

COMPOSING THEMSELVES

COMPOSING THEMSELVES:
MUSIC, MORALITY, AND SOCIAL HARMONY
IN WOMEN'S WRITING, 1740-1815

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**Composing Themselves:
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This interdisciplinary thesis examines rare poetic, didactic, fictional, and musical texts written by women in latter eighteenth-century Britain for instances of and resistance to contemporary perceptions of music as a form of social control.

The opening chapter defines and historicizes the term “social harmony,” by discussing neoclassical views of musical affect as productive of beneficial social behaviours and gender definition. By delineating canonical aesthetic theorists’ influence upon women writers and musicians and assessing music’s place in women’s moral education, this chapter complicates the idea of separate public and private spheres of cultural achievement and introduces expanded views of women’s agency as composers and performers.

Next, the thesis appraises women’s engagement with charity, musically enacted, through formal musical and textual analysis of hymns, songs, and benefit performances and publications. It marks the productive intersection of patronage and charity for women, who could articulate divergent responses to such idealized or stereotyped objects of pity as prostitutes and madwomen and benefit materially from so doing.

The third chapter considers women composers and writers’ employment of imitative and associative aesthetic practices in nature’s musical representation, including neoclassical and realist pastorals, the picturesque, and the sublime. It traces development of a hybrid aesthetic of natural representation that enables performative and compositional separation of femininity from nature in forms including the novel, song, and pastoral drama.

The final chapter identifies contemporary anxieties concerning the depiction of political, moral and gender-role stability within an increasingly international musical discourse. It analyzes women’s musical conceptions of cultural difference and national identity in ballad operas and pastiches in light of these conflicts.

By crafting works consonant with societal ideals of charitable, natural, and national order—or by re-imagining their participation in these musical aids to social harmony—women composers, lyricists and performers contributed significantly to the formation of British cultural identity.

Preface and Acknowledgements

I began taking music lessons as a small child. My piano bench was filled with the striped books of The Conservatory, which claimed to clamp between their covers all that was best of Western music. In one of these books, there was a piece by one Jean Anderson. As a child growing up in Pierre Trudeau's bilingual Canada, I assumed that Jean Anderson was a half-French, half-English man. I did not remember making this assumption until nearly ten years later, when I found myself sitting in *her* music theory class at the University of Western Ontario.

Certainly, I had been told that there were, or probably were, *some* women composers (Mozart's sister; Schumann's wife). I had even played the famous flute sonata by Cécile Chaminade as an audition piece for entrance into music school. By this point, I had read Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*, and had a new set of assumptions--women had been socially and psychologically prevented from writing music in the past. I was still disturbed that I had made such a mistake, but reasoned that I had jumped to conclusions about Jean Anderson's gender because in the past, very few women had been composers, and because women composers were under-represented on examination lists (this situation has improved). This seemed probable.

I began work on my PhD in English at McMaster University, and decided to combine my interests in music and literature in an interdisciplinary study of eighteenth-century women's writing. In the Research Collections of Mills Library, I investigated two collections of songs, each of which contained a number of songs with music or lyrics by women. I then began a search for secondary resources written about these women whose names I had never before heard. I found a small book with a promising title: *Woman in Music*.

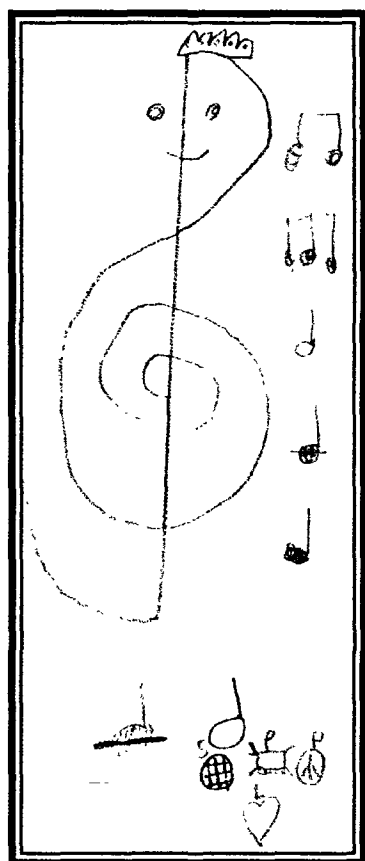
Its contents infuriated me. George Upton's smug assertion that woman "will always be the recipient and interpreter, but there is little hope she will be the creator" (31) of music, was completely at odds with my rich findings in Research Collections. Women *had* contributed to the popular musical culture of Britain in the eighteenth century, both as composers and as performers. I determined to write a thesis that would showcase some of these compositions, and discuss and represent them accurately in their historical milieu. It was important to me to write a work that was scholarly, but one which still would be of interest to an amateur musician. I hope I have succeeded in this task.

I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the doctoral fellowship which enabled me to do this research, as well as the McMaster University Faculty of Graduate Studies, which funded many of my research-related travel expenses. To the staff of Research Collections, McMaster University, many thanks for your kindness and help over the past four years. To my thesis committee members Peter Walmsley, Sylvia Bowerbank, and Grace Kehler, your perceptive comments and close reading of my work were a constant and valuable source of encouragement. To my husband, Brian Ritchie, your enthusiastic support during this project was a treasured comfort.

But most of all, I would like to dedicate this project to my music teachers, whom I can never thank enough:

Mom, who taught me my note names

Dad, who taught me how to whistle



Lillian Hynna (piano)
 Penelope Clarke (flute)
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 Deborah Buset (piano)
 Sister Immaculata (piano)
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 Anne Thompson (flute)
 U.W.O. Faculty of Music, 1988-92

and to my own flute and piano students (especially Charlotte and Madeleine, who drew the pictures), who teach me so much.

Thank you all.

Leslie

~ 'The Queen.' Detail from 'The King and Queen of Music,' pencil sketch by Charlotte Gow, pianist, age 8

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Introduction

See! how the trembling Strings her Hand obey:
'Tis she! 'tis she who deals around
The magick Properties of Sound;
The vary'd Passions own her pow'rful Sway. (ll. 15-8)

These dramatic lines, from Elizabeth Tollet's ode, "*To Mrs. ELIZABETH BLACKLER, playing on the Harpsichord*" (c. 1717, published 1755), at once testify to the affective power of an accomplished musician and to the social and aesthetic contexts in which her performance took place. Performer Elizabeth Blackler combines the attributes of Dryden's Saint Cecilia, a figure capable of drawing down angels to hear her divine harmonies, and his Timotheus, a musician adept in raising mortals to the heavens; for, Tollet claims, the rapture Blackler's performance induces draws down "Musicians of the Sky" (l. 45) and banishes melancholy (l. 12) in her mortal listeners. Poet Elizabeth Tollet in turn preserves Blackler's ephemeral notes in poetry, converting "what was Art before [to] Inspiration now" (l. 51). In offering Blackler immortality and an extended audience, Tollet foregrounds her own artistic performance as a writer, and calls attention to the near relationship between the sister arts of music and poetry: "The Sister-Art can save from Death / The POW'R OF SKILFUL Hands and tuneful Breath" (ll. 39-40). Tollet's poem neatly articulates the central paradigms governing women's participation in music in the last half of the eighteenth century: the centrality and authority of the performer within

contemporary musical practices; the wide acceptance of music's mysterious or "magick" ability to affect listeners' passions and behaviour; and the definition and subversion of gender roles and social behaviours enabled by women's performances, compositions, and writing about music. This project examines rare poetic, didactic, fictional, and musical texts written by women in latter eighteenth-century Britain for instances of and resistance to these contemporary perceptions of music as a form of social control. By crafting works consonant with societal ideals of charitable, natural, and national order—or by re-imagining their participation in these musical aids to social harmony—women composers, lyricists and performers contributed significantly to the formation of British cultural identity. Music offered women the opportunity to compose themselves—to articulate and express their own definitions of self and gender.

This opening chapter delineates some of the conditions governing women's participation in music and writing about music during the last half of the eighteenth century. The chapter first considers the ways in which female performers and composers have been positioned within historical and modern critical sources, and offers an active, performative model of women's participation in musical discourses. Next, the chapter discusses neoclassical understandings of harmony as a musical and social ideal. It surveys a range of aesthetic treatises concerning music's ability to shape political and moral attitudes, and discusses the implications of these theories of musical-social harmony for women's artistic production. Finally, using a variety of non-musical texts, this chapter examines women's perceptions of music as an efficient means of inculcating femininity and

morality, and establishes the relation between the ideals of social and musical harmony and the dominant topics of women's contribution to music—songs of charity, pastoral songs, and songs of nation.

I. Woman in Music

In Romantic music, it is the composer, rather than the performer, who represents the central figure of artistic production. The Romantic composer's work is that of sculpting sound into a static form, securing his composition against the vagaries of improvisation with determinate musical texts, explicit orchestration, and extra-musical instructions. In Baroque and early Classical music, by contrast, figured bass and conventions relating to ornamentation, tempo, and dynamics (or performance practices, as they are usually known) all conspire to assert the performer's importance in musical production. Performers, who in the eighteenth century achieved at least equal—and often superior—status to that accorded to composers, are relegated in the Romantic model of musical artistry to the task of reproduction, rather than co-creation. As Theodor Adorno writes in his essay, "Music and Technique" (1978), "Ever since Berlioz musical performance has been virtually surrendered to the composer, thus diminishing the tension between text and performance" (199). Music histories of the later period, when they deal with women's contribution to music at all, dismiss women performers as transparent reproducers of a determinate work, rather than as the producers of variant performed texts of that work; in doing so, they minimize women's achievements and influence as artists.

In Britain, however, the eighteenth century was the century of the performer.

Broadly stated, it was the era of Garrick, not Otway: one went to the theatre in the Haymarket to hear and see Elizabeth Bannister, not John Frederick Lampe; to Drury Lane to hear Kitty Clive, not Charles Dibdin. This is not to suggest that this shift in compositional to performative prominence did not trouble British musicians and their audiences, who were seeking a stable musical source of national identity. Indeed, as Roger Fiske has observed, the musical community in London expressed significant anxiety over the premature deaths of composers Henry Purcell (1658-1695), Thomas Linley (1756-1778) and Stephen Storace (1762-1796) (Fiske 413, 266). But within this contemporary understanding of the performer as the composer's co-creator, there was room for many women to develop commercially-successful careers as recognized musical artists. The ideological prominence of the performer in musical production also accords dignity and cultural value to musical performances enacted by women in spaces less public than the two main London stages, and to performances by women such as Elizabeth Blackler, which survive only in critically-neglected descriptive prose or poetic accounts.

Romantic music critics and those modern critics working with a composer-centred approach often tend to further diminish women's role in music history by figuring composition as a male-gendered creative act. One of the first studies to focus on gender issues in music was George Upton's slim book, *Woman in Music* (1886). There had been little separation of the sexes, or indeed, much separation of composers from performers, in the competing music histories written by Charles Burney and John Hawkins one hundred

and ten years earlier. Both Burney and Hawkins, though fierce enemies, preferred to group their discussions chronologically, by country of origin (and sometimes, by theatre), and biographically, pursuing personal and stylistic connections between composers and performers, and both included performance reviews as well as musical examples as evidence of their research. The contrast of this approach with the structure of Upton's study is quite telling. Upton divides his study into two categories: first, "the influence of woman in encouraging the great composers to labor, and inspiring them in the production of their finest works" and second, "the relations of woman to the performance of vocal and instrumental music" (16). Composition is the privileged category, and Upton excludes women from it on psychological, physiological, and economic grounds. He conjectures that woman's inability to "project herself outwardly" or to "confine her emotions within musical limits" (23), and her unwillingness to encounter the "pitiless storms of fate and cruel assaults of poverty, in the pursuit of art" (26-7) are responsible for her failure to create lasting music. To these factors, Upton adds the argument that composition "is not only an art, but an exact science, and, in its highest form, mercilessly logical and unrelentingly mathematical" (30), and suggests that it is therefore unsuited to woman's nature--this despite the fact that he is writing at a time when harmonies are less contrapuntal and constrained by formal rules of progression than they appear to be in the plainest *galant* tunes of the late eighteenth century. Upton explicitly genders composition using a quotation from Bulwer's novel, *The Parisians*. A character known as Dr. C. declares: "the genius of musical composition is *homme* . . ." (23), and Upton agrees. He

concludes his discussion of women's compositions by dismissing performance as a reproductive rather than a creative mode of artistic production: "She will always be the recipient and interpreter, but there is little hope she will be the creator" (31).

Performance is Upton's second category, more appropriate to the second sex. Here, in discussing performers such as Nancy Storace, Elizabeth Billington, and Gertrude Elizabeth Mara, Upton again deprecates woman's performative involvement in music by insisting that her "natural" feminine excesses of emotion are well-suited to this activity, explaining, "all the elements which woman has in her nature--love, pathos, passion, poetry, and religion--combine to perfect her song, and give fitting expression to the ideas of the masters" (187). The paradox that performance is categorized as passive in his schema does not appear to strike Upton.

Somehow, the professed subject of Upton's book ends up lodged in its Appendix, where there is a list of Female Composers. Three British women are named here: Sophia Dussek of Scotland, for her piano and harp music; Frances Foster Wensley, for her songs; and Miss [Harriett] Abrams, for her songs. Not only is Upton's list woefully inadequate in representing the numbers of women who were composing and publishing music in eighteenth-century Britain, but none of the women on his short list (with the exception of Abrams, who was also a noted performer for a short period) achieved anything like the public recognition accorded performer-interpreters such as Elizabeth Billington. Billington's elaborate (one is tempted to say "scientific") cadences, which she wrote out before performances, and which were separately published, do not suggest a passive

“recipient” or a mechanistic “interpreter,” but an artist with a virtuosic understanding of her own vocal instrument, her audience, and the underlying harmonies which she embellished.

The problem of imposing a Romantic paradigm of the composer’s artistic prominence, such as the model proposed by Upton, onto a very different, performance-based understanding of musical production extends to modern interpretations of women’s engagement in music, where it has been further complicated by the contention that women’s artistic engagement most often took place in a separate domestic sphere. For example, Richard Leppert, whose ground-breaking work with painterly depictions of eighteenth-century musical life has done much to highlight the central cultural obsessions contributing to and represented by musical life, states that few “relevant” eighteenth-century accounts of private music-making exist, or that few women “analyzed or openly critique[d]” the “ideological and socio-cultural uses to which their own musical experiences were put” before the end of the century:

It is likely that in women’s writings about their own lives, through letters, diaries and memoirs, music was so “naturalized” a part of their existence that little comment about it may have seemed necessary (by contrast, women commonly wrote assessments of opera performances and public and semi-private concerts they had attended). Nevertheless, despite the limited number of relevant extant commentaries, it is clear that women essentially understood the ideological and socio-structural uses to which their own musical experiences were put in the patriarchal culture, though to be sure, relatively few women either analyzed or openly critique this relationship in detail, apart from the feminists writing near the century’s end. (*Music and Image* 147)

While female-authored philosophical treatises expressly expounding the moral value of

music are indeed rare, as Leppert suggests, women did mark their participation in and deviations from society's notions of harmony in a number of forms, including poetry, drama, conduct literature, novels, and musical composition. By quickly passing over women's assessments of opera performances and public and semi-private concerts and excluding these from analysis, musicologists and cultural critics risk preserving the oversimplified dichotomy of public and private spheres--a kind of process of naturalization similar to the one Leppert supposes evident in the lack of descriptions of private music-making. While masculine participation in music has been defined by a rhetoric of originality, genius, and individualism, as well as located within the contexts of temporal and stylistic movements, female musicians continue to be cast into the critically-imagined invisibility of the private sphere, or to be portrayed as atypical individuals, who qualify neither as musicians nor as women by virtue of their virtuosity. Frequently, these characterizations are accompanied by assertions that performances outside the home are performe *déclassé* and morally suspect, and their performers equally so.

However, to speak radically, there is no such thing as private music. Although the privacy of the home and women's confinement within the domestic sphere have become accepted truisms of eighteenth-century cultural studies, to engage in the act of musical creation, whether this act is primarily performative, compositional, or descriptive, is to correspond with an immense harmonic and aesthetic vocabulary that has been defined over time by an international community of practitioners and theoreticians. Just as a musical performance always threatens to exceed the select audience for whom it is intended, to

spill out of windows and doors, so too does women's participation in music exceed the cramped, private space customarily allotted for "domestic music" in music histories.

Women did not write and perform only for such spaces, or in such spaces. For this reason, this study of women's responses to contemporary notions of the relationship between music and social harmony, though it is in some measure a recuperative project and a study of previously unstudied and unidentified texts, will not be confined to exclusively female-authored works or to the "private sphere." Since the texts exerting the greatest perceptible influence upon women's participation in music are often just as unfamiliar and non-canonical as women's writings, their inclusion here can help to define women's participation in socio-musical discourses.

The position of the female musician within eighteenth-century music-making is the subject of a lively episode in one such source, music historian Charles Burney's *General History of Music*. In Book III of his *History*, Burney describes the electrifying personal history of a female singer of Lully's operas who lived around the beginning of the eighteenth century, as translated from Jean-Benjamin Laborde's *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (1780). Burney clearly expects his readers to find the history of La Maupin, a woman who "was equally fond of both sexes, fought and loved like a man, and resisted and fell like a woman"(590), entertaining, and he structures his retelling of her "adventures" like a romance. La Maupin is an interesting test case for the problem of assuming a connection between amorality and performance precisely because her biography is represented by a mid-eighteenth-century musicologist in this sensational

manner. After an early marriage, La Maupin ran away with a fencing-master, from whom she learned to use the small-sword with considerable dexterity—a skill which was of great use to her later in her life, when she despatched three men in a duel during a ball held by the brother of Louis XIV. Yet Burney does not censure La Maupin’s decision to support herself financially by working on the opera stage. Her good voice is a gift of nature; her decision to use that voice is equally natural, he suggests:

The lovers first retreated from persecution to Marseilles; but necessity soon obliged them to solicit employment there, at the opera; and, as both had by nature good voices, they were received without difficulty. . . . She then went to Paris, and made her first appearance on the opera stage in 1695, when she performed the part of Pallas, in *Cadmus*, with the greatest success. The applause was so violent, that she was obliged, in her car, to take off her casque to salute and thank the public, which redoubled their marks of approbation. From that time her success was uninterrupted. (*History* III: 590-1)

La Maupin transgresses the boundaries of what Burney considers to be acceptable social behaviour for a woman on several levels. She abandons her husband, assumes a masculine gender, falls in love with another woman and kidnaps her while disguised as a nun, burns down a convent, murders three men and humiliates several others, though, like Daniel Defoe’s fictitious adventurer, Moll Flanders, she repents of her shocking conduct in time to die piously. After quitting the opera stage in 1705, Burney writes, she was “at length seized with a fit of devotion, she recalled her husband, who had remained in Provence, and passed with him the last years of her life in a very pious manner, dying in 1707, at the age of thirty-four” (*History* III: 592). The appropriateness of her public musical career and her skill in singing *tragédie lyrique*, however, is never in question.

The primary point here is not to insist that La Maupin is a “typical” female musician of this period, but rather, to suggest the futility of such categorical gestures. Our impulse to consider La Maupin’s *musical* career as a symptom of her singular societal transgressions, rather than “natural” as Burney does, is not consistent with eighteenth-century evaluations of female performers. Although the morals of performers were often subject to scrutiny, public performance by women was not considered to be a certain sign of their depravity, as Burney’s approbatory summary of La Maupin’s musical skill shows. Further, as selections in the second chapter of this project will demonstrate, public performances and compositions by women for civic occasions or charitable institutions could signal compliance with established social and gender ideals. These performances could even generate approval amongst morally conservative audiences, despite apparent disparities in such position-takings with the moral or social position of the female artist. It is this possibility—the possibility of distinguishing and exploiting the space between the artist and the moral affect potentially generated by her skillful performance, and the feasibility of viewing moral subject positions themselves as performative structures that might be inhabited for a time—that conservative institutions and individuals concerned to promote political, class and gender-role stability sought to contain. By conflating feminine identity and morality with the act of performing, so that morality, and not skill, became both the object and the subject of a woman’s performance, the range of expressive positions available to women musicians and writers might be effectively diminished.

A second reason for including La Maupin’s story here in the introduction to a

study of later British women writers and musicians is that it rapidly deconstructs the conventional, composer-centred narrative of music history by encouraging the modern reader to wonder why, despite her sensational biography and her evident popularity as an interpreter of Lully's operas, one does not encounter the name of La Maupin in such canonical twentieth-century music histories as Grout and Palisca's *A History of Western Music* (1988; fourth edition). Instead, our image of the eighteenth-century woman musician is much like that promulgated by recent films based upon the novels of Jane Austen: women encased in candied Georgian rooms tinkering with harpsichords or pianofortes in an amateurish, but circumspect courtship ritual. It is time to expand this definition. As Pierre Bourdieu writes in his recent study, *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993), "the established definition of the writer may be radically transformed by an enlargement of the set of people who have a legitimate voice in literary matters"(42). Women of La Maupin's stature need to be included in music histories in order to expand the definition of what it meant to be a musician during this time period. The image of Marianne Dashwood trolling tender duets with Willoughby in *Sense and Sensibility* (43) should not and need not eclipse the career of singers like Catherine Tofts, or composer-performers such as Caroline Poole and Harriett Abrams—nor need a study of these women neglect to consider music's importance to courtship or to romantic fiction. As Bourdieu observes, "writers and artists endowed with different, even opposing dispositions can coexist, for a time at least, in the same positions" (66). In fact, a wide range of music composed and performed by women in the eighteenth century enjoyed cultural

prominence, as expressed in the production, publication, and performance of music and lyrics written by women, and in writing about women's engagement in music. Women's participation in music was not confined to a domestic sphere, but stretched from the stage to the drawing room in a flexible continuum of repertoire and a concomitant range of moral position-takings. Within this performative continuum, women were able to secure what Bourdieu identifies as the three main types of cultural legitimacy enjoyed by artists: the legitimacy generated by producers who produce for other producers (in this case, the approval of other musicians); the bourgeois consecration of the salon and the academy; and popular or mass appeal and commercial success (51). More specifically, women's ability to achieve cultural legitimacy as musicians at this time was the result of a musical vocabulary of harmonic expression which privileged the role of the performer; of a cultural acknowledgement of the importance of the performer; and of the cultural importance of material manifestations of social harmony within the emergent British nation and empire.

II. Harmony

Harmony is a term which possessed both musical and social resonance for people in the eighteenth century. Social and musical harmony are linked by a shared vocabulary of partial synonyms including balance, proportion, and concord. On a deeper level, they share the idea of a proper and agreeable disposition of parts, whether these parts be voices, instruments, bodies, classes or gender roles. The ability to dispose of parts--be these musical or social roles--with taste and propriety confers a form of authority upon the

person who does so. Evidence of this ability argues an extensive familiarity with the material capabilities of the parts, a cunning knowledge of their usual order within their own systems, and most important, the ability to subvert this usual order to surprise and gratify both participants and observers. To engage in this activity--commonly known as composition in musical circles, and as politics in society--is to exercise power. As Jacques Attali writes,

All music, any organization of sounds is then a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community, of a totality. It is what links a power centre to its subjects, and thus, more generally, it is an attribute of power in all of its forms. . . .Equivalent to the articulation of a space, it indicates the limits of a territory and the way to make oneself heard within it, how to survive by drawing one's sustenance from it. (6)

How was this kind of social-musical space mapped in the eighteenth century, and what were the conditions governing women's participation in it?

Musically, harmony appears to have been a much more inclusive term than it is today. Initially, the word harmony accommodated myriad, even oppositional, meanings, as may be seen from James Grassineau's 1740 definition of the term: "HARMONY, the agreeable result or union of several musical sounds, heard at one and the same time, or the mixture of divers sounds, which together have an effect agreeable to the ear. . . . Sometimes the word *Harmony* is applied to a single voice, when sonorous, clear, soft, and sweet; or to a single instrument, when it yields a very agreeable sound" (94, 98). From the sweet sound of one performer, to the concord of many; from an aesthetically pleasing deployment of instruments or voices in a composition, to a codified system of

chordal progressions; from a quiet, “natural” accompaniment to a melody, to a “scientific” composition in which all parts bore equal importance--each of these seemed a just description of harmony to Grassineau and his contemporaries. Yet, by the time Alexander Molleson, the author of *Melody--the Soul of Music: An Essay Towards the Improvement of the Musical Art* penned his treatise in 1798, in each of these parallels (one / many; pleasing / codified; natural / scientific), the second definition had come to take precedence over the first. “[H]armony,” Molleson opined, “ought to be confined to the use of professors and musical scholars. In places of public entertainment and social circles, it should be superseded by expressive melody; or if harmony is introduced, it ought to be simple counterpoint, and the principal melody so strengthened with unisons and octaves that there may be no risk of the attention being distracted” (77-8). At first, this later assessment of melody’s superiority to harmony might appear to only refer to the increased importance of melodic development to the emergent classical style, as Charles Rosen observes in *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (1971, 1997). Whereas development in the High Baroque style had progressed by modulating to “more dramatic harmonies or . . . a remote key” (Rosen 50), compositions in the new classical style proceeded by means of short phrases, melodic fragmentation or extension, repeated rhythmic motives, and dynamic contrast.

This paradigm shift cannot be neatly constricted to its purely musical effects, however, for the polarization that occurred between the harmony that might be produced by “professors and musical scholars” and performers in “places of public entertainment

and social circles” bears substantial implications for female composers and performers. Though, as indicated in this project’s bibliography of songs written and composed by British women from 1740-1815, the number of (surviving) songs composed and published by women increased dramatically in the last decade of the eighteenth century, this increase in production was offset by the devaluation of such compositions as “popular” and “simple” in terms of their rhythmic and technical complexity, their orchestration, and the performing forces required. This critical trend unfortunately continues. Charles Rosen inquires: “Is the amateur nature of most keyboard music of the latter half of the eighteenth century due to the fact that the pianoforte became the particular province of the female musician?” (46) What was at stake, then, in these competing definitions of harmony proposed by Grassineau in 1740, was the ability to restrict women’s participation in musical discourse by denigrating those conceptions of harmony that were increasingly associated with femininity, and to thereby attempt to control the kind of power musical participation offered women.

The musical sense in which harmony may result from the lack of discord has obvious social parallels. Expressed metaphorically, social harmony consisted of a intricate nexus of ideals pertaining to one’s sex, gender, class, sensibility, and national identity. Outward harmony, manifest in bodily and economic order, was in part the result of inner moral discipline and of pious reflection upon one’s place and one’s work. As Nathaniel Cotton wrote in his popular book of moralistic poetry, *Visions in Verse* (1751):

Explore thy Body and thy Mind,

Thy Station too, why here assign'd.
 The Search shall teach thee Life to prize,
 And make thee grateful, good, and wise.

(ll. 131-4, *Death. Vision the Last*)

This order was also actively maintained by exterior social forces, of which music was one. Despite the dangers inherent in promoting the practice of music by women, who might seize upon its performative opportunities and affective power to instigate reform, influential moralists such as Jonas Hanway, James Fordyce and Hannah More believed that music could be used to instill social values and religious precepts through the reflective repetition necessary to establish a becoming level of musical competence. Hanway comments in his *Thoughts on the Importance of the Sabbath . . . Also on the Uses and Advantages of Music, as an amusement to the polite part of mankind . . .* (1765), "If the sound of music is adapted to sense, and the sense to the praises of the Almighty, we may venture to entertain ourselves in a real *private* manner, *on the Sabbath*" (57). Hanway's prescriptive essay not only specifies the appropriate occasion of performance (the Sabbath), but also attempts to circumscribe the place of performance (the home), and thus constricts women's participation in music while it defines music as an appropriate, gendered social comfort. As Eliza Reeves' 1780 poem "Music" indicates, this view of music's power to inculcate conservative patriarchal morality was often welcomed by those whom it was intended to influence:

SERAPHIC harmony our souls inflame,
 With strains divine! to hail our Maker's name:
 Our bosoms glow with sacred pure desire,
 To imitate the hymns of heav'n's full choir.

While louder chords the hero's bosom warms;
 He danger dares, and pants for wars alarms:
 The gen'rous steed, with new-born vigour, flies,
 He paws the ground, the battles heat defies.
 Her dulcet sounds bids tender wishes rise;
 The lover reads them in his fair one's eyes:
 Thus harmony divine! bids discord cease,
 And tunes the ruffled soul to smiling peace. (Reeves 112-3)

Reeves acknowledges music's effect upon the physical, but focusses her celebratory poem on music's positive effects on the mind and spirit. First among these is music's ability to "tune the soul" and to offer a comforting prefiguration of heaven through a performative, participatory form of active worship. Musical performances encouraged "the sociable and happy passions" (Avison 4) in both performers and auditors, while practice controlled the disposition of women's time. Hanway clearly considered such control indispensable in defining and maintaining woman's place within the social order: "[W]holesome restriction of females, directed by reason, and mixed with tenderness, such as shall not seem to violate any freedom common to rational creatures . . . is necessary to the virtuous harmony of life" (17-8). When considered as a controlled, moralistic activity, music might serve a variety of social purposes. It is not surprising, given the power assigned to music in the formation of social norms by writers such as Hanway and Avison, that contemporary musical forms authored by women and women's writings about music often directly comment on social attitudes towards charity, class, gender, and national identity. Yet these pieces, whether perceived as "serious" music, or as parody, satire, travesty, or even as "bad" music by contemporaries and by later critics, not only sustain or renew

conservative social attitudes, but in many cases, actively germinate new attitudes.

In addition to its recommendations as an amiable form of self-discipline, harmony's authority as a social paradigm in the eighteenth century also derived from the evidence it offered of the divine order at work in human beings. John Dryden's familiar poem, *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day* (1687), which received numerous performances via Handel's musical setting from 1739 on, contains perhaps the most apt expression of this ideal. In Dryden's account, heavenly harmony animates and organizes Nature's "jarring Atomes" (l. 4); Man is the culmination of this vast atomic dance:

From Harmony, from heav'nly Harmony
This universal Frame began:
From Harmony to Harmony
Through all the compass of the Notes it ran,
The Diapason closing full in Man. (ll. 11-15)

Dryden's musical metaphor suggests that man represents a "harmonious whole" composed of all creation's elements, and that this establishes a series of sympathetic, affective relationships which assign him place and order in the universe. This notion of harmony as a sympathetic relationship with the divine which assigned man his place in society was later expanded by Alexander Pope in his 1733-4 poem, "An Essay on Man." Here, Pope claims that "all are but parts of one stupendous Whole" (l. 267) in a "Vast Chain of Being" (l. 237). Despite man's ignorance of divine will due to his inability to comprehend the universal harmony that is God's plan, bearing one's part in this chain is man's duty:

All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee;
All Chance, Direction which thou canst not see;

All Discord, Harmony not understood;
All Partial Evil, universal Good . . . (ll. 289-92)

Numerous like examples might be provided. In poetry and prose, heavenly harmony was an attribute and an accomplishment of the supreme being, and participating in this harmony via musical expression symbolized advancement of understanding in one's relationship with God and with the other elements of creation.

These poetic examples by Reeves, Dryden, and Pope infer a Christian origin for the ideals of harmony at work in the eighteenth century. However, though there are numerous accounts of musical worship detailed in the Bible (particularly in the books of

Samuel and in the Psalms), the word

"harmony" does not appear in the

King James Version. But while

music theorists and writers in

aesthetics often used Biblical

precedents to sanction the

importance of music in worship,

they simultaneously promoted a

concept of harmony that they

avowed was inherently Greco-

Roman. In Dryden's "A Song for

St. Cecilia's Day" the musical honours are divided between Jubal and Orpheus; in



A Cecilia figure at the organ. Detail, title page, *Linley's Continuation of Bland's Collection Divine Music, Consisting of Psalms, Hymns & Anthems*, c. 1797.

“Alexander’s Feast; or the Power of Musique,” Timotheus and Cecilia must “divide the Crown” (l. 178). It is this fusion of neoclassical ideals of harmony as a proper and agreeable disposition of parts to promote certain bodily and emotional effects with the moralistic perception of music as an appropriate means to raising the mind to worship which constitutes the basis of harmony’s currency as a socio-musical paradigm in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

III. Neoclassical Understandings of ‘Ancient’ Music’s Social Role

One of the first gestures made by most music histories available in Britain at this period is the inclusion of a chapter or two devoted to the discussion of “ancient music.” These histories are often contradictory, confusing, and based as much on conjectures as Platonic treatises, shattered vases and modal charts, but they do share two principal ideas: first, that in the ancient world, the cultural importance of music resided in its ability to represent and even generate a shared system of ideas, be these musical or extramusical, produced by the voice or by instrumental associative or imitative techniques. Second, these histories, by Charles Burney (or rather Thomas Twining, who wrote most of the first book of Burney’s *General History*), John Hawkins, James Grassineau, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau are invariably nostalgic for the predictable and universally beneficial mental and bodily affect ancient music boasts of accomplishing. As the full title of his *Musical Dictionary* intimates, Grassineau hazards “*an Explanation of some Parts of the Doctrine of the Antients; Interspersed with Remarks on their Methods and Practice . . .*” He

exclaims, “The effects ascribed to it [Music] by the antients, are almost miraculous; by means whereof diseases have been cured, unchastity corrected, seditions quelled, passions raised and calmed, and even madness occasioned” (150). While Grassineau’s comment seems quite serious in its admiration of ancient music, this anonymous contributor to the *Gentleman’s Magazine* satirizes similar concerns in a mock-history:

The *Phrygian* Musick inclined as much to *Love*; and *Quintilian* tells us that *Pythagoras* having observ’d a young Man so inflam’d by this *Phrygian* Modulation that he was going to offer Violence to a Lady of Condition, immediately order’d the Instruments to play in a grave Measure, called the *Spondee*, which instantly check’d the Gallant’s Desires, and sav’d the Lady’s Chastity: A strong Instance this of the Force of Musick . . . Our *Operas* have not been known to occasion any Attempts of this violent Nature; which I likewise impute to the Defects of the Composition, and not to any Degree of Insensibility, or Modesty, in our Youth, and who, it must be own’d, give a fair Hearing to Musick, and whose short Bobs seem admirably contriv’d for the better Reception of Sounds.
(*Gentleman’s Magazine* Vol. VII, *Common-Sense*. No. 89. On *MUSICK* and the *OPERA* [1738], 533-6)

The auricular advantages of Bob wigs aside, the bodily and mental affect of contemporary British music simply did not measure up to classical standards, and music historians of the period were at considerable pains to offer opinions as to why modern music could not achieve similar effects, and what might be done to change this lamentable state of affairs. Music’s potential for effecting or controlling social change might be still more useful if it were more methodically researched and applied, and if the commonly-perceived union of music and social law in classical cultures could be restored. A short survey of the primary neoclassical arguments at work in the field of musical aesthetics at this period is thus vital to achieving an understanding of harmony’s cultural importance to eighteenth-century

Britons, and to accurately evaluating women's participation in the discourses governing musical and social harmony.

Aside from the mechanized tinklings of a music box or of one of Cox' miraculous toys, the only way to hear music in the eighteenth century was to observe or become a sounding body. The work of Pythagoras and Plato on sounding bodies, consonance, resonance, and the harmonic series shaped the way that composers, critics, and performers sought to control the content and socio-moral affect of musical language (or *ethos*), the sympathetic resonance that was perceived to occur between the mind and body, and the spectacle of the performing body. Pythagoras' contribution lies in his observation of the principle of consonance, and in the moralization of musical language which his observation engendered. Pythagoras found that when a moveable bridge was placed beneath a vibrating string so that the string was divided into certain lengths, both sides of the string would vibrate with a pleasing sound when one side of the string was plucked. These pleasing proportional ratios were termed consonances. According to Pythagoras, there were four essential consonances: 1:1, or the unison; 2:1, or the octave; 3:2, or the fifth; and 4:3, or the fourth (Backus 135-6). A scale built on Pythagorean principles emphasizes pure fourths and fifths at the expense of seconds and thirds, which are rendered very small. Such systems of tunings were used in western music well into the Renaissance, and were invested with moral qualities. In medieval music, certain intervals--the unison, the octave, the fourth and the fifth--were considered to be "perfect"; other intervals were less than perfect, or even downright dangerous. The augmented fourth or tritone (the alarming

sound an ambulance makes in some European countries) was christened *diabolus in musica* (the devil in music) in the middle ages, and was avoided in composition (*Norton-Grove Concise Encyclopedia* 208). Although Pythagorean tunings eventually were replaced by mean-tone tunings and equal temperament, it is clear from Pythagoras's expression of the principles of consonance that musical language had *never* been considered to be innocent of moral content or connotation to its practitioners—even to those practitioners whose musical practice was based upon attractive mathematical abstractions.

The social implications of musical *ethos* are even more clearly recounted in the writings of Plato. Not only were musical intervals and scales or modes not abstract in terms of morality, but they were also not abstract in terms of gender. Feminine participation in music is defined negatively. In the *Republic*, Socrates calls for the suppression of all but two musical modes in his utopian state: the mode that imitates “the tone and rhythm of a courageous person who is active in battle . . . [and] is fighting off his fate steadily and with self-control” and that which imitates “someone engaged in a peaceful, unforced, voluntary action” (III:398d:1036). Other musical modes risk indulgence in sensuality and effeminacy and are not productive of behaviour that is beneficial to the state. Similarly, in the *Laws*, the Athenian declares that songs are not forms of amusement, but “deadly serious devices” for producing social concord:

The soul of the child has to be prevented from getting into the habit of feeling pleasure and pain in ways not sanctioned by the law and those who have been persuaded to obey it; he should follow in their footsteps and find

pleasure and pain in the same things as the old. That is why we have what we call songs, which are really ‘charms’ for the soul. These are in fact deadly serious devices for producing this concord we are talking about; but the souls of the young cannot bear to be serious, so we use the terms ‘recreation’ and ‘song’ for the charms, and children treat them in that spirit. . . the true legislator will persuade (or, failing persuasion, compel) the man with a creative flair to do with his grand and marvellous language: to compose correctly by portraying, with appropriate choreography and musical setting, men who are moderate, courageous and good in every way. (II:659d-e:1350)

The link between musical expression and political will is made explicit here: the legislator compels musicians to compose correctly, and the correct form is that which encourages courageous, masculine behaviour that results in the good of the state.

The dominant influence upon neoclassical understandings of music’s social utility was based on the writings of the aesthetic theorist popularly known as Dionysius Longinus, who incorporated certain Pythagorean, Platonic, and Aristotelian ideas into his conception of the musician as a person uniquely positioned to promote or to change social and moral law. Longinus’s *On the Sublime*, first translated by Boileau into French in 1674, appeared in many subsequent editions throughout the century. One of the first translations put into “*English dress*” (Smith A3), that by William Smith in 1739, exerted considerable influence upon British music critics and historians’ understanding of the affect of classical harmony. For Longinus, music is clearly a performative social act with visceral affect. “Fine Notes in Music have a surprizing effect on the Passions of an Audience. Do they not fill the Breast with inspired Warmth, and lift up the Heart into heavenly Transport? The very Limbs receive Motion from the Notes, and the Hearer, tho’ he has no Skill at all in

Music is sensible however that all its Turns make a strong Impression on his Body and Mind” (92). Perhaps in part because of this disparity between skilled and unskilled listeners, Longinus privileges vocal over instrumental music, citing its ability to “sink within and reach the Understanding”:

The Sounds of any musical Instrument are in themselves insignificant, yet by the Changes of the Air, the Agreement of the Chords, and Symphony of the Parts, they give extraordinary Pleasure, as we daily experience, to the Minds of an Audience. Yet these are only spurious Images and faint Imitations of the persuasive Voice of Man, and far from the genuine Effects and Operations of human Nature.

What an Opinion therefore may we justly form of fine Composition, the Effects of that Harmony which Nature has implanted in the Voice of Man? It is made up of Words which by no means die upon the Ear, but sink within and reach the Understanding. And then, does it not inspire us with fine Ideas of Sentiments and Things, of Beauty and of Order, Qualities of the same Date and Existence with our Souls?

The Pythagorean concept of sympathy is expanded by Longinus, who insists that sympathy can take place not only between instruments or strings, but also on an ideological level, between persons. This kind of sympathy, which effects the transference of ideas or passions, is especially potent when aided by elegant formal musical structure:

Does it not by an elegant Structure and marshalling of Sounds convey the Passions of the Speaker into the Breasts of his Audience? Then, does it not seize their Attention, and by framing an Edifice of Words to suit the Sublimity of Thoughts, delight and transport, and raise those Ideas of Dignity and Grandeur which it shares itself, and was designed by the Ascendant it gains upon the Mind, to excite in others. (92-3)

Longinus’ endorsement of vocal music’s supremacy over instrumental music; his rephrasing of Aristotle’s claim that even uneducated and musically-untrained persons could derive pleasure from music, since music originates in nature; his advocacy of using

music to inspire fine political and moral sentiments in an audience; and his idea that music is a physical, sensate experience, were all influential on eighteenth-century music theorists and historians. John Brown, Charles Avison, Charles Burney, James Beattie, Anselm Bayly, and Alexander Molleson each proposed subtle theoretical variations on these Longinian themes. Discussion of these critics' neoclassical refiguring of music's capacity to achieve social harmony is organized below chronologically by date of publication, rather than thematically, to enable the perception of trends in eighteenth-century aesthetic criticism, especially the emergence of the devaluation of the performer and the increase in compositional controls over musical affect, and to facilitate remarks upon the possible consequences of these developments for the production of music by women.

John Brown's book-length essay, entitled *A Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions of Poetry and Music* (1763), is perhaps best known for its zealous if misguided defense of the authenticity of Ossianic poetry. It seems an odd place to look for definitive statements on harmony's role in eighteenth-century Britain. Yet, surprisingly, Brown's enthusiasm for bardic narration and his belief in James MacPherson's fictional bard can be traced to his understanding of Greco-Roman musical traditions. It is the "*inartificial* and *mixed* Forms of Composition" such as epic, narrative, and dramatic lyric, which furnish the "internal Proofs of the *Antiquity* of the Poems" (158) for Brown; still more important in determining their worth is their vaunted social purpose. Ossian's songs record Fingal's battles, and their forceful lyrics attest to the elevated social and moral position occupied by the bard. Ossian's

moralistic epics and bardic authority are credible to Brown because of the resemblance they bear to contemporary understandings of the position of the performer in early Greece. “[I]n the more early Periods of the *Greek Republics*,” he writes, “their Poems were *sung* to the surrounding Audience for the important Ends of *Religion, Morals, and Polity*. In *ROME* as in the later Periods of *GREECE*, we find the *Song* brought down to *Recitation*, and these *great Purposes* swallowed up and lost in the *Vanity* and *Self-Importance* of the *Poet*” (190-1). While mere recitation bespeaks only the vanity of the performer, for Brown, the Greek ideal of song seems to promise a certain transcendence, in which the affective quality of the lyric, combined with its social import, overcomes the barrier presented by the individual performing subject. Unlike Longinus, Brown does not stress music’s effects on the body. Whether Ossianic or Greek, the performer who sings songs of “*Religion, Morals, and Polity*” is accorded authority not only because of his skill, but because the audience acknowledges the moral and social purpose of the music.

Brown’s observations have considerable import for female performers and their selection of repertoire. The selection of songs with embedded moral codes congruent with conservative social attitudes seems in his model to guarantee a positive reception for a performer. A woman who inhabited such codes, whether ideologically or only apparently, as a consciously performative persona, was likely to achieve considerable social approbation. Such success could result almost regardless of her level of artistic competence, as Brown’s stress on the propriety of a song’s content over “vain” demonstrations of skill by the performer suggests. His theory of transcendence of the

individual performing subject in cases where this congruency has been established both establishes a space where a performer's gender might be overlooked in view of the subject of her lyrics, and limits that space by imposing the barrier of appropriate content upon it.

By contrast, for Charles Avison, author of *An Essay on Musical Expression* (1775), harmony in music is perceptible to a listener not because of external social controls on lyrical content, but because of a common human predisposition towards aesthetic balance and order. "The capacity of receiving pleasure from these musical sounds," Avison writes, "is, in fact, a peculiar and internal sense; but, of a much more refined nature than the external senses: for in the pleasures arising from our internal sense of harmony, there is no prior uneasiness necessary, in order to our tasting them in their full perfection; neither is the enjoyment of them attended either with languor or disgust" (2). Avison's criticism rephrases the crucial distinction which Edmund Burke makes in his *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), between beauty, as the perception of regularity in form, and the sublime, which introduces an element of awe and controlled terror in the spectator. Avison acknowledges that music may move the passions, but he believes that musical sounds are limited to influencing happy passions and cannot enact harm: "It is their peculiar and essential property, to divest the soul of every unquiet passion, to pour in upon the mind a silent and serene joy, beyond the power of words to express, and to fix the heart in a rational, benevolent, and happy tranquillity" (3). Lyrical content is thus less important to Avison than to Brown, since it is the perception of musical sounds and their resonance with an individual's inner sense of

order and well-being which generates this beneficial disposition.

Avison's vision of harmony as an "internal sense" not only attempts to explain music's extralinguistic effects on the emotions, but it seems to promise universality of affect, as this mysterious "internal sense" is not tied to biological considerations, such as sex. It is therefore less constrictive for female performers and composers in terms of the lyrical content which they might successfully present or compose, since all music, in Avison's view, encourages appropriate social behaviour and appreciation of the beauties of natural and deific harmony.

Charles Burney's descriptions of the social pleasure associated with music in his *General History* and his musical travel writings are similar to Avison's account in that they consistently delineate music as an universally-affective, proto-linguistic system of signs. While modern music might not share ancient music's power to "quell seditions" or "cure unchastity," as Grassineau enthuses (150), for Burney, it still possesses considerable affect. Italianate melody in particular, he claims, "is become the common musical language of all Europe" (*Germany* 54). Burney notes music's social utility to the poor, in distracting their minds from care, and in providing employment; to religion, in lifting the mind to worship; to the military, in enforcing mental discipline; to the theatre, in stimulating the economy; and lastly, like Jonas Hanway, he notes its usefulness to the family, in providing harmless diversion and enriching private devotions (*Italy* 5). However, Burney distinguishes his argument from Avison's by stressing that rational understanding of certain harmonic principles is essential to informed, tasteful sonic perception. Burney

explains, “There is a tranquil pleasure, short of rapture, to be acquired from Music, in which intellect and sensation are equally concerned” (*History III*: iii). This rationality manifests itself in the common understanding of proper compositional techniques shared by audience and composer:

Music, in itself an innocent art, is so far from corrupting the mind, that, with its grave and decorous strains, it can calm the passions, and render the heart more fit for spiritual and pious purposes; particularly when united with language, and the precepts of religion. . . .even Instrumental Music, without words, if composed with propriety, and performed with reverence, seems worthy of a share in sacred rites. (*History III*: 33-4)

Enlightened rationality, expressed in socially-approved lyrical subjects (as Longinus advocates) and in shared understanding of performance practices, thus acts as a check on the potential for music’s bodily affect.

Burney’s writings privilege performers as the ultimate musical connoisseurs: people who know and appreciate the difficulties of composition and performance are the best audience, and the ones most likely to achieve rational pleasure from music. It is important to remember that Burney’s definition is given from the point of view of a performer, composer, and teacher. Though he began his musical career as a low-status apprentice and copyist to composer Thomas Arne, Burney later made remarkable social gains through aristocratic patronage of his musical abilities. For Burney, the practice of music effectively put aside class distinctions; or rather, it produced new class distinctions, based upon performance ability and distinguishing taste. In Burney’s opinion, some degree of musical education for both men and women is thus a necessary prelude both to

appreciation of music, and to controlling its affect by the application of mental discipline.

Burney's own example offers women the opportunity to improve their social standing through the display of musical skill, regardless of their original class and backgrounds.

As Burney's elevation of the status of the musician indicates, the study of musical harmony does not simply produce musicians; it also produces and educates audiences. James Beattie reveals an analogous approbation for the study of harmony by both men and women in his courageously-titled compendium, *Essays on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism; on Poetry and Music, as they Affect the Mind; on Laughter, and Ludicrous Composition; and on the Utility of Classical Learning* (1776). Beattie believes a certain level of study of harmony—which term, for him, seems to connote a practical knowledge of composition—will enable listeners to organize and appreciate musical sounds:

. . . harmony must be studied a little in its principles by every person who would acquire a true relish for it; and nothing but practice will ever give that quickness to his ear which is necessary to enable him to enter with adequate satisfaction, or rational dislike, into the merits or demerits of a musical performance. When once he can attend to the progress, relations, and dependencies, of the several parts; and remember the past, and anticipate the future, at the same time he perceives the present; so as to be sensible of the skill of the composer, and dexterity of the performer; ---a regular concerto, well executed, will yield him high entertainment, even though its regularity be its principal recommendation. The pleasure which an untutored hearer derives from it is far inferior . . . (461)

Like Longinus, Beattie underscores the importance of a “regular” and elegant musical form to the overall affective impact of the composition. Musical form, in his estimation, possesses semiotic attractions of its own, even when considered independently of content,

in that it encourages and rewards regularity of thought. However, Beattie considers music to be capable of communication that supercedes form's ability to signify, and he is troubled by his inability to explain the mechanics behind music's power to convey emotion or ideas:

. . . musical sounds are not the signs of ideas; rarely are they even the imitations of natural sounds: so that I am at a loss to conceive how it should happen, that a musician, overwhelmed with sorrow, for example, should put together a series of notes, whose expression is contrary to that of another series which he had put together when elevated with joy. But of the fact I am not doubtful; though I have not sagacity, or knowledge of music, enough to be able to explain it. (478)

Burney would undoubtedly reply that it is precisely the absence of a shared performative vocabulary of musicianship which prevents Beattie from comprehending instrumental music's affective qualities. Like Longinus, Beattie manifestly prefers vocal music, in which the social purpose is obvious and immutable, and where "the words render the expression determinate, and fix the hearer's attention upon it" (446). The social affect of such music can be as easily controlled as ascertained. Anselm Bayly's treatise, *The Alliance of Musick, Poetry and Oratory* (1789), likewise attributes the decline in musical affect to the divergence of the "sister arts" of music, poetry, and oratory. Harmony, for Bayly, resides in the relation of these sister arts to one another, and in their mutual co-operation in the production of civil or religiously-oriented mental affect. "At first," he writes, of the sister arts, "they dwelt together in friendly union, when musick aimed to animate by the simplicity of sounds in divine worship, poetry to civilize mankind with sentiments, and oratory to inform the understanding, and engage the passions and

affections on the side of truth and virtue” (4). Bayly even proposes that musical structure is the basis for aesthetic considerations of poetry and oratory, since it existed prior to these arts:

Musick, poetry and oratory, may with elegance, if not with propriety, be called not only liberal, but sister arts; of which musick is the elder, and on whom the other two are dependent. Musick is the basis on which poetry and oratory can be advanteously erected, and by it can be truly judged of.

Bayly’s history brings the discussion of musical harmony squarely back to Longinus’ precepts concerning the proper union of social and musical harmony, where the law-giver and the music-maker are united in one person. Modern decline in musical affect, according to both Bayly and Beattie, is simply the result of poorly-written lyrics, lyrics which diverge from sympathetic topics, and of music that is unsympathetic to its lyrics.

Emotional sympathy, rather than performative skill, emerges as the defining idea concerning music’s social role in Beattie’s essay. Although he moves towards characterizing musical sounds as absolute rather than expressive, Beattie acknowledges that the experience of listening to certain instruments and sounds may produce mental associations (such as associating the sound of a shepherd’s flute with pastoral idylls), especially in persons who possess what he terms “sympathetic” qualities. These sympathetic qualities include “a lively imagination, keen feelings, and what we call a tender heart” and may be furthered by “[h]abits of attention, the study of the works of nature, and of the best performances in art, experience of adversity, the love of virtue and of mankind” (491). Sympathy, he believes, “might be made a powerful instrument of moral

discipline, if poets . . . were careful to call forth our sensibility towards those emotions only that favour virtue, and invigorate the human mind” (493).

Beattie’s view that one’s natural sympathy may be improved through education thus expands upon Pythagorean and Longinian notions of natural and ideological consonance between sounding bodies, and suggests a rationale for including the study of music in women’s educations. In addition, his theorization of sympathy as a natural human tendency to virtuous behaviour, which might be furthered through the efficacious union of powerful rhetorical topoi with musical production, is fundamental to understanding the impulse towards certain generic topics pursued by female composers and writers. The particular subjects which Beattie recommends for sympathetic treatment in music include patriotism or valour; parental, conjugal or filial charity; and pity. The surviving songs by women examined in this study fall into remarkably similar thematic groups: songs of charity, pastoral songs, and songs of nation. Given Beattie’s emphasis on sympathy’s educative moral function, women’s exploitation of topics that might enlist the audience’s sympathy should not be cursorily dismissed as an ideological interpolation by conservative forces, but viewed as a potential site for educative disruptions of musically-depicted social norms.

A quick look at two final works will conclude this discussion of neoclassical views of the social uses of musical harmony. The issue of the increasing codification of harmony in prescriptive compositional techniques and the consequent devaluation of the performer’s role in musical production emerge distinctly in the work introduced near the

beginning of this discussion, Alexander Molleson's volume, *Melody--The Soul of Music: An Essay Towards the Improvement of the Musical Art* (1798). The author, who notes his debts to Burney, Longinus, Rousseau, and Beattie, like these authors believes in the universal, proto-linguistic affect of harmony:

There are certain inarticulate tones and inflections, swells, and softenings, of the voice adapted, by nature, to express the various passions and affections of the mind; such as joy, grief, kindness, anger, supplication and pity. Independent of articulate language, these are instinctively and universally understood. And they are not only understood, but by a sympathetic power, they communicate the feelings of one person, in some degree, to another; forming thus one of the links which unite mankind. (15-6)

Like many of his contemporaries, Molleson is careful to provide a history of ancient musics, this time citing Fenelon's *Telemachus* and the Greeks' use of music to spread law (39). He is in agreement with Avison on music's ability to influence the "virtuous" passions, and suggests that "owing to the generally pleasing nature of melody, it is incapable of enforcing those of the opposite kind" (35). If the affect of modern music is less than in classical times, this derogation has been caused by the complexity of figured counterpoint, which obscures vocal clarity. Greater social utility, he argues, can be derived from melody than from harmony. No slouch when it comes to practicalities, Molleson recommends a rigorous program of compositional strategies to restore music's affective power. He suggests that melody be divided into five classes: "1. Bold, courageous, magnanimous; 2. Merry, joyous; 3. Calm, cheerful, contented; 4. Tender, plaintive, compassionate; 5. Solemn, devotional" (68). Composers should then be restricted to

“study chiefly that kind in which their genius excelled” according to each’s “natural disposition and habits” (72), and collections of expressive pieces of music and the different kinds of English verse made up and matched together. In this way, “melodies in the solemn class, of a simple kind, yet uncontaminated with the association of mean or licentious ideas” might be paired with equally sedate hymns; “didactic poems and songs” with “melodies of the tender or cheerful kind” (74), and so on. “By these means,” Molleson argues, “both poetry and music would become better fitted to promote the rational and improving amusement of social life. And music in particular would rise in dignity; and be cultivated by many who think the study of it requires too much time for a mere amusement” (74-5).

In sum, Molleson defines the composition of musical harmony as an abstruse, scientific occupation which “ought to be confined to the use of professors and musical scholars” (77) and (re)appropriates simple vocal melody--which he subjects to a strenuous system of classification--to the promotion of social concord. The significance of Molleson’s ideas to women performers and composers is clear: his characterization of the divergence of music’s aesthetic and social purposes meant that one could be either amused or improved; accomplished or dignified; a composer or a performer; musical or moral, but never both at once.

Finally, William Shield’s entertaining and polite guide, *An Introduction to Harmony*, encapsulates the late eighteenth-century trend towards the characterization of harmony as scientific. First published in 1800, Shield’s book begins by quoting the first

stanza of Dryden's ode ["From Harmony, from Heav'nly Harmony, . . ."]. The epigraph economically displays the cultural currency enjoyed by this poem over a hundred years after its creation, and invokes the bi-partite Christian / classical ideal of harmony as evidence of the divine and as the proper and pleasing distribution of parts. Shield's narrative is illustrated with numerous musical examples, but could be read with enjoyment by a person without any knowledge of music. Indeed, the divorce of music and poetry of which Bayly complains is nowhere in evidence in Shield's writing, for he often borrows literary definitions of harmony to illustrate and even define his musical lessons. He writes, ". . . I shall, as often as possible, strengthen the musical definitions by allusive poetical selections, hoping, by this auxiliary, to stamp a pleasing and lasting impression upon the memory of the general reader, if he should be inclined to study any musical article from this book" (2). That said, Shield's book is the most practical handbook on composing harmony produced in the century, and consequently, one of the most prescriptive, even in its most subtle directives and examples. This exhortation on the proper use of fourths is typical: "The bitter cries of naked fourths are so shocking to the ears of a feeling Composer that he never suffers them to remain long in any situation without cloathing: How disagreeably this group howl without their associate the sixth; But how pleasantly they sing in four parts when he and his companion the eighth join them" (66). This is clearly the *correct* way to use a fourth.

Professionalization of vocal performance accompanies this trend towards prescriptive composition. Vocal music is once again given explicit precedence over

instrumental, with reference to classical tradition, as Shield comments, “The melody of the human voice, when properly modulated and accompanied by instrument, has an astonishing power over the soul, and has been a theme for the poets of every age” (83). This avowal alters and extends Longinus’ definition of vocal music’s social power, for Shield emphasizes the need for a trained or “modulated” voice and an instrumental accompaniment. Vocal power is, for Shield, more dependent upon appropriate accompaniment in which words are set with natural accentuation and expression (84), and the singer’s trained skill, than upon the audience’s approbation of the lyrics’ social message.

