Stony Brook University

London Partsong Clubs and Masculinities, 1750–1830

A Dissertation Presented

by

Bethany Cencer

to

The Graduate School

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

(Music History/Theory)

Stony Brook University

August 2017

Stony Brook University
The Graduate School

Bethany Cencer

We, the dissertation committee for the above candidate for the
Doctor of Philosophy degree, hereby recommend
acceptance of this dissertation.

Mauro Calcagno – Dissertation Co-Advisor
Associate Professor of Music
University of Pennsylvania Music Department

Ryan Minor – Dissertation Co-Advisor
Associate Professor of Music History & Theory
Stony Brook University Music Department

Erika Supria Honisch – Chairperson of Defense
Assistant Professor of Music History & Theory
Stony Brook University Music Department

William Weber
History, California State University Long Beach

This dissertation is accepted by the Graduate School

Charles Taber
Dean of the Graduate School

Abstract of the Dissertation

London Partsong Clubs and Masculinities, 1750–1830

by

Bethany Cencer

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

(Music History/Theory)

Stony Brook University

2017

My dissertation, "London Partsong Clubs and Masculinities, 1750–1830," examines how the musical activities of all-male singing clubs in London played a key role in the formation of English masculine identities during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This particular time frame usefully demarcates a period of significant transformation from the fluid gender personae of early eighteenth-century society to the rigid gender binaries of the Victorian era. The partsongs sung during the private, weekly club meetings were harmonized settings of English texts (often 3–5 vocal parts) performed without accompaniment. As a genre written primarily by and for men within social settings, partsong serves as a unique lens for understanding how singing reinforced club members' perceptions of gender identity and male friendship. Chapter one locates the rituals and conviviality of partsong clubs within underlying contexts of Parliamentarianism and Freemasonry. Chapter two argues that the inclusion of Elizabethan madrigals within eighteenth-century collections of glees was an attempt to establish newly-composed club music as the culmination of a longstanding English musical canon, relating to burgeoning ideas of antiquarianism and nationalism. Chapter three applies both eighteenth- and twenty-first-century philosophies of sympathy, sentimentality, and gender to the analysis of commemorative glees written upon the deaths of club members. Finally, chapter four considers how the growing prevalence of women as patrons, consumers, and performers of partsong influenced song material and performance practices. In concluding with women, my project argues that the realization of emergent ideas concerning masculinity was partially dependent upon contemporaneous views on femininity.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgments

I wish to express my gratitude for the productive feedback my committee members have extended to me throughout the course of this project. Mauro Calcagno's expertise in early vocal music, text/music relations and reverberations between music and identity has proved invaluable for my own research, and the general career guidance he has offered is most appreciated. Ryan Minor's work on communal music and national identity in the nineteenth century has been directly applicable to my own, and his insight regarding topics that could benefit from more explication was always welcomed. Erika Supria Honisch's bibliographic knowledge has been particularly helpful for fleshing out methodological frames for my research, and her own focus on central European music has helped me to maintain a broader perspective in terms of how the musical activities of "my men" relate to musical culture outside of Britain. William Weber has done extensive work on eighteenth and nineteenth-century music, and our overlapping research interests have led to numerous exchanges that often helped me realize the significance of my own work.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of research grants from the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the Huntington Library. The librarians and staff at the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Bodleian Library, British Library, Huntington Library and Stony Brook Music Library were incredibly helpful in locating obscure sources and suggesting additional relevant materials. In particular, Scott Jacobs and Nina Schneider (Clark Library), Sandra Tuppen and Steve Cork (British Library), Steve Hindle (Huntington Library), and Gisele Schierhorst (Stony Brook Music Library) provided excellent guidance.

Many thanks are also due to Sarah Fuller for her continued encouragement and role in inspiring me to initially pursue a Ph.D. I also wish to thank the current students and recent graduates of the history/theory department at Stony Brook for their questions and contributions over the years, all of which have enabled me to grow as a scholar. These include Michael Boerner, Matt Brounley, Benjamin Downs, Jon Fessenden, Kassandra Hartford, Katherine Kaiser, Oksana Nesterenko, Anna Parkitna, Anna Reguero, Michael Richardson, and Bogdan Scurtu. My parents, Thomas and Susan, have always supported me in my musical pursuits. Finally, a big thank you to my husband David Blake for his encouragement throughout the writing process, and for taking the time to read and comment on chapter drafts.

Introduction

"London Partsong Clubs and Masculinities, 1750–1830" examines how the musical activities of all-male singing clubs in London played a key role in the formation of English masculine identities during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The partsongs sung during private, weekly club meetings were harmonized settings of English texts, often between three and five vocal parts, performed without accompaniment. As a genre originally intended for men within social settings that circulated among the private rituals of aristocratic clubs, public performances in pleasure gardens, and in domestic settings through numerous publications, partsong serves as a unique lens for understanding how singing reinforced broader perceptions of gender identity and male friendship in England.

Partsongs such as catches, canons, and glees were integral to English musical culture during the Georgian era. All three are discussed in this dissertation, but the greatest focus is on the stylistic transformation the glee underwent between 1750 and 1830. This period begins during the reign of George II and ends with the death of George IV, a fitting conclusion in part because George IV was a member of the most prominent partsong club in London, the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club. This organization cultivated an intensified interest in the glee as the heir to the Elizabethan madrigal, as a means of promoting an English vocal canon. The Catch Club represents the peak of partsong club activities in England, with a rich trove of primary source documents preserved in the British Library. Last, it also demarcates a period of significant transformation from the fluid gender personae of early eighteenth-century society to the rigidified gender binaries of the Victorian era.

Glees, catches, and canons were the principal repertory sustaining convivial evenings of all-male partsong clubs, and through studying this music, one can gain a deeper understanding of gender roles as they were understood and realized in homosocial settings. In particular, the ways in which partsong clubs composed, performed, and advocated for catches and glees is revelatory for discerning men's beliefs and experiences concerning masculinity. While Georgian partsongs have received attention in monographs by Brian Robins and Emanuel Rubin, this study is the first to emphasize how the genre's history and cultural significance related to gender identity.[1]

[1] Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2006); Emmanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Detroit: Harmonie Park Press, 2003).

The first three chapters of this study focus on the men in the clubs, with a special focus on the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club. Chapter one locates the rituals and conviviality of partsong clubs within the contexts of parliamentarianism and freemasonry. Chapter two argues that the inclusion of Elizabethan madrigals within eighteenth-century collections of glees was an attempt to establish newly-composed club music as the culmination of a longstanding English vocal canon, relating to burgeoning ideas of antiquarianism and nationalism. Chapter three applies both eighteenth- and twenty-first-century philosophies of sympathy, sentimentality, and gender to the analysis of commemorative glees written upon the deaths of club members.

The final chapter considers how the growth of glees composed and marketed for mixed-gender performance impacted gender dynamics around the turn of the nineteenth century. As the genre evolved from an elite status to middlebrow status, and from a masculine orientation to a feminine one, views on masculinity regarding the glee changed abruptly. By contrast, the catch had always been characterized as masculine, due to its frequently bawdy lyrics. As the glee became feminized, the catch was virtually rejected by both sexes due to its associations with a bygone masculinity. During the Victorian era, catches deemed inappropriate were even torn out of partsong anthologies. Catches suited the often ribald sensibilities of club life, but glees were central to the Catch Club's mission of promoting native musicians and an English national music. The glee's position as an elite polyphonic English genre was directly challenged, however, when it began to be performed on the public stage for middle and upper class mixed-gender audiences that wished to be both entertained and intellectually elevated.

As the glee eventually came to command the public spotlight in the late eighteenth century, it inevitably adapted to its new mixed-gender performers and audiences by acquiring higher vocal parts and piano accompaniment. Members of all-male partsong clubs found that such developments degraded its elite status, and some fought to retain the traditional compositional and performance practices seen as opposed to the public sphere. At the same time, manifestations of masculinity began to connect gender performance with biology, in which personal expressions of gender were perceived to be predicated on one's sex. What had once been a masculinity based on a man's ever-changing personal relationship to the world became more of a prescribed mode of being, in which certain cultural expectations were imposed upon him. Chapter four discusses this in greater detail, using historian Dror Wahrman's concept of *ancien* and *modern régimes* of selfhood as a conceptual

frame.[2] When the glee began to be marketed to women in earnest during the 1780s, its reputation was ultimately reshaped from that of a rarefied genre for gentlemen and professionals to a source of entertainment for the discerning amateur. In concluding with women, my project argues that the realization of emergent ideas concerning masculinity was partially dependent upon contemporaneous views on femininity.

On a larger level, then, this project demonstrates how one might study the history and historiography of a particular repertoire for the purpose of better understanding the gender and class dynamics of its patrons, composers, performers and audiences. Of course, such an enterprise is necessarily dependent on sufficient access to primary source materials, and in this regard I have not been disappointed. The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club archive at the British Library contains the majority of manuscript and print materials from the club's founding in 1761 into the late nineteenth century. Most of the manuscript sources are catalogued in print, but as yet there are no online catalogue entries. When studied and contextualized in relation to each other, these sources speak to the gendered lives of the men who created them. The methodology of my project is therefore influenced by the field of materiality studies and the history of the book, which supports the idea that material sources convey social meaning. As historian Natalie Zemon Davis argues, "We can best understand the connections between printing and the people if we consider a printed book not merely as a source for ideas and images, but as a carrier of relationships."[3] Focusing on the publishing format, print design, paper texture, and handwritten annotations of a musical manuscript or print score offers a rich opportunity to study the social life of the text.

Musicologists incorporating materiality studies, including Jane Bernstein, Tim Carter, Martha Feldman, and Kate van Orden, have demonstrated how the presentation and usage markings of a musical text are traces of its social significance.[4] Details from wine stains to scribbled marginalia have shaped my understanding of partsong club activities. More broadly, utilizing approaches from history offers a rich understanding of the social and gender context of the English cultural life that partsong clubs participated in. While the Georgian period is often overlooked in musicological studies save for the patronage of German composers such as Haydn and J. C. Bach, it is a crucial era

---

[2] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
[3] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Cambridge: UK Polity Press, 2007), 192.
[4] Jane Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press, (1539–1572)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Tim Carter, *Music, Patronage and Printing in Late Renaissance Florence* (Aldershot [u.a.]: Ashgate Variorum, 2000); Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Kate van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

for historians, a node for changes in gender identity, national identity, and political and cultural formations. The glee, though largely neglected, offers an important inroad to understanding how gender identity and masculine sociability were felt and expressed during that time period.

There were many music associations in existence during the Georgian era, but this dissertation focuses on the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club. Founded in 1761 and still in existence today, it was considered the most prestigious partsong club in London and served as a musical and organizational model for other partsong societies. As nineteenth-century historian William Barrett stated, "The Catch Club soon became very fashionable, and most of the noble amateurs of the day became members of it."[5] Other notable vocal clubs based in London and discussed in this dissertation include the Anacreontic Society (1766–94), Concentores Society (1798–1812, 1817–47), Glee Club (1783–1857), Harmonists Society (1779–ca. 1780), Madrigal Society (1741–1940, 1946–), and New Catch Club (1774–83).[6] A comparison of these clubs enables broader observations concerning the significance of common meeting rituals, such as the singing of *Non nobis Domine* as an after-dinner grace, or the alternation of toasts with partsong performances.

The activities of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club are documented in exceptional detail, enabling exploration of the complex expression of masculine identity in homosocial settings. Ideally, partsong modeled the concept of "social harmony" pivotal to freemasonry and Parliament, two other all-male social spheres. Yet the concept of harmony was not always consonant. The club included both aristocratic amateurs and professional musicians, leading to differences in member social status, political preferences, religious beliefs and musical skills. Literary studies scholar Mary Mulvey Roberts states that all-male clubs were a "double-edged sword," in that they represented a refuge from outside social hierarchies, yet through membership restrictions promoted discrimination and elitism within the club setting.[7] Harmonic singing also harbored didactic implications, both in terms of how to compose and how to comport oneself during performance.

The question of what club performances sounded like is as crucial as it is vexing. Eighteenth-century singing treatises provide some valuable insight. Joseph Corfe (1740–1820), a

---

[5] William Alexander Barrett, *English Glees and Part-Songs, an Inquiry into their Historical Development* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1886), 209.

[6] Of these societies, the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club and the Madrigal Society still exist today, though the latter has since admitted female members. For general information concerning the history of these societies, consult Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*.

[7] Marie Mulvey Roberts, "Pleasures Engendered by Gender: Homosociality and the Club," in *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts (New York: NYU Press, 1996), 54.

gentleman of the Chapel Royal, organist, composer, and member of the Catch Club, identifies four distinct voice types, claiming that each possesses a peculiar style:

> The Soprano has generally most volubility, and seems best calculated for it. It is likewise equally capable of the Pathetic. The Contr'alto has more of the Pathetic than of the Bravura. The Tenor is very often capable of both the Pathetic and Bravura. The Bass is the most dignified, but ought not to be so boisterous as it is generally practiced. It has always been a matter, not to be accounted for by Professors of Music, why the deepest Bass Voices should, in general, sing in a Falsetto, and with greater taste than in their natural voices, and that the Contr'alto should have the least Falsetto of either of the other voices. The fact is however certain, for if a Treble part is wanted in a Quartetto, and there is no Soprano Voice, the Bass is generally called to sing it.[8]

This passage can easily be applied to the singing of partsong in homosocial settings, something Corfe participated in regularly. Corfe reveals that it is in fact the bass singer who most frequently sang in falsetto. Partsong clubs did not have guaranteed recourse to soprano singers, and compensated for this by composing predominantly ATB or ATTB pieces, and/or by having men sing in falsetto. Corfe's characterization of the different vocal types is heavily gendered, reflecting a broad suffusion of gender terminology into a critical and pedagogic text. He refers to the soprano as being the most talkative and emotional, the alto as more emotional than bold (or more feminine than masculine), the tenor as being equally emotional and bold (most versatile, capable of assimilating a variety of gendered traits), and the bass as the most dignified (the most serious, and therefore the most manly). It is useful to keep Corfe's taxonomy in mind when analyzing specific songs, as it assists in interpreting the desired mood and range of emotions.

