himself to the Chapell.¹¹⁴

As Hogwood points out, the acceptance of such modification in the style of church music enabled the inclusion of Tudway's own compositions in the collection.¹¹⁵ Tudway can hardly have been unaware of his own place in the power structure which determined the inclusion or selection of styles of composition. The situation was little different from that prevailing at the time of the Reformation, when

the standard of Church music was not left at random, to the fancy & invention of the Composers of those times; But was circumscrib'd, among other Ecclesiastical matters, by Authority; As your Lordship will find, by a Book entitled *Reformation Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.¹¹⁶

The only difference now was that the absolute power of the monarch in determining artistic taste was replaced by a power that was shared to a considerable extent by a wealthy aristocracy. In Tudway's case the shared power is evident in his accommodation of the king's taste, while dependent on the patronage of the aristocrat, Harley.

While acknowledging the validity of contemporary compositional practice, Tudway makes it clear that he has not abandoned his allegiance to ancient music. He expresses regret that what he describes as 'this Secular way,' 'has been too much imitated ever since, by our Modern Composers.'¹¹⁷

All of those mentioned so far in the context of growing historical consciousness, have in common a motivation for the improvement of taste in music, to be brought about by the study and performance of old music. Taste, in this context, and in all references in this study, did not mean mere preference as it might do today; in a recent publication Martin Adams draws attention to its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century meaning as

¹¹³ Hogwood, 'Thomas Tudway's History of Music,' 25.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23–24.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

‘appropriateness.’¹¹⁸ Johnson’s *Dictionary* defines it as ‘intellectual discernment.’ In chapter 4.1 it will be seen that Burney and Hawkins convey this meaning clearly when they insist that taste must be well-informed.

Another category of influence in the growth of historical consciousness was one motivated by a drive for the reformation of morals. Those who subscribed to this movement promoted ancient music, which was understood to be academic, and morally exalted, in preference to music for entertainment—particularly that of the theatre—which was perceived as degenerate. To this category of influence belongs the work of Arthur Bedford. (The overall circle of influence in the ancient music movement is further unified by the association of Humphrey Wanley with the campaign for moral improvement.) A clergyman with academic leanings, whose scholarly interests led him to distinguish himself as a linguist of Hebrew and Greek, Bedford was involved in the work of some of the reforming societies of the time—the Society for the Reformation of Manners and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (the SPCK). Such ideological involvement places the debate in its social context—that of a fast-developing city of the eighteenth century, where social dislocation and disorientation were some of the results of the dramatic change brought about by rapid urbanisation.¹¹⁹ Hawkins records that

in proportion to the increase of wealth in the metropolis, the manners of the people began to relax; the places of public entertainment increased in number, and to these music seemed to be essential.¹²⁰

Bedford outlines his ideology in *The Great Abuse of Musick* (1711). He held that

The present Age, (if we are not ungrateful), might own itself obliged to Dr. *Gibbons*, Dr. *Child*, and others, for their full Services, and their *excellent, solid, and grave*, as well as harmonious *Anthems*, consisting of several Canons, intermix’d with other Variety, which are sung at this time in most of our *Cathedrals*.¹²¹

At the same time he feared that

our ancient church music is lost, and that solid grave Harmony fit for a Martyr to delight in and an angel to hear, is now changed to a diversion for Atheists & Libertines.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Martin Adams, ‘Opera as Literature and the Triumph of Music,’ in *Music in the London Theatre from Purcell to Handel*, Colin Timms and Bruce Wood (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 25–37.

¹¹⁹ This social phenomenon is discussed by Weber in *Musical Classics*.

¹²⁰ Hawkins *GH* 2, 887.

¹²¹ Bedford, *The Great Abuse of Musick*, cited in Weber, *Musical Classics*, 53.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 53.

Hawkins quotes Bedford in support of his own preference for ancient music referring to Bedford's praise of Dr. Blow.¹²³ The campaign to shape public taste in music—for aesthetic or for moral reasons—was possible because of the existence of a repertoire of ancient music, and awareness of both old and new music and the implied possibility of choice.

The historical sensibility evident in the ancient/modern dichotomy found a very particular articulation in the Academy of Ancient Music. The full title of Hawkins's outline of this society and its aims is significant in its implied historical consciousness: *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music, with a Comparative View of the Past and Present Times, by a Member*. Founded in 1726,¹²⁴ the historicist agenda of the Academy is seen in its dedication to the study of early music theory and the performance of early music, with the aim of informing the progress of composition and raising the status of music. Hawkins records the founding of The Academy of Ancient Music:

In the course of his studies Dr. Pepusch had discovered the error of those, who seemed to resolve the efficacy of music and its influence on the human mind solely into novelty; when he saw with concern persons who made pretensions to great skill in the science, treat with indifference and contempt the music of the preceding century; and being himself persuaded of its superior excellence, he laboured to retrieve and exhibit it to public view. To this end, about the year 1710 [1726], he concerted with some of the most eminent masters then living, and a number of gentlemen distinguished for their performance on various instruments, the plan of an academy of ancient vocal and instrumental music.¹²⁵

Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)—German immigrant, organist, theorist, composer, teacher and director of the Academy for many years—is listed, along with twelve others in the attendance at the inaugural meeting of the Academy.¹²⁶ Admitted to membership initially were the choristers of the Chapel Royal and the cathedrals. Such members as those from the principal places of worship were professionals accomplished in the learned tradition of cathedral music, and committed to its performance; new members were admitted by ballot showing a majority of two thirds at least. The Academy met fortnightly, and on alternate meetings 'auditors' could attend, with, initially, a

¹²³ Hawkins, GH 1, xli, citing Bedford, *The Great Abuse of Musick*, 248

¹²⁴ Scholes and Davis concluded that the date of institution was 1725/1726, under its original title 'The Academy of Vocal Music'; Egginton gives the inaugural date as 7 January 1726, *Advancement of Mus*, 5.

¹²⁵ Hawkins, GH 2, 832.

¹²⁶ Egginton, *Advancement of Mus.*, The Academy's founding constitution, Exhibit 1.1, 7–8.

maximum of eighteen tickets allowed to members.¹²⁷ By the end of the 1729–1730 season, the last for which records survive, the Academy had eighty-two members.¹²⁸ The strict rules of the Academy ensured the promotion of its agenda and the realisation of its aims. Eggington points out that the performance of ‘old music at a public concert’ was a ‘remarkable development in musical culture [...] in an age when novelty was all important,’ as was the performance of sacred music in a secular setting.¹²⁹

Hawkins’s own exclusively historicist musical credo revealed in *The Compleat Angler* stands apart from the historicism of the Academy which while dedicated to the study of older compositions, included in performances recent and newly-composed works. In his *Account* Hawkins mentions Steffani, Handel and Geminiani as contributors of such compositions, and records that the first semi-public performance of Handel’s oratorio *Esther* (1732) by the Academy was received ‘with great applause.’¹³⁰ He affirms that ‘they have ever paid sedulous attention to such productions as their intrinsic merit has at any period rendered worthy of regard.’¹³¹ In 1768, the Academy re-iterated its manifesto in correspondence with the Italian composer Lotti as

searching after, examining, and hearing performed the Works of the Masters, who flourished before and about the Age of Palestrina: however, not neglecting those who in our own Time have become famous.¹³²

Eggington, drawing on available evidence, finds that ‘taking into account all sources, roughly half of all works performed were by composers who lived in the eighteenth century.’¹³³ Not all were necessarily composing in a modern vein: Hogwood writes of ‘the seventy-three year old Steffani [as] the oldest living emblem of an earlier style of vocal writing.’¹³⁴

Hawkins writes of Pepusch’s perusal of ‘ancient treatises on harmonics’ and his reputation as ‘one of the best theoretic musicians of his time.’¹³⁵ His knowledge and teaching expertise were to have a far-reaching effect on musical life in London while promoting the agenda of the Academy. In 1731, with the departure of the choirboys from the Academy, the availability of trebles was ensured with the establishment of

¹²⁷ Eggington, *Advancement of Mus.*, 7–8.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹³⁰ Hawkins, *An Account*, 9, 6.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹³² Hogwood, intro., Hawkins, *An Account*.

¹³³ Eggington, *Advancement of Mus.*, 40–41.

¹³⁴ Hogwood, “‘Gropers into Antique Musick,’” in Eisen (ed.), *Coll’ astuzia,, col giudizio: Essays* (127–92), 129.

¹³⁵ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 885.

a seminary for the instruction of youth in the principles of music, and the laws of harmony [...] and such an education [...] as would fit them as well for trades and businesses, as the profession of music.¹³⁶

The costs of this enlightened musical and general education were to be covered by the members' subscriptions, and tuition to be given by Pepusch for a modest stipend; he 'succeeded so well in his endeavours [...] that some of the most eminent professors of the science owe their skill and reputation to his masterly method of tuition.'¹³⁷ Among them was Benjamin Cooke (1734–1793), enrolled in the 1740s. Eggington gives a detailed account of the education provided to Cooke and 'an entire generation of pupils: keyboard exercises, two-, then three-part contrapuntal exercises, fugues, psalm-settings, organ voluntaries and, finally, canons.'¹³⁸ The concept of music as an intellectual activity found continuity as Cooke eventually succeeded Pepusch as teacher at the Academy and went on to become Master of the Boys at Westminster Abbey, eventually becoming organist there also;¹³⁹ the influence of the learned music tradition was also ensured by the work of the composers who emerged from the Academy's tuition system. As well as Cooke, these included William Boyce, James Nares and John Travers.¹⁴⁰

Ancient music was also the concern of The Madrigal Society, founded in 1741 by John Immyns, member of the Academy, 'an attorney by profession and [...] occasionally copyist to the society, and amanuensis to Dr. Pepusch.'¹⁴¹ Hawkins records that they were 'about five-and twenty in number' and 'assisted by three or four boys from St. Paul's,' with Immyns as 'their president and instructor.'¹⁴² (Aspects of his instruction have been mentioned in chapter 1.2.) As well as English and Italian madrigals in three, four and five parts, at their weekly meetings they sang catches, rounds and canons. In keeping with their interest in the music of the past, and 'to vary the entertainment, Immyns would sometimes read [...] a chapter of Zarlino translated by himself.'¹⁴³

Referring to the early days of the Academy of Ancient Music, Burney mentions that Handel 'at this time was regarded as a modern and an innovator.'¹⁴⁴ At the end of the century he was included among the 'ancients' in the programming of The Concert of

¹³⁶ Hawkins, *An Account*, 9.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 8–9.

¹³⁸ Eggington, *Advancement of Mus.*, 49.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 50, 53.

¹⁴⁰ Hogwood, intro., Hawkins, *An Account*.

¹⁴¹ Hawkins *GH 2*, 887.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Burney, *GH 2*, 749.

Ancient Music (1776–1849), which was founded under aristocratic patronage. Burney records that ‘here the productions of venerable old masters, particularly those of Purcell and Handel, are performed by a select and powerful band.’¹⁴⁵

The co-existence of old and new music can be seen in general music publication and performance in the eighteenth century. New music is advertised in the newspapers, but does not supplant the old. The Academy of Ancient Music advertised its meetings throughout the 1760s and 1770s; the ‘new music’ of Arne, Handel, Galuppi, Boyce, Rameau, Roseingrave, Hasse, Green, Stanley and Smith was regularly advertised in newspapers in the 1750s. The performance of new and old continued. The *Morning and Daily Advertiser*, 21 January 1777, announced forthcoming ‘New Music’ by Charles Burney. A performance of a Haydn symphony was mentioned in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 11 May 1785. In the *Public Advertiser*, 9 March 1785, the ‘Ancient Music Concert’ recorded that its fourth concert had included ‘Purcell's beautiful music in *The Tempest*.’

2.2 Practical conditions

2.2.1 Book and manuscript collecting

The Enlightenment idea of the encyclopaedia as ‘the round of learning’ found practical, concrete expression in the private library. The private library as exemplified at Wimpole Hall (in the previous section of this chapter) was a requisite of the wealthy aristocrat. It also formed a natural part of the home of many learned people and all who aspired to letters. Burney had an extensive library, as had Hawkins. Such libraries had to be furnished with books on a wide range of subjects. The deficiency at Wimpole Hall regarding music was to be made good with the help of Thomas Tudway.

Hawkins records:

About the beginning of this century a passion for collecting old books and manuscripts reigned among the nobility. The chief of those who sought after them were Edward, Earl of Oxford, the earls of Pembroke, Sunderland and Winchelsea, and the Duke of Devonshire.¹⁴⁶

He goes on to outline how library material was systematically sought and collected when members of the nobility, on Saturdays,

dividing themselves, [...] took several routes [...] to different parts of the town, inhabited by booksellers; there they would inquire [...] for old books and

¹⁴⁵ Burney, *GH 2*, 1022.

¹⁴⁶ Hawkins, *GH 2*, 791.

manuscripts, and some time before noon would assemble at the shop of one Christopher Bateman, a bookseller; and here they were met by [...] other persons engaged in the same pursuits.¹⁴⁷

Here they exchanged news of their searches. Hawkins's daughter provides information on the second-hand bookshop of Thomas Payne, the publisher of Hawkins's *History*: 'the shop of Payne, the bookseller, at the Mews Gate, was at that time the resort of the London *literati*.'¹⁴⁸

Book and manuscript collecting extended beyond the bibliophiles of the nobility to those whose professions or occupations facilitated such an interest, as in the case of Burney and Hawkins. John Gostling (1650–1733), subdean of St. Paul's and a singer for whom Henry Purcell composed, had collected music books and manuscripts from early in his career; after his death, his son, William augmented the collection into 'one of the most imposing of its day.'¹⁴⁹ Beyond these categories of collectors, Hawkins gives a detailed account of one other person engaged in the pursuit of books: Thomas Britton (1644–1714), referred to in chapter 2.1.4. regarding the use of the term 'Ancient and Modern' in the sale catalogue of his books. Britton was, according to Hawkins,

of the lowest class among men in this country, [...] a man whose livelihood was selling about the streets small coal, which he carried in a sack on his back.¹⁵⁰

Hawkins writes of Britton's 'skill in ancient books and manuscripts' and records that as the nobility gathered on Saturdays at the appointed time in Mr. Bateman's bookshop. 'as near as could be to the hour of twelve' they were joined by Thomas Britton and a conversation ensued, lasting about an hour; Hawkins describes Britton as

a plain, simple, honest man [...], highly esteemed by all who knew him, and, notwithstanding the meanness of his occupation was called Mr. Britton.¹⁵¹

Hawkins prints in full the very extensive catalogue of music books and scores published for their sale at auction after Britton's death. Music was not Britton's only interest: his was an eclectic book collection.

There are a great many books that Mr. Britton had collected in most parts of learning, the whole consisting of 14 or 1500 books.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 791.

¹⁴⁸ F. G. E[dwards], 'Sir John Hawkins, 1719–1789, A Biographical Sketch,' *The Musical Times* (Feb. 1, 1904): 87–92 (91), citing Laetitia Matilda Hawkins.

¹⁴⁹ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 163.

¹⁵⁰ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 700.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 791.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 793.

The acquisition of music was of fundamental importance in the functioning of the Academy of Ancient Music. Hawkins records that

the foundation of this society was laid in a library, consisting of the most celebrated compositions, as well in manuscript as in print, that could be procured either at home or abroad; these were a voluntary donation from several of the members of the society.¹⁵³

He goes so far as to say that

They enriched their collection with such a variety of compositions as rendered it even then, perhaps, the most valuable repository of musical treasure in Europe.¹⁵⁴

The accumulation of library material involved the copying of music, notably by the copyists John Immyns (1700–1764) and Henry Needler (1685–1760).¹⁵⁵ The library, dispersed, probably on the cessation of the Academy in 1802, was considered lost until recent research by H. Diack Johnstone resulted in tracing a considerable amount of it.¹⁵⁶

The prevalence of collecting music as valuable historical material is seen in the activities of individual members of the Academy. Pepusch built up a very extensive library which Burney described as ‘the most curious and complete in scarce musical authors, theoretical and practical.’¹⁵⁷ John Immyns was ‘very diligent in collecting’ the works of Ruffo, Lassus, Marenzio, Vecchi and Gesualdo.¹⁵⁸ Maurice Greene (1696–1755), a founding member who left the Academy in Spring 1731 was, according to Eggington, a key figure in the collecting and editing of old music. His collection, unfinished at the time of his death, formed the basis for William Boyce’s historicist *Cathedral Music* (1760–1773) in three large volumes, folio.¹⁵⁹ William Croft (1678–1727), briefly a member of the Academy, shared its ethos in his concern for the accurate transmission of musical heritage. He published *Music Sacra, or Select Anthems in Score* (1724) in two volumes, by subscription;¹⁶⁰ in the preface he observes that the work is ‘the first essay in music-printing of its kind, it being in score, engraven and stamped on plates’ and thus less liable to printing errors.¹⁶¹ The Madrigal Society held its meetings in a room which could accommodate ‘a large press which contained their library;’ Hawkins also

¹⁵³ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 806.

¹⁵⁴ *Idem*, *An Account*, 9.

¹⁵⁵ *Idem*, *GH* 2, 886, 806.

¹⁵⁶ H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library Once Lost and now Partially Recovered,’ *Music and Letters* 95/3 (Aug. 2014): 329–73.

¹⁵⁷ Burney, *GH* 2, 987.

¹⁵⁸ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 886–87.

¹⁵⁹ Eggington, *Advancement of Mus.*, 13–14.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁶¹ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 796.

records that Immyns ‘frequently spent most part of the night in copying music,’ and this may be no exaggeration.¹⁶² His copying activities were not limited to The Madrigal Society; as the Academy’s principal copyist for many years, his scribal work is liberally represented in the collections encompassed by Johnstone’s research.¹⁶³ Hogwood records that ‘Henry Needler left a series of 27 volumes of manuscript music (from sixteenth-century Italian to Handel), while Benjamin Cooke [...] is represented by 33 volumes with a range of repertoire from the Fayrfax Manuscript through Bull, and Corelli to J. S. Bach [...] and Scarlatti.’¹⁶⁴ The dedicated copying and acquisition of music—in societies such as Thomas Britton’s concert and its subsequent offshoots, in the Madrigal Society, and in the Academy of Ancient Music—laid down a store of material for future historians and musicologists.

That a history of music might emanate from an institution dedicated to the study of the music of the past seems a likely prospect—a history of the Academy itself had been proposed but did not materialise.¹⁶⁵ In 1729, Nicola Haym—Italian composer and member of the Academy—published proposals for printing by subscription a ‘History of Music from the earliest Time to this Day.’¹⁶⁶ Hawkins introduces Haym, a member of the Academy, as ‘a man of learning [...] to be regarded in other respects than as a mere musician’ and prints his prospectus for a history in full.¹⁶⁷ However, Haym’s plan did not reach fruition, with the list of subscribers ‘scarce amounting to forty.’¹⁶⁸ The vacuum acknowledged by Burney and Hawkins remained.

2.2.2 Print culture

Thomas Tudway’s *History of Music* (1714–1720) involved the acquisition and manual transcription of manuscript documents and was not publicly circulated;¹⁶⁹ it fulfilled its purpose by providing subject material for its patron’s library.

Publication generally in the eighteenth century grew exponentially as laws governing printing were revoked and monopolies broken: in 1695 the Licensing Act was

¹⁶² Hawkins, *GH* 2, 887.

¹⁶³ Johnstone, ‘Westminster Abbey and the Academy,’ 340–43.

¹⁶⁴ Hogwood, intro., Hawkins, *An Account*.

¹⁶⁵ *Idem*, “‘Gropers into Antique Music,’” 130.

¹⁶⁶ Eggington, *Advancement of Mus.*, 19.

¹⁶⁷ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 821.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 821–22.

¹⁶⁹ Watkins Shaw, ‘Tudway, Thomas,’ *NG*.

allowed to lapse and printing became a free market, not confined to London.¹⁷⁰ The appetite for knowledge seemed insatiable. The following statistics on printed materials show the growth of the printing industry, encompassing a diverse range of categories which included plays, poetry and sermons:

1620s: about 6,000 titles
1710s: almost 21,000
1790s: over 56,000¹⁷¹

Newspapers enjoyed similar growth. By 1770 there were sixty newspapers published in London every week.¹⁷² Periodicals were also numerous, and provided an accessible outlet for the expression of opinion in essay, comment or letter, leading to a cultural climate in which any literate person had ‘the liberty of making a philosophy for himself.’¹⁷³ By 1800, two hundred and fifty periodicals had been launched in England.¹⁷⁴ Though the eighteenth-century periodicals did not have large editions—no more than 3,000–4,000—they reached an extensive readership through their availability in coffee-houses where convivial debate and discussion arose.¹⁷⁵

The ‘new science’ of history was represented in the publication of David Hume’s *History of England* in six volumes (1754–1762); Tobias Smollet’s *A Complete History of England* (1757–1765); William Robertson’s *The History of Scotland 1542–1603*, three volumes (1759), *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V*, four volumes (1769) and *The History of America*, three volumes (1777, 1796); and Edward Gibbon’s *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* in six volumes (1776–1789). This ‘extraordinary historical outpouring that began in the 1750s [...] established history-writing at once as a high literary form and as a popular entertainment,’¹⁷⁶ as is seen in the demand for Smollett’s *Complete History of England*: 10,000 copies were sold in sixpenny weekly numbers.¹⁷⁷ The quest for knowledge through the printed word provided a ready readership for *Encyclopaedia Britannica* which appeared in parts, starting in 1768. Ten thousand copies of the third edition were printed (1787–1797).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁰ Porter, *Enlightenment*, 73.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² Stella Tillyard, ‘Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century London,’ *History Today* 55/6 (Jun 2005): 22–27 (24).