The shift visible in Shield’s volume, from recognition of the vocalist as the musical purveyor of socially-determined moral values to the newer ideal of the musician as an individual exercising an ever-more prescribed set of codified rules, exemplified and sanctioned as tasteful by composers, has important consequences for women’s engagement in music. References to female musicians are everywhere in Shield’s carefully-marketed volume. A note at the bottom of page 112 comments, “It has lately become very fashionable for young Ladies to exercise their fingers before they begin regular compositions with such Preludes as the following,” and Shield guides his readers’ taste with similar references to a fictive peer group with compliments and hints, such as his Beattie-like cue, “Young ladies are sometimes partial to national melodies” (20). If even melody and vocalization are to be prescriptively ruled by externally-imposed codified taste, rather than produced actively through performance practices, then Shield’s

valorization of taste at the expense of morality has the potential to leave female performers and composers without the social consequence granted to the singer as a purveyor of shared social values, and at the same time, to position them outside the increasingly “scientific” serious study of harmony.

As this survey of the primary works concerning musical harmony available in Britain in the latter half of the eighteenth century demonstrates, even by the century’s end, most music historians and theorists continued to retain Longinus’s emphasis on the primacy of vocal music and its role in the expression of cultural ideals. Accordingly, vocal performers were initially granted a privileged position over instrumentalists, both by society at large, and in the musical community, due to this understanding of the classical union of music and social law. Contemporary music, though it lacked grandiose classical affect, could be rendered socially useful if this aesthetic-political relationship was deliberately reintroduced. However, some check was needed to ensure that the vanity of individual performers did not overcome the avowed communicative, social purpose of harmony: the expression of morality. An increasing emphasis on music’s mental affect was thus accompanied by an apparent de-emphasizing of the physical affect of music upon the body, and the importance of a *musically*-educated audience to the achievement of a fully-realized aesthetic experience and to controlling music’s bodily affect emerged as an important concept. Many musicians and critics continued to perceive music’s harmonic vocabulary in proto-linguistic terms, as a kind of universal language not only imitative, but expressive of human emotions. Thus, the potential of music’s expressive power and its

social purpose might be--and were--controlled through the gradual imposition of codified standards of taste upon harmonic progressions, the performer's license to ornamentation and invention, and even the subjects of lyrics. Having briefly surveyed changing neoclassical understandings of musical harmony and its proposed social utility, I will now explore in detail how the ideals underlying harmony's "progression" came into play in the daily lives of musical women.

IV. Discipline and Practice

It was 1792 when Mary Wollstonecraft explained her rationale for excluding the study of music from women's education with this sentence: "Novels, music, poetry, and gallantry, all tend to make women the creatures of sensation, and their character is thus formed in the mould of folly during the time they are acquiring accomplishments, the only improvement they are excited, by their station in society, to acquire" (154). In the course of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Wollstonecraft also quotes the portion of Day's *Sandford and Merton*, in which Day deplores the ability "to touch a musical instrument" as an "useless skill" (128). She frequently protests the increase of sensibility "at the expense of reason" (158), and music, it seems, promotes sensation at reason's expense. Wollstonecraft's discussion of music is cursory, and presumably, like the rest of her text, directed at the middle class (81). It considers only performance, not composition, and then only performance as a reproductive activity and as empty "accomplishment." As such, she considers music an unfit activity for rational minds better

exercised with studies which might “enable the individual to attain such habits of virtue as will render it independent” (103), rather than to simply repeat “a set of phrases learnt by rote” (225). Her remarks serve to confirm the late eighteenth-century trends away from neoclassical ideals of the performer’s importance to the interpretation of music with acknowledged social importance, and towards increasing compositional controls over performance practice, and the accompanying devaluation of the performer observable in Molleson and Shield’s works.

But if Wollstonecraft viewed music as mere “accomplishment” rather than as educative, other women, including writer Christiana Short, composer Ann Young, and performers Charlotte Papendiek and Anna Phillips Crouch, combined elements of neoclassical definitions of harmony’s ability to affect one’s rationality and sensuality in order to support and provide female musicians with a range of divergent texts. Indeed, even considering Wollstonecraft’s restrictive definition of music as reproductive performance, there is still room to consider musical activities such as composition or individualized performances as rational activities with significant potential for subject formation. As Jacques Attali asserts, “composition proposes a radical social model, one in which the body is treated as capable not only of production and consumption, and even of entering into relations with others, but also of autonomous pleasure” (32). Considering the autonomous pleasure of the performing or composing female subject, as well as her potential power to create both new works and meaningful, variant texts of extant works, allows a view of music as a means for offering women an opportunity for self-expression.

Wollstonecraft's condemnation of music as mere sensual accomplishment rather than educative employment thus serves as a useful introduction to the late eighteenth-century debate over what, if any, place should music occupy in a woman's education. The central concern of this debate can be phrased simply: what social purposes could the study of musical harmony fulfill in a woman's moral education, and what degree of study was necessary to achieve these purposes? Given the classical association of music with law-giving recently reinvigorated by theorists including Brown and Bayly, and the contemporary consensus of historians and composers such as Avison regarding music's potentially beneficial mental affect on both audience and performer, it was commonly perceived that there was rich opportunity to achieve considerable effect upon women's morals using the "deadly serious device" of songs. At the same time, however, the questions raised by Beattie and Burney over the extent of music's quasi-linguistic power to signify extramusical meanings by imitation, association, or other means, signalled a certain discomfort about the transparency and transference of musical messages, especially when the performer enjoyed considerable autonomy within flexible performance practices. If music was to aid in the proper disposal of social parts in one harmonious whole, and to shape individual members of society to bear their parts in that whole, it was plain that women's participation in music-making must be defined and controlled. An extract from Susan McClary's *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (1991) reveals the cultural work that music performs with regard to the female subject:

Literature and visual art are almost always concerned (at least in part) with

the organization of sexuality, the construction of gender, the arousal and channeling of desire. So is music, except that music may perform these functions even more effectively than other media. Since few listeners know how to explain how it creates its effects, music gives the illusion of operating independently of cultural mediation. It is often received (and not only by the musically untutored) as a mysterious medium within which we seem to encounter our “own” most private feelings. Thus music is able to contribute heavily (if surreptitiously) to the shaping of individual identities . . . music teaches us how to experience our own emotions, our own desires, and even (especially in dance) our own bodies. For better or for worse, it socializes us. (53)

McClary’s observation that “few listeners know how to explain how music creates its effects” recalls Beattie’s verbal shrug at the manner in which instrumental music is capable of signifying emotion (“I am at a loss to conceive how it should happen . . . but of the fact I am not doubtful”), as well as Burney’s answer to Beattie’s dilemma—that the musician is the best judge of music’s socio-moral affect and is well-placed to understand and control it because s/he knows something of how that affect is manufactured. Although, as the survey of neoclassical works on musical and social harmony by Avison, Brown, Beattie, Burney, Bayly, Shield, Grassineau, and others shows, there was nothing “surreptitious” about the expression of harmony’s socio-moral utility as a form of cultural mediation in the eighteenth century—on the contrary, such mediation was fervently advocated—McClary’s observation is still apposite for the insight it gives into music as an art which constructs gender and arouses and channels desire. The key concepts which emerged in the debate over women’s musical education centred around these very concerns. These issues included the value of musical practice as a form of moral discipline; the proper disposal of women’s time and labour; the appropriateness of music as an occupation for women of

different classes; the suitability of various lyrics and musical forms to women; and the circumstances which should govern musical performances by women.

Music is an art which disposes itself over time. It is also an art which requires a significant investment of time in order to acquire even a moderate level of skill. For many moralists, these were arguments in favour of music as an effective moral discipline for women. The young lady pounding away at her Clementi exercises could not be out on the town spending money or engaging in flirtations; in fact, her behaviour could be aurally supervised without the physical presence of a guardian. More than this, her musical practice actually became an internalized form of self-discipline. In Dialogue XXI of a conduct book entitled *The Young Ladies Magazine, or Dialogues Between a Discreet Governess and Several Young Ladies of the first Rank under her Education* (1760), a character named Lady Lucy typifies this form of self-surveillance. She describes the disposition of time in her day as follows:

After breakfast I take an hour of relaxation, that is, I take a walk in the garden, or I sing at my work, or play upon the harpsichord. From time to time I reflect, that God is present, I offer him all my actions, or, I say some very short prayers to myself. . . . At eleven I go up to my chamber, and read some history, I study geography, and I write down what has struck me, and seemed most material in my reading. The time is spent in this manner till half an hour past three, when my woman comes to dress me . . . (Le Prince De Beaumont 71)

Lady Lucy's musical habit is emblematic of her balanced approach to religious discipline and pleasure. Like all her activities, it is penetrated by or combined with prayerful reflection--another form of moral surveillance. The intellectual effort required in music-

making is de-emphasized in this conduct-book account. Playing upon the harpsichord is not a taxing “study” like geography or history for Lady Lucy, but a “relaxation” from her mental endeavours. Music aids her in disposing of her time, and is in itself a morally-edifying activity. As the author of another, later, conduct book, *The Ladies Friend; Being a Treatise on the Virtues and Qualifications which are the Brightest Ornaments of the Fair Sex, and render Them most agreeable to the Sensible Part of Mankind* (1784), observes, music tunes the mind: “A woman of talents, instead of chattering with a dog, or a bird, enjoys the exquisite melody of her harpsichord, heightening it with the accordant sounds of her voice; her mind itself is attuned; and from this delight she can betake herself to some book of instructive entertainment” (35). Here, even the sensual pleasure derived from music-making is appropriated by the anonymous author for the purpose of preparing a woman’s mind for moral instruction.

The suggestion that amateur music-making provided an effective form of self-discipline for women was not limited solely to conduct books. The popular heroine of Samuel Richardson’s novel *Clarissa* (1747-8) may well be the model for Lady Lucy and her carefully self-monitored behaviour. According to her friend Anna Howe, Clarissa Harlowe possessed considerable “skill in music” and “a charming voice when it accompanied her fingers”; but Anna is careful to insist there was nothing strange or virtuosic (1469) about her friend’s musical abilities. In Anna’s account of Clarissa’s accountant-like disposal of her own time, Clarissa is said to have devoted “FIVE hours to her needle, drawings, music etc.” in the afternoons (1470). Earlier in the novel, Clarissa’s

musical self-discipline becomes the focal point for a dramatic scene when she is confined to her room by her family for refusing the hand of the odious Solmes. At eleven o'clock at night, Clarissa writes to her friend,

I have been forced to try to compose my angry passions at my harpsichord; having first shut close my doors and windows, that I might not be heard below. As I was closing the shutters of the windows, the distant whooting of the bird of Minerva as from the often-visited woodhouse gave the subject in that charming ODE TO WISDOM, which does honour to our sex, as it was written by one of it. I made an essay, a week ago, to set the three last stanzas of it, as not unsuitable to my unhappy situation; and after I had re-perused the ode, those three were my lesson: and I am sure in the solemn address they contain to the all-wise and all-powerful Deity, my heart went with my fingers.

I enclose the ode and my effort with it. The subject is solemn: my circumstances are affecting; and I flatter myself that I have not been quite unhappy in the performance. If it obtain your approbation, I shall be out of doubt: and should be still more assured could I hear it tried by your voice and by your finger. (Letter 54: 231)

Clarissa turns her performative musical skill inward in a truly subversive fashion. Though she repeatedly performs the last three stanzas of Elizabeth Carter's poem as a "lesson," it is a lesson which she has set herself. Though her family has presumably paid for her to acquire this skill, she excludes them from her audience and her thoughts by shutting her windows. Most important, Clarissa appeals to her friend's sensibility through encouraging her to try her composition. Anna's approbation of Clarissa's "performance" will not only comfort the composer by assuring her of her aesthetic achievement in composition, but will also signal approval of Clarissa's behaviour in her "affecting circumstances." In response, Anna Howe praises Clarissa's setting of the ode as having given it "new beauties" and laments that Clarissa's intractable family have put her out of her "admirable

course” (240) of self-regulated behaviour, in which music played a wholesome part.

Richardson’s inclusion of a musical setting of the ode in his text encourages those young women reading the novel to supply the missing performance—and the concomitant sympathy for Clarissa’s plight expressed in her “lesson”—themselves.

Lest my emphasis on this incident seem disproportionate to its effects, I should note that until quite recently, “Clarissa Harlowe” has been listed as the composer of “Ode to Wisdom” in numerous library catalogues and musical bibliographies (Garvey-Jackson 200). In other words, the reader-performer’s identification with Clarissa’s plight through performance of the ode led to an official (mis)recognition of its true authorship. Clarissa’s moment of harmony grows still more complicated when one considers that the poem by Elizabeth Carter which gives the song its lyric was snapped up by Richardson without Carter’s permission. The ode was set anonymously and appeared in the first, second, and third editions of the novel (1514). Carter cannot have been happy with the “new beauties” of the musical setting Richardson commissioned for her verses. In setting only the last three verses of the ode, the meaning of the words is substantially changed. In fact, the ode’s sixteen stanzas are dedicated to Pallas Athene, “Queen of ev’ry art, / That glads the sense, and mends the heart” (ll. 20-1), not to God the Father. Although the entire ode appears in the text of the three editions of *Clarissa*, the fold-out musical sheet with the repetitive “lesson” is the part of the text that is performed, and it emphasizes submission to divine will, not expressive devotion to the female goddess of wisdom and creativity. Harmonizing Carter’s ode has the effect of reducing its complexity and aligning it more

Harmonizing Carter's ode has the effect of reducing its complexity and aligning it more closely with conservative values.

Richardson was not the only eighteenth-century writer to combine the novel of sensibility with the sensational emotive affect and commercial appeal of musical interludes. Amelia Alderson Opie's novels (including *Temper* and *Adeline Mowbray; or, The Mother and Daughter*) often contain autobiographical portraits of women earning much-needed money by the composer's pen; and Anne Radcliffe's poems and songs in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, *The Italian*, and *The Romance of the Forest* were set to music and separately published, as were those in Mary Darby Robinson's *Vincenza; or, the Dangers of Credulity*, to name only two examples that will be discussed further in the chapter concerning pastoral songs. Novelist Sarah Scott, however, uses musical affect to illustrate social and moral precepts in a completely different, anti-commercial way. Scott's novel, *Millenium Hall* (1762), partakes of common patriarchal conceptions of musical education as an amiable, internalized social discipline; yet her characters perform their "family concerts" (62) solely for the educative benefit of a community of women who have retired together in a rural retreat from society. As the two male visitors to the community observe, these concerts involve a high degree of musical skill, and a curious mingling of the various classes otherwise so peacefully maintained in separate domestic enclosures at Millenium Hall. At the concert, the ladies of the community associate with their male steward, a shepherd, two maimed young men, and many of the young girls whom they sponsor in a vocational school on the grounds of the Hall, together performing "several of

exact time” (63). The narrator notes further that “the songs were sung in a manner so touching and pathetic, as could be equalled by none, whose hearts were not as much affected by the words, as their senses were by the music” (63). Millenium Hall’s performing forces, thus harmonized socially, morally and musically, recall Pope’s formulation of the “Vast chain of Being.” This normative view of moral improvement is acknowledged by one of the Hall’s inhabitants, Mrs. Mancel:

“We do not set up for reformers . . . we wish to regulate ourselves by the laws laid down to us, and are far as our influence can extend, endeavour to inforce them; beyond that small circle all is foreign to us; we have sufficient employment in improving ourselves; to mend the world requires much abler hands.” (166)

Mrs. Mancel’s concern is not only to demonstrate that the small, self-sufficient conclave of women obeys Christian laws, but to show that such laws, in fact, enable and support the decision of these women to form an alternative community of societal outcasts. In this context, the women’s “family concert” represents a radical demonstration of their power to use certain societal norms (class, Christianity) to forge a new, equally-moral community; a community in which women are the heads of the family unit and control their own time, money, and pleasure, and where music, not coincidentally, is considered a rational occupation and not “senseless revelry” (63).

Yet if the practice of music was considered by many to constitute effective moral discipline for women, the appropriateness of performance and composition as activities for women was closely regulated by class-related concerns. Richard Leppert observes that women’s participation in music in the eighteenth century was classed in regard to whether

performances occurred in public or private performance spaces, and whether women engaged in passive listening or active performance (*The Sight of Sound* 66). Active performance in a domestic setting or passive listening in a public setting were acceptable behaviours for upper-class women, he claims; public performance was acceptable behaviour only for professional musicians, whom he reads as necessarily belonging to a lower class than amateur performers. Certainly, as Nancy Armstrong demonstrates in *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (1987), the fetishization of domesticity in the latter half of the eighteenth century meant that the distinction between useful labour and social accomplishment had to be drawn with increasing carefulness. For instance, Jacques Du Boscq's conduct book, *The Accomplish'd Woman*, translated into English in 1753, offers an account of musical accomplishment which verges on the anti-domestic:

It must not be imagin'd therefore that by an ACCOMPLISH'D WOMAN, whose picture we are here drawing, we mean *the mother of a family*, who knows how to command her servants, and dress her children: Tho' we blame not this, yet music, history, philosophy, and other the like exercises are more apposite to our purpose, than those of good huswifery; and there is no one so void of common sense but must own, that without some of these choice qualifications, tho' women may be of an excellent disposition, yet they often find it embarrass'd with troublesom and irregular thoughts. (Du Boscq 118)

In contrast to the "accomplish'd woman," "polite" or "genteel" women (Vickery 13-4), such as the wealthy merchants' daughters frequently portrayed in conduct books, who might experience some volatility in the state of their fortunes, were often explicitly enjoined to acquire music only as a supplementary accomplishment, after acquiring useful

skills with the needle. This specious designation of music as a “supplementary” activity for women of unstable fortune, though often taken at face value by cultural critics, is frequently belied or undercut by the same texts which so designate it. In this dialogue from *The Young Ladies Magazine, or Dialogues Between a Discreet Governess and Several Young Ladies of the first Rank under her Education*, for example, Mrs Affable affects to place the performance of music quite low in the list of a gentlewoman’s educational requisites; but if one considers regulation of the body through the study of dance as musical activity, music actually enters into her list of accomplishments as a necessity:

Lady Sincere. Will you tell me, Mrs. *Affable*, what is necessary to be known by a young lady of birth.

Mrs. Affable. . . . First, she must read extremely well; she must write clearly, without blots, and correctly, that is her hand must be legible, and the writing true and well spelt. Nothing is so mean and low bred, as failing in these two articles of writing and reading. . . . A young gentlewoman should know her mother-tongue groundedly and by rule, that she may speak well. She must learn to come handsomely into a room, and, as she comes in, to pay her respects in a proper manner to the company; she must have a dancing master some time for this purpose. She ought to understand Geography and have at least a general idea of history, and know how to indite a letter. I cannot excuse any young lady’s ignorance of these articles. I must add the French language which is absolutely necessary being now the language of all the Courts. . . . Besides these there are other sciences I would recommend to young ladies, as music, design or the art of drawing, as also what relates to ladies small work of hand. No precautions can be too great against disgust, uneasiness of mind and sloth, which occasion the greatest misfortunes of our sex.

Please to observe, ladies, that these are only agreeable and convenient accomplishments. There are others more essential. As a christian you must study religion and know it groundedly; as you are designed to be mothers and heads of families, you are to learn oeconomy, the manner of governing your house and educating your children. (130-2)

While these two conduct books might appear to oppose one another superficially in terms

of music's appropriateness as a diversion to genteel women, they are in unison on the topic of why music is included in women's education. Music, both claim, dismisses "troublesom and irregular thoughts" and banishes sloth while it disciplines the body in the perceptible habits of a polite appearance. According to most conduct books in the latter half of the century, music is not labour, but an accomplishment which quantifies the precise degree to which labour is absent in the lives of its practitioners, since those women with greater leisure are in greater need of musical discipline. As such, the display of one's musical training might be considered equally appropriate to public and private occasions, since this display promotes other aspects of social harmony, such as the stabilization of class hierarchies. But what degree of musical accomplishment did contemporary moralists feel was necessary to achieve music's social and moral functions?

A widely read and reprinted sermon on the subject of women's education by Reverend James Fordyce demonstrates the potential for conflict between music's economic utility as a measure of leisured accomplishment and its perceived moral usefulness. However much they might differ on other points, Fordyce's views prefigure those of Wollstonecraft in that he believes music to be a sensual accomplishment rather than a rational activity. Fordyce prefers active charity to the inculcation of empty moral discipline through the temporal displacement offered by musical training, and cites charity as the best performance to be accomplished by female hands. He urges young women (and, implicitly, their guardians) not to "lose the labour of years" by cultivating a showy skill that they will abandon after marriage when their time might be "directed with lasting

benefit into some other channel”:

The last accomplishment of the elegant kind, which I shall mention, is Music . . . There are young ladies indeed, who, without any particular advantage of a natural air or good voice, have, by means of circumstances peculiarly favourable, made great proficiency in music: but then they have made it at a vast expence of time and application; such as no woman ought to bestow upon an object to which she is not carried by the irresistible impulse of genius. (100)

Fordyce’s illogical argument (how could a woman who had taken no music lessons manifest an “irresistible impulse of genius” for music?) envisions music lessons as training rather than education. Like Jonas Hanway, Fordyce attempts to restrict women’s musical performances to the immediate family:

. . . . for a young lady who has no turn for the study I am speaking of, to be condemned both to mortify herself, and to punish her acquaintance, by murdering every lesson put into her hands, is a very awkward situation, however much her master may, for the sake of his craft, flatter her and her friends; assuring them perhaps with an air of great solemnity, that he never had a better scholar in all his life. If she whose attainments in this kind are but indifferent, could be contented to amuse herself, and those of her own family, now and then, with an air that happened to please them, it were well: but how does a judicious hearer blush for the poor beginner, when set down by the command of a fond parent to entertain perhaps a large company, as we have often seen, with performing that of which she scarce knows the very rudiments; while all is disappointment on their part, and, if she has any understanding, confusion on her’s! (Fordyce 101)

For whose benefit is this advice given? It is not the performer, but the male spectator and critic, who assumes the worldly pose of a “judicious hearer,” who blushes; at the same time, the sermon discourages the woman from attaining the ability to judge accurately of her own performance by acquiring further musical skill. Fordyce’s derisive account of an amateur performance before “a large company” within a private setting, and his ensuing

recommendation of restricting women's musical performances solely to the ears of family members or the performer herself, also suggests a range of distinctions glossed over in Leppert's characterization of public and private performances as indicative of class: there is, evidently, considerable complexity and a variety of levels of domesticity in the eighteenth-century performative continuum. What of so-called private concerts which took place in homes, for which tickets were sold? What of subscription-only concerts in public venues? What of concerts featuring, as many did, a combination of "amateur" and "professional" musicians? What of female performers of the class Amanda Vickery terms "the genteel," that group found between the aristocrats and the lower classes? And, most important, what of the continuity of musical repertoire which flowed between public and private spaces? How can the same tune, performed in two different spaces, connote upper-class taste in one space, and signal lower-class taste in another? At the same time, Leppert's study and Fordyce's contemporary sermon both make the valuable point that music is always a "classed" activity in that it requires leisure time and money for lessons and repertoire to acquire musical skill, and in this sense, women certainly could benefit from others' perceptions of musical proficiency and taste as connoting a relatively high, stable class background. Predictably, designating music an "agreeable and convenient accomplishment" rather than essential knowledge meant that women who were in marginal financial circumstances had substantial motivation to learn music, which signified economic ease and birth, in order to improve their social standing using a performative deception.

Anxiety over music's influence on class hierarchies arose from the fact that music was a form of social address, and one which enabled a certain amount of class mobility. Hearing Handelian arias from a governess was the enticing aural equivalent of seeing a Pamela in fine clothes. The poet Anna Seward describes the deployment of this very tactic in her correspondence. Seward meets an unnamed young woman, the daughter of a cleric and the recipient of a "literary" education, at a friend's home just as the young woman is about to become governess to two small "girls of consequence" in London following their mother's death. Seward summarizes the governess's looks as "repulsive," but approves her melodious speaking voice and her "attic" wit. After dinner, in a moonlit grotto, the young woman entertains Seward and the other guests with the air from Handel's *Athaliah*:

"Cease thy anguish, smile once more,
Let thy tears no longer flow!"

Upon hearing her, their host, Mr Howard, exclaims, "My dear young lady, whenever you shall wish to subdue a heart, let his song be your weapon of attack" (Seward, *Poetical Works* cix). Evidently, the young woman benefitted from this advice, as Seward relates:

In a few weeks after, we heard that Mr L---- had married his children's governess . . . this lucky young woman had been about a month in Mr L--'s family, as governess, (yet, as she had properly stipulated, treated by himself and his company as a gentlewoman,) the house being full of guests, it was one evening proposed that the song should go round. When the governess was called upon, she sung the very air whose witching sweetness had, in the grotto, taken prisoner every faculty of my young imagination. . . . that was the first time Mr L--- had heard her sing. He had shewn little attention to the charms of her conversation. The emanations of genius and of knowledge are, to the generality of what are called polite men and women, but as colours to the blind. We do not find it so with vocal music; where there is any ear, it speaks to the passions, and their influence is universal.

(Poetical Works cix-cx)

Seward's epistolary commentary on this incident partakes in several of the issues on which social and musical harmony interweave, and exposes several levels of class consciousness.

The governess is enabled to make the social leap from employee to wife because she has never been considered to be a servant by her employer. Her birth and literary education enable this initial distinction; her musical and performative ability further distinguish her by calling attention to her understanding through her display of sensibility. The incident represents the inverse of Wollstonecraft's portrayal of music as increasing women's sensibility at the expense of their reason, for Mr L-'s appreciation of his future wife's understanding is increased by her appeal to his senses. Seward's inclusion of Mr.

Howard's advice to the governess even suggests to the reader that the governess's real performance lies in concealing her rational plot to better her social standing under the masquerade of sensibility. Finally, Seward's affirmation of music's "universal influence" over the passions, when coupled with this incident, reveals that accepting neoclassical ideas concerning music's proto-linguistic affect had implications not only for national, but for class boundaries.

The suitability of both musical forms and lyrical subjects to the inculcation of morality was a further point in the debate over music's place in a woman's education. Repetition or rehearsal was viewed by many writers as representing a moral good, not only in disposing of women's time, but also in altering women's disposition over time. While the intended trajectory of influence governing the choice of lyrical subjects is often

more discernible, the repetition of compositional forms also produces consequences for both performer and composer, as modern cultural theorist Pierre Bourdieu indicates: “The repeated perception of works of a certain style encourages the unconscious internalization of the rules that govern the production of these works” (227). One relatively unexplored, gendered compositional form which reveals much about contemporary attitudes towards women’s involvement in music and music’s potential to assist in subject formation is the conduct drama. Tactics designed to promote women’s “unconscious internalization” of social rules are readily apparent in the late eighteenth-century melding of conduct-book dialogues with closet drama productions. These “conduct dramas” are distinguishable from earlier conduct book dialogues in that they contain stage directions concerning vocal expression, physical action, props, and musical cues, but, like conduct books, they address a female-gendered audience. Often, as in the conduct book dialogues discussed earlier, music emerges as a telling indicator of a woman’s class, education, and moral character. Numerous conduct dramas offer occasions for musical interludes. In some cases, these interludes appear as in a ballad opera, with a new text supplied by the author for a well-known ballad tune; in others, national music (“a Scots tune,” an “Italian song”) or music for a particular instrument is specified; or, the writer may simply give a stage direction for music, and leave the details to the performer, trusting that her musical selection and performance manner will be consistent with the portrayal of her dramatic character. The rehearsal dynamic for conduct drama representations is complex, and extends outside the temporal frame of the performance itself. Since the music, which may be performed

subsequently outside the drama, and may have been performed and practiced previously, is cued and determined by the action of the play, it might continue to be mentally associated with the moral drama and its precepts even after the play has ended. The conduct drama thus attempts to direct and contain the affect of musical performance within its own didactic moral framework.

Christiana Short, a moralist and an acquaintance of Anna Seward, who wrote the Epilogue to Short's *Dramas for the Use of Young Ladies* (1792), obviously conceived of repetitive aural entertainment as an opportunity for moral education. Her plays, like most conduct dramas, feature female characters almost exclusively, take place in domestic settings such as drawing or dining rooms, and are designed to promote "the habit of speaking with grace and propriety" (Preface). Since the dramas are not only set, but also performed in a domestic environment, real tea sets and harpsichords are readily available as props, and there is considerable blurring of the dramatic with the real in her works. In the Prologue to Short's play, *The Fortunate Disappointment*, Seward writes of the ability of repetitive recitation to "steal into the heart," especially when combined with elegance, taste and solid moral intent:

TO teach our ductile youth the pleasing art,
Whose powers persuasive steal into the heart,
When graceful motion, and when accent just,
Prove faithful ever to the writer's trust,
No idle aim, no light design betrays,
For virtue smiles on generous thirst of praise;
And oft exterior elegance we find
Gives added influence to the virtuous mind;
Since *warmest* glow the emulative fires,

If, while our Sense *approves*, our Taste *admires*. (ll. 1-10)

According to Seward's preface, Short's design is to condition the responses of the young women in her circle to various social situations which they might encounter. Like the set of model letters published earlier in the century by Samuel Richardson, the tasteful lines from her dramas were meant to be imitated and plundered freely. Yet one can imagine some of the more stilted exchanges and comic lines in conduct dramas being spontaneously reproduced at the dinner table in a spirit of irony or lively parody, or emerging as a codified discourse amongst women in a larger social occasion. And certainly, figuring domestic space and domestic behaviour as inherently performative troubles the presumption of a barrier between public and private spaces. Short addresses this concern in a subversive passage in *The Fortunate Disappointment*. The drama requires extensive performing forces—eight female roles, exclusive of servants—and thus immediately challenges the category of “private” drama, since it is unlikely to have been performed by only one family. Further, the play does not precisely follow the moral directive set out in Seward's preface, as may be seen when one of the principal characters, Maria, complains:

was it not for the play, the opera, and some few other amusements, I shou'd not care whether I ever entered London again . . . whilst in the pursuit of pleasure, you must shut up every avenue to it, and in order to be thought something, must become nothing--a mere automaton--every one is expected to preserve such a strict conformity to fashionable manners, that I think it would be a good plan to have one of those engines made as one's representative, rather than submit to the fatigue and insipidity of London visits. (24-5)

Although the primary purpose of this bit of dialogue is to contrast the pleasures of retirement with the meaningless bustle of the city, Maria's comment on the "automaton"-like London manners also makes the distinction between true cultural performances (the opera, the play) and the false play of "fashionable manners." Her observation seems to offer an ironic commentary on the conduct drama itself, and to challenge Short's avowed moral project from within.

A similar conduct drama entitled *The Contrast*, found in Volume III of the anonymous set of volumes, *Dramatic Pieces Calculated to Exemplify the Mode of Conduct which will render YOUNG LADIES both Amiable and Happy, when their School Education is Completed* (1784), typifies this kind of subversive attack upon the inculcation of morality via repetitive entertainments, and does so using explicitly musical means. The writer uses, then overturns, the neoclassical understanding of music as a proto-linguistic discourse to critique the demoralizing effects of the repetition of foreign music upon young English women in a humourous sally of musical chauvinism. The play's characters include Miss Thurot, a young French woman who has received an English education; Miss Vernon, an affected English miss who has just returned from school abroad to flaunt unbecoming French airs; and Miss Teresa Selwyn, Miss Vernon's cousin, and a model daughter and hostess. The action of the play turns on three musical performances, the content of which are determined by the players. The first is a domestic concert at which the Frenchified Miss Vernon and Miss Selwyn test their powers in polite competition--a contest also witnessed by two other young ladies, and Miss Vernon's

rascally younger brother, Master George Vernon.

Miss THUROT. . . .I am so fond of *music*, that I should prefer that entertainment to any other.

Miss SELWYN. My cousin, I hope, will not refuse to begin.

Miss VERNON. I would rather hear somebody else first. That mad boy [her brother] has agitated me. I cannot sing yet.

Miss SELWYN. Then I will set the example in hope of having it followed, and that my playing may not appear to the disadvantage it must do after hearing a better performer.

[Miss Selwyn plays and sings, during which time Miss Thurot and Miss Franklin, stand by her listening. Miss Vernon and Miss Ward whisper and laugh. Master Vernon eyes them very archly; when it is over, Miss Selwyn rises.]

Miss THUROT. You play enchantingly, Miss *Selwyn*, I wish I could perform as well, my papa would be delighted to hear you; he is amazingly fond of music, and very anxious for me to excel in it.

Miss VERNON. Indeed, cousin, you are a great proficient, and sing à *merveille!*

[Master Vernon bursts into a loud laugh.]

Master VERNON. Pray how much did you hear of it? for you have been louder than the music.

Miss WARD. Come, Miss *Vernon*, you must absolutely play now, I am dying to hear you.

Miss VERNON *[rises with great affectation.]* I will with pleasure oblige you.

[Takes a French song out of her pocket; then seats herself, and begins playing; during which she throws herself into attitudes like foreigners. Soon after she begins, Master Vernon, who has observed her sometime, goes out, then returns with a looking glass, which he places suddenly before her.]

Miss VERNON. What is that for, sir?

Master VERNON. To shew you what a *monkey* is like. Why, I never saw any thing else *like you*.

Miss VERNON. This is too much to submit to, making me break off in the finest part of the song, and disappointing the young ladies.

Master VERNON. Do not make yourself uneasy about that, I will entertain

the ladies quite in your stile. [*He imitates her action and manner of singing.*]

Miss VERNON, [*bursts into tears.*] I cannot submit to such cruel usage. Why, if you must play ridiculous tricks did you not chuse *Teresa* instead of me to make your subject?

Master VERNON. Because she did nothing *ridiculous*. Why, there was not one of your *chères amies*, that did not laugh at you. . . . [to Miss Thurot] Well then, if was right to *squeeze about* like my sister, to be sure your papa and mamma would have taught *you* to do it. (129-33)

The ostensible moral purpose of this passage is to demonstrate the polite behaviour of Miss Selwyn, in inviting her cousin to play first; an honour which the affected Miss Vernon declines (an earlier exchange has established that her French music professor has flattered her into a good opinion of her musical powers, which are more puff than substance). Miss Vernon's whispers and laughs during Selwyn's performance display her insensibility. Her performance is rendered still more indecorous by her ludicrous adoption of "foreign attitudes," as George points out when he presents his sister with the traditional symbol of vanity—the mirror. However, the dramatist does not censure musical education, for Miss Selwyn is an "enchanted" performer, but only the affectation of accomplishment and foreign manners where performative abilities and decorous British behaviour are truly lacking.

As is the case with Short's play, the professed moral purpose of *The Contrast* is undermined, not supported, by rehearsal. To give even a passable performance, the performer portraying Miss Vernon would have had to learn a French song, and to practice the physical attitudes the drama censures. Although she might come to feel the excess of such gestures through physically repeating them and learn thereby to censure such

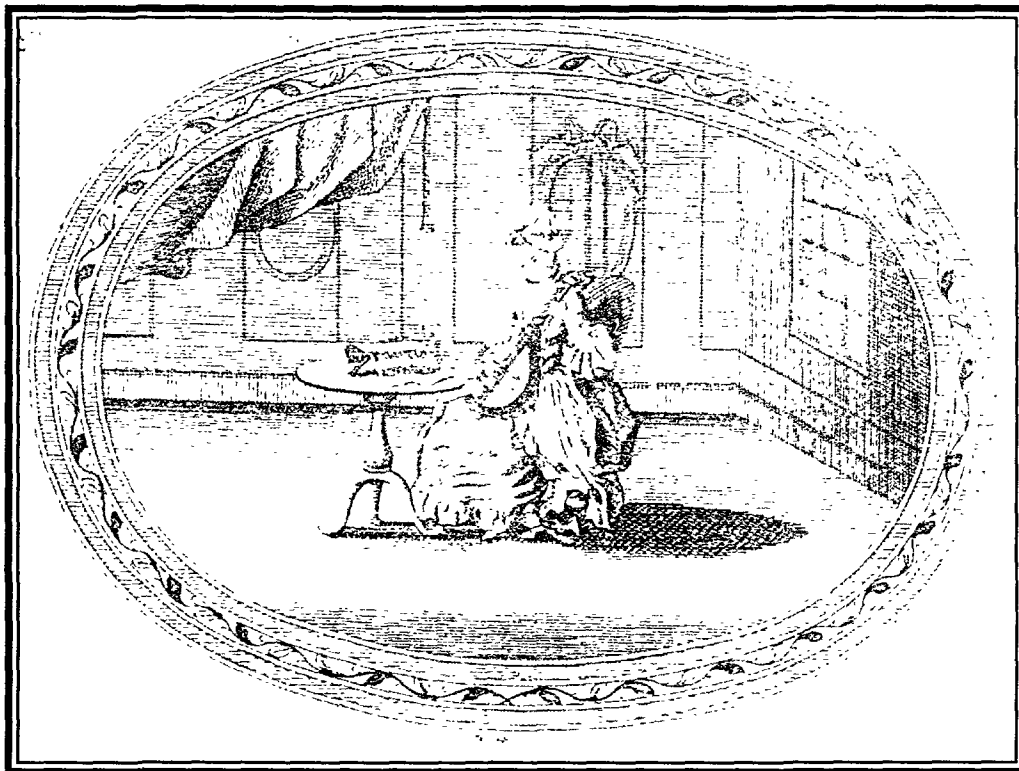
movements in herself, it is equally likely that the comic success of the scene might induce the performer to repeat the scene or the fashionable song in other circumstances, without the disapprobatory moral regulation provided by the conversation of the other characters in the drama. Though the prefaces of conduct dramas spoke well of the benefits of rehearsal upon the regulation of women's behaviour, in practice, the inclusion of musical performances within conduct dramas may often have made their moral affect more difficult to control.

Despite its positive connotations for eighteenth-century moralists, the trope of repetition has negatively affected modern perceptions of women's musical achievement, as editor Rhian Samuel observes in the introduction to the *Norton-Grove Dictionary of Women Composers* (1995). In anticipation of the criticism that women composers have often concerned themselves with "smaller" musical forms, such as song cycles or chamber music, as opposed to masses or symphonies, Samuel remarks, "great emphasis has been placed on innovation; yet the response of a woman composer to a male-dominated world has frequently been subversive or revisionary rather than pioneering" (xiii). While my project confines itself to the consideration of musical works with lyrics, I would like to consider Samuel's statement in relation to the composition of "lesson books" intended for women for a moment. As shown above, lesson books such as William Shield's *Introduction to Harmony* addressed ladies both directly--"Those Ladies who delight to wander in the mazes of Modulation, cannot have better guides than the following . . ." (111)--and indirectly. In a bid for patronage, Shield incorporated his music pupils into the

text, with a subtle deference to popular opinion, which not only influenced the selection of tunes for his volume, but also their arrangement:

Several Ladies, who do credit to their Instructors by correct performances of Vocal harmony, particularly requested that the following beautiful Irish Air might be arranged for two sopranos and a base [sic], placing every note of its elegant melody on the first staff that it might be occasionally sung by one voice. (27)

Similarly, J. Preston's *Complete Instruction for the Guitar Containing the most usefull directions & Examples for Learners to obtain a speedy proficiency* shows an awareness of the female musician's power as a consumer in its elegant frontispiece of a fashionably-dressed woman plucking a guitar.



Frontispiece, J. Preston's *Complete Instruction for the Guitar*, c. 1777.

The first page offers women the additional reassurance, “The Guitar (or Citra) is an Instrument which from its delicacy of Tone & gracefull manner of holding for Performance, has ever recommended itself to the use of the Ladies--it is esteemed a complete Accompaniment to the Female Voice, and is capable of producing all the beauties of Melody, and effects of Harmony, (or combination of Sounds).” Other lesson books contain similar gestures towards a gendered target market. One might expect, as in the case of the conduct drama, that a gender-specific genre such as the lesson book might exhibit some strategies of innovation or resistance towards the patent inculcation of morality when approached by a woman writer.

Ann Young’s *Elements of Music and of Fingering the Harpsichord* is one lesson book notable for its inventiveness and for its author’s patronage of other female composers. Aside from the work of Elizabetta de Gambarini (1731-1765) and a series of harpsichord lessons (c.1770) by Elizabeth Hardin (fl. 1760-70s), Young’s work is one of the few explicitly pedagogical British music texts that are acknowledged to be female-authored. The title page also announces Young as the “Inventor of the MUSICAL GAMES for the easy attainment of all the principal branches of the Science,” but this work (its title quite suggestive of innovation, as few other lesson books of the period feature games or an amusing approach to learning) does not appear to have survived. Traces of female usage of the *Elements of Music* are distinctly visible. In the copy held by the British Library, the volume’s inside cover bears the carefully inked signature, “Christiana Greenshields Music Book.” Small but revealing additions to the titles of each

piece throughout the book are added in a similar hand. Young's book begins with an alphabetized index, which offers more titles by or relating to women than most other lesson books of the period. Songs relating to or composed by women in this collection include:

Bonny blythsome Bess (60)
 Dance Signora Angiolini (15)
 Dance Mad.le Simonet (10)
 Dance Mrs. Kent's (16)
 Goddesses (13)
 Jigg by a young Lady [The music bears the title "A Jigg. Composed by a young Lady of 7 years of Age."] (60)
 La belle Anglaise (8)
 Lady Eliz.th Townshend (24)
 Lady Fl[aminia]. Hay's Delight (12)
 Lady in the Desert (57)
 Les Demoiselles (21)
 Mary's Dream (39)
 My Nannie O (42)
 Miss Maxwell's Delight [by Lady Sempill.] (59)
 Capt. Bosvill's March. [Composed by Lady Sempill] (59)
 Merry Minx (9)
 Minuet Devonshire (27)
 Miss Lucy Campbell's Strathspey (62)

In this last tune, "Miss Lucy Campbell's Strathspey," an upward-facing carrat has been added by Christiana Greenshields or another hand between the words "Campbell's" and "Strathspey," and the superscripted words "a Woman" have been affixed there. Similarly, in the tune "Rothemurches Strathspey," the words "A man" have been inserted between the two titular words. Obviously, it was important to the person playing these tunes to know and to designate the gender of the composer or dedicatee of the songs she was playing. It is interesting to speculate that these gender designations may have had

performative implications for the musical expression of each piece. Unlike William Shield,

Young does not

provide a polite

commentary in an

effort to induce her

readers to feel that

they are in the

vanguard of taste or

to guide performers

from one piece to the

next with elaborate

instructions. In terms

of visual presentation,

the pieces in the

lesson book are

simply and rather

compactly engraved,

lacking the elaborate

frontispieces of works

such as *Complete Instructions*



Note the neo-classical medallion at the top of Bland's title page. His appeal to a broad range of musical tastes is also apparent in the books beneath the advertisement: the one on the right is entitled 'Opera,' that on the left, 'Catches, Canons, Gleees.' There is a blank quire of paper, perhaps signifying new compositions, under the open book, which is an accurate rendering of the well-known canon, "Non nobis Dominae."

for the Guitar or John Bland's series, *The Ladies Collection, of Catches, Gleees, Canons,*

Canzonets, Madrigals, &c. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers

(1787-96). Young's is a book designed for focussed, diligent, progressive study on a keyboard instrument with the aid of a teacher. This is not to say that Young's publication is devoid of market savvy. Like Bland, Young balances the gender-based appeal to the patrons of her lesson book apparent in the titles of her index with works by famous composers such as Haydn, Gluck, Handel, Castrucci, Schobert, and Vanhall. With a nod to the fashion for "national airs," she includes a number of Scots and Welsh airs in the collection as well. None of the lessons include lyrics, although the words to popular tunes such as "Mary's Dream" would likely be familiar to the performer. This decision may have reflected Young's desire to avoid additional printing costs, or it may represent another subtle challenge to the dominant approbation of the moral benefits of lyrical repetition.

The short volume also outlines some basic music theory, which suggests that Young conceived of music as a rational, intellectually-challenging act, not a repetitive accomplishment. After the index, Young sets out the "Names and Proportions of Notes" in a clear two-page chart, then spends another two pages explaining a system of modulating by a succession of 4ths or 5ths; pages 5A& B contain "A Circular System of all the Major & Minor Keys in Music." Page 66, the last in the volume, has a short list of relevant Italian terms. These features ensured the continuation of the book's usefulness beyond the progressive instruction offered by its pieces. In particular, Young's concise instructions on modulation would have been most beneficial to a vocalist wishing to adapt pieces to her range. The authority of the text derives from the pleasure of performing its

lessons, the performer's satisfaction at her progression in skill, and from the sense of community with other women musicians that emerges from the collected pieces and their manner of presentation.

Considering general lesson-book trends, then, Ann Young's *Elements of Music* does honour current musical taste by including newly fashionable Italian musical terms, national songs, and recognizable tunes by male composers with cultural cachet, but it does so without the direct casting after female patronage indulged in by Shield, and without the splashy artwork of a folio edition of a single song or of a series such as Bland's. Young appeals to the female musician-performer solely through her calm exposition of music by other female musician-composers. This point did not go unremarked by at least one female musician—the book's owner, Christiana Greenshields. Young does not attempt or claim to remove the necessity for individual instruction, as many authors of contemporary lesson books did, thereby reducing one of the few forms of employment available to indigent gentlewomen. Most important, she does not use lyrics to promote ideals of social harmony overtly. If her book of lessons repeats the features of its contemporaries in many ways, it is repetition with a difference.

Having established the desirability of repetition within contemporary critical discourses, and having examined some evasions of this goal by women writers, I would like to focus the remainder of this project on a deconstruction of the dynamic co-operation of lyrical, moral and musical discourses in the formation of female subjectivities. Despite the current domination of recordings of instrumental works in the "classical" music market

and in modern concert programming, neoclassical music theorists, from Beattie to Bayly, were convinced that music with lyrics was of much greater social consequence than instrumental music, because its socio-moral affect was both more perceptible to the non-musician and more easily controlled. Bourdieu's observation, cited earlier, that "repeated perception of works of a certain style encourages the unconscious internalization of the rules" applies not only to matters of compositional style, in the sense that women composers might consciously or unconsciously repeat harmonic sequences or compositional structures (the form of the lesson book or the *da capo* aria, for instance) to which they had been repeatedly exposed, but also to matters of lyrical content. Too often, the words "imitative" or "derivative" are used pejoratively by music historians to describe both compositions and lyrics by women. However, the "imitative" is, to a large extent, an unexamined category. The difference between mimicry and parody is difficult to distinguish, especially when relatively little work has been done to delineate the characteristics and motivations of the subject categories constructed by eighteenth-century writers who wrote lyrics, either independently of music or for a set piece. Lyrical content was viewed as obviously meaningful, political, and productive of affect--even by the non-musical. For composers, the inclusion of lyrics in a composition presented complex creative challenges. To control the affect of a vocal piece, its lyrics must not only be culturally-valued and meaningful in and of themselves; they must also accord with the form and harmonic structure of the music, itself an autonomous, meaningful discourse. James Grassineau's definition of musical text-setting, or *testo*, asserts the importance of a

concordance between music and text for the achievement of classical affect:

TESTO, the *text* or *subject*; this word is applied by the *Italians* to the words of song, on or to which some air or tune, either melody or harmony is to be composed. It is a matter of great concern to understand well how to appropriate or adapt the music to the words of a song, to express the sense; and make a just application of the long and short syllables to the notes and times with which they are to be connected. [. . .] ‘twas to this that the ancients attributed the extraordinary effects of their music; for by them this branch was most accurately observed, and by this they regulated and governed their measure, so that they might produce the desired effects. (274)

In Grassineau’s definition, lyrical content precedes musical content: the harmonic and melodic contours of a composition are ideally to be restricted by the lyric, and not the other way around. This affirms that lyricists superceded composers in terms of the creative control which they might exert over the form and content of a vocal piece. Female musicians thus might derive a certain amount of cultural authority by writing a musical setting for a lyric by a well-known poet, as Mary Jane Guest Miles (c. 1769-c. 1814) did when she composed a setting for Robert Burns’ popular poem “The Bonnie Wee Wife.” Alternatively, they might exploit the cultural approval accorded a common topos or lyrical form to establish themselves in the powerful position of lyricist.

Given the strict governance of *testo* advocated by the majority of contemporary music theorists as the best way of controlling musical affect, it is not surprising that much lyrical subject matter of this period--authored by both men and women--is conservatively imitative. The majority of vocal music produced in Britain at this time participates in at least one (and often more than one) of only three principal subject categories. These

categories, constructed by lyricists of both sexes, support, magnify, and sometimes probe the British sense of social harmony and the neoclassical perception of music as a meaningful, law-giving medium. Perhaps most significant to a re-evaluation of women's participation in eighteenth-century music, these lyrical categories do not differentiate between public and private performances: their professed purpose, the inculcation of social harmony, is equally at work in both situations. Because these values were shared, repertoire could and did move fluidly from the theatre to home and from home to stage.

The categories that emerged in published songs of the second half of the eighteenth century might be broadly characterized as songs of love, pastoral songs, and songs of nation and empire. Songs in the first category, *Caritas*, are characterized by lyrics expressive of Christian ideals of love, charity and piety, and comprise the largest group of works by female composers and performers. These ideals aim to combine with musical affect to aid in the formation of a female performing subject with a heightened sensibility and a sympathetic social propensity for good works. Songs in the second subject division, *Arcadia*, consider various aesthetic ideals of the virtuous and simple rural life, ranging from the neoclassical to the picturesque. These songs examine the modern concept of retreat from the moral corruptions endemic to city manners in lyrics which describe and stylize landscape, while seeking to impart and stabilize conventional notions of class in the female performer. Thirdly, songs of *Britannia*, or the British nation, include those songs of nation and commemoration that mark political occasions, define party politics, give definition to the proper place of woman in the British empire, and suggest the proper

extent of women's empire, or the ability to govern and shape the self and others, within that social context. Often, these songs exploit neoclassical concepts of music as a proto-linguistic discourse to explore the musical signification of otherness and the political potential for music as an agent of colonization. In such cases, the female musician is defined against a gendered, racialized other that is musically and lyrically represented.

These are the subjects that matter to eighteenth-century British vocal music and the musicians who wrote and performed it. To term a work imitative and dismiss it from further inquiry because it draws on one or more of these lyrical subjects is as ridiculous as to call a sonata derivative on the grounds of its implacable formal regularity. In the chapters that follow, the defining characteristics of each category will be carefully drawn, and women's contributions and resistance to those parameters will be noted.

Caritas; or Women and Musically-Enacted Charity

The *Daughters of Pity* particularly excelled in music; not in those difficulties of the art, which display florid graces, and intricate execution, but in such eloquence of sound as steals upon the heart, and awakens its sweetest and best affections. It was probably the well-regulated sensibility of their own minds, that enabled these sisters to diffuse through their strains a character of such finely-tempered taste, as drew crowds of visitors, on every festival, to the church . . . (*The Italian* 300-1)

Music was considered to be an appropriate means of obtaining social approbation and financial or class preferment for women during the latter half of the eighteenth century, not because it was seen as a politically neutral activity, but because it was viewed as an activity with significant potential to shape and reinforce moral precepts through the careful management of aesthetic affect. As the short epigraph from Ann Radcliffe's novel *The Italian* (1797) above demonstrates, "eloquence of sound" was a commodity prized by charitable institutions, and for several reasons. Music, when tempered by taste, was perceived to be capable of regulating sensibility in both moneyed patrons and recipients of charity. Patrons awakened to their "sweetest and best affections" might be encouraged to give generously; and at the same time, the objects of their philanthropy might also profit from the moral instruction that singing such music afforded. By promoting and accessing the pleasing melancholy associated with charitable projects, by depicting women as musical objects of pity or sensibility, or by disposing their audience to a benevolent mood or a beneficent action, women composers, writers, and performers actively contributed to

the cultural definition of what it meant to be charitable, and to definition of the relationships between charity, gender, and class.

Contemporary understandings of charity as a transactional performance between members of different classes, necessitated by a class-based ethics of social responsibility, are likewise indispensable to analysis of women's writings concerning charity. As the best-known eighteenth-century model of benevolence, Henry Fielding's fictional character Mr. Allworthy, defines the term, charity is an "indispensable duty, enjoined both by the Christian law, and by the law of nature itself" and a pleasant social responsibility that "consist[s] in action, and . . . giving alms" (*Tom Jones* 102). Added to this idea of active charity, there is a codicil: the *graceful* performance of charitable acts was considered a distinctly feminine behaviour, as James Fordyce notes in a musical metaphor:

A charitable action gracefully done is twice done. . . . Who so capable of delighting by the manner, yet more than by the deed, itself, as a lovely young woman, whose words, and smiles, and softness, are, to the last of these, what a beautiful symphony and judicious accompaniment in music are to a well managed voice? (185)

Fordyce's distinction of a type of "graceful" charity suggests a stylized behavioural display that is rich with gender-specific codes. I have chosen the Latin term *caritas* [*f*; *m. carus*] as a chapter heading and a generic category to signify women's participation in this field of musical production, for the feminine form *caritas* connotes the existence of a gender-specific attitude towards charitable duty, while the word itself variously denotes the interrelated ideas of alms-giving or other benevolent, material acts, and the expression of kindness, esteem, and love. All of these meanings enter into this discussion of the affect

generated by songs of charity written or performed by women. The powerful co-operation of charitable and musical performance dynamics in the production of social harmony meant that women composers, lyricists and performers could articulate and shape their own responses to societal ideals of charity and love, and at the same time benefit materially from such engagement.

Besides obvious material benefits to the performer, composer, or object of charity, a complementary increase in artistic reputation often occurred as the result of women's work on charitable projects. As cultural theorist Pierre Bourdieu indicates, the kind of recognition which accrues from a charitable action towards one's fellow artists is not without its own rewards, or symbolic capital, as he terms it:

‘Symbolic capital’ is to be understood as economic or political capital that is disavowed, misrecognized, hence legitimate, a ‘credit’ which, under certain conditions, and always in the long run, guarantees ‘economic’ profits. . . .the only legitimate accumulation consists in making a name for oneself, a known, recognized name, a capital of consecration implying a power to consecrate objects (with a trademark or signature) or persons (through publication, exhibition, etc.) and therefore to give value, and to appropriate the profits from this operation. (75)

Women writers and musicians could amass both immediate material gain and symbolic capital by writing about or for charity; and yet, women's charitable musical projects often diverge significantly from established patriarchal moral codes. This chapter first considers hymns and songs of charity produced for the benefit of women's institutions, such as the Magdalen Hospital for reformed prostitutes, and compares female and male-authored texts. It next explores works predicated on idealized and stereotyped figures of sentiment,

including the beggar girl and the madwoman, and analyzes works intended to benefit real individuals in need of charitable assistance. The chapter then examines memoirs and charitable projects involving female musicians, and discusses the production of symbolic capital with relation to printed and performed instances of material musical charity.

I. Magdalen Songs

Music with lyrics expressive of Christian piety and neoclassical sympathy was promoted by numerous eighteenth-century music historians and aesthetic theorists as being capable of regulating the dispersal of charity and of establishing social attitudes to charitable objects and practices. “I think we may venture to assert,” wrote Charles Avison, “that it is the peculiar quality of Music to raise the *sociable and happy passions*, and to *subdue the contrary ones*” (3). Music raised these “sociable passions,” according to Avison, either by imitating natural sounds or by other methods of association which

bring the objects of our passions before us (especially when those objects are determined, and made as it were visibly and intimately present to the imagination by the help of words). . . .the force of music may urge the *passions* to an excess, or it may fix them on false and improper objects, and may thus be pernicious in its effects: but still the passions which it raises, though they may be *misled* or *excessive*, are of the benevolent and social kind, and in their intent at least are disinterested and noble. (3-4)

While Avison does not mention gender, his definition of music as a potential agent of charitable social commerce bears substantial import for women who were the objects of musically-enacted charity. Music, Avison intimates, channels excessive passions into acceptable, noble social work; lyrics determine, fix, and make charitable objects visible to

the auditor's imagination. In other words, it is the recognized aesthetic and social stability of the musical object that makes possible the auditor's sympathy with the music's social purpose. Hymn books published in connection with charitable institutions for women often manifest this tendency towards "fixing" the image and the socio-moral position of the object of charity.

The popular *Psalms & Hymns with the Ode or Anthem. Sung at the Magdalen Chapel* (c. 1765), written for the benefit of a London institution for former prostitutes founded in 1758 (Nash 617), exemplifies Avison's observations in myriad ways. Sales of the hymns benefitted the charity; singing the hymns was intended to benefit its inmates. The introductory "Prayer of Thanksgiving," written by Dr. Secker, parades the charity's social respectability by announcing that the prayer has received "the Sanction of the late Archbishop of Canterbury." Like many of the choral tunes which follow, Secker's lengthy prayer places a plea for forgiveness, humility, and watchfulness against further seductions in the mouths of the "miserable Offenders" who are the objects of the charity's "bountiful Provision":

Awaken those who have not yet a due Sense of their Guilt; and perfect a Godly Sorrow where it is begun. Renew in us whatsoever hath been decayed by the Fraud and Malice of the Devil, or by our own carnal Will and Frailness. Preserve us, after escaping the Pollutions of the World, from being again intangled therein; and keep us in a state of constant Watchfulness and Humility. Forgive, as we do from our Hearts, those who have done us wrong, & grant to all who have seduced others, or been seduced themselves, into Wickedness, that they may forsake the Evil of their Doings . . .