Additionally, Corfe believed that vocal music produced a greater impact on the listener than instrumental music because of the element of language:

> A fine Instrumental Symphony, well performed, is like an oration delivered with propriety, in an unknown tongue; it may affect us a little, but conveys no determinate feeling; we are alarmed, perhaps, or melted, or soothed, but it is very imperfectly, because we know not why:—The singer, by taking up the same air, and applying words to it, immediately translates the oration into our own language; then all

[8] Joseph Corfe, *A Treatise on Singing Explaining in the most Simple Manner, All the Rules for Learning to Sing by Note, without the Assistance of an Instrument… By…Joseph Corfe…, Gentleman of his Majesty's Chapels Royal & Organist of the Cathedral at Salisbury* ([London]: To be had at the principal music shops, 1799), 9.

> uncertainty vanishes, the fancy is filled with determinate ideas, and determinate emotions take possession of the heart.[9]

Corfe's comment relates to a broader discussion in chapter two over how the advocacy of the glee was based on its integration of English text and music. For the English, "The singer never appears to such advantage, as when he is expressing the united passion of the Poet and Musician."[10] Corfe uses the word "determinate" on three separate occasions to emphasize the ability of texted music to convey specific ideas and emotions. At the same time, however, English singers are advised to express the overall sentiment of the phrase or section they are singing, rather than individual words. In keeping with this philosophy, glee composers generally avoided madrigalisms. For them, focusing on the broader sentiment was key to communicating the meaning of the words, in the same manner that one would deliver a speech. Churchman and singer Anselm Bayly (d. 1794) likened singing to rhetoric, and opened his *A Practical Treatise on Singing* (1771) with two sections devoted to speech: "I. Grammar; II. Pronunciation; or, The Art of Just Speaking."[11] In the third and final section, which finally addresses singing directly, Bayly advocates for attending to the sense of the song more than anything else:

> The last and principal attention is to be had to the thought or sentiment contained in the whole period. This must guide the modulation, air and harmony: as the one is pathetick [*sic*], so must be the other, exalting and joyous, or humble and plaintive; but if the words are only persuasive, merely narrative, or declarative, the modulation, air and harmony should be only simple and plain, easy and agreeable.[12]

Corfe and Bayly provide an English perspective on what constituted quality singing. Their comments imply that English singing is not as ornamented or virtuosic as the predominant Italian singing style. The attempt to cultivate an English singing style was directly related to the attempt to cultivate an English vocal canon discussed in chapter two.

While attending to issues of sound as much as is feasible, this dissertation also locates issues of gender in more tangible aspects: the relationship of club rules and rituals to masonic lodges and Parliamentary proceedings; antiquarian efforts at canonization; evocations of brotherhood,

---

[9] Ibid., 2.
[10] Ibid., 4. Here Corfe acknowledges that he is quoting composer William Jackson.
[11] Anselm Bayly, *A Practical Treatise on Singing and Playing with Just Expression and Real Elegance*... (London: Printed for J. Ridley, 1771), title page.
[12] Ibid., 73.

mourning, and sympathy; publications oriented toward women; and the obvious all-male clientele of these organizations. Partsong clubs were a rich site where masculinity was expressed and performed in its many guises during the Georgian era, a place where social harmony rang out despite and through divisions of class and gender.

Chapter 1: Ritualizing Social Harmony: Parliamentarianism and Masonic Practices in Partsong Clubs

> Part singing is a *culte*. It requires time, trouble and expense to bring it to the highest level.[13]

Eighteenth-century partsong clubs were comprised only of male members because Britain's public associational culture was predominantly male. Women gathered for domestic music-making at home, but partsong clubs typically met in private rooms of taverns. Historian Peter Clark highlights the advantages of such meeting places:

> More complex, more hierarchic, and better organized than in other parts of Europe, drinking establishments not only provided congenial shelter and support, but also supplied several of the key features of the social architecture of the voluntary association: heavy drinking, controlled social mixing, a combination of privacy and public openness, and a predominantly masculine environment.[14]

Taverns were useful for many reasons. The drinking locales were in and of themselves hierarchical, meaning that taverns attracted richer clientele than inns, while inns in turn were one level above alehouses. These places provided opportunities for "social mixing," or what is now commonly referred to as networking. Drinking establishments also occupied a liminal space that was neither public nor private. This complements the paradoxical space of associational culture more broadly; as literary studies scholar Mary Mulvey Roberts has argued, the "exclusivity of clubs invited privacy but remained, at same time, public."[15] The meeting locations of partsong clubs were publicly known, yet details concerning club business and certain activities remained private.

The Nobleman and Gentleman's Catch Club initially met at the Thatched House Tavern on St. James Street near Buckingham Palace. In October of 1764 they moved to St. Alban's Tavern, a fashionable institution colloquially referred to as "Almack's Club." In April of 1767 they returned to the Thatched House, convening in a "spacious room" at the Tavern. Both buildings were owned by William Almack.[16] Almack worked as the steward of the Duke of Hamilton, who was a Catch Club member. Almack also owned the Assembly Rooms, which eventually became the next home of the

---

[13] Viscount Gladstone, "The Story of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club" (1930), in Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays Toward its History* (London: Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club at the Cypher Press, 1996), 11.
[14] Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200–1830* (New York: Longman, 1983), 41.
[15] Marie Mulvey Roberts, "Pleasures Engendered by Gender: Homosociality and the Club," in *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts (New York: NYU Press, 1996), 54.
[16] Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), 55.

Catch Club in 1814, albeit under different ownership.[17] The location set the scene for homosocial meetings that engaged in several weekly rituals that were predominantly inspired by two British cultural influences popular with the gentry: parliamentarianism and freemasonry. Focusing on the most prominent London partsong club, the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club (hereafter referred to as the Catch Club), this chapter discusses the ways in which parliamentarianism and freemasonry were used to communicate the ideology of social harmony, a phrase that was itself embedded within British associational culture of the Georgian era.

Several partsong clubs were comprised of a combination of gentlemen amateur musicians and professional musicians, which introduced an interesting class element into the equation of social harmony. These included the Catch Club, Glee Club, Anacreontic Society, Harmonists Society, and the *Philo-Musicae et Architecturae Societas Appollini*.[18] The gentlemen paid dues and were thus considered full members with voting privileges, while the professional musicians, usually titled as honorary members, did not pay dues but were not able to vote. Such clubs were considered elite in the sense that they attracted the nobility, demanded significant annual dues, and typically convened in fashionable locations popular with intellectuals and politicians. For example, the Catch Club counted among its members wealthy gentlemen including the fourth Earl of Sandwich and the Prince of Wales, who would later be crowned as George IV. In his 1886 history of glees and part-songs, William Barrett states, "The Catch Club… became very fashionable, and most of the noble amateurs of the day became members of it."[19]

As the nobility and landed gentry exercised considerable political power, they usually headed the numerous societies comprising British life. Membership in the Catch Club was competitive, so much so that it appears an offshoot of the club, referred to in the *Minutes* as the "New Catch Club," formed in 1774 to enable more gentlemen to participate, though nothing is known concerning its membership and it appears to have been short-lived.[20] For gentlemen members, membership publicly affirmed their status as music connoisseurs and critics, since it was the gentlemen that determined the winners of the club's annual composition competition. For them, the club provided a means not only of sociability, but of civic duty, as they worked to promote the glee as an English

[17] In 1814 the Assembly Rooms were known as Willis's Rooms. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 55.
[18] *Philo-Musicae et Architecturae Societas Appollini* (or the Apollo Society for the Lovers of Music and Architecture), was where Geminiani was initiated.
[19] William Alexander Barrett, *English Glees and Part-Songs, an Inquiry into their Historical Development* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.), 1886.
[20] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 75.

national genre (this topic is discussed in greater detail in chapter two). The professional musician members also benefited from membership through the professional connections they made with potential patrons. Competition winners were guaranteed publication in Catch Club books, which often led to additional publication opportunities. The relationship between amateur and professional was mutually beneficial: the professionals generated new repertoire and served as the primary performers at meetings, while the gentlemen fashioned themselves as patrons of said music, and worked to get it published.

Social Harmony

The term "harmony" carries both musical and social connotations. Harmony necessarily engages the sounding of two or more notes simultaneously, but it is also used to convey a sense of concord and peace. In both instances, a pleasurable effect arises from a context of mutual agreeance, whether sonic or communal. The two meanings merge when references to "harmony" imply consonant rather than dissonant sounds. Particularly within this context, harmonized singing directly related to the social act of experiencing similar, shared sentiments with one's colleagues. On a broader level, harmonized singing can be understood as signifying social compliance and conformity with certain established normative behaviors. In this manner, participating in a partsong club, while pure entertainment in one sense, also engaged with larger societal values and aims.

Ideas of social harmony were widely evident within masonic literature and music, as evidenced by Thomas Hale's predominantly masonic anthology, *Social Harmony*, published in 1763. *Social Harmony* opens with a long list of subscribers, followed by a section containing masonic songs, a second section comprised of miscellaneous songs, a third section containing catches, and a closing supplement featuring a mix of songs and catches, many of which refer to masonry.[21] Members of masonic institutions would have been familiar with its contents, and the majority of Catch Club members also identified as masons. The associational connection is clear, as both masonic lodges and partsong clubs were centered on fraternal socializing and singing. At least one of the named subscribers to *Social Harmony* was Catch Club member William Hayes, who is specified as having ordered six books for his other catch club based in Oxford. In the preface to his own anthology, *Catches, Glees, and Canons for Three, Four and Five Voices*, Hayes alludes to the social and moralizing aspects of partsong. Hayes refers to his compositions as his "little family," claiming that the songs

[21] Thomas Hale, *Social Harmony, Consisting of a Collection of Songs and Catches, in Two, Three, Four and Five Parts, from the Works of the Most Eminent Masters. To Which are Added Several Choice Songs on Masonry...* ([London]: [J. Lewer], 1763).

printed here have the ability to produce cheerfulness, good humour, friendship, and a love of harmony. He closes with the intention that they may "harmonize the *Minds*, as well as *Voices*, of those who shall think them worth their Notice."[22] This statement aligns the two meanings of social harmony introduced earlier.

Hayes's gestures toward masonic harmony were shared by a corpus of masonic texts published in London during the 1760s. Commonly referred to collectively as "exposures," these texts were reputed to expose the secrets of masonic meetings, a prurient public interest given freemasonry's seemingly enigmatic rituals. Just one year prior to Hayes's publication, James Anderson writes, "blessed with an universal Harmony in all its Faculties; an *Understanding* fraught with all Manner of Knowledge."[23] Anderson links the concept of harmony with that of understanding, much like Hayes. In Sketchley's 1785 *Free Masons Repository*, the degree to which masons viewed their institution as a model for a harmonized society is readily apparent. Sketchley writes, "Masonry…renders [man] fit for the duties of social life… . Society has harmony in the very word; but much more in the application of it. For it is to it we owe all arts and science."[24] The opening lodge prayer in the *Free Masons Repository* calls for a meeting of "order, harmony, and brotherly love," while the closing prayer asks for the blessings of "every moral and social virtue."[25] The term "harmony" could express masonic ideals without disclosing actual rituals except for the known practice of singing harmonized song.

Perhaps ironically, membership in private associations was central to establishing a public persona during the Georgian era. For most of the gentlemen Catch Club members, club activities resonated with their day jobs as peers in the House of Lords. The mentality of societal improvement was prevalent at this time, and a certain amount of pride deriving from holding a Parliament seat appears to have transferred to the Catch Club's goal of promoting an English national music. Following the Glorious Revolution and establishment of a constitutional monarchy under William and Mary, Parliament was imbued with more civic power and a sense of fostering a national sense of republican democracy predicated on the Enlightenment. Parliamentary ideals of order and fairness

---

[22] William Hayes, *Catches, Glees, and Canons for Three, Four and Five Voices* (1757), Preface (n.p.). Hayes published one of the earliest collections of music in which the word "glee" was used to indicate a social part-song.
[23] James Anderson, John Entick, *The Constitutions of the Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons: Containing their History, Charges, Regulations, &C. ... For the Use of the Lodges. By James Anderson ... Carefully Revised, Continued and Enlarged, with Many Additions, by John Entick.* (London: Printed for Brother J. Scott, 1756), 3.
[24] J. Sketchley, *The Free Masons Repository. Containing a Selection of Valuable Discourses, Charges, Rules, Orders, Aphorisms, and Letters: ... To Which is Added, a Variety of Anthems, Odes, Songs, Poems ... Also, the Secret Way of Writing Used Among Masons* (Birmingham: Printed by and for J. Sketchley, ca. 1785), 1 (Eulogium on masonry); 5 (Masonical Aphorisms).
[25] Ibid., 39 (Prayers).

can easily be framed as aspects of social harmony. In the following pages, I will first demonstrate the degree to which Catch Club members were active as masons and Parliamentarians, while providing some context on what such institutions entailed during the eighteenth century and how they may have influenced club activities. Second, I will describe some of the Catch Club's fundamental procedures and rules as they relate to parliamentarianism, with a particular focus on the after-dinner grace *Non nobis Domine* attributed to William Byrd. Third, I will introduce the order of various key events and their execution as rituals in a Catch Club meeting, drawing parallels to lodge meetings. Finally, I will consider how some of the club repertoire resembles masonic repertoire, as well as how performance practices may overlap between the two institutions.

Freemasonry

In London, freemasonry quickly became a centralizing force following the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717. Music historian Emmanuel Rubin goes so far as to suggest that "it may have been the rites and/or pleasures of singing in the masonic lodges that helped to generate such societies as the Catch Club, or served as a template for their procedures."[26] The rituals and performance practices of lodges are reflected in Catch Club culture. Of the lodges that sprang up throughout England, several prioritized music at their meetings. These groups included the Lodge of Antiquity (orig. No. 1, now No. 2), Somerset House Lodge (now Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge No. 4), Lodge of the Nine Muses (now No. 235), Pilgrim Lodge (now No. 238), Lodge of Prudence (now No. 388), and the *Philo-musicae et -architecturae societas Apollini* (Apollo Society for the Lovers of Music and Architecture, 1725–27), which was a hybrid lodge and musical society. The violinist Francesco Geminiani served as music director for this latter society, and was also a member of the Academy of Vocal Music in London. Lodges and partsong societies also shared meeting venues. For example, the Nine Muses Lodge met at the Thatched House Tavern, the same location where the Catch Club met. The Glee Club met at the Freemasons' tavern in 1783, 1788, and 1790, and boasted many masons among its gentlemen and professional musician members.[27]

The Catch Club was founded by nine gentlemen, two of which were masons: the tenth Earl of Eglinton Alexander Montgomerie (1723–69) and the fifth Baronet Lieutenant-General Robert

[26] Emmanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Detroit: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), 48.
[27] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 80.