¹⁷³ Porter, *Enlightenment*, 79, citing Alexander Catcott, *A Treatise on the Deluge*, 2nd edn (1768), iv. 79.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁷⁵ Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), ‘The Eighteenth Century,’ 47.

¹⁷⁶ Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts*, 6.

¹⁷⁷ Porter, *Enlightenment*, 86.

¹⁷⁸ Altick, *The Eng. Common Reader*, 92.

The development of the printing industry benefitted music publishing just as it did general literary publishing. From the data provided by Jenny Burchell in ‘British Music Printers and Publishers’ there were over twenty music publishers active in London by the mid-eighteenth century, publishing new instrumental music of native and foreign composers, as well as importing new music.¹⁷⁹ For the music historians, new instrumental music was available for them to record.

2.2.3 The means to publish and promote, patronage

In the early part of the eighteenth century, patronage by way of direct commission was enjoyed by Thomas Tudway in his collection of cathedral music; it would be difficult to see how such a laborious, time-consuming and extensive enterprise could have been undertaken in the absence of private means without generous monetary subvention. He received thirty guineas for each volume, plus expenses.¹⁸⁰ He also benefitted from the influence of the commissioning nobleman with personal contacts who could provide manuscripts for copying.¹⁸¹

Burney, setting out on his second journey through Europe to collect materials for his *History*, depended on less direct and less financially supportive patronage in the form of letters of introduction to influential people; this proved to be of great value in the sources of information Burney succeeded in accessing: He records:

I was principally indebted to the patronage of the Earl of Sandwich, who [...] was pleased to honour me with recommendatory letters in his own hand, to every English nobleman and gentleman who resided in a public character in the several cities which I passed.¹⁸²

Otherwise, he seemed to have to contend with the normal commercial exigencies related to publishing, including investing in advertising to promote his work. In the *London Evening Post* of 30 April–2 May, 1771, an advertisement appeared announcing the imminent publication of *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, ‘in one volume, octavo, price 5s., bound.’ Advertising of the published work continued up to February 1772, by which time the price had increased to six shillings. A further advertisement for this publication appeared in the *Public Advertiser* of 28 January 1773 and *St. James’s*

¹⁷⁹ Jenny Burchell, “‘The first talents of Europe:’ British Music Printers and Publishers and Imported Instrumental Music in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (eds.) (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2004), 93–113.

¹⁸⁰ Turnbull, ‘Thomas Tudway,’ 206.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 204.

¹⁸² Burney, *Tour 2*, vol. 1, vii–viii.

Chronicle or The British Evening Post, 28–30 January 1773; with it is the announcement that ‘The Author is preparing for the Press, a Journal of his Tour through Germany.’ On Monday, 19 April 1773, the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* carried the notice that ‘on Wednesday next will be published in Two Volumes Octavo, Price 10s., sewed, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Provinces.*’

For his *History*, Burney invited patronage by way of advance subscription—the ‘most prominent type of patronage in the eighteenth century.’¹⁸³ John Brewer notes that the ‘shifting role of the patron from commissioner and controller of literary work to its promoter, consumer and distributor was best epitomised by the practice of book subscription;’ he draws attention to the attraction of such a scheme for the subscriber: ‘an opportunity to patronise’ and as the list was often published, ‘to be seen to support an author.’¹⁸⁴ This was seen to greatest effect, as was the wealth of the subscriber when numerous copies were ordered by a single subscriber. Burney undertook to publish the names of subscribers in the *History*; the list included the Queen.¹⁸⁵

Regarding the *Tours*, the titles themselves advertise the forthcoming *History*. At the end of *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* Burney presents an ‘Advertisement’ which promises a prospective ‘General Plan of the author’s intended History of Music.’ With an advertisement in *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, 4–7 June 1773, for *The Present State of Music in Germany* [...] is included the information; ‘in this work will be inserted Proposals for printing by Subscription a General History of Music;’ the same advertisement also promotes *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*.

Also in *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, 4–7 June 1773, Burney formally announces his *History* with ‘Proposals for printing,’ accompanied by full information regarding subscription, which was pitched to incentivise an advance of cash towards publication costs:

The Price to subscribers shall be Two Guineas; One to be Paid at the time of Subscribing, and the other at the delivery of the second volume [...], Two Guineas and a Half to Non-Subscribers [...]. [The author] cannot venture to send it to the Press before five Hundred Copies are subscribed for. He therefore entreats those who might be inclined to honour this Undertaking with their Patronage, to send in their Names early.

¹⁸³ Paul Korshin, ‘Types of Eighteenth-Century Literary Patronage,’ *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7/4 (Spring 1974): 453–73 (463).

¹⁸⁴ Brewer, *English Culture*, 139, 140.

¹⁸⁵ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 138, 142.

Advertising of the proposal for Burney's *History* and the sale of both of the published *The Present State* [...] continued with regularity, using numerous different newspapers. It was necessary to keep his publications constantly in the public eye in order to ensure commercial success. Writing to Arthur Young, 11 October 1773, Burney outlined his strategy:

The advertising & sale [...] of these tours will awaken attention in some to the Subject of my great undertaking, & keep it alive in others, & it will Become the Bookseller's interest to push, if they Purchase, the former works.¹⁸⁶

Advertising for his *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th and 29th, and June the 3rd and 5th 1784, in Commemoration of Handel* appeared from 9 August 1784 to 30 May 1786; his work on this publication delayed work on the last two volumes of his *History*.

The first volume of the *History* was announced as published in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* of 24 February 1776. Advertising for this volume of the *History* and the three volumes of *The Present State* [...] continued. By March 1778, Burney could announce in *St. James's Chronicle or The British Evening Post* that the second volume of the *History* was 'in the Press and will be published with all convenient speed.' Subsequent newspapers carried reminders of the forthcoming volume, and in the *Whitehall Evening Post* of 25–28 May 1782, volume two and volume three were advertised as available.

An advertisement in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 20 May 1788 heralded the forthcoming 'Sequel of a *General History of Music*,' and in the *London Chronicle*, 28–30 April 1789, publication of volumes three and four was first advertised, price three guineas. Financial matters were clearly set out in *World*, 25 June 1789: 'original Subscribers whose Names appear on the printed List prefixed to the first Volume, will be considered as Subscribers for the rest of the Work, by applying to the Author.' The *Oracle*, 30 August 1792, advertised the *History*, 'complete in four volumes' for six guineas, with a note that 'the third and fourth volume may be sold separately.'

Burney, subject to the commercial realities of the age in publishing, promoted his works both by advance publicity and judicious reminders of their availability. His name as an author was regularly in the public domain through a variety of newspapers, and the *Whitehall Evening Post*, 2 April 1785 carried a notice for the *European Magazine and London Review* of March which advertised a 'Head of Dr. Burney (Price One Shilling)

¹⁸⁶ Burney, *Letters*, 150.

[...] a striking likeness from a painting by Humphrey and engraved by Walker,’ and also ‘Some Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. Charles Burney.’

Burney reports favourably on his subscription list in his letters. Writing to Samuel Crisp on 21 January 1774, he reports that ‘it goes well—my N^o is now ab^t 490.’¹⁸⁷ In a letter to the singer, Regina Mingotti on 3 May 1774, he records:

the subscription has filled in a very Flattering manner; I have 7 or 800 Names already [...] & our Queen has not only subscribed but given me permission in a Most Gracious Manner, to dedicate my Work to her Majesty [...], a Profession wh^{ch} I wish to make respectable.¹⁸⁸

The royal dedication would add prestige and help to promote the work. Burney wrote to Lord Mornington in February 1776 ‘I had the Honour to present the B^k to her Maj^{ty}, to whom it is dedicated, the 25th of Jan^y & it was published the 31st.’¹⁸⁹

Hawkins also secured a royal dedication and private presentation ceremony to King George III on 14 November. Davis regards it as ‘surprising [...] that Hawkins did not protect his and Payne’s investment by a pre-publication subscription like that of Charles Burney.’¹⁹⁰ Both publisher and author must have been confident that given his reputation as antiquarian and author, Hawkins’s scholarly work would be much in demand. His publisher, too, made use of available media to promote his work. A notice for his *History* as being ‘In the Press and in great forwardness’ was printed in the *General Evening Post*, 10–12 June 1773. In the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* of 23 October 1776, Hawkins announced that his *History* would be published ‘some time in November;’ notice of the imminent publication of his work was repeated throughout October and November, until its publication was advertised in the same newspaper on 23 November 1776. It was also advertised in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* on 23 November. Advertising continued in several newspapers up to April 1777. On 29 July 1777, the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* carried an advertisement for books recently published by Thomas Payne, with Hawkins’s *History* second on the list. This advertising continued up to 16 August 1777. Subsequent newspaper references to Hawkins relate to his career as a magistrate.

Mention of a forthcoming work in the publication of an established literary colleague was another means of promotion, for ‘what a writer most needed was

¹⁸⁷ Burney, *Letters*, 161.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 168.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 205.

¹⁹⁰ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 124, 148.

reputation;¹⁹¹ this means was exercised in Hawkins's case. A witty 'New Ballad' in the newspapers in response to the Johnson-Steevens edition (1773) of Shakespeare for which Hawkins supplied the notes on music refers to 'Hawkins, historian of sound;' the explanatory footnote mentions Hawkins's forthcoming *History*.¹⁹² There was also a notice in *The Works of William Browne* (1772), the dedication of Thomas Hawkins's *The Origin of the English Drama* (1773) and a favourable mention in Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (3rd edn, 1775).¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Brewer, *English Culture*, 139.

¹⁹² Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 112–13.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 122–23.

Chapter 3
Music histories and historians

Table

Eighteenth-century writings on music and their antecedents

Eighteenth-century writings on music and their antecedents

Author		Biographical notes	Work			
Morley, Thomas 1557–1602	Eng.	Composer, editor, theorist, publisher, organist, pupil of Byrd.	<i>A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke</i>	London	1597/ Repr. 1608/ new edn 1771	The product of immense research, intended to be accessible, a valuable source of historical information, the first of its kind in English.
Calvisius, Sethus 1556–1615	Ger.	Lutheran <i>Kantor</i> , teacher mathematician, theorist, composer, chronologer.	<i>Exercitationes musicae duae: including De origine et progressu musices</i>	Leipzig	1600 1611	Written from the point of view of music theory, <i>De Origine</i> (pp.72–139 is the second half of <i>Exercitatione</i> , a historical supplement, the first to be arranged in chronological order.
Cerone, Domenico Pietro 1566–1613	It.	Catholic priest, mathematician, philosopher, theorist, singer	<i>El Melopeo y Maestro. Tractado de musica theorica y practica</i>	Naples	1613	2 vols., 1160 pp. Does not purport to be a history. Valuable insights into 16 th -century practices. In Spanish, the language of the kingdom of Naples.
Praetorius, Michael 1571–1621	Ger.	Lutheran composer, theorist, organist	<i>Syntagma Musicum</i> Vol. 1 entitled: <i>Syntagma Musicum ex Veterum et Recentiorum</i>	Leipzig	1615	3 vols., indices for vol. 1 and all of vols. 2 and 3 written in German. Vol I a true history of music, 459 pp. Not in chronological order, tolerance of old and new.
Mersenne, Marin 1588–1613	Fr.	Catholic priest, mathematician, philosopher, theorist, not a practical musician.	<i>Traité de l'harmonie universelle</i>	Paris	1627	Theological and scientific interest in music.

Kircher, Athanasius 1601–1680	Ger.	Jesuit, polyhistorian, theologian, music theorist, physicist, mathematician, linguist, antiquary	<i>Musurgia universalis</i>	Rome	1650	Secular interests also. Medieval view on musical cosmology, synthesis of 16 th - and 17 th -century Ger. compositional practices.
Salmon, Thomas 1648–1706	Eng.	Rector, theorist	<i>An Essay to the Advancement of Musick</i>	London	1672	Aimed to replace the eight or nine clefs in use with one clef.
Printz, Wolfgang Caspar 1641–1717	Ger.	Lutheran church and court musician, music theorist, historian, composer	<i>Historiche Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst</i>	Dresden	1690	The first historical treatise in German. Used by 18 th -century authors as a source of information. Influenced Mattheson and Walther.
Delair, Etienne Denis d. after 1727	Fr.	Theorist	<i>Traité d'accompagnement pour le théorbe et le clavessin</i>	Paris	1690/ 1991 Eng. transl.	Treatise on accompaniment.
Bontempi, Giovanni A. c. 1624–1705	It.	Church singer (<i>castrato</i>), opera composer, historian, architect	<i>Historia musica</i>	Perugia	1695	The first history of music in Italian. Music as a mathematical discipline. Touches on theory and practice of Baroque music
Brossard, Sebastian de 1655–1730	Fr.	Ecclesiastic, theorist, lexicographer, bibliophile, composer	<i>Dictionnaire de musique</i>	Paris	1703	Information on all aspects of French music of the time.
Bourdelot, Abbe Pierre 1610–1685	Fr.	Royal physician, amateur music lover				Ms. bequeathed to nephew Jacques Bonnet below, who continued work and published.
Bonnet-Bourdelot, Pierre 1638–1708	Fr.	Royal physician, nephew of Abbe Bourdelot				Ms. also used by Jacques Bonnet.

Bonnet, Jacques 1644–1724	Fr.	Nephew of Abbe Bourdelot	<i>Histoire de la musique, et de ses effets depuis son origine, les progrès successifs de cet art jusqu'à présent</i>	Paris Paris Paris Geneva	1715 1724 1730	4 small vols., a compilation Stresses Greek ethos of music Journalistic style.
Tudway, Thomas 1650–1726	Eng.	Composer, organist, transcriber of music	Collection of cathedral music from Tye to Handel, with historical and biographical notes	Cambridge	1715– 1720	6 vols. ms., unpublished, in Brit. Lib.
Malcolm, Alexander 1685–1763	Scot.	Clergyman, theorist, teacher, mathematician, played violin and flute.	<i>Treatise of Musick, Speculative, Practical, and Historical</i>	Edinburgh	1721 1775/ R 1969	608 pp. Object: 'to gather together in one system what lay scattered in several treatises.' Compares 'ancient' and 'modern'.
Rameau, Jean-Philippe 1683–1764	Fr.	Composer, theorist	<i>Traité de l'harmonie</i>	Paris	1722	System of harmony used as basis for determining what was 'correct' and 'proper'. Held that melody is derived from hamony.
Heinichen, Johann David 1683–1779	Ger.	Composer, theorist	<i>Der General-Bass in der Composition</i>	Dresden	1728	Includes a wide range of information both theoretical and philosophical concerning the art of composition.
North, Hon. Roger c. 1651–1734	Eng	Lawyer, author, amateur musician	<i>Memoires of Musick</i>	written London	1728 1846	Attempt at a complete little history of music. Insights on performance practice and issues of his day. Charles Burney quotes.

Walther, Johann G. 1684–1748	Ger.	Organist, composer, lexicographer, theorist, collected music and books on music.	<i>Musicalisches Lexicon, oder Musikalisches Bibliothec</i>	Leipzig	1738/ R 1953	The first major music dictionary in German and the first in any language to include both musical terms & biographies of musicians; music and books on music from the past and present. Still a valuable source of information on all aspects of music history up to its own time.
Prelleur, Peter fl. 1728–c. 1755	Eng.	Organist, harpsichordist, composer.	‘A Brief History of Music’, contained in <i>The Modern Music-Master, or the Universal Musician</i>	London	1738	19 pp. condensed from Bontempi’s history, and a music dictionary.
Grassineau, James c. 1715–1767, England	Eng.	Amanuensis to Pepusch, trans. Meibomius to English.	<i>A Musical Dictionary</i>	London	1740	347 pp. trans. and augmentation of Brossard.
Mattheson, Johann 1681–1764	Ger.	Composer, critic, music journalist, lexicographer, theorist.	<i>Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte</i>	Hamburg	1740	428 pp. lexicon, including biographical details of 149 musicians past and present.
Marpurg, F. W. 1718–1795	Ger.	Critic, journalist, theorist, composer, civil servant.	<i>Historich-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik</i> <i>Kritische Einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsätze der alten und neuen Musik</i>	Berlin	1754– 1778 1759	5 vols. information on the music of his own day; periodical. 246 pp., ancient music only.
Cassiaux, Dom. Phil. Jos.	Fr.	Benedictine	<i>Essai d’une histoire de la musique</i>		1757	Unpublished ms. in Bib. Nat., Paris. Table of contents published in Combarieu’s <i>Histoire de la Musique</i> , 1925 edn vol. II p.35.

Martini, Padre G. B. 1706–1784	It.	Franciscan priest, theorist, teacher, composer, maestro di capella. Assembled library 17,000 vols. estimated by Burney. Extensive correspondence.	<i>Storia della musica</i>	Bologna	1757– 1781	3 vols., incomplete, 5 intended. Does not go beyond Greek music.
Brown, John A. 1715–1766	Eng.	Clergyman, writer, amateur musician. Adopted several unpopular intellectual positions.	<i>A Dissertation on the Rise, Union and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions of Poetry and Music</i>	London Leipzig Florence	1763 1769 1772	One of earliest systematic, self-contained treatises in Eng. on the general history of music. Identifies 36 stages in musical history.
Blainville, Charles H. de c. 1710–c. 1777	Fr.	Theorist, composer, cellist, author of history of music	<i>Histoire générale, critique et philologique de la musique</i>	Paris	1767	189 pp.
Rousseau, Jean Jacques 1712–1778	Swiss	Philosopher, author, composer	<i>Dictionnaire de musique</i>	Paris	1767 1771	Not very dependable as source of information, important in the history of controversies over the <i>encyclopédie</i> . The first English translation.
Eximeno y Pujades, A. 1729–1808	Sp.	Jesuit, linguist, mathematician, theorist	<i>Dell'origine e delle regole della musica, colla storia del suo progresso, decadenza, e rinnovazione</i>	Rome Madrid	1774 1796	Strong bias against: contrapuntal rules; linking music with mathematics.
Gerbert, Martin 1720–1793	Ger.	Prince-Abbot Benedictine, theologian, composer	<i>De cantu et musica sacra a prima ecclesiae aetate usque ad praesens tempus</i>	St. Blaise	1774	History of sacred music only, chronological; expected to collaborate with Martini.

Burney, Charles 1726–1814	Eng.	Music teacher, organist, composer, music historian. Built up immense music library	<i>A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period</i>	London New York	1776–1789 1935	Printed for the author. Technical knowledge, historical enquiry, literary skill, 1 st -hand knowledge of European music. Favours modern music. aimed at wide literary audience. Elegant prose style, music criticism.
Hawkins, Sir John 1719–1789	Eng.	Attorney, later magistrate, antiquary, music historian, amateur musician, literary author. Amassed large library	<i>A General History of the Science and Practice of Music</i>	London	1776 1853/ R1963 1875	1 st edn 4 vols., 2nd edn 2 vols. Valuable information on early 18 th -c. musical society in London. Lacks organisation. Based on research in Brit. Lib. Favours 16 th - and 17 th -c. music. Awkward prose style.
La Borde, J. B. de 1734–1794	Fr.	Composer, violinist, writer on music. Opposed to Rousseau's views. Pioneer in study of old music	<i>Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne</i>	Paris	1780	4 vols., valuable source of information on 18 th -century music.
Forkel, Johann Nikolaus 1749–1818	Ger.	Professional musician, music historian, theorist, bibliographer, academic, founder of modern musicology. Believed in progress. Burney describes him as composer, musical critic and historian.	<i>Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik</i> Incomplete. Reaches 16 th century. For him, music a serious expression of human feeling.	Leipzig	1790–1792	Vol. I, 991 pp; vol. II, 866 pp. Important source of biographical information on: 18 th -c. composers, transmission of Haydn's works.
Kalkbrenner, Christian 1755–1806	Ger.	Pedagogue	<i>Kursur Abriss der Geschichte der Tonkunst, zum Vergnügen der Liebhaber der Musik</i> <i>Histoire de musique</i>	Berlin Strassburg	1792 1802	Condensation of music history for students of instrumental music. Trans. of above into French.