The female objects of charity are further identified visually, by an engraving entitled, "A

Magdalen in Her Uniform.” The woman’s separation from the world is signalled by conspicuously plain and modest grey apparel, which is so far from being fashionable or even usual that any person who purchased the popular hymnal might be able to pick out a Magdalen at a thousand paces. Indeed, as Jonas Hanway comments in his anonymously-



A Magdalen in her Uniform.
Frontispiece, *An Account of the Rise,
Progress, and Present State of the
Magdalen Charity*, 1766.

published plan (1758) for the charity, “If the dress had some peculiarity, not such as should be disagreeable, and yet contrived to take off their inclination to appear abroad in it, such a regulation might be of use” (*A Plan* 23).

The price of redemption at the Magdalen Chapel was constant recognition and acknowledgement of one’s sins, (or “sincere Repentance and a lively Faith,” as Secker’s prayer puts it), not just in terms of costume, but more especially, at the musical performances attended by patrons of the charity.

In addition to exterior signs of surveillance, such as those visible in the prayer and the engraving, there is an emphasis on unremitting moral self-monitoring and on personal

acknowledgement of sin in the *Psalms & Hymns*. The volume features such notable English composers as Handel, Doddridge, Milgrove, Selby, as well as works by musical

amateurs, and some anonymous compositions. Many of the hymns are occasional pieces, written specifically for religious holidays such as Whitsun, for fast days, or for specific sub-groups within the charity (for example, the hymn “For the use of the Sick,” 27), with lyrics that further clarify their social and moral purpose. The anonymous hymn, “For MIDNIGHT” (26), for instance, begins the first of six verses with an interruption of the first-person narrator’s sleep. Unlike previous nocturnal interruptions—for bawdy purposes of corruption and seduction, the listener might assume, given the scope of the charity—this awakening is controlled by a musical text which purports to guard the sinner from impure thoughts.

My God, now I from Sleep awake,
The sole Possession of me take;
From midnight Terrors me secure,
And guard my Heart from Thoughts impure.

This prayer for protection, however, is offered up in aggressively sensual terms. The sinner’s illicit midnight assignations with her lover are replaced by a midnight tryst with God, who takes “sole Possession” of her thoughts and actions. This rechanneling of excessive sexual passion into religious fervour is truly Avison-like in its use of musical means to instill “sociable and happy passions.”

A second anonymous tune in the *Psalms & Hymns*, “Hymn XVIII. Written for the Magdalen House” (56-7), makes a chillingly effective use of an alternation between vocal solos and chorus to induce adherence to standard moral practices. The value of praying aloud was acknowledged by theologians including Hanway and James Fordyce, who

encouraged individuals to pray aloud, both in a religious setting as a member of a group, and to themselves, in a “suppressed voice” (193). Fordyce writes, in one of his sermons, of this second kind of prayer, that words “distinctly and deliberately spoken by the worshipper, who by such means preserves his ideas from dissipation” are impressed “more deeply on his own heart” (193). The chorus of Hymn XVIII is a standard prayer for mercy, couched in the first person singular, but it is orchestrated as a vocal mass:

O God of Mercy, hear my Pray’r,
 Thy weak, thy sinful Creature save;
 Thy Voice can raise me from Despair,
 Raise me triumphant from the Grave.

The women who sing this chorus are all equally implicated in weakness and sin, and the text does not diverge from standard Christian liturgical acknowledgements of human weakness and universal need for salvation (see, for example, Romans 3:9-10). The solos, by contrast, seem to offer individual portraits of sin and sinners through the change in orchestration. The hymn’s confessional mood is heightened by a reduction in the massive choral texture to the sound of a single voice, a technique suggestive of Fordyce’s private prayer offered as discipline to the self in a “suppressed voice.” The first verse of the hymn, shown below, portrays a woman who has fallen into vanity, and neglected religion for sensuality; the third of the five solo verses focusses on the redemption of a woman who acknowledges her “pollution” as a sinner and aspires to purity of soul:

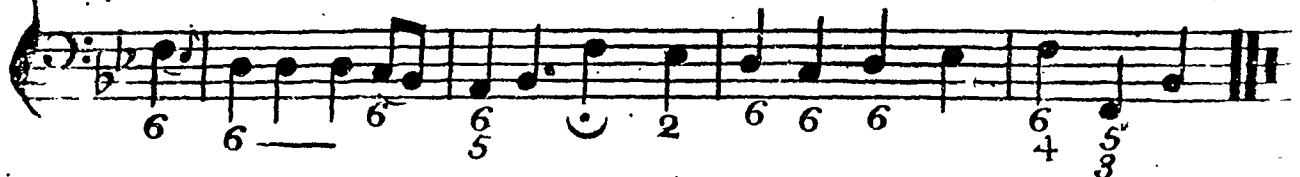
In Vanity’s bewild’ring Maze
 How long my erring Feet have stray’d
 Far from Religion’s peaceful Ways,
 And far from Virtue’s guardian Aid.



Why should you let your wandring eyes Entice your Soul to shameful Sin?



Scandal and Ru-in are the Prize You take such fa-tal Pains to win.



This brutal Vice makes Reason blind,
And blots the Name with hateful Stains;
It wastes the Flesh, pollutes the Mind,
And tears the Heart with racking Pains.

In vain you chuse the darkeſt Time,
Nor let the Sun behold the Sight;
In vain you hope to hide your Crime
Behind the Curtains of the Night.

The wakeful Stars, and midnight Moon,
Watch your foul Deeds and know your Shame;
And God's own Eye, like Beams of Noon,
Strikes thro' the Shade, and marks your Name.

Flee, Sinners, flee th' unlawful Bed,
Left Vengeance ſend you down to dwell
In the dark Regions of the Dead,
To feed the fierceſt Fire in Hell.

[. . .]
 Though thus polluted and forlorn,
 By thee inspir'd my Soul shall rise,
 Fairer than Fleeces newly shorn,
 Than mountain Snows, or vernal Skies.

These solos offer punishing individuation from the group, and it is difficult to imagine women competing for the chance to sing solos on such terms. Clearly the prayer and many of the hymns and psalms that follow are meant to inculcate a lively sense of gratitude and social inferiority in the recipients of alms, and a smug satisfaction of moral superiority in the persons distributing largesse and listening to the psalms. In a similar collection of charity hymns, *The Hymns used at the City of London Lying in Hospital* (c. 1765), in “Hymn XX. To be Sung by the Women,” the benefactors of the charity are thanked for redeeming women from “Death’s tremend’ous snare” with fawning, gauche directness in the third verse:

On all, who thus relieve the Poor,
 May length of days attend,
 And well got Wealth encrease their store,
 And Glory crown their end.

Smith’s Magdalen “Hymn. Against LEWDNESS,” shown opposite, is perhaps the fiercest example of this attitude of enforced and institutionalized gratitude. Despite a charming tune, which modulates hopefully from g minor into the relative B flat major, even in the final verse of this hymn, the lyrics suggest that there is scant, uncertain comfort in reformation. Instead, those sinner-singers who have brought “Scandal and Ruin” upon themselves are reminded that adultery will send them “down to dwell / In the dark Regions

of the Dead, / To feed the fiercest Fire in Hell.” The women of the Magdalen Chapel and the Lying-in Hospital seem doomed to endless repetition and musical reperformance of their sins before those who regulate their behaviour through the dispersal of charity.

However, the roles of charitable recipient and giver are not always so clearly demarcated in sonic demonstrations of social harmony. Songs of charity, pity, and love do form the largest group of eighteenth-century songs with music or lyrics written by women, as well as the largest collection of material written for women. Yet, while some female writers clearly accept and promote Avison’s understanding of music’s social role, many offer significant variations on this theme, or subvert it. Even the Magdalen hymns, which circulated widely outside the Chapel, achieved something more in terms of affect than offering other performers the vulgar thrill of singing the same tunes as a group of reformed wantons or the polite satisfaction of having contributed to the salvation of fallen women. The keyboard player Charlotte Albert (later Papendiek), in describing her time at school in Streatham, relates that she sang the Magdalen tunes as part of her musical education, which also included lessons with J.C. Bach. She notes that, besides the regular music teacher, Mr. Knyvett, a Miss Key “superintended in one room the music, drawing and geography . . . [she] was a good musician, and on Sunday evenings classes went up to the drawing-room, where there was a church organ, to sing the hymns of the Magdalenes, the Asylum, and others, with anthems and psalms” (Papendiek I:56). This practice, and the school itself, were matters of intense enjoyment to Charlotte Albert, who bitterly regretted leaving school in 1778 (I:101).

Why would this repertoire, intended for impoverished and sinning objects of charity, be performed in a private school for young, middle-class women? Charlotte Albert's account acknowledges that the use of the hymns was occasional (confined to Sundays), and no doubt the proprietors of the school felt that the grim portrait of "A Magdalen in Her Uniform" and the hymns for protection against seduction served as useful reminders of the boundaries of acceptable social behaviour and the wages of sin. However, Charlotte Albert's evident enjoyment of the Sunday evening's routine performance and her mention of the fact that this repertoire was played only on a church organ, also imply another reason for the hymns' popularity as school repertoire: their orchestration. The hymns offered appropriately-arranged repertoire for a massed group of female voices, a circumstance which undoubtedly increased the aesthetic enjoyment of the performers in singing a piece arranged for precisely their vocal range and type of ensemble. In grouping the Magdalens together to sing repentant psalms as an acknowledgement of charity's place in social harmony, the charitable organizers of the Chapel created a sense of female community and a performing force which had not previously existed in a secular environment in Britain—a women's choir.

The significance of this movement towards developing female musical community through exclusively female performing forces becomes apparent later in the century, with the publication of Maria Barthélemon's *Three hymns, and three anthems composed for the Asylum, and Magdalen Hospitals* (1794). Maria (also known as Polly) Young Barthélemon (1749-1799) was a composer, harpsichordist and singer who sang English

and Italian repertoire in London and abroad while on tour with her husband, a violinist. Her *Three hymns, and three anthems* feature ornate settings and employ the Magdalens, not as an abject group of penitents, but as a significant and talented female performing group capable of singing demanding repertoire. The work is dedicated to the “Governors of those Charities” (the Asylum and Magdalen Hospital), an act of patronage-seeking that comes perilously close to seeking charity itself. Yet Barthélemon asserts her authority and protects her musical copyright by signing the hymns in the bottom right hand corner of the cover. She may also have had a hand in the hymns’ distribution, as the work bears her address and the words, “Printed for the Authoress.” The publication was also advertised as being available at John Bland’s music shop on Holborn. Bland seems to have had a special interest in promoting works by and for women, as shown and perhaps motivated by his publication and sale of a serial publication entitled *The Ladies Collection*, which featured selections from well-known composers. Barthélemon’s publication, bearing her prominent name, thus materially benefits both her publisher Bland and the Magdalen charity, while it adds lustre to her own reputation as a charitable woman and a musician.

The complexity of the musical texture in the opening of Barthélemon’s setting of Psalm LI, verses 9-12, “For the Anniversary at the Magdalen. Anthem 2d” is especially noticeable when it is compared with Smith’s earlier “Hymn. Against LEWDNESS.” In this anthem, Barthélemon, clearly an advocate of “modern” Italianate musical style, gives numerous instructions about the tempo, expression, ornamentation, and dynamics of the piece, but the increase in complexity is not simply reducible to such historical stylistic

15

For the Anniversary at the Magdalen.
Anthem 2^d Psalm II. 9th to the 12th Verse.

Adagio con Espressione

Hide thy face from my sins.

Hide thy face from my sins and blot out mine

blot out all mine I--ni--quities. mine

--niquities Hide thy face from my sins and blot out all mine I--niquities and

blot out all mine I--niquities.

Magdalen Anniversary

developments. It is also due to the composer's knowledge of and confidence in her performers. The vocal range of the singers is significantly expanded from that in the 1765 *Psalms & Hymns*, and there are second and third parts written in which add to the colouration and affect of the vocal line at important moments. The motion of close sixths moving in semi-tones against a suspended soprano in bar twelve on the word "sins," for instance, is particularly fitting word-painting, as the unresolved harmony generates a sense of uneasiness in the listener. The organ and symphony of accompanying instruments (indicated by "Sy." and "Organ" in the keyboard reduction) receive brief cadenzas of independent movement, unlike the largely homophonic texture of earlier Magdalen Chapel hymns. Unfortunately, the keyboard reduction of the original scoring does not give information as to the instrumentation of the "Symphony," and the second and third vocal parts appear in the same small font as the "Symphony" and "Organ" cues, so it is difficult to reconstruct the precise orchestration of the anthem. That the "Symphony" and "Organ" parts were even indicated in the score is unusual. As musicologist Howard Irving has observed in a recent address, even Handel's works, with the exception of *Alexander's Feast*, were never available in full score during the composer's lifetime (2). Widespread publication of complete scores with their original orchestration remained relatively rare throughout the century. The cues for extra parts in Barthélemon's anthem, therefore, give a sense of the grandness of the occasion and the richness of the scoring in an economical fashion. To the reader and performer of the keyboard reduction, they signal a performance event, and a certain level of exclusion from that event, since unlike the simpler

homophonic Magdalen Chapel hymns, the intended affect of Barthélemon's work cannot be replicated precisely by persons outside the original performing community.

Barthélemon's anthem also differs from the earlier Magdalen hymns in terms of its musical structure, its selection of lyrical text, and the ways that these two features shape the moral affect of the composition. Structurally, the anthem is organized into four sections: a choral e minor *Adagio con espressione* in 3/4; a G major *Duetto Andante Poco lento* in 3/4; an A major *Moderato* that shifts into 4/4 time; and a final E major *Andantino con Spirito* in 2/4. These sections, which resemble a conventional suite in their contrasting tempi, are knit together with brief bridging passages to accomplish changes in key, tempo, and rhythm. The piece is through-composed, with new music for each new verse of the psalm. The *Adagio con espressione* takes the text "Hide thy face from my sins and blot out all mine Iniquities"; the *Duetto*, the text, "Create in me a clean heart Oh God and renew a right Spirit within me"; the *Moderato*, "Cast me not away from thy presence and take not thy holy Spirit from me"; and the *Andantino con Spirito*, (the musical direction itself a free-spirited pun on the text) mingles Hallelujahs with the verse, "Restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation and uphold me with thy free Spirit." The music concludes with thick and satisfying seven-part harmony on the word "Amen." The spiritual development described in the psalm verses is paralleled by musical development. Significantly, Barthélemon chooses to set a recognizable biblical text, and leaves the verse relatively intact (much like Handel's verse-setting in his oratorios), rather than re-writing it or inventing new, pointedly-individualized lyrics, such as Smith's malicious invective in

“Against LEWDNESS.” And there is quotation of another kind too, invoking musical authority as well as biblical. Barthélemon’s “Hallelujahs” in the final section of the anthem are obvious rhythmic and harmonic allusions to Chorus 44 (‘the Hallelujah Chorus’) of Handel’s *Messiah*:



Maria Barthélemon, “For the Anniversary at the Magdalen. Anthem 2d. Psalm LI. 9th to the 12th Verse,” 1794.

Barthélemon’s choice of lyrical text and her selective location of the musical text within British cultural traditions afford the performers of the Magdalen Chapel dignity and artistic integrity as a group.

The key of the piece brightens considerably over the course of the anthem, rising from minor to major and also ascending in pitch to the third section of the piece; a musical acknowledgement of the hope of salvation held out by Barthélemon’s lyrical text. After a sorrowful e minor beginning, wherein the penitents ask forgiveness for their sins, the

celebratory last section of the piece offers an interesting harmonic surprise. E, the central or tonic note of the key with which the anthem began, is also the tonic note of the new key of the final section, E major, but all of the harmonic relationships around the note have changed in the course of the anthem's modulation from major to minor. Barthélemon remotivates the tonic note, which keeps its original pitch, by providing it with a new harmonic context. The implications of this compositional choice are radical when one considers the social role of the charity for which this collection of hymns was published and the background of the female performing force who sang this anthem. In Barthélemon's setting, it is not the tonic which must change to accommodate its new harmonic context, but the harmonic context which must be adapted to support the original tonic. As musical subjects, the Magdalens cannot and will not be written over by institutionalized musical displays of gratitude; ideals of charity and social harmony, musically expressed, must shift to accommodate them.

II. Poor Objects of Sentiment & Sensibility

The idea of women's participation in music as enacting a form of moral self-surveillance, established in songs of Christian piety via tropes of prayer and personal acknowledgement of sin, is no less present in secular songs. Theorist Anselm Bayly indicates that secular songs on certain topics were likewise invested with significant symbolic capital due to the elevated moral sentiments they embraced:

In public dramatic exhibitions and in private concerts, the generality of

auditors like to be amused without being instructed; expecting merely to be entertained and abstracted from themselves with light airs, set to trifling words, they feel no emotions of sedate pleasure resulting from the fulness, gravity and expression of sacred musick; but the few, who wish to be improved with sentiments, are best pleased with compositions, which elevate by excitement of the nobler passions and divine feelings, such as courage, pity, devotion and friendship. (41-2)

Songs expressing sentiment for the poor, the lovelorn, and the mad were a small step away from sacred music for Bayly, since they encouraged moral “instruction” and “gravity” rather than mere amusement by exciting “courage, pity, devotion and friendship.” The roles of beggar girl and madwoman, both exceedingly popular subjects for women composers, lyricists and performers in the eighteenth century, are assuredly roles which participate in this rhetoric of sentiment and moral instruction. As the musical subjects of secular dramatic songs, beggar girl and madwoman figures communicate with the discourse of socio-moral improvement outlined by Bayly. The experience of sin and exclusion from social privilege depicted by an “I” representative of an institution (as in the Magdalen Chapel hymns) is, in these songs, transferred to an aestheticized individual who insists on self-representation in order to evoke pity and sensibility in the audience.

Such songs further differ from charitable hymns in that they were not performed for the purpose of eliciting monetary contributions to an institution from their spectators. Rather, as Hannah More puts it succinctly in her poem “Sensibility: A Poetical Epistle,” these “exclamations, tender tones, fond tears, / And all the graceful drapery Pity wears” participated in an often spurious economy of sentiment, in which the “lovely symbols” (l. 33-4; 38) of Pity might be counterfeited, and genuine distress relieved “cheaply with a

tear” (l. 56). Unlike Bayly, More differentiates between the words “sentiment” and “sensibility,” and suggests that the only the second of these emotive states is productive of active charity. A person of true sensibility will act upon her sympathetic feelings for a charitable object, and her feelings therefore have the capacity to improve her socially and morally. Sentiment offers, at most, a passing aesthetic satisfaction to the individual who feels it, and does not offer opportunity for sustained social or moral development. In a sense, sentimental songs that did not attempt to instruct their audiences in applied sensibility, served the purpose of social harmony with even more adroitness than charity hymns, since by replacing coins with tears they removed the possibility of disruptive social mobility in the lower classes and reinforced women’s subjection to social mores. The pervasiveness of the beggar girl image and the degree of public approbation of its suitability to female artists is perhaps best illustrated with a juvenile example. “The Flower Girl’s Cry,” a beggar girl song written by Miss Caroline Symmons and composed by Miss Harriot Hague in 1804, is inscribed to a clergyman and advertised in the following manner: “The Age of the Poet & Musician, added together; amount to Two & Twenty Years only.” This is not to suggest that secular songs featuring “poor objects” such as the beggar girl were never used for the purpose of soliciting charitable funds for individuals, or that such songs were never composed or performed with sincere sensibility. Indeed, in certain cases, there was a direct correspondence between a tragic musical subject and the performer or writer representing her, as in the cases of Ann Mary Hodges and Caroline Poole, whom I will discuss later in this chapter. It is important to observe that sentimental

songs were not only culturally acceptable, but welcomed as expressive and productive of social harmony, and that female composers and performers such as Symmons and Hague benefitted materially from the popularity of pathos and of the stereotyped figures whom they were exploiting.

The transaction between an individual giver and a single receiver of alms is inherently dramatic. Wealth and a certain degree of social acceptance are the provision of the benefactor; carefully managed moments of self-representation, in which the beggar girl makes a public display of her misfortunes, her social and familial obligations and her sexuality, are the beggar's treasure. The monologues in songs with music or lyrics by women, such as "The Orphan's Prayer," "A Beggar Girl's Song," and "The Little Beggar Girl," represent such transactions from the perspective of the person in the drama most likely to generate substantial charitable impulses in the auditors, and in this way they may be seen to partake of More's understanding of sensibility. In the first two songs, the audience perceives the transaction from the point of view of the beggar, and in the last, from a narrator who advocates charity from outside the spectacle of a beggar's petition. In each song, the beggar girl's emaciated body, not her personal narrative of poverty, is the final site of reference for determining if she is worthy of charity. This visualization revisits Avison's injunction that music should move the auditor by making the object of the passions "visibly and intimately present to the imagination" (3), and suggests a stylized aesthetic that is closer to sentiment than sensibility because of its refusal to individuate the charitable object. However, none of these songs completes the charitable interaction

between giver and receiver in its lyrics, and most of the beggar girls who emerge in songs with lyrics or music by women are duplicitous or at least unreliable narrators. The musical and lyrical affect of female-authored beggar girl songs thus anticipates and interprets charitable transactions by playing sentiment against sensibility, and thereby calls into question the alliance of charity with the performance of gender roles.

Harriett Abrams' c. 1800 setting of Matthew Gregory ("Monk") Lewis' "The Orphan's Prayer," while it is not through-composed, does demonstrate the late-eighteenth-century movement towards increasingly determinate musical settings; a movement which has important implications for the composer's control of affect. Abrams (c.1758-1822) was a composer and had a fine, though not strong, soprano voice. After a short stage career at Drury Lane, where she was given her start by David Garrick, Abrams began singing in subscription concerts, and organized a series of Ladies' Concerts held in private houses from 1791 to 1792. Her career offers yet another piece of evidence of the permeability of the public-private performance barrier, for she performed this song at just such concerts, as an account by Lewis indicates (*Life and Correspondence* I: 189). Lewis' lyrics use a first-person perspective to relate the story of a female orphan who begs a heartless stranger for alms. His lyrics invite the audience to sympathize with a woman of questionable moral character who unsuccessfully attempts to assert her right to receive social care, but the audience's pity is not invoked in a manner which is consistent with conventional understandings of charitable commerce.

The woman's right to receive charity is predicated on her status as an orphan and

on her virtue, as she herself notes in lines 13-14, claiming, “you see no guilty wretch implore you / no wanton pleads in feign’d despair.” However, Lewis’ lyrics, particularly in the third verse, create potential ambiguities in the orphan’s narrative. Although her first appeal to the stranger is based on her claim to virtue and sexual circumspection, the orphan later shifts the focus of her petition from her words to her body. Sensing that the stranger does not believe her story, she offers her starved frame as evidence of the truth of her narrative of parental abandonment:

Perhaps you think my lips dissembling
of virtuous sorrows feign a tale,
then mark my frame with anguish trembling,
my hollow eyes, and features pale (ll.17-20)

When this strategy, too, fails, she broadens her plea by insisting that her bodily state itself demands Christian pity, regardless of her past: “E’en should my story prove Ideal / too well these wasted limbs declare / my wants at least are not unreal” (ll.21-23). The stranger turns away from this final, morally-suspect appeal, and the orphan resolves to die, and thus depend on heavenly, not earthly charity. In the lyrics, Lewis draws attention to the ethical dimension of the public display that is inevitably involved in both charity and beggary using the character of the hardened stranger. The girl’s refusal to participate fully in the economy of charity by telling her potential patron a seamless “Ideal” tale of woe is punished within the lyrical context of the song; in the audience, however, sensibility for the object of charity, raised and controlled by Abrams’ musical setting, supplies charity’s shortfall.

Abrams' control of the affect of this "pathetic ballad," as it is subtitled, is mainly confined to the accompaniment for harp or piano forte. Despite the introduction of vocal ornaments at appropriate moments--such as the swift septuplet on the word "heart" in the third verse, word-painting describing the orphan's empassioned rejection of the world, "no more thy scorn my heart will tear," (l.30)--the vocal line does not significantly change throughout the piece. Instead, Abrams' tempo markings are the principal indicators of plot development within the monologue. As the beggar girl hears footsteps approaching, the tempo increases with her hope. Later, her voice quavers on a lingering fermata on the word "grant," as she implores the stranger's help. This pause effectively contrasts with the beginning of the fourth verse, which directs "faster," as the orphan girl exclaims, "He's gone! no mercy man will show me / in prayers no more I'll waste my breath" (ll.25-26). The tempo then hastens as the moment of the orphan's death approaches, a move perhaps signalling Abrams' approval of the orphan's act of self-silencing and removal from society, were it not for cues in the accompaniment which indicate a different perspective from that advocated by lyrics and tempo.

As in the vocal line, there are no significant harmonic variations in the accompaniment; though here, Abrams' manipulation of rhythm also supports the development of the action in the monologue. As the performer conjures the audience to listen with the orphan for the steps of passers-by, singing "Hark, hark," the accompaniment is silent, then breaks into a quick, jagged rhythm to represent the stranger's approaching footsteps. The audience is thus encouraged to identify with the

orphan, rather than with the stranger, since they too are exposed to the same sensory indications of his approach, and have heard her earlier soliloquy, made from the disinterested fullness of her heart. More importantly, in the fifth and final verse, the busy accompaniment is pared down to a few metrically-accented chords, allowing the voice of the beggar girl to emerge singly and strongly as she curses the “proud Man” who scorned her appeal for bread:

and when the room resounds with laughter
 my famish'd cry thy mirth shall scare
 and often shalt thou wish hereafter
 thou hadst not scorned the Orphan's prayer (ll.37-40)

With these hymn-like homophonic chords, Abrams employs musical imitation in a manner similar to the earlier “footsteps,” annexing churchly authority to support the orphan's judgement of the cruel stranger, and, as Avison would put it, making the musical object “visibly and intimately present.” Association of this kind of harmonic texture with the church and other charitable projects was long standing, due in part to the widely-disseminated publications in support of charities such as the Lying-in Hospital and the Magdalen Hospital. Here, however, the punishing moral indictment of the orphan girl's questionable past inherent in the song's dramatic structure—ending as it does with the orphan's exclusion from society, and her self-silencing and death—is not affirmed by Abrams' musical setting. Her musically determinate text, however harmonically repetitive, adds a secondary structure to the lyrics' narrative by establishing the moral distance between narratee and audience necessary to create sympathy for the orphaned woman.

The lyrics of Amelia Opie's "A Beggar Girl's Song" (music by Edward Smith Biggs) are quite similar in tone and intended emotional affect to those expressed in Lewis and Abrams' song. Musically, this effort by Biggs is not very skilled, nor is it demanding to play. Neither is it particularly well-suited to the natural stresses in the lyrics, with the exception of a diminished seventh chord which returns near the end of the second line of each verse (on the words "ill," "screams," and "unpitied") as part of an aptly cringing interrupted cadence on the dominant as the girl begs. The song interests principally because of Opie's lyrics, which demonstrate the failure, rather than the success of an otherwise believable "Ideal" tale of beggary. Once again, the appeal to charity comes from the beggar girl herself, but this time, it is an appeal expressed to another woman.

O listen to a Beggar's pray'r!
 Lady, I'm hungry ill and cold
 Yet more than half my gains must spare,
 to feed the helpless, and the old,
 if I were rich I'd love the poor,
 Lady, don't turn me from your door.

In this and in the second verse, the beggar girl represents herself as not only a recipient, but a donor of charity within the larger social chain. The "Lady" whom she petitions is implored for funds on the basis of her economic advantage only so that the beggar girl can maintain her own social responsibilities to her family and restore harmony there. She excuses her apparently able-bodied begging by multiplying the objects of distress in her tale to include her immediate female relations and by emphasizing the ethics of upper-class responsibility:

On a sick bed my Mother lies,
 my infant Sister screams for food,
 O how you'd start to hear her cries
 they'd pierce your Soul they'd chill your blood,
 'Tis hard to be so very poor,
 O! do not turn me from your door.

The girl next turns her appeal into a different, ultimately less effective, channel. Using the vocabulary of romance, she overturns the stable social hierarchy upon which she based her appeal for funds in the first verse by revealing that her own birthright was not originally that of a low-class beggar. Further, she warns the "Lady" that her own rank and fortune may not be as stable as she supposes:

I was not born to beg--ah no!
 but troubles Lady come to all,
 To day we're high to morrow low
 e'en you misfortunes may befall,
 tho' wealthy now you may be poor
 then do not turn me from your door.

Under the imagined threat of disruption of her social privilege, the woman finds it most comfortable to turn the beggar away without succour, despite the girl's plea in the final verse of Opie's lyrics. It is only at this point, when her own social station is represented as doubtful and impermanent, that the "Lady" calls the truth of the beggar girl's narrative into question, as the girl's reaction shows:

How! do you call my mis'ry art?
 and must I hence unpitied go?
 nay frown not Lady I'll depart
 in the next world 'twill not be so,
 for Heav'n will hear the suff'ring poor,
 Lady! don't chide---I'll leave your door.

Like Lewis's lyrics in "The Orphan's Prayer," Opie's last verse invokes idealized Christian charity as recompense for lack of earthly generosity. This last narrative is employed only when the beggar girl has exhausted the possibilities of five distinct appeals: the "Ideal" beggar's tale, shared gender, family, romance-like birthright, and the potential patron's own exposure to issues of economic and class instability. It is the girl's incautious transference of an "Ideal" tale of poverty to a woman outside her apparent social class that causes her to lose her chance to acquire aid for herself and her family.

Opie, herself a victim of such a reversal of fortune (she wrote songs, as did the heroine in her novel, *Adeline Mowbray, or The Mother and Daughter*, because she was destitute), obviously wished her audience to consider the unarticulated issue of charity's relation to class. Her lyrics caution her audience to help female objects of charity on the basis of their shared gender and the related issue of their common vulnerability to downward class mobility. The representation of an able-bodied beggar by an able-bodied singer in performance thus does not pose the kind of aesthetic problem that might emerge in a performance of Abrams' song, where the beggar's right to receive charity is based upon the evidentiary truth told by her emaciated body. Performance does not disrupt the kind of emotional affect Opie wishes to generate in her lyrics, but instead strengthens her gender-based appeal for charity.

A third composition, "The Little Beggar Girl" (c. 1790), composed by J. Denning and "Written by a Lady," scorns the abject sentimental affect generated by the spectacle of the beggar girl as musical protagonist. The lyric investigates the performance of charity

from the perspective of a distanced, moralizing observer who is in a social position to petition others to relieve the beggar's wants. In this sense, it rests much closer to the class-based appeal of traditional charity hymns than either Abrams or Opie's efforts, since the narrator is careful not to call the economic stability of her audience into question. The song does not proceed as a straightforward character monologue, accomplishing an easy affective transference from the beggar girl as lyrical subject to the performer representing her. Rather, the narrator approaches the problem of distributing charity appropriately from a position which is analagous to the actual social position of the performer: that of being her audience's socio-economic peer. The narrator instructs the audience:

See yon little abject creature,
Asking alms from door to door,
Sorrow stamp't on ev'ry feature
While she gains her scanty store.
You who roll in ev'ry blessing,
Smiling Heav'n can here impart
Can you while such gifts possessing,
Now refuse the feeling heart.

Although she refers to the girl's "sorrow stamp't" features, the narrator does not simply represent the beggar as a sentimental or an aesthetic object. The narrator's appeal to charity is based upon the "abject creature's" evident capacity to feel as much as it is upon the audience's privileged position to feel pity for her, as the lyrics show. In the second verse, the lyrics also call attention to the possible unreliability of the beggar girl's tale. This theme recalls Lewis and Abrams' work, in which the orphaned protagonist admits that she may be telling lies in order to gain sympathy, but it is given new impetus here

from the narrator's respectable social position and from the identification of performer with narrator. As the narrator-performer moves to intercede with her social peers on the girl's behalf, the importance of one's belief in a beggar's "Ideal" tale is re-examined. The beggar girl's distance from the narration symbolizes the conflict between the charitable transaction of truth-for-alms and its growing predilection for dramatic and aesthetic satisfactions which have little to do with the needs of the object of charity, and the general principles of Christian benevolence towards the poor (as exemplified by I Corinthians 13:1-8, which emphasizes kindness, truthfulness, and humility in addition to material almsgiving). The beggar's distance from the perspective of greatest emotional affect (that of the lyrical subject), her anonymity and lack of participation in the drama, and the refusal of the narrator to enter into the particulars of the beggar girl's situation and history all act as checks upon charity's impulse for the dramatic.

Stop and hear her mournful ditty,
 Tho' you may not think it true,
 Still she claims the tear of pity
 For her best estate is woe.
 All her days are pass'd in sorrow
 Mere fatigue procures repose
 While provision for the morrow
 How to gain, she little knows.

The final verse of the song extends the notion of charity from temporary financial relief of an individual beggar girl's want to the greater social ideal of education and moral reform. While this aim seems near to the goals of institutionalized charities, and may be read as supporting such impulses, it should be noted that the anonymous "Lady's" verse is

an appeal to help an individual, albeit in the name of a larger social “good” attending on the results of a positive moral action:

Snatch her then from want and ruin,
 Pour instruction on her mind,
 Turn the track she’s now pursuing
 T’ where she may true pleasure find.
 Heav’n her choicest favors sending
 Shall reward your tender care,
 And the good, such love attending
 Future ages must declare.

Of the three “beggar girl” songs examined here, this lyric comes the closest to Hannah More’s ideal of true sensibility as the “sweet precursor of the generous deed” (“Sensibility: A Poetical Epistle,” l. 10), since it aims to instigate definitive moral action of lasting consequence in its sensible auditors. Ironically, however, it does so while acknowledging that the interests of social harmony may outweigh the local consequences of careless, morally-suspect disbursal and receipt of charity.

III. Madwomen

The charitable social work enacted by music and observed by critics like Charles Avison also appears in eighteenth-century repertoire portraying the character of the madwoman. Susan McClary has observed of nineteenth-century operatic repertoire featuring madwomen, “Madwomen strain the semiotic codes from which they emerge, thereby throwing into high relief the assumptions concerning musical normality and reason from which they must--by definition--deviate. And by threatening formal propriety, they

cause frames of closure or containment (which usually operate more or less unnoticed) to be enacted most dramatically” (86). She further notes that, “In opera, the madwoman is given the music of greatest stylistic privilege, the music that seems to do what is most quintessentially *musical*, as opposed to verbal or conventional. She is a pretext for compositional misbehavior” (McClary 102). However, while operatic madwomen of the nineteenth century certainly indulged in wild tempi, vividly coloured harmony, unconventional musical forms and other compositional innovations, female-authored eighteenth-century vocal repertoire featuring madwomen does not necessarily rely upon the same musical devices to achieve the desired musical affect: sympathy for and inquiry into the gender-based social conditions which lead to madness.

The madwoman, like the beggar girl, was a popular figure in eighteenth-century songs. From “Poor Mary of Buttermere” (c. 1803) to “Bess of Bedlam” (c. 17??), from “Crazy Jane” to “The Death of Crazy Jane” (c. 1799), and a song entitled “Mouline’s Maria” (c. 1785), based on the situation of the lovelorn madwoman in Lawrence Sterne’s 1768 book, *A Sentimental Journey*, madwomen were all the rage. The subject of madwomen may have had a certain topical significance for composers and lyricists following an incident in 1786 described in Charlotte Papendiek’s memoirs:

On August 2 [1786] we all had a terrible fright in the attempt made upon the King’s life by a mad woman, named Margaret Nicholson. His Majesty had gone up to town to hold a levee, and just as he was stepping from his carriage at the garden gate of St. James’s Palace, this woman bent before him presenting a petition, when suddenly, without any warning, she drew a knife from her bosom with her left hand, and made a plunge forward, aiming at the King’s heart. He, however, was fortunately not in the least

hurt, and the woman was seized by the attendants. (216; see also Parke I:315)

A similar report of a mad attack on a public figure is made in Anna Phillips Crouch's memoirs. Crouch mentions a terrifying fan in Ireland, who insisted "if he could not get nearer to her, he would shoot her from the pit when she was on the stage, and then shoot himself. The next night she was to perform, after she had heard this desperate resolution, she was told that he was in the pit, and near the stage. Proper officers of justice were sent for and the unfortunate young man was secured during the time of her acting" (208). The emphasis in these accounts is on the controlled outcome of the spectacle—a kind of awful delight in the performances of the mad frequently indulged in by the public during tours of Bedlam (see, for instance, Jonathan Swift's "A Digression concerning the Original, the Use, and Improvement of Madness in a Commonwealth" in *A Tale of a Tub* (1704) or the final plate of Hogarth's series, *The Rake's Progress*, 1735). The emotional excess of madness, when displayed as musical-dramatic monologue, appeared to be controlled and contained. The aestheticization of madness into predictable musical formulae thus afforded women the opportunity to question social attitudes towards gender issues from a protected position of affective and rhetorical control. If the mad were by definition excluded from participation in society, except as performative exhibits, they were allowed the privilege of saying anything they pleased. As an inmate of Bedlam allegedly said to Ned Ward,

"Prithee come and live here, and you may talk what you will, and nobody will call you in question for it. Truth is persecuted everywhere abroad, and

flies hither for sanctuary . . . I can use her as I please and that's more than you dare do. I can tell great men such bold truths as they don't love to hear, without the danger of a whipping post; and that you can't do. For if ever you see a madman hang'd for speaking the truth, or a lawyer whip'd for lying, I'll be bound to prove my cap a wheel-barrow." (*The London Spy* 50).

For a female performer, composer or writer, there was no safer place from which to debate woman's place in social harmony than the perspective of the madwoman.

Signs of madness, as musically signified in late eighteenth-century songs, principally relate to the narrator's lost or fractured sense of the passing of time. Musically, this involved recitative parts sung or spoken *ad libitum* against sustained chords, or a sense of shifting time resulting from misplaced accents or mixed tempi. In the larger eighteenth-century sense of musical harmony as a concept dependent upon texture as well as chordal progression, this may be considered to be a disruption of harmonic norms, even in cases where unusual chromaticism or startling harmonic progressions are absent. In lyrics, madness was displayed by a confused mixing of romance narratives of lost love, pastoral conventions, Greek or Roman myths, and Christian symbols, as well as a general inability on the part of the madman or woman to distinguish amongst these conventions or to discern his or her proper place in the general social harmony of class and political distinctions. For example, in Purcell's song *Tom of Bedlam* (c. 1683, rpt. c. 1770) Poor Tom's madness is characterized by his inability to distinguish the mythic world from the mundane, "hark how the angry furies howl, / Pluto laughs, & Proserpine is glad, / to see poor angry Tom of Bedlam Mad" (ll. 7-9). Tom is also incapable of organizing the world

coherently using conventional time: “Thro’ the world I wander Night & Day, to find my stragling senses, / in an angry mood I met old Time, with his Pentateuch of tenses” (ll. 10-13). The musical structure of *Tom of Bedlam* parallels the protagonist’s struggle to regain his senses. Not only does the key change six times in the piece, but there are drastic swings in tempo from *moderato* to *allegro* to *largo* to *vivace* which take place at irregular intervals. Likewise, Tom’s confused sense of time is made manifest as the time signature jolts from 4/4 to 3/4 to 4/4 to 6/8.

Purcell’s “Bess of Bedlam” (c. 1683; rpt. c. 1770) offers a disjointed musical portrait of a madwoman who observes Mab and Oberon’s dancing, and Mars and Venus’s sexual jousting. In contrast to most musical portrayals of madmen, Bess’s madness, like many madwomen’s sung histories, is traceable to sexual causes. In the first verse, she warns other ladies to avoid her dead lover with his “two flaming Eyes” lest he “scorch up [their] Hearts.” It is clear from both lyrics and music that Bess no longer recognizes conventional forms of either social or musical harmony. Not only is her musical discourse rhythmically unpredictable, but she also tells the audience that her story cannot be related by normative musical instrumentation: “ye Raven and Cat, the Owle & bat shall warble forth my Elegy.” Bess’ madness oversets social and political boundaries, as is apparent when she sums up her situation in song’s last three lines: “Bess in her straw whilst free from ye law, in her thoughts is as great, great as a King.” The madwoman is comparable to the beggar girl figure in that both are economically disadvantaged, and both depend upon non-standard, performative behaviour in order to draw attention to their condition.

But whereas the beggar girl seeks social intercourse and reintegration into society, the madwoman, like Bess of Bedlam, shuns it and courts death. She is beyond rehabilitation and knows it, and her mental illness is usually presented solely as a spectacular example of the punishments that result from social or sexual misbehaviour. From the mouth of such a figure, one might expect cautionary tales for women similar to those found in conduct dramas, and indeed such narratives do occur. Yet some women composers and writers use the madwoman as the thrilling narrator of a conduct tale equally applicable to both sexes, and do not necessarily support the punishment of madness with death or expulsion from society.

A song with lyrics written by Matthew Lewis, composed by Harriett Abrams, entitled “Crazy Jane” (c.1800), presents a dramatic monologue sung by a female narrator (Jane) to a female narratee. The song, based on Lewis’s meeting with a real “maniac” near Inverary Castle, was set by other composers, but Abrams’ original work was Lewis’s favourite effort (*Life and Correspondence* I:187-9). The narratee, a “fair maid” (l. 1), is frightened by the “frenzied looks” (l. 5) of wandering Crazy Jane, who has lost her wits after being abandoned by her lover, Henry. Jane’s disturbed physiognomy is an outward sign of her inward turmoil, but although she is marked as a social outcast by her appearance and her solitude, she is not a danger to society, as she reassures the maid, “Not for Kingdoms would I harm thee, / shun not then poor Crazy Jane” (ll. 7-8). Unlike the orphan of another Lewis and Abrams collaboration, “The Orphan’s Prayer,” who demands charity, Jane demands nothing but a brief audience. Her narration of unwanted,

uncomfortable truths represents the inverse of the beggar girl's charitable transaction, where an "Ideal" tale is produced by the beggar to effect socio-economic amelioration. Jane may even be seen as dispensing a form of charity herself, for she proceeds to tell the maid what is an explicitly cautionary tale:

Dost thou weep to see my anguish,
mark me and avoid my woe,
When Men flatter sigh and languish,
think them false I found them so (ll.9-12)

Jane is, in fact, a Magdalen figure who cannot be reintegrated into society; not because of her sin, but because of the emotional investment which she has in her sin. She is unfortunate, not repentant. Like Sterne's character Maria in *A Sentimental Journey*, Jane haunts the place of her meeting and parting with her lover, singing "whilst each passer by in pity cries / God help thee Crazy Jane" (ll.31-32). Yet, unlike Maria, of whom we are told by the narrator of the song, "Mouline's Maria" (c. 1785), "Thy sorrows soon must cease / For Heav'n will take a Maid so true / To everlasting peace" (ll.22-24), Jane does not die or even express a wish for death at the end of her song, nor does she experience the sexualized metaphorical death apparent in earlier eighteenth-century songs.

George Bickham's illustration of one such song, Johann Friedrich Lampe's "The Dying Nymph" (c. 1735), offers an interesting visual precursor to later mad songs in which women are punished by death for love. Bickham's engraving depicts a woman with closed eyes slumped on a mossy rock. To her right, overblown roses drop their petals; to her left, a fat cupid with a broken bow rubs a fist into his eyes. Bickham is an attentive

illustrator; these emblems do appear
 in Lampe's lyrics, as do the birds
 above the nymph's shoulder, who
 share in her "soft Sorrow" as they
 "plaintive notes, like Sighs impart"
 (ll. 4-5). Though the song's lyrics
 do suggest that the God of Love,
 "soften'd with Louisa's Woe, / Does
 all his cruel Wiles forego,-- / And



silent, Weeps his Fatal Art" (ll. 13-15), Bickham chooses to represent this death by love as a literal death, rather than as the metaphorical death that is also a possible reading of the lyrics, and much more typical of songs of this period. The much later narrative of Crazy Jane, however, is left open, to seek another audience. If she is isolated, she is tolerated and pitied by society, as represented by the "fair maid," and in contrast to the narrative of Abrams' orphan, the potential affect of her sung history is not contained by the threat of incipient death. Crazy Jane continues to have an impact on society, due to her repetition of her tale to each passer-by. Unlike Poor Tom or Bess of Bedlam, who cannot distinguish between the real and the mythic, Jane's madness originates with a real event which she remembers clearly, as she explains:

he sigh'd, he vow'd and I believ'd him,
 he was false and I undone,
 from that hour has reason never

held her Empire o'er my brain,
 Henry fled with him for ever,
 fled the wits of Crazy Jane (ll. 19-24).

Jane's authority as a narrator owes as much to Abrams' accompaniment as it does to Lewis's justification of her appearance and isolation. Unlike Bess of Bedlam, she is able to organize her thoughts and present them coherently, and the repetitive harmonic verse structure and stable diatonic setting suggest her continued connection to the rational world. The accompaniment remains virtually unchanged throughout the piece, in contrast to Abrams' musical treatment of the orphan's narrative in "The Orphan's Prayer." By enclosing Jane's tale within this regular ballad form, Abrams establishes Jane's credibility as a narrator and reinforces her consequent authority to dispense advice on love. Jane is still able to think in conventional moral and social rules, through conventional forms. Paradoxically, then, Abrams employs a closed musical form in the service of an open narrative form, for the repetition of the closed verse form produces audience expectation of further repetitions. Jane will continue to tell her story to all who encounter her. Abrams' musical depiction of the madwoman resists closure and refuses to silence the madwoman who has been displaced from society.

Abrams' intriguing strategy for disseminating the madwoman's story using conventional musical forms is effectually foreclosed upon by a sequel to "Crazy Jane" written and composed by Caroline Poole. As there has been some confusion concerning the matter of Poole's identity in both contemporary and modern sources, and as its firm establishment is key to discussing her sequel to Abrams' song, I will briefly outline these

sources.

Poole was most likely the actress later known as Mrs. Dickons who frequently portrayed madwomen on stage, and her sequel to “Crazy Jane” may reveal more about her own musical career and sense of self than about her view of the madwoman’s place in social harmony. Anna Phillips Crouch wrote of one Miss Poole’s career around 1794, “Miss Poole, who came out also that season in Ophelia, and sung Mad Bess with great applause, at Covent Garden theatre, gave up the profession of an actress at the end of the season, but continued to sing in oratorios and at concerts for several years” (II:198). W.T. Parke’s *Musical Memoirs* give further details of a Miss Poole’s performances on stage and in oratorios (I: 136, 141, 188). The attributions in one modern music catalogue, Jackson’s *Guide to Surviving Works by Women Composers*, suggest that Maria Poole, not Caroline, was the woman later referred to as Mrs. Dickons (c. 1770-1833), who gave these performances and also composed such pieces as “Six canzonetts & a lullaby for the voice, with an accompaniment for the piano forte or harp” (c. 1794). However, a biography in *The Monthly Mirror* (c. 1801) claims that it was Caroline Poole who was later Mrs. Dickons. It seems reasonable to choose this last article as the definitive source of Poole’s identity for a number of reasons. One copy of the article in question, now in the British Library, belonged to Charles Burney, the son of the musicologist. Burney kept a musical commonplace book, and pasted in theatrical reviews and biographies over the text of a volume of Aristotle, annotating each item with scribbled observations. Although Burney unfortunately did not clip out the portraits which accompanied each “brief account” of a

singer's history, he was careful to correct the married names of other female composers and performers, such as the Countess of Craven. It is only logical to assume that if there was any error in this article, he would have seized upon it too. Second, the article agrees with Anna Crouch's account in several particulars. The biographer indicates that Caroline Poole, a child prodigy who could perform Handel's overtures at the age of six and who sang at Vauxhall at thirteen, "appeared, for the first time, on the stage, in Ophelia, in Hamlet" in 1793. She was married to a Mr. Peter Dickons in 1800 after the couple won a share of a £30,000 lottery prize, but returned to sing in the oratorios and in performances at Covent Garden after they lost the money in trade. The reviewer, who comments on the "winning affability of [Poole's] manners and the unaffected benevolence and kindness of her heart," observes that she is "justly admired in public" and "the delight of private society" due to these traits. He further notes, "Mrs. Dickons' skill in composition has appeared in the publication of some *Canzonets*, very honourable to her taste and science," so it may be that Jackson's otherwise splendid *Guide* has inadvertently split one composer into two.

With a reputation and a musical career established on her representation of stage madwomen, or at the very least, capitalizing upon a public association of the Poole name with portrayals of madwomen just as she capitalized on the popularity of Lewis and Abrams' original song by referring to it in her title, Caroline Poole had an investment in representing Crazy Jane's history more conventionally in terms of her lyrical strategy. Poole's song, "The Sequel to Crazy Jane, a favorite Song," secures moral closure with a punitive new Ophelia-like ending for Jane's troubles. Jane's erring lover Henry repents of

his perfidy and hastens to Jane's cottage. Alas, he is too late, as the last verse declares with histrionic verve:

Lost, in the mazes of despair,
 She'd wander'd to the rivers side,
 Lost to each hope, and to each fear,
 She sank beneath the flowing tide.
 Aghast he saw, and rush'd to save,
 That Form belov'd but twas in vain,
 For Ah, at once it prov'd the grave,
 Of Henry false, and Crazy Jane.

There can be no good moral solution to Jane and Henry's illicit relationship, despite Henry's repentance, Poole implies; a double suicide is the only possible conclusion to their narrative. At the same time, however, Poole's sequel does offer up a limited comfort arising from Henry's punishment for his vices. If women are to be excluded from society based on sexual transgression, men too ought to be punished in equal terms. If we are to call Jane "crazy," we must also identify Henry as "false." Poole also rescues Jane's moral character by further sentimentalizing her madness as "despair," and reduces Jane's complicity in her own seduction by describing Henry as a nasty cad used to inhabiting those scenes "where Vice cou'd never brook controul" (l. 4). Poole's dramatic and moral closure of Crazy Jane's narrative seeks to influence the moral behaviour of both sexes, and sentimentalizes the figure of the madwoman. In so doing, Poole afforded her audience a melancholy satisfaction that could only be exceeded by allusions to real events of like romantic impact.

IV. Pathetic Incidents Taken from Life

“Poor Mary of Buttermere” (c.1803), a song “Written by a Lady, Set To Music by An Amateur,” considers the fate of a morally-compromised female narratee (Mary) from the perspective of a soliloquizing or writing female narrator. It is one of at least three different songs from the period 1803-5 which offer fictionalized versions of a real event, each with varying levels of sympathy for the protagonist. Mary Robinson, an inhabitant of Buttermere in Britain’s Lake District, was courted by and married to John Hatfield, who was posing as Colonel Alexander August Hope, in 1802. Hatfield, who was already married, was tried and convicted of impersonating Col. Hope, of committing forgery, and of indulging in bigamy in 1803. He was later executed. For the lyricists who attempted this subject, Mary’s history came complete with its own moral indictments firmly in place, affirmed by official documents and public justice. In this version of the tale, with words written by a “Lady” and music by “an Amateur,” Mary has not lost her wits, but her “happiness” and--in a dreadful pun which no lyricist seems able to have resisted--“HOPE,” (l.1-2) for causes which become obvious in the narrator’s vehement second verse:

May every punishment fall with due weight
On the wretch who cou’d envy thy innocent state
For had he not vow’d to his soul thou was’t dear
Thou ne’er wou’d have wanderd from sweet Buttermere (ll.5-8).

The musical verse structure of this piece is absolutely fixed. All verses after the first are printed in stanzas under the score; a decision which lowers the price of this piece to 1 shilling, as opposed to 1 shilling sixpence for either of Lewis and Abrams’ lengthier

compositions. Here, though, the authority inherent in this fixed verse pattern, working as it does to support the punishing lyric, only demonstrates the inescapability of Mary's fate. Not only is she exiled from Buttermere's humble cottage joys, but Mary is also condemned to death for her unwitting moral transgression against the institution of marriage. However, the narrator temporizes this judgement by attesting to Mary's essential, unalienable innocence before God in language reminiscent of Richardson's *Clarissa*: "But shortly fair Maid all thy troubles will cease / And thou wilt ascend to the mansion of Peace" (ll. 13-14). The idealized *paysage moralisé* that is Buttermere is also feminized by the narrator. It is the seducer's penetration into the pastoral landscape which prefigures Mary's loss of innocence:

Once beautiful Mary how happy thy lot
And still might have been, tho' humble thy Cot
If the villain who rob'd thee of all that is dear
Had ne'er enter'd the borders of sweet Buttermere (ll. 11-12).

Thus, when the narrator exclaims that Mary has "wanderd from sweet Buttermere" (l. 8), she is not simply suggesting that Mary has been physically exiled from the country, but also insinuating that she has wandered from its moral code. Despite her simultaneous display of sympathy for Mary's predicament and assumption of the moral privilege to judge Mary, the narrator is not in a position of power, nor is she capable of dispensing any kind of pragmatic charity. She is distant from the scene of the action, as she states in the first verse, "Thy hapless condition claims from me a tear / Tho I am far distant from Sweet Buttermere" (ll. 3-4), and she is not in a place to offer Mary any reassurance but this

showy evidence of her sensible reaction to Mary's fate.

A second setting of Mary's story, "Mary or the Beauty of Buttermere, a Ballad," written "by a Lady composed with an Accompaniment for the Harp & Piano Forte by W. Seaman Stevens" (c. 1803), advocates sympathy for Mary. The lyricist declares that her audience must "For suffering Virtue shed a Tear" (l. 14). She also introduces the issue of class to the narrative of abandonment in the second verse, explaining that Mary was "Caught by the Air but more the name / She thought she lent her Ear to Truth." For this "Lady," Mary's irrationally high social aspirations to wed a nobleman are the most significant factor in determining her downfall. At the same time, this second writer normalizes Mary's illegal relationship as a marriage in the third verse, a gesture of approval for Mary's good moral intent which the first setting refuses to make explicitly.

Too soon alas too late she found
Tho Love remain'd her Hope was fled
His titled Name an empty sound
And all forlorn the Nuptial Bed.

In both sets of lyrics, Mary's fate as an object of sentiment is to be symbolically reappropriated as a countrified innocent after her death and removal from society, and ultimately, to be reabsorbed into the moralized pastoral landscape from which she was involuntarily exiled due to her unfortunate marriage. The site of her seduction, its isolation and charm offering a visual affirmation of Mary's beauty and innocence, is destined to become a site of pilgrimage and a shrine to those values, the narrator of the first song predicts in the conclusory couplet, "each Trav'ler will sigh when the fate he shall hear / Of

the once lovely Mary of sweet Buttermere” (ll.15-16). The “Lady” who penned these lyrics was not incorrect in her estimation of the attracting power of Mary’s story. Two hundred years later, Mary’s house is a destination for Lake District hikers, though somewhat ironically, it now serves as a four-star bed and breakfast.

The Mary of Buttermere settings suggest that where a female musical subject is precisely aligned with an actual individual who is not an object of material charity but merely a participant in the economy of sentiment, women composers and lyricists seem reluctant to affix their names to their efforts or to appropriate the position of the protagonist using the convention of dramatic monologue. There are many possible reasons for this. Given Mary’s precarious moral position as a bigamist, women have been reluctant to endanger their own reputations by allying her name with their own. The flurry of musical publications surrounding Mary’s public fall certainly point to the ascendancy of romance over pragmatic charity in public opinion, but female artists may have been squeamish about being seen to benefit materially from her misfortunes. Finally, the absence of dramatic monologue featuring Mary herself as a speaking musical subject might also be interpreted as a respectful reluctance on the part of these women to directly attribute their own perspectives to another woman. Without ascertaining the identity of the composers and lyricists as well as the identity of the musical object of sentiment, it is difficult to make a definite conclusion about their motivations and the music’s intended moral affect.

A similar conjunction between sentimentalized figures of madness, actual history and a reluctance on the part of the artist to self-identify occurs in the song, “William and

Mary, A Favorite Ballad.” The words were written by an anonymous lyricist and set to music by a “Lady of Fashion” to “commemorate an Interesting incident which happened on the Embarkation of the 85 Regt. August 10th, 1799, at Ramsgate.” The song is unusual in its mention of the date of the sentimental circumstance that provides the central subject. Dates and commemorative songs in general tended to be reserved for events of national importance, such as a coronation, military victory, royal wedding or funeral. The popularity of the tune no doubt depended much upon the novelty of the fact that it was a love scene “taken from life,” with the appealing character of a British tar as the hero.

WILLIAM AND MARY.
A FAVORITE BALLAD.
Written to commemorate an Interesting incident
which happened on the Embarkation of the 85 Regt.
August 10th 1799. at
Ramsgate.
The MUSIC by a
Lady of Fashion.
Printed for J. Dalt., No. 1, Cornhill, & the corner of Hotten Street, London.
Andante

The advertisement beneath the title emphasizes the song's basis in "an Interesting incident."

The ballad is set in 3/4 time but the effect is almost one of 9/8, due to the rolling triplets of broken chords that form the bass for most of the song. Harmonically, the tune is set in D major, and uses various inversions of the chords of D major, B minor, G major and A

major (as well as an E major chord which functions as an applied dominant for A major) in its simple accompaniment. The triplets are interrupted after four lines of lyrics for a dramatic change in texture: simple octaves in bass and treble in a half note-quarter note rhythm accompany two lines of verse in an arresting declamatory style before the waves of triplets close in again. This rudimentary device works well with the lyrics. It describes the situation (“They go, they sail, ah who can tell/ if e’er to be restor’d”), highlights Mary’s assertion that she will not remain ashore while her William is at sea (“My child and I shall go she cried / with him we’ll tempt the wave”) and draws attention to William’s devoted attachment to his little family (“‘Adieu’ he cried ‘I must away / Tho’ to thy bosom prest’”). The dramatic surprise of William and Mary’s parting scene is reserved for the fourth and final verse:

The vessel sails, she swiftly flies
 To where it turns the Pier
 Again to fix her longing eyes
 On all her heart holds dear
 It passes close--her feelings wild
 Subdue all vain alarms,
 She sees him--calls him--throws her child;
 And springs into his arms.