Rich (1717–85). These men may have been responsible for introducing procedural dictums that were already established in freemasonry, such as the rule forbidding the discussion of either politics or religion during club meetings. On a broad level, English masons generally supported the King and the Hanoverian succession. Yet masons identified as both Tories and Whigs, Anglicans and Catholics. The enforced avoidance of political and religious conversation prevented these differences from overtaking the purpose for which the club was founded—to socialize and to sing.

In addition to the two masons who founded the club, there were several other prominent masons who joined, including the Prince of Wales, who was later instated as George IV in 1820. The prince became the most prestigious member of the Catch Club in 1786, and succeeded his uncle as Grand Master of the Premier Grand Lodge of England in 1790. He remained a crucial patron for the club, and may have funded the prize medals for the best catch, canon, and glees. Another member of near importance was the Prince's uncle, the Duke of Cumberland Henry Frederick (1745–90), who joined the Catch Club in the same year as the Prince and preceded him as Grand Master in 1782. Several masons of royal blood joined the club within a three-year span following the Prince and Duke of Cumberland, namely Edward Augustus, Duke of York (1739–67), William Henry, Duke of Gloucester (1743–1805), and William Henry, Duke of Clarence (1765–1837). Additional noblemen belonging to both organizations include fifth Baronet Watkin Williams Wynn (1772–1840), the Duke of Cumberland, Ernest Augustus (1771–1851), and the Duke of Sussex, Augustus Frederick (1773–1843). Another influential music patron, the Earl of Mornington, though not a member, was a mason and had several pieces published by the club in Warren's annual *Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees*.

Professional musician members in the Catch Club were widely represented in freemasonry (Figure 1.1). Of the composers listed here, the majority of music in the club's thirty-two volumes of Warren's *Collection* was composed by Samuel Webbe the elder, John Wall Callcott, John Danby, Benjamin Cooke, John Stafford Smith, and Thomas Arne, all of whom were masons.[28] Somerset House Lodge moved to Freemason's Tavern in 1778, the same year that the Glee Club began meeting there. At that time, the lodge recruited musicians to join as honorary members (though some became full members) and lead the singing after lodge business had concluded. Of the club

[28] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 69. There is some discrepancy regarding the dating of Warren's *Collection* volumes, due to their lack of printed publication dates. I use Emanuel Rubin's dating, in which volumes 1A and 1B are thought to have been published in 1762, vol. 2 in 1763, and so on, with vol. 32 published in 1793.

Arne, Thomas Augustine (1710–1778)	**Harrison, Samuel (1760–1812)**
***Barthélemon, François H. (1741–1808)**	Hayes, William (bap. 1708–1777)
Bartleman, James (1769–1821)	**Hindle, John (1761–1796)**
*Battishill, Jonathan (1738–1801)	**Knyvett, Charles jun. (1773–1852)**
Bellamy, Thomas (1770–1843)	**Leete, Robert (1762–1836)**
Callcott, John Wall (1766–1821)	**Nield, John**
Cooke, Benjamin (1734–1793)	**Page, John (ca.1760–1812)**
Cooke, Matthew (ca. 1761–1829)	**Parsons, William (1746–1817)**
Danby, John (1756/7–1798)	**Rheinhold, Frederick C.**
Dignum, Charles (1765–1827)	**Sale, John (1734–1802)**
Dyne, John (ca. 1740–1788)	**Smith, John Stafford (bap. 1750–1836)**
Fisher, John Abraham (1744–1806)	**Webbe, Samuel, the elder (1740–1816)**
Giardini, Felice di (1716–1796)	**Webbe, Samuel, the younger (1768–1843)**
Gore, Israel (?)	**Wood, ?**
* Freemason attribution likely NB: Bold font indicates membership in Somerset House Lodge	

Figure 1.1: Honorary members of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club

members who were masons, most were members of the Somerset House Lodge.[29]

Overlaps in Catch Club and masonic library contents are also known, mostly through subscription lists. For example, the Somerset Lodge library contained some volumes of Warren's *Collection*, as well as individual glee publications by Catch Club composers including Webbe, which implies that Catch Club repertoire was sung during masonic lodges. Another repertoire connection lies in that both masonic lodges and the Catch Club had antiquarian interests. Masons sang Elizabethan madrigals following the close of lodges, and the Catch Club included sixteenth- and seventeenth-century madrigals and catches in their anthologies (discussed in chapter two).

Gentlemen members belonging to partsong clubs and masonic lodges must have attracted professional musicians seeking opportunities to professionally connect with patrons and music publishers with whom they might otherwise not have come into contact with. For example, Harrison and Knyvett's Vocal Concerts, a prominent subscription concert series founded in 1791,

[29] Simon McVeigh, "Freemasonry and Musical Life in London in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 79.

was hosted by two masons who were also honorary Catch Club members.[30] Warren's *Collection* was published by the company Longman and Broderip, of whom Francis Broderip was a mason.

Parliamentarianism

During the reign of George III, 768 peers were granted the right to sit on the House of Lords by inheritance, creation, or election, together with twelve princes of blood.[31] Most of the gentlemen Catch Club members belonged to the House of Lords via hereditary membership. House of Lords MPs were known as peers, with the highest-ranking peerage being those who owned the most land.[32] The gentry baronets, knights, and commoners with coats of arms belonged to the second peerage rank, and typically owned a smaller portion of land.[33] Together, these groups constituted the aristocracy, about half of which were educated at University, and the majority of which were members of the Church of England or Scotland.[34]

Historian Peter Jupp has observed that from the eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries, the British elite maintained their hegemonic position by "absorbing, and thereby controlling," anything that might challenge to it. Both the executive and the legislature were dominated by landed gentlemen.[35] In the nineteenth century, peerage creations "restructured and rationalized the House of Lords, making the membership even more congruent with the top level of wealth and social consequence."[36] Jupp explains,

> Parliament still bore the appearance of a gentleman's club. The Lords remained in many respects the senior members: their small number, evidence of their exclusivity; their rank, a testimony to their landed wealth; their influence over the membership of the Commons through their electoral strength, growing rather than receding; their supervision of local administration, still immensely strong.[37]

The concept of an essentially appropriative and hierarchic national government seems apt for the Catch Club, in which the gentlemen members exercised full governance privileges while the

---

[30] Samuel Harrison (1760–1812) was a tenor, and Charles Knyvett Sr. (1752–1822) was an organist and alto singer.
[31] Michael W McCahill, *The House of Lords in the Age of George III (1760-1811)* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell for the Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust, 2009), 13.
[32] Peter Jupp, *The Governing of Britain, 1688–1848: The Executive, Parliament, and the People* (London: Routledge, 2006), 58.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., *The Governing of Britain,* 59.
[35] Peter Jupp, "The Landed Elite and Political Authority in Britain, ca. 1760–1850," *Journal of British Studies* 29, no. 1 (1990): 54–55, 58.
[36] Michael McCahill and Ellis Archer, "The New Peerage: Recruitment to the House of Lords, 1704–1847" *The Historical Journal* 46, no. 1 (2003): 2.
[37] Jupp, "The Landed Elite," 56.

professional musician members experienced none. While both gentlemen and professionals could call themselves members, no economic equality was presumed between the two member types.

The high proportion of MPs within the Catch Club helps to explain why so many gentlemen members were ardent supporters of a specifically English music tradition. The landed elite were expected to fulfill "their position as the 'natural rulers' of the country" by demonstrating their ability to rule through "gendered qualities of personal autonomy, independent judgment, and self-command."[38] The gentlemen members were only amateur musicians at best, yet took it upon themselves to assess the competition prize winners each year as a means of exercising their authority in taste. While there was a range of efforts put forth, several gentlemen, including Lord Sandwich and Sir Watkins Wynn, dedicated significant time to the Catch Club and other musical enterprises. Sandwich apparently became so overwhelmed by government responsibilities, particularly as first lord of the admiralty, that he failed to attend to his estate, which resulted in problems with debt.[39] He managed to create time for all of his musical activities, involving both the Catch Club and Concerts of Antient Music, by determining club meeting schedules in relation to Parliament's schedule. A Catch Club decree on May 17th, 1763 states, "Resolv'd that for the future the first Tuesday after the Kings Birthday be the last day of the Club's sitting till the next meeting of the Parliament."[40] The reference to George III's birthday also alludes to the patriotism that suffused club rituals to be discussed below, including regularly toasting the royal family and singing *Non nobis Domine*.

With so many Catch Club members representing Parliament, it was only natural to maintain the same level of detailed records for the club as was maintained during Parliament sessions. In his history of British government, Jupp identifies three primary roles of Parliament during the eighteenth century: as counsel to the Crown, as Grand Inquest of the Nation (in which Parliament considered specific subjects not normally dealt with by the Executive), and as "a repository not only of opinion but also of an increasing quantity of information."[41] Parliament collected a wide array of information during this time period, including "petitions and addresses from members of the public

---

[38] Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c.1660-c.1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3.

[39] McCahill, *The House of Lords*, 33. From 1718-92, Sandwich succeeded his Grandfather as 4th Earl of Sandwich, 1729; lord of admiralty, 1741–6; minister at Breda, 1746; at Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748-9; first Lord of Admiralty, 1749-51; Ambassador to Spain, 1753; Secretary of State (north), 1763–5, 1770–1; postmaster, 1768–70; first Lord of Admiralty, 1771–82.

[40] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.rr, 35.

[41] Jupp, *The Governing of Britain*, 55–57.

for bills or for the redress of grievances; bills and acts; the *Journals* of the two houses that recorded daily business, including the reports of some select committees; the separate reports of select committees; and the accounts and papers requested by members from the government departments."[42]

The third role in particular is reflected in Catch Club record-keeping policies. From its inception, the club kept minutes books in emulation of Parliament proceedings. These books doubly functioned as accounts books, by beginning the account records in the back of the book, and going in reverse page order (Figure 1.2). During the nineteenth century, once the club had become more established, members created an additional minutes book, a cash book (which replaced the previous accounting system) and a fines book.[43] Between 1795 and 1836, the club compiled six separate indices listing their music library's manuscript and print contents (discussed in chapter two), thus keeping a detailed history of library contents which happened to also reflect evolving musical tastes. In 1818, the club created a *Laws and Regulations* book exclusively devoted to recording amendments to club policy, which extends into 1878.[44] Another book includes membership lists from 1779–1868.[45] Attendance books for 1791–1850 survive, as do books titled *Pieces Chosen, 1780–1803* and *Glees Performed, 1828–71*, demonstrating the shift in preference from singing catches, canons, and glees to singing primarily glees.[46] Over the years, club documents amassed to the point where they were finally given to the British Library for safekeeping.

Parliament documents were initially stored in manuscript, but as more found their way into print, Parliament's information repository was transformed "from one that was directed solely to the needs of parliamentarians to one that informed the wider public."[47] Likewise, once the Catch Club had generated a substantial body of repertoire through their competition, partsong publications by honorary members often made reference to the Catch Club's reputed name and its bestowal of prizes on their songs. This meant that club records regarding competition winners and pieces performed at club meetings had become relevant to the public, and club information was distributed through printed music. Consumers acknowledged the competition's prestige by purchasing music

---

[42] Ibid., 57.
[43] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss–ww; *Cash book, 1828–51*, H.2788.fff; *Fines, 1828–36*, H.2788.ggg–hhh.
[44] *Laws and Regulations, 1818–78*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.qq.
[45] *Members Elected, 1779–1868*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.bbb.
[46] *Attendances, 1791–1850*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.xx–zz, aaa; *Pieces Chosen, 1780–1803*, H.2788.ccc; *Glees Performed, 1828–71*, H.2788.ddd, eee.
[47] Jupp, *The Governing of Britain*, 57.

Figure 1.2: Accounts written in reverse in *Minutes*, British Library H.2788.rr

designated as having won a prize, as well as by performing the music both in the home and in public concerts. Together, these activities helped to legitimize its advertised value.

Parliamentarianism also upheld the underlying belief in patriarchal authority central to club prestige. Most clubs only allowed male members, and thus drew on methods of organization used by other all-male groups. The marginality of women in most associations was partially due to their inferior legal status. Historian Peter Clark posits, "As voluntary associations became increasingly institutionalized and bureaucratic, the inability of married women to sign legal documents in their own right or to be held responsible for financial accounts was a major obstacle to their participation in associations."[48] Between 1803 and 1804, only five percent of English benefit societies were designated as women's clubs.[49] Women were instead much more likely to host salons in their own homes, locations firmly associated with the domestic realm. Also, club membership was often

[48] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 202.
[49] Ibid., 198.

expensive, and married women typically possessed small earnings. Venue was another factor, since most associations convened in public houses such as taverns from which women were often excluded. Expectations of sociable behavior within club environments often involved alcohol consumption and uncouth conversation, activities unacceptable for middle- and upper-class women.

Rules

Not surprisingly, Catch Club procedures were often influenced by parliamentarian procedure. Though *Robert's Rules of Order* was not published until 1876, Henry Robert developed it for the purpose of standardizing earlier methods of facilitating committee business that had developed in the English Parliament. Many procedural methods and turns of speech expressed in club minutes are acknowledged in some form in *Robert's Rules*. For example, since the club's founding, the gentlemen regularly used parliamentarian terms such as "resolv'd," "summons," "ballotting" [*sic*] and "quorum" to refer to club procedure, as in the minutes for May 12th 1763:

> Resolv'd, That in the summons for that day, it be signified to all the Members that the Duke of Queensbury is to be Ballotted [*sic*] for, and that the Members be desir'd to attend on that occasion, as Twelve are absolutely necessary to form a Quorum.[50]

Additional parliamentarian language, often in relation to voting, includes references to candidates, vacant seats, blackballing (a common voting method), duly elected, committee reports, and the name of the gentlemen member who was presiding "in the chair" as president for a particular meeting.[51] A reference in the minutes on December 29th 1763 applies parliamentary procedure to the method by which music would be selected to be published in Warren's *Collection*:

> A motion being made and the Question put that Mr. Secretary Warren have leave to print such Catches Canons and Glees belonging to the Society as they shall approve of it pass'd in the Affirmative Nem. Con. [unanimously]
>
> Order'd that the Member who made the motion do lay before the Society at their next meeting a List of such Catches Canons and Glees, as he desires leave to print, for their inspection and approbation.[52]

[50] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.rr, 33.
[51] "Tues. 24th of May 1763," Ibid., 35.
[52] Ibid., 49.