Eastcott, Richard 1744–1828	Eng.	Clergyman	<i>Sketches of the Origin, Progress and Effects of Music ...</i>	Bath	1793	277 pp. 2nd edn
Wilkes, John 1750–1810	Eng.	Printer, bookseller, stationer	<i>Encyclopaedia Londinensis, or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Literature</i> <i>Geschichte der Tonkunst</i>	London Vienna	1810– 1829 1821	24 vols. German translation.
Jones, George	Eng.		<i>History of the Rise and Progress of Music, Theoretical and Practical</i>	London	1818	pp. 285–398, extracted from Wilkes (above).
Busby, Thomas 1754–1838	Eng.	Composer, music critic	<i>A General History of Music from the Earliest times to the Present, condensed from the works of Hawkins and Burney</i>	London Leipzig	1819 1821	2 vols. German translation.
Butler, Charles 1750–1832	Eng.	Man of letters	<i>Reminiscences, with a Letter to a Lady on Ancient and Modern Music</i>	New York London	1824 4 th edn	pp. 311–51 of 4 th (London) edn

Notes

- Blainville, Charles H. de, Allen, 54, Mary Cyr, *NG, MGG*.
Bonnet, Jacques, Allen, 26–27, Anthony, *NG, MGG*.
Bonnet-Bourdelot, Pierre, Anthony, *NG, MGG*.
Bontempi, Giovanni A.A., Allen, 26, Colin Timms *NG, MGG*.
Bourdelot, Abbe Pierre, Allen, 26, Anthony, *NG, MGG*.
de Brossard, Sebastian, Allen, 62, James R. Anthony, *NG, MGG*.
Brown, John A., Allen, 76, 82–83, Jamie Croy Kassler, *NG, MGG*
Burney, Charles, Scholes, Lonsdale, *NG, MGG*.
Busby, Thomas, Kassler, Linda Troost, *GMO, MGG*.
Butler, Charles, Allen, 101, 345.
Calvisius, Sethus, Allen, 5–10, Adam Adrio, *NG, MGG*.
Cassiaux, Dom. Phil. Jos, Allen, 48–9.
Cerone, Domenico Pietro, Allen, 13–15, Barton Hudson, *NG, MGG*.
Delair, Etienne Denis, David Fuller, *GMO, MGG*.
Eastcott, Richard, Allen, 83, 84.
Eximeno y Pujades, A., Allen, 50, Robert Stevenson, *NG, MGG*.
Forkel, Johann Nikolaus, Allen, 83–4, G.B. Stauffer, *NG, MGG*.
Gerbert, Martin, Allen, 49–50, Howard Serwer, *NG, MGG*
Grassineau, James, Allen, 4 n. 6, Jamie Croy Kassler, *NG, MGG*
Hawkins, Sir John, Scholes, Davis, *NG, MGG*.
Heinichen, Johann David, George J. Buelow, *GMO, MGG*.
Jones, George, Allen, 345.
Kalkbrenner, Christian, Allen, 85.
Kircher, Athanasius, Allen, 19–20, George J. Buelow, *NG, MGG*.
La Borde, J. B. de, Allen, 75, n.7, Frederick S. Merritt, *NG*.
Malcolm, Alexander, Allen, 71, James R. Heintze, *NG, MGG*.
Marpurg, F.W., Allen, 84–5, Howard Serwer, *NG, MGG*.
Martini, Padre G.B., Allen, 49–50, Howard Brofsky, *NG*.
Mattheson, Johann, Allen, 62, 68, 84, Buelow, *NG, MGG*.
Mersenne, Marin, Allen, 15–19, Albert Cohen, *NG, MGG*.
Morley, Thomas, Philip Brett and Tessa Murray, *GMO, MGG*.
North, Hon. Roger, Allen, 71, 73, John Wilson, *NG, MGG*.
Praetorius, Michael, Allen, 10–13, Walter Blankenburg, *NG, MGG*
Prelleur, Peter, Peter Platt, *NG, MGG*.
Printz, Wolfgang Caspar, Allen, 23–6, Buelow, *NG, MGG*.
Rameau, Jean-Philippe, Allen, Graham Sadler, *GMO, MGG*.
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, Allen, 62–3, Daniel Heartz, *NG, MGG*
Salmon, Thomas, *GMO*.
Tudway, Thomas, Watkins Shaw, *NG, MGG*
Walther, Johann G., Allen, 62, 68, Buelow, *NG, MGG*.
Wilkes, John, Allen, 346.

3.1 Previous histories of music

Each writer claimed that he was to be the first to lead the reader through a comprehensive enquiry into the history of music through the medium of the English language. That this hadn't yet been achieved is not without cause, considering the place of music in society as outlined in chapter 1, and Casella's opinion that 'the study of music had to justify itself and therefore received little consideration as a subject worthy of historical research.'¹ Both Burney and Hawkins expressed wonder that the writing of a history of music had not yet been successfully done. Hawkins claimed that 'defects in the attempts of others [...] justify the present undertaking';² Burney opined 'My subject had been so often deformed by unskilled writers.'³ See foregoing table: Eighteenth-century writings on music and their antecedents, pp 62–68.

The earliest works which might qualify as music histories in the material they present and in its treatment are not all immediately identifiable as such because their material is not necessarily disposed in chronological sequence,⁴ yet the evidence they present of growth of a general historical consciousness in the impetus to record, demands their inclusion in an investigation on music histories. An example of valuable historical information in this non-chronological category is found in volume one of Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum ex Veterum et Recentiorum*, which Allen describes as 'in many and unusual respects a true *history of music*.'⁵

Earlier European writings/treatises, like all pre-Reformation scholarly works, were written in Latin, the language of the Christian church (which was the custodian of knowledge in general) and of the university. They would have been accessible, and deemed of interest, only to an academic and specialist minority. The ideals of the Reformation, with Martin Luther's translation of the Bible into German making knowledge directly available to every literate individual, gradually permeated in this respect all aspects of learning. The gradual adoption of vernacular languages for the publication of scholarly works made literature available to the individual, to be interpreted independently by him without the mediation of a superior authority; the possibility of critical interpretation was opened up. From the first appearance of a vernacular language in Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall*

¹ Casella, 'Charles Burney the Pedagogue,' 10.

² Hawkins, *GH* 1, xxiv.

³ Burney, *GH* 1, 19.

⁴ Allen, *Philosophies of Music History*, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

Musicke (1597) and Cerone's *Melopeo* (1613), the only subsequent complete publication in Latin in the seventeenth century is that of the Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, whose *Musurgia Universalis* was published in Rome (1650). Praetorius's work (1615) bridges the two traditions, with its Latin title and first volume, and its German completion. The provision of vernacular indices for the one Latin volume suggest an attempt at accessibility for a wider readership with a limited knowledge of Latin. Anachronistically, one publication in Latin appears in the eighteenth century: the prince abbot Gerbert's *De cantu et musica sacra* (1774), also under the auspices of the Catholic church.

Intellectual independence gave rise to ideas of progress in man's endeavour. Notions of a chronology of progress in the art of music can be found in the title of Calvisius's work of 1600: *Exercitationes Musicae Duae*: including 'De origine et progressu musices;' a consciousness and an acceptance of old and new appear in the title of volume one of Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum*; the designation 'history' is first encountered in the work of Printz, *Historiche Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* (1690), The title of this work translates as 'Historical Description of the Noble Art of Singing and Playing [...] from the Beginning of the World to our own Day.'

The term 'history' occurs increasingly in titles. Of the thirty-one works listed in the table preceding Burney and Hawkins, ten use the word 'history' in some form in their titles; the title of North's *Memoirs* suggests a type of history. Five belong to the dictionary/lexicon category; one of the five—Walther's *Lexicon*—presents the idea of the origin and progress of music in its definition of *musica historica*.⁶ In the case of another of the lexicographers, Mattheson, a view of the later progress of the art is implicit in his belief that during the period 600–1600, 'music can hardly have been in a more wretched condition,'⁷ suggesting subsequent progress. Salmon's work is an idiosyncratic theory on the possible simplification of clefs and reduction of their number. Thomas Tudway's collection of Cathedral music (1714–1720) with its historical and biographical notes combined with music, constitutes a particular type of history, as seen in chapter 2.1.4. The works of Morley, Delair, Rameau and Heinichen are treatises on composition, providing information on compositional procedures of their times, used by later historians. The eighteenth century saw an escalation of writing on music, with twenty

⁶ Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, 'Historiography,' *NG*.

⁷ *Ibid.*

works listed before the histories of Burney and Hawkins; all this took place in the first three quarters of the century, and a further six were to appear before 1800.

In 1739, Johann Mattheson deplored the preoccupation with the theoretical mathematical aspects of music.⁸ The emphasis was to change in the course of his own lifetime, and he had indeed already begun this change: his lexicon *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (1740) included biographical details of musicians, and was not confined to theory. The professions of the authors would indicate that the writings of the seventeenth century still maintained a bias towards theory and a view of music as a mathematical discipline, having among ten authors: nine theorists (three of whom were mathematicians) and an architect. Of the ten, four were ministers of religion and five held positions as church musicians. At least one of their number, Mersenne, was not a practical musician, but many were strikingly multi-professional. The theoretical, mathematical view is stated unequivocally by Mersenne:

Music is part of mathematics, and consequently science, which shows the cause of its effects, the proportion of tones and intervals, melodies, chords, and everything connected with them.⁹

Just ten of the twenty-five eighteenth-century authors are described as theorists; this includes the philosopher Rousseau, whose *Dictionary*, in Burney's opinion, 'contains more *historical information* relative to the art, than perhaps any book of the size that is extant.'¹⁰ The seventeenth-century monopoly of the clergyman and church musician gives way in the eighteenth century to authors from an inclusive spectrum of professions and occupation; six of them appear to have been amateur musicians: their number includes physicians, lawyers and civil servants, with clergymen represented by seven out of the twenty-five authors..

The eighteenth century brings to the ranks of music historians a strong presence of professional practical musicians; twelve belong in this category, that is, they earned their living performing, teaching, composing, and in the case of Marburg, as a music journalist. The overall European profile of authors was no different from that which prevailed in countries where English was the spoken language; here, too, can be found the amateur as well as professional musician, with the clergy represented by one author, the Scotsman,

⁸ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Cappelmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), in Enrico Fubini (ed.), *Music and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: A Source Book*, Wolfgang Freis, Lisa Gasbarrone and Michael Louis Leone (trans.) (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 277–85 (277).

⁹ Cited in Allen, *Philosophies of Music History*, 16.

¹⁰ Burney, *GH* 1, 13, n. (q), (Burney's italics).

Alexander Malcolm—leaving no doubt that the general social involvement in music and interest in its history was widespread in the eighteenth century.

That there was a readership for historical writings on music in the English language is evident from Grassineau's translation of Brossard's *Dictionnaire de musique* in 1771, the re-printing in 1775 of Malcolm's *Treatise* (1721) and the appearance in 1763 of Brown's *Dissertation*. From the publishing of this work also in Leipzig and Florence, it is clear that there was an exchange of ideas and information on a European scale—an exchange in which England played an active part. Grassineau's English translation of the Danish scholar and polyhistorian Meibomius's (c.1630–1710/1711) authoritative edition of classical texts on music points to a general interest in what had been an esoteric area of study—the ancient history of the origin of music.¹¹ Meibomius's Latin translation would have been perfectly accessible to those within an academic, specialist circle; the English translation would have catered for a public with a curiosity about such matters; its availability opened up this area of interest to a wider English-speaking readership.

The growing interest in the collection of music scores and books on music resulted in an amassing of materials from which music histories could subsequently be drawn. France, Germany and Italy could each claim a bibliophile of note among eighteenth-century writers, in the persons of Brossard, Marpurg and Martini; England had two among its writers on music: Burney and Hawkins. Hawkins himself drew on the collection of Dr. Pepusch, and his own publications include a catalogue of the manuscripts copied by John Gostling. A foundation of documentary material had been made available in the wealth of seventeenth-century writings relating to compositional practice—contemporary and of the recent past. Praetorius's *Syntagma* had indicated an urge to transmit, systematically, detailed information on all categories and aspects of music.

The claim of Burney and Hawkins to be the first to write a comprehensive history of music in the English language has not been contested. Peter Prellieur's 'A Brief History of Music' is included as a nineteen-page chapter in volume two of that author's *The Modern Music Master* (c. 1730). Though the extended title of the chapter is: 'A Brief History of Musick: wherein is related the several Changes, Additions, and Improvements,

¹¹ Burney credits the 'indefatigable labour of that learned Meibomius' for accurate transcription of ancient texts, *GH* 1, 30: *Antiquae musicae auctores septem* (Amsterdam, 1652), an edition of Greek texts with a Latin translation and commentary, John Bergsagel, *GMO*.

from its Origin to this Present Time,' it deals with Greek music, Guido d'Arezzo's system, and the 'Greek modes and Latin Tones;' it doesn't get past the medieval period.¹²

Several issues that have already been covered are especially important in laying the groundwork for a discussion of Burney and Hawkins as historians. These include the influence of Renaissance humanist ideas of progress which were further reinforced in Enlightenment philosophy, and which began to manifest themselves in the tracing of progress in histories of music; and the opening up of learning to a more inclusive band of educated people interested in the subject. For the two historians, the enormity of the task of writing a music history in English is evident in the fact that no previous all-encompassing history had been attempted.

3.2 The historians: Burney and Hawkins

In modern historiography, the question of the definition of history: whether it is an objective chronicle or a narrative with an element of subjectivity, is discussed by Richard J. Evans, and strong arguments are advanced for both sides. In the case of Burney and Hawkins, it is difficult to separate the history from the historian. The professions, aspirations, backgrounds and convictions of both authors throw considerable light on the thinking revealed in their works and their choice of methodology. They wrote on the same subject at the same time and in the same place, but they wrote two very different histories. The possibility of two authors writing at the same time and producing two distinctly individual works was brought home to Burney when he visited Padre Martini in Bologna; knowing Martini was also engaged in the writing of a history of music, he was apprehensive lest the originality of his own planned work should be doubted. He was relieved to find that the scheme of Martini's project was different from his own.

As every object may be approached by a different route, it may also be seen in a different point of view: two different persons may therefore exhibit it with great diversity.¹³

Burney was a musician with literary and social ambition, a member of a profession far from the top of the social scale. At an early age he became an accomplished organist and violinist; through his apprenticeship with the composer Thomas Arne, he met Handel and sometimes played in his orchestra. His education had been hard won and owed much

¹² Peter Prellieur, *The Modern Music Master, or The Universal Musician* (London: The Printing-Office in Bow Church Yard, 1731).

¹³ Burney, *Tour 1*, 194.

to his drive and application. Lonsdale refers to his ‘earnest self-education,’ quoting Burney’s own account of his endeavour.¹⁴ Even his apprenticeship to Arne did not include much time for study, according to his own memoirs.¹⁵ Lonsdale refers to the arrangement as ‘servitude.’¹⁶ Burney leaves no doubt as to the value he placed on education *per se*; his writings also strongly suggest his awareness of the value of education as an agent for social advancement. His record of his sojourn at King’s Lynn, Norfolk (1750–1759) tells of his acceptance in the circle of the local aristocracy:

I may be said to have been at home, notably at Houghton Hall, but at Rainham, at Sir Andrew Fountaine’s, at Halcombe, Blickling, Wolterton, and Sir Harry l’Estrange’s. At all which places there was painting, sculpture, architecture and antiquities to examine.¹⁷

Burney’s interests and studies extended beyond the arts to the field of science. His interest in that subject is demonstrated in his friendship with the astronomer and musician, Herschel (1738–1822), and in the enthusiasm for the scientific experiments of his own day in the areas of electricity and aeronautics expressed in his letters.¹⁸ It was this interest in science which led to the writing of *An Essay towards a History of the Principal Comets* (London, 1769), and the composition of ‘Astronomy, an Historical and Didactic Poem’ (1789).¹⁹

His continuing, wide-ranging self-education would have equipped him to socialise in educated circles. Before his wife joined him at King’s Lynn, he wrote to her in verse, outlining a programme of reading they would pursue together: this included Homer, Virgil, Pliny, Ovid, Pope, Addison, Bacon, Congreve, Dryden, Milton, *Don Quixote*, Locke and Shakespeare.²⁰ Burney records, after his wife had joined him:

When we c^d spend an evening at home, we had a course of reading: history, voyages, poetry and science, as far as Chambers’s Dict^y, the French *Encyclopédie*, & the *Philosophical Transactions*.²¹

His determination to find time for study in a busy schedule extended to learning Italian while travelling slowly on horseback over rutted roads in Norfolk as he went from one pupil to another.²²

¹⁴ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 9–11, citing Burney, *Frag. Mem.* (B.M. Add. MS. 48345, ff. 5–6), 21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁷ Burney, *Memoirs*, fragment 67, early 1750s, 111.

¹⁸ Burney, *Letters*, 380, 394–97, 401–4, 442–43.

¹⁹ The latter work was destroyed by the author. See Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, ch.ix.

²⁰ Burney, *Letters*, 19 Dec. 1751, 3.

²¹ Burney, *Memoirs*, frag. 69, early 1750s, 115.

²² *Ibid.*, frag. 68, early 1750s, 113.

Burney clearly depicts the inferior social status of a musician in his own early experience:

In going to attend Matteis for my lesson on the violin [...], being ashamed to carry my fiddle through the streets in an ostensible manner, I cut a slit in the lining of my coat, and carried it unperceived.²³

This situation in England had not improved over a quarter of a century later when in Italy the social acceptance of the musician had advanced; Burney observed during his travels

the difference of manners and characters in two countries not very remote from each other. In Italy, the leader of the first opera in the world carries the instrument of his fame and fortune about with him, with as much pride as a soldier does his sword or musquet; while in England, the indignities he would receive from the populace would soon impress his mind with shame for himself and fear for his instrument.²⁴

Indications of Burney's consciousness of the inferior status of the professional musician appear repeatedly in his writings. In 1746, his introduction (referred to in chapter 1.1.) by the harpsichord maker, Kirkman, to the aristocrat Fulke Greville, led to a relationship which proved liberating from the prejudice against which the musician laboured. Burney's demonstrations on Kirkman's harpsichords and the favourable personal impression he made led to his engagement as musician in the household of the aristocrat at his estate at Wilbury. Having previously paid Arne for Burney's temporary release to his household, in 1748 Greville paid the composer £300 to release Burney from the remaining three years of his apprenticeship—a situation from which Burney was glad to escape.²⁵ Thus the young Burney found himself socially acceptable and musically in demand in aristocratic circles. Considering traditional prejudice, Burney was well-favoured there, and notes some progress on the social scale.

Though only a Musician, I was never sent to the 2^d table [...]. There must have been something very inoffensive at least, in my conduct and manners among my betters abroad & at home, to be so countenanced.²⁶

Apparently at ease in the company of his 'betters', Burney records of Greville:

He has not only made the tour of Fr. and Italy, but knew the manners of the court, & higher circles in his own country: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music and Poetry.²⁷

In the Wilbury circle Burney thrived. Lacking funds to buy music scores, he had previously relied much on what he 'had transcribed and learned by stealth;' now he was

²³ Burney, *Memoirs*, frag. 17, Shrewsbury, 1742–1743, 34.

²⁴ Burney, *Tour* 1, 352–53.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 14, 21.

²⁶ Burney, *Memoirs*, frags. 41–42, 69.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, frag. 42, 69.

presented by Greville with the two first books of Scarlatti's lessons (i.e. sonatas), and by another of the circle, with Handel's two books of lessons.²⁸ It was at Wilbury he was introduced to the scholar and dramatist Samuel Crisp (d. 1783). An opportunity to further his education and cultural experience had to be declined when Greville invited his protégé to accompany him on a trip to Italy, as Burney was by then about to be married. Much later, in a letter to Thomas Twining referring to his musical studies, he recalls how his taste was formed

before I was 20, by keeping company with travelled and heterodox gentlemen, who were partial to the Music of more modern composers whom they had heard in Italy.²⁹

This experience in his formative years is likely to have whetted his appetite for the foreign travel which would lead to broader musical and cultural horizons. His later study of Italian while at King's Lynn in Norfolk was assisted by Vincenzo Martinelli (1702–1785), author of *Istoria Critica della Vita Civili* (London, 1752) whom he met at Houghton.³⁰ It is likely that Burney's research for his own *History* began while he was at King's Lynn. He acknowledges: 'I picked [Martinelli's] brains as much as I c^d ab^t Musical Hist^y, & anecdotes, as well as literature in general.'³¹

While pursuing his aspirations towards the highest musical and intellectual achievement, he earned his living as a teacher of and composer for the harpsichord. He was prepared to pander to the foibles of a society in which he had been engaged as a mere music teacher to the children of the Thrale family at Streatham Park. Mrs. Lynch-Thrale, who engaged Burney to teach her daughters, entertained the *literati* of the day, including the acclaimed Samuel Johnson. To be admitted to this circle was, for Burney, to cross a social Rubicon. He was introduced to the family on 8 January 1776, at a dinner party given by Sir Joshua Reynolds.³² In February 1755, Burney had written to Johnson: 'Your periodical productions seem to me models of true genius, useful learning & elegant diction,' and subsequently had established correspondence with him.³³

²⁸ Burney, *Memoirs*, frag. 43, 71.

²⁹ Burney, *Letters*, 14 Dec. 1781, 328.

³⁰ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 43.

³¹ *Ibid.*, citing Burney to J. C. Walker, 2 Feb. 1801, (Osborn); Martinelli to Burney, 27 Feb., no year (Osborn).

³² Ribeiro (ed.), Burney, *Letters*, note 1, 235.

³³ Burney, *Letters*, 17.