The fifth and sixth line, which relate Mary’s “feelings wild,” are given additional tension by focussing the listener’s attention solely on the narrating voice without the distraction of moving accompaniment. Mary’s temporary madness is not explicitly approved by either the lyrics or the music, for it takes place outside of the otherwise regular musical texture of the ballad. However, unlike the writers of the two Mary of Buttermere settings

discussed above, this lyricist evinces no problems with fabricating Mary and William's dialogues. This shift in point of view has a significant impact upon the audience's perception of Mary's actions. Although the narrative is still given from a third-person perspective, Mary's mad act is in some sense resolved by the lyricist's reimagination of the figure of the British tar. William's anxiety at parting from his wife and child effectually modifies the common, usually rough stereotype of the sailor, especially as the tender familial sentiments apparently fall from his own lips. The lyricist's approbation of domestic attachment is further emphasized as the dramatic moment of the couple's third parting is left incomplete and unobserved, though presumably the audience would have known the outcome of the "Interesting incident." Thus Mary's crazy leap aboard ship at the moment of her spouse's departure is, if not sanctioned, at least afforded the ideological frame of domestic attachment. This gesture, audible in both text and music, secures her position as a subject within the economy of sentiment, rather than as a madwoman in need of charity, and reasserts her position within social harmony.

V. Women's Benefit Performances and Projects

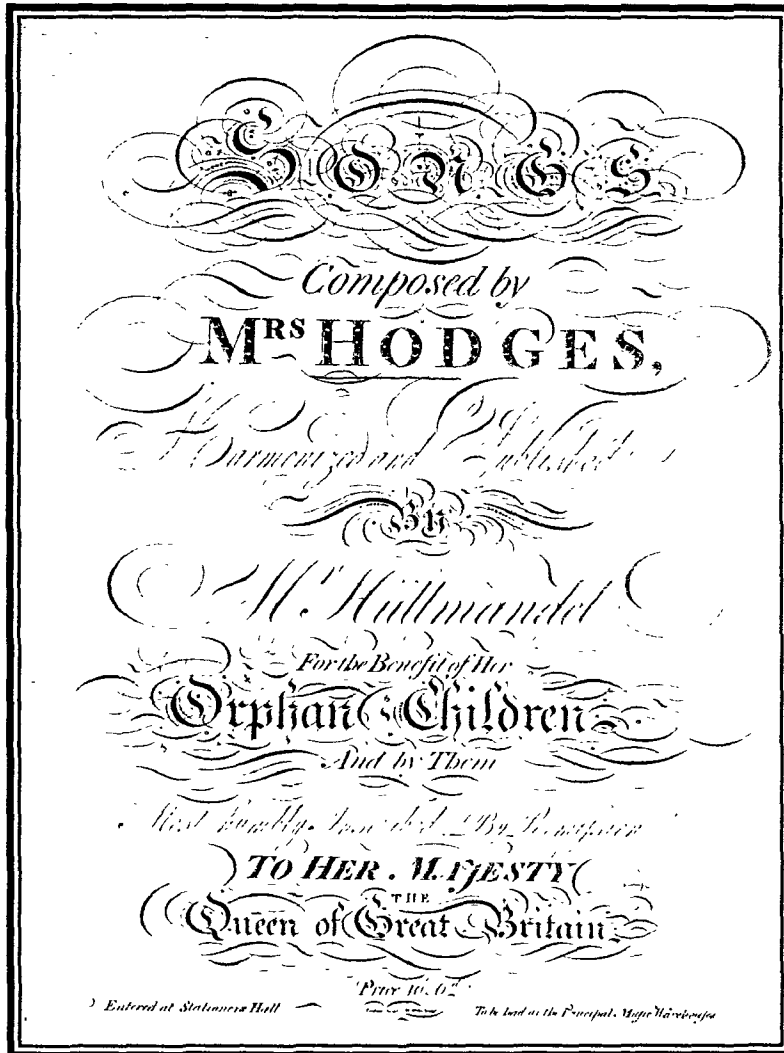
Perhaps the most complex and interesting interweaving of material and symbolic capital with respect to songs of love and charity is represented in female musicians' benefit performances and participation in charities for other female musicians. In these circumstances, notions of charity, musical performance and sensibility combine in a transaction in which all participants benefit. An artist like Maria Barthélémon could lend

her name and time to charities like the Magdalen Hospital as a charitable “gift,” and later receive the economic benefits of increased name recognition, reputation, and ticket and print sales based on her publicly-enacted investment in charity. Men and larger performing groups or institutions also engaged in this kind of symbolic capital-building exercise. To name one instance among many avowed charity or benefit performances, the Covent Garden theatre gave a performance for benefit of the Lying-In Hospital in Bayswater around 1794 (see Crouch II: 263). Similarly, the booklet, priced at 10 shillings 6 pence, entitled “Songs Composed by Mrs. Hodges, Harmonized and Published by Mr. Hüllmandel For the Benefit of Her Orphan Children” (1798), demonstrates this practice as it relates to publication. The advertisement at the front of Ann Mary Hodges’ benefit book describes the circumstances apposite to its appearance in print:

With respect to the Work itself, the *Airs* were all the original productions of the late Mrs. Hodges, composed, without the most distant intention of publication, for the amusement of herself and her friends; and sung by her, as many of her Subscribers will feel a pleasure mixed with regret in recollecting, with a taste and expression peculiar to herself. The MSS. found after her decease, were mere memorandums of the *Airs*, for her own use. These have been revised and corrected; the accompaniments added; and the last air set for voices by the scientific hand of Mr. Hüllmandel, to whose liberality for time and skill bestowed, as well as for a considerable expence incurred, the friends of the orphan family cannot too gratefully express their acknowledgements.

Subscribers to this volume included numerous musicians, such as Miss [Harriett] Abrams, Elizabeth Carter, the Countess of Warwick, and Miss Broderip, and the volume was inscribed by Hodges’ orphan children to the Queen, with her permission. The collection is fronted by an engraving of Ann Mary Hodges and a poem which refers to her beauty,

youth, and goodness. The subscribers, the dedicatee and the arranger all partake of the



Title page, *Songs Composed by Mrs. Hodges*, 1798.

rich symbolic benefit of helping the orphaned children of a meritorious sister musician.

The charitable aim of the project, which depended upon the organizers' efforts to excite sympathy for Hodges' orphaned children, combined with Hüllmandel's claims that his arrangements were based upon fragmentary "memorandums" and not completely realized

works, resulted in a shift in repertoire. The volume contains some rare juvenile songs.

Number 7, which is set in a perky *allegro*, is particularly notable for its grisly lyrics:

Three three little Dogs were basking in the Cinders;
Three three little Cats were playing in the windows;
three little Mice pop'd out of a hole,

and a piece of Cheese they stole;
 the three little Cats jump'd down in a trice,
 and crack'd the bones of the three little Mice.

Few such songs for juveniles were ever published, and usually were published and advertised as the efforts of juveniles (see, for example, the beggar girl song by Misses Caroline Symmons and Harriot Hague mentioned earlier in this chapter). Other charitable print projects similar in intent, if not in scale, were undertaken for the benefit of living female composers and performers. A piece entitled “The Sweet Charms of Music,” dedicated to the Marchioness of Salisbury with her permission by “An Amateur” bears the unintentionally amusing legend, “Printed for a Gentlewoman in Indigent Circumstances: to be had at No. 70 Berners Street & all Music Shops.” As the justifications for these charitable projects hint, the production of symbolic capital through charity performances or publications was not a gender-neutral activity. Those women who chose to display their acts of charity through a musical performance or a publication were also engaging with the prevailing rhetoric of femininity, and in some cases actively exploiting that rhetoric to boost their symbolic capital. Further, in acts of musical charity performed by female musicians for other female musicians, the demonstrative and dramatic qualities of charity are turned inward to the most critical audience of all—the performers themselves. From such accounts, one may learn of the ways in which these women hoped to benefit themselves and others through “performing” charity musically.

Anna Maria Phillips Crouch (1763-1805), whom I have mentioned several times in the course of this work, was an actress who possessed a lovely soprano voice and a keen

sense of self-promotion. In her early career, as *The Monthly Mirror* biographical sketch for May 1801 indicates, she was brought forward by a number of aristocratic patrons who had heard her sing in private parties, and served an apprenticeship at Drury Lane as a student articulated to Thomas Linley. While it approvingly mentions her abilities as a singer at oratorios and music-meetings and as an instructor of music (“Mrs. Crouch has studied her profession so accurately, as to be a most able instructress”), the *Mirror* article contains little of Crouch’s sensational life history beyond a terse summary: “She married early in life, and has since been separated from her husband.” By contrast, Crouch’s memoirs, *Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch. Including a Retrospect of the Stage, During the Years she Performed*, by M.J. Young (1806), seem to have been written almost exclusively to manage the swirl of rumours surrounding her private life. Although they were published posthumously, the memoirs give several indications as to why a woman musician might choose to engage in public musical performances for charity.

Crouch’s memoir names her initial patron as the wife of Sir Watkin Lewes, to whom her father acted in the capacity of an attorney, and places her at Drury Lane at age sixteen in 1780. There she began a three-year contract at a rising salary of six pounds to twelve pounds a week, a share of which went to her instructor, Linley. Crouch maintained Lady Lewes’s patronage despite going against her benefactress’ wishes by pursuing a stage career. Of Crouch’s first benefit night in 1781, Young writes, “[t]he amiable Lady Lewes, then the lady Mayoress, had frequently honoured her young protégée with invitations to the Mansion-house, and exerted her influence to fill the boxes” (I: 99). Crouch (then

Phillips) thus benefitted materially from the feminine patronage at an early stage in her career, which may have disposed her to pass on this favour later in her career when she had arrived at a position of influence. She also learned the necessary correlation of patronage and respectability. Phillips asserted her social status and her respectability by living under her father and her aunt's strict supervision during her articles.

However, this superficial appearance of order masked risky premarital behaviour on Anna Phillips' part. During a stage run in Ireland in 1783, she attempted to elope with an Irish Catholic peer. The couple was prevented from marrying by their fathers, and Phillips returned to the stage to face mockery from her fellow actresses and brutal responses from the audience. As the character Emily in a comic opera by Harriet Horncastle Hook (17??-1805) with music by James Hook, entitled *The Double Disguise*, Phillips had to listen to Mrs. Wrihten, the actress portraying the chambermaid character Rose, sing a song "at her" with the saucy ending line, "To be sure, she don't like a brisk Irish lad" (Crouch I: 209-11). The first verse must have been the worst:

Each pretty young miss, with a long heavy purse,
Is courted, and flatter'd, and easily had;
She longs to be taken for better or worse,
And quickly elopes with an Irish lad.
To be sure, she don't like a brisk Irish lad.

She was jeered off the stage. A 1784 print from a Drury Lane production, right, entitled "DOUBLE DISGUISE. MISS PHILLIPS in the Character of EMILY" bears the line, "What words can't express, you may read in my Eyes." The line is taken from the play's finale:

What words can't express,
You may read in my eyes,
For love to excess
Will admit no disguise. (28)

In Cook's engraving,
Phillips holds her hand over
her heart and raises one
lascivious eyebrow at the
audience. The implication is
that it is Phillips, not her
character's lover in the play,
who is truly the figure in
"double disguise." The
presence of this portrait in
the playbook suggests that
she became closely



associated with the role on the English as well as the Irish stage. Memories of her mistreatment by a fellow musician at this time may have influenced her to later act more charitably by her peers, especially as this was not the end of Phillips' difficulties in managing her reputation.

Phillips later claimed to have married Mr. Crouch, a naval lieutenant, secretly, but only appeared as Mrs. Crouch when she became visibly pregnant in 1785. Three years

later, this marriage was in trouble. Michael Kelly, a singer who had been training in Naples, returned to England with almost no knowledge of English. According to the memoirs, Mr. Crouch invited Kelly to live with them, and the three even produced music together for a time as Kelly taught Mrs. Crouch “new graces for her song and she taught him to give proper expression to the dialogue” (Crouch II:28). Kelly and Mrs. Crouch continued to live together for the rest of their lives. The memoirs temporize this transgressive behaviour by hinting that Mr. Crouch mistreated his wife. Young quotes Anna Crouch as saying, “I sincerely forgive the whole conduct of Mr. Crouch to myself; he is older now, and I hope is sufficiently sensible of his errors to abjure them” (II:322). Crouch’s memoir is similarly careful to invoke and dismiss allegations that she carried on an affair with the Prince of Wales in the 1790’s (II:140), raising the profile of Crouch as an object of desire in the highest society, while simultaneously insisting upon her moral strength.

Thus, when one encounters the following sentences in Crouch’s memoirs, concerning her high degree of participation in charitable enterprises directed at or involving other female musicians, one must keep her multiple reasons for performing charity works firmly in mind: “Her salary for nine months in the year was very high. She constantly sung in the Oratorios, and occasionally at the Oxford, Cambridge, and other celebrated Music-meetings; for charities she always sung *gratis*” (284). Crouch needed to secure the co-operation of her fellow performers, and accordingly, she used her popularity to draw audiences to benefits for other singers. Indeed, her life off-stage may have

demanded a higher level of visible participation in musical benefits for institutions and in individual cases demanding “acts of benevolence to such of her fellow creatures whose distresses were made known to her” (I:282). Not surprisingly, Crouch’s popular composition, “Go, you may call it Madness, Folly” (1805), takes up a text that sentimentalizes love as a kind of pleasing melancholic madness. Crouch was economically enabled to pursue charitable projects by her success as a singer; but she depended on the symbolic capital she accrued through performing charitable works to maintain her reputation.

The memoirs of keyboard player Charlotte Albert Papendiek provide similar insight into the role of charitable musical performances in the life of a keen musician who did not pursue a professional musical career. Papendiek’s husband (a flautist) was a servant in the royal family, and she later became the Queen’s Assistant Keeper of the Wardrobe when Fanny Burney was forced to leave that position. Her memoirs are particularly interesting in that they highlight middle-class music-making and describe in some detail the process of seeking patronage that was necessary to securing a career as a performer or even as a music teacher. In 1788, when she was 22, though she had been married five years and had children, Papendiek continued to take music lessons and to play in concerts. “I was anxious to keep up and improve in my acquired accomplishments, and to retain my well-bred manner” she wrote, “nor was Mr. Papendiek less so, observing that as we would derive no consequence from money or appointment, we could only be received into good society by these means” (294). This was a precept which she also

applied to her daughters' education. Her memoirs indicate the cost of a twice-weekly music lesson for her daughter in 1791 from a Mr. Rodgers was 2s.6d., and she gladly paid this fee at a time when the family income was approximately £275. (As a term of comparison, she notes that Clementi, a much better-known composer and teacher, was able to charge a guinea per lesson [189]). By contrast, Papendiek's lessons as an adult seem to have been more social than commercial transactions, for her memoirs do not mention fees. In 1783, she observed casually, "Schroeder often breakfasted with us, and if I were pretty well [she was pregnant at the time] we had a little music in the way of a lesson. Dear Salomon often and often called to plan some entertainment or to practise" (192). Johann Salomon (1745-1815), who became a friend, subsequently offered her free tickets to his groundbreaking concert series in 1791, where Haydn's works were heard. Free concert tickets were also available to attendants on the royal family (185), and on one occasion, Papendiek was granted tickets by Princess Augusta:

[H]aving observed my extreme delight at David's singing, [Princess Augusta] gave me a ticket for the second performance, the end seat of the south gallery, where the Princess could see me, and which pleased me, as I could look straight along the line of principal singers. . . . On my thanking the Princess the next morning, she said it had added to her gratification to see mine, and she was happy to have given me the ticket. (255)

Papendiek's candid acknowledgement of the pleasant spectatorship described in this transaction and of her own reasons for accepting it, recall the dramatic interchange between beggar and almsgiver, enacted at a higher social level. Papendiek was thus enabled by her circle of court and musical acquaintance not only to keep up her music, but

to hear the latest musical trends and to concertize and practice with professionals.

Charlotte Papendiek was both patronized by women at a higher social level, and acted as a patroness to women of lower social status. She not only kept up her own playing, but she allowed two daughters of her neighbour, Mrs. Stowe, to practice upon her own new pianoforte, since they could not afford a decent instrument. She next “organised two evening parties to introduce the Stowes” (316). As a consequence of these charitable acts, the girls grew popular: “the Stowes were soon sought after, as they took thir entertainment with them” (317). Due to their growing reputations and Charlotte Papendiek’s connections at court, the Stowes soon received a summons to a royal performance. The elder Miss Stowe did not succeed well in her performance. She ignored Papendiek’s hints about the monarchs’ preference for hearing “ancient” music performed on the harpsichord, rather than the pianoforte, and she rushed nervously through her piece. But of Bell Stowe, who attempted a Pleyel sonata, Papendiek writes: “Now so pleased was the Queen that she laid down her cards, had a chair brought, and desired the variation movement to be repeated. Poor things, this brightened up the scene, which had gone off despairingly heavy. The Queen being very partial to Pleyell’s music, gave rise to his composing that fine set of sonatas with flute accompaniment, dedicated to her Majesty” (327). Later, the Queen asked questions about the Stowes’ personal history, and her attendants, Fanny Burney and Miss Planta, “extolled the young ladies, so accounts spread were highly in their favour” (328). Bell Stowe’s ensuing success at court, and in well-bred social circles, was a direct result of female patronage involving several levels of

the court hierarchy. But most of all, her accomplishment was owing to the savvy musical reference to the Queen's personal history as a charitable patron of the arts programmed into the concert by Bell's own patron, Charlotte Papendiek. Charlotte Papendiek is certainly unique in her position of possessing considerable court influence while remaining in the lower middle class in terms of income. However, although she was not directly rewarded in material ways for engaging in music, Charlotte Papendiek's place within social harmony was just as dependent upon her artful exploitation of music and ideals of charity as was that of a performer such as Anna Phillips Crouch, a composer-performer like Caroline Poole, or even that of a musical object of charity, such as Harriet Abrams' orphan or Amelia Opie's beggar girl.

VI. Conclusion

Women's songs of charitable love subscribed wholeheartedly to the general understanding of music as an effectual agent of socio-political commerce, whether employed in the service of ideological stasis or change. Such songs and other charitable projects, however, described a wide range of responses to societal ideals of women's place as the object and performer of charity. The artistic engagement of female performers and writers with these tropes stands in a troubling, nearly metonymic relationship with contemporary perceptions of charity as a dramatic personal performance. Yet, while nearly all of the charitable projects described in this chapter evince some level of endorsement for conventional ideals of charity, musical demonstrations of charity by female artists could

never enact a simple transference of these ideals, as the political implications of performances for symbolic or material benefit discussed above demonstrate.

Arcadia; or, Women's Strategic Use of the Pastoral

By Nature these Pictures are drawn,
How sweet is each Landskip dispos'd,
The Prospect extends to the Lawn,
Or by the tall Beeches is clos'd.
Come STREPHON, attend to the Scene,
The Clouds are all vanish'd above,
The objects around are serene,
As modell'd to Music and Love.

(Verse 2, "O give me that social delight," from *A Collection of SONGS Sung by Miss Davies at VAUX HALL*, c. 1765)

The pastoral, as a poetic and a musical style and as a comic theatrical form, constitutes a second highly-favored genre for late eighteenth-century women composers, writers, and performers. The material benefits of producing music with references to the countryside is apparent in the sheer number and consistent popularity of such works, from songs including Mary Worgan's "The Dying Nightingale" (c. 1740) and Miss Carver's "Free from bustle, noise & strife" (c. 1790), to theatrical productions such as Frances Brooke's successful comic after-pieces *Rosina* (1782) and *Marian* (1788).

But what did it mean to claim that one's music or verse was 'pastoral'? To rephrase the song sung by Miss Davies at Vauxhall and quoted in the epigraph above, what ideological or aesthetic stances might the musical "modelling" of "Landskips" and other natural objects signal to a contemporary listener? Like the term 'harmony,' the word 'pastoral' possessed—and continues to possess, in modern critical discourses—a myriad of competing meanings. In the broadest sense, as Terry Gifford states in *Pastoral* (1999) the

term ‘pastoral’ refers to an “area of content” that embraces “any literature that describes the country with an implicit or explicit contrast to the urban” and assumes a celebratory “delight in the natural” (2). A playful expansion of Gifford’s formulation suggests that ‘pastoral’ refers to both ‘*content*’ in terms of rural subject matter, and ‘*content*’ in terms of a subject position that exploits one’s feelings of pleasure and complacency in country life, often for an avowedly moral purpose. The presence of either of these characteristics is sufficient to mark a musical work as ‘pastoral’ in the rather broad usage of the term during the late eighteenth century. Invocation of pastoral ‘*content*’ is never apolitical: it endeavours to obliterate the hardships of rural labour, and reinforce gratitude in the rural working classes by referring them once again to the patriarchal system of class hierarchies defined as social harmony by writers including Dryden and Pope.

However, it is the potential to separate these two defining characteristics of the ‘pastoral’ and to use one against the other to explore alternative subject positions that is key to understanding women’s ability to represent themselves in musical writings about the country, particularly in light of contemporary representations of femininity as “natural.” Sources such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Emile* (1762) often confound the feminine with the natural, ascribing educable social behaviours to biological differences and projecting moral consequences from this conflation: “See how we find ourselves led unconsciously from the physical to the moral constitution,” Rousseau remarks, and then asserts that woman’s natural mental and physical weakness and innate sexual modesty allow her the moral superiority to reign over man “by the decrees of Nature herself” (388).



Charming Silvia.

Set by D^r Green.

The Nymph if undoes me, is fair & unkind, No less than a Wonder by Nature design'd;

Thes if Grief of my Beauty Joy of my Eye, & if cause of a Flame if never can die, if cause of a Flame if never can die.

Her Mouth from whence Wit still obligingly flows,
Has the beautiful Blush, and the Smell of the Rose;
Love and Destiny both attend on her Will,
She Wounds with a look with a Frown she can kill.

The desperate Lover can hope no Redress,
Where Beauty and Rigour are both in Excess:
In Silvia they meet; so unhappy am I,
Who sees her must love, & who loves her must die.

A number of male-authored musical pastorals, both before and after Rousseau, construct a range of feminine subject positions—such as the coy shepherdess, the amorous nymph, or the country girl who is too innocent of the city’s ‘false’ manners to say no to pleasure—that center upon that subject’s sexual appetite and alluring physical (and often mental) weakness. As in the case of the song “Charming Silvia” (c. 1735) by Dr. [Maurice] Green, shown opposite, these images of femininity are located in pastoral settings in order to imply that they have a foundation in natural sexual difference: “The Nymph yt undoe’s me, is fair & unkind; / No less than a Wonder by Nature design’d” (ll. 1-2). By contrast, by questioning the relationship between pastoral subject matter and subject position, women’s musical depictions of the country often work against an understanding of femininity that would suggest that woman’s experience is answerable to or reconciled by nature. In writing and performing pastoral works, women were not merely reinscribing the limited range of subject positions offered by extant versions of the form; on the contrary, the dynamics of performance itself offer a significant challenge to these positions by displaying active artistic invention in the space that had been figuratively occupied by assumptions of women’s passivity and weakness. Women’s compositional and performative depictions of the pastoral emphasize the intellectual and sensual pleasures of retreat from mannered urban life, and the power to control one’s own time, thoughts and occupations.

An energetic hybridity of critical discourses concerning the social and moral importance of the pastoral is the enabling force which allows women to express

themselves through pastoral music. Some women employ the pastoral's apparent neoclassical conservatism to mask subversive criticisms of gender, class, and political issues, as Margaret Cornelys attempts to do in her bawdy (unperformed) comic opera, "The Country Coquet" (1755); others exploit the sublime potential of landscape as indicative and productive of exalted human emotion, as does Ann Radcliffe in the songs in her novel *The Romance of the Forest*. Raymond Williams' theoretical formulation "structures of feeling" (*Marxism and Literature* 131-2), which refers to emergent critical discourses which present alternative positions and forms to established ideologies, is useful here to describe four particular uses of the term 'pastoral' as denotative of lyrical or musical subject content found in eighteenth-century British sources. Where women's use of these terms pointedly refers or responds to a canonical critical source, I will note any (dis)similarities in position. This gesture is not meant to subordinate women's conceptions of the pastoral to arguments which have been discussed in rich detail elsewhere; rather, my brief references are intended to show how accessing the specific kinds of moral and social authority vested in such sources often proves advantageous in subverting their positioning of women within the pastoral mode.

The first of these pastoral discourses I will term neoclassical pastorals. These include works which explicitly refer to Virgil's *Eclogues*, to Theocritus, or to vaguer notions of shepherds and rural life in ancient times. Arcadia's golden age, evoked musically, suggested a conservative endorsement of social harmony that was most reassuring to listeners and publishers, for as Ovid observes in the *Metamorphoses*, the

golden age was one in which “men of their own accord, without threat of punishment, without laws, maintained good faith and did what was right” (31). Neoclassical pastorals frequently rely upon this concept, outlined in the first chapter of this project, of the musician’s authority as a law-giver within society. The author of the 1749 treatise entitled *The Polite Arts, or, a Dissertation on Poetry, Painting, Musick, Architecture, and Eloquence*, clearly believes that some illusion is necessary to achieve the pastoral’s moral purpose in maintaining class distinctions, and in particular, in reinforcing the view of country labourers as apolitical naifs: “these Passions are innocent Sports, compared with those which distract us. This is the Golden Age brought before us; and the Comparison of their State with ours, purifies our Manners, and brings us insensibly back to the Taste of Nature” (116). Neoclassical pastoral songs were no less avowedly moral in their efforts to maintain gender and class roles within social harmony than were songs of charity, yet their lyrics, owing to frequent homage to Greco-Roman mythology (think nymphs and satyrs), did not necessarily subscribe to contemporary morality at the level of the individual. Thus, the woman composer or lyricist who espoused neoclassicism gained the cultural cachet of wit, taste, and education, and benefitted from acknowledging her peers’ critical approbation of classical affect. These advantages, however, were sometimes acquired at the expense of insight into class issues, topicality or the writer’s moral reputation.

Second, a number of musical or written works by women claim to represent pastoral realism. These texts accordingly foreground contemporary political, economic, or social issues that are associated with rural life, frequently with the aim of ameliorating the

conditions of rural labourers. The trend towards realist representations of rural life that had begun with Ambrose Philips and Thomas Tickell was later further explored in the works of poets including Mary Collier, Steven Duck, Oliver Goldsmith, and George Crabbe. As Crabbe wrote in his poem “The Village” (1783), “the Muses sing of happy swains, / Because the Muses never knew their pains. . . . Then shall I dare these real ills to hide, / In tinsel trappings of poetic pride?” (ll. 21-2, 47-8; Tillotson 1424). This exposure of rural labour, hardship, and dispossession had a parallel in realistic musical representations of the pastoral. In part because of the lower-class rural origins of poets like Duck, Collier, and Ann Yearsley, and the experiential authenticity such poets invested in their class position, a woman who wrote musical pastorals that openly engaged with political topics or claimed to represent the real British country life risked being marked as a member of the lower class she was trying to represent. Unlike Anna Seward’s acquaintance the governess, who used music as a sign of education and sensibility in order to improve her social standing, the composer or lyricist who promoted her pastoral music as authentically rustic could be trapped within a self-referential cycle of representation. At the same time, she might gain in terms of her ability to point a moral with force, through increased contemporaneity and individuation of her lyrical subject.

Third, there are also musical pastorals which depend upon or subvert the critical distinctions regarding the sublime and the beautiful made by Edmund Burke in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) to achieve their socio-moral purposes. These aesthetic categories are exploited musically

or lyrically to achieve certain affective goals—to compose the soul to peace, order, and contentment, in the case of the beautiful, or to raise the mind to transcendent moral heights and communion with God, as with the sublime. Musical pastorals that engage with the ideas of the sublime and the beautiful usually avoid the class-conscious challenges to authority made by realist pastorals because of their reliance on Burke’s concept of the perception of beauty and sublimity as innate human capabilities, but they do generate a new, equally difficult set of aesthetic and moral constructs. Burke’s notion of sympathy, or the transfusion of passions “from one breast to another” by means of one of the “affecting arts” (41), is most important to a consideration of the moral affect produced by a sublime musical pastoral. “If,” Burke enthuses, “we can discover what affections of the mind produce certain emotions of the body; and what distinct feelings and qualities of body shall produce certain determinate passions in the mind, and no others, I fancy a great deal will be done” (117). He argues that affective performances that evoke sublime ideas, such as tragic plays, are satisfying precisely because there is both discernable imitation of reality and discernable artifice, which enables delight while it enlists the audience’s sympathy. The best narrative position for this movement from awe and reverence of the sublime to delight in the removal of danger is in the recognizable recent past. There, the affective sympathies of the audience are engaged without incurring present danger, and ideas or events may be rearranged to suit the framing form and satisfy its aesthetic requirements (as in the picturesque) without sacrificing veracity, since the narrative outside the frame is still known to the audience. A sublime musical pastoral, then, incorporates elements of

(sometimes historical) realism and foreshadows the picturesque, and the meeting of and hesitations between these two aesthetic impulses permits its practitioners the possibility of satire, allegory, or parody, as well as affective sympathy. The sublime, musically represented, offered women the opportunity to comment on gender roles or political issues without endangering their moral reputation or social position. At the same time, characterization of human responses to the sublime as innate meant that women's representations of nature and of woman's relation to nature in sublime pastorals risked critical dismissal as works *merely* natural, and responsive, rather than inventive.

Fourth, there are musical pastorals which engage with the concept of the picturesque, as most notably illustrated and expounded by James Gilpin. In these works, rural labour is de-emphasized to the point of erasure, and the distanced observer's aesthetic satisfaction in imagining or re-shaping landscapes takes precedence over the social or moral issues that emerge from such distancing. The impulse to aestheticize landscape, "to improve nature by herself" (Gilpin 142) through a harmonious distribution of its component parts, is frequently present in music written about the British countryside. Picturesque music concords with British conceptions of social harmony by promoting "cheerful tranquillity" and "pleasing melancholy," emotions that were in turn often productive of class and gender role stability by reinforcing the need for contentment with one's station in life. The musical picturesque, like the neoclassical pastoral, discouraged contemporaneity, while it focussed attention on the artifice and the taste of both the performer and the composer. Women composers and writers employing this form

of the pastoral could selectively edit scenic elements of the pastoral for representation. This selection marked their compositions as artificial in a positive sense, for it displayed their taste and performative ability while enabling a distinction between nature and femininity in ways that realist pastorals could not achieve.

In addition to these four distinctions amongst content, there is a further distinction to be made in regard to form: in the staged ‘pastorals’ of the late eighteenth century, ‘pastoral’ connotes an informal comic opera, usually an after-piece, about country life, which may take up any of the concerns or characteristics of the other four streams of pastoral content.

This chapter investigates female composers, lyricists and performers’ musical representation of themselves and their social roles within British pastorals. The analysis proceeds by form, first examining pastoral songs, then turning to depictions of pastoral music in novels and conduct books, and finally to pastoral operas. In each case, my discussion seeks to discern each work’s levels of participation in the various “structures of feeling” or modes of critical discourse governing the construction of the pastoral, and to demonstrate how this stylistic hybridity enabled women’s access to publication and performance opportunities. What is at stake in these musical representations of the pastoral is the potential for disruption of assumptions of woman’s contentment with her place in social harmony.

I. "Some airs put us in mind of the country": Imitation and Association

The 'pastoral,' whether picturesque or sublime in its aesthetic affect, was a discernable musical style to eighteenth-century ears. James Beattie explicitly identifies the pastoral as a musical style, and writes, "[o]ne of the most affecting styles in music is the *Pastoral*. Some airs put us in mind of the country, of 'rural sights and rural sounds,' and dispose the heart to that cheerful tranquillity, that pleasing melancholy, that 'vernal delight,' which groves and streams, flocks and herds, hills and vallies, inspire" (451). Beattie, like the author of *The Polite Arts*, recognizes the affective potential of bucolic landscape, and tentatively locates music's affective power in its ability to put one "in mind of the country" by using associative and imitative compositional techniques. Not all imitation or association fits neatly into the category of pastoral realism, however. While he recognizes the pastoral as a musical style, Beattie also raises questions about public perception of the musical pastoral's derivation from nature. "But of what are these pastoral airs imitative?" he asks.

Is it of the murmur of waters, the warbling of groves, the lowing of herds, the bleating of flocks, or the echo of vales and mountains? Many airs are pastoral, which imitate none of these things. What then do they imitate?--the songs of ploughmen, milkmaids and shepherds? Yes: they are such, as we think we have heard, or might have heard, sung by the inhabitants of the country. Then they must *resemble* country-songs? This shifts the difficulty a step backward, but does not by any means take it away. Is it of rural sounds, proceeding from things animated, or from things inanimate? or of rural motions--of men, beasts, or birds? of winds, woods, or waters?--In a word, an air may be pastoral, and in the highest degree pleasing, which imitates neither sound nor motion, nor any thing else whatever. (451-2)

rejects certain rustic sounds as inappropriate for musical use because their inclusion will disturb what he views as the moral purpose of the musical pastoral—the production of agreeable feelings of ease or cheerful tranquility:

. . . no imitations of natural sound or motion, but such as tend to inspire agreeable affections, ought ever to find a place. The song of certain birds, the murmur of a stream, the shouts of multitudes, the tumult of a storm, the roar of thunder, or a chime of bell, are sounds connected with agreeable or sublime affections, and reconcileable both with melody and with harmony; and may therefore be imitated, when the artist has occasion for them: but the crowing of cocks, the barking of dogs, the mewing of cats, the grunting of swine, the gabbling of geese, the cackling of a hen, the braying of an ass, the creaking of a saw, or the rumbling of a cart-wheel, would render the best music ridiculous. The movement of a dance may be imitated, or the stately pace of an embattled legion; but the hobble of a trotting horse would be intolerable. (444)

Beattie's 1776 essay thus anticipates certain aspects of the picturesque, as later explained by Gilpin and Uvedale Price, and recalls Pope's advocacy of neoclassical pastorals that use "some illusion to render a Pastoral delightful. . . exposing the best side only of a shepherd's life, and . . . concealing its miseries" (10). One humorous example of the sort of imitation by orchestration and association which Beattie would find "intolerable" occurs in a novelty song by William Shield entitled "The Death of Tom Moody, The noted Whipper in Well known to the Sportsmen of Shropshire." The song was sung by Incledon in his entertainment *The Wandering Melodist*. The musical direction reads, "In moderate time but alternately with Animation and Dejection," and the reason for this puzzling direction becomes apparent in a short prefatory note:

NB. The small Notes which are meant to express the View & Death Haloos, the Challenge, & the chearing up of the Pack, were Written by a

Beattie's comments reveal the cultural work performed by pastoral songs in eighteenth-century Britain. As his summation intimates, the musical pastoral had long been considered a suspect construction—a construction which by questioning its own aesthetic integrity and its claims to representation distinguishes itself from the ideology supporting the picturesque or Pope's vision of the neoclassical pastoral. James Grassineau's sly 1740 definition of the word similarly indicates that the musical pastoral is an artificial form, consisting of an imitation of ideal rural music: "PASTORAL, an air composed after a very sweet, easy, gentle manner, in imitation of those airs the shepherds are supposed to play" (175). The musical pastoral, then, unlike certain critical discourses within its literary counterpart, is a category that acknowledges intervention and representational instability.

Orchestration and imitative compositional techniques constitute two of the most important aural signatures that designate pastoral musical style. One of the conclusions Beattie draws in his inquiry into the pastoral is that "there is from nature, and sometimes there comes to be from custom, a connection between certain musical instruments, and certain places and occasions. . . . particular tones and modes of music acquire such a connection with particular places, occasions, and sentiments, that by hearing the former we are put in mind of the latter, so as to be affected with them more or less, according to the circumstances" (452). Flutes and hautboys (oboes), for Beattie, are the most effective orchestrative means of introducing the "thoughts and images peculiar to rural life" (452); the guitar, lute, and harp are also often associated with rural music at this period. Imitation likewise need not strictly adhere to the realistic depiction of modern country life. Beattie

Foxhunter, who heard Poor Tom's sonorous & characterestic Tones reechoed amid the Woods & Vallies while he was enjoying Health; & such was his attachment to the Chase, that he faintly breathed them in his expiring moments.

This is a comic exploitation of precisely the kind of musical imitation and association decried by Beattie, who follows Pope in insisting upon the pleasurable representation of country life, though he updates his evaluation to reflect Burke's work on the sublime.

The image shows a page of a musical score for a song. The title at the top is "3^d VERSE". The music is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The tempo/mood is marked "Desponding". The lyrics are written below the staff, with some words in italics. The lyrics are: "Thus Tom spoke his Friendseer he gave up his breath Since I see you're resolv'd to be Receiving in at the death One fa-vour be-stow tis the last I shall crave Give a rat-tling view hal-lo thrice over my grave Give a rat-tling view hal-lo thrice over my grave And unless at that warning I lift up my head My Boys you may fairly con-z-clude I am dead Honest Tom was obey'd and the shout rent the Sky For ev'ry voice joind in the Tally ho! cry Tom was obey'd and the shout rent the sky For ev'ry voice joind in the Tally ho cry Hark forward high over Tally ho Tally ho Tally ho Tally ho." The music is a simple melody with some ornamentation. The lyrics are written in a mix of capital and lowercase letters, with some words in italics. The score is printed by G. & C. Squire, London.

Third verse, "The Death of Tom Moody, The noted Whipper-in," c. 1815

"The Cuckoo," (1797) a song written and composed by Margaret Casson, features an imitative vocal passage, but without Shield's attempt at parodic humour. Casson's composition complicates Beattie's straightforward notion of musical imitation's influence on the pastoral's beneficial moral affect, and raises the issues of voice and women's place within pastoral music as musical subjects and performers by disrupting the form. Her song

splits the often-elided roles of woman as narrator or lyrical subject and woman as performer, and then uses this newly-split identity to question woman's position within the musical pastoral. The piece is scored for an independent vocal line above a keyboard instrument playing broken chords which occasionally move from the right hand into an Alberti bass. The first verse simply presents the country setting, and the singer engages in an imitation of the cuckoo's song at line five, singing a falling perfect fourth:

Now the Sun is in the West,
Sinking slow behind the trees,
And the Cuckoo welcome guest,
Gently woo's the ev'-ning breeze,
Cuckoo! Cuckoo! Cuckoo! Cuckoo!
Gently woo's the ev'-ning breeze (ll. 1-6)

It is difficult to ascertain whether the song of the cuckoo would have been one of the acceptable "certain birds" Beattie approved for imitative purposes; certainly it was not considered a bird inspiring "agreeable" sensations much earlier in the century when Mrs. Baddley sang Arne's song, "The Cuckow" in a production of *As You Like It* around 1720. The song, also a pastoral, contains a line of imitation as well, but one which links the sound of the cuckoo to infidelity: "Cuckow, Cuckow, Cuckow, Cuckow / O word of fear, unpleasing to a married Ear." (There is a certain amount of irony in Baddeley's performing this song, as she was notorious for her frequent extra-marital affairs). This does not seem to be the reference Casson is trying to make, however. Her cuckoo is an object from nature. Yet Casson's transcription of its song is not merely imitation in the service of realism, but a compositional gesture that gradually defines and differentiates the performer

from the female pastoral subject through the use of incremental repetition.

At the beginning of the second verse of Casson's song, the imitation advances one step further. The imitation of the cuckoo's notes moves from the voice of the singer to the voice of one of the inhabitants of the pastoral landscape she has previously described. The performer directs the audience,

Chearful see yon Shepherd Boy
Climbing up the craggy rocks,
As he views the dappled Sky,
Pleas'd the Cuckoo's note he mocks (l. 15-20)

Once again, the cuckoo chorus is given, and this time, it is foregrounded as an imitation by the lyrics' reference to the source of the imitation, the Shepherd Boy, and by the word "mocks," which marks the slippage between the musical object and its imitative representation. The second half of this final verse offers a surprising turn. The observation of the country scene and the vocalized imitations of natural objects within that landscape have to this point seemed to originate from a distant omniscient narrative perspective. They are now revealed to have originated with a narrator, who makes her position as an observer of the scene known only by stating that the cuckoo's song "Softly steals upon mine ear":

Evening's dusky shades appear,
And the Cuckoo's voice again,
Softly steals upon mine ear,
While retireing from the view,
Thus she bids the Day adieu (ll. 24-8)

This narrating figure may be gendered feminine due to the first-person "mine" which

would cause the audience momentarily to identify the singer with the narrator—the usual elision of woman as lyrical subject / narrator and woman as performer. But the performer only appears briefly as the narrator, and the narrator herself “retire[s] from the view” soon after she appears, effectively marking the split between these two roles. In the lyrics of Casson’s song, “The Cuckoo,” the narrator inhabits various natural voices and minimizes her own presence in the pastoral space she describes. The woman as lyrical subject is thus subsumed by the pastoral landscape she describes. Casson instead chooses to highlight the performer’s artificial imitation of natural objects, such as the cuckoo’s call of a falling fourth and the shepherd’s mock cuckoo-song, by delaying reference to the narrating voice of the lyrical subject. Casson’s device of deferring the revelation of the identity of the narrating presence allows a way to distinguish and differentiate woman from nature through performativity, although this, admittedly, is accomplished at the expense of the identity of the woman as lyrical subject.

A number of pastoral songs written and composed by women feature imitative birdsong passages of varying degrees of complexity, but, as examination of the compositional strategies at play in Casson’s song indicates, not all of these passages may be considered to be only imitative or associative, and many challenge Beattie’s ideals of appropriate pastoral tropes. In alluding to or imitating the voices of birds, female composers and lyricists are not flying from sense into sound, but employing the musical pastoral’s convention of imitating natural sounds to make powerful statements about their identity and woman’s place in society. Notably, many songs featuring imitative birdsong

refer implicitly or explicitly to the Greek myth of the rape of Philomela, and thus possess a cultural resonance that transcends imitative realism.¹ References to nightingales abound in pastoral songs by women, including such pieces as “O lead me where the lonely Nightingale” by “A Lady”; “On the Departure of the Nightingale,” with lyrics from a sonnet by Charlotte Smith; “The Nightingale,” with words and music by Miss Bonwick; “The Dying Nightingale,” with music by Mary Worgan; and “Invocation to the Nightingale,” with lyrics by Miss [Mary] Hays. Though I will only discuss the last three of these songs, each of these engages with the myth of Philomela and explores the myth’s consonance with contemporary ideas of melancholy, sympathy, and sensibility and their relation to femininity and social harmony.

“Invocation to the Nightingale” (c. 1782), a song with words by Mary Hays, employs neoclassical allusions to question the viability of the country as a place of genuine retirement from social responsibilities and cares. Hays’ poem was first published in *The Lady’s Poetical Magazine* in 1781-2 (see Brooks 30). The lyric is positioned within a pastoral retreat, but unlike Casson’s work, it is quick to eschew the pose of realistic rusticity. Hays quickly establishes a relationship between the mythic nightingale and the

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Briefly, Philomela was the sister of Procne, a lonely bride who begged her husband Tereus to bring her sister to live with her. Tereus raped Philomela and cut out her tongue to prevent her from telling Procne about the rape, but Philomela communicated her story by weaving the rape scene into a tapestry which she presented to Procne. In revenge, the two sisters killed Tereus’ son, and served him to Tereus for dinner. When Tereus discovered the nature of the gruesome dish, he chased the two women into a forest, vowing to kill them. The gods took pity on Philomela and Procne, and allowed them to escape in the form of birds—a nightingale and a swallow, respectively.

female musical subject. The melancholy narrator of the sung address reveals that, like the nightingale, she has learnt “sorrows lesson”:

Little songstress, soothe my sorrows,
 Lull my soul with softest airs;
 Such as of't in Lydian measures,
 Charm'd the Grecian Hero's cares.
 Deeply vers'd in sorrows lesson
 Well my heart thy griefs can know;
 Pity dwells within the bosom,
 Soften'd by an equal woe.

Hays' classical allusions to the “Grecian Hero” and “Lydian measures” establish her as an educated, authoritative cultural voice, and her lyrics also evince a neoclassical understanding of music's affective power to “lull” and “soothe” the passions. Hays' narrator employs these references to suggest the depth of her own melancholy sensibility and sympathy for the nightingale's sorrow: she is “Softened by an equal woe.” Like the mythic Philomela, Hays' lyrical subject is a woman who has been silenced and robbed of voice to make social complaints by a setting that is not a pastoral retreat, but an exile from society. Hays disrupts the emotional and moral affect of the pastoral as defined by Beattie; her pastoral setting promotes melancholy, but fails to produce tranquility in the lyrical subject.

In the second verse, Hays combines elements of both Pope's neoclassicism and Ambrose Philips' realism with the language of sensibility as the educated narrator again shows her resistance to her bucolic surroundings, yet insists upon her ability to interpret them due to her own emotional and sensory experiences. She equates the country and its

inhabitants with thoughtless insensibility, rather than stereotypical rural virtue or innocence. She emphasizes, too, her ability to act as the appreciative audience and interpreter of the nightingale's song due to her "kindred feelings" of sorrow:

Cease to shun me, lovely mourner;
 Sweetly breathe the melting strain:
 Oft thou deighns't to charm the rustic,
 Roving thoughtless o'er the plain
 Yet, to him, thy softest trillings
 Can no sympathy impart;
 Would'st thou seek for kindred feelings,
 See them trembling in my heart.

The narrator seeks for a relationship based on emotive reciprocity and shared experience and gender. Her invocation to the nightingale repeatedly genders the bird as female ("songstress"; "lovely mourner"), but the bird "shun[s]" her, which suggests that even sympathetic communication of the narrator's distress to another woman is denied her in her rustic seclusion. An escape to the country is not an effective means of banishing sorrow, Hays' lyrics advise; comfort is to be found in the socialization and sympathy offered by like minds.

The musical setting of Hays' "Invocation to the Nightingale," possibly composed by one J.B. Adams, who signed the bottom of the first page in the spot customarily used for copyright signatures, picks up on Hay's homage to Greek music in lines 3-4 of the lyric. The piece establishes itself as a pastoral with the inclusion of a flute (commonly associated with the country, as Beattie's essay observes) in a small ensemble of flute, violin, voice, harpsichord and cello; the cello simply doubles the bass line, the flute largely

doubles the vocal line. The piece's orchestration evokes the pastoral associatively; its harmony evokes neoclassicism in equal part. The Greek Lydian mode is commonly thought to have had the same arrangement of tones and semitones as a major scale: Tone/ Tone/ SemiTone/ Tone/ Tone/ Tone/ SemiTone. "Lydian measures," mentioned in Hays' lyric, are deftly introduced into the vocal line as a virtuosic ornament at bar 26, where the singer, doubled by the flute, rises in a swift D major scale. The ornament is the kind of subtle musical pun that would be heartily appreciated by a musician, yet it would not sound harmonically unusual to a less musically-educated audience, as it is only a modulation to the dominant of the home key, G major. See measure 8 below:

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Invocation to the Nightingale". The score is written for voice and piano. The key signature is G major (one sharp, F#). The time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are by Mary Hays, and the music is by J.B. Adams, circa 1782. The score is divided into three systems. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The third system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "oft in Lydian measures Charm'd the Grecian He-ro's carols Such as", "oft in Lydian measures Charm'd the Grecian He-ro's care", and "Deep". The score includes various musical notations such as "mf", "pp", "cres", "S", "f", and "Deep".

Excerpt, "Invocation to the Nightingale," Lyrics by Mary Hays, Music by J.B. Adams [?], c. 1782

This song does not attempt any imitation of the natural voice of a bird; instead, what it reveals is a Greek aesthetic ideal that has been musically naturalized to the point where it can no longer be discerned as such. Considered together, the lyrics and music of Hays and Adams' "Invocation to the Nightingale" comprise a remarkable testimony to the continued faith in classical musical affect in the late eighteenth century. Hays' own invocation of Greek myth, further enabled by her lyrics' superficial participation in the culturally-approved rubric of the pastoral retreat, allows her to give voice to melancholy self-expression that might otherwise have gone unheard.

By contrast, a song entitled simply, "The Nightingale" (1792), with words and music by Miss Bonwick, takes a straightforward, approbatory approach to the country as retreat. Yet in doing so, the lyrics do not depict Virgilian idylls or a realistic landscape, but an immaculate, picturesque ideal of country diversissements. The performer who can sing the words, "The Place will be rural and pleasant to me, / When I see the sweet Lambs sporting under the Tree" (ll. 5-6) with the necessary sincerity indicated by the uncomplicated harmony underlying the lyric has clearly never had a raw whiff of lanolin on the hoof under a noon sun. The narrator declares in the first verse that she will "refrain, / from the Cares of the World all my life" (ll. 2-3) by taking up residence in a "sweet shady Arbour," where, she says,

I'll see the sweet Birds flying all in a throng,
and divert me I will with the Nightingale's song.

The melody up until this point in the piece has consisted of regular, easily-sung thirds and

fourths in 3/4 time, but at the word “nightingale,” the singer breaks into an exuberant burst of technical arpeggios reaching a high C sharp, scales stretching over an octave in range, and a final trill, as shown opposite. The accompanying keyboard instrument then echoes and elaborates her ornaments to the cadence. This passage is certainly not imitative of the natural sound made by a nightingale, though it refers to that bird’s virtuosity as a singer. Indeed, this song seems almost composed to illustrate Beattie’s assertion that “an air may be pastoral, and in the highest degree pleasing, which imitates neither sound nor motion, nor any thing else whatever.” The narrator “diverts” herself, not by imitating, but by out-singing and thereby improving upon nature. A similar contest between the female artist and nature is depicted earlier in the century in Anne Finch’s poem, “To the Nightingale” (1713). The poet-narrator in Finch’s poem tries to match the nightingale’s natural virtuosity with her pen, her education, and her invention: “This moment I attend to praise, / And set my numbers to thy lays. / Free as mine shall be my song / As thy numbers, short or long” (ll. 3-6). The poet of Finch’s address cannot fuse the sensual appeal of the nightingale’s fluent notes with a rationally affective “spirit of the brain,” despite her repeated appeals to the Muse. She asks herself in frustration:

Can thy words such accents fit,
 Canst thou syllables refine,
 Melt a sense that shall retain
 Still some spirit of the brain,
 Till with sounds like these it join?
 ‘Twill not be! . . . (ll. 17-22)

Finch’s narrator’s pique is finally superceded by an understanding of the critical tendency

to “Criticize, reform, or preach, / Or censure what we cannot reach” (ll. 34-5); an understanding that acknowledges the essential lack inherent in both neoclassical and realistic verbal representations of nature. In contrast, Bonwick’s song represents a musical picturesque in that the narrator does not demonstrate any anxiety about her ability to represent nature accurately; further, the performer actually displaces the natural object she affects to imitate from the score and occupies that compositional space herself with a non-verbal sung melisma. The pastoral here is only a pretext for an elaborate display of skill and taste that is obviously acquired, not ‘natural.’

The instrumentation of the song also reveals a highly picturesque, anti-realist ideal of pastoral music. Although the singer vows in the third verse that “I’ll sing and I’ll play on the Lute the day-long” (l. 11), the instrumentation for keyboard instrument, which would have been difficult to bring outdoors, effectually belies the song’s approbation of the country, since performing this song necessarily involves removing oneself from the landscape its lyrics celebrate. Lyrical mention of the lute, which by century’s end had been considered an archaic instrument for some time, recalls the traditional association of that instrument with the country without introducing instrumental impracticalities in the orchestration. The picturesque principle of aesthetically-becoming arrangement is thus enacted both at the level of the lyrics and that of orchestration. As this pleasant song, with no references to class, no pretences at realism, and no regard for neoclassical affect, seems to be Bonwick’s only surviving work, she may well have exploited the insouciant disregard of the picturesque pastoral for representational accuracy in order to have her

work published. The piece was printed as a cheap folio with minimal engraving, and was printed and sold “for the Author” for only sixpence. Ultimately, though, if Bonwick aspired to continue working as a composer, this strategy of effacing the pastoral’s identifying features does not appear to have served her well in the long term. Rearranging the landscape of the pastoral song in picturesque fashion, so that references to class privilege and natural hierarchies were downplayed, diminished the potential moral affect of her work and may have caused it to be perceived as lacking in taste.

“The Dying Nightingale” (1740), a song “Set to Musick by Miss [Mary] Worgan,” seems to be one of the only nightingale songs in which the lyrics move between a third-person narrator and a voice which purports to be that of the bird herself. The song is printed on a single sheet. Its lyrics remain anonymous. The tune’s nine verses enact the death-song of a nightingale, who is attempting to console her “dear, and ever constant Mate” (l. 29) and “Suppress [his] raging Woe” (l. 30) regarding her incipient death. The first two verses introduce this situation, and verses three to eight describe the verdant delights of pastoral life in classical terms. The first narrative voice declares that “Eccho, from th’adjacent Hill, / Redoubled ev’ry Note” (ll. 7-8) of the bird’s song, and in subsequent verses, the nightingale refers to herself as “Philomel,” alludes to Silenus (in verse four--see Virgil’s Sixth Eclogue), and bids adieu to the groves where Phoebus shone (verse five). Following this farewell to Arcadia, in the last verse, there is a surprising turn in the nightingale’s discourse. She offers her mate the bittersweet reflection that although she is dying and he too may soon succumb to the “supream Decree of Fate” (l. 32), there

is no delight in lingering in a place where their lyrical gifts are no longer valued, and she cries:

Yet let it not disturb our Peace,
These Times no more to see,
When hooting Owls, & gabbling Geese,
Are priz'd as much as we.

What has seemed to be a sedate neoclassical pastoral, interspersed with soothing Arcadian references, swiftly metamorphoses into playful allegory in this verse. Musical pedants (Owls) and the mob who flock to new musical trends (gabbling Geese) have overrun the cultural field previously occupied by musical artists (nightingales) with a refined, educated and historical sense of music's social purpose and its affective potential. The lyricist uses the ostensibly apolitical neoclassical pastoral to launch a subversive, half-serious attack on the current direction of musical aesthetics.

Worgan's music sets the anonymous writer's lyrics for a soprano voice, with a range stretching from the E flat above middle C to fifth octave A flat. Interestingly, given the nightingale's numerous references to pastoral tropes, and her dying protest about the lack of classical affect in modern music, there is no attempt at musical imitation or associative orchestration in Worgan's setting. The key is E flat major, and the piece is in 3/4 time, in a binary form with figured bass. The bass line and the melody together create an agreeable accompaniment, and more skilled players could supplement the harmony by using the figured bass. In terms of its harmony, Worgan's setting is not complex, but it does offer some interesting material for speculation as to the level of her musical

education. It predominantly relies on inversions of the tonic, dominant, and subdominant chords, with one applied dominant and a tantalizing fermata on the chord of vii (rather than the more obvious solution of an imperfect cadence on the dominant seventh) four bars from the end.

Indeed, this cadence, in which the suspended tone of A flat is displaced downward by an octave, shows what might be considered to be sloppy voice-leading. According to conventional harmonic practice, the figure in measures 6-7 below should use the intervening G as a neighbour tone and return to the previous pitch of high A flat.



Excerpt, "The Dying Nightingale," Set to Musick by Miss Worgan, 1740.

Worgan's flouting of the rules of harmony does demonstrate, however, some appreciation of the technical difficulties of singing. Brief high A flats occur in the vocal line in only two other places, and in both cases, they are kindly prepared for the singer by passing tones or by an easy octave. Although challenging, the downward leap of a minor seventh to a low A flat is probably easier to accomplish than a prolonged, tuneful high A flat. What appears to be a harmonic 'mistake' on Worgan's part may in fact represent a nuanced

accommodation of a particular singer's voice. Her supportive musical setting of "The Dying Nightingale" allows its performers the appearance of virtuosity without strenuous technique or sacrificing the appearance of ease so crucial to a musical pastoral--especially one in which the lyricist's allegorical censure of contemporary musical aesthetics is camouflaged in Arcadian greenery.

II. The Moral and Social Dangers of Pastoral Realism

Women's perceptions of the moral affect of realistic and picturesque elements in pastoral music seem to vary considerably, and often, vary according to the socio-economic position of the artist and the intended audience. Whereas in songs of charity, dramatic moments often verge on the exploitative as a female object of charity is forced into a punishing narrative in order to obtain social assistance, in pastoral songs, reintroducing dramatic elements more often challenges moral assumptions about women's place within the natural order. The aesthetic form assumed by the pastoral, whether it appeared as part of a novel, or as a poem, song, conduct book, or play, also seems to have influenced women's impressions of the musical pastoral's utility in the inculcation of moral precepts. In terms of achieving this purpose, pastoral verisimilitude was not necessarily the privileged mode. As seen in the earlier discussion of two musical settings of the dramatic tale of Mary of Buttermere, there was considerable jeopardy for a female lyricist or a musician in depicting a "real incident." The allure of topicality and the probability of increased sales resulting from the popular appeal of musical reportage were balanced by a

concern that to appear to profit from another person's misfortunes was crass and ultimately damaging to the reputation of the composer. "The Welcome Retreat from the Storm," (c. 1800), a pastoral song "Written by a Lady from real incident," with music by T. Denning, manages to negotiate this precipice nicely. The lettering of the title is eclipsed by the much larger claim that this is "A Moral Ballad Composed for the Piano Forte." The song is given from the perspective of a male cottager who invites the "Lady" into his home to wait out a rain storm:

Lady pray enter my cottage awhile,
Till this stormy shower is o'er*
Would you share my best, it the time might beguile
Tho homely and frugal my store.*

Tho' I with my Susan each morn when we rise,
Depend on our labour for food;
We bless the kind hand who with strength still supplies,
To crown our endeavours with good.