In addition to further illustrating the degree to which club business was carried out in a manner similar to the Chamber, this excerpt also reveals that the gentlemen amateurs, not the honorary member musicians, determined what music was printed under the club's purview.

The authority exercised by the gentlemen members was upheld through the creation, revision, and enforcement of club policies coupled with record keeping. Most clubs possessed a document that outlined a list of rubrics, or rules to be enforced in various situations. Most of the Catch Club's rubrics address the means for assigning forfeits, or fines, identifying in detail the transgressions and associated monetary penalties. There were membership fees, fines for non-attendance, fines for refusing to serve in rotation as president or vice president, fines for refusing to vote in a club election, and fines for drinking to someone present at the meeting. Rubrics were in place from the initial founding of the club, and in true bureaucratic fashion, were periodically revised and reapproved. Minutes for March 2, 1767 describes what was likely the first revision of the original club laws, and the origins of the club's official *Book of Laws*:

> The Duke of Queensbury reported from the Committee appointed to examine a written paper entitled *A Digest of the Statute and other laws of the Catch Club*, instituted Nov., 1761, that they had come to several resolutions which are entered into the books of the Society, and which he read in his place.
>
> Resolv'd that the Society do agree with the Committee in the said Resolutions.
>
> Order'd that a Book be provided at the Society's expense, and that the Digest above-mention'd be enter'd therein, and that it be kept by the Treasurer for the time being, and be brought to the Meetings and Committees of the Society, and that it be referr'd to upon all occasions, as a Book of Laws obligatory upon the Members of the Society and all others whom it may concern.[53]

The original 1761 *Digest* no longer exists, nor does the *Book of Laws* referred to above. However, as rubrics were reinforced and revisited over the years, they continued to be recorded. Minutes for 1793 include a revised version of the original laws, titled "Penal Laws of the Club."[54] In 1808, the Penal Laws were typewritten and signed by club secretary Samuel Webbe, and circulated to

[53] Ibid.

[54] A revision of the Penal Laws was undertaken on April 23rd 1793, and the updated version was recorded in the minutes. *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss, 145.

every current and new member of the club (Figure 1.3).[55] Items III and XI illustrate the extent to which fines were levied. Item III assigned a penalty for not paying previous penalties, in which members who had become non-members due to non-attendance, and had subsequently failed to pay any remaining fines within fourteen days of their acquittal, were required to pay double the fines amount. Item XI states, "Every Member who acquires any Increase of Income by Inheritance, Marriage, Legacy, Preferment, or from whatever other Source it may arise, shall pay to the society the Half of One per Cent. Of the first Year's Revenue on the said Increase of Income, or may compound for TEN GUINEAS." At every meeting of the club, following dinner, an announcement was made concerning this particular stipulation, nudging members who may have recently increased their fortunes to pay the customary fee. The announcement took on a ritualistic, performative guise, and was as much a statement of its members' wealth as it was a lucrative procedure. Leicester amateur musician William Gardiner attended a meeting around 1812, and described this moment in the meeting:

> After the cloth is drawn the chairman recapitulates some of the ancient laws of the society, namely—"If any honourable member has come to a fortune or estate, he shall pay a per centage [*sic*] upon the same; or he may commute the same for ten pounds. If any nobleman, knight, baronet, or esquire, shall have taken upon himself a wife, he shall pay into the treasury a fine of twenty pounds, in sterling money." Those who visit these meetings cannot but be surprised at the audible manner in which these rules are pronounced from the chair, and still more to see the bank-notes laid on the table before the president, by the secretary, for the fines of the previous week.[56]

Gardiner's surprised reaction to the announcement concerning inheritance money or marriage is understandable, in that such things were beyond his realm of experience. The club appears to have continued this ritual of income taxing well into the nineteenth century, which coincides with gentlemen members continuing to serve as parliamentarians during that time. This seemingly pedantic policy was probably perfectly natural to them, as a means of accountability for increased income in accordance with the taxing standards of their society. On the other hand, being essentially taxed twice for one's income was a less than pleasant affair.

---

[55]"Music: Penal laws of the Catch Club: 1808.: Printed, with MS. Additions," British Library Western Manuscripts Add MS 48415, f. 168.

[56] William Gardiner, *Music and Friends, Or Pleasant Recollections of a Dilettante* vol. 2 (1812), 513.

PENAL LAWS
OF
THE CATCH-CLUB,
AS
REVISED AND AMENDED
On the Fifth Day of April, 1808.

I. Every new Member shall, upon his Admission, pay TEN GUINEAS to the General Fund of the Society; and, if he does not attend at one of the Six Meetings next ensuing the Day of his Election, the Member who proposed him shall pay Half of his admission Fee as above, he being accountable for the same to the Society.

II. Every Member, being within the Kingdom, shall attend at the Weekly meetings, or send his Excuse in a Letter, addressed to the President, properly dated and signed, at least, by himself, under the Penalty of forfeiting HALF A GUINEA for each day's Absence, in Case of Neglect.

III. Every Member who shall not make his Appearance at the Club personally once within the Season, shall pay the sum of ONE GUINEA, over and above any other Forfeits that he may have incurred. And if he neglects to write his Excuse once within the said Time, he shall be no longer deemed a Member, and shall pay all his Arrears of Forfeits, &c. on the Penalty of such Forfeits, &c. being doubled, if neglected to be paid within fourteen days.

IV. Every Member on his quitting the Club shall pay up his Arrears to the Time of his quitting it, under the same Penalty.

V. Every Member who may quit the Club, either by Resignation or forfeiture, after the Season is began, shall pay to the Society the same Contribution for that Season as may be found necessary for the remaining Members to pay.

VI. Every Member who quits the Kingdom, shall signify the Time of his Departure to the Secretary, and shall immediately pay up all his Arrears to that Time, under the Penalty of his Forfeitures being doubled: and likewise when he returns, shall make the same know to the Secretary, under the Penalty of incurring the same forfeitures to which he would have been liable if he had continued in the Kingdom.

VII. Every Member shall take his turn, to be Vice-President, according to Rotation; and if he does not attend in Person, and take his Chair, before the Grace is finished, he shall forfeit HALF A GUINEA, (to be applied to the General Fud of the Society,) and the Vic-Presidentship shall devolve on the next Member who shall be present, under the same penalty on declining, unless such Member shall have served the Office in Person, at the Meeting immediately preceding.

IX. Every Member who shall refuse to ballot on any Occasion whatever, shall forfeit FIVE GUINEAS, to be applied to the General Fund.

X. Every Member who, during the Sittings of the Club, shall drink to any Person or Persons present, shall forfeit TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE, toties quoties, to be applied to the Funds of the Society.

XI. Every Member who acquires any Increase of Income by Inheritance, Marriage, Legacy, Preferment, or from whatever other Source it may arise, shall pay to the society the Half of One per Cent. Of the first Year's Revenue on the said Increase of Income, or may compound for TEN GUINEAS.

XII. Every Candidate who acquires any Increase of Income as above, during the Time of his being a Candidate, shall, on his being admitted as a Member, be subject to the above Law.

RESOLVED, that the foregoing PENAL LAWS, shall commence from and after the Fifth Day of April, 1808, from which Time the Old ones shall cease; and that they be printed and sent to every Member of the Society, and likewise to every One who may become a Member thereof.

BY ORDER OF THE SOCIETY,
Samuel Webbe [signature]

Figure 1.3: Penal Laws of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club (1808), British Library Add MS 48415

A new *Laws and Regulations* book was created at some point in the early nineteenth century.[57] It opens with "Laws and Regulations of the Catch Club…1828," which includes nine laws followed by descriptions of the various office duties (president, vice president, secretary). Additional headings include "honors, privileges, and emoluments," "honorary members," "prizes," "committee of trials," and "weekly meetings." The manuscript then reverts back a decade, with Penal Laws dated June 14th 1817. Resolutions from 1821 through 1873 follow, concluding with several blank pages. This book demonstrates the continued efforts of the gentlemen members through the first half of the century to communicate club rules to the membership.

Eighteenth-century transgressions were recorded in the accounts section of the *Minutes*, but by the nineteenth century a separate book had been dedicated solely to recording fines (Figure 1.4).[58] Each member's name was typed, together with the date on which they had become members. This was followed by a fines column listing the fine amounts, another column titled "When Paid," and a column titled "Observations," where the reason for the fine could be identified (Figure 1.5). The phrase "not writing" refers to the member's failure to send a letter to the President prior to missing a club meeting. Much attention and time was thus bestowed on money collection, perhaps to the annoyance of the gentlemen members. At the same time, the system of fines ensured (or was at least intended to ensure) smooth operation of club meetings, in which everyone performed their designated roles for the evening. Beginning in November 1771 the forfeit money and additional income were kept in a "strongbox" during the club season.[59]

In addition to monetary fines, ritualized fines were occasionally levied in the guise of drinking penalties. Alcohol has always been an important component of club life, as evidenced by references to claret being "laid in for the use of the society."[60] During the first round of singing, any member found to be singing out of tune or time, or who stopped before the song had ended (particularly with regard to catches) was ordered by the president to drink a glass of wine.[61] Likewise, if either politics or religion were mentioned, a drinking infraction ensued, which, considering the clientele, must have occurred frequently.[62] Though the potential for increased merriment was built into this system, it was ultimately considered ungentlemanly to become inebriated at club meetings.

---

[57] *Laws and Regulations, 1818–78*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.qq.
[58] *Fines, 1828–36*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ggg.
[59] "Tues. 26th Nov. 1771," *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.rr, 271.
[60] "June 1770," *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.rr, 270.
[61] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 60.
[62] Ibid.

Figure 1.4: Page from Catch Club fine book, British Library H.2788.ggg

Figure 1.5: Page from Catch Club fine book, British Library H.2788.ggg

Voting

Another method by which ritual was enacted with parliamentarian vigor was voting for new members. At its installation, the founding members determined that the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club could have a maximum of twenty-one gentlemen members and honorary members inclusive. As stated earlier, honorary members were exempt from dues but also could not vote. Candidates for both gentlemen and honorary memberships had to be nominated by gentlemen members, but the ensuing voting system was more formal for the gentlemen. Following nomination, the candidate's name would be written on a slip of paper and entered into a hat with the names of five other gentlemen nominees. Whenever a member's seat became vacant, a name was drawn from the hat and voted on by the gentlemen members. The black ball system of voting was utilized, in which each voting member deposited either a white ball or a black ball into the ballot box. When there were a minimum of twelve voters, three black balls were required for rejection. If only eight voters, two black balls resulted in rejection.[63] If the first candidate was rejected, a second name was

Figure 1.6: Candidates and voting results for gentlemen member election (1775), British Library H.2788.ss

[63] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 56.

drawn and voted upon. The secretary recorded the names of all members voted upon in the minutes, together with the results (Figure 1.6).[64] At the beginning and end of each club season an updated list of gentlemen and honorary members was included in the minutes. The club also maintained membership books as an additional means of documentation.[65] Gentlemen candidates were likely judged according to personal character and social influence rather than musical knowledge or ability. Only two gentlemen members were ever elected without ballot: the Parisian Duc de Nivernois (joined in 1763) and the Prince of Wales (joined in 1786). The superior social status of these men, their wealth, and the favors they granted the Club appear to have justified their automatic membership. Each additionally received special treatment, such as exemptions from non-attendance penalties.

It was a much simpler voting procedure for professional musicians. A gentleman member nominated him by proposal, another seconded the nomination, and his membership was determined by majority vote. In almost all cases, the musician was judged according to his established professional reputation as a singer or composer—in other words, his prestige.[66] For example, several Italian singers including castrati were elected as members, though the castrati rarely (if ever) attended club meetings.[67] Other foreign members included émigrés Carl Friederich Abel and Felice Giardini.[68] Giardini was also a prominent mason, having joined the Lodge of Nine Muses in 1778. Education was another factor contributing to prestige, and English musicians with doctorates in music were always referred to by title, as in "Dr. Callcott." In acting as the sole electors of the professional musicians, the gentlemen members thus exercised their ruling authority over the club.