The hostess of this circle, Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale was ‘a passionate student of literature, languages and etymology.’³⁴ To be recognised as a man of letters in this company was of great importance to Burney, already known in the literary world he aspired to for his *Tours*, and hoping for acclaim as the author of a history which was just about to be published. Valerie Rumbold outlines in detail the social nuances of Burney’s relationship with the Thrale household. She points out that it was not when Burney first found fame as a music teacher on his return to London from King’s Lynn that he was engaged to teach the Thrale daughters, but in 1776 when he had become established as a man of letters.³⁵ Their biographies show the importance to both Burney and Hawkins of being of significance in the world of letters.

Hawkins was an attorney; according to Davis, ‘among attorneys the man of learning was a rarity, and Hawkins seems to have been determined to make just such a rarity of himself;’³⁶ the occupation of attorney or advocate was then regarded as a lower branch of the legal profession, as outlined by Rohr, mentioned in chapter 1.1. Davis provides some detail on this matter:

The attorney’s was not a reputable calling in the eighteenth century. Whereas the solicitor, who was likely to be university-educated, practiced in the courts of civil law, the attorney, who was not, practiced in the courts of common law.³⁷

Davis goes on to cite Hawkins himself speaking ‘candidly upon [the lowly status of] the profession of the common law,’ in his biography of Johnson.³⁸

As a member of a profession which has its basis in the accumulation and appraisal of evidence, and relies on precedent for the forming of opinion, Hawkins was well equipped for historical research—the normal *modus operandi* in his own profession; his interest in antiquarianism also facilitated meticulous research and objective presentation of findings.

His choice of title—*A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*—reveals his concepts both of music and a history of music. His understanding of a history of music dictates his objectives and his methodology. His stated objectives were ‘the investigation of the principles, and the deduction of the progress of a science,’³⁹ and the

³⁴ Valerie Rumbold, ‘Music Aspires to Letters: Charles Burney, Queenie Thrale and the Streatham Circle,’ *Music and Letters* 74/1 (Feb. 1993): 24–38 (29).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

³⁶ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 10–11.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xix.

addressing of a perceived imbalance, as a result of which music ‘instead of exercising the powers of reason [...] [has] in general engaged only the faculty [...] [of] Taste.’⁴⁰

Though his rank in the legal profession was nowhere near the top of the contemporary social scale, Hawkins provides no evidence of dissatisfaction with his social lot. It can be seen in accounts of his youth that he was no less ambitious and industrious than Burney in pursuit of education, both in his profession and in literature. During Hawkins’s apprenticeship as an attorney, he exhibited great zeal in study:

He [...], rising at four in the a.m., found opportunity of reading all the necessary law-books, and the works of the most celebrated authors. By this means, before the expiration of his clerkship, he had already rendered himself a very able lawyer, and had possessed himself of a taste for literature in general, but particularly for poetry and the polite arts.⁴¹

Outside of the arts, Hawkins’s interests included angling. Once qualified as an attorney, and with the ambition and strong work ethic he possessed, he occupied a more secure financial niche than did Burney—so secure that he saw no need consciously to please anybody. He was a member of literary clubs: Samuel Johnson’s Ivy Lane Club and subsequently of the Turk’s Head Club, from which it is believed his disagreement with fellow-members led to his retirement from the club, and his description by Johnson as ‘a most unclubbable man.’⁴² Horace Walpole (art historian, man of letters, antiquarian and politician) described Hawkins as ‘a very honest, moral man,’ though ‘obstinate and contentious.’⁴³ Burney’s friend, Thomas Twining acknowledged Hawkins to be ‘a patient, exact, painstaking man.’⁴⁴

In 1742, at the age of twenty-three, he started an independent practice as an attorney. The tools of his trade, thorough research and the accurate representation of his findings, were also put good use in fields outside his profession. As early as 1739, while still in his clerkship to an attorney, he had begun to publish his writings, with essays published in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, poetry, texts set by the composers John Stanley and William Boyce, a monograph about the composer Agostino Steffani, notes to editions of Walton and Cotton’s *The Compleat Angler*—all pre-dating the publication of his *History*. As a member of the Madrigal Society and The Academy of Ancient Music, he enjoyed music in the company of other highly-accomplished amateurs, and professionals,

⁴⁰ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xix

⁴¹ Scholes, *Hawkins*, 5, citing Laetitia Matilda Hawkins.

⁴² Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 40, n. 79, citing *The Diary and Letters of Madame d’Arblay*, Austin Dobson (ed.) (London, Macmillan, 1994), vol. 1, 58–59.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 196.

⁴⁴ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 197.

and played the violin socially in such company.⁴⁵ Hawkins himself presents a record which is representative of his own musical life and preferences in *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music*.

From all of this he appears, from an early age, to have been accepted as an amateur musician and a man of letters—one who could write authoritatively on any of his interests. At the same time he advanced in his profession, being sworn Justice of the Peace in 1761, and attaining knighthood in 1772. Despite such professional success and pursuit of his interests, contemporary accounts, including that of Johnson, depict Hawkins as socially independent, even irascibly so; from an early age he was among equals with his many friends in the world of letters—a world to which Burney aspired. From the time of his earliest publications in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, he was acquainted with Johnson and remained so throughout his life; he was executor of his will and wrote his biography. He could also count Burke, Garrick, Reynolds and Goldsmith among his associates as well as Walpole. He enjoyed financial security as a result of a bequest and thus was materially beholden to no one; on becoming magistrate he ‘consigned his fees to the clergyman of his parish for the relief of the poor.’⁴⁶

Burney's first literary publication came later in his busy life as a professional musician, in the form of *An Essay on the Principal Comets* (London, 1769); from 1771 his travel journals began to appear. Evidence that he was aware of contemporary literary achievement is found in accounts of his association with William Bewley (physician and literary contributor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*), with whom he discussed the works of Johnson, and David Hume's *History of England* (1754–1762).⁴⁷ It is notable that as well as political history, Hume's *History* includes the history of literature and science, thus setting cultural matters firmly in the realm of topics worthy of the serious attention of a historian. Burney's aspiration towards literary achievement is paralleled in his desire to move in literary circles. In his attempts to correspond with Samuel Johnson, he was not deterred by long silences on Johnson's part.⁴⁸ Burney's persistent overtures were subsequently successful: the dedication of his *History* to Queen Charlotte is attributed to Johnson.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*; and Hawkins, *An Account*, for biographical information.

⁴⁶ Scholes, *Hawkins*, 67.

⁴⁷ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 49.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 45–51.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 168–69.

Even while engaged in the extensive research for his *History*, Burney was a very active correspondent with a wide circle of associates: as well as his friend Samuel Crisp, the correspondents included the poet and literary critic Joseph Warton; the actor, playwright and theatre manager David Garrick; the classical scholars William Mason and Thomas Twining; the French philosophers Diderot and Rousseau; and the Professor of Music at Trinity College Dublin, Lord Mornington.⁵⁰

In researching material for their histories, both Burney and Hawkins adopted empirical methods, seeking original sources. Hawkins, attorney and antiquary, introduces his *History* as ‘the produce of sixteen years labour, [...] compiled of materials which were not collected in double that time.’⁵¹ His methodology in researching for his *History* followed the pattern of his professional procedures and his personal interest as an antiquary: rigorous examination of available evidence. He had access to the extensive library of Dr. Pepusch, and also to the collection of William Gostling, an ‘invaluable [source of information on] late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical history.’⁵² He consulted materials in

the Bodleian Library, the university libraries, the British Museum; and [...] the public libraries and repositories of records and public papers in London and Westminster, and [through] a correspondence with learned foreigners [...] together with a great variety of oral intelligence respecting persons and facts yet remembered.⁵³

Among the materials perused by Hawkins in the British Museum were some of the manuscripts of the Harleian collection of Thomas Tudway.⁵⁴ Aware that some relevant materials might only be found abroad, Hawkins availed of personal contacts in his efforts to source them. The author of a brief biography of Hawkins in *The Musical Times* 1904 cites a letter written by Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, British Minister at Florence, dated 2 January 1761, in which he requests, on behalf of a friend

Mr. Hawkins, [who] is writing the History of Music [...]

1. *Tutte l'opere*, di Gioseffe Zarlino, Venezia, 1695, folio.
2. History of Music in Italian by Gio. Andr. Angelini Bontempi. 1695, folio.
3. *Dialogo della musica e della antica moderna*, di Vincenzo Galilei. Folio, 1602, or 1541, in Firenze.

⁵⁰ Burney, *Letters*.

⁵¹ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xix.

⁵² Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 163.

⁵³ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xix.

⁵⁴ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 118.

4. *Musica vaga et artificiosa*, di Romano Michieli. Folio, 1615, Venezia.
5. *Observazioni per ben regolare il coro dei cantori della capella pontificia*, by Andrea Adami da Bolsena. Quarto, 1711, in Roma.

[...] and any other books of character on the subject.⁵⁵

This list represents Hawkins's particular interests: music theory and compositional procedures of previous centuries. Four of the authors on Hawkins's list are noted theorists: Zarlino (1517–1590), ‘in the science of music [...] indisputably one of the best writers of modern times;’ Bontempi (1624–1705) ‘best known [for] his History of Music,’ also a theorist; Galilei (1520–1591), who, with ‘unwearied application to the study of the ancients, became an excellent speculative musician;’ the particular work of Michieli (b. Rome c. 1575, d. Rome after 1659) required was ‘his most celebrated work [...] published at Venice in 1615, in which the subject of canon is very learnedly discussed and explained by a variety of examples;’ Adami, historian (1663–1742), for his ‘description of the several functions performed in the pontifical chapel.’⁵⁶

Burney outlines his approach, which shares points in common with Hawkins, but also includes some important differences, especially in his approach to contemporary music:

I spared no expense or pains in acquiring or consulting [printed materials]. With respect likewise to manuscript information, and inedited materials from foreign countries, few modern writers have perhaps expended more money and time, undergone greater fatigue or impaired their health in the search of them, than myself.⁵⁷

Because he did not believe that the numerous books he had consulted in his own country ‘supplied [him] with the Information [he] wanted relative to [his] intended *History of Music*,’⁵⁸ he undertook

a journey that has been attended with much fatigue, expense, and neglect of other concerns [...] to allay [his] thirst for knowledge at the source,⁵⁹

hoping that the testimony of one who has himself been witness of the particulars he relates, will have a weight which integrity itself cannot give to hear-say evidence.⁶⁰

His determination to carry out thorough research is expressed in his letter to David Garrick, written in Naples, October 1770:

⁵⁵ F. G. E[dwards], ‘Hawkins, A Biog. Sketch,’ 90.

⁵⁶ Hawkins, *GH* 1, 398; *GH* 2, 654; *GH* 1, 403; *GH* 2: 589, 805.

⁵⁷ Burney, *GH* 1, 13.

⁵⁸ Burney, *Letters*, 58.

⁵⁹ Burney, *Tour* 1, 6.

⁶⁰ Burney, *Tour* 2, vol. 1, iv.

When I left England I had two objects in view: the one was to get from Libraries & the *viva voce* conversation of the Learned what information I could relative to the Music of the ancients—& the other was to Judge with my own Ears of the *present State* of modern Music in the places thro' which I should pass from the Performance & Conversation of the first Musicians in Italy.⁶¹

His interest in and preference for recent and contemporary music led to the conviction that learned men and books may be more useful as to ancient music, but it is only *living* musicians that can explain what *living* music is.⁶² Burney's early exposure to the reports of contemporary music which he heard directly from those who had experienced it abroad, had conditioned him to seek it out, first-hand, for himself. The culture of the 'grand tour,' which he also had encountered vicariously through his aristocratic patrons, presented an attractive opportunity to seek 'knowledge at the source.' Continental travel had been established as a viable possibility.

[In] May [1763], Thomas Robinson wrote from Paris, 'The English flock over daily, and the citizens seem to want to come a pleasuring here instead of an airing to Brighthelmstone' (later Brighton), a comment on the extent to which foreign tourism was now possible for and attractive to those not in the social elite.⁶³

In June 1764 Burney had taken his daughters Esther and Susan to Paris to learn French; having settled them there he 'visited Theatres, Public buildings &c.'⁶⁴ When he returned to escort them home a year later, he took them to the *opéra comique*, and ventured as far as Lyon before returning home.⁶⁵

The Grand Tour gave rise to a genre of literature from the pens of travellers eager to communicate their experiences and impressions. The travel account of the essayist and poet Joseph Addison (1672–1719)—*Remarks on Several Parts of Italy &c.* (1705)—had gone through ten editions by 1773.⁶⁶ Such accounts from abroad represented a genre of literature which must have appealed to Burney, whose aristocratic patrons were among those who experienced foreign travel. He had a dual reward for his tours—first-hand experience of materials for his *History*, and the immediate prospect of publication of an account of his travels. So much had been written by English travellers returning from

⁶¹ Burney, *Letters*, 60–61.

⁶² Burney, *Tour* 1, 13.

⁶³ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1992; 1997).

⁶⁴ Burney, *Memoirs*, frag. 104, Paris, June–July 1764, 158.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, frag. 110, Paris and Lyons, June–July 1765, 170.

⁶⁶ Black, *The British Abroad*, 3.

France and Italy that Burney took the advice of his friends in confining his first *Account* to matters musical.⁶⁷

His tours in search of materials began with a journey through France and Italy, leaving London in June 1770. He visited libraries; met librarians, composers, performers, clerics and scholars; he attended musical performances; and in Bologna met Padre Martini who was also engaged in the writing of a history of music.

Back in London in December 1770, he lost no time in publishing his findings before setting out on his second tour to collect materials (chapter 2.2.3.). Undaunted by his previous experience of the arduous nature of travel at the time,⁶⁸ Burney journeyed through the Netherlands and Germany during the second half of 1771; like the first tour, this also involved intensive research of sources primary and secondary, and encounters with musicians and scholars. His findings were in print by 1773. In this *Account* from destinations less travelled, he included general information on the experiences and practicalities of travel as well as musical information.⁶⁹

In their searches for material, the authors had available to them an improved postal system which by 1756 provided daily services, facilitated by an improvement in road networks.⁷⁰ Hawkins mentions his communications with ‘learned foreigners’ (see above), and Burney has left an extensive collection of letters, many of them in discussion and exchange of ideas with learned associates. His close friendship with Thomas Twining from 1773 on was conducted mainly by post. The classical scholar was a constant friend and advisor to Burney in the writing of the *History*, particularly regarding music of the ancients.

Both authors aimed to write a history which would be more than a chronicle of data. Hawkins claimed his *History* would be ‘uniformly narratory.’ Burney was quite explicit in targeting a general readership.

It appeared necessary to enliven my Narrative with many trivial circumstances unnecessary to a learned or speculative Reader; for their Number is too small to support an Author.⁷¹

More numerous than the ‘learned or speculative’ reader was the reader of novels. The novel as a literary genre enjoyed considerable growth in the print explosion of the

⁶⁷ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 98.

⁶⁸ Returning from his first tour, the journey from Paris to Calais—a distance of 170 miles—took two days, travelling ‘Post Night & Day in order to get to England as fast as possible.’ Burney, *Letters*, 70.

⁶⁹ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 118.

⁷⁰ Porter, *Enlightenment*, 41.

⁷¹ Burney, *Letters*, Charles Burney to Denis Diderot, London, 27 May 1771, 83.

eighteenth century: Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) went through five editions in a year, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and Tobias Smollett's *Roderick Random* (1748) had print runs of 5,000 in their first year, while Henry Fielding's *Amelia* (1751) sold as many in just a week.⁷² The novel presented a story which was to engage, divert and entertain the reader. It is likely that Burney would have been aware of this phenomenon and attuned to the readers' expectation. He professed his own enjoyment of entertaining literature:

I *do* and ever *did* like and love Swift—and am not sure that I ever rec^d equal pleasure from any other writer—in wit & humour I am most certain I never did.⁷³

Burney, writing of his son James (born 1750) records that 'when he c^d read and was in possession of a penny, he [had] to go to the Bookseller's for a pennyworth of Roderick Random.'⁷⁴ (This suggests that Tobias Smollett's popular novel had been serialised.) In the Burney household, James Burney was not alone in his engagement with this literary genre. Fanny Burney became the author of four novels; the first, *Evelina*, was published in 1778 (anonymously at first), to the approval and pride of her father. He wrote, congratulating her: 'Thou hast made thy old Father Laugh & Cry at thy pleasure [...] I have never heard of a novel writer's statue,—yet who knows?'⁷⁵ In the popular genre of travel writing, Burney's *Accounts* present first-hand researched information from abroad in a readable style.

Hawkins, early in life, began to establish himself as a man of letters. His literary output began with an 'Essay on Honesty' in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 6 March 1739; this elicited correspondence from a colleague and engendered exchanges between the two up to the July issue of the magazine. Other pieces of a reflective nature include essays: on genius, Feb 1740, on poverty entitled 'Aenigma', August 1740, and on love, November 1743, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*; on conversation in the *Universal Spectator*, December 1740; on politeness, December 1741, and on business March 1742, both in the *Westminster Journal*.⁷⁶ His edition of *The Compleat Angler* (1760) went into six editions. He contributed notes to some editions of Shakespeare's plays, Hamner's (1770–1771) and Johnson and Steevens's (1773); in this sphere his antiquarian knowledge was called upon. By 1772, Hawkins was firmly established in the

⁷² Altick, *The Eng. Common Reader*, 49.

⁷³ Burney, *Letters*, Charles Burney to Thomas Twining, 6 September 1783, 380.

⁷⁴ Burney, *Memoirs*, frag. 89, London 1762–63, 141.

⁷⁵ Burney, *Letters*, c. 17 July 1778, 252.

⁷⁶ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 11, 17, 25, 19, 23, 24.

literary world, being referred to as ‘a Gentleman well known in the learned world’ by the bookseller Thomas Davies.⁷⁷

The history of music promised by both authors was to be accessible to a wide readership. To achieve this, Hawkins assures the reader that the style will not be over-‘encumbered with technical terms.’⁷⁸ Burney recorded: ‘I could wish to have my book so divested of Pedantry & Jargon that every Miss, who plays *o’ top o’ the Spinet* should make it her manual.’⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 107.

⁷⁸ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xix.

⁷⁹ Burney, *Letters*, Burney to Thomas Twining, 28 April 1773, 126.

Chapter 4

Ideological views in the histories of Burney and Hawkins

4.1 Expression of ideological views: criticism and music history

The growth of the periodical as outlined in chapter 2.2.2. facilitated the public exchange of ideas; out of this grew literary criticism and periodicals dedicated to critical reviewing. *The Monthly Review* (1749–1845) was founded by Ralph Griffiths; *The Critical Review: or, Annals of Literature* (1756–1817) was printed by Archibald Hamilton, with Tobias Smollett as editor up to 1763. Earlier titles included Daniel Defoe's *Review* (1704–1713); the *Examiner* (1710–1714), partly written by Swift; Sir Richard Steele's *Guardian* (1713) and *Tatler* (1709–1710); the *Spectator* (1711–1712) of the essayists Sir Richard Steele and Joseph Addison; Edward Cave's the *Gentleman's Magazine: or Monthly Intelligencer* (1731–1922), on which Johnson was regularly employed; and Johnson's *Rambler* (1750–1752). The culture of criticism was established and continued to be exercised.

Charles Avison (1709–1770), organist and composer, is credited by Burney as the initiator of music criticism with his *An Essay on Musical Expression* (1752).¹ Joseph Addison had published an essay in *The Spectator* (1711) criticising baroque opera; his critique related not to the music but to the dramatic production in what he saw as the absurdity of its stage machinery and effects.² Avison's *Essay*, which ran to a hundred and thirty-four pages—in the third edition (1775)—included added material comprising discussion arising from it: 'A Letter to the Author, concerning The Music of the Ancients,' and 'Mr. Avison's Reply &c.'³ Expressing the difficulty of establishing principles of taste or music criticism in a vacuum, Avison felt the challenge could be met 'were there any History of the Lives and Works of the best Composers;' 'the Works of the greatest Masters are the only Schools where we may see, and from whence we may draw, Perfection.'⁴ The *Histories* of Burney and Hawkins were to fill that vacuum, and it is likely that the two historians were beginning to assemble materials for their works around the time that Avison first published his *Essay*.

¹ Burney, *GH* 2, 7.

² Joseph Addison, 'Spectatum admissi risum teneatis? (Admitted to the sight, would you not laugh?),' Horace, *Ars poetica* 5, the *Spectator* no. 5 (6 March 1711), in Fubini, *Music and Culture*, 321–24.

³ Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London: Lockyer Davis, 1752; 1775), title page.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 98–100, cited by Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts*, 227.