Then ne'er will we envy the rich or the great,
While we with contentment are blest;
It daily assuages the toils of our state,
At night sinks us sweetly to rest.

(*Note that in the musical setting, the second and fourth line of each stanza is repeated twice.)

The moral of this moral ballad is a variation on the familiar trope that figures working poverty as content and inflexible confinement to that class as a blessing and a preventative against moral corruption. As Thomas Gray writes of the poor in "Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard," "To scatter Plenty o'er a smiling Land, / And read their Hist'ry in a Nation's Eyes / Their Lot forbad: nor circumscrib'd alone/ Their growing Virtues, but

their Crimes confin'd" (ll. 63-6). Similarly, Elizabeth Tollet's less well-known poem, "Rural Life," set to music by Samuel Howard c. 1750, considers confinement to the country and the lower classes particularly beneficial to women's morals:

How happy is the Maid,
Who lives a Rural Life
[. . .]
No Passion sways her Mind,
Or Wishes to be great,
To humble Hopes confin'd,
She shuns the flatt'ring Bait. (ll. 1-2, 5-9)

The "Lady" who penned the lyrics of "The Welcome Retreat from the Storm" is protected from the threats verisimilitude poses to her artistic production by her anonymity and her endorsement of strict class divisions, which she accomplishes by placing herself inside the narrative frame of the song, where the narrator refers (and defers) to her only by her class. This may be a real incident, but it is also an event which cosily concurs with contemporary ideals of an innocent, naturally good lower class, who remain grateful for their place within social harmony and who apparently believe socio-economic advancement to be consistent only with moral degradation. The lyricist declines to engage with the "realistic" elements of country life which might challenge these assumptions. The "Lady," for instance, does not reflect upon the fact that she is consuming the cottagers' "frugal" fare and thereby increasing their labour. If the song indeed depicts an incident taken from life, then the female lyricist is exploiting the cottagers' labour still further by profiting from the reproduction of their happy acknowledgement of interpellated social values in a musical text.

The figuration of rural labour as a liberating confinement from the corrupting influence of town society also emerges in the piece, “Free from Bustle, Noise and Strife.” Here, too, the composer avoids a dangerous political entanglement with contemporary issues of rural labour by presenting a highly selective, picturesque portrait of rustic occupation; ironically, she does so using imitative techniques. Published around 1790, it is advertised as “a favorite CANTATA, set to Music by Miss Carver of Liverpool.” This is not the only extant piece by Carver, but her background remains obscure. The opening of the piece is given in recitative in a loose common time: “Free from Bustle noise and strife, / I lead an humble Cottage life, / While sweetly on the Moments steal, / While turning round my Spining [sic] wheel.” At the commencement of the “Air,” the time signature switches to 6/8, with steadily rolling triplets to provide a spinning rhythm for the ensuing two verses:

I Envy not the rich or great,
with all their gaudy pomp and state,
For greater pleasures do I feel,
when turning my Spining wheel,
When turning my Spining wheel.

Tho’ Fate has doom’d me thus you see,
A Rustick’s Daughter still to be,
With mind at ease content I feel,
In turning my Spining wheel.
[In turning my Spining wheel.]

While Carver’s musical setting of these anonymous lyrics invokes pastoral realism by putting the auditor “in mind of the country” with an imitation of the incessant rhythm of a cottager’s spinning wheel, the activity the music describes is a vanishing cottage labour.

The spinning wheel and the self-sufficiency it betokened were already the materials of nostalgia in 1790, following the invention of James Hargreaves' spinning jenny (c. 1765), and Richard Arkwright's water (and later steam) powered spinning frame. The child labourer engaging in fourteen to sixteen-hour days in a textile mill might indeed envy this "Rustick's Daughter" her contentment and her simple occupation.

While Carver's setting of "Free from Bustle, Noise and Strife" does not question the economic viability or the accuracy of the pastoral she presents, some musical representations of the pastoral claiming realist elements did essay challenges to established gender or class roles. The tune, "Emma, or the Bough-pot Girl," "Composed by A Lady," makes the connection between the songs expressive of the economy of charity and the hidden class conflict of the pastoral clear. The song-writer's subtle criticism of the usual erasure of class issues in musical pastorals may be the reason for the anonymity of the composer. Alternately, it may be that printer W. Hodsoll, advertised as "Successor to Mr. Bland," was not as encouraging to female composers and as open to promoting their efforts as was his predecessor. The subject of the song, Emma, is not a beggar girl, but she is impoverished, and the country offers her a meagre, thorny living as a weaver of briar baskets.

From her Cottage of clay e'er the Sun had arose,
 Fair Emma by fortune unknown;
 No sooner had slip'd on her tatter'd worn cloaths
 than to gather her sweet brier boughpots she goes,
 to cry thro' the Neighbouring Town
 To cry thro' the neighbouring Town
 Come buy my Boughpots my sweet Brier (2x)

In simplicity's accents she'd often relate
 To the few who at misery sigh
 Her hardships her sorrows, her hopeless estate,
 But ah! she would breathe I resign to my fate
 Nor repine, while my brier I cry,
 Come buy my Bough-Pots my sweet Brier.

The song features an imitative “cry” section, in which the singer imitates Emma giving out the line, “Come buy my Boughpots my sweet Brier,” in true street huckster fashion. The cry occurs in a brief phrase marked “Slow,” and is further differentiated by its conclusion, which features two fermatas that allow Emma’s sales pitch to hang in the air. Although the lyrics refer to Emma’s “hardships, sorrows, and hopeless estate,” these do not comprise the subject of the song nor the source of Emma’s income. Instead, the market cry which interrupts the tempo of the song and the narrative of Emma’s day calls attention to her admirable fortitude and self-sufficiency, as well as to the rigours of her labour. However, as Annabel Patterson’s recent work on the politics of the pastoral demonstrates, this kind of indirect criticism of class issues is not as far-reaching or potentially effective as social satire. Patterson differentiates between “realistic poetry of country life (which implies the need for amelioration)” and the “philosophical pastoral . . . that restated the hardships of rustic labor as a theme that can ennoble the spectator while leaving the social structure untouched” (204). This song fuses the affective sympathies of charity songs with realist elements that acknowledge rural hardship, but unlike a charity song, it does not directly benefit those in need and its degree of useful moral affect is correspondingly diminished.

In addition to the aids to pastoral realism that imitation, association and subjects

from “real incident” might afford to female composers or lyricists, a compositional strategy which I will term lyrical dualism also assisted in depictions of rural life that evince a satiric intent to instigate social or moral reforms. This practice originated in political balladeering. Lyrical dualism consisted of the simultaneous production of two (sometimes more) sets of lyrics on the same topic expressive of completely opposite points of view, set to the same melody by the same, usually anonymous composer and lyricist. This deliberate twinning of opposing ideologies protected the singer, the writer, the composer, and at the same time, maximized profits for the publisher, who was able to appeal—and sell—to supporters of both sides of any given issue. Both sides received full and equally convincing representation. This is the basis of the strategy which emerges in a comparative study of “The Contented Cottager,” a song written during the 1790's by Mrs. Rowson and set by Edward Frith, and other ensuing pastoral works by Rowson. “The Contented Cottager” appears to endorse a picturesque vision of the pastoral, but a closer examination of materials by the same author demonstrates the danger in ascribing a single subject position to a female lyricist, and at the same time shows the appeal of a hybrid approach to the pastoral for women writers.

The Mrs. Rowson in question is Susanna Haswell Rowson (c. 1762-1824), an English born American actress and writer, well known for her best-selling novel, *Charlotte. A Tale of Truth* [also published as *Charlotte Temple*] (1791) and her later establishment of an experimental school for young women in Boston. Rowson derived her income from stage performances and writing of all kinds, including song writing, both for

her own plays and for separate publication. “The Contented Cottager” echoes parts of John Gay’s work, *The Beggar’s Opera*; particularly Air XVI, the duet to the tune of “O’er the Hills and Far Away” sung by Polly and Macheath in which Polly declares, “Were I sold on Indian soil, / Soon as the burning day was clos’d / I could mock the Sultry toil/ When on my charmer’s breast repos’d” (*Norton Anthology* 427). The resemblance is not surprising, given Rowson’s association with the stage, but what is offered as histrionic love-posturing by an underworld antiheroine in Gay’s opera is tendered with sincerity by Rowson’s narrator, a country girl who repeatedly stresses her contentment with rural pleasures and her simple lot in life:

My Collin is the kindest Lad,
that e’er won Maidens heart,
When he appears my bosoms glad,
But mournful when we part,
He says I am his chief delight,
for me all day he’ll toil,
And seem o’er paid if I at night,
But meet him with a smile.

Let others anxiously aspire,
To grandeur fame and wealth,
His love is all that I require,
With Innocence and health.

When first he to my Cottage came,
And told his tender tale,
I frowning said twas all in vain,
He never could prevail:
But ah! so ardently he press’d,
And would not be denied,
That e’er my tongue had no, express’d,
My tell tale eyes complied.

With him I am content to dwell,
 Within our low roof'd Cot,
 And e'en the gayest Town bred belle,
 Might envy me my lot:
 For me he'd climb the Mountains high,
 Or till the rugged soil,
 And seem o'er paid if I at night,
 But meet him with a smile.

The delicious possibilities offered by a small *ritardando* on the line, “And seem o’er paid if I at night, [pause] / But meet him with a smile” somewhat offset the cloying sweetness of this picturesque, which otherwise seems quite sincere in its approbation of country life.

However, Rowson, who was pursued constantly by debtors seeking to collect on her husband’s substantial gaming debts, was writing so hard and so fast that she often used the practical expedient of writing about the same situation from both sides. While this is topical, rather than lyrical dualism, the benefits of fully exploiting one’s material from all possible angles remain the same. The following “Ballad” is taken from Rowson’s 1804 volume of miscellaneous poems, and its plot recalls the “Mary of Buttermere” songs of this period. It offers a tragic rewriting of “The Contented Cottagers” in which the kindly Arcadian shepherd Collin is transmuted into a rakish young rascal named Henry. The narrator is a country girl in the “full bloom of youth” (l. 1) who lives with her aged father in a “lowly roof’d cot, from ambition secure” (l. 9). The pastoral setting and its joys are depicted mainly in the second verse, where they are already a lost ideal: “But the scene is now chang’d; grant me pity, ye fair, / For alas, I am driven almost to despair” (ll. 15-6). The maiden binds the wounds of Henry, who appears, injured and faint, at their cottage

gate late one stormy night. Her reward for this kindness is a betrayal, as she declares:

“Henry is faithless, and I am undone” (l. 4). The verse that follows could be a summary of the plot of Rowson’s novel, *Charlotte. A Tale of Truth*, so closely does it resemble the final scene of the seduced heroine’s life:

We bound up his wounds, but alas, the return
Was to rob me of virtue, and leave me to mourn.
I flew to my father, Oh, pardon, I cried;
He heard my dishonour, forgave me, and died:
Oh pity my sorrows, ye kind-hearted fair,
For alas, I am driven almost to despair.

The song’s acknowledgement of the young woman’s “dishonour,” her desertion by her lover, and the modern name ‘Henry’ (as opposed to the neoclassical ‘Strephon’ or ‘Colin’) all suggest an unflinching realism utterly lacking in “The Contented Cottager,” although both songs employ the picturesque ideal of humble but happy cottage life.

Finally, a third song by Rowson, “He’s Not Worth the Trouble,” (1817) blends neoclassical references and the seduction narrative of the two earlier songs in a comic address. The narrator warns her countrywomen on “Damon’s plain” (l. 30) against the attractions of a shepherd who has seduced her:

Tell me ye maidens, have you seen,
A shepherd pass this way?
Of handsome shape, and graceful mien,
Of manners frank and gay.
And then he sings so sweet a strain,
But ah! his tongue is double;
All day I’ve wander’d round the plain,
In search of an ungrateful swain,
That’s scarcely worth the trouble. (ll. 1-9)

Considered individually, none of these three songs can be said to epitomize Rowson's attitude towards using elements of the musical pastoral as an effective means to inculcate morality in the performer or listener. Rather, by producing a range of pieces that fit or combine extant pastoral idioms, Rowson is able to assure herself of a market for her work. At the same time, her repositioning of the same seduction / abandonment narrative within different pastoral traditions reveals the conventional position of the female subject within musical pastorals (whether as contented cottager, undone innocent, or jaded nymph) to be a cultural construction itself. Rowson's reinscription of conventional pastoral subjects is more a cynical performance than a sublimation of dominant values; and, when considered as a body of work, it appears as a strategic, subversive use of the pastoral.

Although her song lyrics combine elements of neoclassical, realist and picturesque pastorals, in her novel *Charlotte. A Tale of Truth* (1791), Rowson clearly favours a view of music as a sublime, affective aid to establishing sympathy and thereby transmitting moral precepts. Here, Rowson is able to work out the complexities of moral representation of the pastoral in an expanded hybrid form that acknowledges music's affective power and disrupts the conventional romance plot. Rowson often forcibly intervenes in the narrative with conduct-book like reminders on prayer and advice to young women concerning such issues as the inexorable nature of irate landladies. In addition to these pointed authorial interruptions, the novel also contains epigraphs from well-known writers such as Pope, and intermingles letters and a song with the narrative. Furthermore, as Sylvia E. Bowman indicates in her introduction to a modern edition of the

novel, the story was based on “real incident,” for “Charlotte Temple was Charlotte Stanley, the daughter of an English clergyman, the disinherited son of the Earl of Derby, and . . . John Montraville [Charlotte’s seducer] was John Montrésor, an officer in the British Army” (15-6). Rowson, who was Montrésor’s cousin, heard the story more than twelve years after Charlotte’s death from the wife of a British officer, the character known as in the book as Mrs. Beauchamp (18). Although Rowson wishes her reader to sympathize with the heroine and to observe Charlotte’s responses to the sublime, it becomes clear that Rowson’s rationale for fracturing the tale is that she does not want the reader to be subsumed by the impetus of the romance plot and to forget the practical disadvantages and social and moral consequences of Charlotte Temple’s situation.

In the novel, the pregnant, unwed protagonist Charlotte Temple, who so resembles and perhaps foreshadows the subject of Rowson’s 1804 “Ballad,” is secluded from society in the country outside New York. Her desolate house there stands in stark opposition to the rural cottage of her youth, where her happy parents “cast not a wish beyond the little boundaries of their own tenement” (55-6). Although her neighbour, Mrs. Beauchamp, is well acquainted with Charlotte’s misfortune, as she sailed on the same ship from England, she does not risk social opprobrium by associating with her until she hears Charlotte singing in her garden, “Come, friendly death, thy mandate give, / And let me be at peace” (ll. 15-6). Charlotte’s verses, which refer to such sublime sights as the sun rising from the sea, construct a parallel which equates her loss of innocence with her seclusion from society. In turn, this exile also places her outside the affective sensual beauties offered by

nature:

For what are nature's charms combin'd,
To one whose weary breast
Can neither peace nor comfort find,
Nor friend whereon to rest? (ll. 9-12, 112)

The melancholy music of Charlotte's harp and the beauty of the setting to which Charlotte proclaims herself insensible awaken Mrs. Beauchamp's charitable sympathies. With her husband's approval, Mrs. Beauchamp visits Charlotte and eventually writes the letter that reunites Charlotte with her father before her death at a time when she has been abandoned by her lover (111-3). Mrs. Beauchamp's gesture is interpreted by Captain Beauchamp as a natural response: "Follow the impulse of thy generous heart . . . Let prudes and fools censure, if they dare, and blame a sensibility they never felt, I will exultingly tell them that the heart that is truly virtuous is ever inclined to pity and forgive the errors of its fellow creatures" (113). Rowson's novel so blends Charlotte's deviance from normative values with her disrupted relationship from nature, and so closely identifies the novel's positive model of feminine behaviour, Mrs. Beauchamp, with affective responses to nature, that nature becomes a kind of moral economy in which one's purity may be gauged in response to one's ability to recognize and be affected by the sublime.

In her songs, and in larger part in this novel, Susanna Rowson skillfully manipulates and blends extant pastoral modes. She imports the charming, picturesque cottage of Charlotte's parents and the neoclassical ideals of her close relationship with nature there, to establish the reader's identification of social and moral behavioural codes

with idealized pastoral life. This identification is then complicated by the knowledge that Charlotte's story is indeed "A Tale of Truth," taken from life. Next, a plaintive song signifies Charlotte's eviction from society, and marks the appropriate charitable response to her plight for a woman secure in her social role and therefore sensible to the affective qualities of the sublime. Rowson's hybrid approach to the pastoral allows her to depict the dangers of filial disobedience and seduction by showing its real hazards and its imaginative horrors--as crimes against oneself and one's family, and as acts which exclude their victims not only from the consolations of society, but also from those of nature.

III. The Perils of the Picturesque

If the risks posed to composers and lyricists engaging with realistic depictions of country life were considered to be large, the dangers of musically representing the British countryside in an uncritically picturesque fashion were also exhaustively represented in writing for and by women. Romanticizing the cottage by presenting only the most congenial aspects of rural life meant that young women socialized and educated in charitable practices by reading novels and singing pastoral songs might not learn to appreciate or recognize the signs of real distress, or move to relieve it if the object of charity was not particularly agreeable or beautiful. As Anna Letitia Barbauld remarks in her essay, "An Enquiry into those kinds of Distress which Excite Agreeable Sensations" (1775), "[t]he objects of pity in romance are as different from those in real life as our husbandmen from the shepherds of Arcadia; and a girl who will sit weeping the whole

night at the delicate distresses of a Lady Charlotte or Lady Julia, shall be little moved at the complaint of her neighbour, who, in a homely phrase and vulgar accent, laments to her that she is not able to get bread for her family” (159). Although she acknowledges the necessity of a nexus between innate humane sympathy and pleasurable representation of distress to produce genuine pity and stimulate charitable actions, Barbauld observes of depictions of “fictitious distress” that

they are generally thought to improve the tender and humane feelings; but this, I own, appears to me very dubious. That they exercise sensibility is true, but sensibility does not increase with exercise. . . . in these writings our sensibility is strongly called forth without any possibility of exerting itself in virtuous action, and those emotions, which we shall never feel again with equal force, are wasted without advantage. Nothing is more dangerous than to let virtuous impressions of any kind pass through the mind without producing their proper effect. (157-8)

Barbauld’s observation about the futility of exercising sensibility and the potential of such empty rehearsals of false pity to interfere with the practice of charity has important implications for women’s composition and performance of pastoral songs. A young woman who indulged her sensibility in singing songs of cottage love, who was not constantly reminded of the poverty and back-breaking hardship of cyclical labour by engaging in practical charity amongst real cottage-dwellers, might forget the crucial class distinctions upon which the pastoral was based, and begin to imagine herself as a possible subject in pastoral romance. This is the problem presented in Dialogue XXXI of the conduct book entitled *The Young Ladies Magazine, or Dialogues Between a Discreet Governess and Several Young Ladies of the first Rank under her Education*, which relates

a tale of the threats to stable social order that can result from idealizing the pleasures of country life in music. Here, the narrator, Mrs. *Affable*, relates the story of the unfortunate *Betsy* to her young female charges:

In a certain country there lived a baronet, who had a daughter, an only child. Tho' he was not very rich, he lived handsomely in the country; the love he had for his girl made him streighten himself to give her a *good education*, at least, what goes under that name. She excelled in music, danced very gracefully, and had cultivated her mind with reading. Very unhappily for the young lady, she was left to her choice as to books, and took the greatest pleasure in romances. . . . The poetical maxims stufft her weak head; a cottage with her love was beyond a palace.

Betsy's father, Mrs. Affable implies, was not wrong to locate himself in the country or to attempt to educate his daughter in all the polite arts, though she does take pains to observe that music, dancing, and novel-reading alone do not comprise a solid education for young women. Like Barbauld, Mrs. Affable objects to Betsy's romance-"stufft head" and her empty, idle hands. As the narrative continues, Betsy's father attempts to compensate for lack of supervision over his daughter's reading material by strict entailments on his will. He leaves his daughter three thousand pounds on the condition that she shall not marry without her mother's consent. Betsy's romantic notions of country life and her sensibility to music, however, prove to be her nemesis. While attending chapel, "where the country people pray'd and sung psalms," Betsy "took particular notice of a voice, that pleased her above the rest, and found out that the singer, who pleased her so much, was a farmer's servant, tolerably handsome, but a most stupid animal. She found means to speak to him, and formed the noble project of taking him for her husband; her

head was full of pleasing rural scenes of a country-life with such a partner" (126). These pleasing rural scenes suggest pastoral songs such as "The Welcome Retreat from the Storm," or Betsy perhaps imagining herself as "Sad Musidora," the well-born heroine of a song, "The Words

by a Lady, Set by Mr. Carey" (c.

1740):

While the source of Musidora's

woe in this song

remains unclear

and she does not

make the

transition to

"humble

Shepherdess"

except in

imagination,

Betsy's romantic

impulse to

Sad Musidora) *The Words by a Lady*
Set by Mr. Carey

Slow

Sad Musidora all in woe, a silent Grotto seeks, no more her self on Plains does show, but sighing thus she speaks, why was I born of high degree? an humble Shepherdess, had been mine happier far for me, than all this gaudy dress.

2

*A sumptuous Palace full of Joy,
 To lie a Dungeon is,
 And all that mirth does me annoy,
 Which others count for Bliss;
 Then lost in Grief the lovely maid,
 Retired from all the Throng,
 And on a Bank reclined her head,
 While Tears ran trickling down.*

for Flute *Slow*

"Sad Musidora," The Words by a Lady, Set by Mr. Carey, c. 1740

embrace rural life is realized and is represented in the conduct dialogue as distinctly

irrational. At this point, Mrs. Affable relates, Betsy declines the hand of a wealthy gentleman by telling him that her affection is already engaged. With this refusal, she forfeits her inheritance, as well as any claims to the prudent reader's sympathies. Betsy's act of filial disobedience in marrying her melodious bumpkin is shown to have serious social consequences for her entire family:

Her mother was chagrined, almost, to death; she forgave her daughter, and used all sorts of endeavours to put her son-in-law into some way of business, but without any success; he is such a blockhead. At present the lubber drives a cart and earns seven shillings a week. The poor mother strips herself and wants necessaries, that they may be helped out. But this help cannot last long, she pines with grief, and very soon the daughter must reproach her self with her mother's death. (127-8)

Mrs. Affable's account begins like one of Betsy's romances ("In a certain country there lived a baronet"), but by its conclusion, her tone has descended in register to a frank informality ("the lubber drives a cart"; "he is such a blockhead") that marks Betsy's own descent in class and morality. Betsy's errors are multiple: she transgresses against parental authority and neglects her gender role as a dutiful daughter; she confuses the performance of music with the appearance of sensibility and a rational mind; she believes in the labourless picturesque pastorals depicted in romantic novels; and, most importantly, she forgets to observe the class distinctions that Mrs. Affable suggests make up a truly harmonious country life. The conduct book account illustrates picturesque pastoral music and the irrational rehearsal or performance of sentimental songs as threats to established social order due to music's ability to engage a woman's affective sympathies. The reader of both Barbauld's essay and the conduct book is reminded to consider her class position,

whether as artist or as audience, and to balance realism with the “agreeable sensations” of the picturesque in her depiction of pastoral pleasures.

IV. Cultivating the Musical Sublime

Although the sublime, which is a mode marked by grand scale, uniformity, darkness, solitude, and associated with ideas of danger (Burke 65), is in many ways the opposite of the neoclassical pastoral, the two critical discourses are remarkably similar in the moral affect each was supposed to generate in its auditors and viewers. The sublime uses depictions of uncultivated, wild nature to cultivate the minds of its surveyors, and employs concrete observations of dark, vast, and terrible objects to awaken them to a sense of “the inseparable union of a sacred and reverential awe, with our ideas of the divinity” (Burke 64). Like Burke, John Aikin, author of *An Essay on the Application of Natural History to Poetry* (1777), wholeheartedly approved of “a new combination of moral precept with natural description” (103). The cult of sublimity raised by Burke in his *Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, aided by poets such as Edward Young and theorists like Aikin, celebrated a spiritual, revelatory view of nature which was quickly embraced by women writers and composers. However, what might be termed the musical sublime--large performing choruses or orchestras, massive orchestration, minor key and other tonal variations, low-register sounds, imitations of terrible natural objects such as storms or waterfalls, or even the *Sturm und Drang* associated with the music of Gluck, Benda and Mozart during the 1770s--does not seem to

have had a parallel in compositions by British women in the latter half of the eighteenth century. What follows is a discussion of musical treatments of the pastoral in two novels that clearly participate in the aesthetic of the sublime, Ann Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest* (1792), and Mary Darby Robinson's *Vancenza; or, the Dangers of Credulity* (1792).

"The Rose that weeps," a poem by Anne Radcliffe in *The Romance of the Forest* is one of many Radcliffe poems that were set to music by contemporary composers. Music features largely in this novel, as it does in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and *The Italian* (1797), but it is treated in a much more complex way than in Radcliffe's later works, where it mainly affords a contrast to or a summation of sublime scenery and a comfort to her heroines. In *The Romance of the Forest*, Radcliffe explores musical affect as both an agent of social harmony and as its potential nemesis.

The heroine of *The Romance of the Forest*, Adeline, is rescued from her kidnappers by the family of Pierre de la Motte, who had "entered the forest as a refuge, rendered necessary by [his] former crimes" (III:34), gambling and robbery. She hides with the La Mottes in an old abbey in the forest, until La Motte's enemy, the Marquis de Montalt, finds them. He privately offers to keep La Motte's location a secret in exchange for Adeline. Adeline is abducted by the corrupt Marquis (in reality her half-uncle), who spirits her away to an elegant saloon in the midst of an extensive park. In the saloon, which is furnished with such neoclassic knick-knacks as Etruscan vases, and busts of Ovid, Anacreon and Horace, the Marquis attempts to use the "dulcet and entrancing sounds"

(II:104) of music, played and sung by a woman unseen by Adeline, as an aid to seduction. Radcliffe's description of the scene highlights the danger of indulging in excessive sensibility at such a moment. Adeline, she writes, "insensibly became soothed and interested. A tender melancholy stole upon her heart, and subdued every harsher feeling: but the moment the strain ceased, the enchantment dissolved, and she returned to a sense of her situation" (II: 104-5). Music is heard again as the two banquet, but by this time, Adeline is "too much embarrassed and distressed by the presence of the marquis, to admit even the soothings of harmony" (II:113). Accordingly, Adeline hears the next song, a tune "written with that sort of impotent art, by which some voluptuous poets believe they can at once conceal and recommend the principles of vice" with "contempt and displeasure" (II:113). It is the song's obvious departure from morality, not the skill of the musician, which renders its art "impotent." The same skills of aesthetic discernment that render Adeline susceptible to musical enchantment during the first song preserve her in the second. Radcliffe observes, "The marquis, perceiving its effect, presently made a sign for another composition, which, adding the force of poetry to the charms of music, might withdraw her mind from the present scene, and enchant it in sweet delirium" (II:114). However, thanks to the Marquis' inability to distinguish vicious from good art, Adeline is now alert to her own peril, and his strategy fails. Adeline later escapes through a window, and flees with the help of the young soldier Theodore La Luc, whom she eventually marries. The degenerate Marquis, in short, invokes spurious signs of the neoclassical pastoral to signal the taste and comfort of his life to his intended mistress, and attempts to

use Adeline's own sensibility to musical affect against her.

Radcliffe does not summarily condemn music's affective potential as immoral, however. Adeline's life is later saved by a song; when La Motte is ordered by the Marquis to murder her as she sleeps, he is moved to pity as he hears her sing "a melancholy little air, which, in her happier days, she had often sung to him" in her sleep (III:15). Music also soothes Adeline as she awaits the outcome of her fiancé Theodore's trial (II:151), and, inspired by the sublime landscapes of the Alps, Savoy, and Languedoc, she composes a number of poems and songs, including an address "To the Nightingale," which consecrates the bird's song to "Taste, Fancy, and Virtue" (III:157). The song, "The Rose that Weeps with Morning Dew," is sung by Theodore, who accompanies himself on a lute, to his beloved Adeline after the two are at last to be married.

The rose that weeps with morning dew,
And glitters in the sunny ray,
In tears of smiles resembles you,
When Love breaks Sorrow's cloud away.

The dews that bend the blushing flow'r,
Enrich the scent--renew the glow;
So Love's sweet tears exalt his pow'r,
So bliss more brightly shines by woe! (III:283)

This song, especially the last line, partakes of Burke's conception of delight, as "the sensation which accompanies the removal of pain or danger," as opposed to simple positive pleasure (34). For Radcliffe, music is an affective discourse that can regulate the mind by mitigating imaginary terrors or by helping one to enjoy present sweetness while recalling past privations, but it is an activity that must be carefully managed if it is to

achieve a beneficial moral affect, and thus it is capable of offering only delight, and not pleasure.

In another episode in *The Romance of the Forest*, describing the education of Theodore's sister and Adeline's friend, Clara La Luc, music functions quite explicitly as a moral indicator of a well-regulated life in the country. Clara, her brother and their father, a pastor, live in a tiny lakeside village, and their days are well-regulated with learning, amusement, household duties, and the care of the poor and sick in their community. Radcliffe depicts a village which models the interdependent social harmony of Dryden's divine "Diapason" of social order ("A Song for St. Cecilia's Day" l. 15) and Rousseau's social compact: "The cheerfulness and harmony that reigned within the chateau was delightful; but the philanthropy which, flowing from the heart of the pastor, was diffused through the whole village, and united the inhabitants in the sweet and firm bonds of social compact, was divine" (III: 115). Clara has her own duties within this social order. However, when La Luc presents his daughter Clara with a lute, she is so delighted with it that she forgets everything else--"[h]er little domestic duties, her books, her drawing, even the hour which her father dedicated to her improvement, when she met her brother in the library" (III: 57)--to play the lute for hours under the acacias near the lake. La Luc, a parent in the best tradition of Rousseau, allows experience to discipline his daughter. The sick family to whom Clara was to bring alms for medicines and food waits a day for her, before her brother relieves their wants instead. Clara's shock at her own negligence causes her to try an experiment in self-denial, and forgo the practice of the instrument for a day;

when she is unable to command herself that far, even though her broken resolution has affected no one, she offers the lute to her father. He returns it to her, saying, "Take back the instrument; since you have sufficient resolution to resign it when it leads you from duty, I doubt not that you will be able to control its influence now that it is restored to you" (III:65). Radcliffe implies that like Adeline, Clara must develop the ability to distinguish between responsible, moral musicianship and false, corrupting art, and the self-discipline to control her response to both.

The familial harmony restored by Clara's act is expanded and made general in the last few pages of the novel, when Adeline weds Theodore La Luc and the entire family returns to the village. They are greeted by a picturesque pastoral scene; the peasants are dancing in "holiday finery" to tabor and pipe on the green, while "a group of cattle . . . stood, some on the brink, some half in the water, and others reposing on the green bank, while several peasant girls, dressed in the neat simplicity of their country were dispensing the milky feast" (III:293). The whole concludes with a moonlight nuptial dance:

The venerable La Luc sat among the elder peasants, and as he surveyed the scene--his children and people thus assembled round him in one grand compact of harmony and joy--the frequent tear bedewed his cheek, and he seemed to taste the fulness of an exalted delight. (III:296)

Here, Radcliffe restresses the moral and economic dependency of the peasants upon their pastor. The resulting emphasis on the parallels between social and musical harmony means that in this final musical pastoral scene, Radcliffe's focus is again not on pure, transcendent sensual pleasure, but on a "delight" in the "milky feast" that is mediated by

social relationships and the remembrance of the family's recent troubles.

Radcliffe may have included pastoral songs in her novels to lengthen the narrative, and to encourage her readers to identify with her characters, while increasing potential revenues and widening her reputation and that of the book through the use of alternate media. Radcliffe also knew well the affective power of music, and like Susanna Rowson, often uses it as a disruption or intervention in the narrative to point a moral. Her songs and her portrayals of pastoral musical scenes in this novel reflect the idea that while it may be inspired by sublimity, music's enormous affective potential must be mastered and encountered rationally if a potentially perilous surrender of the self is to be avoided. In *The Romance of the Forest*, Radcliffe seeks to confine musical affect to the role of rational entertainment, rather than pure pleasure in spontaneous artistic production. While Radcliffe's landscapes are sublime, her songs are deliberately confined to the realm of delight.

Mary Darby Robinson's novel, *Vancenza; or, the Dangers of Credulity* (1792) offers a similarly complex rendering of the musical pastoral, its moral affect, and its relation to the sublime. Robinson (1758-1800) was an actress trained by Garrick. She later became notorious as "Perdita," the mistress of "Florizel," then the Prince of Wales, and later George IV. Although she did not develop as a singer, her musical education began at the age of five, and as Robinson observes in her memoirs, even at that age, melancholy music appealed most to her:

Mr. Edmund Broadrip [sic] taught me music, my father having presented

me with one of Kirkman's finest harpsichords, as an encitement to emulation. Even there my natural bent of mind evinced itself. The only melody which pleased me was that of the mournful and touching kind. Two of my earliest favourites were the celebrated ballad by Gay, beginning, "'Twas when the sea was roaring," and the simple pathetic stanzas of "The Heavy Hours," by the poet Lord Lyttelton. These, though nature had given me but little voice, I could at seven years of age sing so pathetically that my mother, to the latest hour of her life, never could bear to hear the latter of them repeated. They reminded her of sorrows in which I have since painfully learned to sympathise (I: 9-10).

Robinson's taste for the sublime was also nurtured by the proximity of her childhood home to the Bristol minster. The organ of the church was so loud as to vibrate through her home, and she wrote at the end of her life that she could still recall, "the tones that seemed to thrill through my heart, the longing which I felt to unite my feeble voice to the full anthem, and the awful though sublime impression which the church service never failed to make upon my feelings" (I:8-9). Her education continued at a school under the direction of Hannah More's sisters, but Robinson's marriage at 16 soon challenged all her well-schooled moral precepts. Like Susanna Rowson, and indeed, like her own mother, Robinson was married to a gambler who kept numerous mistresses. She began acting again after marriage to secure her husband's debts and their place in society. When the Prince of Wales approached her in 1779 after a royal command performance of *The Winter's Tale*, she agreed to quit the stage and become his mistress for a "bond of twenty thousand pounds given by the Prince to Mrs. Robinson, to be paid on his establishment, as a consideration for the *resignation of a lucrative profession at the particular request of his Royal Highness*" (II:191). To the shock of those in the *ton*, who frequently tolerated

marital infidelity as long as it was decorously conducted, Robinson also left her husband. When the Prince deserted her barely a year later, she was advised by a friend (perhaps Sheridan or Fox, with whom she was intimate) that the public would not “suffer [her] reappearance on the stage” (II: 186). Robinson was £7,000 in debt and embittered that her “romantic credulity” had robbed her of a career that “would have proved an ample and honourable resource for myself and my child” (II:186). The publication of Robinson’s poems and particularly of her later prose works must thus be viewed as acts of resistance to her exclusion from polite society, and her determination to benefit in some way from the notoriety she had gained in the London papers.

Vancenza; or the Dangers of Credulity was hugely popular. Mary Elizabeth Robinson notes in her continuation of her mother’s memoirs (1801) that the first edition of the novel “*sold in one day*, and . . . five impressions have since followed. It must be confessed that this production owed its popularity to the celebrity of the author’s name, and the favourable impression of her talents given to the public by her poetical compositions, rather than to its intrinsic merit” (II:216). As in *The Romance of the Forest*, music twines through both the plot and subplot. This novel is less well-known today than Radcliffe’s, and as the context of the song separately published with a musical setting under the title, “The Nuns Complaint, from Mrs. Robinson’s, Novel of Vancenza, performed at the Principal Concerts” (c. 1794) is important to consideration of its intended affect, it is necessary to give a brief description of the plot.

The song occurs in the second volume of Robinson’s novel as part of the inserted

tale of an unhappy pilgrim, whom the three main female characters meet on the road from Madrid to the castle of Vancenza. The original narrator of the song is Louisa de Clairville, a member of a poor but aristocratic family who has been “compelled to take the veil”(64).

In the novel, Louisa’s song is narrated by the pilgrim, several years after its original narrator’s death. The first, fourth, and sixth verses (of eight) appear below:

“Within this drear and silent gloom,
The lost Louisa pines, unknown;
Fate shrouds her in a living tomb,
And Heav’n relentless hears her groan:
Yet, ‘midst the murky shades of wo,
The tear of fond regret shall flow.

[. . .]

“Ye black’ning clouds that sail along,
Oh, hide me in your shade profound;
Ye whisp’ring breezes, catch my song,
And bear it to the woods around.
Perchance some hapless Petrarch’s feet
May wander near this dread retreat.

[. . .]

“The ruby gem within my breast
Now faintly glows with vital heat;
Each warring passion sinks to rest:
My freezing pulses slowly beat.
Soon shall these languid eye-lids close,
And Death’s stern mandate seal my woes.” (II: 54-5)

This song, which makes reference to ideas of death, darkness, isolation, and religious awe, certainly participates in the mode of the sublime. Louisa’s song, when sung by her, is not a performance designed for an audience, however, but an emotive, artful response to the landscape that surrounds her. After hearing Louisa sing this song, the pilgrim (who has gained a knowledge of her purity by disguising himself as a monk to hear her confession)

resolves to free her from the monastery. They escape to Florence, where they enjoy three years of married bliss, before a sad accident on the Arno river during a “ragatta.” As the pair are sailing in their barchetta, a man leaps aboard and carries off the fainting Louisa to another nearby boat, then returns with a stiletto for the pilgrim. The pilgrim wrests the knife from the stranger and kills him; Louisa revives momentarily to view the corpse, and to exclaim “My BROTHER!” (63) before expiring.

The pilgrim’s penance, after serving ten years’ imprisonment, is to walk to the Chapel of the Loretto. He offers the tale of his life to the three main female characters--the orphan Elvira, her protectress the Marchioness de Vallorie, and the Marchioness’ daughter, Carline--as payment for their hospitality in permitting him to stay at the castle of Vancenza: “‘If my melancholy story,’ resumed he, ‘could either instruct or amuse you, I would gladly recite it! but alas! uninterrupted we will only awaken your pity, without repaying your lost time.’ Elvira assured him, that to alleviate his grief would be to them the proudest gratification. . . .”(39). Robinson seems here to be following Barbauld’s caution that sensibility cannot be increased with rehearsal, unless it is followed with the exercise of actual charity or a sympathetic, practical response to distress. The pilgrim’s story, with its enclosed, now manifestly performed song of sublime grief and fratricide does become more than an entertainment, although no character in the novel benefits from the dubious “instruction” it affords. Instead, sad Louisa’s release from retirement and her ensuing destruction foreshadows the action in the main plot, in which Elvira’s retirement in the remote castle of Vancenza is similarly broached by musical means, and with like

tragic results.

As in the novels of Ann Radcliffe, Robinson's heroines are proficient artists and musicians, and their talents are both a product of and an ease to pastoral retirement. Of the orphan Elvira, Robinson writes:

Elvira had acquired considerable eminence in the science of harmony; her voice was the seraphic echo of her lute, whose chords spoke to the soul, under the magic touch of her skillful fingers. . . . Happy Elvira! who nursed in the tranquil bosom of retirement, feared not the vicissitudes of fortune, or the corroding pangs of agonizing solitude (19).

Elvira's singing and playing are not only confined by her secluded location in the castle, but also by a seemly simplicity of performance. The entertainment which she affords the Count's few visitors after a feast is typical: "At the conclusion of the repast, Elvira entertained the company with her lute, and inspired every heart with rapture by the melody of her voice: every note conveyed to the ear the dulcet accents of celestial harmony! such sounds as touch the soul, while the laboured distortions of scientific skill awaken astonishment without the power to captivate" (40). Robinson's indirect authorial intrusion represents unadorned melody as analogous to unpainted blushes or other bodily signs of sensibility. Like the visible flush which spreads the cheek of the "artless" maid in George Bickham's illustration of Lockman's 1737 song "The Lovely Betrayers" (see next page), Elvira's chaste playing inadvertently reveals something of the performing body, for it is interpreted by her audience as symbolic of purity. Though Elvira's performances, here and elsewhere in the novel, are described with considerable detail to her physical attitude, her bodily display is mediated by the visual interruption of an instrument (Green 53), and

the imposition of a cultural code which demands that Elvira's performance be read as sincerely self-expressive and morally worthy.



"The Lovely Betrayers," The Words by Mr. Lockman, Ill. G. Bickham junr., 1737. Lockman's lyric reads: "In vain bright Nymphs ye wou'd disguise, / Your Secrets & elude our Eyes: / A sudden Paleness in your Cheeks, / A Blush emphatically Speaks: / . . . Even artless Silance, Thought displays; / And all the inmost Soul betrays."

The morally-improving entertainment which Elvira enjoys from her musical skill is questioned and complicated by a plot involving the Duke del Vero, a rake who also falls victim to the orphan's charms. Elvira's lute playing (47) summons the lurking Duke del Vero, disguised as her lover, Prince Almanza. Del Vero demands that Elvira meet him at an Ursuline convent to be secretly married. Against her own better judgement, Elvira attends the appointment with the supposed Almanza. When del Vero reveals himself, Elvira shames him into allowing her to return to the castle unmolested, but her secret embarrassment ravages her health and causes the first rift between Elvira and her

protectors. In this instance, music acts as the catalyst that inspires both del Vero's passion and Elvira's own transgression against propriety. On her return to the castle after this humiliating interlude, Elvira can no longer play; a circumstance as much owing to her disgust at her own romantic self-indulgence as to her poor health. Autobiographical parallels thus emerge between Elvira's musical performance, which endangers her chastity and causes her inability to play, and Mary Darby Robinson's performance of the role of Perdita, which excites the admiration of the Prince of Wales and results in her resignation of the stage.

Despite its typical Gothic condemnation of the Catholic church, and nunneries in particular, Robinson's novel ultimately vindicates pastoral retirement. For both Louisa and Elvira, it is music which removes them from retirement and exposes them to debilitating public and private censure. The recital of the pilgrim's heartfelt tale is akin to Elvira's performances on the lute, in that both performances excite passion and prurient curiosity, but cannot promote right action in their hearers. Even the 'correct' ending to the pilgrim's tale (his brief but happy marriage to Louisa) must be resolved by Louisa's death and the pilgrim's penitent return to the Church from which he stole her. Similarly, given Robinson's adherence to the cultural codes which represent simple, melodic music as morally improving, Elvira's fate seems to indicate that it is not music itself, but performance and its attendant display, which Robinson's narrative calls into question.

For Mary Darby Robinson, musical surrender of the self to the sublime in nature is a desirable condition, and one that signals sensibility in the musical subject as well as

reverential awe for the creator, but it is also a condition that can ignite desire that might not be easily controlled. Yet, despite the potential moral dangers resulting from the uncontainable expression of the sublime in music, Robinson declines to confine music to the realm of rational delight, as Radcliffe does in *The Romance of the Forest*, and does not distinguish between morally-improving and degenerate musical affect. In her novel *Vincenza*, musical performance denotes meaningful self-expression for Robinson's heroines, and the unconscious revelation of the self via performance in turn draws attention to the role of the performing body. Ultimately, then, Robinson's vindication of pastoral retirement is a condemnation of audience, not of performance. The layered literary, musical, and social contexts of Robinson's song suggest that the difficulty of appropriate musical interpretation rests with music's inability to transfer moral affect efficiently from performer to audience. Audiences focus on the performing body, and therefore cannot achieve the transcendent state enjoyed by the performer who voices an independent emotive response to the sublime. For Robinson, herself a performer exiled from earning an independent living on the stage, performance, not audition, was the act which could best achieve self-realization and interiorize the sublime.

V. Musical Pastorals on Stage: *Rosina*, *Marian*, and Country Coquets

Pastoral was a word that was, in at least one other sense, synonymous with performance. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, a 'pastoral' was a comic afterpiece concerning some aspect of country life, presented in spoken dialogue

interspersed with airs. The airs in a pastoral might be new-composed, imported by singers from their favourite operas or oratorios, or they might be simple ballad tunes given new (sometimes parodic) words. Although the tradition of the theatrical pastoral is a complex subject, demanding fuller treatment than the scope of this project permits, I would like to touch on two of the most famous pastorals of the period, Frances Brooke's *Rosina* (performed first in 1782) and *Marian* (performed in 1788), and two of the least well known, Margaret Cornelys' *The Country Coquet* (published in 1755), and Anna Ross's *The Cottagers* (published in 1788). These three women's use of narrative and spectacle significantly alters the musical pastoral and its capacity to shape social and political attitudes towards class, labour, and gender definition. Brooke's pastorals are based firmly in the picturesque, though *Marian* expands and disrupts the form in ways which have not been sufficiently appreciated by modern critics such as Roger Fiske. Margaret Cornelys' comic opera, *The Country Coquet* and Anna Ross's *The Cottagers* employ the form of the pastoral comedy to make still more daring criticisms of gender, class, and political issues. Although neither of these two latter pastorals seems to have been performed on a major London stage, their circulation history shows that even operas designated as "closet" productions could have a wide public influence.

The pastoral to which all others were compared was *Rosina*, an opera written by Frances Brooke. Frances Moore Brooke (1724-1789) is now best remembered as the author of the first novel set in Canada, *The History of Emily Montague* (1769), but her reputation in her own day owed much more to her outstanding success as a librettist of

comic pastorals. Roger Fiske observes that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, *Rosina* was performed no less than 201 times, which made it second in popularity as an operatic afterpiece only to Arne's *Comus* (412). Fiske attributes the outstanding success of the opera to its music by William Shield; however, the contemporary reception of *Rosina* and the fact that Brooke wrote a second pastoral comic opera soon afterward which also enjoyed considerable success seem to point out that what Fiske dismisses as clichéd writing was popular and well-received. As Anna Crouch writes in her memoirs, *Rosina* flourished under its original performers, and was still performed regularly in 1806. Crouch acknowledges Shield's influence on the opera's popularity, but without detracting from Brooke's role as author:

The last novelty, in the year 1782, was the interesting little opera, called *Rosina*, written by Mrs. Brooke. The story is taken from the beautiful episode of Palemon and Lavinia, in Thomson's *Autumn*. The songs are remarkably pleasing: the music is by Mr. Shield. It came out at Covent Garden theatre. . . . The performers did every possible justice to their respective characters. Most of the songs were encored. The piece went off *then* amidst universal plaudits, and *still* maintains a powerful influence over the public whenever it is performed. (156-7)

The opera, complete with songs and dialogue that had been cut from the original production due to considerations of length, was printed in 1783 as *Rosina, A Comic Opera in Two Acts*. Brooke obviously viewed the original libretto as a work independent of its musical setting, and was anxious to restore this material, though it was marked by inverted commas to differentiate it from the text used in the opera's performance. Brooke's gesture at restoration in her own, commercially-successful opera, becomes

important to considerations of Cornelys' and Ross's less eminent works, for it announces that the literary production behind an opera generated genuine interest in its own right. In an "ADVERTISEMENT" by the author at the front of the volume, Brooke gives a favourable account of the work's reception that matches Crouch's short review and subtly stresses her artistic primacy as the librettist:

THE Favourable reception this little Piece has met with from the Public, demands my warmest acknowledgments: nor can I say too much of the support it has received, both from the music, admirably adapted to the words, and the spirited and judicious performance of the several characters, which surpassed my most sanguine wishes.

Shield's music "supports" and is "adapted" to Brooke's work. Regarding the originality of her subject material, Brooke acknowledges her borrowings from Thompson and Favart, "but as we are not, however extraordinary it may appear, so easily satisfied with mere sentiment as our more sprightly neighbours the French," she writes, "I found it necessary to diversify the story by adding the comic characters of William and Phoebe, which I hop'd might at once relieve, and heighten the sentimental cast of the other personages of the drama" (A2). Brooke clearly conceives the English pastoral as inherently comic, though she confines the comic relief to low-born and foreign characters. Even more revealing, Brooke's "advertisement" recognizes the role of scenery in the production's success: "The decorations, designed and executed in that style of elegant and characteristic simplicity which the subject requir'd, add greatly to the effect of the whole." *Rosina* worked well as a picturesque opera in part because it was supported by a visual display of clean, prosperous peasant life that was analogous to the content of the piece.

The scene is “a Village in the North,” and the plot unfolds with seemly dramatic unity over the course of a single summer’s day:

SCENE opens and discovers a rural prospect: on the left side a little hill with trees at the top; a spring of water rushes from the side, and falls into a natural bason below: on the right side a cottage, at the door of which is a bench of stone. At a distance a chain of mountains. The manor-house in view. A field of corn fills up the scene. In the first act the sky clears by degrees, the morning vapour disperses, the sun rises, and at the end of the act is above the horizon: at the beginning of the second act he is past the height, and declines till the end of the day. This progressive motion should be made imperceptibly, but its effect should be visible through the two acts.

Brooke disavows the charge that a pastoral represents “mere sentiment” in her introduction, and indeed, the picturesque scene of plenty is immediately charged with approbation for the virtues of rural life by the opening number’s lyrics. The sun rises on the lovely orphan Rosina’s first day of hard labour as a gleaner. The song sung by the comic cottage lovers William and Phoebe and Rosina embraces a view of Nature personified as a generous, nurturing mother figure:

See, content, the humble gleaner,
Take the scatter’d ears that fall!
Nature, all her children viewing,
Kindly bounteous, cares for all. (5-6, verse 3)

Rosina, although born to a class above her current milieu, feels fortunate in this rural seclusion, as she comments to her mother’s old nurse Dorcas: “Heaven, which deprived me of my parents and my fortune, left me health, content, and innocence. Nor is it certain that riches lead to happiness. Do you think the nightingale sings the sweeter for being in a gilded cage” (I.i.6). Brooke thus portrays both Nature herself, and her central female

character, as supportive of extant class hierarchies and labour distribution.

Brooke further gentrifies the excruciating occupation of gleaning by depicting Rosina's eager rush forward to pick up the grain before the field has been fully cut as a romantic incident which precipitates her return to the upper class to which she belongs. When a supervising "Rustic" berates Rosina, the good landowner Belville, chides him and orders him to pick up the ears she has let fall. Her obvious lack of knowledge about the gleaning procedure (everyone waits; everyone gets a share) calls attention to her, and Belville is bewitched by Rosina's looks. From this and other actions, he surmises that Rosina is no rustic. Belville's rakish brother Captain Belville is charmed with Rosina too, but he misreads the outward signs of her class, and tries to corrupt her; first by giving her money, and second, by scheming to have ruffians carry her off. After two failed abduction attempts, Captain Belville confesses, Belville owns his love, and all ends well. The final air, the last verse of which is sung by the Rustic, Dorcas, William, and Phoebe, repeats the gleaning metaphor with which the opera began, reinforcing the dramatic unity of the action with a similar metaphorical unity, expressed musically:

The hearts you glad your own display,
The heav'ns such goodness must repay;
And blest through many a summer's day,
Full crops you'll reap in this rich scene:

And O! when summer's joys are o'er,
And autumn yields its fruit no more,
New blessings be there yet in store,
For winter's sober hours to glean. (36)
[chorus; all repeat this last verse].

This, then, was the pastoral opera that was performed 201 times in the last twenty-five years of the eighteenth century, and the opera to which all other pastorals, including Brooke's later work, *Marian*, were invariably compared by contemporary audiences and later critics. Clearly, Brooke's metaphor of country labourers gleaning a plentiful living and many blessings from their hard-working but virtuous life satisfied Covent Garden's patrons. Once having established a commercially successful form for a pastoral libretto, however, Brooke did not aim to repeat it. While her second pastoral opera, *Marian*, also partakes of certain elements of the picturesque, it diverges from *Rosina*'s untroubled representation of class and rural labour in a number of ways.

Marian: A Comic Opera, in two Acts, was much less successful in performance than *Rosina*. Anna Crouch, the contemporary of Brooke and Shield, privileges the writer rather than the composer in her account of the opera's success, unlike Fiske, who remarks, "*Marian* also had attractive music, though this was offset by another insipid libretto by Mrs. Brooke" (468). At the Covent Garden theatre, May 22, 1788, Crouch writes,

came out a little opera called *Marian*, by Mrs. Brooke; the music, by Mr. Shield, was very charming. The piece is not equal to *Rosina*, but was rendered interesting by good acting and music . . . Many of the songs were enchantingly written, composed, and sung, and they deservedly obtained encores and applause. (II:39)

One possible reason that this second opera, *Marian*, was not so well received as *Rosina* is that it is not quite the pretty picturesque pastoral it pretends to be. Although the scene is a village near Lincoln, the time "A Day in May," and the scenery just as cleanly bucolic as that in *Rosina*, Brooke's second opera portrays an emasculated aristocracy, and shows the

central character, a woman, to be in control of her own financial and marital decisions.

The first sign of something unusual in Brooke's opera is that inherited money is the device that drives this pastoral's plot, even in the case of the characters who belong to the lower classes. Marian, a country maid, is in love with the penniless Edward, but he believes her to be untrue. Her avaricious father Oliver encourages dissension between the lovers, as he has grand plans for his daughter; Marian has inherited 300 pounds from an aunt, and he wants her to consolidate her country fortune by marrying the boatman, Robin. At several points in the play, Marian insists that she will do without the money altogether, as it is the cause of her problems. She reassures her jealous Edward:

Marian. [. . .] My father wants me to marry Robin, because he has ten acres of land, besides the ferry, and a cot in the country, and milks four cows; but I won't marry Robin, nor anybody but Edward.

Edward. How could I be so unjust, Marian?

Marian. My father values wealth; but for me, the kindness of my honoured godmother is only welcome in the hope of sharing it with Edward! (11)

Here, Brooke mocks Oliver's social aspirations for his daughter by describing their tidy limits. She implies that Marian is willing to exchange competence for cottage contentment, but her heroine is never forced to make this choice.

Brooke's critique of class stereotypes is not limited to Marian's family. The unmarried lord of the manor poses as a threatening, ultra-sexualized rake to the country women with whom he flirts, but Brooke turns Sir Henry's supposed advances into a joke by revealing him to be less than masculine. For instance, the last two verses of his hunting song reveal that while he enjoys the chase, Sir Henry is ambivalent about capture:

Our pleasure transports us--How gay flies the hour!
 Sweet health and quick spirits attend;
 Not sweeter when evening convenes to the bow'r,
 And we meet the lov'd smile of a friend.
 See the stag just before us! he starts at the cry,
 He stops--his strength fails--speak my friends--must he die?

His innocent aspect, whilst standing at bay,
 His expression of anguish and pain,
 All plead for compassion--your looks seem to say
 Let him bound o'er his forests again.
 Quick! release him to dart o'er the neighbouring plain;
 Let him live, let him bound o'er his forests again. (6-7)

Sir Henry ends the opera still a bachelor. The reassuring pastoral social order of *Rosina*, in which Belville assures a succession to his estate by marrying a well-bred woman who temporarily masquerades as a commoner, is overturned in *Marian*. The lone representative of the aristocracy is an effeminate fop who only poses as a rake, the heroine is really a cottage girl, and the cottagers are revealed to be every bit as interested in money and fashion as city dwellers. Brooke's innovations to her earlier pastoral do not end here.

The second act takes place during a country fair. As in *Rosina*, relief is provided by the low comedy of country lovers coquetting, and by comic foreign characters who advance the plot. A Scotsman named Jamie enters the fair with bagpipes blazing, searching for a long-lost bairn. Oliver, still trying to promote his own interests, tells his daughter Marian that he has seen Edward kissing the miniature picture of another woman when he believes himself to be alone. Fortunately, the miniature is a picture of Edward's mother, and Edward is the child for whom Jamie has been searching, as becomes clear in a plot-packed bit of dialogue:

Jamie [on seeing the miniature, after embracing, recognizing Edward]: Eh!
 'Tis thy gude Mamy; her mild eyne, and her pratty kind lucks! She has been
 unco sad for thee: she sands me now to seek thee, and to tall thee a' the
 gude tidings. --The auld carle is deed that mad a false will for her uncle;
 his conscience prack'd him at last, and he has left her her ain. --Do you ken
 yon hoose by the hillside? 'Tis now your gude Mamy's wi' a thoosand
 acres of bra' land, and siller besides planty--She pines to share it wi' thee,
 and wi' the kind lassie wha chose thee wi'out means. (28-9)

Edward explains the identity of the woman in the miniature picture to Marian in a
 charming song, "With truth on her Lips," and all ends happily. This piece was separately
 published by Longman and Broderip for 1 shilling as "With truth on her Lips A favorite
 Ballad Sung by Mr. Johnstone in the Opera of Marian Written by Mrs. Brooks [sic] and
 Composed by Mr. Shield," in an arrangement for keyboard, with optional parts for guitar
 and German flute—an associative pastoral instrumentation in the best tradition of Beattie.
 Edward sings the following words *Moderato e Semplice*, in keeping with the limpid
 melody and the sincerity of expression advocated by the lyric:

With truth on her lips she my infancy form'd
 A stranger to falsehood and art.
 She charg'd me to speak to the Maid of my choice
 No language but that of the Heart. [repeat last line]

Each tender Affection which softens the mind,
 Her converse was form'd to impart,
 She charg'd me to speak to the Maid of my choice,
 No language but that of the heart.