Non nobis Domine

Parliamentary meetings have their ceremonial rituals, proceedings that have stayed relatively unchanged since the Elizabethan formation of Parliament. One of the most long-lasting rituals for the House of Lords is the reciting of Anglican prayers at every meeting. Partsong clubs transferred

---

[64] Candidates and voting results for 1775, *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss, Preface (n.p.).
[65] *Members elected, 1779–1868*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.bbb.
[66] Samuel Webbe is one of the few musician members who did not have an established professional reputation when he became a club member. He therefore invented a new strategy for obtaining membership, by attending as a guest, performing in a song and successfully soliciting a nomination.
[67] Castrati members included Tommaso Guarducci, Gaetano Guadagni, Giusto Tenducci, Giuseppe Millico, Francesco Roncaglia, Gasparo Pacchierotti, and Venanzio Rauzzini. Guarducci and Grassi were noted as being "abroad" in June 1767, and Pacchierotti appears to have never attended a meeting. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 47.
[68] Abel was expelled for non-attendance in May 1766, but Giardini was actively involved, having been expelled and later readmitted. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 43–44.

this influence to their meetings by singing the canon *Non nobis Domine*. The piece, in the words of musicologist Brian Robins, attained "canonic status as a post-dinner grace in the world of the eighteenth-century catch club."[69] It is a three-part canon in G major with the two lower voices entering at the fourth and octave (Figure 1.7).[70] The text derives from the first verse of Psalm 115 in the *King James Bible*, which reads, *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*, or, "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the glory." Catch Club member R. J. S. Stevens recalls that it was also sung at Academy of Ancient Music meetings: "After Supper, having sung *Non nobis Domine*, we returned to the Concert Room…"[71] The Anacreontic Society, Glee Club, Concentores Society, Harmonists Society, and Madrigal Society also sang it as an after-dinner grace.[72] The sanctity with which it was treated by the Catch Club is demonstrated in the competition advertisement for 1791, which required submissions to include the canon at the end as a sort of *Gloria Patri*: "The final

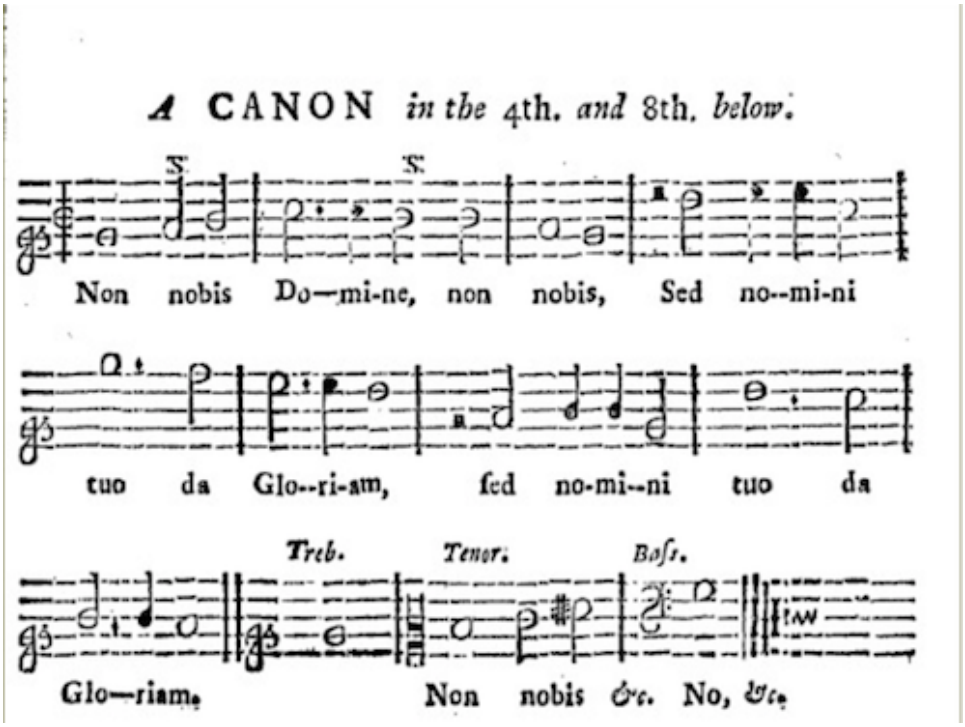


Figure 1.7: Non nobis Domine canon

[69] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 7.
[70] Nathaniel Gawthorn, *Harmonia perfecta: A Compleat Collection of Psalm Tunes, in Four Parts* (London: Printed by William Pearson, 1730), 225.
[71] Mark Argent, ed., *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), 25.
[72] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 78, 85; Rubin, *The English Glee*, 97; John Hullah, "A Visit to the Madrigal Society," in *Bentley's Miscellany* v. 1, ed. Charles Dickens, William Harrison Ainsworth, and Albert Smith (London: Printed by Samuel Bentley, Dorset Street, Fleet Street, 1837), 466.

Close [final section] must be in the Canon, vide, "Non Nobis Domine," otherwise it will not be admitted."[73]

As the most performed canon in eighteenth-century England, *Non nobis* inspired related original compositions. A new, anonymous setting of *Non nobis* appears in the eleventh music manuscript volume, presumably entered as a candidate for the best canon in the 1782 competition (Figure 1.8).[74] Henry Harington, a medical doctor from Bath, composed the glee "What Shall we Sing," or, "A Favorite Glee: For Three Voices (Occasioned by Hearing *Non nobis* Ill Sung)" as a parody of three singers struggling with singing the canon. The lyrics state:

> "What shall we sing—now here are three. Let it be *Non nobis Domine*."
> "I'm sure 'tis right, so pray go on sir."
> "It cannot be, I'll swear 'tis wrong, sir;
> Begin again, it is not right, sir."
> "I'll sing no more, no more tonight, sir."[75]

Both the anonymous canon and Harington's song attest to the cultural cachet of *Non nobis* within British associational culture. Musicologist Emanuel Rubin describes it as a model canon for club

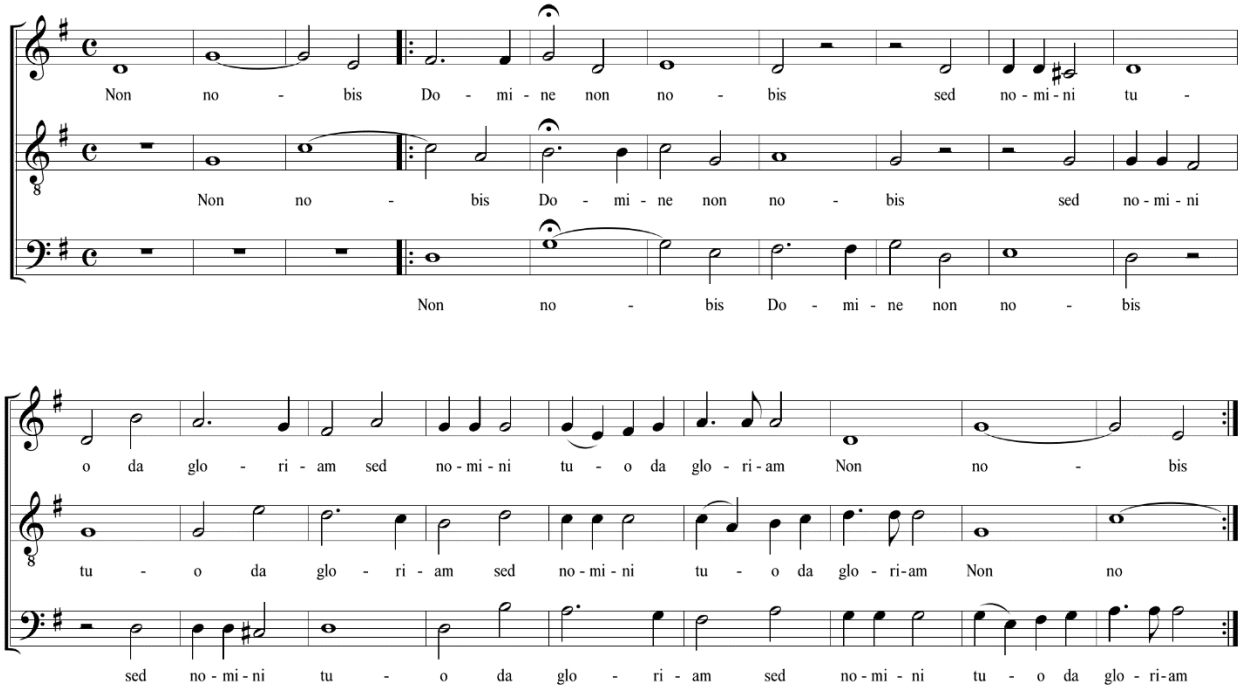


Figure 1.8: Anonymous setting of *Non nobis Domine* (1782), British Library H.2788.z[76]

[73] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss, appended to 118 verso.
[74] British Library Music Collections H.2788.z, 139.
[75] Henry Harington, "A Favorite Glee: For Three Voices" (London: Printed by R. Falkener, No. 3. Peterborough-court, Fleet-street. ..., between ca. 1775 and 1780).
[76] N.B. All transcriptions in this dissertation use modern cleffing.

composers due to it being "both tuneful and learned," adding that it appears in almost every eighteenth-century collection.[77] His sentiment is echoed by Rodney Williams, who claimed, "Byrd's setting is so good and the part writing so great."[78] In an earlier account presumably dating from 1837, music critic John Hullah described the experience of singing *Non nobis* upon attending a Madrigal Society meeting:

> We have dined. The cloth vanishes,—there is a pause, —the party simultaneously rise from their chairs, —the waiters at last (thanks to a long course of training, mental and bodily,) show signs of standing still for the next five minutes, —perfect silence pervades the room, —when lo! a gentle murmur of high voices steals upon the ear, —the strain is quickly imitated a few notes lower, —the basses massively close up the harmonious phalanx, and we recognise the imperishable "*Non nobis, Domine*."
>
> Sobered, not saddened, by the noblest of canons, —the most melodious of those ingenious complexities…[79]

Together, these assessments uphold both the melodic and harmonic writing in *Non nobis*. Hullah's description attests to the solemnity with which it was performed at Madrigal Society meetings, and his characterization of *Non nobis* as "imperishable" imbues it with a sense of timelessness. Harington's humorous song similarly conveys the canon's importance, implies that this was a canon everyone should know, and that if it could not be mastered, it was probably best to forego singing altogether.

The distinction granted *Non nobis* derives from its extended performance history in England, where the melody is still generally assumed to have been composed by William Byrd. The canon's complex history, in which it has been set to both Catholic and Protestant texts, has afforded it multiple meanings for multiple people, supporting its universal appeal. The association with Byrd has also legitimized its appeal. The earliest manuscript Philip Brett located containing *Non nobis* was the "Bull" manuscript at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, where it appears anonymously with no words (Figure 1.9), and to date no earlier recension has been identified.[80] The earliest source Brett found ascribing *Non nobis* to a composer was in a manuscript by Cambridge composer Thomas

---

[77] Rubin, *The English Glee*, 85.
[78] Rodney Williams, phone conversation with author, June 20 2014.
[79] Hullah, "A Visit to the Madrigal Society," 466.
[80] Book of Psalms and Songs copied by one hand, ca. 1620. "Bull" manuscript, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 782, f.122v, in Philip Brett, "Did Byrd Write 'Non Nobis, Domine'?" *Musical Times* 113 (1972): 857.

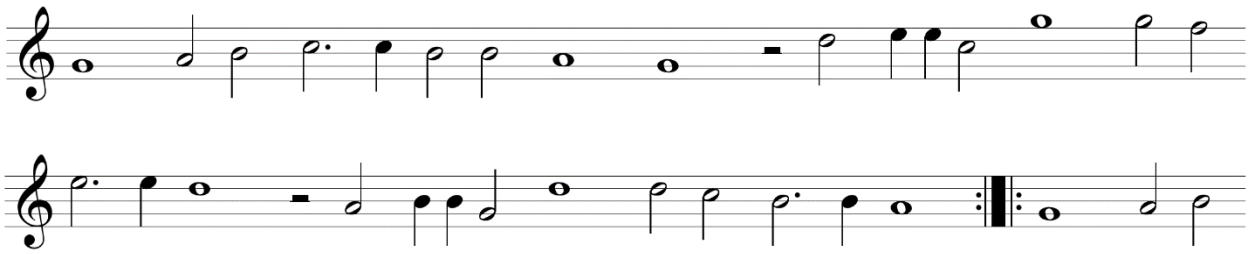


Figure 1.9: *Non nobis* melody in Bull manuscript, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Tudway dating from 1715, in which Tudway names Thomas Morley as the composer.[81] In 1730, Johann Christoph Pepusch assigned authorship to Byrd in his *Treatise on Harmony* (1730), and reiterated his claim in the enlarged second edition (1731).[82] Brett suggests that since Pepusch's biography of Byrd is questionable, his attribution may also be questionable. Pepusch states: "The Famous Canon *Non nobis Domine*, etc., which was compos'd by Mr. *William Bird*, who was Organist and Composer to the Chapel Royal in King Henry the Eighth's, King Edward the Sixth's, Queen Mary the First's and Queen Elizabeth's Reigns; and dy'd about the beginning of King James the First's Reign."[83] He was probably a Chorister in the earlier Chapels Royal, but did not take on the positions of composer/organist until Elizabeth had acceded to the throne.

In addition to Pepusch's claim, musicologist Jane Bernstein demonstrates that Byrd modeled his *Civitas sancti tui* (*Secunda pars* of *Ne irascaris Domine*, 1589) after Franco-Flemish composer/lutenist Philip van Wilder's five-part setting of *Aspice Domine*, which she suggests may be the original source of the *Non nobis* melody.[84] Wilder was Master of the King's Musick for Henry VIII from ca. 1520 until 1554. *Aspice Domine* contains two related motives which were apparently extracted from the motet during the reign of Elizabeth I to form the canon subject. Since these two motives also occur in Byrd's *Civitas sancti tui*, it is thought that he was the one who initially extracted them from *Aspice Domine* and paired them.

The murky origins of the *Non nobis* melody are complemented by questions concerning its text. Members of Elizabethan recusant circles (Byrd included) may have interpreted the text to *Aspice Domine* in the context of Catholic persecution. The text refers to the destruction of Jerusalem

---

[81] Thomas Tudway, B.M. Harleian MS 7337, f.192v, in Ibid.

[82] John Christopher Pepusch, *A Short Treatise on Harmony: Containing the Chief Rules for Composing in Two, Three and Four Parts: Dedicated to All Lovers of Musick by an Admirer of This Noble and Agreeable Science.* (London: J. Watts, 1730); Pepusch, *A Short Treatise on Harmony. The 2nd ed. ... Enlarg'd, etc* (London, 1731).

[83] Ibid. (1731), 86.

[84] Jane Bernstein, ed. *Philip van Wilder Collected Works* (New York: Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance 4, 1991), Preface.

according to Jeremiah. Within *Aspice Domine*, Wilder sets each of the two motives quoted by Byrd to the same phrase: *Non est qui consoletur eam*, or "There is none to console her." It is possible that the earliest version of the *Non nobis* canon retained this particular text, which would locate it within a Catholic context around the same time that the Church of England was founded by Henry VIII. At the same time, it is difficult to determine if the canon had indeed been associated with the *Non nobis* text from its inception. This is partially due to the rich history surrounding the text, which can be dated to the time of the Crusades. The medieval order of the Knight's Templar, which was active during the Crusades, adopted this text as their motto. Shakespeare's *Henry V* also suggests that the king decreed that these words be recited to express thanksgiving for his victory in the Battle of Agincourt.[85]

Despite their Catholic origins, the words to *Non nobis* were adapted to an Anglican context in the early seventeenth century. Following the failed Gunpowder Plot of 1605, Parliament passed an Act that introduced a service of thanksgiving into the church year. The First Collect associated with this special service incorporates the *Non nobis* text as follows:

> ALMIGHTY God, who hast in all ages shewed thy power and mercy in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of thy Church, and in the protection of righteous and religious Kings and States, professing thy holy and eternal truth, from the wicked conspiracies and malicious practices of all the enemies thereof; We yield thee our unfeigned thanks and praise for the wonderful and mighty deliverance of our gracious Sovereign King James, the Queen, the Prince, and all the Royal Branches, with the Nobility, Clergy, and Commons of England, then assembled in Parliament, by Popish treachery appointed as sheep to the slaughter, in a most barbarous, and savage manner, beyond the examples of former ages. From this unnatural conspiracy, not our merit, but thy mercy; not our foresight, but thy providence, delivered us: And therefore, *not unto us, O Lord, not unto us; but unto thy Name be ascribed all honour and glory* [Italics mine] in all Churches of the saints, from generation to generation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.[86]

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the canon became the most popular after-dinner grace ("grace after meat"). The melody had definitely been paired with the *Non nobis* text by the mid-seventeenth century, when it appears in John Playford's *Musical Banquet* (1651) and

---

[85] William Shakespeare, *Henry V* Act IV Scene 8.