Both Burney and Hawkins promised criticism as well as historical information in their histories, bringing to mind Herder's view that 'a barren wonder and recital deserve not the name of history.'⁵ Burney included 'An Essay on Musical Criticism' in his *History*.⁶ In the *General Evening Post*, 10–12 June 1773, Hawkins's advance advertisement for his *History* 'with Memoirs and Anecdotes of the most eminent Theorists and Practical Musicians, Specimens of their Work' concludes with 'and Remarks Thereon.' In the preface to his *History*, Hawkins also promises 'remarks' as well as 'evidences.'⁷

Underlying and informing such discourse was the matter of 'taste [...] which alone, and without some principal to direct and controul it, must ever be deemed a capricious arbiter.'⁸ The setting out of 'some principle to direct and controul' taste was a concern for leaders in the arts in general. In 1753, the artist William Hogarth (1697–1764) had published *The Analysis of Beauty: Written with a View of fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste*. In this work he set out seventeen elements of beauty in visual art, giving each element a chapter. That ideas of taste fluctuated he admitted, yet he offered a prescriptive guide. While Burney acknowledged the evanescence of taste,⁹ he had much to say in directing it. Hawkins admitted taste to be 'capricious', thus he felt it should be guided in some way, and he was offering informed opinion on the matter. Burney, in a letter to Diderot, 27 May 1771, refers to 'attempts [...] by so many able Writers to correct Public Taste.'¹⁰ Avison had offered 'observations [...] such as may tend to correct any errors that have arisen, either in the composition or performance of music.'¹¹ He expressed concern regarding 'false taste,'

whence this false taste had its rise. [...] It may, perhaps, be affirmed with truth, that the false taste, or rather the total want of taste in those who hear, and always assume to themselves the privilege of *judging*, hath often produced this low species of music.¹²

It was not for all 'those who hear' to judge. Hawkins echoed Avison's complaint, referring to

⁵ Herder, *ante*, 40, note 91.

⁶ Burney, *GH* 2, 7–11.

⁷ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xix.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Burney, *GH* 1, 15.

¹⁰ Burney, *Letters*, 83.

¹¹ Avison, *Musical Expression*, 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, 31.

the taste which is common to every promiscuous auditory, with who, it is a notion that the right, [...] and the ability to judge, to applaud and condemn, is purchased by the price of admittance.¹³

The criteria for informed criticism are given by Burney in his ‘Essay on Musical Criticism.’ He points out that

There have been many treatises published on the art of musical composition and performance, but none to instruct the ignorant lovers of Music how to listen, or to judge for themselves,

and for good reason, concluding:

so various are musical styles, that it requires not only extensive knowledge, and long experience, but a liberal, enlarged, and candid mind, to discriminate and allow each its due praise.¹⁴

Discriminating and allowing each its due praise clearly indicates criticism of works on their own merits in a particular genre; this demanded a range of knowledge likely to be held only by the professional. Musical criticism was not the province of the amateur, and in this, Hawkins’s opinion concurs with that of Burney: ‘But few, except the masters of the science, are possessed of knowledge sufficient to enable them to discourse with propriety on music.’¹⁵

In his categorisation of the two *Histories* Lipking places Burney’s under the heading ‘Literary,’ which evaluates, while he labels Hawkins’s work as ‘History,’ suggesting an antiquarian, uncritical presentation of facts.¹⁶ Ribeiro holds that ‘questions of taste do not enter [Hawkins’s] book,’ and this is so, regarding the main body of the *History* which is largely ‘a dispassionate record of facts.’¹⁷ However, Hawkins does make his own opinion known in his approximately 27,000-word ‘Preliminary Discourse’—often trenchantly—as can be observed in examples cited in discussion of Hawkins’s views.

Commenting on aspects of the characters of Burney and Hawkins Lipking notes Burney’s ‘ability to make himself agreeable to any audience,’ and a resulting openness to question regarding the reliability of any views he expressed; of Hawkins he observes that his unpleasantness stemmed from a ‘rudely expressed honesty and conviction,’ and thus he was more credible in his views.¹⁸ Burney was aware of the fact that music was

¹³ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xl.

¹⁴ Burney, *GH* 1, 7–8.

¹⁵ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xii–xiii.

¹⁶ Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts*, 15.

¹⁷ Ribeiro (ed.), Burney, *Letters*, xxv.

¹⁸ Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts*, 271.

not regarded as a subject of serious intellectual enquiry in the ‘polite society’ on which he depended for his livelihood as a music teacher,¹⁹ and also for social advancement. At least one of the leading intellectual figures of the day who were feted in this society had no compunction in publicly disclosing a lack of appreciation and understanding of music, and could go so far as to ridicule it: Samuel Johnson used, according to Burney's daughter, Frances, to ‘speak slightly both of the art and its professors;’ Burney was acutely aware of his social standing in this society, in which he was regarded as a ‘cleverer kind of artisan.’²⁰ Because of his ambition and consciousness of his social status, Burney did not always feel free to give public expression to his own independent views. Grant presents the opinion that Burney

was compelled to consider [...] the diverse sensibilities and tastes of his audience. Many of those whose tastes did not completely harmonise with his were men of position and influence; he was not unmindful of their prestige or their ability to enhance his career and social standing.²¹

In the same chapter ‘Critic in conflict,’ the author justifies his opinion with an account of the political/musical conflicts through which Burney successfully navigated the progress of his career, noting the royal preference for Handel’s music when in Burney’s own opinion Handel had been superseded by later composers. Lonsdale outlines the same conflict of interest for Burney in writing his *Account* of the Handel commemoration, 1784.²² Burney provides direct evidence of this when, venting his frustration he wrote to Twining:

the K[ing] is [...] *intoleratingly* fond of the old Saxon [...] so that, if I was to act *politically & wisely*, I sh^d openly abuse all other Music, Musicians, & lovers of Music in all parts of the world, but Handel & his insatiable & exclusive admirers.²³

MacLeod also considers as a ‘flaw’ Burney’s need for conformity with aristocratic views in his criticism;²⁴ though he does acknowledge that Burney’s *History* and his *Tours* ‘provide unique glimpses into the critical style, philosophy, and practice of eighteenth-century musical tastes in England.’²⁵ This is so, as the apparent impairment of the independence of Burney’s recording of music history has its basis in a need for some concurrence with public opinion, or royal opinion in the instance cited above, it does not

¹⁹ Rumbold, ‘Music Aspires to Letters,’ 24.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 29, 24, citing Burney, *Memoirs*, 34, 38.

²¹ Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 1.

²² Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 302.

²³ Burney, *Letters*, 425.

²⁴ Kenneth Alexander MacLeod, ‘Charles Burney’s Philosophy of Music Criticism’ (M.A. diss., McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, 1991), 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

necessarily devalue his history as a record of eighteenth-century views, even if these views are sometimes not exactly in concurrence with his own. The constraint under which he wrote is in itself a revealing nuance in the record. Unhampered by the social strictures under which Burney deftly manoeuvred, it is unlikely that in his writing Hawkins felt any obligation to conceal or even modify his views; it is likely that the views expressed in his *History* are his own personal views. He acknowledged the popularity of the genres he criticized but was not influenced by that popularity and exhibited no need to ally himself to it.

A dilemma arises in the correction of public taste by the professional when, as recorded by Hawkins, the ‘promiscuous auditory’ and ‘ignorant lovers of music’ find their taste accommodated:

This great musician [Handel] compounded the matter [of taste] with the public, alternately pursuing the suggestions of his fancy, and gratifying a taste which he held in contempt.²⁶

Hawkins explains the above in a note, which shows that public, uninformed taste could influence the composer, inducing him to compromise:

An intimate friend of Mr. Handel, looking over the score of an opera newly composed by him, observed of some of the songs that they were excellent. ‘You may think so’, says Mr. Handel, ‘but it is not to them, but to these, turning to others of a vulgar cast, that I trust for the success of the opera.’²⁷

That ‘the taste of the audience did dictate the state of music in England, and that fashion did shape musical history to some extent’ is acknowledged by Grant, who points out that ‘opera in England survived largely on the subscriptions of the [...] audience;’ and that audience was the ‘same select group’ who supplied Burney with pupils and who subscribed to his *History*.²⁸ Burney testifies to his belief in the influence of public taste in his comment:

If Sebastian Bach and his admirable son Emanuel, instead of being musical-directors in commercial cities, had been fortunately employed to compose for the stage and public of great capitals, such as Naples, Paris, or London, and for performers of the first class, they would doubtless have simplified their style more to the level of their judges; the one would have sacrificed all unmeaning art and contrivance, and the other been less fantastical and *recherché*, and both, by writing in a style more popular, and generally intelligible and pleasing, would have extended their fame, and been indisputably the greatest musicians of the present century.²⁹

²⁶ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xl.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 225.

²⁹ Burney, *GH* 2, 955, originally musician and impresario Abel, Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts*, 285.

Avison as critic and Handel as composer both indicated that the audience was a force to be considered in determining taste. The informed critic was not to be the only arbiter. In the eighteenth century the growth of public concerts provided the audience with access to music performances, often in competing venues. Burney and Hawkins record the first public concerts—‘lucrative concerts’—in London as those of John Bannister, a professional musician, advertised in the *London Gazette*, December 1672.³⁰ Rosamond McGuinness records that by the late 1720s and 1730s there were ‘at least 100 different venues used for public concerts in a small area within the City of London and Westminster, usually with more than one concert in an evening.’³¹ In 1763 Johann Christian Bach and Carl Friedrich Abel established the Bach-Abel concert series which introduced many musicians from the continent to the London audience.³² The Italian opera provided another forum for the expression of the opinion of the audience by way of approval or censure, as will be seen in section 5 of this chapter.

Grant acknowledges that Burney wrote his *History* for a ‘dilettante audience,’³³ and many of those who attended musical performances also belonged to that social category. Weber refers to the social elite of the age, among whom ‘cultural issues were debated.’ their letters included ‘personal gossip, party politics and opera news’ as a matter of course.³⁴ An example of opera and other music news and opinion in personal correspondence can be seen in the letters of Mrs. Delany (1700–1788), acquaintance of Swift, Pope and Addison. Writing to Mrs. A. Granville on 12 December 1724 and subsequently: ‘I was to see the opera of Dioclesian, but was very much disappointed, for instead of Purcell’s music which I expected, we had Pepusch’s;’ on 25 November 1727 she wrote of ‘the musick in honour of St. Cecilia at the Crown Tavern. Dubourg was the first fiddle, and everybody says he exceeds all the Italians, even his master Geminiani;’ on 29 February 1727/1728 she feared ‘the opera will not survive this winter,’ but by 19 March 1727/1728 she could report that ‘operas are something mended;’ on 5 December 1729 she had been ‘to hear some music of Dr. Blow’s and Mr. Purcell at the Crown in the Strand;’ her fears for the opera reappear 20 December 1729 as she concludes ‘the

³⁰ Burney, *GH* 2, 368; Hawkins *GH* 2, 763.

³¹ Rosamond McGuinness, ‘Gigs, Roadies and Promoters: Marketing Eighteenth-Century Concerts,’ in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (eds.) (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004), 261–72 (263).

³² Simon McVeigh, ‘London, Concert Life,’ *GMO*.

³³ Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 197.

³⁴ William Weber, ‘Musical Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the *beau monde* in London, 1700–1870,’ in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Wollenberg and McVeigh (eds.), 71–89 (71).

opera is too good for the vile taste of this town,' and on 4 April 1730 as she laments 'operas are dying, to my great mortification;' on 16 February 1760 she was entertained by the performance in Dublin of the eighty-six year old Geminiani but not all of the audience were favourably impressed.³⁵ (Mention of the 'Crown Tavern' and the 'Crown in the Strand' invite speculation that they were one and the same as the Crown and Anchor Tavern, and that the concerts there were those of the Academy of Ancient Music; the programmes mentioned were likely ones for the Academy at that venue.)

An example of the development of the influence of the audience as critic can be found in the progress of the Academy of Ancient Music. In its origin as a private club of learned musicians, its members arranged performance programmes in accordance with the Academy's specific agenda, for their fortnightly semi-public 'Grand' nights when auditors were admitted. According to Hawkins's daughter Laetitia Matilda, it was 'when [the Academy] was declining under the influence of what he thought a worse taste, Hawkins wrote an elegant pamphlet [his *Account*, 1770], in its favour.'³⁶ The success of public concerts prompted him to record that 'some members of the Academy, reflecting on the great encouragement given to *Concerts*, thought it might tend to the interest of the Society, to give it a new form.' However, so successful were the established public concerts that it was not commercially viable for the Academy to compete. Instead, it continued as it was, and a rival institution of subscription concerts was formed by amateurs in 1776, entitled 'The Concert of Ancient Music,' with aristocratic and later, royal, patronage. With a manifesto to perform music not less than twenty years old, it eventually superseded the Academy, continuing until 1849. From a beginning in the Academy where programming was decided by professionals from the learned music tradition, such matters were now in the hands of an influential public of amateurs.

Of course, the audience's role in establishing concepts of taste was not confined to music. The great actor and theatre manager, David Garrick penned his thoughts on the audience's taste, in verse. When the popularity of pantomime over Shakespeare with the audiences of the day was brought home to him by an almost empty theatre, he summarised the artist's dilemma regarding financial success and its dependence on the public taste when he admitted:

³⁵ Mary Granville Delany, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, Lady Llandover (ed.) (London: Richard Bentley, 1861), vol. 1: 101, 149, 160, 165, 228, 229, 253; vol. 3: 586.

³⁶ L. M. Hawkins, *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs* (1822), cited by Christopher Hogwood, intro., Hawkins's *An Account*.

If want comes on, importance must retreat;
Our first, great ruling passion, is—to eat.³⁷

4.2 Music: old and new

Both Burney and Hawkins expressed views on progress as each observed it in the history of music. Burney referred to ‘its progressive improvements.’³⁸ In this and in his conviction of the superiority of contemporary music he appears to subscribe to a linear view of progress. So confident was he regarding the continuing progress of music that in the final chapter of his *History* he could declare, near the end of the century, that regarding ‘Music in this country [...] a certain road to full perfection in every department seems to have been attained.’³⁹

Hawkins expressed an aim
to trace the improvements [in music] which have resulted from the accumulated studies and experience of a long succession of ages.⁴⁰

However, he wondered

Why it is to be assumed of music that it is continually improving, or that every innovation in it must be for the better?⁴¹

He confirms a cyclical view of progress in recommending

an attention to those particular circumstances that mark the several periods of its progress, its perfection and its decline.⁴²

In his lengthy note on music in *The Compleat Angler* (1760), Hawkins found an opportunity to declare his belief in the superiority of ancient music:

Music was in its greatest perfection in Europe from about the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century; when, with a variety of treble instruments, a vicious taste was introduced and vocal harmony received it mortal wound.⁴³

In his *History* he refers to the musical compositions of the sixteenth century as ‘models of musical perfection’; he is

at a loss, why, in these later times at least, novelty in music should be its best recommendation; or that the love of variety should so possess the generality of hearers, as almost to leave it a question whether or no it has any principles at all.⁴⁴

³⁷ David Garrick, *Gent. Mag.* xx (1750), 422, cited in Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 32.

³⁸ Burney, *GH* 1, 11.

³⁹ Burney, *GH* 2, 1023.

⁴⁰ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xiii.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, xli.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Hawkins, notes, *The Compleat Angler*, 205–6.

⁴⁴ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xxxvii.

Burney's early receptiveness to modern influences when previously 'Handel, Geminiani & Corelli were the sole Divinities of [his] Youth,'⁴⁵ was to be a harbinger of his unceasing curiosity regarding new music, a curiosity and interest that led to his travels in search of the very latest developments to bring his *History* right up to contemporary times.

The range of the histories was determined by the authors' conviction regarding the respective merits of old and new music. Hawkins gave much space to the music of the ancients as an essential beginning to the story of music. Burney is explicit in his disdain of such music: 'ancient music: how little there is to be known [...] so much to be said.'⁴⁶ In the context—in which he refers to it in his preface as 'so entirely lost'—it appears that Burney is referring to music of Greek antiquity, as there was no dearth of material or ascertainable facts on the subject of music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Writing to the classical scholar, Thomas Twining, April 1773, he conveys the information that he had originally intended his *History* to 'begin at the 11th Century when Guido is said to have invented the Scale w^{ch} is still in Use,' and he held 'if S^r John ever had any Taste the reading such a pack of old rubbish as he seems to delight in w^d have spoilt it.'⁴⁷ However, Twining informed Burney that Thomas Payne (1719–1799), Hawkins's publisher, had shown him the first volume of Hawkins's *History*, 'beginning, as usual, from Mercury &c &c with a crammed account of every thing that has been said [...] about the music of the ancients.'⁴⁸ Twining's advice prevailed on Burney to include the music of the ancients in the interest of completeness:

My present Idea is to take your advice and throw into a Dissertation, or preliminary discourse, what guess-work, & ancient Authorities, have furnished me concerning the doctrines of Modes, Systems, & Genera, and to confine my narrative to Circumstances merely historical.⁴⁹

The above conveys Burney's disregard for a subject for which he believed it was difficult to find authentic, verifiable information. One of the objects of his first tour was to get such information 'from Libraries and *viva voce* Conversation of the Learned.'⁵⁰ His 'Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients' was prefixed to his *History*, preceding the heading 'A General History of Music,' and thus designated as separate from it. Lonsdale

⁴⁵ Charles Burney to Thomas Twining, 14 Dec. 1781, Burney, *Letters*, 328.

⁴⁶ Burney, *GH* 1, 16.

⁴⁷ Burney, *Letters*, 126.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Charles Burney to Thomas Twining, August 1773, 141.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Charles Burney to David Garrick, Oct. 1770, 60–61.

points out that this separation could relieve his general audience from reading it, ‘permitting the less serious readers to avoid it completely if they wished.’⁵¹

Hawkins limited his history at the contemporary end, stopping with Geminiani (1687–1762); there is no mention of Mozart (1756–1791), though there was extensive press coverage of the London visit (1764–1765) of the child prodigy and his sister, their performances, abilities, achievements, and publication in London of Wolfgang’s sonatas.⁵² His belief—that the music of his own time was in decline, as part of a cyclical pattern—is likely to have influenced him in disdaining to chronicle music he perceived as of little merit.

In contrast to his disregard of contemporary music, Hawkins provides an extensive record of The Academy of Ancient Music and its concern for the music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He includes in his *History* an account, having already done so in his 1770 publication on that institution. His extensive recording of the details of Thomas Britton’s musical activities between 1678 and 1714 ensures the transmission of information on the ancient music movement. It enables the tracing of a link within it, with continuity provided by an overlap of some members between Thomas Britton’s concert and the later Academy of Ancient Music. It is Hawkins who records that Dr. Pepusch (1667–1752), Handel (1685–1759) and Henry Needler (1685–1760) were members of both groups. Hawkins relates the continuation of a vibrant culture of private music-making, when,

upon the breaking up of Britton’s concert, the persons that frequented it formed themselves into little societies, that met at taverns at different parts of the town for the purpose of musical recreation.⁵³

Hawkins also records ‘weekly concerts at the houses of the duke of Rutland, the earls of Burlington and Essex, lord Percival [...] and others of the nobility’ in the early part of the eighteenth century.⁵⁴

Such private music-making merits little attention from Burney. He makes a cursory mention of the existence of Thomas Britton’s concert (chapter 1.2.), with no details of its activity or the people involved. His coverage of the Academy of Ancient Music is similarly limited to incidental references, some of them in connection with his account of

⁵¹ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 146.

⁵² Goff, *Newspapers*, May 1764–Sept. 1765.

⁵³ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 807.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 806.

Pepusch.⁵⁵ The existence and activities of the Madrigal Society—specialising as it did in ‘old music’—received no mention from Burney, whereas Hawkins records in detail its founding and its activities (chapter 2.1.4).

The detailed recording of the activities of such societies was of a pattern with Hawkins’s treatment of all topics within the range covered in his history. Lipking has pointed out this aspect of Hawkins’s *History*—its inclusiveness regarding the individual topics it covered—and its consequent value for posterity: Hawkins recorded every available document, every available piece of information or evidence as a lawyer would.⁵⁶

The positions of the authors on the old/new music divide also influenced their views on other aspects and categories of music. Because of this, compositional procedures were another matter for divergence of opinion between the two historians. Hawkins traces the history of fugue as a positive musical development—‘an improvement [...] of very considerable import’—having its beginning in the sixteenth century.⁵⁷ He gives an account of J. S. Bach as a composer of ‘a great variety of excellent compositions for the harpsichord’ and of ‘a double fugue in three subjects, in one of which he introduces his name;’ and ‘celebrated for his skill in the composition of canon.’⁵⁸ Hawkins is consistent in favouring polyphonic music over monodic compositions which he disparaged as ‘light and trivial airs.’⁵⁹

From his first mention of fugue, Burney, on the other hand conveys the negative opinion that fugal composition militates against the clear delivery of words:

It seems as if the perfection of *figurative Counterpoint*, and the invention of Fugues, had utterly diverted the attention of the composer, performer, and public, from poetry, propriety, and syllabic laws [...] render[ing] the words that were to be sung difficult to be understood.⁶⁰

Further criticism of fugal composition appears in his various writings. In a letter to Christoph Daniel Ebeling, he expressed the view that

a Long and labored Fugue, *recte et retro* in 40 parts, may be a good entertainment for the *Eyes* of a Critic, but can never delight the *Ears* of a Man of Taste. I was no less surprised than pleased to find M^r C. P. E. Bach get out of the trammels of Fugues & crowded parts in which his father so excelled.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Burney, *GH* 1, 749, 775, 987.

⁵⁶ Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts*, 266.

⁵⁷ Hawkins, *GH* 1, 293–306.

⁵⁸ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 853.

⁵⁹ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xl.

⁶⁰ Burney, *GH* 1, 528.

⁶¹ Burney, *Letters*, 104.