I heard her obey'd and when Marians soft Voice,
 Mild as Love added wings to the dart,
 Sincere my expression tho' ardent I spoke,
 No language but that of the heart.

Edward's song is unusual in that it celebrates sensibility, and particularly the motherly

inculcation of moral precepts during childhood, from a man's perspective. His simple sincerity does not derive from his country surroundings, but from an sentimental education gained from his mother, whose money and land are also the means for enabling his marriage with Marian.

Although the songs, the scenery and the plot leave little doubt that Brooke's opera *Marian* is a picturesque, it is a pastoral that has been strategically feminized. An inheritance from a woman sets the plot in motion; Marian resists her father's choice of marriage partner for her, and gains an ally in her foppish landlord; and finally, as Scotch Jamie notes, it is Marian who chooses Edward, even when she is governed by circumstances that would involve a financial sacrifice and filial disobedience on her part. Such an emphasis on women's agency would only have been underlined by the commanding virtuosic display of Elizabeth Billington as Marian in performance. Brooke's second pastoral opera ventures to challenge the gender and class stereotypes of her first.

Other female librettists, in pastorals both earlier and later than Frances Brooke's, push the conventions of the pastoral still further, though tellingly, the two most adventurous innovators—both teenagers—never saw their works realized in performance. Margaret Cornelys' 1755 work, *The Country Coquet; or Miss in Her Breeches. Ballad Opera*, is a feisty precursor to Brooke's pastoral after-pieces. Cornelys may be related to the couple of the same name listed in the *Thespian Dictionary*, who acted in Dublin's Theatre Royal, and its Crow Street and Smock Alley theatres later in the century, but little is known of her. Although the opera is advertised on the title page with the phrase, "As it

May be Acted At the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane,” Cornelys’ work was never performed, for reasons which “the Editor” explains in an address “To the LADIES of GREAT-BRITAIN.”

LADIES,

THE following Sheets are the Composition of One of your OWN SEX, which she wrote for her Amusement at Leisure Hours. She has very judiciously exposed the false Pretences of a *Prude*’s Virtue, with the vain, ridiculous, and dangerous Conduct of a *Coquet*. You will here see painted in the most lively Colours, the *Man of Pleasure* in the Character of an artful *Villain*, upon the Brink of ruining a young Girl, who was determined to gratify her Humour, even at the Loss of her Happiness and Honour.

The truly Generous Honest Man, is likewise presented to your View; with the amiable Characters of two faithful Lovers.

This Performance was intended to have been offered for the Perusal of some of the Managers of the Theatres; but that Proposition was rejected by a Gentleman of an allowed excellent Understanding, who averred you were the BEST Judges of the Works of your OWN SEX.

It therefore appears in the World in Hopes of your Protection: And I make not the least Doubt, but this FEMALE OPERA will deserve your approbation. (A2-3)

This address is not to be taken literally. The summary of the plot offered here as a sop to morality is in fact, a satirical exposure of the mannered measure of other such prefaces and scorn for their appeal to polite manners, as the play’s raunchy prologue soon makes clear. Cornelys’ play, though it was not performed, was published for the modest price of one shilling, and apparently circulated quite publicly. The copy in the British Library bears the inked number “66” and the words “Georges Coffee House, Temple Bar” at the top, and was evidently part of a fairly extensive coffee house library. This copy demonstrates that a pastoral opera that did not circulate via stage performance was by no means consigned to

the private sphere. Circulation of Cornelys' work might also have been aided by her selection of music. Unlike Brooke's pastorals, for which tunes were new-composed by Shield, the seventeen songs (plus final solos and chorus) in Cornelys' libretto are written to well-known ballad tunes, as in Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*; these include "If you at an Office solicit your Due," "Mary Scot," and "Thus the plaintive Exile sighs." Thus, though no music appears in the playbook, the work could be easily performed—whether in imagination or in actuality—by anyone who knew the popular sources of Cornelys' parodies.

A bawdy prologue sets the tone for the piece. The prologue and epilogue may or may not have been written by Cornelys, as it was frequently the case that an established writer's patronage of a new playwright might be expressed in the gift of a prologue, but no other author is cited. The scene is "A Rural Prospect." The prologue is spoken by Nanny, "A Gentleman's Daughter," who "comes forwards, and courtesies very low":

*Did you but know in what a piteous Plight
Our Virgin-Authoress is in To-night;
How anxious there she stands, in Hopes to please ye,
[pointing behind the Scenes.
You'd Clap her sure for once, to make her easy.
Consider, Sirs, the Girl's but in her Teens;
Wink then, and pardon her too artless Scenes;
When grown adult, she'll form a better Play;
Rome wasn't built, consider, in a Day.
Be gen'rous then for once, espouse her Cause,
And crown her First Performance with Applause.*

Through Nanny's prologue, Cornelys reveals herself to be a young, first-time author (a "Virgin-Authoress"), but does so with audacious directness and abundance of sexual

metaphors: the play on “clap” confounds applause with syphilis; and that on “play” confuses the act of writing with the sex act. Further, though it opens with precisely the kind of apology the introductory letter forswears, Cornelys’ “Female Op’ra” satirizes the convention by splitting the apology between two opposing types: strident, aggressive Silvia, who thinks to berate the male audience into complacency, and Nanny, whose “soft address” to the gentlemen and the critics exposes her sexual innuendoes as a calculated performance of expected gender roles:

SILVIA.

WHEN *Girls forsake their Needles, and write Plays,*
Strut in their Breeches, and attempt the Bays;
You Men, no doubt, will think them very pert,
And that it’s Time your Pow’r you should exert:
Howe’er, have Mercy on our Sex To-night;
You often swear we are your chief Delight.
As you in Private such fine Speeches make.
For Shame! in Publick, don’t a Girl forsake.
For I’m a GIRL, although in this Disguise.
 Nann. *This very Night our Female Op’ra dies.*
 Silv. *Not so, I hope!--What think you of the Pit?*
 Nann. *Fully resolv’d to crush a Woman’s Wit.*

SILVIA advances.

Hey day! Is this the Case?

[Struts, and looks big.

These Sort of Favours we don’t often crave,
Then pray, for once, with Decency behave;
Sit down in Quiet, and be very civil,
Or else our Sex will send ye to the Devil!
 Nann. *Hold, Silvia, hold, such Airs will never do:*
We must for Favours with Submission sue:
Should the dread Criticks with their Cat-calls come,
They’ll seal, at once, our Op’ra’s final Doom.
In order therefore, to procure Success,
I’ll try to sooth them with a soft Address.

The split female subject visible in the prologue is extended to a larger consideration about the performance of gender roles throughout the ballad opera. The action of Cornelys' pastoral involves such stock devices as misplaced letters, mistaken identities, tricky servants, and comic country lovers, but through the spectacle of cross-dressing, it adds an intriguing criticism of gender, and questions the portrayal of women's position in social harmony in contemporary novels, especially Richardson's *Pamela* and *Clarissa*. Silvia, the daughter of Sir George Willful, "A rich Country Gentleman," has run away, disguised as a "young rake," on the morning she is to be married to Mr. Sapsaint, a "foolish, sanctified squire" who bears more than a passing resemblance to *Clarissa*'s odious suitor, Solmes. Silvia's protective costume of strutting, supercharged masculinity fools her lover Gaymore, her friend Selinda (a pretended prude), and even her own father when they meet in a grove. Likewise, in the second act, Silvia—still disguised—manages to fend off Gaymore's wild brother Tom (her own would-be seducer) in a duel when he attempts to rape a country girl in the wood. After nearly seeing this violence acted out on the peasant girl's innocent body, Silvia questions her plan to escape with Tom's help. Silvia at last drops her assumed gender when Gaymore offers to duel with her in her bedroom, believing her a rake bent on Silvia's destruction. Silvia's disguise externalizes Lovelace's assertion that "every woman is a rake in her heart" (*Clarissa* 441; Lovelace misquotes Pope's *An Epistle to a Lady*, l. 216), but it also recalls the split female subject depicted in the "Female Op'ra's" prologue. Her male dress and convincing assumption of masculine airs suggests that masculinity is as patently constructed as female sensibility or affectations

of prudery, and is as easily performed.

In addition, though she does make use of conventions such as a pair of pastoral lovers in her plot, Cornelys often exploits these stereotypes to mock popular conduct literature and novels. Cornelys' aristocratic characters are often mentally or physically corrupt, and she exploits their failings to satirize conventional class order. One scene, acted by an inebriated Sir George and his daughter's saucy maid, Betty, offers a brilliant send-up of the Mr. B- Pamela relationship in Richardson's 1740-1 novel, *Pamela*:

Sir Geo. Am not I Master of my own House, pray?

Bett. Yes, Sir.-----

Sir Geo. And may not I do as I please in it?

Bett. Yes, Sir.

Sir Geo. Then I insist on seeing your Garters. (*stoops down in a drunken Manner.*)

Bett. Hold, Sir, I deny that Prerogative; you must not enter upon my Primasies.

Sir. Geo. No!

Bett. No, really, Sir.

Sir Geo. I'll tell you what: I'll give--I'll give--I'll give--Let me see--I'll give you a whole Guinea, d'ye mind, --if you'll let me enter upon your Primasies, as you call it.

Bett. That I cannot do, for the Tenement's mortgaged already; and should you take Possession, the Owner might come upon you for Damages. (28-9)

Unlike the beleaguered Pamela, Betty is not defending her purity or using it as the instrument with which to seduce or infer moral obligations upon her employer; her "Tenement" is, as she says, "mortgaged already." Instead, Betty exposes her impurity as a sign of her 'incorruptible rustic morality' and her unwillingness to enter into an illicit, class-crossing relationship with Sir George. Cornelys deploys parody, irony, and intertextual references to conduct literature and popular novels to deconstruct the myth of

country-dwellers as fundamentally innocent and to reveal that masculinity is as much a socially-regulated performative behaviour as femininity.

Like Margaret Cornelys' ballad opera, Anna Ross's work, *The Cottagers; a Comic Opera. In Two Acts* (1788) represents a spirited take on the pastoral that went unperformed on London's major stages. *The Cottagers* raises questions about systems of patronage for theatrical productions, and the effects that such systems may have had upon the shape, publication, and distribution of musical pastorals. That the opera was not performed is puzzling for a number of reasons--not least, that the play is well-calculated for the stage and genuinely amusing. Although she was only fifteen when she wrote *The Cottagers*, Anna Ross had significant patrons. The title page boasts: "By Miss Ross, (Aged Fifteen Years), Daughter of Mrs. Brown, of the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden." According to *The Thespian Dictionary* (1802), Mrs. Brown was "a useful actress" who first appeared at Covent Garden in 1785, and her husband was also an actor (BR/BR). Ross's preface and subscriber's list also divulge an extensive network amongst influential actors and musicians. Mr. Bannister and Mr. Shield are amongst Ross's subscribers; interestingly, Elizabeth Billington, whom Ross claims below as an advocate of her work, is not listed as a contributor to the subscription.

As in Cornelys' prologue, Ross portrays her pastoral opera as the misshapen offspring of female artistic genius, a "*crippled, puny, little Bantling*" dependent upon the good will of the public for its survival. She manages to both invoke and evade the traditional "apology" for writing in her shrewd and forthright PREFACE:

HAD the following pages been brought forward on either of the Theatres, the Author meant to have apologized for their defects in the usual style of Prologue: but since by the earnest intreaty of friends it first finds its way into the Closet, a few lines by way of Preface may not be deemed intruding.

Know then all men by these presents, that I am ANNA ROSS, a forward little scribbler, at the early age of thirteen *felt* a passion for *letters*, and endeavoured to scrape an acquaintance with the *Muses*, before I had (my own family excepted) an acquaintance in the world. How far they have favoured my assiduities, I submit to the *Public* and my *Friends*. I offer this our *first pledge of love* with all its imperfections on its head; --- a *crippled, puny*, little Bantling, which, fostered and strengthened by the cheering rays of private approbation, may, perhaps one day throw down his crutch, leap from the Closet, and try a run upon the Stage.

However, let his fate be what it may, the very liberal attention of my friends, in the rapid subscription and kind patronage they have honoured me with, excites emotions which I can *feel*, but not describe, and may in future give a nerve to my pen that the trembling fear of censure before would not admit. A second production may *live* to make me bless their bounty; as little can be dreaded from critical attacks, when fighting beneath the banners of a BILLINGTON, and well guarded by a *British SHIELD*.

London, April 17, 1788.

ANNA ROSS.

Ross's claim that the piece has now been confined to the Closet is completely fatuous; the title page claims that the play is to be "sold by all Booksellers in Great-Britain and Ireland." It may be that Ross was trying to interest certain aristocratic parties to mount a private production, which might later "leap from the Closet, and try a run upon the Stage." This performance model did occur with a later operatic production entitled *The Princess of Georgia*, by Lady Elizabeth Berkely Craven, Margravine of Anspach (1750-1828). The Margravine's opera was first produced privately in Brandenburg House in 1798, and was presented later (complete with the original, magnificent costumes) at Covent Garden in 1799 (Mann 377-8; see also Murray 145-8). It is clear from the second

paragraph of her letter that for Ross, the Closet and the Stage are not mutually exclusive categories; performance in one milieu does not preclude performance in the other.

The Cottagers is a delightful pastoral disguise farce, and like Cornelys' earlier ballad opera, it relies on cross-dressing as a way of questioning gender roles. Sir Toby Harwin, a country gentleman, has married a disagreeable, grasping widow, whose sole view in marrying him is to procure an handsome inheritance for her dandified son, Jonas Smirk. As the play opens, Capt. Charles Harwin, Sir Toby's son and Charlotte's brother, has just returned home from service. He meets Jonas Smirk and cannot forbear laughing at his affected mannerisms, thereby offending his new mother-in-law, who vows to disinherit him. Charlotte and Charles decide to thwart the two familial interlopers. Charles becomes Jonas' mock rival in love for the attentions of a village lass, Lotharia, but instead falls in love with her himself. Meanwhile, Charlotte, tickled at the thought of her brother falling in love with a mere cottager, decides to become *his* mock-rival by dressing in a military dress and affecting a Scots accent. Like Jonas Smirk, Charlotte's masculine, foreign identity is "all outward show," but she succeeds in exciting Captain Harwin's jealousy to such an extent that brother and sister actually engage in a sword-fight. After interruption by Sir Toby, who is in on Charlotte's jest only because he would rather be in on a jest than made a jest himself, it is revealed that Lotharia is in fact a noblewoman. Lotharia's father, Sir Toby's steward, has just been reinstated in the title of Lord Donmore. The couple receive Sir Toby's blessing. Finally, the loving swain Reuben and his betrothed Peggy Cowsell approach to be married at the same time. Charlotte fools her own father by dressing as

their grandmother and giving her blessing to the pair. She then strips from this disguise to reveal the soldier, and then at last discovers herself. In the Finale, the still-single Charlotte's verse toys with the notion of fixed gender identity once more:

What character shall I assume?
Which has most weight? May I presume
For Us to sue?
If We've pleas'd you,
Bless Us with kind applause. (61)

Charlotte's query regarding which character "has most weight" is probably intended to be humorous, given that her assumed characters (the Scotsman, the old peasant granny) are comic stereotypes themselves, with easily-imitated, easily-dismissed mannerisms and discourse. However, because it follows on Charlotte's stripping to female attire, the visible inclusion of the "young girl" with the other two stereotypes also points to the similar ways in which women's discourse is discounted.

What is most significant about *The Cottagers* as a pastoral is Ross's emphasis on the mind and independence of all her female characters. In her solos, Lotharia, the apparent cottager and actual aristocrat, demonstrates herself to be sensible of nature in ways in which the other cottagers are not. Her ability to recognize the beautiful aesthetic pleasures nature offers the senses is an early indicator of her hidden noble identity. Charles Harwin's appreciation of Lotharia is equally balanced between her mental and bodily attractions, as becomes apparent when he sings to her, "Sure, forming thee, each Love and Grace / To captivate combin'd; / And sent to earth with Beauty's face / Minerva's matchless mind"(41). Ross' opera does not interrogate the alignment of innocence with

peasantry and cottage life, but it does use this apparent conservatism to enable the portrayal of female characters with substantial reserves of wit and mind.

The reason that Ross's production was not performed may rest with the lack of music supporting her main character, Charlotte. Although Charlotte's character wails a Highland tune while in her Scotch dress, she does not have many solos. The plum role in the production appears largely to be a non-singing one, which is certainly problematic for an opera. This unusual feature may indicate that the part was written expressly to launch the young author's own stage career. As a single fifteen-year old, Anna Ross would have filled Charlotte's role perfectly, and it may be that the prosaic writing of Charlotte is a recognition of Ross' performative abilities. It could be also the case that Charlotte's role was intended for Billington, whom Ross names as a patron, who might have brought her own favourite airs with her into the part, or had music specially composed by Shield to show off her impressive vocal instrument, which would also explain the lack of songs for this role.

Finally, the peculiar convergence of such powerful theatrical and musical patrons and the seeming absence of any performance history for this pastoral may not mean that the opera was not performed, but instead, may indicate that Billington used it for a benefit performance. As Matthew Lewis indicates in a 1793 letter to his mother about a proposed benefit performance of one of his plays by Mrs. Jordan, actresses exercised considerable power over the production of plays and operas for their personal benefit, and could influence the ensuing success of the play and its author. The actress who brought out a

new production in this way gained the reputation of a generous literary patron, and benefitted materially from the production's novelty, an alluring feature to audiences. Theatre managers also gained from such productions, as an inexpensive way of testing the appeal of a play or opera. Lewis writes of Jordan, to whom he had sent a play with a role written expressly for her, "I supposed that when She had made use of it [as a benefit] She would return the Copy to me and then the Managers would either app[ly] for it to me or would not apply as they thought the play promised to turn out. In that case the Profits evidently belonged to myself" (Peck 195). Yet Lewis' letter also bespeaks a certain public aversion to plays brought out as benefit performances, and indicates that plays brought out by theatre managers often enjoyed an improved chance of success when compared to benefits: "Setting money out of the case It certainly will give the play a much better prospect of success if it is represented as other new plays instead of a Benefit for People are rather prepossessed against Benefit-Plays" (Peck 195). Such a situation, in which Billington did in fact offer performative patronage to the young Anna Ross by giving a benefit, though the theatre manager declined to extend the favour, or in which Ross printed the libretto in hopes of securing a benefit by Billington, may explain the pastoral's obscurity in performance histories.

Conclusion

As this examination of women composers and writers' participation in the various critical discourses governing the representation of pastoral life in the last half of the

eighteenth century demonstrates, an eclectic, dynamic hybridity of neoclassical, realistic, picturesque and sublime depictions of nature was crucial to successful production of musical pastorals. Annabel Patterson's work on Renaissance humanism's relation to the pastoral sets neoclassicism, which she defines as a theory "of containment, of rationality, of a benevolent or idealizing view of the social order" against the pastoral, and claims, "[i]f Neoclassicism as a cultural formation was a stabilizing force, pastoral with its supporting and *competing* theories was potentially destabilizing" (194). This is certainly the case with the numerous pastoral songs, conduct book dialogues, novels, and operas written by women, which often bind such competing theories together and use a strategic adherence to one set of social or aesthetic parameters--of which neoclassicism is one--to enable criticism of another. Within this paradigm of musical and theoretical botanizing, women composers and writers use classical allusions to demonstrate their wit and education; grapple with class and gender issues using realistic imitative and associative methods of composition; focus attention on the artifice and the taste of both the performer and the composer using the aesthetic principles of the picturesque; and show the moral import of interiorizing and performing responses to sublime landscape. As such, the musical pastoral, is not merely, a "village tale, the dialogue of rustic courtship, the description of natural objects, and the incidents of a rural life" and "the probable adventure of the cottage" (Aikin 22), but also territory invested with moral attributes and aesthetic challenges for women writers.

Britannia; or, Women and Songs of Nation and Otherness

By flattery's art, most Sovereigns are ruled;
By patriot's art, the people are cajoled.
Strip ancient Heroes of their art, and you,
Will strip them of their Fame and Laurels too.
Since thus it sways us, let us use our art
To mend the morals, and improve the heart;
We too may use it in our Country's cause;
To make her prosper, well deserves applause:
Nature has done her part, let art appear,
And you may raise a new Arcadia here . . .
(Anna Maria Edwards, *The Enchantress* (1787), Prologue, ll. 25-34, vi-vii)

There is a certain amount of common sense and immediate appeal inherent in the commonplace that music is “an international language.” As an apparently denotative system of signs, musical notation can be read and performed by persons who do not speak the same language, or by persons of different genders, or by persons holding divergent religious or political beliefs. Perceptions of music as an abstract, aesthetic expression of formal harmonic relationships existing outside history and without reference to extra-musical content, are not, however, characteristic of critical thought in the eighteenth century. Musical absolutism and its concomitant ahistorical interpretation of music focussing on notational and formal structures are the products of later theorists such as Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904), whose work is based on a largely instrumental repertoire with vastly different aesthetic aims from those socio-moral purposes claimed by eighteenth-century writers and composers. While the idea of musical language is indeed crucial to consideration of eighteenth-century European musical aesthetics, eighteenth-century musical theorists did not believe music to be innocent of traceable national origin

or devoid of social or moral destination. Music was considered to be an important tool in social formation because its affective influence could be brought to bear upon political issues. As Anna Maria Edwards remarks in the Prologue to her 1787 opera *The Enchantress*, every part of the World “is ruled by art” (l. 24). Edwards’ pun on the word “art” represents both the sense of cunning politics and that of the magic of performance. Her linkage of both of these meanings to issues of national identity is the enabling mechanism that allows her to evade those Critics who would ““check her in her vain attempt to write”” (l. 10) since as she says, to use art “in our Country’s cause; / To make her prosper, well deserves applause” (ll. 31-2). Songs expressing British nationalism, or marking an individual’s participation in political movements or events of national importance, were no less popular than songs expressive of charity or the pastoral for the blatant nature of their chauvinism; indeed, as I have shown in the chapters preceding this, both charitable and pastoral songs significantly contribute to the definition of Britain as a nation, and to the shaping of its social order (see, for instance, Edwards’ reference to Arcadia in the epigraph above). This chapter examines those musical works by and about women that overtly seek to declare or disavow the writer’s political intent, and focusses especially on those works that link nationalist ideologies to musical composition and performance.

Musical performance, with its unique audio-visual grammar of harmony, imitation (whether of natural objects or of extant musical styles), performance practice, and the performing body itself, invariably carries with it some markers of national and gender

difference. Not even music historian Charles Burney, who argued for an new British musical identity that might incorporate what he felt to be the best characteristics of foreign musics could assert that music was a politically neutral, non-nationalist discourse.

Burney's musical aggregate, which I will discuss in detail below, could always be teased apart into identifiable, nationalist styles, but even so, its carefully delimited internationalism was perceived by many as a direct threat to British musical-cultural sovereignty. The exhibition of cultural and gender differences in musical performance thus could either reassure or alarm persons interested in controlling the definition of social and gender roles that maintained Britain's social harmony. In terms of gender roles, the musical performance of femininity by a *castrato* or of masculinity by a woman in breeches menaces established social order, since it threatens to reveal gender as a performed, rather than a biologically determined category. The increasing identification of women's education with musical performance also tended to align music with femininity. The writer of *The Ladies Friend; Being a Treatise on the Virtues and Qualifications which are the Brightest Ornaments of the Fair Sex, and render Them most agreeable to the Sensible Part of Mankind* (1784) depicts the super-feminization of women in romance and opera-plots as a dangerous peril to the morality and the gender definition of both British men and women:

Women are become a kind of animated idols, whose worshippers have copied all their attitudes and gestures. Incense has been profusely offered to them, and in return for it they have forfeited their virtue: their eyes have been made heaven, and life and death have been put into their hands. Our dramatic entertainments seem particularly intended to perpetuate the

mysteries of that ridiculous idolatry, * and we go on in a licentious worship of the fair sex, which leads them into depravation: contagious vice spreads through the whole society.

*This is chiefly applicable to the operas, which are a kind of love-liturgy, full of hymns, and breathing a very fervent spirit of devotion to that deity.

(13)

Nor was such concern over the loss of musical and cultural sovereignty confined to publicly-regulated amusements such as the opera and the theatre. John Andrews' *Remarks on the French and English Ladies, in a Series of Letters* (1783) explicitly links the importation of amusements from abroad with a decline in the virility of the British public character. Unlike inert objects of commerce, which might be culled from any locale in the world and safely integrated into British kitchens or curio cabinets or dressing tables as treasures and trappings of empire, music travelled like an infection, its affect always exceeding the local and the individual:

An uncommon solicitude prevails for improving amusements, inventing them at home, or importing them, through a variety of channels, from those nations whom we deem the greatest connoisseurs in these matters. . . .it has produced a taste for frivolous avocations, totally inconsistent with the solidity and manliness of disposition peculiar to the people of England. This turn of mind has even in some degree infected our personal deportment; but, what is much more to be lamented, it has blunted the edge of our national feelings, and relaxed the severity of our morals in public concerns.

(8-9)

Andrews declines British musical identity by negatives: it was not feminine, nor was it expressive of moral turpitude, frivolity, or foreignness. Women's participation in the formation of a musical national identity, positively shaped through the invention and dissemination of new, explicitly British repertoire, is correspondingly replete with

negotiations of and contradictions to these assumptions. Songs of nation and musical definitions of individual and national subjectivity, if not the most dominant topoi, do form a substantial part of collections of lyrics and music written by women in the period. Works such as “Great Britain’s Tribute, A National Effusion” by a Lady (1816), Margaret Essex’s “The Olive Branch” (c.1790), Mary Barber’s “Stella and Flavia” (c. 1755), and Hannah Cowley’s opera, *A Day in Turkey; or, The Russian Slaves* (1791), reveal women engaging with ideas of nation and gender roles within the emergent British empire.

This chapter begins by considering how eighteenth-century composers and lyricists define Britishness in musical terms, and marks the challenges that an increasingly international aggregate musical style poses to this musical definition of nation. The chapter next addresses the nexus of gender and national identity by examining the stereotype of the “British Heroine”; it then discusses women’s creative employment of various forms of musical nationalism in the service of gender definition, including musical self-definition against “others” of different gender or race. Last, I appraise some openly partisan responses by women composers and writers to specific political events, to see how they elaborate, resist or reproduce woman’s role within social harmony, and to determine, as Edwards puts it, how “by patriot’s art, the people are cajoled” (l. 26).

I. Britishness, Musically Defined

Despite widely-held neoclassical ideals regarding the social utility of music in promoting right thinking and virtuous action in the people of a nation, the perception of a

possible threat to discourses of British nationalism from an affective, proto-linguistic discourse shivers through many eighteenth-century documents, from essays to conduct books. This disturbance is nearly always expressed as a deliberate ideological attack upon prevailing, though often elusively stated, masculine ideas of British national power and identity, by a force from outside the country, usually from Italy. The essay entitled “Common-Sense. No. 89. On MUSICK and the OPERA” in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for instance, is hard-pressed to decide whether a “Cessation of [Italian] *Operas*, would prove a National Loss, or a National Advantage”; for, as the author observes, “Publick Diversions are by no Means Things indifferent; they give a Right of a Wrong Turn to the Minds of the People, and the wisest Governments have always thought them worth their Attention, and the very wisest Government in the World (I mean to be sure our own) thought so not above two Years ago, and prudently subjected all our Publick Entertainments to the Wisdom and Care of the *Lord Chamberlain*, his *Licensor*, or his *Licensor's Deputy-Licensor*” (533). Due in part to their emphasis on bodily display, operas seem to have been particularly subject to this nationalist anxiety and to externally-imposed regulation.

Not all controls over musical sovereignty and national identity, musically expressed, originate with such official, institutional sources. Linda Colley has observed of the process of cultural definition enacted by James Thomson's lyric, “Rule Britannia” (1740), that “the British are defined less by what they have in common, than negatively—whatever these people are, we are told, they are not slaves” (10). The

exhortations to John Bull contained in a popular comic song known as “The Roast Beef Cantata” (c.1750) define British identity in a similar fashion, against an audible pastiche of national musical styles. The song establishes masculine ideals of British nationhood by referring to cultural icons such as Hogarth, Garrick, and the King, by alluding to the militant, “never slaves” ideal of British freedom, and of course, to “old Britain’s Bulwark,” roast beef.

“The Roast Beef Cantata” launches its musical definition of British identity with a well-known cultural artifact: the 1748-9 Hogarth painting (and engraving) known as “The Gate of Calais, or the Roast Beef of Old England.” The anonymous writer of the “cantata” takes as his first target the central figure of Hogarth’s tableau, a fat friar. The lyricist extends

Hogarth’s critique of the Catholic church’s hypocritical sensuality by labelling this figure with the name of a prominent



William Hogarth, “The Gate of Calais, or the Roast Beef of Old England,” 1748-9.

Catholic order. "Father Dominick" lasciviously addresses the roast of beef, which is personified as "Sir Loin":

Renown'd Sir--loin, oft times decreed
 The theme of English Ballad;
 On thee e'en Kings have deign'd to feed,
 Unknown to Frenchmans Palate:
 Then how much more thy taste exceeds
 Soup meagre, Frogs, and Sallad.

After economically mentioning the tradition of English traditional ballads (and indeed, an astonishing number of English ballads do concern roast beef!) and thereby slyly hinting at the concluding number of the "cantata," the lyricist continues with a description of an impoverished, starving French soldier, who longs for a taste of British beef and the national prosperity such plenty betokens¹:

A half star'vd Soldier,
 Shirtless pale, and lean,
 at such a sight before had never seen,
 like Garricks frighted Hamlet gaping stood,
 and gaz'd with wonder on the British food.
 His Mornings Mess forsook the friendly Bowl,
 and in small streams a-long the Pavement stole,
 He heav'd a Sigh which gave his Heart relief
 And then in Plaintive Tone declar'd his Grief.
 Ah sacre dieu! vat do me see yon-der,
 dat look so tempting red and vite.
 Begar it is de roast Beef from Londre;

1

The identification of British nationalism with beef continues, and recently received new impetus from the European Union ban on British beef in 1996 following an outbreak of BSE (mad-cow disease). As *The Economist* notes in a 1999 article, "Still Mad About Cows," the French embargo on British beef was not only seen in light of these historical conflicts, but also as "a symbol of the battle between the Labour and Conservative parties on how to manage relations with the EU" (2).

Oh! grant to me von litel bite.
 But to my Guts if you give no heeding
 And cruel fate dis boon denies
 In kind Compassion unto my Pleading
 Return and let me feast mine Eyes.

With this verbal caricature, the lyricist reduces the threat of French invasion to the person of a spindly individual, with a comic accent, and in much the same way that Hogarth's brush emasculates the thin soldier, whose "soup meagre" spills impotently on the ground as he casts ravenous looks at the haunch of beef. The French are not only politically oppressed, the song further implies, but are morally deluded on a wide, societal scale: they are concerned only with the appearance of things ("let me feast mine Eyes"), not with the solid, beefy quiddity of things themselves that characterizes solid British food and British thought.

The Jacobite sympathizers hiding in France depicted in the right foreground of Hogarth's work receive like treatment:

Upon the ground, hard by, poor Sawney sate,
 Who fed his nose, & scratch'd his ruddy Pate;
 But when old England's Bulwark he espy'd,
 his dear lov'd mull, alas! was thrown aside:
 With lifted hands he blest his native place,
 Then scrubb'd himself, and thus bewail'd his case.
 How hard, O Sawney is thy lot,
 Who was so blithe of late,
 to see such Meat as can't be got,
 When hunger is so great.
 O the beef! the bonny bonny beef,
 When roasted nice and brown,
 I wish I had a slice of thee,
 How sweet it would gang down!
 Ah, Charley! hadst thou not been seen,

This ne'er happ'd to me:
 I wou'd the De'el had pick'd mine ey'n,
 Ere I had gang'd with thee. O the beef, &c.

The criticism of Sawney's political infidelity to Britain is heightened with a musical parody of the Scotch tune, "The Broom of the Cowdenknows." The parody combines an instantly recognizable melody, first collected in William Thomson's volume, *Orpheus Britannicus* (1725-6), and very familiar to contemporary audiences from its appearance in *The Beggar's Opera*, with a lyric that mocks romantic Jacobite ideals and Scottish nationalist sentiment ("O the broom! the bonny bonny broom") by contrasting it with the commercial and political solidity and satisfaction promised by British union ("O the beef! the bonny bonny beef").

It is the last section of "The Roast Beef Cantata," however, which is the most intriguing, for it exposes British national identity as manifestly constructed and performed. As many art historians note, Hogarth appears in the upper left-hand corner of his own painting. He is sketching the scene that will lead to his arrest as an English spy; indeed, one arresting hand is just visible upon his shoulder. His presence in the scene calls the viewer's attention to the meta-narrative of the politics governing its manufacture. In like manner, this last episode of the "cantata" refers to yet another British song about roast beef—Richard Leveridge's song, "When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food" (c. 1735), also known by its chorus, "O the Roast Beef of Old England." Leveridge's lyrics valorize the Elizabethan period as a golden age, when the English "had stomachs to eat, and to fight" (l. 19), before cross-cultural contamination took place, before the English

“learned from all vapouring France, / To eat their Ragouts, as well as to Dance” (l. 6). The chorus of Leveridge’s song is directly quoted, both lyrically and musically, in the following “fable”:

But see, my muse to England takes her flight,
Where Health and Plenty socially us unite;
Where smiling Freedom guards great George’s throne,
And whips, and chains, and tortures are not known.
That Britain’s fame in loftiest strains should ring,
In rustic fable give me leave to sing.

As once on a time, a young Frog, pert and vain,
Beheld a large Ox grazing on the wide plain,
He boasted his size he cou’d quickly attain.
O the roast beef of old England, and O the old English roast beef.

Then eagerly stretching his weak little frame,
Mamma, who stood by, like a knowing old dame,
Cry’d, Son, to attempt it you’re surely to blame,
O the roast beef, &c.

But, deaf to advice, he for glory did thirst,
An effort he ventur’d more strong than the first,
Till swelling and straining too hard, made him burst.
O the roast beef, &c.

Then Britons be valiant the moral is clear,
The Ox is old England, the frog is Monsieur;
Whose puffs and bravadoes we never need fear.
O the roast beef, &c.

For while by our commerce and arts we are able,
To see the sir-loin smoaking hot on our table,
The French must e’en burst, like the frog in the fable.
O the roast beef, &c.

The repeated chorus of Leveridge’s song, grafted on to a new pastiche, allows the

perception of a shared cultural tradition.² One can imagine the crowd thinking, yes, this is a song we know; this is a song we can join. At the same time, this intertextual reference reveals British identity to be based upon a series of performances. Britishness, “The Roast Beef Cantata” suggests, is a fabulous moral tale of cultural superiority crafted by Garrick, by Hogarth, by Leveridge, by classical traditions such as Aesop’s fable of the frog and the ox, here laminated with thin political allegory, as well as by public consumption, not only at the carving board, but also on the theatrical boards. It is worth observing briefly that both “Rule Britannia” and “God Save the King,” national songs which have been extensively discussed by Linda Colley, Roger Fiske, and others, were originally written for and performed in theatres. For all its beefy, virile substance, Britishness is a performed, even stagey notion of nation, and it is thus peculiarly vulnerable to international adulteration and, more particularly, gender hybridization, from outside influences and performances. The key to controlling the spread of foreign music, with its unwholesome cargo of divergent religious and political opinions and gender definitions, is to regulate the

2

The appearance of Leveridge’s song in the novels of Patrick O’Brian has prompted a resurgence in the song’s popularity, as well as a spate of modern parodies: “When Old Newfie ‘Screech’ was the Canadian’s food”; “When the mighty Big Mac was America’s food”; and the “Roast Beef Lament”:

Oh the Roast Beef of England is no longer roast,
It’s ground up and greasy and eaten on toast,
For the Scotsman McDonald is now the world’s host,
Oh! The Roast Beef of Old England,
Is Hamburger and Fries.

For a recording of the tune and related files, see “The Roast Beef of Old England Revisited,” at <http://www.digizen.net/member/janus/beef2.htm>.

performance of difference, using both political and aesthetic means. Before considering such controls, as well as the question of how women might seek to express their Britishness musically within a masculine cultural definition that leaves little room for Jane Bull, I will further articulate the key points of the debate on what--besides wild lyrical praise of hot pink slices of beef--constituted musical nationalism, and what forces threatened Britishness, as it was musically composed.

II. Burney, Schmeling and the Barber of Bristol: Aggregate British Musical Identity

The defining work on musical nationalism and the emerging trend towards Italianate musical style in Britain appears in the works of musicologist Charles Burney and in resistant contemporary responses to his writing. Burney's influential books, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (1771) and *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (1773), are very curious travelogues, for they are written largely without reference to physical geography or to other "sights." Instead, these engaging analyses of continental music practices seek to mediate cultural difference and to translate the sensuality of musical performance into affective discourse "so divested of Pedantry and Jargon that every Miss, who plays *o' top the Spinet* could make it her manual" (qtd. in Grant 55). Burney describes his approach to travel as that of a "conformist" (*Italy* 21), and writes, "when I went out, I determined to do as other people did, in the streets, and church, otherwise I had no business there (20) . . . I determined to hear with my *own* ears and to see with my *own* eyes; and, if possible, to *hear* and *see*

nothing but *music*. . .” (*Italy* 7). This erasure of the traveller and his geo-political landscape is the more curious because Burney is concerned with constructing a new British musical aesthetic which has as its ideal a multi-national identity. Burney describes this ideal musical style as an “aggregate,” which combines the French excellence on keyboard instruments, the simplicity of British melody, German proficiency in instrumental and polyphonic compositions, and Italian supremacy in all else. Burney selectively absents both bodies and boundaries from his text to facilitate negotiation of an “aggregate” British musical identity, and ultimately, to remotivate the “present state” of British music, in a torpor since the death of Purcell. I will probe the political consequences of this act and explore its relation to the depiction of gender roles and morals in musical nationalism by examining a contemporary satire of Burney’s *Present State of Music*.

Musical Travels Through England by the late Joel Collier (1774) is a violently hilarious satire which seizes upon the conflicts apparent in Burney’s work by returning the corporeal to musicology and by rejecting the authority of Burney’s position as a disembodied “conformist.” “Joel Collier, Licentiate in Music” is a fictive persona devised by an unknown author--most likely lawyer John Bicknell, according to Roger Lonsdale (157). What Lonsdale, Kerry S. Grant (107) and Richard Leppert do not mention in their brief discussions of Bicknell’s neglected work, however, is that Collier’s *Musical Travels* is no poorly-crafted parody, but a witty Scriblerian volume which ran into six editions, adding fresh puffs, footnotes and musical examples to challenge Burney’s new productions. Collier, or Collioni, as he is known to his fellow *dilettanti*, is an amateur

cellist and bassoonist who, like his “*magnus Apollo*,” Doctor Burney (I), travels in search of musicological rarities. Collier’s body, although it travels only through familiar, domestic England, is nonetheless under siege from foreign influences. His disastrous exploits reveal British anxiety about “macaronizing,” or the influence of foreign—particularly Italian—music on British music, and link these concerns with an exploration of music’s physiological affect, including its alarming tendency to emasculate both its performers and its listeners. Despite its assault on Burney’s work, Collier’s *Musical Travels* is equally concerned with demarcating the expression of British musical identity in physical, textual and national “bodies.”

Eighteenth-century theorization of music’s effects on the body, as we have seen, ranges from discourses of sensibility to those of discipline; from music’s medicinal benefits to its power to physically corrupt. Burney is careful to express his approbation of music’s power in terms of its mental and social, not bodily affect. He praises music’s role in “softening the manners, promoting civilization, and humanizing men” (*General History* 174). He notes its usefulness to the poor in distracting the mind from care and providing employment; to religion, in lifting the mind to worship; to the military, in enforcing mental discipline; to the theatre, in stimulating the economy; and lastly, to the family, in providing harmless diversion and enriching private devotions (*Italy* 5). As such, his opinions are comparable to those of moralist Jonas Hanway, who regards music as a social “controll” (1), and to the views of critic Charles Avison, who writes “it is the peculiar quality of Music to raise the *sociable and happy passions*, and to subdue the *contrary ones*” (4).

According to Burney, good music, well-performed, may ameliorate the mind and perhaps influence the body to acts of good intent, but it does not directly cause bodily discomfort or stimulate the baser passions.

Bicknell's satire, by contrast, insists on music's immediate power over the body. In what might be considered a scatological burlesque of Dryden, music is seen to "raise and quell" ("A Song for St. Cecilia's Day," l. 16) antisocial behaviour during Joel Collier's promising musical infancy:

The sound of a drum, or any martial music, had such an immediate effect upon my nerves, that I was always obliged to be turned dry before the piece was half over. The famous MARCH in *Saul* is too powerful for me even at this day, though I can stand any other without being offensive. (2-3)

Music's power is not limited to elicitation of physical and scatological slapstick in Collier's adventures. Bicknell accepts Burney's appraisal of music's social utility as a form of mental control, but presents the concept in retrograde, depicting music as a bodily contagion causing insanity and social disruption. This technique is nowhere more apparent than in Bicknell's rewriting of an affecting concert witnessed by Burney.

While at Potsdam, in the middle of his German tour, Burney meets the singer Schmeling (later known as Gertrude Elizabeth Mara (c.1749-1833) or La Mara). She is introduced to Burney and the reader through a letter, in which she is described as "about twenty-four years of age, and was in England, when a child, where she played the violin; but she quitted that instrument, and became a singer, by the advice of English ladies, who disliked a *female fidler*" (110). By inserting this letter into the text, Burney is able to omit

his customary description of the performer's face, figure, and action. The concert is a success: Schmeling's happy compound of social propriety and vocal gifts excites a sublime sympathy between performer and audience; an excitement Burney elsewhere describes as "that true pitch of enthusiasm, which, from the ardor of the fire within . . . is communicated to others, and sets all around in a blaze; so that the contention between the performers and hearers, was only who should please, and who should applaud the most!" (*German* 294). Yet, after admiring Schmeling's performance, Burney offers suggestions for improvement:

If mademoiselle Schmeling were to go to Italy, she would not perhaps meet with greater powers than her own, in any *one* performer; but, by adopting the peculiar excellencies of many performers, of different schools, and talents, her style . . . would be an aggregate of all that is exquisite and beautiful. (209)

Although what he is manifestly describing is a performance, Burney's carefully-managed review of Schmeling's concert avoids the disagreeable spectacle of the female performing body so objectionable to those English "Misses" reading his "manuals." Further, locating Schmeling's style, rather than her voice, physical manner, or country of origin as the site which may be improved by adopting aggregate musical taste, suggests that British social mores are compatible with, and even sanction her later adoption of Italianate musical sensibility.

Bicknell's satire deconstructs Burney's aggregate by placing its constituent parts into three separate bodies. Collier's "musical platonic love" (92) *Gluckinelli Inglesina*, is manifestly an aggregate; although her macaronized surname indicates she is English, her

first name is a *portmanteau* pun on the names of the German composer Gluck and the Italian singer Farinelli. Bicknell describes Gluckinelli's body, as Burney does not in the case of Schmeling, in great detail. It too is a compound of discordant parts: she has a "long red nose," "coal-black teeth," an "ogle," and such offensive breath that "any person not *determined to hear, see, and smell nothing but music*, might have thought it hardly atoned for by the sweetness of her voice" (91). But Gluckinelli's "embodied harmony" is cold comfort compared to the charms of a "little black ey'd gypsy" named Mrs. Sharpset, wife of the Barber of Bristol. Mrs. Sharpset's "involuntary sighs, blushes, and languid attitude" (93) as her Collioni warbles mark an overwrought sensibility to Italianate music which constitutes the second half of Bicknell's rewriting of Schmeling. Mrs. Sharpset's sensibility not only manifests itself physically; but, once read by Collier, it also acts as a catalyst to sexual and moral transgression, for it provokes in him the "desire of making dangerous experiments upon the power and effects of female passion" (92). In swift, inflammatory succession, Collier sings "the 'sweet passion of love,'" "O how pleasing 'tis to please," and "Haste let us rove to the Island of Love" (93). Mrs. Sharpset, "transported beyond even the bounds of prudence" (93), leaps into his arms, and the concert becomes a physical contest to see "*who should please, and who should applaud the most!*" At this point, the Barber of Bristol bursts in upon the lovers, manfully strops his razor, and castrates Collier for his presumption in a blaze of Shandean asterisks, singing a good British ditty all the while.

Bicknell's tripartite division of Burney's stylistic aggregate allegorically illustrates

that adopting macaronic musical style has bodily and social consequences. In contrast to Burney's critical pleasure in Schmeling's concert, Collier's concert alienates his audience and renders him completely senseless; and although he is somewhat consoled upon waking to find his new vocal powers to be "*delicate, interesting, and full of effects,*" his performance in other respects is certainly compromised. The contagion of Italianate music creates a grotesque female performer and a debauched female listener; it disrupts social relationships; it occasions Collier's physical transformation into the body most closely associated with Italianate music—that of the *castrato*—and leads at last to his insanity and death.

If Bicknell's satire confronts Burney's evasion of music's physical affect, it is still more concerned to consider ways in which Burney's *Present State of Music* volumes enact an emasculation of British musical identity as it is textually and linguistically represented. Burney's intent in writing was not "to compile books at [my] own fire-side, from books which have been compiled before" but "to seek for new and authentic materials" (*Germany* v). He writes:

. . . such merchandize as is capable of adulteration, is seldom genuine after passing through many hands; and. . . if *knowledge* be *medicine for the soul*. . . it seems as much to concern us to obtain it genuine, as to procure unadulterated medicine for the body. (*Germany* iii-iv)

Burney procures and displays a body of original research to promote his view of British music as representative of a progressive aggregate style within his *Present State of Music* and his later *A General History of Music*. Indeed, Burney's image of the aggregate as he

develops it in his *General History*, is an avowedly materialist image of Britain as a musical colonizer, for, he writes, music “is a manufacture in Italy, that feeds and enriches a large portion of the people; and it is no more disgraceful to a merchantile country to import it, than wine, tea, or any other production” (*General* IV:221). However, in the *Present State* Burney’s assessment of continental music depends less on music as material object or artifact, than it does on the concept of musical expressionism. Music, to Burney, is a proto-linguistic form of communication, and Italianate melody, he claims, “is become the common musical language of all Europe” (*German* 54).

Bicknell challenges the material integrity of Burney’s research via a subversive imitation of Burney’s style and textual layout; but rather than refuting Burney’s expressionist position, he reveals aggregate style to be a systemic means of denationalization, and thus, perilous to British musical identity. There are several mock-expressionists in Bicknell’s pages: Mr. Eccho of Durham, who “had so long applied himself to musical notes, that he had utterly forgot all articulate language . . . [and] conversed, prayed, scolded, swore, and talked bawdy, all on the fiddle” (26); and Mr. Quaver, who aims to restore *Adamitical* harmony by “expressing the natural passions, by a judicious imitation of the tones of beasts” (32). At best, such portrayals intimate, Italianate musical language affords trivial, easily-misinterpreted communication. At worst, this language invites perceptions of Britain’s weakening cultural and political sovereignty. Collier’s meeting with an aristocratic *dilletante* clad in stagey Arcadian habit exemplifies this point of view. The Arcadian’s theory, which parodies expressionist musical “battles”

by Italian composers,³ is

a proposal for carrying on war without bloodshed, in which, his scheme was to arm the soldiers with musical instruments and fire-arms; which latter should be only discharged into the air at proper intervals, for the sake of musical explosions . . . the battle should be lost by that general which should first play out of tune. (41-42)

Collier applauds this plan, quoting Burney's statement, "*though I love music very well, I love humanity still better,*" and adds, "in which particular we differ much from that great flutist and warrior the King of Prussia" (42). This allusion to Frederick the Great refers to a deviation in Burney's usually apolitical text which links musical to political expression. Although he mainly confines his comments to Frederick's abilities as a flutist and minimizes discussion of the social disruption caused by Frederick's military campaigns, Burney admits: "music is truly stationary in . . . [Prussia], his majesty allowing no more liberty in that, than he does in civil matters of government" (*Germany* 235). Bicknell, by contrast, pointedly refers to the bodies of "ten thousand Polish widows, and orphans" (89) in his text, and insists that Frederick must be a *castrato*, for he would be unable to enforce his despotic regime unless he had "disengaged himself from every incumbrance of his sex and species" (89). In criticizing Frederick's inhumane rule, Bicknell suggests that adoption of macaronic musical expressionism, such as that of Italianate musical "battles," threatens

3

In a footnote to a discussion of seventeenth-century music, Burney observes that M. Koepler, a German musician in London in 1783 " . . . undertook to imitate by sounds, in a kind of *musical pantomime*, every circumstance belonging to an army, even to a *council of war*." He also observes that Sigr. Raimondi's *Bataglia*, "has often been performed, and justly applauded, not only for the intelligence and ingenuity with which military sensations have been excited, but as an elegant and agreeable composition" (*History* III: 260-1).

loss of cultural and political autonomy which is in itself a kind of castration. He states: “‘*John Bull* was made to *roar*, and not to *sing*’ . . . England has hitherto preferred the harsh trumpet to the soft violin” (v). Sadly, before Collier can work out the proper orchestration for a bloodless battle, he is obliged to leave, since the Arcadian proposes to improve Collier’s voice beyond even the “perfection” of castration by placing a bit in his mouth, knocking out his teeth, stopping up his nostrils, and slitting the glands in his throat (44-45). This incident, as a whole, implicitly links musical and verbal articulation to the potent articulation of nation, and skilfully critiques Burney’s textual evasions of music’s political affect in proposing retreat to the false Arcadia of aggregate style.

Finally, Bicknell’s satirization of Burney’s *Present State of Music* demonstrates that the contagion of aggregate musical style, as it spreads outwards from physical to textual to state bodies, has the potential to politically emasculate the British nation. Specifically, Bicknell disparages Burney’s plan for instituting an Italianate fashion of music education—the *conservatorio*—in London. Burney writes enthusiastically of the effect of *conservatorios* in Naples, Rome, and Wurtemberg in creating a body of proficient musicians for church and state from lower-class, often orphaned, children of both sexes. He claims that improvements in the quality of music and musical instruction available to the lower class are necessary to remotivate the present state of British music. However, Burney’s motives, hints Bicknell, are not strictly nationalist, for Burney and Signor Giardini, a famed violinist, had nominated themselves to be the well-paid directors of the new music school (Lonsdale 149-53). In addition, the children of the Foundling Hospital

already had a purpose of considerable national interest, as Bicknell indicates in his “dedication” to Burney:

. . . men of narrow and contracted minds . . . will still imagine, that it might prove of more national utility to breed these adopted children of the public, to Husbandry, and Navigation . . . than to convert one of the noblest of our public charities into a nursery for the supply of musical performers . . .--But this is a vulgar prejudice. . . .When we have rivalled the Italians in music, it will be time enough to think of our Navy, and our Agriculture. (iii)

Of added concern to Bicknell is the fact that the *conservatorios* which Burney visits during his Italian tour have amongst their pupils several young *castrati*. The curious Burney enquires about modern methods of castration, and particularly, about the geographical location in which these operations are performed—to the extent that Bicknell’s character Gluckinelli speculates that Burney has had the operation performed upon himself (90). However, in the one geographical distinction which he is most anxious to make, in order to save Italy and Italianate music from general censure for perpetuating this “vocal manufacture,” Burney is unable to offer a definitive conclusion. He writes: “The operation most certainly is against law in all these places, as well as against nature; and all the Italians are so much ashamed of it, that in every province they transfer it to some other” (*Italy* 312). For Bicknell, the location of the crime is clear. He outrightly links bodily castration to the London *conservatorio*, stating that Giardini and Burney “have attempted a great . . . action, that of castrating the children of the Foundling Hospital” (64-65). Nor does he confine this metaphor of musically-instigated sexual-social dysfunction to the school, but extends it to the nation, crying:

. . . libertinism is increased at the expence of honourable love, domestic discord invades the peace of families, fiddlers, opera-dancers, and hair-dressers stain the bed of nobles; and every disorder which is the sure forerunner of national destruction extends its ravages in this devoted country. (10-11)

Bicknell's decision to set the scene of Collier's castration in the town of Bristol, more famous for its commercial than its vocal manufactures (83), shows in microcosm the fate of the nation should Burney's *conservatorio* succeed: the inception of that "glorious period which is probably destined to introduce castration into the British dominions" (27). Here again, Burney's histories and Bicknell's satire are complementary. Both texts reveal a sense that Britain is already emasculated in terms of its musical impotence, and both texts struggle to reinvigorate the nation by imposing aesthetic rules—inclusion of Italianate musical style and training in Burney's case, and the exclusion of culturally divergent traditions in Bicknell's.

Ironically, Burney's attempt to promote aggregate musical style through a selective erasure of boundaries and bodies in his *Present State of Music* travelogues is defeated by a similar technique practised by the nations which he visits. Bicknell's satire, as it reintroduces the corporeal to musicology, reveals Burney's impulse towards international aggregate style to be at odds with established notions of British musical nationalism. Though Burney, ever the careful historian, remarks, "anecdotes [are] below the dignity of history," (*General* IV, 415) clearly, the overlooked, somewhat less than dignified anecdote that is Collier's *Musical Travels* deserves further consideration. Perhaps, as Collier himself says, his work should be considered a "supplement" to

Burney's and "bound up" with it (qtd. in Grant 107); for the two authors' witty debate on aggregate or macaronic style invites a diverse audience to consider British musical expression in physical, textual, and state bodies—as both men say—"a matter of national concern" (Burney *Germany*; Collier vi).

III. Music for the British Heroine

How, then, given a predominantly masculine image of British nationalism, and the reigning fear of feminization from "macaronic" foreign musics, was a British woman to define herself, her nation, and her social role musically? One song, "Cordelia, or the British Heroine: On Occasion of the menac'd Invasion from France (Address'd to the Ladies)," attempts to address this problem of defining a feminine response to national sentiment. The song, with words by Mr. Lockman and music by Mr. Worgan, was sung by Miss Stevenson at Vauxhall. The "British Heroine" who is the subject of the lyric takes the name of Lear's daughter, Cordelia, and she is no less dutiful to her nation than Shakespeare's heroine is to her father. This allusion to British literary tradition, and particularly to Shakespeare, as a method of evoking sentimental nationalism has a contemporary parallel in David Garrick's popular Jubilee celebrations of the bard in Stratford, which were later brought to the London stage. Unlike the Italian *castrato*, who usurps a woman's voice and caches it in a body that is less than masculine, the figure of Cordelia the British Heroine represents a return to ideals of 'proper' femininity; she is a woman in a woman's body, "nor more nor less" (*King Lear* 1.1.95), she knows her social

place and role, and acts according to these bonds.

As the song begins, Cordelia awakes from slumber in a grove “by the Clarion’s martial sound” (1.4), and the sound of the “harsh trumpet” is as enlivening to her sense of nationalism as even Collier himself could wish:

[Cordelia] Spake thus:-- sweet Music to my Ear!
 What Ardours in my Bosom glow,
 For dear Bellario must be near,
 Arm’d to repulse th’invading Foe.

Cordelia next allies the fate of the British empire with the fate of its women, should France invade Britain. Britain’s inviolate isle is symbolically elided with the chaste bodies and disciplined minds of its female subjects. As in “The Roast Beef Cantata,” the main threat to British freedom appears to be the re-institution of the Catholic church. The most terrible consequence of this for the British heroine in particular, as the ensuing verses show, is the indulgence of sins supposed to accompany the process of confession. Cordelia observes that the reinstatement of the “taudry Harlot” (the Catholic faith) would have a deleterious effect on British women’s moral rigour:

Were this fam’d Isle, (sweet Freedom’s Seat,)
 Subject to Gallia’s hated Sway;
 Who cou’d our Sex’s woes repeat!
 What Tyrant Laws must we obey?
 Chang’d our Religion: --in its stead,
 A taudry Harlot soon wou’d rise:
 Who, thro’ the Land wou’d Terror spread
 And Sense and Reason sacrifice

Then subtle Friars with amorous Leer,
 Wou’d female Consciences enthrall;
 To gain our Secrets, domineer.--

Fine Joke, (indeed,) to tell them All!
 Then Persecution's fiery Face,
 With Rome's dull Trump'ry wou'd rush in;
 Beads; Relicks:-Jesuits Quirks; Grimace:--
 Bulls, and Indulgences for Sin.

The British heroine, Cordelia suggests, is capable of regulating her own behaviour through the active operation of "Sense and Reason" and "female Conscience." With such modes of behavioural and social control internalized, she has no need of the sensual external directives imposed by France's "Tyrant Laws." France, with its leering friars, represents rampant sexuality, but also sterility; a sterility that is not merely sexual, but which possesses implications for society's productivity, continuity, the dispersal of values and the furthering of empire. France's religious orders arbitrarily confine women to "a lone Convent's Gloom" (l. 26), Cordelia claims, and thus would remove both the British woman's freedom of self-control and the social fulfilment offered British women by "Hymen's Bands" (l. 28). This apparent paradox of achieving freedom within highly-regulated social structures such as marriage and through ascetic self-discipline is consistent with other contemporary definitions of woman's "empire," such as that found in Anna Laetitia Barbauld's poem, "To A Lady with some painted Flowers": "Your best, your sweetest empire is-to please" (qtd. in Wollstonecraft 144); or in Barbauld's later work, "The Rights of Woman," where she asserts that woman's "native empire" is "o'er the breast" (l.4). Elizabeth Colwill, who has recently traced the evolution of the phrase "woman's empire" through the period 1794 to 1807, notes that "poets frequently portrayed marriage as a feminine conquest" (272), and argues that male rhetorical

constructions of the phrase “woman’s Empire” contain the potential danger of the term, for “once woman’s empire in love was man’s creation, it was also within his control” (273). This rhetorical aim, while it is utterly transparent in the print form of this song, would have been cleverly concealed by the performance of the song by a woman (Miss Stevenson) at Vauxhall, since Stevenson would appear to be the narrating voice.