[86] Church of England, *Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church According to the Use of the Church of England Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David Pointed as they are to be Sung or Said in Churches and the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* (London: By His Majesties Printers, 1662).

Introduction to the Skill of Musick (1655).[87] *Non nobis* also appears in John Hilton's *Catch That Catch Can* (1652) in both its usual and inverted forms.[88] Volume one of the Catch Club's music manuscripts opens with *Non nobis* (Figure 1.10).[89] This is immediately followed by its inversion, which Warren likely copied from Hilton (Figure 1.11).[90] Playford, Hilton, and Thomas Warren all ascribe *Non nobis* to Byrd. A reviewer of Richard Clark's *The Words of the Most Favourite Pieces* (1814) emphasizes the degree to which *Non nobis* commanded canonic status by associating it with another canonic composer—Handel. The reviewer relays Dr. Burney's claim that "the chorus of 'I will sing unto the Lord' in the Oratorio of 'Israel in Egypt' has exactly the same intervals with the canon before-mentioned. Whether the subject occurred accidentally, or was taken by design, the Doctor does not know."[91] In both his 1814 and 1824 editions, Clark includes the following footnote with the lyrics to *Non nobis*, which he prints on page one as the first song in his collection:

> It has been usual at public meetings on some occasions to applaud, after singing this grace; but the breach, rather than the observance, of this custom, would certainly be more decorous. "*Non nobis, Domine!*" is a solemn act of thanksgiving, felt and expressed in the most divine strains, not intended to excite applause, but to inspire the heart with the deepest sense of gratitude to the Divine Being.[92]

Clark's description is appropriate for any of the partsong clubs that sang *Non nobis*. This canon constituted a religious ritual that occurred regularly in an otherwise expressly secular context. It was sung at a pivotal point within the meeting, as a transition between the dinner and the singing. *Non nobis* prepared the men for the music-making that was to come, and lent an increased sense of

---

[87] John Playford, ed., *Musicall Banquet: Set Forth in Three Choice Varieties of Musick. The First Part Presents You With Excellent New Lessons for the Lira Viol, Set to Severall New Tunings. The Second A Collection Of New and Choyce Allmans, Corants, and Sarabands for One Treble and Basse Viol, Composed by Mr. William Lawes, and Other Excellent Authours. The Third Part Containes New and Choyce Catches or Rounds for Three or Foure Voyces. To Which is Added Some Few Rules and Directions for such as Learne to Sing, or to Play on the Viol* (London: Printed by T[homas].H[arper]. for John Benson, and John Playford, and are to be sold at their shops ..., 1651); Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick for Song & Viol* (London: Printed for John Playford & are sold at his shop ..., 1655).

[88] John Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can, or, A Choice Collection of Catches, Rounds & Canons for 3 or 4 Voyces* (London: Printed for John Benson & John Playford..., 1652).

[89] British Library Music Collections H.2788.p, 2.

[90] Ibid., 3.

[91] Review of Richard Clark, *The Words of the Most Favourite Pieces, Performed at the Glee Club, the Catch Club, and Other Public Societies. Compiled by R. Clark* (London: Printed for the Editor, 1814), in *The Monthly Repertory of English Literature* Vol. 21 No 84 (Paris: Printed for Parsons, Galignani, and Co., 1816), 111.

[92] Richard Clark, *The Words of the Most Favourite Pieces, Performed at the Glee Club, the Catch Club, and Other Public Societies. Compiled by R. Clark* (London: Printed for the Editor, 1814), 1; Richard Clark, *The First Volume of Poetry; Revised, Improved, and Considerably Enlarged, Containing the Most Favorite Pieces, as Performed at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, the Glee Club, the Harmonists' Society, the Argyll Glee Club, the Lodge Of Antiquity, the Somerset House Lodge, The Lodge Of Inverness, and the Lodge of Prudence, 122, of Freemasons, the Amateur Glee Club, Evening Parties, and All Public Societies, in General* (London: Printed for the editor, 1824), 1.

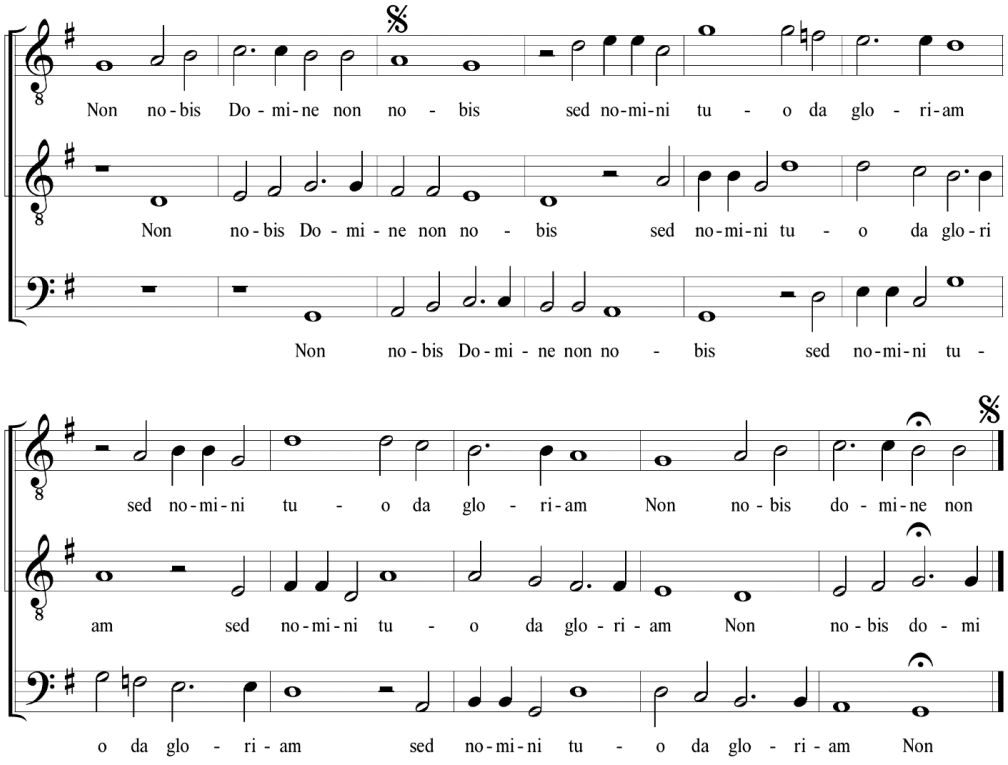


Figure 1.10: Music manuscript volume 1, British Library H.2788.p

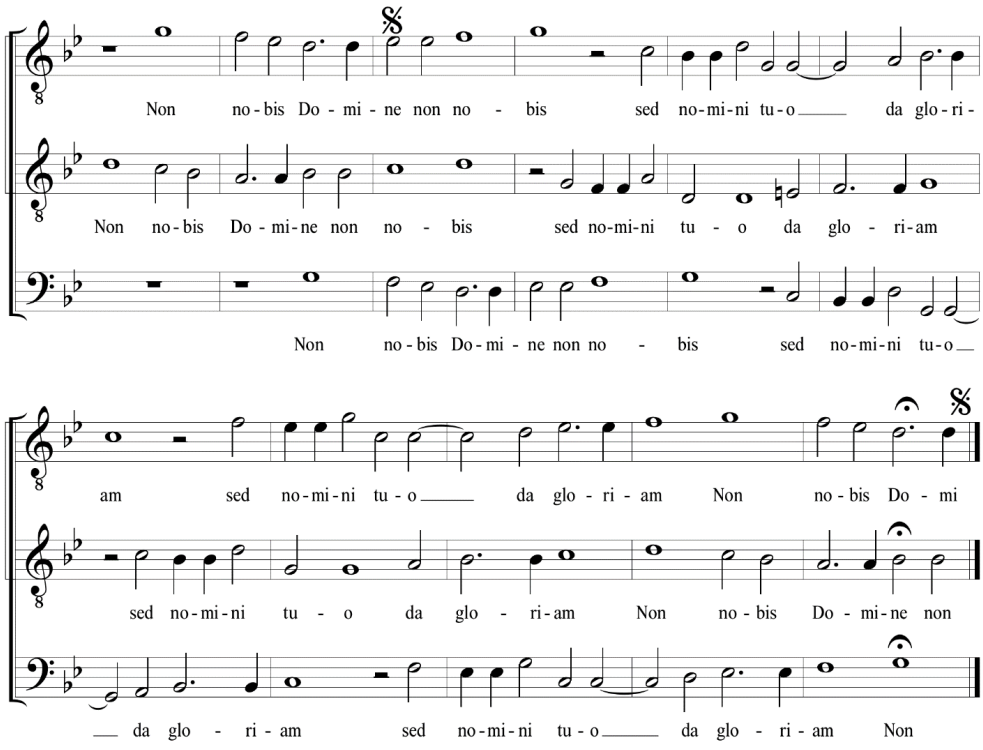


Figure 1.11: Inversion of *Non nobis*, music manuscript volume 1, British Library H.2788.p

purpose to their convivial performances, not unlike the effect of singing the national anthem before the commencement of a sporting event.

The ritual of singing a particular song was extended to the concept of "club songs," songs that were also sung at every meeting, usually immediately after *Non nobis*. Beginning in 1790, the Glee Club sang Samuel Webbe Sr.'s "Glorious Apollo" as their opening glee at every meeting. Following its performance, the chairman, vice-chairman, conductor, sub-conductor, and secretary, each named a glee, and then the members did so according to seniority.[93] Despite some opinion that it was one of Webbe's less successful glees, it became widely popular as a concert piece, which may explain why the Catch Club adopted it as their unofficial club song.[94]

"Glorious Apollo" was entered into volume twenty of the club's music manuscripts (by the composer, who was secretary at the time) with the caption "inserted by Order of Lord Grey de Wilton and Lord Plymouth 1797" (Figure 1.12).[95] A caption at the end of the score states, "Composed for the Glee Club instituted 1787." Catch Club member Guy Boas wrote in 1964 that the tradition of singing it as the opening or closing song at Catch Club meetings had been established over two hundred years prior.[96] Boas also explains that the Glee Club "had no regular meeting place and the second line of the poem reminded members to offer their own houses: Glorious Apollo from on high behold us / Wandering to find a temple for his praise."[97] The Glee Club no longer exists, but the Catch Club continues to sing "Glorious Apollo." Rodney Williams stated that even though it is "Not the best piece, they all know it and it's a tradition so we do it." The performance of this song, like *Non nobis*, has been a ritualistic act for some time. Rubin states that the "use of "Glorious Apollo" as a theme song established an 'emotional ritual' copied by other groups."[98]

A third piece, Benjamin Cooke's "Amen," was also sung at every Catch Club and Glee Club meeting immediately following *Non nobis*. "Amen" is a canon by twofold augmentation, in which the durations in the middle voice are quadrupled and the durations in the bass voice are doubled. It is printed on his monument in the West Cloister of Westminster Abbey, and likely became a singing

---

[93] C. M., "The Glee Club," in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450–1889)*, Vol. 1, George Grove, ed. (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1900), 599.
[94] Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 78.
[95] British Library Music Collections H.2788.ii, 20.
[96] Guy Boas, "A Bicentenary Review" (1964), in Gladstone, Boas, Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club*, 80.
[97] Ibid., 81.
[98] Rubin, *The English Glee*, 103.

Figure 1.12: Samuel Webbe, Sr., "Glorious Apollo," music manuscript volume 20, British Library H.2788.ii

tradition soon after Cooke's death in 1793. The final song with an extended Catch Club performance tradition is "Come Shepherds We'll Follow the Hearse," which is discussed in detail in chapter three. "Glorious Apollo" may have inspired R. J. S. Stevens's song "Sober Lay and Mirthful Glee," which is also first sung by ATB soloists and then as a full chorus, and was adopted as the club song for the Harmonists Society, where it was sung immediately following *Non nobis*.[99]

Order of Events at Meetings

Two detailed accounts of the singing portion of Catch Club meetings exist. The first is the account given by Gardiner upon his visit around 1812, mentioned previously.[100] The second is a single folio titled "Order of Proceedings" dated 1921, which was likely provided to guests attending a meeting then, and subsequently appears in Harald Christopherson's history of the club.[101] The "Order of Proceedings" is less personal than Gardiner's account, but incredibly informative in terms of the order of events during the singing portion of the meetings. Up until 1890, the offices of president and vice president were determined by a rotation system that cycled through all of the

[99] Ibid., 97.
[100] Gardiner, *Music and Friends*, 513.
[101] Harald Christopherson, "A Post-War Review" (1996), in Gladstone, Boas, Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club*, 119.

gentlemen members in turn.[102] Both accounts state that the canon *Non nobis* was sung by all immediately following dinner.

Gardiner begins by stating that club meetings began with a formal dinner, in which everyone sat around a long rectangular table.[103] Once dinner was served, the President "took his seat at the head of the table, flanked by the Vice President." The President examined letters of apology for non-attendance, and made up the book of fines. Immediately after dinner, grace was sung by all. The grace was Byrd's canon, *Non nobis Domine*. The President collected all forfeits (fines) owed by present members. The secretary also delivered any previous week's fines that he had collected to the President.