In his *History* also he refers to the effect on the ear as being more important than the impression on the eye, ‘for all rules in music, deduced from any other principle than *effect upon the ear*, are absurd.’⁶² Writing to Lord Mornington, May 1776, he referred to Fugues as ‘so fitted for Church Music & now with Propriety wholly devoted to its Service.’⁶³

In a more general criticism of contrapuntal composition as outmoded and complex, writing to Baron d’Holbach, June 1772, Burney held: ‘Fugues are regarded as remains of Gothic barbarism;’ to William Mason 1782, he criticised ‘Fugue, Canon, & other Gothic Barbarism.’⁶⁴ In his *History*, Burney held that in fugal composition Handel was the only composer ‘exempt from pedantry, always natural and pleasing, while ‘J. S. Bach [...] disdained facility so much, that his genius never stooped to the easy and graceful.’⁶⁵ The evolution of compositional style in the transition from the contrapuntal compositions of Johann Sebastian Bach to the ‘more elegant and expressive compositions of C. P. E. Bach’ was seen by Burney as progress in music.⁶⁶ Summing up what he perceived as the inevitability of the advance of new styles, musical and other, he points out that

Em. Bach used to be censured for his extraneous modulations, crudities, and difficulties; but, like the hard words of Dr. Johnson, to which the public by degrees became reconciled every German composer takes the same liberties now as Bach and every English writer uses Johnson’s language with impunity.⁶⁷

In relation to the music of J. S. Bach, it has been claimed that Burney changed his opinion in its favour. In 1810, late in Burney’s life, Vincent Novello and Sam Wesley claimed to have played

the whole of the ‘30 Variations’ by Sebastian Bach as Duets [...] to the great delight of Burney, who acknowledged [...] that he had formed a very inadequate opinion of Sebastian Bach’s fertility of invention and versatility of style, till he had heard our performances of those extraordinary specimens of counterpoint.⁶⁸

If he had not expressed the same sentiments in his private letters regarding fugal composition, it might be conjectured that Burney’s hopes for a general readership for his *History* influenced his expression of opinion on aspects of music considered esoteric. In her study of some of Burney’s keyboard arrangements for Queeney Thrale, of popular symphonic and operatic music of the time, Valerie Rumbold draws attention to the

⁶² Burney, *GH* 1, 724 (*n*).

⁶³ Burney, *Letters*, 213.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 113, 338.

⁶⁵ Burney, *GH* 2, 96.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 951.

⁶⁷ Burney, *GH* 2, 955, referring to C.P. Emanuel Bach.

⁶⁸ Vincent Novello, cited by F. G. E[dwards], ‘Dr. Charles Burney (1726–1814), A Biographical Sketch,’ *The Musical Times* 15/739 (Sept. 1, 1904): 575–80 (579).

practical realities of his profession as music teacher to the child of an ‘essentially unmusical but socially ambitious household;’ the modern style of melody lightly accompanied was more accessible to ‘the amateur of modest technique’ than was contrapuntal composition.⁶⁹

Grant disputes the idea of Burney’s ‘conversion’ to the music of J. S. Bach as claimed by Novello and Wesley, stating that Burney was ‘distressed’ by the claim, having been long acquainted with Bach’s music and appreciative of his genius.⁷⁰ Burney’s descriptive language was of the eighteenth-century and Johnson’s *Dictionary* shows this to be the case: the definition of ‘gothic’ is ‘in the manner of the goths, antique;’ ‘barbarous’ in the context of the arts is defined as ‘unacquainted with the arts.’ Burney, the modernist, favoured contemporary compositional practices in contemporary compositions, but did not rule out polyphony entirely; Lonsdale states that Burney recommended ‘the composition of complex canons [...] as a distraction from pain or sorrow.’⁷¹ Some of his own canonic compositions were published by A.F.C. Kollman in a collection in 1799.⁷²

The representation of old and new in the two generations of the Bach family has been observed by Burney, favouring the new style of C. P. E. Bach (1714–1788), and cited above. For exceptional originality he commends ‘Eman. Bach’s second set of sonatas printed by Walsh.’⁷³ Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782) lived in London from 1762 on, and was prominent in London musical life as a composer of instrumental works and opera; and as a performer and concert impresario. Burney credits him with being ‘the first composer to observe the laws of *contrast* as a *principle*.’⁷⁴ Another aspect of J. C. Bach’s originality which Burney appreciated has been identified by Rumbold in her study of his adaptations of J. C. Bach’s overtures for the harpsichord repertoire of Queeney Thrale: ‘his development of what would later be called “sonata form.”’⁷⁵

Of the two younger Bach generation whose music Hawkins would have known, he just mentions—in a list of the four Bach musician sons of J. S. Bach and their professions—C. P. E. Bach as a son of J. S. Bach and organist and music-director at Hamburg; Hawkins records of J. C. Bach, ‘now in London, who has furnished some of

⁶⁹ Rumbold, ‘Music Aspires to Letters,’ 26.

⁷⁰ Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 194–96.

⁷¹ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 388.

⁷² Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 195.

⁷³ Burney, *GH* 2, 812.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 866.

⁷⁵ Rumbold, ‘Music Aspires to Letters,’ 26.

the anecdotes [given]; [...] and in his profession [he] has the honour to receive the commands of our amiable queen.’⁷⁶ The absence of information from Hawkins on the works of two prominent contemporary musicians of a remarkable musical lineage suggests Hawkins’s bias against or lack of interest in innovation.

4.3 Instrumental music

The views of Burney and Hawkins on instrumental music were dictated by their positions on the old/new music divide. Burney, having moved on from the preferences of his youth, stated:

Indeed music, considered abstractedly, without the assistance, or rather the shackles of speech, and abandoned to its own powers, is now become a rich, expressive, and picturesque language in itself; having its forms, proportions, contrasts, punctuations, members, phrases, and periods.⁷⁷

The above succinctly summarises the characteristics of the instrumental forms of the eighteenth century *galant* style which Burney favoured. To Hawkins’s ears it was not pleasing: ‘Of the instrumental music of the present day, notwithstanding the learning and abilities of many composers, the characteristics of it are noise without harmony.’⁷⁸ For Hawkins, ‘harmony’ meant polyphonic composition which he held to be superior to monodic writing. Burney, in his travels, had expressed great excitement on experiencing first-hand the developments in orchestral music at Mannheim; he conveyed this in his *German Tour*, and again in his *History*. He observed that ‘by the fire and genius of Stamitz (1715–1757), [symphonies] were exalted into a new species of composition,’ frowned upon by ‘those who wish to keep Music stationary,’ among whom was Avison; Burney was emphatic in his approval of ‘the new effects produced by contrast and the use of *crescendo* and *diminuendo*,’ and believed these effects in their originality

had been of more service to instrumental Music in a few years than all the dull and servile imitations of Corelli, Geminiani, and Handel, had been in half a century.⁷⁹

In his *German Tour* (1775), he had already reported regarding Mannheim, that ‘it was here that the *Crescendo* and *Diminuendo* had birth, and the *Piano*, [...] as well as the *Forte* were found to be musical colours which had their shades.’⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 853.

⁷⁷ Burney, *GH* 1, 527.

⁷⁸ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xli.

⁷⁹ Burney, *GH* 2, 945.

⁸⁰ Burney, *Tour* 2, vol. 1, 96.

Knowledge of the Mannheim developments in instrumental music was not confined to those who, like Burney, travelled there. Grant states that in the 1750s, ‘the music of the Mannheim symphonists became known’ in England; and notes that the publisher ‘Walsh [...] released Johann Stamitz's *VI Sinfonies or Overtures in Eight Parts* in 1765,’ and ‘more modern German and Italian music was available from other publishers,’ also ‘in manuscript copies brought to England by immigrants.’⁸¹ With such availability of printed music, Hawkins was in a position to make an informed decision in his rejection of the new style of writing in instrumental music.

In the category of ‘noise without harmony’, alongside symphonies Hawkins places ‘Periodical Overtures, Quartettos, Quintettos and the rest of the trash daily obtruded on the world.’⁸² What was noise to Hawkins was something to be celebrated by Burney. In Vienna, he had an ‘opportunity of hearing some of Haydn’s quartets, performed ‘with the utmost precision and perfection.’⁸³ He reported that

the symphonies and quartets of Hofman, Haydn, Ditters, van Hall and Huber are perhaps among the first full pieces, and compositions for violins, that have ever been produced.⁸⁴

Solos for the violin Hawkins held to be ‘an elegant species of composition, as is evident in those excellent ones of Corelli and Geminiani’ (the ‘Divinities’ of Burney’s youth) but excellence in this field stopped there:

But of all the abuses of instrumental performance, none is more injurious to music than the practice of single instruments exemplified in solos and solo concertos, originally intended for private recreation, but which are now considered as an essential part of a musical entertainment. Melody is ever more pleasing to an unlearned ear than the harmony of different parts.⁸⁵

In this type of composition Hawkins was again offended by what he saw as the abandonment of contrapuntal writing, which he referred to as ‘harmony.’ The prominence of the soloist in concertos did not meet with Hawkins’s approval, nor did music which demanded extreme virtuosity: ‘The sole end of them is to display the powers of the execution in prejudice to those talents which are an artist’s greatest praise.’⁸⁶ The music of Vivaldi (1678–1741), though no longer new, earns criticism from Hawkins in that regard: ‘the peculiar characteristic of Vivaldi’s music, speaking of his concertos [...] is

⁸¹ Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 211–12.

⁸² Hawkins, *GH* 1, xli +.

⁸³ Burney, *Tour 2*, vol. 1, 258.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 369.

⁸⁵ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xli.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* xli +.

that it is wild and irregular [...],’ ‘notes [...] are frittered into such minute divisions as in the author’s time few but himself could express on any instrument whatsoever.’⁸⁷ For Hawkins, such performance was unlikely to find a place in the ‘private recreation’ of a gentleman. In this sphere ‘powers of execution’ were not expected to be to the fore.

4.4 Music: art or science?

Music is an innocent luxury, unnecessary, indeed, to our existence, but a great improvement and gratification of the sense of hearing.⁸⁸

Burney presented the above definition of music following the preface to his *History*. That man’s engagement with music should become a concern for reflection is consistent with Enlightenment ideology. A fundamental issue that Burney and Hawkins felt the need to address was music’s place in learning and in society: was music to be defined as art or science? The argument was not new: in the fourth century BCE Aristoxenus and the Pythagoreans debated ‘whether music is for the ear or for the reason as a science of numbers.’⁸⁹ Casella comments that in the eighteenth century, the concept of music changed from that of science to art,⁹⁰ and indeed Burney and Hawkins represent a dichotomy in their differing viewpoints regarding its definition.

Eighteenth-century attitudes to music were influenced by the ideology governing the arts in general. Seventeenth-century discoveries in the field of science had repercussions for the way in which the arts were subsequently perceived. Scientific analysis and precise procedures of categorisation were applied to the visual arts, poetry and music. The emphasis on logic—a priority which emerged in the humanist philosophy of the Renaissance and continued to be a driving-force in the Enlightenment—and the ensuing importance of rational enquiry and scientific categorisation, had a profound influence on the perception and practice of the arts. The clarity, precision and objectivity with which the mathematical sciences could be seen to demonstrate their laws and procedures were not so easily found in the arts, unless Reason was overtly invoked and a rational system devised, applied, and universally understood. The comparative subjectivity of the arts left them under some suspicion and at risk of being denied

⁸⁷ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 837.

⁸⁸ Burney, *GH* 1, 21.

⁸⁹ Allen, *Philosophies of Music History*, 9.

⁹⁰ Casella, ‘Charles Burney the Pedagogue,’ 8.

intellectual respectability.⁹¹ Consciousness of this shadow can be traced in writings on music, in a perceived necessity to provide an apology for the art itself by underlining its rational nature, as is evident in the introductions to the *Histories* of Burney and Hawkins.

Based on the principle that art derived its excellence from its capacity to imitate nature, conventions evolved governing the representation of human feelings, (variously referred to as ‘passions,’ ‘affections’ or ‘affects’ in Baroque writings) in all of the arts, producing a logical system which satisfied the appeal to reason in its precise codification of the representation of the passions—which were ‘traditionally subordinate to Reason and unpredictable in their behaviour.’⁹² This concept became known as the ‘Doctrine of the Affections,’ *Affektenlehre*; its application in any art involved the skill of pathetic expression by means of observing accepted norms of appropriateness and decorum.⁹³

During the seventeenth century, the artists of the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture devised a precise code of representation for painting; by 1753, the illustrated handbook of Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), art theorist and official painter to Louis XIV, could be referred to by Hogarth as “‘the common drawing-book of Le Brun,” something that every student knew.’⁹⁴ A corresponding set of norms was developed to govern dramatic art; these can be found in eighteenth-century writings on stage craft.⁹⁵ David Garrick was acclaimed as the arch practitioner of this art, one to whom ‘the passions and all their operations were his constant study.’⁹⁶

While the literary arts had at their disposal a vocabulary of words with already assigned precise meanings, poetry—an inherently stylized and concise form of literary expression—lent itself to the prevailing aesthetic of expressing the passions, in a very particular way. The anonymous *Thesaurus Dramaticus* (1724) presented a collection of ‘Poetical Beauties in the Body of English Plays [...] Digested under Proper Topics;’ included among the ‘topics’ are the passions.⁹⁷

⁹¹ See Brewster Rogerson, ‘The Art of Painting the Passions,’ *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14 (Jan. 1953): 68–94 (70–71).

⁹² *Ibid.*, 71.

⁹³ See Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era, from Monteverdi to Bach* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1947), 5.

⁹⁴ Rogerson, ‘The Art of Painting the Passions,’ 71.

⁹⁵ Thomas Betterton, *The History of the English Stage* (London, 1741); Aaron Hill, *The Art of Acting, deriving Rules from a Principle for touching the Passions in a Natural Manner*, part I (London, 1746); Thomas Wilkes, *General View of the Stage* (London, 1759); Colley Cibber, *An Apology for his Life* (London, 1740): all cited in Rogerson, ‘The Art of Painting the Passions.’

⁹⁶ Rogerson, ‘The Art of Painting the Passions,’ citing Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick, Esq.* (London, 1801), II, 178–79.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 89 ff.

By comparison with the possibility of understandable pictorial representation of ideas in the plastic arts, and the capacity for precise verbal expression of meaning in the literary arts, music's limited mimetic potential—even argued by some to be non-existent—made it all the more necessary to establish a semantic code for musical expression. Roger North outlined the difficulties and music's potential to overcome them:

Now our composer wants intirely the helps a painter hath, being furnisht only with sound and time. But yet with these he is enabled to shew characters as the painter doth, and to make his measures and harmony to resemble thoughtyness of others so much that by a reciprocation of effects, be it serious, executive, grave, in haste, or merry, ...⁹⁸

The Doctrine of the Affections as applied to music was closely allied to the setting of words to music. The words conveyed their own meaning; this capacity was to be further enhanced by the perceived fitness of the text-setting. By its association with poetry and the governing rules of that art, music acquired extra-musical connotations, and purely instrumental music could be subjected to the same aesthetic principles. The codification of these laws was undertaken with varying degrees of exactitude, from the *Dissertatio epistolica de musicae natura* (1637) of the Dutch composer, Jan Albert Ban (1597–1644) 'who had a musical figure for every nuance of passion,' to the writings of the German composer and theorist, Johann Mattheson (1681–1764) who dealt with the more general and allowed for the judgement of the composer.⁹⁹ Another German theorist, Heinichen (1683–1729), in stressing the importance of the affect in music, observed:

How delighted is our ear, if we perceive [...] how a skilled composer has attempted here and there to move the emotions of an audience through his refined and text-related musical expression, and in this way successfully finds the true purpose of music.¹⁰⁰

In a 'chapter which connects the natural philosophy of sound with the doctrine of the affects,'¹⁰¹ Mattheson deplores the fact that

most books on music make a great fuss about numbers, measures and weights [...] [and] [...] hardly a word is said about [...] sound and about the very substantial physiological aspect of this science. Instead it is passed over quickly, as if it meant little or nothing.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Roger North on Music: *Being a Selection from his Essays Written during the Years c. 1695–1728, Transcribed from the Manuscripts*, John Wilson (ed.) (London: Novello, 1959), 116.

⁹⁹ Jan Albert Ban, *Dissertatio epistolica de musicae natura* (Leyden, 1637); and Mattheson, *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713) in Rogerson, 'The Art of Painting the Passions,' 82–83.

¹⁰⁰ Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden, 1728), cited by George J. Buelow in 'The "Locī Topici" and Affect in late Baroque Music: Heinichen's Practical Demonstration,' *The Music Review* 27 (1966): 161–76 (161).

¹⁰¹ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), in Fubini, *Music and Culture*, 284.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 277.

Mattheson considered this aspect of the science of sound to be ‘the noblest and most important of all, [as] it investigates the effects of well-ordered sounds on the emotions and passions of the soul;’ Descartes’s writings on the theory of temperaments and dispositions he holds to be of importance, as this theory ‘teaches how to differentiate the feelings of the listeners and the effects of the sounding phenomena upon them.’¹⁰³ Mattheson does not deny the usefulness of a knowledge of the mathematical aspects of music, but puts these aspects of the art in perspective as ‘merely assistants and necessary helpers on the art of harmonic measurement, with whose assistance the external appearance and size of intervals may be examined and comprehended.’¹⁰⁴ A discussion of the internal aspects or affects of music Mattheson considered to be

A matter of no little utility, which appears to be more indispensable to a practical musician than a theorist, even though it is concerned primarily with pure contemplation.¹⁰⁵

There are close links between the Doctrine of the Affections and classical principles of rhetoric. Through the revival of classical learning in the Renaissance, there developed a renewed interest in the skills of rhetoric and oratory. The quality of oratory was determined by its affectiveness, for which it relied on the discipline of rhetoric, which was organized as one of the seven liberal arts, belonging, with grammar and logic, to the humanistic *trivium* ‘or threefold way to eloquence.’¹⁰⁶ This art, which involved eloquent and persuasive elocution was long established as central to educational curricula.

Logic and rhetoric [...] are the gravest of sciences, being the arts of art; the one for judgement, the other for ornament: and they be the rules and directions how to set forth and dispose matter.¹⁰⁷

The process of presenting and developing an argument was subjected to rational analysis and codification. Rhetorical procedures and vocabulary were applied to music. In the early part of the eighteenth century Roger North explained:

There are authors of gramer, shewing how to put words together, and of rhetoric, how to enforce and adorne them [...] But as in oratory there are certein formes and modes of speech so in musick there are certein passages, which are promiscuously assumed by the masters, and that I have termed comon places of ayre, these will be very observable in consorts, and out of them a beginner must make his collections, for he cannot invent, but must gather them.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Mattheson, in Fubini, *Music and Culture*, 279.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 277.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 279.

¹⁰⁶ Hawkins, *GH* 1, 117 *.

¹⁰⁷ Bacon, *Learning*, 67.

¹⁰⁸ Roger North, *Musical Grammarian*, Chan and Kassler (eds.), 196.

Later in the century Hawkins echoes North's views when he refers to rhetoric in music, outlining

those powers which are chiefly exercised in practical composition: the art of invention is made one of the heads among the precepts of rhetoric, to which music in this and sundry instances bears a near resemblance; the end of persuasion or affecting the passions being common to both. This faculty consists in the enumeration of common places, which are resolved over in the mind, and requires both an ample knowledge in the subject upon which it is exercised, and a power of applying that knowledge as occasions may require.¹⁰⁹

Its own understood code of 'common places' of meaning in compositional systems ascribed to music expressive and affective powers of its own. Hawkins asserts:

As the powers of music and poetry are thus different, it necessarily follows that they may exist independent of each other.¹¹⁰

With the application of the logical procedures of rhetoric, music without the semantic assistance of text was enabled to explore and develop its own logic. The majority of theorists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries propounded the concept of the association of musical composition with rhetoric.¹¹¹ This rationale had important consequences in the development of purely instrumental forms. Leonard G. Ratner analyses in detail—with reference to all the elements of composition—the application of rhetoric to music in the forms of the Classical style.¹¹²

Regarding the designation of music as a science, the mathematician and physicist Joseph Saveur (1653–1716) contributed with his observation of the phenomena of harmonics. His theory of acoustics is contained in *Principes d'Acoustique et de Musique* (Paris, 1701). The composer and music theorist Rameau (1683–1764) held that 'music is the science of sounds,' and went on to demonstrate that melody is derived from harmony, which is based on the rules of arithmetic. He believed that 'it is certain that harmony can stir different passions in us, according to the chords used.'¹¹³

In accordance with Enlightenment philosophy, the writing of a history of music had to be justified by its appeal to reason; for Hawkins, the designation of music as a science would ensure this. He consistently refers to music as a science; in the rhetorical capacity of music he perceived a systematic order that confirmed this designation. In the dedication

¹⁰⁹ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xxx–xxx1.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, xxvii.

¹¹¹ Buelow, 'The "Loci Topici" and Affect,' 161.

¹¹² Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music, Expression, Form and Style* (New York, NY: G. Schirmer, 1980), Part II.