This is the view of woman’s empire—as a sentimental province without political power—that emerges in the final quatrain of “Cordelia, or, The British Heroine.” A threat to the British empire is a threat to woman’s empire, and thus women must support national ideals if their own freedoms are to be preserved. Cordelia, who has hitherto called on her lover, the soldier Bellario, to protect her from a French invasion, now takes ownership of British martial supremacy with the recurrent possessive, “our,” and cries, “Tremble, (Invaders!) at our Arms” (l. 31). She concludes that her fears of a French invasion are unnecessary, and reasserts Britain’s self-sufficiency and containment, while simultaneously observing Britain’s rapid outward colonization of “the Globe”:

But hush, my Heart! cease vain Alarms:
For round the Globe our Fires are hurl’d.
Tremble, (Invaders!) at our Arms.
Great Britain is, it Self, a World.

“Cordelia, or The British Heroine” suggests that appropriate feminine nationalism consists of a woman’s display of personal courage in resisting the blandishments of the Catholic faith and in promulgating pride in the defence of Britain in her lovers or sons. Most importantly, the “British Heroine” believes herself, as a British subject, and as a woman, to

be peculiarly free to fulfill her own sexual destiny in marriage in a dignified, self-controlled, and socially-approved way in which women of other countries are not.

Whereas in songs of charity and songs of the country a complex range of responses to prevailing political and aesthetic attitudes is observable in women composers and lyricists' work, extant publications by women that address the image of the British heroine, musically represented, tend to express sentimental pacificism redolent of the ideal of women's empire "o'er the breast." These songs offer a surprisingly robust resistance to images of martial glory, and tend to focus on war's destructive effect on social and domestic networks. For example, the female protagonist of Amelia Opie's song, "My Love to War is going" (c. 1795), stresses the horror of war quite baldly, without any reference to nationalist imperatives: "My Love to War is going, / And I am left to mourn. . . Who knows but that tomorrow / He may a corpse return" (ll. 1-2, 7-8). The lyrics of Anna Seward's "Recitative and Song," "The Stormy Ocean roving" (c. 1815), more shrewdly combine sentiment and latent patriotism. Seward's Napoleonic-era British heroine is a woman who declares that she will linger sadly "on the Beach" (l. 21) while her "William seeks the foe" (l. 2) and will not rest until peace restores her to her love. The melancholy faith of Seward's female subject is clearly analogous to her sweetheart William's loyalty to his country. Seward's elevation of the waiting woman to the position of an admirable figure of sentiment provides women performing or hearing the song with a means of imagining and valuing their own emotional participation in national military efforts as something other than passive, and accords their actions symbolic beauty and

dignity.

Margaret Essex's song, "The Olive Branch," for which Essex (fl. 1795-1807) wrote both music and words, seems to present a similar portrait of the British heroine as a pacifist and a protectress of social bonds. Yet Essex's song is neither apolitical, nor merely sentimental. It was published in 1802, and the "olive branch" to which it refers is the Peace of Amiens, a treaty signed on March 27, 1802, by Britain and France (and Spain and the new Batavian Republic). The peace was a brief, one-year cessation of British-French hostilities between the close of the Revolutionary Wars in France (1792-1802) and the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars. It may even be that Essex's lyric originates with a material artifact. A medal struck to commemorate the "Preliminaries of Peace Between Great Britain and France Signed October 1st 1801 [in London]" has on its reverse side the image of "Peace standing on a quay holding an olive branch and emptying a cornucopia, bales at her side, ships at sea" and bears the words, "THEY SHALL PROSPER THAT LOVE THEE" (McCrea 1801). Essex' pacific lyric emphasizes relief at the return of British sons and husbands, but it does not stress Britain's martial prowess. This should not be viewed as a sentimental, but as a politic shifting of the focus of nationalist feeling. The Amiens peace saw Britain return most of its conquests to France, with the exception of Ceylon and Trinidad. A contemporary song, "Peace, or Old England Triumphant," which was "Written on the Preliminaries of Peace being sign'd between Great Britain & France. 1801" by "a Gentleman of Salisbury" and set by "an Eminent Master" likewise focusses on the benefits of peace, rather than on questionable British military success:

The learned of Rome's antient grandeur may boast,
 Or the modern Republic of France make their toast,
 But the Land of all Lands, which all States must rever,
 Is this snug little Island the Gods make their care;
 [rpt last two lines]

[. . . .]

Then Britons rejoice, PEACE and plenty, are yours,
 Distant Commerce again shall revisit your Shores,
 Hand, in hand, let us join, and continue to sing,
 Success to OLD ENGLAND, and GOD SAVE her KING. (Verses 1, 5)

Essex concentrates on the consolidation of peace on the domestic front rather than on the loosening of British empirical domination because it is the only viable kind of nationalist feeling available to her as a Briton at this time, and not solely because of her gendered social conditioning.

Essex is also alert to other issues concerning the marketability of her composition. She appears to have endorsed the copy with her initials in the upper right-hand corner, indicating an awareness of copyright and ownership issues, and she also takes pains to make the composition attractive to a large group on the basis of its instrumentation as well as its topical, nationalist subject. "The Olive Branch" is arranged in three staves for "Harp or Piano Forte Accompaniment," though the numerous glissandi and broken chords hint that it was composed using a harp and is best suited to performance on that instrument. In an effort to appeal to players of various degrees of skill, of both harp and pianoforte, she observes in a footnote: "For the accommodation of those who may find the Accompaniment an inconvenience to them the small notes in the Bass are added to be played with the voice part." The left hand does have rather tricky fingering if played on a

keyboard instrument, but as the chordal changes are relatively slow, as Essex suggests, it is easy to fake and would have appealed to amateurs for that reason.

Structurally, her lyric is set in an ingenious arrangement of enchainé repeated lines; each line concludes the sentiment expressed before it, and then, repeated, begins the next idea, which is completed in the following line.

Welcome! welcome to Englands favor'd Isle,
 The lovely branch of Olive,
 The lovely branch of Olive,
 pledge of Peace
 pledge of Peace.
 For Thee with fruitless wish
 For thee with fruitless wish
 we long have sigh'd
 And mourn'd those Friends we lost in direful war.
 The Heroes the Heroes the Heroes of our land
 no longer wield the hostile sword
 no longer wield the hostile sword
 but Laurel crown'd return
 but Laurel crown'd return
 To Love and Friendship
 to love and Friendship
 to their native shore,
 their native shore,
 The Son the Husband and the Lover true,
 kind Peace restores
 kind Peace restores
 to home born joys again
 to home born joys again.

This potent sequence of lines which look forward and backward is remarkable principally because it produces in the listener the very kind of affect experienced by the narrating voice—a combination of satisfaction and anticipation at the cessation of hostilities—through strictly performative means. Each line is heard in sequence, and it is the listener's gradual

perception of an inexorable formal sequence unfolding which leads to his or her own aesthetically-directed sense of anticipation and satisfaction.

The musical form of “The Olive Branch” works both with and against this continuity and the expectations generated by the poetic structure. The song is a flexible rondo. The first musical theme, or the A section, occurs in the key of E flat major, and continues to a perfect cadence on the word “Peace” (ll. 1-5 above) twelve bars later. The contrasting ten-bar B section describing the woes of war is in the appropriately gloomy key of c minor, with a cadence on the word “war” (ll. 6-9). Next, the piece modulates back to E flat major for a return to the A section; a C section in B flat major (the dominant key) then describes the joys of seeing one’s male relatives return from war; and finally, a modified A section returns to conclude the piece, adding to the sense of “restoration” of social ties given in the lyrics by accompanying it with a musical restoration of the original theme. The modulations in the B and C sections of the rondo defer the promise of satisfaction and completion held out by the lyric by refusing to return to the home key and the initial theme. Seward’s lyric, “The Stormy Ocean roving,” re-imagines the figure of the waiting woman as active and admirable; Essex’s song realizes this ideological transition dynamically, in performance. “The Olive Branch” may be a sentimental celebration of social ties, but its adept avoidance of overt national exuberance of Britain’s martial strength is not apolitical; instead, it is a new portrait of domesticity, reimagined as a form of nationalism.

IV. Britannia and “Other” Women

In addition to lyrical declamations of personal and national sentiment and resistance to destructiveness of war, women composers and lyricists also penned songs that address the British heroine’s place in the emergent British empire, and which define her social role against musical depictions of racial otherness. The text and performance dynamics of “A Hindustani Girl’s Song, ‘Tis thy will, and I must leave thee,”” music “Adapted” by Mr. Biggs, words “imitated” by Mrs. Opie, present an intriguing dilemma in this regard. Edward Smith Biggs and Amelia Alderson Opie protect their musical copyright and advertise by publishing a catalogue on the reverse of each composition. However, the pair do not claim authorship of “A Hindustani Girl’s Song,” (although they do catalogue the title); instead, they suggest, they are only transmitters of a touching dramatic monologue:

The Melody of this plaintive Air, is but little known, among the Hindoos, and is said to have originated very lately from the following circumstance:

An European, previous to his departure for England, being desirous of restoring to her Parent, an Hindoo Girl, who had lived for some years in his family; sent her to them, in a Palanquin, some days journey up the Country. The Girl, was extremely attached to her Master, and was so affected at parting with him, that, according to the relation of the bearers of the Palanquin, she could not be prevailed on, to receive any sustenance during the journey, and was incessantly singing this melody, (which they were able to retain) to words expressive of her attachment; which are here, so well imitated by Mrs. OPIE (1).

Despite this claim that this song is an Indian import, unlike the wildly popular “Scots” and “Irish” tunes of the times, its melody contains no musical signifiers indicative of cultural difference. Additionally, Amelia Opie’s successful career in fiction, and her continuing

collaboration with Biggs on such other musical novelties as “The Evening Call of the Swiss Pastors” (1802), would no doubt have quickly identified the song as a patent construction of suspect multiculturalism. Through tracing the performative and textual affinities of “A Hindustani Girl’s Song” with contemporary British works that engage with the rhetoric of “woman’s empire,” I will suggest that this piece derives its cultural authority, not from its extramusical attempt at cultural definition, but from a subtler participation in the matrix of gender, station, sensibility, and nation that represents British social harmony.

“A Hindustani Girl’s Song” bears markers of consecration by various categories of legitimating institutions and practices. Its scoring for keyboard and voice shows that it has received the consecration of performance in the private salon. Opie and Biggs’ catalogue reveals that the work enjoyed commercial success, as it was available in single and in book form. Most important, however, the tune observes what Pierre Bourdieu terms “the specific principle of legitimacy generated by producers who produce for other producers” (Bourdieu 51). In other words, it is a piece which obeys the laws of Western European musical harmony, which are subsequently reproduced in performance.

These laws of musical harmony are not absolute, but inextricably imbricated with notions of gendered and cultural alterity. Susan McClary notes the pervasiveness of gendered musical coding in this period, with reference to sonata form, and states: “the principal key/theme clearly occupies the narrative position of the masculine protagonist . . . the less dynamic second key / theme. . . . serves the narrative function of the feminine

Other” (15). Given the agency assigned to music as an universal discourse affective of body and mind in numerous eighteenth-century sources, I believe that McClary’s observations regarding the musical encoding of gender relations may be extended to consider colonial relations as well.

For instance, James Grassineau’s *A Musical Dictionary* (1740), overtly recognizes music as a meaningful discourse akin to oratory, and gives insight into the politicized tyranny of tonality in defining the word “key.” The principal or tonic key, like a monarch, “regulates and influences the whole”; related keys Grassineau names “subaltern subjects,” and these remain “under the influence of the first and principal *Key*” (115). The structure of musical compositions, according to Grassineau, is determined by the system of rationalized mathematical relations inherent in the structure of the tonic key. This in turn shapes the main compositional idea--the musical subject. However, Grassineau makes a telling ellision between the musical subject and subjectivity, or *testo*--the subject constructed by the lyrics. He says, “no practitioner is unacquainted with the difference between the key and subject of a *Song*, or unable to discern the impropriety of using those two terms, to signify the same thing” (231). It seems, then, that Grassineau recognizes the musical “subject” as the product of a musical and lyrical dialectic; and “key” as the force that exercises structural control over both music and lyric, but he excuses himself from further discussion, saying that he lacks the space to illustrate the terms with an “example in composition.”

Such structural codes, representative and productive of alterity in the musical

subject, clearly function in Samuel Howard's c. 1755 setting of Mary Barber's poem, "Stella and Flavia." This setting, like many others by Howard, does not acknowledge the poem's original author. In Barber's poem, sound and sense co-operate to represent opposing visions of woman's empire and nation. Of the titular characters, we are told that "In Stella's soul is all her Pow'r / And Flavia's in her Eyes" (ll.3-4). Stella "like Britain's Monarch, reigns. / O'er cultivated Lands"—that is to say, she exercises becoming moral restraint in her "Heav'nly Mind" (l.8)—while "Like Eastern Tyrants Flavia deigns, / To rule o'er barren sands" (ll.9-12).

Howard's setting exploits gendered, racialized musical codes which heighten the meaning of Barber's lyrics. The key of the song is F major; within this tonal framework, soulful Stella receives the harmonically bracing support of the tonic or "home" chord of F, whereas flashy Flavia is assigned the chord of C, a chord which demands to be resolved into the home key. Flavia's lines also receive the flounce of a shifted dominant—a chord foreign to the home key, introduced momentarily to create a false sense of importance for the chord which follows it—emphasizing harmonically the temporariness of Flavia's physical attractions. Further, Flavia's melodic line is more rhythmically elaborate and highly ornamented than that belonging to Stella, as we can see and hear at lines 5-6, "More boundless Flavia's Conquests are, / and Stella's more confin'd." Woman's empire, as musically encoded, demands the subjection of the other (the dominant chord) to the one (the tonic chord) in a movement which here is not only analagous to the suppression of bodily power to socially-inscribed mental discipline, of foreign "Tyrant" to domestic

British “Monarch,” but which actively inscribes the validity of such parallels.

“A Hindustani Girl’s Song, ‘Tis thy will and I must leave thee,” like Howard’s setting of Barber’s “Stella and Flavia,” firmly establishes woman’s empire as a territory sonically policed by cultural codes. Indian musics, rich in their own codes, do not support the binary tonal narratives indicated in McClary’s definition of sonata form or Grassineau’s definition of “key” and “subject”; instead, they employ tonal combinatorics which might sound as dissonances in a western ear. Compare, for example, Wim van der Meer’s statement that, in raga, “Pitch is not an independent phenomenon . . . it would be wrong to think exclusively in frequency ratios” (10) to the elaborate mathematical charts of tunings and temperaments drawn up by Grassineau, Charles Burney, and their peers (for an example, see Leppert’s *Music and Society* 72). Indian musics literally do not fit within western musical paradigms; and, to the extent that tonal narratives inscribe gendered or racialized western social values, the sound of non-tonal musics might be interpreted as politically subversive. As Jacques Attali notes, “it is necessary to ban subversive noise because it betokens demands for cultural autonomy, support for differences or marginality. . .” (7).

Thus, in “A Hindustani Girl’s Song,” Biggs’ “adaptation” of an Indian melody within a tonal framework might register with listeners in two ways. First, lack of “foreign” musical signifiers where one *expects* to hear difference connotes the cultural superiority of rationalized tonality, and all of the gender encodings endemic to this discourse, for it implies tonal music’s omnivorous ability to absorb and transcend other musical systems

and their accompanying cultural narratives. Indeed, this tune is so harmonically conservative, even by tonal standards, that it scarcely makes an excursion into the dominant or “other” key. Like the circumscribed narrative of loss which she relates, “I forbear lest I should grieve thee, / Half my heart-felt pangs to tell,” the protagonist’s vocal range is confined to the narrow compass of six notes. Lola’s grief never threatens to exceed the bounds of diatonic melody.

Second, considering the close interdependence of key and subjectivity, the “adapted” Indian melody might be heard as evidence of the Hindoo maid’s total assimilation of British cultural codes. The lyrics support this assumption. Here, the temporary woman’s empire enjoyed by Lola over her British “Master” is established by her “warm passion” (l.12), “anxious duty” (l.11), “fond submission” (l.15), and “soft attentions” (l.19). Lola’s bodily-empowered romantic rule resonates with contemporary British ideals of woman’s empire, such as those advocated in Barbauld’s “The Rights of Woman.” In her reply to Mary Wollstonecraft’s 1792 *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Barbauld exhorts woman to “gird” herself with a captivating magazine of weaponry including “soft melting tones” (l.11), “grace” (l. 9), and “blushes and fears” (l.12), in order to make “treacherous Man [her] subject, not [her] friend” (l.19), that she may “Resume [her] native empire o’er the breast!” (l.4). The traits celebrated by Barbauld are those that make Lola desirable to her British lover—her passionate sensibility and her willingness to submit to his authority—but they ultimately subject her to his notions of race and class, and she acknowledges that he “must” (l.6) forsake her to woo a “british fair”

(l.5) of “rank and splendour” (l.17). The sensible privileges of woman’s empire are eclipsed by the rational demands of British commerce, as represented by Lola’s lover’s repatriation and his consolidation of colonially-gained wealth in marriage. Given the intense co-operation between musical subject and subjectivity, to suggest that “A Hindustani Girl’s Song” is an adaptation is thus not only to say that the melody has been adapted, but that its subaltern subject has been politically “adapted” too.

In assuming the persona of the “Hindoo girl,” the female performer also publishes her acquiescence to British socio-cultural hierarchies. As Richard Leppert observes, music is an art requiring abundant leisure to practice and to appreciate, and which itself unfolds sequentially, over time; it is therefore a “classed” act, even before one considers particular musical texts (*The Sight of Sound* 69-70). Performance, even mere possession, of this song thus contributes to formation of its performer’s subject position as much as it shapes the musical subject. The “british fair” performing the song constructs herself as the object of desire, based on her racial and socio-economic positioning; indeed, she stands in the same “imitative” or “interpretive” relation to Lola’s narrative as does lyricist Amelia Opie. Perhaps she even revels in the dramatic irony of admitting, through the modest intercession of an estranged narrating voice, that she possesses these advantages. Yet, by singing in the first-person “I” of Lola, the female performer effectively alters the composition of the audience predicated by the song’s text. Though Lola sings only to her absent male lover, in warning the “british fair” to forgo her “own desires” and her “ambition” to “rule” (ll.13-15), the performer effectually castigates herself for resisting the

submission embodied by the “Hindoo girl,” reinscribing the value of this gendered trait. In other words, the performer of this song seems to play both Stella and Flavia—“Eastern Tyrant” and domestic British “Monarch”—at once, but she enjoys neither the power ascribed to Stella’s rational humility, nor Flavia’s undisciplined sensuality.

The representation afforded the “british fair” in performing the role of a subaltern subject is further tempered by the work’s aural disposition over time. Lola’s narrative is not through-composed; that is to say, there is not musical accompaniment for the entire narrative, matching new music to each new sentiment. Instead, her tale is contained within a repetitive verse structure mapped onto a simple binary musical form. Contrary to the usual performance practices of Hindustani raga, in which, B. Chaintanya Deva writes, “There is, of course, no musical production on the basis of a score at all . . . it is not repetitive reproduction” (17), the material manifestation of this song invites a proliferation of near-identical performances. As Jacques Attali comments, “In representation, a work is generally heard only once—it is a unique moment; in repetition, potential hearings are stockpiled” (41). Opie and Biggs’ professed musical botanizing translates the narrative of colonial abandonment into a less threatening space and a more stable, static form. This double enclosure reinforces Lola’s subjection—and her performer’s subjection—to British hierarchies of race, class, and gender by reducing her story to the status of an circulable, commodified object, like any of the colonial clutter that litters Arabella Fermor’s dressing table. What Barthes terms the “grain” of the voice, or its meaningful, individuated texture, cannot overcome this object stability in an imitative, performative act of sensibility when

both musical subject and performer lack agency. Instead, the British performer's vocalization enacts moral self-surveillance and points to the symbolic erasure of the colonial subject's access to modes of representation even as it professes to represent her as an object of sentiment.

In the final analysis, then, "A Hindustani Girl's Song, 'Tis thy will and I must leave thee," is less an allegory which represents colonial relations within the British empire in a sentimental study of the empire of the heart, than a study in musical constructions of identity. If the "words & music of this song is property," the authority of ownership, evoked through formal and textual references to gender, class, sensibility and nation, rests in the performance of symbolic colonization of the musical subject. In appearing to offer its performer both the emancipatory advantages of rationalized British subjectivity and of sensualized woman's empire, this song affords her neither. Instead, the performance dynamics of this song expose masculinist British assumptions that suggest women share slavish social position with subalterns.

V. Performance Practice, Nation and Identity

The piece "God Save the King as Sung by Signora Banti, at the King's Theatre Haymarket, For the Commemoration of Lord Howe's Victory of the 1st June 1794," raises further questions about the interconnection between the performance of patriotic songs and the formation of individual subjectivity. Brigitta Giorgi Banti (c. 1756-1806), an Italian-born singer, also provides an overwhelming contrast to Opie's figures of the

musically-colonized Hindoo girl and the british fair in terms of the performative power she manifests in this work. The title information boasts that the piece is “Publish’d by her Permission with her Graces & Ornaments.” Although the piece, priced very cheaply at 6d., was printed in London, it appears to have been widely distributed; the extant copy in McMaster University’s Mills Library is stamped with the impress of an Edinburgh music firm. The wide distribution of this piece is nothing less than a marvel of marketing. Banti’s intricate, flamboyant ornamentation could not have been duplicated by anyone who bought the piece—Banti was the pre-eminent coloratura soprano of her day, and perhaps only Nancy Storace, the soprano who first sang the role of Susanna in Mozart’s *Le Nozze di Figaro* in 1786, and some few other *virtuosi* would have been equal to the task. Banti’s ornamentation of a nationalist song might also indulges in the perilous process of macaronization of British music decried in Collier’s satire; not only is the performer Italian, but her reworking of this song renders its simple tune almost unrecognizable with Italianate *gruppetti*, trills, *passagi*, and *appoggiaturas*. Banti’s version of “God Save the King,” and her claim on its ornamentation, invite speculation about women’s control over musical copyright and eighteenth-century theorization of performance practice and morality as they relate to the musical signification of nation.

Contemporary discussions of ornamentation invest singers with considerable powers of taste, discretion, and learning, and suggest that ornamentation is a necessary part of singing, but at the same time, most writers caution against over-ornamentation, which they represent as affected, lacking in sentiment and therefore un-British. Anselm

Bayly's brief paragraph concerning *The use and application of Graces*, for example, states that the scholar should be "discreet in the application and use of them" (68). Bayly's description of "discreet" ornamentation has much in common with Beau Brummel's famous approach to dressing in the best British taste: "If John Bull turns round to look after you, you are not well dressed; but either too stiff, too tight, or too fashionable" (qtd. in Murray 25). Bayly even uses the metaphor of dress to secure his meaning:

You must never be seen without the Requisites of Singing, as well may you go without covering, nor must you adorn them with too frequent graces, and profusion of finery: always appear neat and plain . . . If the graces are crowded, or the same frequently repeated, what room for variety, the very soul of musick? (68)

And yet the thing about ornaments, as Bayly and others certainly realized, is that they must be perceptible *as* ornaments, foregrounded as performative inventions, in order that the audience may appreciate the singer's ingenuity in their invention and application. They must be set off from the ordinary "dress" of the composer's work by the performer's artful manipulation of tempo, harmony, and the audience's collective memory of extant musical texts. Banti's decision to employ "God Save the King" as the familiar basis for her embellishments is wise, given these considerations.

Despite nationalist anxieties about the influence of Italianate style (and perhaps contributing to such anxieties), the pre-eminent text on singing in Britain for much of the eighteenth century was Pier Francesco Tosi's acerbically witty practical treatise, *Observations on the Florid Song; or, Sentiments on the Ancient and Modern Singers*. Originally written in Bologna in 1723, and translated into English by Mr. Galliard in 1743,

the volume wholeheartedly supports ornamental manipulations of extant musical texts.

Tosi vindicates the independent artistry of the performer, and indicates that good instruction in the art of applying graces appropriately is a much better solution to the problem of musical taste than the composer's inscription of fixed ornaments which may or may not suit an individual singer's abilities. In making this observation, he also notes a gender bias in the way that Italian composers approach this problem:

If, out of a particular Indulgence to the Sex, so many female Singers have the Graces set down in Writing, one that studies to become a good Singer should not follow the Example; whosoever accustoms himself to have Things put in his Mouth, will have no Invention, and becomes a Slave to his Memory. (88)

Seventy-one years after the publication of Tosi's treatise in Italian, Banti reverses this scenario. Her performed ornaments are inscribed over the musical text of an extant piece, not for the purpose of slavish re-performance, but as an aid to the invention of other singers and a proof of her own abilities in composition. There is no doubt that such an extensive ornamentation should be regarded as compositional. Tosi advocates the knowledge of counterpoint for all singers, so they may learn how to steal time for ornaments by making "a Restitution" for the "honourable Theft . . . with Ingenuity" (156). "One, who knows how to compose," he writes, "can account for what he does, and he, who has not the same Light, works in the Dark, not knowing how to sing without committing Errors" (85). Although a composer need not know how to sing, compositional acumen is absolutely necessary to a singer.

In addition, Tosi's work on incremental ornamentation has important implications

for the perception of Banti's performance politics. He formulates the practice of varied, incremental ornamentation which is still observed in performances of baroque and classical *da capo* arias or pieces with a similar ABA form, both vocal and instrumental. The first portion of

an aria
should be
very simple
and pure;
the second
part should
display some
"artful
Graces . . .
by which the
Judicious
may hear,
that the
Ability of
the Singer is
greater";
and, Tosi

GOD SAVE THE KING
as Sung by Sign. Banti,
at the King's Theatre Haymarket,
For the
Commemoration of LORD HOWE'S VICTORY of the 1st June 1794.
Published by her Permission with her Graces & Ornaments.
By Corri, Dufosse & Co. Music-Sellers to Her Majesty.
17, Dean Street, Soho, & Haymarket London, & Pringle, Street Edinburgh
Printed 6.

Entered at Stationers Hall

Maestoso.

Pia: Forte. ACCOMPANT

BANTI.

God save Great George our King, Long live our no-ble King, God save the King.

God save Great George our King, Long live our no-ble King, God save the King.

God save Great George our King, Long live our no-ble King, God save the King.

God save Great George our King, Long live our no-ble King, God save the King.

"God Save the King as Sung by Sign.ra Banti," 1794. Observe the increasing complexity of the ornamentation.

concludes, “in repeating the Air, he that does not vary it for the better, is no great Master” (93). Thus, in Tosi’s model, the audience is educated in the art of aria-singing by the trajectory of the performance; they are taught by the initial “pure” singing to expect ornamentation, to desire it, and to appreciate the singer’s ability to craft subsequent variations. Banti’s version of “God Save the King” observes this model of performance. It draws first upon a silent source: the audience’s collective experience of this song, an abstraction of an aural text formed of layered repetitions of the same melodic shape, rather than particular memories of particular performances. Banti’s version begins simply, with a trill or *gruppetto* every two bars and at the first cadence in bar six, but her ornamentation becomes progressively more elaborate until it finally verges on the grotesque and threatens to displace the original tune with a show of vocal virtuosity. For Tosi, the balance of the aesthetic power lies not in the singer’s ability to sustain the audience’s interest with elaborate *passagi*, but in her ability to educate the audience in good taste (*i.e.*, moderate ornamentation). He deplores the multiplication of notes, passages, and divisions in cadences, and calls it “a begging for Applause from the blind Ignorant” (131), and says, with considerable vitriol, to such singer-beggars:

Perhaps you think that these Overflowings of your Throat are what procure you Riches and Praises? Undeceive yourselves, and thank the great Number of Theatres, the Scarcity of Excellent Performers, and the Stupidity of your Auditors. . . . You call this Trick by the Name of an *Alms*, begging for Charity as it were for those *E Viva*’s, which you very well know, you do not deserve from Justice: And in return you laugh at your Admirers, tho’ they have not Hands, Feet, nor Voice enough to applaud you. Is this Justice? Is this Gratitude?-----Oh! if they ever should find you out! (131)

Although one might read Tosi's invective as condemnatory of work similar to that later carried out by Banti, this comment again privileges the performer over both audience and composer. It is the performer who possesses an inside knowledge of what constitutes good singing and who uses ornamentation rhetorically, to persuade her audience to a similar understanding of musical taste and to benefit materially from this performative manipulation of musical aesthetics. Ever practical, however, Tosi concludes mildly, "To please universally, Reason will tell you, that you must always sing well; but if Reason does not inform you, Interest will persuade you to conform to the Taste of that Nation

(provided it be not too

deprav'd) which pays you"

(151). Banti clearly took such

advice to heart, for the song

apparently panders to British

nationalist fervour on the

occasion of Lord Howe's

victory, but it does so by using

Italianate ornaments to

convince the audience of the

prowess of the singer. Banti's

version of “God Save the

King" offers a wily rebuttal to



Excerpt, "Mock Italian Song," written and composed by Mr. Dibdin for his entertainment called *The Oddities*, 1789. The first verse reads: "First chuse a pretty melody / To take in all the flats / Then change your drift and suddenly / Prepare to shift the key / Then growl like dogs and miowl like cats / Then chatter like monkeys / Then go low and then high / Then pause through the nose / And then swim and die / And then come to a close."

such parodies of Italianate ornamentation as Dibdin's "The Mock Italian Song" (shown above) and Collier's satire. Banti, in fact, turns British mockery and misrecognition of what comprises Italian musical taste against itself, by applying overblown ornamentation to a British national song that no one would dare criticize, all the while benefitting materially from the sale of an already widely-published song in an outrageously difficult edition which no one else could sing.

Finally, in publishing the piece with the phrase, "Publish'd by her Permission with her Graces & Ornaments," so boldly emblazoned on the first page, Banti may also have had the recent lawsuit of Skillern and Golden vs. Longman and Broderip and the related issue of singers' artistic ownership of their repertoire in mind. The lawsuit involved a song sung by Gertrude Mara, "Ah che nel Petto lo Sento," at her own benefit concert at John O'Reilly's Pantheon Theatre in 1791. By agreement, O'Reilly was to retain copyright over all new music developed during the singer's contract. As Howard Irving explains, the song was subsequently translated into English by Peter Pindar [John Walcott] as "Hope Told a Flatt'ring Tale" and inserted by Mara into her role in the opera *Artaxerxes*. The music publishers Longman and Broderip applied to Mara print five hundred copies of the popular "new" English song. In the meantime, O'Reilly had sold his ostensible copyright on the original tune to music publishers Skillern and Golden, who promptly sued their rival publishers. However, the melody of the "original" Italian aria sung at the Pantheon was not new. The aria, which originated in Giovanni Paisiello's opera *La Molinara*, existed in several versions with differing accompaniments. Mara argued that "melody [is] the basis of

Accompaniments, and they must always bear a certain analogy and proportion to it” (qtd. in Irving 8), and that the processes of arrangement and orchestration were secondary in importance to the invention of melody. The judge decided that Mara was correct—the melody of the aria was not new—and effectively ruled that a new accompaniment or arrangement of an extant tune was not significant enough innovation to merit copyright protection under the Queen Anne Act. With this legal affirmation of melody as the most important part of music in mind, Banti may have decided to indicate that she had made significant compositional changes *to the melody* by the addition of elaborate ornamentation and thereby boldly asserted her right to the copyright of a piece that had been widely known since 1746. “God Save the King, as Sung by Sig.ra Banti” is the record of a fine performance in more ways than one: it establishes the power of the performer to educate her audience in musical taste (or, potentially, to satirize prevailing taste) through variable ornamentation; it suggests the power and authority of a singer given the new ruling by Judge Lord Kenyon on the importance of melody; and it demonstrates a woman defining herself both with and against British ideals of nation using musical means.

VI. “Fixed” Performances of Nation and Gender

Not all women writers were as supportive of the power and compositional authority of the performer as were Mara and Banti. Two politically-engaged works by female lyricists, Anna Maria Edwards’ musical entertainment, *The Enchantress; Or, The*

Happy Island (1787) and Hannah Cowley's opera *A Day in Turkey; Or, The Russian Slaves* (1791) challenge the notion of the precedence and independence of the performer. Both lyricists, to judge from their "advertisements" to the public in the printed version of their works, look on the libretto of an opera as a determined text with its own aesthetic criteria independent of any performance(s) practices and as a text over which the original lyricist maintained the final control. While Edwards, as seen in the introduction to this chapter, adopts patriotic "art" as her enabling mechanism for artistic production, Cowley takes the opposite stance—a protective posture of versimilitude—in an attempt to recast her opera's political biases following a troubled initial reception.

Anna Maria Edwards' (fl. 1783-1787) work, *The Enchantress; Or, The Happy Island. A Favourite Musical Entertainment*, with music by Tommaso Giordani (1733-1806) is essentially a travestie version of *The Tempest*. In her libretto, Edwards critiques the prevailing model of social harmony on the level of nationalist discourse by examining the domination of Ireland by the colonizing power, England. She simultaneously examines gender role definition, particularly, the patriarchal domination of women through the institution of marriage. Irish nationalist overtones first appear in the prologue, which serves as the epigraph for this chapter: "Bid peace and plenty o'er your country smile; / Then shall Hibernia be the Happy Isle" (ll. 35-6). Edwards' decision to parody a play with significant cultural resonance for the English is a brave but brilliant idea: as a play full of island imagery, metaphors of cultural determination, and class struggle, *The Tempest* is at least as appropriate a model for Irish self-rule as it is for British cultural identity. The

sense in which “art” represents fantasy and magic is evident in the production’s numerous stage spectacles (at one point, for instance, a rock splits open (57) and a tree hung with golden fruit and luscious pomegranates surges from it, carrying one character upwards in its branches); however, it is Edwards’ use of nationalist sentiment as the cloak for her commentary on feminist ideals of self-sufficiency and self-determination that is truly artful. In Edwards’ libretto, the Prospero figure is the Enchantress Felicia, who, with her trusty Ariel-like spirit, Fidelia, raises a “new Arcadia” (vii) on a secluded island. Felicia’s powers were learned from her mother, a woman who had such a terrible husband that she forbade Felicia to marry (28). Felicia and Fidelia magically waft two pairs of lovers (Anna and Edgar, Selina and Orlando) to their island, and there teach the two grasping old men (Sir Nestor Crassus and Sir Oliver Ogle) who would interfere with these matches that love cannot be legislated or bought. Rather, as Edwards’ final number suggests, marriage is designed to be a companionate state, “where love and friendship sweetly blend” (68) and men can recognize “the beauty of the mind” (67) as well as woman’s bodily attractions. Just as a magician uses misdirection to distract his or her audience from the real procedure of a magic trick, so too does Edwards’ prologue’s political bias towards Irish nationalism serve as a feint that disguises the real action of her “entertainment”—a refiguring of the sentimental province of “woman’s empire” as a “magic” Arcadian land in which women’s real mental powers are recognized and appreciated.

Edwards’ prologue indicates that she has a firm belief in the affective qualities of music and drama upon morality: “Since thus it sways us, let us use our art / To mend the

morals, and improve the heart” (vi-vii). She was consequently livid about the manner in which her dual moral and political intent was subverted in performance. After explaining that she has no objections to the way in which her lengthy opera was shortened for presentation, Edwards complains,

... in place of the song she intended, the act was closed with an old song, totally unconnected with the subject of the piece; for what reason, she can't pretend to say, unless it was, that the gentleman who performed the part of Edgar, sung that song remarkably well; be that as it will, the author so often heard many of the Audience object to it, that she wishes to clear herself from the imputation of introducing an air, which certainly was quite inapplicable to the subject.

Tho' her songs, may not in other respects, have much merit, she always endeavoured to render them correspondent to the Character and situation for which they were intended. (iv-v)

Performers' inclusion of favourite or “suitcase” arias in otherwise newly-composed musical works (as opposed to the inclusion of ballad tunes with newly-written lyrics, as in *The Beggar's Opera*, or in less well-known ballad operas such as Elizabeth Ryves' *The Prude, A Comic Opera* (1777), which does not include a musical score, and instead relies on performers' knowledge of such tunes as “Farewell to Lochaber”) is often dismissed as common period performance practice without regard to contemporary artists and writers' perceptions of this convention. Female performers such as Anna Phillips Crouch clearly view the addition of favourite airs as canny managerial concessions to a singer's vocal artistry and artistic discernment. Crouch observes proudly, for instance, that in Dent's farce, *Too Civil by Half*, “Two or three songs were merely introduced for Miss Phillips . . .” (152). The promise of hearing a famous singer ignite the pyrotechnics of a song such as

“The Soldier Tir’d of War’s Alarms,” regardless of the song’s appropriateness to the piece in which it appeared, could also be a significant box-office draw, and Crouch and other singers were well aware of this. In addition, repeated performances of a particular song, especially when such performances were restricted to an individual singer’s benefits, were regarded as a public acknowledgement of a singer’s ownership of that melody. For instance, an expert witness deposed in the Skillern and Golden vs. Longman and Broderip case testified to the effect that arias used in the context of a benefit concert “were customarily treated as the property of the singer” (Irving 7). However, it was a convention which enraged several women writers, who felt—justly so—that it wreaked havoc with their carefully-plotted aesthetic affect.

Edwards—like Frances Brooke—evidently looks on the printing of the complete libretto of *The Enchantress* as a restoration and a rebuttal to Mr. Duffey’s off-topic lyrical incursions into her representation of woman’s empire. She writes that she “chuses to present it to her readers, according to the original design; which could it have been adhered to, she thinks would have given it a still better claim to the very favourable reception, she gratefully acknowledges, it met with from the indulgent Public” (iv). Accordingly, in her “Advertisement to the Public,” she notes that the scenery she initially envisioned for the opera, which had to be modified due to the size of the stage, has been described as originally intended, and the songs that were omitted in presentation have been restored to the text in inverted commas. The fact that Edwards felt it was necessary to write this explanation in addition to providing a fixed, print copy of her opera

demonstrates the power of performers to distort the affect of a musical performance by inserting extraneous music (and often dialogue). It also shows her anxiety to establish the print form, not the successful performances, as the authentic opera, and to establish herself, not the singers, as its true author.

Hannah Cowley's (1743-1809) comic opera, *A Day in Turkey; Or, The Russian Slaves. A Comedy* (produced 1791; printed 1792), also seeks to establish a fixed print text as authoritative. In Cowley's case, this is not so much to protect her against artistic, but against political interference with a work which she avowedly intended to be steadfastly loyal in tone.⁴ This interference led her to a desperate and specious disavowal of politicking in the "Advertisement" at the front of the published play-book, even though her opera deals overtly with topics including republicanism, slavery, and British nationalism:

HINTS have been thrown out, and the idea industriously circulated, that the following comedy is tainted with POLITICS. I protest I know nothing about politics;--will Miss Wollstonecraft forgive me--whose book contains such a body of mind as I hardly ever met with--if I say that politics are *unfeminine*? I never in my life could attend to their discussion.

So thickly is *A Day in Turkey* peppered with politics that Cowley was deprived of the cultural consecration only a royal command performance could give a theatrical production; this, too, despite a precautionary casting after patronage in the epilogue with what Anna Crouch terms, "an elegant compliment to their Royal Highnesses the Duke and

4

There were contributions to the text of the opera from the performers as well, although Cowley is less hostile to such additions than Edwards. Of three lines sung by the character Paulina, she notes, "These lines were introduced by Mrs. *Esten*.--She sings them without instruments, and they are always followed by rapturous applause" (76).

Duchess of York, then just married, which obtained great applause" (II:126). Yet, despite her condemnation of Wollstonecraft's work as "unfeminine," Cowley makes an even bolder, more political claim while in the process of defending herself from the imputation of dabbling in politics. Cowley supports her characterization and plot with a defence that couples comedy with contemporaneity and realism. She insists that she is merely following the aesthetic dictates of an established theatrical form, and that to do otherwise would bring just critical censure upon her work. Likewise, Cowley asseverates that the politics of the characters (particularly those of her superbly facetious character, the effeminate French republican hairdresser A La Grecque,) are not her own:

TRUE COMEDY has always been desined [sic] to be a picture of life—a record of passing manners--a mirror to reflect to succeeding times the characters and follies of the present. How then could I, pretending to be a comic poet, bring an emigrant Frenchman before the public at this day, and not make him hint at the events which had just passed, or were then passing in his native country? A character so written would have been anomalous—the critics ought to have had no mercy on me. It is A LA GREQUE who speaks, not *I*; nor can I be accountable for *his* sentiments. *Such* is my idea of tracing CHARACTER; and were I to continue to write for the stage, I should always govern myself by it.

What Cowley is asserting here is an argument for an universal standard of artistic production—a standard to which she believes she has adhered, and which is, she implies, not "unfeminine." Politics are unfeminine; versimilitude is simply good art. It is difficult to reconcile this dubious distinction in the newly-affixed preface with such exchanges from the body of the opera as this second act dialogue between A la Greque and the Turk Ibrahim:

GREQ: . . . I travell'd into Russia to polish the brutes a little, and to give them some ideas of the general equality of man; but my generosity has been lost;—they still continue to believe that a prince is more than a porter, and that a lord is a better gentleman than his slave. O, had they but been with me at Versailles, when I help'd to turn those things topsey turvey there!

IBR. Did you find them equally dull in other respects?

A LA GR. Yes. Finding they would not learn liberty, I would have taught them dancing, but they seem'd as incapable of one blessing as the other . . .

While one might contend that anti-republican irony such as that expressed above is fairly safe political territory for a British woman to tread at this period, other passages in Cowley's libretto speak with equal passion and candour for democratic reforms. This passage, of course, is not merely versimilitude, but satire, a mode which bespeaks political criticism and the instigation of political change as its chief aims. Though initially she felt pressured to remove certain passages from the play on its second night (unfortunately, these passages are not identified), Cowley soon restored them, and notes in her preface that "the DAY IN TURKEY leaves the press exactly as it has continued to be performed amidst the most vivid and uninterrupted plaudits--or interrupted only by the glitter of soft tears; a species of applause not less flattering than the spontaneous laugh, or the voluntary collision of hands." As this admission hints, Cowley was accustomed to being acknowledged and applauded in public, and her reliance upon the social standing that her celebrity as a writer lent her must have made the interference with *A Day in Turkey* on both political and aesthetic levels still harder to bear. Anna Crouch relates an incident in a performance of one of Cowley's plays a decade earlier which demonstrates that Cowley maintained an active interest in the production of her literary works. "In that season

[1780], at Covent Garden,” writes Crouch,

also came out Mrs. Cowley’s comedy of *The Belle’s Stratagem*, which still maintains its ground as a favourite acting play. This play was not only received with uncommon applause, but Mrs. Cowley, upon entering one of the upper boxes during the run of her admired comedy, was perceived by the audience, and hailed with repeated plaudits. Grateful for this proof of public approbation, she leaned forward and bowed her thanks. (67-8)

Such appearances and public plaudits would not only have enhanced Cowley’s reputation as a writer, but they would also have protected her individual subject position and established her authority as a writer.⁵ Audiences who had seen Cowley the respectable-looking female writer taking a bow might be less inclined to confuse her political views with those of her zany characters. Cowley knew the value of performing the character of an author.

The plot of *A Day in Turkey; Or, The Russian Slaves* is one which celebrates British notions of liberty, and contrasts these with oriental tyranny, slavery, French republicanism, and the female empire of the heart. While the British anxiety over Turkish enslavement of sailors, soldiers, and private citizens, recently observed in numerous slave

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The July 1806 *Monthly Mirror* biographical sketch of Cowley further notes that *The Belle’s Stratagem* had an initial run of “upwards of twenty nights” (5), and thus was an immediate commercial success. Cowley’s appearance at the play and her satisfaction in public recognition probably also had much to do with a controversy of authorship dating from the previous season. In 1779, Hannah More wrote a tragedy entitled the *Fatal Falshood*, which bore a striking resemblance to Cowley’s tragedy *Albina* after allegedly being “admitted, by the managers of Covent Garden, to a sight of the manuscript of *Albina*,” and as the *Mirror* observes, the result was a “paper war” (5). Even before the performance of *A Day in Turkey*, Cowley had reason to support an author’s control over her work’s content and distribution.

narratives of this period by Linda Colley, is certainly present, Cowley portrays this anxiety at a comfortable allegorical distance from Britain. As Cowley notes in the Prologue, with yet another reference to her self-made versimilitude / politics dichotomy,

Not from the present moment springs our play,
Th' events which gave it birth are past away--
Five glowing moons have chas'd night's shades from earth,
Since the war fled which gave our Drama birth.

[. . .]

For tho' the *time* is past, the FEELING true,
She dedicates to NATURE, and to YOU! (1-4; 23-4)

In Cowley's opera, the "events" of Russian imperialist expansion during the second of the two Russo-Turkish wars (1787-92) stand in for the British drive towards colonial expansion, and the virtuous and noble enslaved Russians represent British fears of enslavement. In brief, an Old Man, his daughter Paulina, and her mistress Alexina, Russians all, are taken captive by the Turks. Alexina, who abhors thoughts of the harem, hides from the Turkish Bassa Ibrahim, who believes Paulina to be Alexina. Ibrahim's wicked servant Azim seeks to perpetuate this error by locking up Alexina. Meanwhile, Alexina's husband Orloff and his fastidious French servant A la Greque are taken prisoner. Greque, by reason of peeping over the seraglio wall, learns from Paulina that Alexina lives, and tells Orloff. Orloff overhears Paulina declaring her love to Ibrahim and assumes it is Alexina--when he is thrown into the tower with his wife, he offers to stab her or to stab himself, until she assures him that she has not become a Turkish adultress. Azim's schemes are unravelled by a wily Italian flirt and seraglio member named Lauretta. Finally, Ibrahim frees the married couple, having recognized, by coming to adore the tempestuous Paulina,

that the slavery of love is even more potent than political slavery.

Cowley uses a popular dramatic situation—captivity in a Turkish seraglio—to critique the professed “never slaves” ideal of British nationalist sentiment, both as it pertains to the black slave trade, and as it affects the role of women in British society.

After Alexina reads out a paper containing a 3-stanza poem on captivity, her captors tease her that her fervent advocacy of personal freedom is unrealistic, given recent “christian” legislation governing human bondage in “one of the northern islands”:

AZIM. [*snatching the paper from her hand.*] Such a wailing about freedom and liberty! why the christians in one of the northern islands have established a slave-trade, and proved by act of parliament that freedom is no blessing at all.

MUS. No, no, they have only proved that it does not suit dark complexions. To such a pretty creature as this, they’d think it a blessing to *give* every freedom--and *take* every freedom. (10)

At the time of Cowley’s opera, Britain’s economy was still benefiting from the slave trade on a massive scale. As Linda Colley observes, “Britain’s slave trade was a major contributor to its economy, buttressing its mercantile marine, supplying essential labour for its colonies, [and] providing vital capital for industrialisation” (372). The British government regarded slave-trading as a cheap way of bolstering naval strength using private resources, and in any aggression or defence against France, it was the British navy and not the inferior numbers of land forces which would ultimately protect Britain from French invasion (Barnett 247, 250). Slave-trading was thus paradoxically tied to British patriotism, a piece of hypocrisy that Cowley—or rather, to use her own definition of verisimilitude, her Turkish character Azim—observes is inconsistent with the “never slaves”

ideal of British freedom. The British slave trade was only outlawed in 1807, and full emancipation of slaves in the West Indies did not take place until the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833. Similarly, Mustapha's ironic reply to Azim, in which he plays upon the word "freedom"—"To such a pretty creature as this, they'd think it a blessing to *give* every freedom--and *take* every freedom"—shows the equivocal nature of women's rights "o'er the breast," by demonstrating the limits of women's freedoms.

Cowley's oblique criticism of the British trade in slaves and of British women's rights contrasts daringly with French republicanism in another conversation, this time between Azim and the Italian Lauretta:

AZIM. . . .Frenchmen, there is no being guarded against. —They make free everywhere.

LAUR. At least they have made themselves free AT HOME! and who knows, but, at last, the spirit they have raised may reach even to a Turkish harem, and the rights of women be declared, as well as those of men.

AZIM. Don't talk to me of the rights of women—you would do *right* to go and conceal yourselves as I order'd ye . . . (69)

Cowley's opera was first performed on December 3, 1791 (Mann 385), and as such, could preserve the fervour of revolutionary sentiment that still prevailed amongst some parties in Britain prior to the abolition of the French monarchy and the storming of the Tuileries (1792), the Reign of Terror (1793-4), and the new restrictions placed on French women's rights by the Code Napoléon in 1804.⁶ Cowley's enthusiastic linkage of the issue of

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For a musical instance of the British backlash against the French Revolution, see Steven Storace's song, "Captivity. A Ballad Supposed to be Sung by the Unfortunate Marie Antoinette, During her Imprisonment in the Temple" (c. 1796) as sung by Nancy Storace and Anna Crouch.

women's rights to the rights of the people advocated by revolutionaries in France has recognizable traits in common with Wollstonecraft's prefatory letter to Talleyrand in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, despite Cowley's protestations to the contrary.

Cowley's comic opera is assuredly nationalist in its advocacy of British ideals of personal freedom, but it is alive to concurrent ideals of alternative models of government and does not subscribe to bland or blind patriotism.

While Cowley's dialogue frequently makes observations regarding the positive effects of republicanism and emancipation, her songs and references to music link music to aristocracy, leisure, and corrupt sensualism. Her character A la Greque, for example, is the personification of a macaronic French dandy; his name suggests homosexuality, and his actions reveal a political inconstant who revels equally in displaying aristocratic accomplishments and republican principles. "Death is an aristocrate! and I am bound, as a Frenchman, to hate him" (68) he exclaims, yet he describes his qualifications as a valet to the audience in a manner that shows he longs to ape his betters:

I can sing you pretty little French airs, and Italian canzonettas—No man in Paris, Sir—for I have the honor to be a Frenchman—No man in Paris understands the science of the powder-puff better than myself—I can frize you in a taste beyond—Oh, what you are all CROPS, I see—for fronts, and back fronts—Oh, those vile turbans, my genius will be lost amongst you, and a friseur will be of no more use than an oyster-woman. (4)

The Italian Lauretta, like A la Greque, is a foreign libertine who understands and enjoys harem life. Cowley defines both the French man and the Italian woman as immoral sensualists by referring to their musical prowess and linking it to sexual forwardness.

Lauretta, for instance, offers to Paulina, “Come, my good girl, you shall go to my chamber, and I will give you the prettiest lesson you ever yet learnt--I’ll teach you in half an hour all the arts of a fine lady, and you shall be able to play on your lover as you wou’d on an harpsichord. The whole gamut of his mind shall be in your possession, and every note of it obedient to your wish” (45). Paulina is an apt pupil, and takes this metaphor literally: she woos her lover Ibrahim with a saucy song. Cowley uses Ibrahim’s response to Paulina’s musical flirtation to mark the limits of woman’s empire in love. Ibrahim owns that he is willing to be treated like “a humble slave” by the “lovely tyrant,” but he will exact repayment for her treatment of him soon (43). Paulina’s brief song symbolizes her temporary power over her lover. Similarly, just prior to a duet at the end of the third act, two of Ibrahim’s servants, Selim and Fatima, comment on his infatuation with Paulina in terms that further demonstrate Cowley’s concern with women’s rights:

FAT. [to SELIM] What an odd whim it is in our master to grow fond of the *mind* of a woman! Did ever any body hear of a woman’s *mind* before as an object of passion?

SELIM. I don’t understand it.

DUETTE. SELIM and FATIMA.

[words in brackets sung by Fatima]

Give me (you) a female soft and kind,
 Whose joy ‘twould be to please me (ye);
 The beauties of her precious mind,
 Would neither charm nor teize me (ye).
 The dimpled cheek, and sparkling eye,
 To me (you) are wit and sound sense;
 And better worth a lover’s sigh,
 Than stores of mental nonsense.
 The touch of honied velvet lips
 Is reason and bright science,

And he who at that fountain dips,
May scorn the *Nine*'s alliance. (46)

In this lyric, Cowley once more preserves the alliance between gross sensuality and music advocated by the Turkish characters, which she contrasts with Paulina's strength of mind. To judge from the consistency of such references throughout the opera, it would seem that Cowley anticipates Wollstonecraft's later characterization of music as sensual accomplishment rather than rational employment. Her decision to nestle this opinion within the lyrics of an opera is extraordinarily audacious, and verges on social satire. Cowley's advocacy of versimilitude as a defence against charges of unfeminine, political writing is an intriguing enabling mechanism for the continuation of women's writing on political topics, but one which she did not choose to apply to her representation of music.

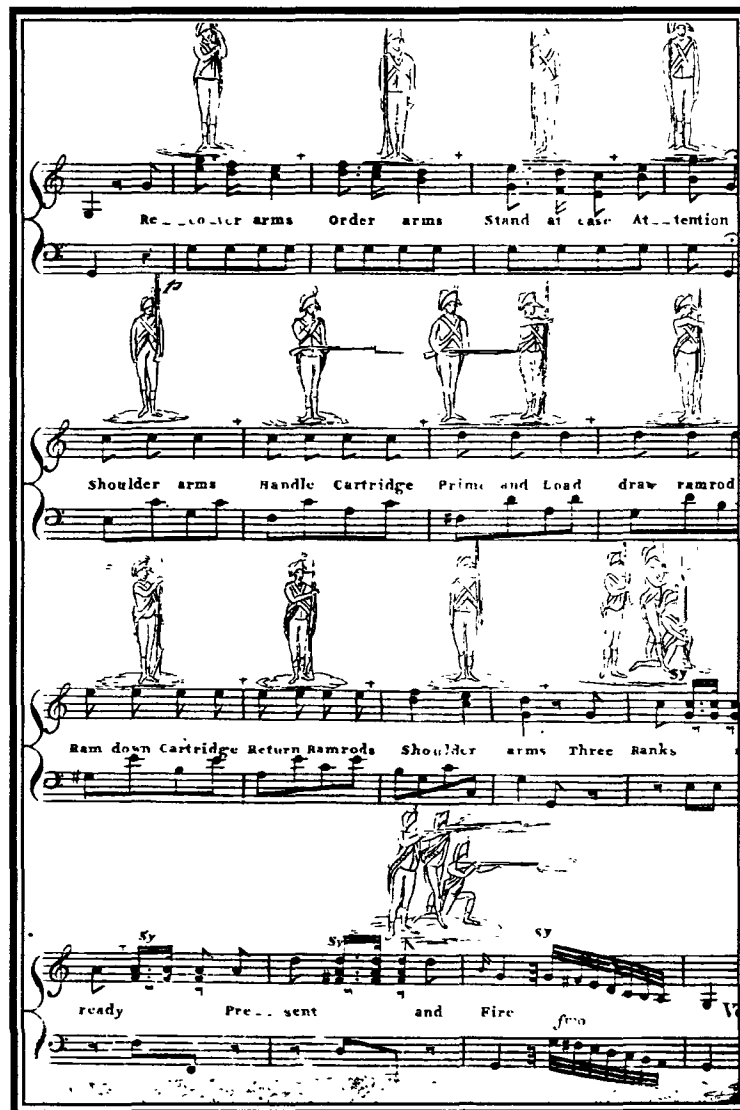
VII. Party Music: Military Airs, Roaring Tories and Jigging Whigs

If Hannah Cowley was anxious to avoid the stigma of political involvement in her writing, however, there were numbers of women who were equally keen to express their political affiliation in no uncertain terms and to respond openly to events of military and national importance in musical texts. Martial songs such as "Toll for the Brave, A Tribute to the Memory of Lord Nelson" (1806), by Maria Hester Park (1760-1813), with words paraphrased from Cowper's poem on the same subject, and "Great Britain's Tribute, A National Effusion" (c. 1816), a tribute to Wellington which I will discuss further below, abound, but few of these numbers uncritically reinscribe the image of the British heroine,

or rely upon Barbauld's formulation of women's empire. Instead, the majority of women writers and composers who concern themselves with specific, open political allusion tend to modify such depictions of gendered nationalism and thereby negotiate increased participation in male-

dominated social institutions such as the military and the government. I will discuss women's militaristic music first, and then consider music demonstrative of party politics.

There is no question that young women were socialized to an awareness of the importance of military strength to British sovereignty using musical means, as the song by Montague Corri at right shows. Corri's musical setting of the words of



Excerpt, "A Melody on the Words of Command of the Manual Exercise Of the British Army," Sung by Mr. Weedham of the Westminster Loyal Volunteers, Composed & Respectfully Dedicated to the Patriotic Ladies of Great Britian. By M. Corri. Of the same Corps, c. 1805.

command for the British Army's manual exercise brings the field to the drawing room by providing the keyboard player with an accelerating, exciting sequential melody, as well as illustrations of the bodily postures assumed by soldiers during the drill and in war at the issue of each command. The song is explicitly directed to "the Patriotic Ladies of Great Britain" in a title lozenge flanked by two gallant soldiers leaning upon their swords. The visual presentation of the piece focusses on attractive male bodies to enact an imaginative reconstruction of military acts; indeed, the illustrations function in a choreographic manner analogous to those in George Bickham's earlier series of illustrated minuets, *An easy introduction to dancing: or, the movements of the minuet fully explained. Adorn'd with twelve figures drawn from the life, representing the different attitudes of young gentlemen and ladies* (1738). Women, these engravings imply, will be more enthusiastic patriots and supporters of the military once they have felt the quasi-sexual bodily exhilaration of "firing" a gun, and will come to know the importance of military exercises only if these have been domesticated into the form of keyboard exercises and dance.