Extant descriptions of Catch Club singing procedures reveal that the basic practice of alternating toasts and songs is thought to have occurred since the club's founding, while details vary concerning who initiated that process, as well as how many songs were called by the president. The earliest surviving manuscript listing songs performed at meetings dates from 1780, and is titled "List of Pieces Chosen By the Presidents."[104] It pertains to an initiative stated in the *Minutes* in which the president presiding at each meeting would initiate the singing portion of the meeting by selecting three songs (genres not specified) from the music manuscripts, of which there were twenty volumes. The selection process systematically went through ascending volume numbers beginning with volume one, so as to not allow any repertoire to fall into neglect (Figure 1.13). The club's dedication to this enterprise is admirable, as they began recording songs chosen from volume one in 1780, and proceeded as far as volume seventeen prior to 1803, which meant that even in twenty years, they were not able to perform all of the songs that had been composed since 1763. Then, in 1828 this initiative was revived, albeit in a somewhat modified approach. According to the *Laws and Regulations* from 1828, the President chose two glees, "and three, if he sing himself," which were separate from the two "Club-Glees" which the President also selected beginning with the first volume of the music manuscripts.[105] All of the songs sung at meetings, including the two club glees, were listed in the

---

[102] "When the number of Meetings became less than the number of Members the Presidents of the Day were elected at the beginning of each season till about 1890, when the meetings, being reduced to six, the 8th Duke of Beaufort became virtually permanent President, and the following were elected in succession..." in Christopherson, "A Post-War Review," 107.

[103] The first record of dining time occurs in the *Minutes* for 1767, and specifies "half past four." This time gradually became later and later, until 7:30 pm became the established dining time. *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections, H.2788.rr–ss.

[104] *Pieces Chosen, 1780–1803*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ccc.

[105] *Laws and Regulations, 1818–78*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.qq, 7.

Figure 1.13: "List of Pieces Chosen by Presidents" (1780), British Library H.2788.ccc

Figure 1.14: "Glees Performed" (1828), British Library H.2788.ddd

Glees Performed manuscript (Figure 1.14).[106] An addendum in the regulations states that those two club-glees were replaced by two catches in 1831, possibly due to the club having abandoned their mission of cycling through the music manuscript repertoire for the second time, coupled with potential nostalgia for catches amidst meetings that were dominated by glees.[107] Together, these records of chosen songs reveal changing tastes while attesting to the attention bestowed upon song selection.

According to the "Order of Proceedings" from 1921, both the President and Vice President chose two glees at the onset of singing. The Vice-President initiated the singing portion of the meeting by proposing a toast to "His Majesty the King," followed by a second toast to "Her Majesty the Queen, Queen Alexandra, the Prince of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family." The Vice President's third toast was to "the Catch Club and the harmony thereof. (to be drunk seated.)." The Vice President then called on the President for a toast, and the President would decide whom to propose. The Vice President called on the President again, this time requesting that he name a glee. Following the performance of the President's glee, the Vice President called on the first guest (seated to the right of the President) to give a toast. The President then called on the Vice-President to name a second glee. Following its performance, the Vice-President called on the second guest (sitting to the left of the President) to propose a toast. The Vice-President then invited the President to name a third glee, which was also performed. The Vice-President called on the third guest to propose a toast. The President then called on the Vice-President to name a fourth glee, which was performed. The Vice-President then called on the fourth guest to propose a toast of his choosing. The President called on the first guest to name a fifth glee, which was then performed. This process continued with the Vice President calling on each guest in rotation to propose a toast, alternating with the President calling on each guest in rotation to name a glee. Once a full rotation had been completed, the process could be repeated as many times as desired, or until the wine ran out, whichever came first.

Gardiner's detailed description of the performances reveals less in terms of procedure. He does acknowledge a custom that seems to have been obsolete by 1921, which involved the visitor propose the first toast and choose and sing in the first glee performance. Gardiner's account captures the social and class dynamics of a club meeting from a unique perspective: that of an untitled amateur musician:

---

[106] *Glees Performed, 1828–71*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ddd; H.2788.eee.
[107] *Laws and Regulations, 1818–78*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.qq, 6v.

> Lord Clinton addressed me, and said, "It was one of their rules that the visitor next the chair should give the first toast, and appoint the first glee, in which he was expected to take a part." I replied, "Had I previously known the conditions, I doubted whether I should have courage enough to accept the high honour of the invitation." I had dined before with Mrs. Salmon, who delighted me with her exquisite singing, and I gave her a toast. In this I learnt, afterwards, that I had not complied with the true etiquette, which a subsequent conversation will explain. Upon the table were five or six little wagons, filled with books, that could readily be wheeled about, and one of these moveable libraries was sent up to me that I might make choice of a glee. I confess it required something more than ordinary courage to fix upon one that would show my taste and I could get through with credit. However I ventured to choose that beautiful composition of Webb's [*sic*]—If love and all the world were young […] Lord Clinton asked me what part I should like to sing and I chose the bass. He then said, "You will please to call up, from the lower end of the table, those professional gentlemen you should like to join you in the glee." "My Lord," I replied, "I could soon make my selection, but I cannot put a face to call up such eminent vocalists to join their voices with mine." "Who, Sir, then," said his Lordship, "would you like for the alto?" "Mr. Knyvett" […] He then asked me to name the tenor; I chose Mr. Vaughan. "And who for your second tenor, Sir?" "I would prefer Mr. Greatorex, my Lord." Upon this, they all three left their places, and came to the head of the table […] With these three masters, standing at my back, we began the glee, and I did my best to sustain the part. I was pretty alert, or I should have had my heels tripped up by the tasteful liberties they took in performing it. However, on it being finished, I received a slight tap of approbation from Mr. Vaughan, who whispered in my ear, "You are a scientific performer, Sir." More than ordinary applause followed, and I was complimented upon my choice by two noblemen, who said they had never heard it before.
>
> We had many glees afterwards, which were finely sing by the professional gentlemen […] I learned afterwards, that, had I been the man of consequence I was then taken for (to have followed strict etiquette), I should have given, as a toast, the Duchess of Rutland, or some such titled lady in my county…About nine o'clock the servant brought the cloths of several gentlemen, to dress for the opera, but such was our growing hilarity, after the professors had left (for we got into a complete vein of singing), that the opera was given up, and I continued with the noble guests till one o'clock in the morning."

The most valuable information in Gardiner's account is in regard to performance practice. He affirms that singers were one on a part, and describes how the "moveable libraries" worked, and how he chose his glee directly from a music book. This method had changed by January 29th 1833,

when the minutes mention storing the music books on the side table due to lack of space at the big table.[108] By this time members were also using the club indices to initially select songs, prior to locating them within the music books. Gardiner describes the club practice of having the guest seated next to the chair not only give the first toast, but also choose and sing the first glee, a tradition that is not mentioned in the 1921 account. The title "chair" is also not mentioned in 1921, though it presumably is just another title for the president that stems from parliamentarian discourse. Gardiner arrived at the meeting that night with no expectation of singing before the noble and professional company present, yet managed to do so successfully. He probably sang due out of a combination of peer pressure, personal pride, and a fear of insulting the club by not singing. His professed criteria for choosing a song—"one that would show my taste and I could get through with credit"—upholds the gentlemen members' status as arbiters of national musical taste.

Once Gardiner had chosen his glee, he chose eminent singers with whom to perform, perhaps in hopes that they would make the overall performance more impressive.[109] It seems that Gardiner sang well, despite his humble disclaimers, since Mr. Vaughan's comment, "You are a scientific performer, Sir," implied that Gardiner had performed at the level of a professional. Whether Vaughan's comment was genuine or not, the opportunity for amateurs and professionals to sing together was something that only appears to have occurred in private club or domestic settings, and was clearly still welcomed as late as 1812. As further evidence of amateur singing, at the end of the meeting that Gardiner attended the gentlemen had "got into a complete vein of singing" after the professional singers had left, to the point where they abandoned plans to attend the opera and sang until one o'clock in the morning.

No record remains regarding how frequently amateurs and professionals sang together, though current secretary Rodney Williams provides some insight. Williams states that when he first joined the club in 1976 there were between twenty-five and thirty members, and now there are seventy. He then addressed performer demographics, stating "In the old days they followed words in anthologies [lyrics books] and professional singers sang and some of the others did. Now they all want to sing."[110] Williams's comment demonstrates that it was never taboo for gentlemen amateurs

---

[108] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.uu.

[109] Charles Knyvett the younger (1773–1852) was an organist, alto singer, and former pupil of Webbe Sr. Thomas Vaughan was a former Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and held appointments at both St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. Thomas Greatorex (1758–1831) was an organist and conductor of the Concerts of Ancient Music. Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, 59 (footnote 139).

[110] Williams, phone conversation with author.

to sing, but they were never required to do so. Williams explains that everyone is encouraged to sing now, except for the catches, which are only sung by the professionals due to the large number of singers and the disproportion of basses to tenors and altos.

Toasting

Finally, Gardiner was unaware of an unwritten rule concerning toasting. He had toasted a female professional singer that he admired, when in fact it was customary to toast a "titled lady" from one's county. If he had been a club member in the twentieth century, after the peerage had declined in power, his toast would have been entirely acceptable. Williams explained that at current meetings, the first three toasts are the same as the Vice President's toasts in the 1921 proceedings: the Queen is toasted, followed by the Royal Family, and the toast to the "Catch Club and the harmony thereof." Following this, however, the president toasted a living lady singer of his choosing.[111] Clearly, club members were more conservative during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as exhibited through their preference for toasting noble women rather than professional singers.

Toasting was integral to associational culture, as demonstrated by instructive manuals such as *The President's Companion; Or, Compleat Toast-Master.*[112] For many societies, toasting took on ritualistic significance. At the same time, as literary studies scholar Stella Achilleos has argued, "attention to ritual activities preserves an equilibrium of the right amounts of drink and constructs a symposiastic occasion where immoderate indulgence is not allowed to interfere with the spirit of conviviality and companionship."[113] Several songs describe the drinking that occurred during meetings, but often in the context of fraternal friendship rather than inebriation. The act of drinking in moderation signaled "a polite form of male sociability that [could] be marked by education and class."[114]

---

111 Rodney Williams's examples included Harriet Tubb when she was 100, Isabelle Bailey, and Emma Kirby.
112 *Kemmish's Annual-Harmonist: Or, The British Apollo; Being a Complete Lyric Repository and Banquet of Amusement: Containing the Whims of the Night and Day: With all the Monstrous Good, and Convivial Songs Catches, Glees, Duets, &C. Sung this Season, in The Prisoner, Just in Time, Hartford Bridge, Pirates, At Vauxhall, Bermondsey Spa, and Various Other Polite Assemblies. Likewise, The President's Companion; Or, Compleat Toast-Master. For the Better Encouragement of this Work, W.K. Offers for the Best Song, that Comes to Hand by September, 1793, a Silver Medal, Value 1d. 1s* (Southwark: Printed and sold by W. Kemmish, King-Street, Borough, ca. 1793).
113 Stella Achilleos, "The Anacreontea and a Tradition of Refined Male Sociability," in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, Adam Smyth, ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004.), 23.
114 Ibid., 24.

Influence of Masonic Lodges

Parliamentarianism represented a code of conduct that gentlemen members had internalized prior to forming the Catch Club. For them, the paperwork and record-keeping associated with the larger society that was Parliament transferred easily to their music club, and instilled it with a greater sense of importance. Freemasonry is less transparent as an influence, but I argue that it was just as integrated as parliamentarianism. With several members professing their allegiance to the brotherhood, in a country where masons were not persecuted, it was not surprising that there was some overlap. On a basic level, both lodges and Catch Club meetings occurred in private rooms, usually in taverns, at which members convened around a large table. For masons, there was often additional space at one end of the room to perform the ceremonies associated with becoming a mason (Figure 1.15). At both lodges and Catch Club meetings, music was vocal, harmonized, and unaccompanied by instruments.[115] In general, partsong clubs were more secular, urban, and independent than masonic organizations. English Freemasons were loyal to the King, to the Hanoverian succession, and to the Church of England.[116] Yet conversation concerning either politics

Figure 1.15: "The Ceremony of Making a Free-Mason" in *Hiram* (1766)[117]

[115] Andrew Pink, "'When They Sing': The Performance of Songs in 18th-Century English Lodges," in *Freemasonry in Music and Literature*, ed. Trevor Stewart (London: CMRC, 2005), 2.
[116] McVeigh, "Freemasonry and Musical Life," 73.
[117] *Hiram: Or, the Grand Master-Key to the Door of Both Antient and Modern Free Masonry ... Second Edition ... By a Member of Royal Arch.* (London: [n.p.]), 1766.

or religion was forbidden in both lodges and the Catch Club, and the parliamentarian members certainly would have embraced these masonic allegiances.

John Hullah actually described his visit to a Madrigal Society meeting through an analogy to freemasonry (while poking fun at the Catch Club):

> Everybody has heard of madrigals, and almost everybody has heard of the Madrigal Society; but everybody does not know what madrigals are, and almost everybody has *not* dined with the Madrigal Society. Not that that ancient and respectable body is an exclusive one,—keeping its good dinners for its own private eating, and its good music for its own private hearing: its freemasonry is extemporaneous, and a visitor is as welcome to the whole fraternity as to the individual who may introduce him.

Hullah's characterization of the Madrigal Society as a fraternity similar to the masons in spirit, albeit not secretive, only reinforces the notion that there were overlaps between partsong and masonic society culture. Hullah implies that the Catch Club can be thought of as even more masonic due to its exclusivity.

Though the ordering of events differed on a large scale between partsong and masonic institutions, for both institutions the musical activities were conducted in a highly-structured fashion. A typical lodge consisted of two lectures separated by a meal, as opposed to beginning with a dinner. Relying on the masonic exposures texts, musicologist Andrew Pink deduced that masonic songs were assigned either a "formal-liturgical" or "formal-convivial" function. Songs occurring at the end of a lecture functioned liturgically and were often titled as odes, while songs occurring during meals fulfilled a more convivial purpose. Songs associated with particular toasts signaled their convivial use, since toasts occurred during dinner.[118] By contrast, Catch Club meetings relegated all of the singing to the second half of the meeting. While their songs did not have specific functions in the way of masonry, a few songs, particularly *Non nobis* and Cooke's "Amen," assumed a ritualistic function similar to the formal-liturgical songs. Following the close of either the lodge or the Catch Club meeting, there was an opportunity for informal singing for those who wished to stay later, at which point Catch Club members sang catches (Gardiner alludes to this in his account). The avoidance of religious and political discussion; the structured, formal nature of the lodge; ritualized singing and toasting led by the lodge Master; and informal singing following the lodge's close are all reflected in the practices of all-male vocal clubs.

[118] Pink, "'When They Sing,' 6.