¹¹³ Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony* (1722), in Fubini, *Music and Culture*, 135, 138.

of Burney's history, reference is made to 'the science of musical sounds.'¹¹⁴ However, there is a great difference in their definitions of music evident in the declarations of the two historians. Hawkins set out 'to demonstrate that [music's] principles are founded in certain general and universal laws,' going so far as to assert that 'its principles are founded in the very frame and constitution of the universe, and are as clearly demonstrable as mathematical truth and certainty can render them.'¹¹⁵ He proposes

An investigation of the principles, and a deduction of the progress of a science, which, though intimately connected with civil life, has scarce ever been so well understood by the generality to be thought a fit subject for sober [...] discussion.¹¹⁶

Burney placed music firmly in the realm of entertainment, as 'the art which unites corporal with intellectual pleasure,' 'a species of enjoyment which gratifies sense, without weakening reason;'¹¹⁷ the intellectual and scientific aspect of music is further down-played when Burney declares the art to be 'at best, but an amusement.'¹¹⁸ While Hawkins does not disregard the entertainment aspect of music, he very clearly prioritises its scientific nature when he 'sets out to reprobate the vulgar notion that [music's] ultimate end is merely to excite mirth.'¹¹⁹ In this, his goal was the redressing of a perceived imbalance, as a result of which music had 'in general engaged the faculty of Taste rather than reason;' the reader was to 'expect the history of a science [...] ranked among the [...] liberal [...] arts.'¹²⁰ The title of his work: *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* left no doubt of that.

Burney had a serious interest in scientific subjects; he celebrated the work of scientists in his writings on scientific subjects (ch 3.2). However, he did not place music in the category of science. Yet, he was well aware of the study of music as a science, and makes clear his respect for its investigators. Speaking of the seventeenth century, he notes that

Philosophy and science, during this century seem to have interested themselves, and lent their aid in the refinement and melioration of musical sound, more than at any other period. Sir Francis Bacon, Kepler, Galileo, Mersennus, Des Cartes, Kircher, and, after the establishment of the Royal Society in London, lord Keeper North, lord Brouncker, Narcissus, bishop of Ferns, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Holder and Sir

¹¹⁴ Burney, *GH* 1, 9.

¹¹⁵ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xix; xxxvii.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, xix.

¹¹⁷ Burney, *GH* 1, 9.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹¹⁹ Hawkins, *GH* 1, xix.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

Isaac Newton, have all thought harmony and the philosophy of sound objects worth of their most profound meditations and researches.¹²¹

However, he decided ‘this is not the place to specify the particular subjects in harmonics to which these illustrious mathematicians pointed their enquiries, or to describe their success and its effects.’¹²² For Burney, an extensive investigation into writings on the physics of music didn’t merit a place in his *History*. Hawkins gives much space to Kircher’s *Musurgia*, whereas Burney merely states that ‘it contains much curious and useful information for such as know how to sift truth from error, and usefulness from futility.’¹²³ Burney draws the reader’s attention to ‘an ingenious tract, in quarto, 1677, written by lord Keeper North, entitled ‘A Philosophical Essay of Musick, directed to a Friend,’ and though he points out its errors, he acknowledges that ‘the experiments and conjectures must be allowed to have considerable merit.’¹²⁴ His summing-up of the work contains the key to the place of such research in his order of priorities.

[It] conveys a clear idea to the eye, of what the ratio of sounds, in numbers, only communicates to the intellect. These coincidences, upon which the degree of perfection of concords depend, being too rapid for the sense of hearing to enable us to count, are here delineated in such a manner as explains the doctrine of vibrations even to a person that is deaf.¹²⁵

At the core of Burney’s concept of music was its sensory appeal, and the sense in question was that of hearing. As early as 1714, an article in the gazette and literary magazine *Mercure de France* had dictated that all that the art of music required was ‘taste and feeling.’¹²⁶ Burney’s aesthetic accorded with this.

As befits the title chosen for his *History*, Hawkins considers the science of sound of such importance that he discusses at length the tract of North to which Burney gives little space.¹²⁷ Further evidence of study in this sphere is given from ‘The Theory of Music reduced to arithmetical and geometrical proportions by Thomas Salmon.’¹²⁸

Burney seeks to remove music from the realm of pure science, placing it very firmly within the sense experience of ordinary individuals who lacked specialised knowledge:

But if music does no honour to the sciences at present, it is little indebted to them for the distinction of being admitted into their company during so many ages, as ignorant artists of talents and sensibility have perhaps contributed more to her

¹²¹ Burney, *GH 2*, 372.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 373.

¹²³ Hawkins, *GH 2*, 635–42; Burney, *GH 2*, 458.

¹²⁴ Burney, *GH 2*, 372–73.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 373.

¹²⁶ Fubini, *Aesthetics*, 201–2.

¹²⁷ Hawkins, *GH 2*, 719–22.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 724–25.

perfection that all the sublime reveries and profound calculation of men of science.¹²⁹

It might seem perverse that Burney, the professional musician, should appear to trivialise the subject of his life's work as performer, teacher, composer and recorder of its history. Yet, it was as an 'innocent luxury' that music was experienced and enjoyed by many of his client families and patrons, not all of whom were musically able or receptive. In his *Memoirs*, he mentions a pupil 'L^y Mary [...] who had very little application or love for music [...] and her sister, L^y Priscilla [...] who had still less application and disposition.'¹³⁰ The patronage and enjoyment of music by families who considered it a desirable luxury was consistent with Enlightenment thinking and essential to Burney as his means of livelihood.

For Burney, the rhetorical capacity of music was for communication rather than contemplation. His endorsement of instrumental music, (chapter 4.3.), is also a recognition of the particular rhetorical capacity of the *galant* style. Its affective power was driven by its audibly discernible rhetoric and was a powerful means of communication with an audience not necessarily learned. Consistent with his view of music as entertainment, Burney expresses a strong opinion with regard to the concept of the affective power of music:

Music had now quitted that tranquil and unimpassioned state in which it was left by Corelli; it was no longer regarded as a mere soother of affliction, or incitement to hilarity; it could now paint the passions in all their various attitudes; and those tones which said nothing intelligible to the heart, began to be thought as insipid as those of 'sounding brass or tinkling cymbals.'¹³¹

4.5 Opera

It was in relation to Italian Opera in England that Burney expressed the view contained in the preceding quotation. He also reports that when Thomas Clayton introduced 'the Italian manner of Musick on the English stage' in 1706, he announced that 'the style of this Musick is to express the passions, which is the soul of Musick,' and Burney seems to support this idea.¹³²

For Burney, opera was the ultimate entertainment, 'the *completest concert*,' comprising 'the most perfect singing, and effects of a powerful and well-disciplined band

¹²⁹ Burney, *GH* 1, 680.

¹³⁰ Burney, *Memoirs*, frag. 112, 173.

¹³¹ Burney, *GH* 2, 747.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 655.

[...] excellent acting, splendid scenes and decorations [...] and dancing.¹³³ In contrast, Hawkins acknowledged that ‘the present great source of musical delight throughout Europe, is the opera;’ but

it may suffice to say of the modern opera, that by the sober and judicious part of mankind it has ever been considered as the mere offspring of luxury [...] It is of all entertainments the most unnatural and absurd.¹³⁴

In this he was in accord with Samuel Johnson, who regarded opera as ‘an exotick and irrational entertainment which has been always combated and always has prevailed:’ *Life of John Hughes* (1781).¹³⁵

For Burney, eighteenth-century Italian Opera was far from irrational. On the contrary, he acknowledges music’s rhetorical capacity, which he perceived to have developed in late seventeenth-century opera:

Music [...] had soon a language, expression and images of its own, wholly independent of poetry. Harmony even began to speak in the symphonies, without the assistance of words, and frequently sentiments were produced by the orchestra equally forcible with those of the vocal performers.¹³⁶

From 1745 on, when he first went to live in London, Burney was a regular opera-goer, and risked the streets in the aftermath of violent rioting close to his home rather than miss a performance, ‘one of the few who ventured to go to the opera’ on that occasion.¹³⁷ Regarding Hawkins and the opera, Burney claimed that Hawkins ‘confessed to me that he had not been to an opera these 20 years.’¹³⁸ So great was its importance to Burney that he allocated more space to the genre than to any other topic in his *History*: 286 pages on opera in the eighteenth century, with 253 of them given to Italian Opera in England. He outdoes Hawkins in the level of detail he provides on the subject. Hawkins also covers the topic, but not at such great length or in such detail. Zottos states that Burney and Hawkins were among the few qualified to comment critically on opera, by comparison with previous critics who were ‘men of letters’ lacking musical knowledge.¹³⁹

The theatre at The Haymarket, with a royal patent, was ‘the main venue for Italian opera in London since 1708;’ and ‘for a time the most prestigious [opera] house in

¹³³ Burney, *GH 2*, 676.

¹³⁴ Hawkins, *GH 1*, xxxviii–xxxix.

¹³⁵ Cited by Peter Kivy, *Osmin’s Rage: Philosophical Reflections on Opera, Drama and Text* (Cornell University Press, 1999), 137.

¹³⁶ Burney, *GH 2*, 555.

¹³⁷ Burney, *Letters*, Charles Burney to Thomas Twining, 11 June 1780, regarding the Gordon riots, 306.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹³⁹ Ion Paul Eustace Zottos, ‘Completest Concert or Augustan Critics of Opera: A Documentary and Critical Study in English Aesthetics’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 322.

Europe, [and] a magnet for the finest singers and composers of the age.¹⁴⁰ That opera was popular in mid-eighteenth-century London is indicated by Horace Walpole in a letter to Horace Mann, 28 January, 1754: ‘there are no less than five operas every week.’¹⁴¹ At times there were opposing opera companies performing, in a climate of intense and sometimes unscrupulous rivalry, as is indicated by Curtis Price in ‘Italian Opera and Arson.’

Grant states that Burney’s chapter on Italian opera in England ‘is as much a history of the virtuoso singer as it is of the development of musical style.’¹⁴² In a year-by-year, performance-by-performance account from the early part of the eighteenth century, Burney shows this to be the case; he gives much space to the singers, with some mention of composers and managers; and the merits of the music. In an indication of the established popularity of Italian virtuosi, he records that on 1 June 1703, a ‘theatrical advertisement announced that “Signora Francesca Margarita de l’Epine will sing, [...] positively the last time [...] during her stay in England;”’ however, she continued to sing ‘more *last*, and *positively last times* during the whole month,’ but remained in England until her death (1746).¹⁴³ A note in Burney’s *History* records that in 1703, de l’Epine’s sister, singer ‘signora Maria Gallia, [...] for one season of nine months [...] received the then large sum of £700.’¹⁴⁴ When the acclaimed Italian castrato Nicolini—‘the first truly great singer who had ever sung in our theatre’—arrived in London in 1708, the opera prices were raised.¹⁴⁵ ‘At the height of her fame, [Mrs. Anastasia Robinson] received £1,000 and a benefit concert, for the season. [...] She left the stage in 1724.’¹⁴⁶

Hawkins records that when the renowned castrato, Farinelli, was in London in the mid 1730s, his annual income was estimated at £5,000 a year; the least part of this sum was his salary, the rest, gifts from admirers whose ‘bounty was prodigality, and their applause adoration.’¹⁴⁷ Hawkins goes on to relate:

That unmanly propensity in persons of high rank to promote and encourage this last refinement of modern luxury which they manifested in these and various other instances, was loudly complained of as derogating from the national character.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁰ Curtis Price, ‘Italian Opera and Arson in Late Eighteenth-Century London,’ *JAMS* 42/1 (1989): 55–107 (56, 55).

¹⁴¹ Burney, *GH* 2, 852, note *.

¹⁴² Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 274.

¹⁴³ Burney, *GH* 2, 653.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 653, note *.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 662.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 689, note ***.

¹⁴⁷ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 877.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Hawkins appears to be adding his own voice to this reported public criticism when he says ‘indeed it was ridiculous to see a whole people in such a state of fascination as they were at this time.’¹⁴⁹ It seems vocal virtuosity was as offensive to Hawkins as the instrumental variety. It was not so with Burney. In November 1764, he queued for two hours to hear Manzoli, whose voice was ‘the most powerful and voluminous soprano that had been heard since Farinelli;’ and believed that ‘every composer now in London was ambitious of writing for such a performer.’¹⁵⁰

For all that Burney believed that music had its own capacity for eloquence, he records the growing dominance of the eloquence and persuasive powers of the virtuoso singer. Referring to the practice at the time of singers performing, some in Italian and some in English in the same opera, Burney held that it seemed ‘to have been tolerated with great good nature by the public; who, in Music, as well as words, seemed to care much less about *what* was sung, than *how* it was sung.’¹⁵¹ He repeats the opinion:

Nothing but the miraculous powers in the performers can long support an opera, be the composition ever so excellent. [...] If the performer is of the first class, and very miraculous and enchanting, an audience seems to care little about Music or the poetry.¹⁵²

He even entertains the idea that one could be ‘delighted with the performance of a great singer in spite of bad Music;’ but held that ‘the best apologies for the absurdities of an Italian opera in a country where the language is little understood, are good Music and exquisite singing.’¹⁵³ He somewhat contradicts himself when he says ‘other parts of the Music were sufficiently good to support bad singing,’ referring to Galuppi’s *Il filosofo di campagna* (1761).¹⁵⁴ The popularity of the singer with the audience carried great weight, to the extent that ‘no Music can support an opera without great and favourite singers.’¹⁵⁵ The approval of the audience had to be considered, and hinged very much on the performance of the singer: ‘Indeed, nothing but a fine voice and uncommon powers of execution are sure of general applause; while original genius, taste, feeling, and refinement, are often friendless and unnoticed.’¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 877.

¹⁵⁰ Burney, *GH* 2, 868.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 663.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 684.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 797; 846.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 860.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 847.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 887.

One of the absurdities of the time was the *pasticcio* opera, the practice of which the critical voice of Hawkins describes as ‘to furnish out operas by collections from various Italian masters, and torturing music to a sense that it was never intended to bear;’ however, he acknowledged that ‘it must be confessed that, as musical compositions, such of the operas as were compiled from the works of Italian masters had great merit.’¹⁵⁷ By contrast to the *pasticcio* Hawkins notes the novelty of an entire opera with music by one composer when he refers to the recorded favourable reception of Handel’s *Rinaldo* (1711).¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the practice of the *pasticcio* continued, unquestioned. In October 1741 ‘the new singers, as usual, were allowed to display their abilities in songs of their own chusing [the work of six composers], which were interwoven by the new composer, Galuppi, in a *pasticcio* called *Alexander in Persia*.’¹⁵⁹

Operas were composed with specific singers in mind. ‘Handel was always remarkably judicious in writing to the taste and talents of his performers; in displaying excellence and covering imperfections.’¹⁶⁰ ‘Almost every great singer unites himself in interest and friendship with some particular composer, who writes to his peculiar compass of voice, talents, and style of singing.’¹⁶¹ Burney records in 1762 that Jomelli’s *Attilia Regolo* ‘had been produced in Italy chiefly to display the extent of voice, and powers of expression of Elisi.’¹⁶² In November 1773, in the opera *Lucio Vero* by Sacchini: ‘Miss Cecilia Davies [...] sung several very agreeable airs composed on purpose for the display of her neat and rapid execution, admirably.’¹⁶³ Hawkins illustrates the cult of the celebrity by printing their portraits.

As Burney did not arrive in London until 1745, Grant holds that his opinion on the calibre of performers before that time is based on the divisions written for them,¹⁶⁴ that were of varying degrees of technical demand; Burney confirms this. Of the singer Mrs. Tofts, Burney tells that ‘with respect to her execution, [...] we are still enabled to judge by the printed copies of her songs;’ he gives musical examples of ‘Divisions in the first Operas performed in England’ by various singers in the early part of the century, including Mrs. Tofts; ‘Divisions in Nicolini’s songs, and in those of his Cotemporaries

¹⁵⁷ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 815.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 814.

¹⁵⁹ Burney, *GH* 2, 838.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 803.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 889.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 862.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 879.

¹⁶⁴ Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 234. The same would be true of Hawkins, if he gave up attending the opera.

and immediate Successors;’ and prints in full an aria for the singer Senesino in Ariosto’s *Vespasiano* (1721) as ‘an exhibition of all the furbelows, flounces, and vocal fopperies of the times;’ ‘Divisions in the songs which Farinelli performed during his residence in England’ fill almost seven pages of Burney’s *History*; ‘Vocal Divisions and refinements in Dramatic Music from 1740 to 1755’ are included.¹⁶⁵ Burney gives details of all the virtuosi and cites Quantz on the extraordinary abilities of the soprano Cuzzoni and the mezzo-soprano Faustina whom he had heard in London in Handel’s *Admetus* (1727).¹⁶⁶

So much did those two singers dominate the opera that the rival factions of their followers were capable of disruptive behaviour during a performance. Burney gives Quantz’s record of his experience in 1727:

The violence of party for the two singers Cuzzoni and Faustina was so great that when the admirers of one began to applaud, those of the other were sure to hiss; on which account operas ceased for some time in London.¹⁶⁷

According to Hawkins, so intense was the rivalry that ‘the two signoras fought;’ with due consideration, ‘the songs which Mr. Handel gave [Cuzzoni] were composed with the utmost solicitude to display her talents to advantage,’ and ‘he was not less solicitous to display those of Faustina.’¹⁶⁸

The absurdities of Italian opera as performed in London at the time, recorded in great detail by Burney and also by Hawkins, make a strong case for the reforms brought about by Gluck. In his preface to the opera *Alceste* (1769), Gluck reveals:

I determined to strip it completely of all those abuses, whether introduced by the mistaken vanity of the singers, or by the excessive obligingness of the composers, that have long been disfiguring Italian opera. [...] I determined to restrict music to its true function, namely to enhance poetry in terms of expression and the situation it relates, without interrupting the action or numbing it with the useless and superfluous ornaments.¹⁶⁹

Yet, when Gluck’s *Orfeo* was performed in London, it did not escape the customary interpolations. In his account of the virtuoso counter-tenor Guadagni, Burney mentions *Orfeo* as one of the operas in which he performed in London April 1770. Burney’s account is taken up with how well Guadagni acquitted himself in performance, but in a note he expresses dissatisfaction with the fact that

¹⁶⁵ Burney, *GH* 2, 668–69; 710–11; 726–27; 831–38; 850–51.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 745–46.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 746.

¹⁶⁸ Hawkins, *GH* 2, 873.

¹⁶⁹ Ranieri de’ Calzabigi and Christoph Willibald Gluck, Preface to *Alceste* (1769), in Fubini, *Music and Culture*, 364.

The unity, simplicity, and dramatic excellence of this opera, which had gained the composer so much credit on the Continent, were greatly diminished here by the heterogeneous mixture of Music, of other composers, in a quite different style [...]. A drama, which at Vienna was rendered so interesting as almost to make the audience think more of the poet than musician, in England had the fate of all other dramas, which are pronounced good or bad in proportion to the talents and favour of the singers.¹⁷⁰

Burney prints in another note an explanatory ‘notice which appeared in the programme for this production,’ justifying the interpolations:

The Music as originally composed by signor Gluch, to which, in order to make the Performance of a necessary length for an evening’s entertainment, Signor Bach has very kindly condescended to add of his own new composition all such choruses, airs, and recitatives as are marked with inverted commas, except those which are sung by Signora *Gugliemi*, and they are likewise an entire new production of Signor Gugliemi, her husband. The Poetry is from signor Calzabigi, with additions by G. C. Bottarelli of all that Messrs. *Bach* and *Gugliemi* have enriched this Performance by their Music.

Burney adds a note ‘J. C. Bach’s contribution to this production was 7 numbers.’¹⁷¹

Italian opera as performed in eighteenth-century London fitted Burney’s description ‘the completest concert’ in the sense of a musical performance of varied material in a dramatic setting. That it pleased the audience was of great importance; this was an audience whose influence was growing, as discussed in chapter 4.1.

¹⁷⁰ Burney, *GH* 2, 876–77; note (s).

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 877, note *.

Chapter 5

The reception of the histories

Grant claims that the publication of the two competing histories of Burney and Hawkins in 1776 ‘split English musical and literary circles into two factions.’¹ This is borne out by the early reception of the *Histories*, which bears the marks of the intense rivalry between Burney and Hawkins.

Side by side with the notice on 16 November 1776, advertising the imminent publication of Hawkins's *History* in its entirety of five volumes, appeared Burney's advertisement for his published *History*, volume one; whether by accident or design, these two advertisements appeared in adjacent columns of the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* of that date, and in their juxtaposition illustrate that rivalry, if unintentionally. Burney, writing to Twining, April 1773, understating the rivalry in his mind, declared that since reading Hawkins's note on music in his edition of *The Compleat Angler* (1760), he had ‘ever since regarded him in the Light of a Rival by no means formidable’ as

Modern Music & Musicians are likely to have little Quarter from such a writer, who besides his little knowledge in practice, delights so much in old musty conundrums that he will not give a hearing to anything better.²

In February 1776 Burney wrote to Twining reporting on the success of his subscription campaign and its pricing strategy:

People [...] are begging [...] to be admitted as subscribers. The fame of the work, & the additional half guinea in its price, work prodigiously [...] I want to tell you the reception of our book most minutely, but it would fill a volume as big as itself to do it.³

Privately expressed opinions on Burney's *History* were positive. Lord Mornington praised the ‘elegant and judicious Dissertation,’ Diderot and Rousseau, who had received copies from the author, approved, as did C. P. E. Bach.⁴

Though he had no grounds for anxiety regarding the sale of his *History* with the subscription list complete before publication, Burney had not left its reception by reviewers to chance. There is evidence in his letter to William Bewley, 30 January 1776, which reveals his thinly-veiled efforts to solicit a favourable review for his *History*, at the time of publication of the first volume.