Women's responses to military issues are much more comprehensive and divergent in attitude than the performance dynamics and visual presentation of Corri's prettified drill would suggest. Instead, women often use the rhetoric of female patriotism to air and debate military issues bearing a large import for the continuation of Britain's social harmony, such as the veteran soldier's low rate of pay. Although the navy occupied the premier position of importance in Britain's defence, two of the most militant surviving

songs written by women concern the British land forces.⁷ The first of these is a juvenile song composed by “Miss Hoffman, A Young Lady Eight Years of Age,” (fl. 1790-1803) with words by another woman, a Mrs. Duckrell. Entitled, “Ye Britons be Bold, A Favorite Song,” the piece is “Composed & most respectfully Dedicated to his Grace The Duke of Montrose” (1795). Given the date of the song, the Duke in question is James Graham, third Duke of Montrose (1755-1836), who acceded to his title in 1790. A fervent Tory and a supporter of Pitt, Graham held the positions of commissioner of affairs in India (1791-1803), and lord justice-general of Scotland (1795-1836) at the time when this song was published, and the foe, as Mrs. Duckrell notes, is once again “Gallic” (l. 29). The music is simple, but well-suited to the regular lines of the lyric. Lines 6-12 of Duckrell’s lengthy lyric reverse the usual “never slaves” definition of British freedom for dramatic effect, and threaten cowards and deserters of Britain with stringent punishment:

Be martially brave,
To Freedom a slave,
Nor suffer your Courage to falter,
But may you all sing,
Long life to your King,
And each pitiful Coward a halter. (ll.6-12)

7

Although this project does not examine non-vocal music, it is worth mentioning that a number of splendidly rousing military marches were composed by Jane Clarkson and a Miss Clarkson (perhaps the same woman) in 1795, including, “Two marches composed. . . for the Right Honble Lord Napier and George Baillee Esqr.” and the “Major general Drummond of Strathallan’s March & quick step . . . and the original march of the Hessian Guards and a favorite allemande.” The Clarkson marches suggest the military as an alternative source of patronage to the theatres for women composers and, unusually, they evince patriotism enacted in purely musical fashion.

The reason for making such cajoling patriotic threats to British soldiers becomes apparent in an examination of the historical contexts of a second song, “The Vet’ran Soldier.” This tune, with words by Miss Knipe, and music by Mr. [Griffith] Cheese, combines the sentimental affect of a charity song with trenchant patriotism and showy vocal performance. Cheese’s long *passagia* on words such as “Wars,” “Tumults” and “fiercest” aspire to Handelian bombast, but they lack the harmonic direction and intensity of Handel’s “Why do the nations?” the aria (#40) from *The Messiah* to which they most likely refer. Still, the song, though somewhat relentless in its advocacy of the key of C, would have been impressive in performance by an agile singer, and was sold with the reminder that it had been “Sung by Mr. Meredith, at the Festivals, Liverpool, &c.” Cheese displays a certain amount of musical chauvinism: he abjures Italianate terms, and tells the singer in plain English that the mood is “Bold,” as befits the song’s subject.

Knipe’s lyrics voice an appeal to support the defenders of empire in old age and injury. The words initially stress the importance of the veteran soldier’s role on the battlefield, in the thick of the fight:

When Steeds impatient spurn the Ground
 when Wars wild Tumults loudly sound
 and fiercest Foes assail
 the Vet’ran Soldier eager flies
 where Ruin stalks and fearless cries
 Hail Dangers Horrors hail.
 [rpt. last line]

In the third and final verse, however, Knipe turns from description of the battle scene and praises the social use to which a returned veteran soldier’s battlefield experiences may be

put. The veteran soldier's defence of Britain is not only valuable in itself, but also important in that it inspires a new generation to like feats of patriotism.

Returning Home with Conquest crown'd,
 Fresh Wreaths of Laurel shade each Wound,
 That decks his manly Brow,
 While from the Actions of their Sire,
 His Children catch the glorious Fire
 And emulation glow. (ll. 7-12) [rpt]

Knipe's lyrics subtly stress the isolation and inviolate character of British independence. The veteran soldier, she writes, *returns* home from fighting on foreign soil. His actions in the defence of empire remain invisible to those at home in Britain, and must be imaginatively reconstructed from soldiers' narratives of war. Veterans do not only perform while in the field, but they also continue to do work of national importance once they have returned, by re-performing their feats of battle for the benefit of those who might not otherwise be able to imagine them. Knipe's lyric thus enacts the same imaginative trajectory as Corri's illustrated melody on the British Army's words of command, but does so without invoking sexual excitement or downplaying the dangers of war. Rather, such imaginative participation in war, as Mrs. Duckrell writes in the third verse of "Ye Britons be Bold," leads to emotional and financial engagement in the cause of empire: "Let ev'ry sound heart, / In this cause take a part, / And contribute towards the expence" (ll. 16-8). Both songs' lyrics undoubtedly are designed to draw attention to the pitiful pay received by soldiers during most of the eighteenth century. As military historian Correlli Barnett observes, "In the 1790's, a soldier's gross pay was raised from the 8d. a day first

established under the Commonwealth to 1s. . . . [d]eductions from gross pay left him just over 18 s. net per annum,” a figure which Barnett contrasts with a bricklayer’s average wage of 3s.9p. a day (241). Providing social approbation and proper financial support to veterans is not simply a charitable duty, Duckrell and Knipe’s lyrics state; rather, it is a necessity for society to deck veterans’ wounds with laurels if the next generation of male Britons is to “catch the glorious Fire” of patriotism. If both songs display a conservative concern to preserve military structures that assure the stability of Britain’s social harmony, they do so not by displaying sentiment, but by enlisting it in the cause of active advocacy of changes to military policy.

While both “Ye Britons be Bold” and “The Vet’ran Soldier” delineate the impact of a large, masculine military body on British sovereignty and nationalism, a third song, “Great Britain’s Tribute, A National Effusion” (c. 1816), by “A Lady” demonstrates the construction of British identity using the body of a single man—Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington (1769-1852)—as the narrative focus. The writer uses the vocal union of the voices of three women representing England, Ireland, and Scotland, to sculpt a convincing audible enactment of Britain’s social harmony. In contrast to the cynical pastiche of parodies in “The Roast Beef Cantata” discussed earlier in this chapter, here the anonymous female lyricist uses familiar tunes to illustrate the benefits of multi-national aggregate British identity. The three nations, embodied as maidens, approach “Glory’s shrine” (l.1), and offer floral and sung tributes to Wellington. The lyrics specifically mention music’s affective power as the motivating force for this action:

The Shamrock, Thistle, Rose and Oak
 around its base they gaily flung
 and then sweet music's pow'r invoke
 to sing the praise of Wellington [3x].

Following this gay flinging about of national symbols, each maiden approaches the shrine, and sings new words in praise of Wellington to a familiar tune that possesses particular cultural resonance for her nation. England, of course, has the first go, with words sung to the tune of "Rule Britannia":

As fades the Rose before the blast
 so bowed beneath his mighty arm
 so bowed so bowed beneath his mighty arm
 the foes of our nation to earth are cast
 depriv'd of ev'ry pow'r to hearm
 Hail brave Arthur Hail Glory's favrite Son
 Hail Hail Hail brave Wellington.
 [rpt. last two lines]

The Scotch lass is next, with lyrics set to "Over the Hills and far away," ("As grows the Thistle strong and bold / so firm so cool the Hero's mind"), and last, the Irish maiden sings encomiums to the air of "Patricks Day" ("Green as the Shamrock of his native Isle / his mem'ry shall live while the Sea beats its shore"). Finally, the three nation-maidens join together to celebrate their martial solidarity with choral harmony.

And thus in native accents join'd
 to heavens concave loud they sung
 the English Irish Scotch combind
 to sing the praise of Wellington
 the jaundiced eye of conquer'd foes
 scowl'd dark upon their deeds undone
 but ne'er they'd blight the Thistle, Rose,
 nor Shamrock of our Wellington.
 [rpt. last two lines 3x]

This song's fervent marshaling of symbolic content, both musical and lyrical, depends upon a logic that is curiously compelling despite its circularity: Wellington is allied to each nation through birth, character, and in various other ways; Wellington's victory is Britain's gain; and therefore, the union of the three nations is productive and mutually beneficial, for each has, after all, something in common with the others—Wellington and martial supremacy. Each nation possesses a recognizable musical identity, but this identity can be reinscribed to suit the new political union. This aggregate, like Burney's ideal new British music, can also be easily unravelled to represent its constituent parts once again. While the content of these lyrics may verge on the puerile, the political acumen underlying the manner of their presentation should not be underestimated.

The separation of masculine military and political influence (Wellington) from the feminine symbolic function as the embodiment of empire (the nation-maidens) visible in "Great Britain's Tribute, A National Effusion" suggests a reading of British musical nationalism that is impenetrable or at least resistant to real political action by women. However, nowhere is the nexus of political involvement, gender-definition, and nationalism more dynamically and overtly apparent than in the musical works written about and by Georgiana Spencer Cavendish (1757-1806), Duchess of Devonshire and patroness of the Foxite Whigs. As shown in the recent biography of the duchess by Amanda Foreman, Georgiana was an accomplished musician. Her childhood singing lessons were taken with composer and theatre manager Thomas Linley (Foreman 9), she later took harpsichord lessons with Maria Hester Park, and she was also an excellent

performer on the harp. As the *Morning Post* noted on September 1, 1786, “The Duchess of Devonshire’s improvement on the harp, leaves very few, out of the profession, who are able to dispute the palm of excellence on that instrument” (183). At her private house parties, which provided Whigs including Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and the Prince of Wales the opportunity to mingle and discuss political strategy, she patronized the violinist and composer Felix Giardini (26), singer Elizabeth Linley Sheridan (46), and Joseph Mazzinghi, director of the Italian opera (183). As this list of artists indicates, Georgiana Cavendish’s taste was for modern and Italianate music, rather than the “ancient” music patronized by the King and the court. Even in her musical tastes, she was part of the political opposition.

The Duchess was not only a patron of the arts, but an active participant in music-making. She introduced a dance entitled the Devonshire minuet, which she and the famous Italian dancer Vestris had choreographed during a private lesson (Foreman 87), and her musical compositions were included in an opera entitled *La Reine de Golconde* (140), and in Sheridan’s tragic play, *Pizarro* (323). Georgiana wrote the tune to a popular song entitled “I have a silent sorrow here,” shown below, and the lyrics to a “Glee for Two Voices [Bring me flow’rs and bring me wine],” set to music by Thomas Carter in 1785. She apparently was at work on an opera in 1803, although it was never performed or published (Foreman 351). This is not to suggest that Cavendish frowned upon public performances by women; indeed, she publicly patronized such performers as Mary Darby Robinson, Sarah Siddons, and Mademoiselle Morelle, a harpist (174, 342) and appeared

herself on stage at least once (36), in addition to playing to her guests during her influential and well-attended house parties and balls.

It was Georgiana Cavendish's public political work, canvassing on behalf of the Whigs during Charles James Fox's campaign in 1784, that caused the polarization of public opinion regarding

women's involvement in party politics that is so apparent in the broadside ballad "Devon's Fair Dutchess" (c. 1784) and "An Ode on the late providential Preservation of our Most Gracious Sovereign," a thinly disguised anti-Whig protest cantata, written by Baroness Nolcken, with music by Mrs. Barthelemon to celebrate George III's return to sanity.

Unlike contemporary instances of lyrical dualism, such as the contradictory pair published c.1800 concerning the union of Ireland and England, "No Union for our dear

² *"I have a silent sorrow here"*
The Favorite Song in the
Stranger.
Sung by Mrs. Bland.
 THE WORDS BY R.B. SHERIDAN, ESQ.
The Air by
Her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire.
 LONDON. Printed for G. WALKER, at his Music Warehouse 106 Great Portland Street.
 PLAINTIVE
 dolce e mezzo forte
 I have a si - lent sor - row here, A Grief I'll ne'er im -
 - part. It breaks no Sigh, it sheds no Tear, But it soon -
 - turns my heart. This cherish'd woe this lov'd de - pair my lot for e - ver

Excerpt, "I have a silent sorrow here." words by R.B. Sheridan, music by Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire, printed c. 1798.

native island” and “The Blessings of Union,” these songs are not written by one author-publisher in the hopes of securing the market and protecting himself against the vagaries of public opinion, but are clearly written by opposing sides. Flooding the market with cheap “loyal songs” to sing down the opposition was a common political tactic, as Francis Place observed. Place was born in 1771, and his memoirs, written in 1819, reflect on ballads heard during his youth as an apprentice tailor (Wardroper 14). Place would have been thirteen when “Devon’s Fair Dutchess” was being sung about Westminster. Roger Sales reprints Francis Place’s account of how John Reeves removed offensive ballads from the streets: “The association printed a large number of what they called loyal songs, and gave them to ballad singers; if anyone was found singing any but loyal songs, he or she was carried before a magistrate who admonished . . . him or her, they were then told that they might have loyal songs for nothing” (qtd. in Sales 22; BM Add. MS.27, 825, fo.144). This pair of songs, “Devon’s Fair Dutchess” and “An Ode on the late providential Preservation of our Most Gracious Sovereign,” represents a similar attempt at the musical displacement of political opinion. What is intriguing about these two songs is the way in which the figure of the loyal British heroine and her access to freedom, as symbolized by the portrait of Georgiana in the informal broadside toast, is so heavily countered by an application to the ideal of loyalty to the beneficent, Godly monarch and by employment of the somewhat archaic, elaborate form of the cantata, written and composed by two women.

“Devon’s Fair Dutchess,” an anonymous tribute song, toasts Georgiana’s work on

the Whig campaign and strives to defend her from “the Slander, of Printers, and Beaus” (l. 14), and more particularly, from the deluge of Pittite political cartoons by artists including Thomas Rowlandson, most of which depict her (and her sister Harriet) as whoring after votes with the lower classes:

What a Noise and a bustle prevails thro’ the Town,
that Ladies of rank should canvas for Voices,
but their merit, and beauty, each railer must own
while freedom the heart of a Briton rejoices,
fill a bumper my host, I’ll give you a toast
the fav’rite of Liberty ev’ry one knows
fill it up to the top, and drink ev’ry drop
here’s Devon’s fair Dutchess wherever she goes. (ll. 1-8)

The first verse, while it acknowledges the scandal set loose by Georgiana’s appearance on the hustings, enjoins voters, as Britons, to support the particular freedoms enjoyed by British women. The song thereby links Foxite patriotism firmly to women’s rights, a connection later made explicitly with the banners reading “SACRED TO FEMALE PATRIOTISM” that waved in a parade to Devonshire House as the polls closed (Foreman 155). The second verse expands upon the Duchess’s defiance of rank and her generous condescension to Fox’s potential voters in appearing to meet them in person, in their everyday surroundings:

Your high sounding Titles, that Kings can create,
Derive all their Lustres, and Weight from the Donor;
But her Grace can despise all this Mock’ry of State,
And stoops void of Pride each Elector to honor,
She dignifys Life with the Rank of a Wife,
Unmov’d by the Slander, of Printers, and Beaus,
A Foe to Deceit, with goodness replete,
Here’s Devon’s fair Dutchess wherever she goes. (ll. 9-16)

The song refers in the third verse to other parties given to honour Fox by fashionable beauties in Henrietta Street, but like the “man of the people” (Fox’s nickname) whom she supported, the emphasis remains on Georgiana’s common touch. The fourth verse again remarks upon Georgiana’s “good Sense Condescension, Wit, Virtue, & Beauty” (28), and claims that even Venus, the Loves and the Graces are toasting her public efforts in the name of nationalism (ll. 25, 32). The final verse of this ballad lays still larger claims upon Georgiana’s degree of political influence in Britain, by comparing her to the Austrian empress Maria Theresa (1717-1780) and the Russian ruler Catherine the Great (1729-1796):

Both Germans and Russians to Glory lay claims,
And each have a Sov’reign renown’d to make most of
Since to them its such Honor to us its the same,
To have in Her GRACE, a Protectress to boast of
Then away O ye Fair, and like Devonshire dare,
The invaders of Freedom, with ardour oppose,
An Example so bright, all the world must deem right,
Here’s Her Grace in a Bumper wherever she goes. (ll. 33-40)

The third line of this verse is a clever *double-entendre* that dances on the edge of sedition. It momentarily affects loyalty to the king, by inferring that it is the “Sov’reign renown’d” whom the tuneful Foxites honour, but the lyric displaces this idea with the image of Georgiana as the Protectress of Freedom in the very next line. The song recognizes the extent of Georgiana’s influence over the electorate, and positions her, as the Foxites later attempted to do with the unruly Prince of Wales with much less success, as the “loyal” opponent of the King and of his Pittite “invaders”’ manipulation of the parliament and as a protector of British freedom.

Although the opposition released numerous broadsides to counter Georgiana's influence on popular opinion at the time of Fox's Westminster campaign against Wray, a much more effective rebuttal to the tributes came in a slightly more oblique form. "An Ode on the late providential Preservation of our Most Gracious Sovereign" is a seven-page, 3-shilling extravaganza of a cantata with words written by Baroness Nolcken, with music by Mrs. [Maria] Barthelemon. The cantata is tentatively dated c. 1795 in the *British Union Catalogue*, but its content suggests that it was most probably prompted by George III's recovery from mental illness and the abatement of the Regency crisis of 1788-1789. The opening recitative in particular, minces no words in thanking God for preserving the king and invoking wrath upon the "fell traitors" (*i.e.*, the Prince of Wales and his Whig supporters) who sought to undermine his rule:

Adore the Great God
 who saved our King
 with fervent Pra'yers
 with fervent Pra'yers
 we'll Hallelujah Sing
 to implore protection for his sacred Life
 banish fell traitors banish fell traitors
 and their baneful strife.

The recitative develops into an aria, in which the king's virtues, "Greatness of Soul and Purity of Mind" (l. 4) are praised, and a wish expressed: "May Guardian Angels hover o'er his Throne / where Greatness has a bright example shewn" (ll. 1-2). The implied contrast is not only with the dissolute lifestyle of the Prince of Wales, but also with the "bright example" of his friend and political ally Georgiana Cavendish, of whom the earlier

toast song declared, “An Example so bright, all the world must deem right” (l. 39).

Finally, a *Duetto*, which becomes a general Chorus of voices as it is repeated a second time, expresses the ardent hope, “Long may he reign / to crown his Peoples love / then taste Elysium / in the realms above” (ll. 1-4).

Barthelémon’s setting of Nolcken’s words in an elaborate cantata for strings, brass, and keyboard is not merely a capitulation to the king’s well-known affection for “ancient” or old-fashioned music, a bow to becoming compositional formality for a state occasion, or even a mark of Barthelémon’s maturity as a composer; it is also a rebuttal to Whiggish tastes (and Georgiana Cavendish was first among the *ton* in setting matters of taste) for new, Italianate music. The cantata enshrines conservative social values in music that is just as conservative as the values it supports. Nolcken’s lyric and Barthelémon’s music reject Whig election and Regency rhetoric and the image of Georgiana Cavendish as the British heroine and champion of freedom. Instead, their composition forcibly reminds Britons, in verse and music, that true social harmony depends upon national order that descends from God to the King, and so on down through the ranks. While it seemingly forecloses on a new, vital role for women in party politics, as exemplified by Georgiana Cavendish, “An Ode on the late providential Preservation of our Most Gracious Sovereign” demonstrates women’s musical and cultural productions—even those of a socially, politically conservative nature—to be capable of functioning politically and of defining British nationalism.

VIII. Conclusion

British women composers, performers, and writers were not content to be restricted to playing the role of Cordelia, or the British Heroine. Unlike their musical model of feminine nationalism, these women resist and rewrite the negative definition of British nationalism as anti-Papist, pro-military, and anti-foreign in their compositions and performances. At the same time, they often embrace the liberating aspects of Cordelia's character—her self-control and her peculiarly British freedom to enjoy fulfilling social relationships. Their tactics for enacting this freedom musically range from the defence of politically-charged versimilitude as good art to a refiguration of the passive British heroine as an active figure; from advocacy of social issues such as veterans' pay to overt political partisanship; and from powerful compositional performance practices to fixed-print resistance to the ephemeral affect of performative power. Perhaps the best descriptor of women's musical depictions of British nationalism in the latter half of the eighteenth century is, in the final analysis, Burney's careful composite model of British musical identity—an aggregate of musical styles, self and gender definition, and national concerns.

Conclusion

HAIL, soft Extasy divine!
Parent of the tuneful Nine;
Power supreme, who can controul
Each varying passion of the soul:
Can fire with rage, can pity move,
Or melt the frozen heart to love:
Thy modulations can impart
Each transport to the feeling heart

[. . .]

All universal spirit tell
Chiefly where thou deign'st to dwell . . .

("On the Powers of HARMONY," Miss Davis,
Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath, 1776.)

Let me state simply and without apology that one of the major reasons for this project has been the recovery of neglected eighteenth-century musical texts written by and for women. As the writer of the address "To the PUBLIC," in the second issue of *The Vocal Harmonists Magazine* (1766) observes, the impulse to preserve and "hand down" forsaken cultural artifacts is creditable not because of the self-reflexive pleasures of acquisitiveness, but because it ultimately leads to an enriched understanding of the ideological development of ephemeral arts such as music. More particularly, these "hidden Treasures" express eighteenth-century British society's delights and concerns:

In all civilized Countries, it has ever been deemed laudable and meritorious to endeavour at the Preservation of the valuable Works of Antiquity; by rescuing them from the Confines of Oblivioun, and setting them in a clear and advantageous Light. In this Manner, the Arts have been handed down to us. Were it not for the Searchers after these hidden Treasures, how

many excellent Compositions would lie Buried in Dust and Cobweb, and, perhaps, be totally disregarded and forgotten; notwithstanding that, in their Day, they had been the chief Amusement of the Polite, and the Admiration of the Learned. (1)

This statement is the more resonant in the case of the materials presented in this project because, despite their importance to Britain's cultural history, they have been subject not only to the dangers of "Dust and Cobweb," but also to those of scholarly indifference and (on occasion) denigration.

And yet one cannot say that there is such a thing as a simple recovery of cultural artifacts, especially when the artifacts in question pertain to music. As the modern aesthetic theorist Jacques Attali writes, "music appears in myth as *an affirmation that society is possible*. . . . Its order simulates the social order, and its dissonances express marginalities. *The code of music simulates the accepted rules of society*"(29). Persistent and wide belief in the myth of ancient classical music's effect upon politics and personal morality meant that the close relationship between musical harmony and social harmony promulgated in musical texts and in texts about music during the eighteenth century not only replicated the rules of society, but also shaped them. In this regard, the recovery of obscure musical texts and the discussion of their modes of transmission becomes important, especially when the authors of such texts are members of a group disadvantaged by the dominant myths governing musical discourse.

Second, I have argued in this thesis for a considerably expanded view of the cultural importance of performers, and particularly, singers, an attitude that will

undoubtedly meet with some resistance—especially from persons interested in preserving the male-dominated great works / great composers model of the classical music canon. Asserting that singers enjoyed considerable compositional powers and cultural position during the eighteenth century opens historiographic and musicological prospects to wider considerations of women’s contributions to music than this entrenched model has yet allowed. There is a lame joke amongst instrumentalists that articulates the persistently negative attitude towards singers, and it goes something like this: a singer and a violinist walk into a bar. The bartender asks the violinist what he does for a living.

“I’m a violinist,” he says, pointing at his case.

“And are you also a musician?” the bartender asks the other person.

“No, I’m not a musician—I’m a singer,” she replies.

Singers are not *really* musicians, this joke implies. The production of music using one’s body, because of the lack of any visible effort or mechanical skill (no violin case to point to) to produce sounds is at variance with romantic ideals of what it means to engage with the science of music. Because of this lack of intervening technologies, as Lucy Green writes, vocal music is frequently characterized as more “natural” than instrumental music (53), and the work of a singer is correspondingly considered not so much skill or science as facility. This modern theoretical perspective, which privileges instrumentalists over vocalists because of their ability to mediate bodily display through control of “an alienated man-made object” (53), however, is not representative of the field of eighteenth-century musical aesthetics. Samuel Johnson, for instance, defines “Musick” in his dictionary as either “Instrumental or vocal harmony,” and enshrines the social relevance of embodied

musical performance and music's political affect with an apt quotation from Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*: "The man that hath no musick in himself, / Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds, / Is fit for treasons" ("Musick"). Singers were the most highly paid, most visible, most collaborative workers of any participants in the cultural field of musical production.

The singer's role was not restricted to reproduction of a determinate musical text, and this too contributed to the significant status and celebrity enjoyed by numerous eighteenth-century female performers, from Abrams to Mara. Performance practices such as ornamentation, encores, "suitcase arias," benefits, and charity projects all contributed to make the role of the performer socially important, a view that was further substantiated by neoclassical understandings of music's role in forming political thought and moral behaviour. As Marcia J. Citron writes in her essay "Feminist Approaches to Musicology," women in the nineteenth century who "may have felt alienated by masculine emphases on the metaphysical and on the transcendent ego in absolute music" seem to have "crave[d] the potential for their own involvement or literal embodiment in . . . performance" (22). This craving for what Citron perceptively terms "communication," however, is not for an abstraction or an ideal, but for a return to the embodied power historically enjoyed by women as musicians during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Harmony's "power supreme" and its control of "each varying passion of the soul" and body was not only an expected, but a desirable effect of music-making, as Miss Davis's epigraph makes manifest. This expansive view of the singer's role as an agent of cultural change is vital to

an historically-authentic view of music during the eighteenth century and to considerations of what constitutes musical authorship. Even broader critical notions of authority and authorship have something to gain from consideration of the role of the performer as collaborative co-creator.

Thirdly, this thesis has reconsidered the ways in which women communicated their social knowledge of cultural rules to one another. As Susan McClary writes in her recent book, *Conventional Wisdom: The Content of Musical Form*, “genuine social knowledge is articulated and transmitted by means of shared procedures and assumptions concerning music” (5). Not only did women enjoy significant opportunities to influence and shape social attitudes through performance, but as my identification of several anonymous sets of lyrics demonstrates, women’s writing spread through musical forms in ways which have not been previously assessed. Poems (such as Barber’s “Stella and Flavia” and Tollet’s “Rural Life”) that have been thought to have circulated privately amongst a restricted circle of friends, have now been revealed to have been published in a different format, and to have circulated and have been performed quite publicly as songs. Additional cross-disciplinary reading of women’s writing and anonymous song lyrics will undoubtedly recover further material of this nature and reveal more of the dynamic relationship between poetic and musical composition. Furthermore, I have shown that musical repertoire and playbooks from the theatres were widely available in homes, which both extended the range of social influence available to famous singers, and made fewer concessions in terms of difficulty to musical amateurs than has been supposed. Clearly, the

public and private divide was less pronounced in this area than has been previously assumed. The concept of a realm of “domestic” music manufactured specifically for use in the home, while undoubtedly valid for considerations of nineteenth-century repertoire, as studies by Bonny M. Miller indicate, must be a questionable model at best for eighteenth-century repertoire written by and for women.

Last, I have repeatedly stressed the importance of the linkage between social harmony and musical harmony as both a controlling and an enabling force for the production of music by women in the latter eighteenth century. Music’s potency as a site of cultural formation during this period was due in large part to neoclassical understandings of music’s potential to enact beneficial affect upon the body, the soul, and the body politic. As ‘Phil. Harmonicus’ remarks in a 1741 essay in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*,

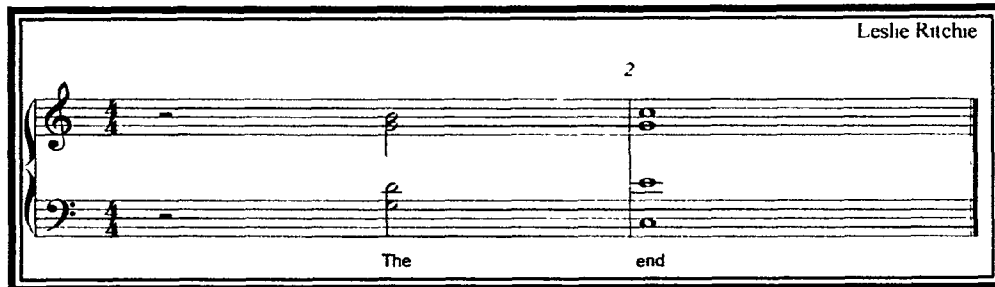
Music, properly apply’d, can civilize and soften: It is wonderfully adapted to suppress our turbulent Passions, and appease the Tumults and Disorders of the Mind. . . several antient Heroes and Philosophers had recourse to their Lyres for this Purpose. Thus they made Music assisting to Morality, and at the same Time shew’d the World how they ought to use it. (11:200)

The confluence of gender, station, sensibility, and nation that informed British social harmony also secured an ideological space for women’s involvement in music. In particular, I have suggested that British social harmony was constructed, supported, and sometimes subverted by songs expressive of charity, the pastoral, and British nationalism. In songs of charity, women could benefit from the intersection of patronage and charity to inscribe, perform or receive charitable actions. As composers, lyricists, and performers,

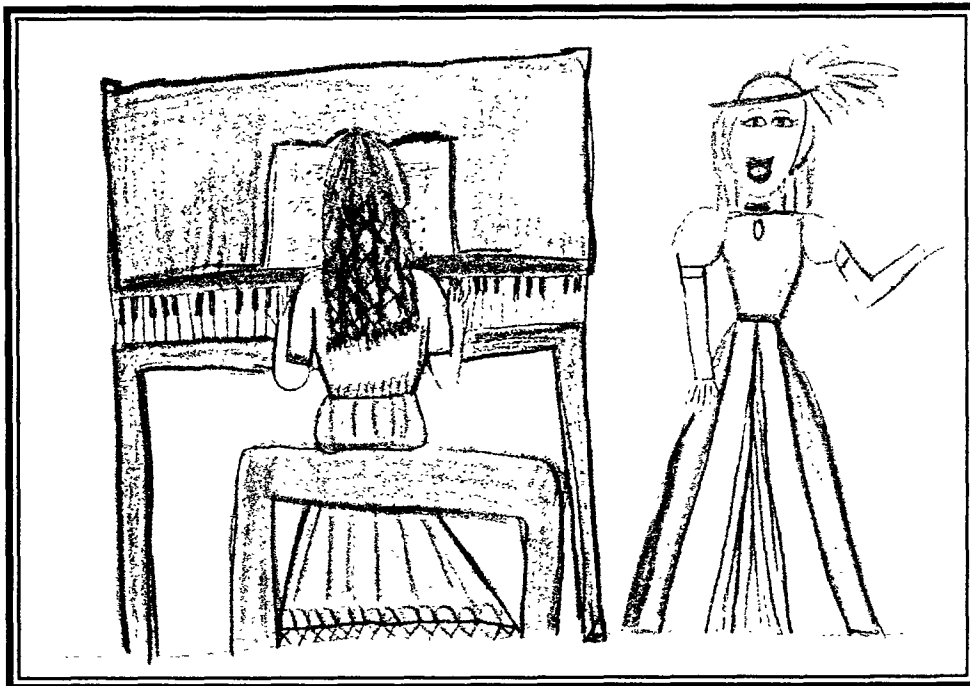
they could articulate divergent responses to such idealized or stereotyped objects of pity as prostitutes and madwomen and benefit materially from their engagement with these issues. Women's musical depictions of the pastoral likewise challenged prevailing notions of femininity by developing and accessing a hybrid aesthetic of natural representation that complicated and enriched imitative and associative aesthetic practices. Their vivid recombinations of emergent and recognized critical discourses including neoclassicism, realism, the sublime, and the picturesque, enabled performative and compositional separation of femininity from nature. Nationalist songs, too, saw women recasting the image of the British heroine, and questioning this figure's political, moral and gender stability within an increasingly international musical discourse. These songs of the nation that was rapidly expanding into an empire also negotiate cultural alterity and address the problems inherent in musically representing a racialized other. Ultimately, each of these compositional genres—songs of charity, pastoral songs, and songs of nation and otherness—acted with considerable force upon the formation of British cultural identity, and it is crucial that women's contributions to this process be recognized as creative (not merely recreative) and further studied.

In my analysis of late eighteenth-century materials ranging from conduct books to plays, and from songs to novels, I have proposed that women's engagement in music offered them the potential for enjoyment; enjoyment not only of social harmony's moral affirmations and material rewards, but also of that singular harmony referred to by Grassineau in 1740, that harmony that is embodied pleasure, sweet sound that emanates

from, recognizes and forms the individual subject. Through music, women could—and did—compose themselves.



The End



Picture by Madeleine Gow, pianist, age 11

Bibliography

The bibliography has been arranged to reflect the wide number of sources consulted in the source of this project. For utility to the reader, it has been organized in the following categories:

- I. Musical Sources:** those musical sources consulted or quoted in the thesis
- II. Eighteenth-Century Critical Sources Concerning Music, Aesthetics & Morality:** those sources employed in or chiefly concerned with making theoretical aesthetic, musical, or moral distinctions
- III. Operas & Ballad Operas**
- IV. Eighteenth-Century Poetry and Prose Sources:** sources including novels, conduct books, dramatic dialogues, and poems
- V. Other Critical, Historical, and Bibliographic Sources**

In the case of eighteenth-century sources, publication information appears in a format as close as possible to the manner in which it appears in the original, since titles often contain significant information about a work's publication, performance and other methods of distribution. Modern sources follow MLA format.

Where approximate dates appear in square brackets, these have been established by the *British Union Catalogue* (see Section V, Modern Critical, Historical, and Bibliographic Sources). The titles of songs have been enclosed regularly in quotation marks; all other punctuation appears as it does on the title page of each publication. Letters enclosed in square brackets indicate the collection of origin at the time of writing: E=English Songs Collection, Mills Library, McMaster University; G=Georgian Songs Collection, Mills Library, McMaster University; BL=British Library Rare Books and Music Collections. Since a number of these songs are not catalogued elsewhere, or are not catalogued in an accessible manner, I have included a few songs and sources of related interest which do not appear in this thesis.

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Crouch, Mrs. “Go, you may call it Madness, Folly” The Words by the Author of the Pleasures of Memory, The Melody by Mrs Crouch, Adapted for the Harp or Piano Forte, and Inscribed to Charles Rothman Esqr. of Calcutta. Printed and Published by M. Kelly, at his Musical Saloon, Pall Mall. Price 1s. [G] [c.1805]

Davy, John. “Kate Kearney, the favorite IRISH AIR” Sung by Mr. Incledon, with great Applause in his new Entertainment of The Songsters Jubilee, The Words by Miss Orenson, Arranged by John Davy, London, Printed by Goulding, Phipps, D’Almaine & Co. Music-sellers to their Royal Highnesses, the Prince & Princess of Wales, & Musical Instrument Maunfacturers, 117 New Bond Street, & 7 Westmoreland Street, Dublin, likewise may be had of James Stevens, Glasgow. Price 1/. [E; L] [c.1806]

De Camp, Miss. “Medley Song.” Printed for M[ichael]. Kelly, No.9 Lisle Street, Leicester Square, & to be had at all the Music Shops. Price 1s. [G] [c.1801]. [attributed to Kelly in the Georgian Songs catalogue.]

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Piano Forte By T. Denning Written by a Lady from real Incident. London: Printed & Published by J. Davies, c. 1800. [BL]

Devonshire, Her Grace the Duchess of. [Cavendish, Georgiana Spencer] "I have a silent sorrow here[,] The Favorite Song in the Stranger," Sung by Mrs. Bland, The Words by R.B. Sheridan, Esqr. The Air by Her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire. London. Printed for G. Walker, at his Music Warehouse 106 Great Portland Street. Pr. 1 s. [E] [c.]

—. "The favorite African Song," taken from Mr. Park's Travels Set to Music with an Accompaniment for the PianoForte or Harp, The Poetry by Her Grace The Duchess of Devonshire. London: Printed for the Author J. Dale, at his Music Warehouses. [BL]

Dibdin, Charles. "Mock Italian Song. written and composed by Mr. Dibdin for his entertainment called The Oddities. London: Printed & Sold by the Author at his Music Warehouse, 1789. [BL]

Durfey. "As the Delian God. The British Muses." An ode occasion'd by the hearing of five fine ladys at a man of quallitys house in the country playing a sonato in consort. The words by Mr Durfey. London, [BL] [c.1705]

Eminent master, an. *Six easy anthems for two voices, chiefly adapted for ladies, by an eminent master*. London: Printed for the Author, 1769 [BL]

Essex, Margaret. "The Olive Branch," Written and set to Music with a Harp or Piano Forte Accompaniment by Margaret Essex. London: Printed for the Author & Sold by Rt. Birchall. [BL]

Frith, Edwd. "The Contented Cottager a favorite Song" Composed by Edwd. Frith The Words by Mrs. Rowson, London, Engraved & Printed by E. Riley, N.8, Strad Sold by Messrs Culliford Rolfe & Barrow N.111 Cheapside. [E] [c.1795]

Galli, Signora. [Se son lontana]. When first I saw thee graceful move. A new song . . . Sung at the publick Gardens. London: Engraved by Signra Philips [c. 1750] [BL]

Gambarini, Elisabetta de. *XII English & Italian songs, for a German flute & thorough bass* . . . Opera III. Printed for the Authoress: London [BL] [c. 1750]

—. *XII English and Italian Songs, for a German Flute & Thorough Bass*. Composed and most humbly Inscribed, To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough &c. By his Grace's

most Devoted, and most Obliged Servant, Elisabett de Gamberini. Opera III.
Printed for the Authoress--Sold at her House in Albemarle Street. 5 s.

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Anthology of Western Music. 2nd ed. 1: 427.

Hague, Harriot. "The Flower Girl's Cry." Written by Miss Caroline Symmons, & the
Music Composed, By Miss Harriot Hague, Inscribed to the Rev.d Francis
Wrangham. The Age of the Poet & Musician, added together; amount to Two &
Twenty Years only. London. Printed for the Proprietor, by Preston, at his
Wholesale Warehouses. [G]. [date 1804 added in ms]

Handel, Georg Friedrich. *The Messiah*. 1742.

Hardin, Elizabeth. *Six lessons for the harpsichord, etc*. London: Printed for the Author
[BL] [c. 1770]

Hardin, Miss. "Amintor's Choice." London [BL] [c.1767]

Harrington, Henry. "Rosa and Henry, The much admired Song in the New Comedy of the
Secret," as Sung by Mrs Jordan, Properly disposed of for the Harp of Piano Forte,
The Music by a Lady of Fashion. London Printed by Longman, Clementi &
Compy., No. 26 Cheapside. Pr. 1s. [E] [c.1799]

—. "The Stormy Ocean roving." Recitative and Song. The words by Miss Seward.
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Hodges, Ann Mary. *Songs composed by Mrs. Hodges*, Harmonized and Published by Mr.
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Hoffmann, Miss J. "In yonder vale, a new song" . . . the words by C. Rickman. London:
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—. "The World. A new song" . . . the words by C. Rickman. London: Printed for the
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—. "Ye Britons be Bold. A Favorite Song Composed & most respectfully Dedicated to
his Grace The Duke of Montrose, By Miss Hoffman, A Young Lady Eight Years
of Age, The Words by Mrs. Duckrell. London: Printed for the Author, 1795. [BL]

Home, Ann. [Mrs. J. Hunter] *Nine canzonetts by a lady*; The Genie of the Mountains of

Balagate and Mary Macgie's Dream. [BL].

Howard, Samuel. *A Collection of Songs Sung by Miss Davies at Vauxhall*. Never before Publish'd. Compos'd by Mr. Samuel Howard. Book V. London: Printed for I. Walsh in Catharine Street in the Strand. [c.1765] [BL]

—. "Morning." The words by a Lady. Music by Samuel Howard. *Universal Visiter and Monthly Memorialist*, Jan. 1756. 510. [See this publication also Dec. 1756 for "Winter." The words by a Lady] [BL]

—. "Rural Life." Set by Mr. Howard. [words by Elizabeth Tollet] [BL] [c.1750]

—. "Stella and Flavia." Set by Mr. Howard. [words by Mary Barber]. [E] [c.1755]

The hymns anthems and tunes with the ode used at the Magdalen Chapel. Set for the organ harpsichord, voice German-flute or guitar. [With a frontispiece]. pp.42. Printed for Henry Thorowgood, London [BL] [c.1765]

The hymns used at the City of London Lying-in Hospital, set for the organ, harpsichord, voice and German flute. Printed for Henry Thorowgood: London [c. 1765] [LCM]

Krumpholtz, [Anna Maria ?]. "The Nuns Complaint, from Mrs. Robinson's, Novel of Vancenza," performed at the Principal Concerts, The Music by Krumpholtz. London: Printed & Sold by Preston & Son at their Wholesale Warehouses, 97 Strand. Pr. 1s. [G] [c.1794]

The Ladies Amusement Being a Collection of Favourite Songs and Lessons within Compass of the Guittar, Composed by E. Light To be continued Monthly. No. 1. Pr. 2s. London. Printed for the Author, No. 16 Harley Street, Cavendish Square, and for P. Hodgson, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden. [BL]

The Lady's Banquet. Fifth book; being a choice collection of the newest & most airy lessons for the harpsichord or spinnet: together with several opera aires, minuets, & marches compos'd by Mr. Handel. Perform'd at Court, the Theatres . . . and proper for the improvement of the hand on the harpsichord or spinnet, etc. Printed for and sold by I. Walsh: London, 1738. [BL]

The Lady's Entertainment. Fifth book being a collection of the most favourite aires from the late operas set for the harpsichord or spinnet to which is prefix'd the celebrated organ concerto. [Handel]. J. Walsh, London, 1738. [BL]

The Lady's Musical Magazine; or, Monthly Polite Repository of new vocal musick by the principal composers in Europe. Vol. the first. 6 no. printed for Harrison & Co. London [BL] 1788.

The Ladies' Pocket Guide or The compleat tutor for the guittar, containing easy rules for learners . . . with a choice collection of the most famous airs, etc. D. Rutherford: London [BL] [c.1750]

Lampe, Johann Friedrich. "The Dying Nymph." London: G. Bickham jr. [c. 1735] [G]

Latour, T. "Farewell! Hopes & Fear, Fond Lover; a Favorite Rondo," with an Accompaniment for the PianoForte, Composed by T. Latour. The Words by C. Smith. Ent'd at Stationers Hall Price 1s. London Printed & Sold at J. Lawson's Music Warehouse 198 Tottenham Court Row. [G] [c.1823]

—. "In my Cottage Near the Wood, A favorite Song," The Words are an Imitation of the French Poetry, By Miss Calcraft, The Variations for the Piano Forte, Composed by Mr. Latour. London: Printed & Sold at Bland & Weller's Music Warehouse, 23 Oxford Street, Pr. 1s. [G] [c.1800]

Law, Andrew. *The Musical Primer; or the first part of the art of singing; containing the rule of psalmody, newly revised and improved; together with a number of practical lessons and plain tunes* [BL] [c.1780]

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Leveridge, Richard. "When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food." Manuscript. Finney 11. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center. Issued between 1735 and 1765.

Light, Edward. *The Ladies' Amusement, being a collection of favourite songs and lessons within the compass of the guitar.* London, 1783 [BL]

Lockhart, Charles. "Female Advice, a favorite song." London: Printed for W. Cope, c.1795.

Lockman, Mr. "The Lovely Betrayers." London: G. Bickham, 1737.

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- Macdonald, Lady Charlotte. "The Pride of Every Grove." Words, by Prior. London: J. Bland [BL] [c.1790]
- Mara, Gertrude Elisabeth. "Maria. An Elegy" [Maria lovely maid is dead . . .] for the harpsichord or piano-forte. London: Catherine Fentum, for the Author, 1784. [BL]
- Marin, Marie Martin Marcel de, Viscount. *The psalms and hymns used at the asylum or House of Refuge for female orphans*. The music by Handel, Arnold, Baltishill, Howard, Long, Nares, Wogan, etc. London: G. Thompson. [BL] [c. 1770, 1775].
- Marlborough, George Spencer, Duke of. "I love thee dearly, A Song," with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte, The Words by A Lady, The Music by His Grace The Duke of Marlborough. London: Printed & Sold by Chappell & Co. Music Sellers, to His Majesty, 50, New Bond Street. Price 2s. [G] [c.1820]
- Mellish, Miss. "My Phillida adieu love a favorite Ariette" Composed by Miss Mellish. Printed by Longman and Broderip No.26 Cheapside and No.13 Hay Market. Price 6d. [G;E] [c.1795]
- Miles, Mrs. [Jane Mary Guest]. "The Bonnie Wee Wife," The Words by Burns, Composed and Dedicated with Permission to The Honble. Mrs. Grant, of Grant, by Mrs. Miles (formerly of Bath.) London, Published by J. Willis and Co., Royal Musical Repository, 55 St. James Street, and 7 Westmorland Street Dublin. Price 2/. c.1825. [E]
- More, Mrs. Hannah. "An Hymn to the Deity." From the much admired Sacred Drama of David & Goliath, by Mrs. Hannah More. Music purposely Composed for the Harp, (From the Collection of an Amateur). To which are added A Selection of Vocal Compositions in various Styles, With an Accompaniment for the same Instrument. London: Printed by Broderip & Wilkinson, 1800. [BL]
- Moulds, John. "Invocation to Oblivion," The Words by Miss Maria Vaughn, Set to Music by John Moulds. London: Printed for G. Goulding No.6 St. James Street Covent Garden [G] [c.1793]
- The Musical Magazine, or Compleat Pocket Companion for the Year 1767 (-1772) consisting of songs and airs for the German flute, violin, guittar and harpsichord; by the most eminent masters*. 6 vol. London: T. Bennett, [BL] 1767 (to 1772).
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The whole accompanied with an universal dictionary of music, etc.* 150 no.
London: Harrison and Co. [BL] [1783-86]

Olivier, Mr. "Ti Amero, A favorite Song" the Words by a Young Lady Composed by Mr. Olivier. London: Printed for G. Smart at his Music Warehouse, N.331 Oxford St. [E] [c.1790]

Opie, Amelia Alderson. *A second sett of Welch airs with English words*, written to them by Mrs. Opie. Harmonized and arranged for one, two, three & four voices, with an accompaniment for the piano forte or harp. by E.S. Biggs. London: R. Birchall. [BL] [c.1800]

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—. *Twelve Hindoo airs with English words adapted to them*, and harmonized for one, two, three, and four voices, with an accompaniment for the piano forte or harp. London: R. Birchall [c.1800] [BL]

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Park, Mrs. [Maria Hester]. "Toll for the Brave, A Tribute to the Memory of Lord Nelson," The Words paraphrased from Cowper, The Music composed by Mrs. Park. London: Printed & Sold by Rt. Birchall, at his Musical Circulating Library, 133, New Bond Street. Price 1/. [G] [c.1806]

Poole, Caroline. "The Orphan that's wet with the rain. A favorite song," written [and] composed by C[aroline] Poole. pp3. L.Lavenu: London, 1800.

—. "The Sequel to Crazy Jane, a favorite song," written & composed by C. Poole, L. Lavenu, London [BL] [c.1800]

Proposals for printing by subscription new musical entertainment entitled British Melody; or Monthly Musical Magazines consisting of an accurate collection of . . . songs of one, two and three parts . . . music by . . . H. Purcell and other eminent masters. London: W. Brett [BL] [1748]

Psalms and hymns, for the use of the Chapel of the Asylum . . . for female orphans.
London: 1767 [BL]

Psalms, hymns & anthems, used in the chapel of the Hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed & deserted young children. London: T. Saunders, 1774.
[BL]

The Psalms & Hymns with the Ode or Anthem. Sung at the Magdalen Chapel. Adapted for the Voice, Harpsichord, &c. A New Edition: The Words corrected from the Chapel Edition, with other Improvements. Price 2 s. London: Printed for Henry Thompson. St. Paul's Church Yard, c. 1765. [BL]

Purcell, Henry. "Bess of Bedlam." London. C. Mitchell (pasted over unidentified imprint) [c.1818]. [E]

—. "Tom of Bedlam." London. [E] [Issued c. 1800]

"Sappho." "Long by an idle passion tost." A song. Set by Sappho. *Literary Magazine* Vol. I, 28, 1756. [BL]

Shield, William. "The Death of Tom Moody, The noted Whipper-in Well known to the Sportsmen of Shropshire." Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. [c. 1815] [G, E]

—. "With truth on her Lips." A favorite Ballad Sung by Mr. Johnstone in the Opera of Marian Written by Mrs. Brooks [sic; s manually crossed out and replaced by e in copy] and Composed by Mr. Shield. London: Longman and Broderip, c.1788.

Smith, Charlotte. "The garlands fade that spring so lately wove." Glee. The words by Charlotte Smith. Longman and Broderip. London [BL] [c.1795]

Steele, Anne. "See, gracious God, before thy throne. Hymn. On a National Fast." Words by Anne Steele. *Gospel Magazine*, Nov. 1776.[BL]

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- S., R. *Eight songs with a thorough bass for the harpsichord*. Set to music by R. S. Inscribed to . . . Lady Lennox. London: Mrs. Johnson [BL] [c. 1793]
- Thomson, William. *Orpheus Caledonius: A Collection of Scots Songs*. 1725-6. 2nd ed. 2 vols. 1733. Hatboro: Folklore, 1962.
- The Vocal Harmonists Magazine, being a collection of catches, glees, canons, and canzonets. Selected from the best authors both ancient and modern*. [Edited by R. Bremner]. No. I-VI. London: R. Bremner, 1766-7.
- Webbe, Mr. [Samuel Sr.] "O lead me where the lonely Nightingale." Sung by Mr. Harrison, in the Nobilitys Concerts, Composed by Mr. Webbe. Words by a Lady. London, Printed & Sold by J. Bland, at his Music Warehouse, No. 45 Holborn. Price 1/. [G] [c.1785]
- Webbe, Mr. [Samuel Sr.] "The Rose had been Washd. a favorite Song," Sung in the Nobility's Concerts, by Mr. Harrison, Composed by Mr. Webbe the Words by a young Lady. London, Printed by J. Bland, at his Music Warehouse, No. 45 Holborn. Price 1/. [G] [c.1790]
- Webbe, Mr. [Samuel sr.] "The Mansion of Peace." Sung by Mr. Harrison. Composed by Mr. Webbe. The Words by a Lady. Printed for J. Bland at his Music Warehouse No.45 Holborn. P. 1s. [E] [c.1790]
- Wesley, Charles. "Regret, A Ballad," The Words by a Lady, & Composed by Charles Wesley, Organ Performer to His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales, Regent. London, Printed & Sold by G. Shade Dealer in Classical Music East Side of Soho Square. Pr. 1/6. [E] [c.1818-40]
- Worgan, Mr. [John] "Cordelia, or the British Heroine: On Occasion of the menac'd Invasion from France." (Address'd to the Ladies) The Words by Mr. Lockman. Set by Mr. Worgan. Sung by Miss Stevenson, in Vauxhall Gardens. London [BL]
- Worgan, Mary. "The Constant Lover, etc. Song." London [BL] [c.1745]
- . "The Dying Nightingale, etc. Song." Printed for J. Simpson: London [BL] [c.1745]

II. Eighteenth-Century Critical Sources Concerning Music, Aesthetics & Morality

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- Andrews, John, LL.D. *Remarks on the French and English Ladies, in a Series of Letters; Interspersed with Various Anecdotes, and Additional Matter, Arising from the Subject*. London: Printed for T. Longman, and G. Robinson, Paternoster-Row, MDCCLXXXIII.
- Avison, Charles. *An Essay on Musical Expression. With Alterations and Large Additions. To Which is added a Letter to the Author, concerning the Music of the Ancients, and some Passages in Classic Writers relating to the Subject. Likewise, Mr. Avison's Reply to the Author of Remarks on the Essay on Musical Expression. In a Letter from Mr. Avison, to his Friend in London*. The 3rd edition. London: Lockyer Davis, Printer to the Royal Society, MDCCLXXV.
- Bayly, Anselm, LL.D., Sub-dean of His Majesty's Chapels Royal. *The Alliance of Musick, Poetry & Oratory, Under the Head of Poetry is considered the Alliance and Nature of the Epic and Dramatic Poem, as it exists in the Iliad, Aeneid and Paradise Lost*. London: for John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1789.
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- Burney, Charles. *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey, and the*

Pantheon. In Commemoration of Handel. London: Reprinted for the benefit of the Musical Fund, T. Payne and Son and G. Robinson, 1785.

- . *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period.* Vol. I-IV. London: Payne and Son, for the author, 1776.
- . *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. Becket, J. Robson, G. Robinson, 1771.
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- Burney, Fanny. *Memoirs of Dr. Burney.* 3 vols. London: E. Moxon, 1832. NY: AMS Press, 1975.
- Collier, Joel. [John Bicknell]. *Musical Travels through England.* 1st and 4th editions. London: for G. Kearsly, MDCCLXXVI.
- Dodd, William. *An Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Magdalen Charity. To which are added the Rev. Dr. Dodd's sermons, preached before the president, vice-presidents, and governors, &c. His sermon preached before his Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c. And the advice to the Magdalens; with the hymns, prayers, rules, and list of subscribers.* 3rd edition. [London] : printed by W. Faden, for the Charity. And sold by J. Whiston and B. White; L. Davis and C. Reymers; J. Newbery; J. Walter; A. Cook; and Mr. Leake at Bath, 1766.
- Dryden, John. "A Song for St. Cecilia's Day." 1687. *Eighteenth-Century English Literature.* Ed. Geoffrey Tillotson *et al.* NY: Harcourt Brace Johanovich, 1969. 167-8.
- . "Alexander's Feast; or the Power of Musique. An Ode, in Honour of St. Cecilia's Day. 1697. *Eighteenth-Century English Literature.* Ed. Geoffrey Tillotson *et al.* NY: Harcourt Brace Johanovich, 1969. 169-71.
- Du Boscq, M. *The Accomplish'd Woman.* Written in French by M. Du Boscq, a Franciscan, Counsellor and Preacher in ordinary to The King In the Year MDCXXX. Translated by a Gentleman of Cambridge. London: Printed by and for J. Watts, MDCCLIII.

Fordyce, James, D.D. *Sermons to Young Women*. The Fifth Edition. With Additions and Alterations. London: Printed for D. Payne, MDCCLXVI.

Grassineau, James, Gent. *A Musical Dictionary; being a Collection of Terms and Character, As well Ancient and Modern; including the Historical, Theoretical, and Practical Parts of MUSIC: As also, an Explanation of some Parts of the Doctrine of the Antients; Interspersed with Remarks on their Methods and Practice, and curious Observations on the Phenomena of SOUNDS Mathematically considered, As it's Relations and Proportions constitute Intervals, And those again Concords and Discords. The whole carefully abstracted from the best Authors in the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and English Languages*. London: Printed for J. Wilcox, at *Virgil's Head* opposite the New Church in the Strand, 1740.

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Hanway, Jonas. [published anonymously] *A Plan for Establishing a Charity-House, or Charity-Houses, for the reception of Repenting Prostitutes: to be Called the Magdalen Charity*. London: 1758.

—. *Thoughts on the Importance of the Sabbath, with a caution not to trespass on the design of it: Also on the Uses and Advantages of Music, as an amusement to the polite part of mankind* . . . London: Dodsley, 1765.

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Hawkins, Sir John. *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. 5 vols. London: 1776. NY: Dover, 1963. 2 vols.

Hogarth, William. *The Analysis of Beauty*. London: 1753. Menston: Scholar Press, 1971.

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The Ladies Friend; Being a Treatise on the Virtues and Qualifications which are the Brightest Ornaments of the Fair Sex, and render Them most agreeable to the

Sensible Part of Mankind. New-Haven: Printed by Thomas and Samuel Green, for Abel Morse. MDCCLXXXIV.

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Longinus, Dionysius. *On the Sublime: translated from the Greek, with notes and observations, and some account of the life, writings, and character of the author.* Trans. William Smith. 1739. 2nd ed. London: printed for William Sandby, 1742.

Molleson, Alexander. *Melody--The Soul of Music: An Essay Towards the Improvement of the Musical Art: with an Appendix, Containing Account of an Invention.* Glasgow, Printed in the Courier Office, 1798.

The Moral Miscellany. For the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth. 3rd ed London: for T. Cadell, 1760.

The Musical Magazine; Or, Monthly Orpheus. Consisting of Original Songs, Cantatas, &c. set to Music. The Words by Gentlemen whose Talents in Lyric Poetry have received the Public Approbation; The Musick by Mr. Oswald, and other celebrated Masters. To which will be added Some Account of the Rise and Progress of the Science, Essays on Musical Expression, &c. Printed for J. Coote, at the King's Arms in Pater-noster Row; and sold by all Booksellers and Stationers in Great Britain; Where may be had, Price 4s. Fifty-two Marches for the Militia, composed by Mr. Oswald, and dedicated to the Lords Lieutenants of the several Counties of England and Wales.

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"On MUSICK and the OPERA." *The Gentleman's Magazine.* Vol. VII, Common-Sense. 89: 1738. 533-6.

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