¹ Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 282.

² Burney, *Letters*, 125.

³ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁴ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 181–83.

You, who will now view, & perhaps *review* [vol. 1 of *History*] [...] will be more able than me to judge of [its] vices, & Virtues, if [...] any; & to recommend [it] to y^r Friends & to the world in general, if you sh^d find [it] worth y^r notice; & Friendship to me apart, sh^d be able, without putting violence on y^r taste, Judgement, & sincerity, to say any good of [it]. [...] I wish my [*History*] may be honoured with y^r attention in an auspicious time, when y^r Fire burns well; When y^r Dinner has been well cooked & eaten; When a glass or two of good old Lynn Port has put you in humour wth Yourself & the world.⁵

Bewley and Burney had been friends since Burney's sojourn in King's Lynn, Norfolk in the 1750s, and Bewley did review the *History of Music* in the March and June issues of the *Monthly Review*; the reviewing was favourable, though most of it 'consists of generalised praise' and shows evidence of some prompting by Burney, as Bewley did not consider himself adequately qualified on the subject.⁶ Lonsdale points to the likelihood that Burney had also influenced Archibald Hamilton, the editor of the *Critical Review*, and the evidence he gives validates his opinion that the five unattributed articles published in this journal between February and June 1776 may have been written by Samuel Crisp through the connivance of Burney;⁷ Crisp, another friend of long standing, had been introduced to Burney by Fulke Greville in 1747. By 20 February Burney could report to Lord Mornington (who belatedly sought to subscribe) that 'but few Books of the Impression besides what are appropriated to the Subscribers remain for sale, & those are now in the Hands of the publishers.'⁸

The *History* was not the only publication of Burney's which he did not leave to chance in its reception. He had earlier sought a favourable mention for his *Italian Tour* from Samuel Crisp in the *Critical Review*; in his letter to Crisp, May 1771, he acknowledged 'I hardly knew what I wished of you in imposing upon you the Office of Critick for the Review. [...] Y^r Critique is full of Fire,' as Crisp had sent him a copy of his review before publication.⁹ Of Burney's *German Tour* Bewley printed a favourable, though 'restrained' review because of some ethical concerns.¹⁰

Hawkins's *History* was well-received initially on its publication on 23 November 1776. Davis claims that Hawkins 'astonished his contemporary [English antiquarians] with his erudition and his discernment.'¹¹ Hawkins's friend, Horace Walpole, who is said

⁵ Burney, *Letters*, 199.

⁶ Ribeiro (ed), Burney, *Letters*, note 4, 199; Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 177–78.

⁷ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 177–78.

⁸ Burney, *Letters*, 205.

⁹ *Ibid.*, and Ribeiro (ed), note 1, 88–9; note 13, 90–91.

¹⁰ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 121.

¹¹ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 129.

to have encouraged him in the writing of a history of music, recognized the *History*'s value in its antiquarian leanings when he wrote on 3 December: 'they are old books to all intents and purposes, very old books; and what is new is like old books [...] full of minute facts that delight antiquaries.'¹² Lonsdale states that 'the literary world as a whole was impressed by the scope and depth of the new *History of Music*, and merely amused by its disorderly method and its preference for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music;' and that Twining 'noted [...] [in a letter to Burney] that Hawkins had dealt more thoroughly with at least one aspect of Roman music than had Burney.'¹³ Opinion from Johnson is dated March 1782, when he acknowledged 'we do not often see anything either more delightful or with more riches.'¹⁴

As was the practice then immediately following publication, lengthy passages were reproduced in the newspapers, passages likely to be of interest to the general reader. Davis records that the *London Packet* 22–25 November reprinted at length Hawkins's anecdotes of Henry Purcell; Hawkins's account of Thomas Britton was reprinted in five newspapers, and at the end of the month in the *Oxford Magazine*.¹⁵ Davis also records reprinting of Hawkins's anecdotes of Handel and his account of the rivalry between the celebrity opera singers Cuzzoni and Faustina.¹⁶ With the antiquarians favourably impressed and with much to engage the general reader in the excerpts reprinted, all seemed to augur well for the reception and sale of Hawkins's *History*, and the December *Critical Review* gave further grounds for optimism when it claimed:

it may justly be presumed that the work which is now offered to the public, contains such multifarious and recondite information . . . , as hitherto has hardly ever been amassed in the most copious treatises on the subject, [...] [in an account] not more strongly authenticated than [Hawkins's] arguments are convincing and decisive.¹⁷

Davis and Lonsdale note, from evidence in a letter from William Bewley to Burney, that this review was 'particularly disappointing' to Burney, as it was not in accordance with the editor Hamilton's 'private declaration' to him.¹⁸

Burney's publication in January 1776 was of volume one of his *History*. As this was comprised of the dedication, preface, 'Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients' and an account of music up to that of the Romans—the part of the work likely to be of least

¹² Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 127.

¹³ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 208–9.

¹⁴ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 129.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 125–26.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 126

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 136; Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 209.

interest to a general readership—and the entire work of Hawkins included material which promptly proved to be of general interest, it is possible to see Burney’s anxiety regarding a negative comparison for his work. Though Burney had claimed to regard Hawkins as no formidable rival, he showed no scruple in the lengths to which he went in his efforts to influence public opinion against Hawkins’s work in order to secure favour for his own *History*, and consequently his reputation as the authoritative historian of music. He had yet to write the remainder of his *History*.

In a manner way beyond what might be seen as admissible professional rivalry, described by Davis as ‘certainly one of the shabbier episodes in the annals of English reviewing’ and amounting to ‘literary assassination,’¹⁹ a campaign to discredit Hawkins’s *History* by means of pseudonymous satirical articles began in the *Morning Post* 31 December and continued up to 18 February 1777. Davis and Lonsdale show, through a letter written by Garrick to Burney referring to the satire and hinting at knowledge of more to come, that Burney and Garrick were complicit in the attack, possibly with the help of a ghost writer furnished with notes by Burney.²⁰ Despite this, favourable mention of Hawkins’s *History* continued in periodicals. The January issue of the *Critical Review* commended Hawkins for ‘great industry in his researches,’ and for ‘arranging his materials in distinct order, illustrating them [...] with judicious observations.’²¹ Burney then contacted William Bewley, who had facilitated him previously in the matter of reviews of his own works, and prevailed upon him to publish anonymous damaging reviews of Hawkins’s *History* in the *Monthly Review*.²² With the help of Burney Bewley began in the February issue, castigating Hawkins for his views on ancient music, referring to the note in *The Compleat Angler*; on the opera; and on modern instrumental music; and continued in April, with a ‘sustained denunciation’ in the August issue.²³

Lonsdale comments on the style of Bewley’s anonymous reviewing as deviating from the fairly balanced norm by setting out to ‘prosecute’ the author and ‘argue a case against him;’ and states that even after the first two articles of his review, Bewley ‘had already succeeded in destroying Hawkins’s reputation.’²⁴ On the other hand, according to Davis, ‘whatever their impact elsewhere, Bewley’s first two articles left his fellow

¹⁹ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 146–47.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 134–38; Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 202–3.

²¹ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 138.

²² *Ibid.*, 138–39.

²³ *Ibid.*, 143; Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 209–10

²⁴ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 210, 212.

reviewers unconvinced,' and cites as evidence William Kenrick's defence of Hawkins's *History* in the *London Review* of April.²⁵ Davis's opinion is further validated in that while the destructive campaign went on in the *Monthly Review*, other publications continued to review Hawkins's *History* favourably. The *Critical Review* in its final article in the June issue was 'much more inclined to approve, than censure the copiousness of the historian, who had presented such a variety of [interesting] information;' the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June concluded its five-part review with 'a commendation of Hawkins's portrait of Handel' and generally complimented the author on his achievement.²⁶

Lonsdale holds that Bewley's three articles reviewing Hawkins's *History* in the *Monthly Review* 'almost single-handed, shattered its growing reputation.'²⁷ However, Davis questions the tradition that the *Monthly Review* articles 'seriously impaired the sale of Hawkins's *History* and prevented Thomas Payne from recovering the £500 he is said to have invested in its publication,' and claims that it 'must be questioned, whether one reviewer exercised quite so much control over the destiny of Hawkins's book' bearing in mind that even after Bewley's last article in the August issue, the 'magazines kept up their plundering,' reprinting excerpts up to the end of the year [1777] and beyond, with a reprint in the *Universal Magazine* in October 1788.²⁸

He finds other contributory factors to the low sales of Hawkins's book: the very high price, the lack of a subscription strategy and the fact that Burney was first in print, with guaranteed sales of 1,047 copies to 857 people who had already committed to buying the projected two-volume work for two guineas, and were thus unlikely to feel the need for a second history of music at six guineas. He also mentions Burney's greater personal popularity as a factor in the comparative sales of the *Histories*.²⁹ John Brewer cites William Hazlitt (1778–1830) in describing Burney as 'an historian and a musician, but more of a courtier and man of the world than either.'³⁰ As a man of the world he had a long professional association with the circle of the purchasers of his work and had found favour with them; also the success of his *Tours* had prepared the ground for his *History* and functioned as positive advance publicity.

²⁵ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 141.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 141–42.

²⁷ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 209.

²⁸ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 148.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Brewer, *English Culture*, 373.

Davis identifies a specific damaging effect of Bewley's review of Hawkins's *History*: that 'it elevated the ridiculing of Hawkins to a respectable and even fashionable pastime' which entertained the public up to 1785.³¹ A derisory punning catch by John Callcott was published in 1791, calling on the reader to 'Burn 'is history,'³² validating Allen's comment on 'how seriously Londoners took literature of merit, and how vehement was popular partisanship.'³³ Davis acknowledges that Payne was 'compelled to reduce the price in 1784,' and it was only in November 1787 that Hawkins could report that 'the book is growing scarce.'³⁴

Slower sales for Hawkins might also be accounted for by the differing literary styles of the two authors. The minute detail in Hawkins's *History*—while it had a value in giving a very complete record—also contributed to a less readable style than Burney's elegant prose. Brewer states that Hawkins, in pursuing his aim 'to demonstrate that music was a science, the torrent of detail with which he drowned the reader also submerged the outline of the argument,' and that 'he did not wear his learning in the light and elegant manner advocated by Walpole.'³⁵ There was some valid criticism of Hawkins's *History* in the August issue of the *Monthly Review*: the lack of a plan, the absence of a table of contents or chapter headings are all noted.³⁶ While such conventional indications of order are absent in what Lonsdale described as 'five chaotically organised volumes full of curious and recondite learning of every kind,' Davis finds that Hawkins's *History* is not entirely without order: with a 'plan at once haphazard and symmetrical—each volume is divided into four books and, with the exception of the first volume, each book into ten chapters.'³⁷ The *Critical Review* of January 1777 also discerned 'distinct order,' giving no particulars of that order.

Affirmation of an unorthodox kind comes in the unattributed use of some material from both the *Histories*. Grant traces Hawkins's material in Burney's *History*, showing Burney's account of John Golding (*GH* 2, 480) to be a paraphrase of Hawkins's (*GH* 2, 798); likewise with an account of John Weldon in Hawkins (*GH* 2, 784) paraphrased by Burney (*GH* 2, 587).³⁸ Grant states that German authors 'borrowed extensively from

³¹ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 148–49.

³² *Ibid.*, 149, note 29.

³³ Allen, *Philosophies of Music History*, note 8, 76.

³⁴ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 147, 161.

³⁵ Brewer, *English Culture*, 372.

³⁶ Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 143–44.

³⁷ Lonsdale, *Burney Biog.*, 201; Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 157–58.

³⁸ Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 290–92.

Burney's writings,' in particular Forkel in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (1788, 1801); he goes on to point out that such borrowing 'only served to bolster [Burney's] international renown.'³⁹ The 'Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients' from volume one of Burney's *History* was translated into German (Johann Joachim Eschenburg, Leipzig 1781).

Allen observes that 'the complete reversal of the popular verdict was [...] as extreme as the latter was unjust.'⁴⁰ The long-term reception of the histories became more impartial as it was distanced from the rivalry of the authors, and in particular from Burney's unrelenting expression of that rivalry. The writer in *The Musical Times* in February 1904 referred to the discussion of the reception of the two histories as favouring Burney at the time of publication, but claimed that 'posterity has reversed [that] decision [...]. "Burney" has never been reprinted, while "Hawkins" has attained that distinction.'⁴¹ Since then, Burney's *History* has been reprinted: in 1935 edited by Frank Mercer, and in 1957 by Dover. The reprint of Hawkins's *History* referred to in *The Musical Times* was that of Novello in 1853; this edition was re-published by Dover in 1963. Thus, publication history indicates that the second phrase of Horace Walpole's summing-up of the value of Hawkins's *History*—'I doubt it is a work that will sell rapidly, but it must have a place in all great libraries,'⁴²—might well apply to both histories. Jointly they are seen to be essential as a record of the writing of music history, and of eighteenth-century music history and culture in particular.

³⁹ Grant, *Burney as Critic*, 292–93.

⁴⁰ Allen, *Philosophies of Music History*, note 8, 76.

⁴¹ F. G. E[dwards], 'Hawkins, A Biog. Sketch,' 91.

⁴² Davis, *Life of Hawkins*, 128.

Conclusion

The research and writing of the two *Histories* in the second half of the eighteenth century took place in the context of a cultural background composed of many elements. In society, a certain ambiguity attached to music: it was considered essential but those engaging with it were not necessarily regarded as of the first social rank. The practical musician was of the artisanal branch of music that was slow in achieving full professional recognition and professional status. As with all artisans, the musician of that rank was perceived as providing a service to the aristocracy who could afford to offer their patronage, and on this he depended. Formal music education had declined, but informal education through social involvement was prevalent and effective. The segregation of men and women in education was fundamental to the music teaching practices that evolved and became part of the social fabric that supported music and letters, enabling Burney to bridge the gap between the two.

Significant among the elements of the cultural background to the *Histories* was the gradual development of a historical consciousness regarding music. Its origin can be traced back to the disjunction in musical life during the Civil War which resulted in the retention of older music of necessity. This set in motion an historical chain that was especially characteristic of England; it ensured the availability of old music alongside the new which would subsequently be composed post-Restoration.

Evidence of this historical consciousness, which facilitated the writing of a history of music, can be found early in the eighteenth century in the labelling of music collections as ‘ancient and modern’; this concept found a distinctive manifestation in the Academy of Ancient Music in a particular historicism that promoted the study and performance of early music with a view to informing public taste, while including contemporary. The mission to inform taste in music was driven by both antiquarian interest which recognised the intrinsic value of early music and by reforming societies which perceived such music as morally exalted. The practice of manuscript collection and transcription necessary to the activities of the Academy contributed further to historical consciousness and also provided some of the materials for a history of music.

The awareness of old and new and the discussion arising from it prompted investigation into the subject of music history. This spirit of enquiry was enabled by the prevalence of Enlightenment philosophy in intellectual activity in eighteenth-century

England. Enlightenment ideals are manifested in the discourse between English and continental men of letters. In the latter category Voltaire, who spent some time in London, drew attention to the particular circumstances in the liberal climate of England that ensured freedom to write and publish, and that also created a demand for knowledge by a literate, enquiring public. He commented on the contrast between this remarkable level of liberty in the expression and publication of views with the repressive *ancien régime* in his native France. In this liberal English society ideas circulated to the extent that Locke's empirical philosophy found its way into the vocabulary of a general readership. England was to the forefront in the publication of informative literature: Ephraim Chambers's English *Cyclopaedia* (London, 1728) in translation in France formed the genesis of what was to become the French *Encyclopédie*. In introducing their *Histories*, both Burney and Hawkins invoke the Baconian principle of the importance of the acquisition and transmission of knowledge—a Renaissance principle which underpinned Enlightenment philosophy. Both historians manifested this philosophy in their mission to record and transmit a comprehensive music history accessible to the non-specialist, and in their empirical approach to their research.

In the liberal intellectual climate public expression of views and the dissemination of informative literature advanced in a thriving print culture which provided the impetus and the means to publish and promote literature in all categories. The increasing availability of printed music made further material available for historians to record, and for an increasingly prosperous public to engage directly with music. Major works on the subject of political/social history appeared and were much in demand, reaching out to a general readership alongside popular literature. Histories of arts other than music were published, suggesting a vacuum to be filled on the subject of music history. In the eclecticism of publishing, the ideals of the *Encyclopédie* prevailed.

Philosophies of history reflected Enlightenment ideals in that they propounded a humanist approach to the writing of history and placed it on equal terms of importance with the natural sciences in its function as a means of investigation into the history of the progress of mankind. The idea of progress that permeated theories of history arose from the Enlightenment concept of the perfectibility of mankind. In their *Histories* Burney and Hawkins aimed to trace the progress of music 'from the earliest ages': Burney claimed for music a linear progress, with the art in a state of continuous striving for perfection; Hawkins was convinced of a cyclical pattern in the progress of music, with his own time representing decline.

The history of music histories shows that the task of the historian gradually transferred from clergymen and church musicians to laity as custodians and recorders of musical knowledge. Music history writing went a step further still in its departure from the musician of the learned tradition to the practical musician, Burney, and the enthusiastic amateur, Hawkins. Both authors set out to assemble the entire existing body of knowledge on the history of music and to add to it with an account of the contemporary. The significance of the *Histories* of Burney and Hawkins is evident in the absence of a comprehensive history from previous writings on music in English, and in the fact that the only subsequent eighteenth-century general history was Thomas Busby's condensation of the *Histories* of Burney and Hawkins. A single-author complete history has not been attempted since that of Donald J. Grout (1960, R 1996 with C. V. Palisca). The ambiguous attitude to music in eighteenth-century society presented a challenge to the authors of the *Histories*, daunting on the one hand because of the subject's lack of status and the enormity of the task, compelling on the other hand for the two historians who wished to assert music's worth and thus its status.

The *Histories* of Burney and Hawkins were the products of their time and of the particular individuals that the historians were. Burney's criticism conveys certain eighteenth-century society views that he wished to identify with; Hawkins's inclusion of all possible detail without critical comment stems from his antiquarian interest and legal background. These influences ensured that he chronicled, uncritically, factual information on aspects of music in society. In this, Herder's 'barren wonder and recital' had a value in its accuracy and completeness.

The culture of criticism that developed in the eighteenth-century literary world facilitated debate, and expression and promotion of ideological views in print. The question of taste in the arts came to be a matter of discussion. The novel idea of music criticism introduced by Charles Avison opened up the possibility of determining taste in music and guiding the public in this matter, a mission taken on by Burney and Hawkins. The idea of influencing public taste that concerned the founders and advocates of the Academy of Ancient Music, continued to be an issue throughout the eighteenth century; it contributed to the concept of music criticism. The very nature of music was a matter of debate, and a reason for writing a music history to settle the question: for Burney it was art with the purpose of entertaining, for Hawkins it was a science.

Regarding ideological views on music, the two historians exhibit their fundamental differences particularly in the genres of instrumental music and opera. Burney embraced

the showy, extrovert character of the Mannheim influence, which Hawkins deplored as mere noise. The opera, which supported a virtuoso culture was celebrated by Burney, while to Hawkins it was ‘unnatural and absurd’. In the case of both genres audience appeal was paramount for Burney. The decline in the learned music tradition and the rise of the availability of music among the populace transferred a certain influence onto public taste, giving a voice to the audience in the determination of performance programmes as, in effect, they voted with their subscriptions. Both Burney and Hawkins acknowledged the trend: Burney accepted it while Hawkins deplored it. In what they didn’t record—as well as in what they did—they reveal conflicting ideology: Burney on the side of contemporary music, Hawkins on the side of ‘ancient’, both categories essential to the formation and acceptance of a musical canon that was timeless and was eventually established by the end of the eighteenth century.

Consciously and unconsciously both authors convey an understanding of a rigidly stratified society which was not without escape routes. Charles Burney ambitiously climbed its social ladder to achieve recognition as a man of letters in the company of a class that he openly described as his ‘betters’, thus freeing himself from the designation of ‘mere musician’. Hawkins’s language in his account of Thomas Britton reveals a harshly hierarchical social structure in which the coalman was categorised as of a lower order, but felt not only unconstrained by it—he transcended it entirely. As an individual who shared their bibliophile interest, he consorted with nobility at an appointed time in the world of books in Thomas Payne’s shop, then picked up the sack of coal he’d left outside, and continued with his occupation. His music meetings were attended by aristocracy despite accommodation in uncomfortable, dilapidated quarters—an embodiment of Enlightenment ideals in the recognition of every individual’s right to knowledge and art.

The freedom to publish which was the hallmark of a liberal society could also work to the disadvantage of an author, as seen in the reception of the histories: rivals could publish maliciously without censorship or restraint as observed in Burney’s campaign of negative critiques of Hawkins’s history. Despite that, in the longer term, both histories were in demand, justifying the value of both types of history, the chronicle of the antiquarian and the critical, evaluating account.

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