Similar Repertoire

Partsong anthologies and lyrics books often featured a mix of masonic and non-masonic songs, as in *Parsley's Lyric Companion* (1787), which is "interspersed with masonic and other songs written on purpose for this work, and adopted to familiar tunes: to which is added a collection of toasts and sentiments."[119] The title summarizes many of the ways in which masonic and partsong club culture intersected. This sentiment is echoed in the title to Clark's *The First Volume of Poetry,* which contains words to "*the Most Favorite Pieces, as Performed at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, the Glee Club, the Harmonists' Society, the Argyll Glee Club, the Lodge Of Antiquity, the Somerset House Lodge, The Lodge Of Inverness, and the Lodge of Prudence, 122, of Freemasons, etc.*"[120] *Social Harmony*, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, also incorporates repertoire from both institutions.[121]

The existence of mixed anthologies is explained not only by similar compositional styles, but also by the practice of setting masonic song lyrics to well-known partsong club songs. In the preface to *Masonic Miscellany* of 1800, Stephen Jones explains, "considering that many Masonic Songs…have long been neglected on account of their tunes being unknown, that difficulty has here been obviated in a great degree…by applying to them such modern tunes as are most generally known and esteemed."[122] One of the most popular tunes for setting masonic songs was Thomas Arne's "Rule Brittania." The lyrics to the first verse and chorus are as follows:

> When Britain first, at Heaven's command,
> Arose from out the azure main,
> Arose, arose, arose from out the azure main;
> This was the charter,
> The charter of the land,
> And guardian angels sung this strain:
>
> "Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves!
> Britons never, never, never shall be slaves!
> Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves!
> Britons never, never, never shall be slaves!"

Its familiarity combined with patriotic lyrics invoking British imperialist power rendered it the perfect candidate for setting various masonic texts. For example, the masonic anthem "To Heaven's

---

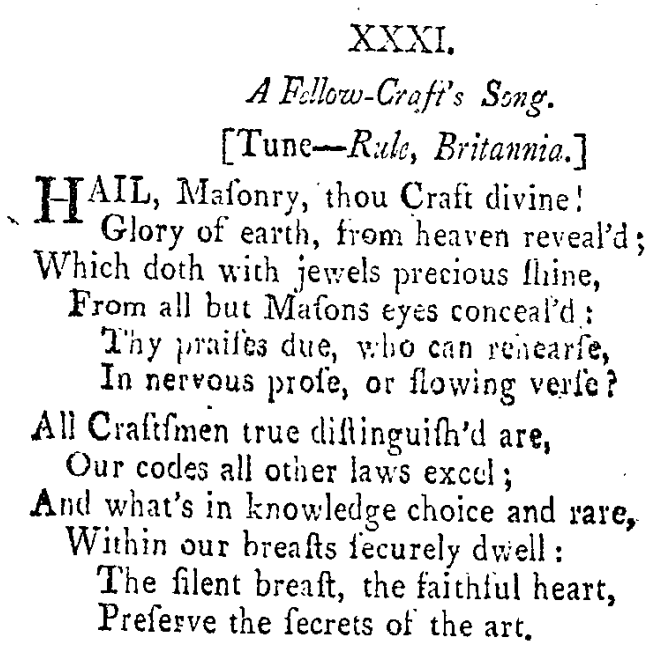
[119] Robert Parsley, *Parsley's Lyric Companion: A Collection of the Newest and Most Favourite Songs ... And A Collection of Toasts ...* (London: Printed and sold by R. Parsley; And also sold by J. Nunn, 1787).
[120] Richard Clark, *The First Volume of Poetry*, (1824).
[121] Hale, *Social Harmony*.
[122] Stephen Jones, *Masonic Miscellanies, In Poetry and Prose: Containing I. The Muse Of Masonry, ... II. The Masonic Essayist. III. The Freem-Ason's [Sic] Vade-Mecum* (Dublin: Printed by Brother Joseph Hill, 1800), v.

High Architect" was set to "Rule, Britannia," and performed when the foundation stone for Freemason's Hall was laid in 1775 (Figure 1.16).[123]

Another partsong club tune that was frequently set to masonic lyrics was Smith's glee, "To Anacreon in Heaven," best known today as "The Star-Spangled Banner." Like "Rule Britannia," the original lyrics of "To Anacreon" resonated with masonry's fraternal conviviality of song and drink:

> To Anacreon in Heav'n, where he sat in full glee
> A few sons of Harmony sent a petition,
> That he their inspirer and patron would be,
> When this answer arrived from the jolly old Grecian:
> Voice, fiddle and flute,
> No longer be mute.
> I'll lend you my name, and inspire you to boot...
> And, besides, I'll intruct you, like me, to entwine
> The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus' vine.

Parsley's Lyric Companion includes "A New Phaeton Song, By a Brother," set to the tune of "To Anacreon" (Figure 1.17).[124] In this example, the texts are more similar than that of "Rule Britannia," in that both focus on Apollo and Bacchus. Masonic texts set to "To Anacreon" tended to be of the



XXXI.

A Fellow-Craft's Song.

[Tune—*Rule, Britannia.*]

HAIL, Maſonry, thou Craft divine!
Glory of earth, from heaven reveal'd;
Which doth with jewels precious ſhine,
From all but Maſons eyes conceal'd:
Thy praiſes due, who can rehearſe,
In nervous proſe, or flowing verſe?

All Craftſmen true diſtinguiſh'd are,
Our codes all other laws excel;
And what's in knowledge choice and rare,
Within our breaſts ſecurely dwell:
The ſilent breaſt, the faithful heart,
Preſerve the ſecrets of the art.

Figure 1.16: "To Heaven's High Craft," lyrics set to "Rule, Britannia"

[123] Ibid., 36.
[124] Parsley, *Parsley's Lyric Companion*, 44.

A NEW PHÆTON SONG, *by a Brother.*

TUNE, *Anacreon in Heaven, &c.*

YE muſes aſſiſt me to raiſe up my ſong,
Solicit the aid of your patron Apollo ;
That we with good humour the eve may prolong,
And mirth, laugh, and frolic, all cheerfully follow ;
That Phætons may join,
In the noble deſign :
As fancy inſtructs o'er the juice of the vine,
Each friendly intention may happily riſe,
And our ſongs, and our mirth may aſcend to the ſkies.

Tho' Phætons was raſh, and unfortunate fell,
When the charriot of day all too young he was guiding,
Tho' like him we'd be great, yet the truth let me tell,
'Tis prudence each night we ſtill mean to confide in ;
That when we are gay,
And laugh time away,
The critics and ſnarlers alike ſhall all ſay,
Each friendly intention does nobly ariſe,
And our ſongs, and our mirth both aſcend to the ſkies.

Figure 1.17: Lyrics from *Parsley's Lyric Companion* set to "To Anacreon in Heaven"

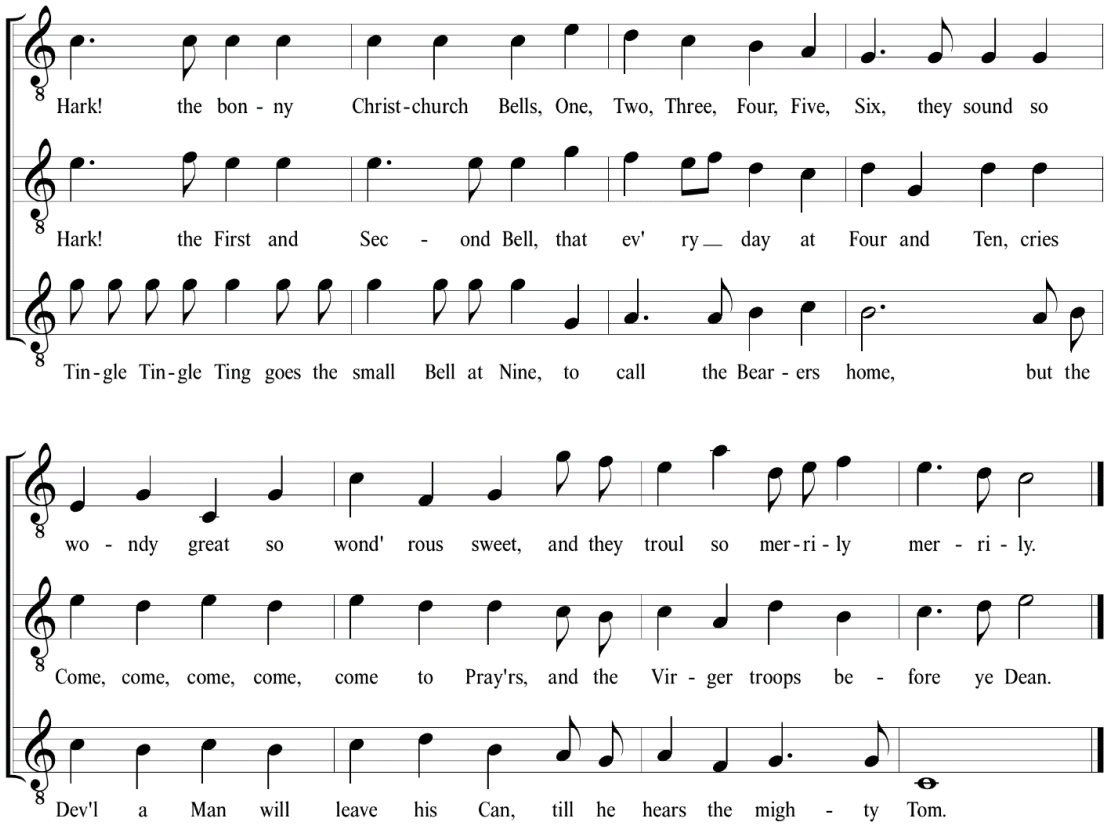
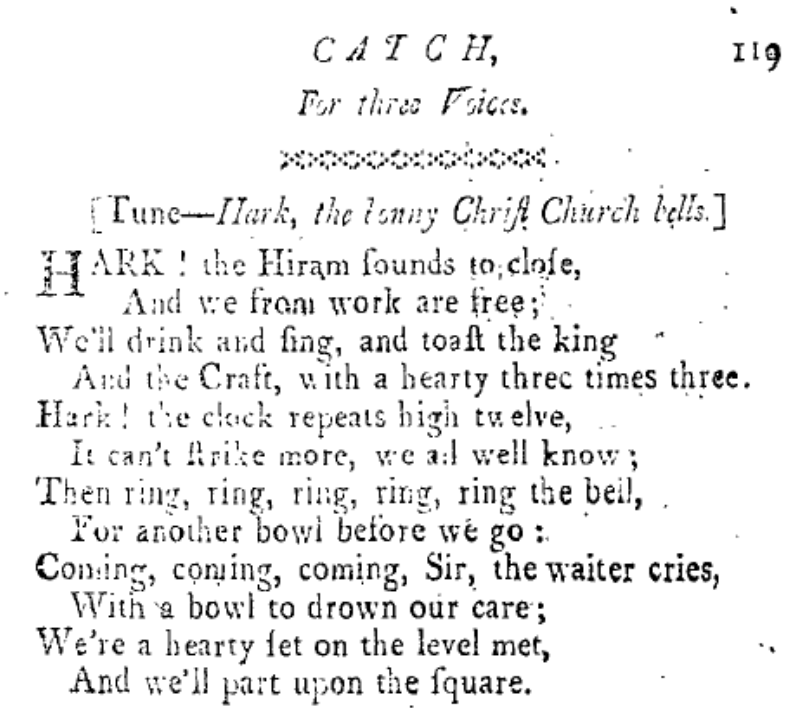


Figure 1.18: William Aldrich, "Hark the Bonny Christ-Church Bells," original in *Social Harmony*



CATCH, 119

For three Voices.

[Tune—*Hark, the bonny Chriſt Church bells.*]

HARK! the Hiram founds to cloſe,
And we from work are free;
We'll drink and ſing, and toaſt the king
And the Craft, with a hearty threc times three.
Hark! the clock repeats high twelve,
It can't ſtrike more, we all well know;
Then ring, ring, ring, ring, ring the bell,
For another bowl before we go:
Coming, coming, coming, Sir, the waiter cries,
With a bowl to drown our care;
We're a hearty ſet on the level met,
And we'll part upon the ſquare.

Figure 1.19: Lyrics in *Masonic Miscellany* set to "Hark the Bonny Christ-Church Bells"

formal-convivial type. A third example of a partsong that was often set to masonic texts is "Hark the Bonny Christ Church Bells," a well-known catch by William Aldrich. It was published in its original form in *Social Harmony* (Figure 1.18), and later used as the music for a masonic text in *Masonic Miscellany* (Figure 1.19).[125] The masonic text references drinking, singing, and toasting the king and the craft.

In addition to masonic adaptations of songs, some Catch Club members composed and in some cases performed songs specifically for lodge use. Benjamin Cooke wrote "By Mason's Art the Aspiring Dome," and William Hayes composed "Comus Away with all Thy Revel Train, an Ode Sacred to Masonry." Catch Club member John Abraham Fisher composed music for the anthem "Behold, How Good and Joyful," which was sung at the dedication of Freemason's Hall (Figure 1.20).[126] An explicit reference to club members both composing and performing masonic music appears in *Masonic Miscellany* as the heading to the song "Order is Heaven's First Law," which states, "Performed at every Meeting of the Grand Chapter of Harodim. Written by Brother Noorthouck. Set to Music by Companion Webbe. Sung by Companions Webbe, Gore, and Page" (Figure 1.21).[127]

[125] Hale, *Social Harmony*, 15; Jones, *Masonic Miscellanies,* 119.
[126] Sketchley, *The Free Masons Repository*, 2.
[127] Jones, *Masonic Miscellanies*, 137.

ANTHEM, *ſet to Muſic by Dr.* Fiſher, *and ſung by Mr.* Hudſon, *at the Dedication of* Free-maſons' Hall.

CHORUS.

BEHOLD, how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity!

AIR.

It is like the dew of Hermon, which fell upon the hill of Zion; for there the Lord promiſed his bleſſing and life for evermore. Pſal. 133.

RECITATIVE.

Oh pray for the peace of Jeruſalem; they ſhall proſper that love thee.

CHORUS.

Yea, becauſe of the houſe of the Lord, I will ſeek to do thee good!

Figure 1.20: John Abraham Fisher, "Behold, How Good and Joyful," in *The Free Masons Repository*

XI.

***Performed at every Meeting of the Grand Chapter of* HARODIM. *Written by Brother* NOORTHOUCK.**

***Set to Muſic by Companion* WEBBE.**

***Sung by Companions* WEBBE, GORE, *and* PAGE.**

OPENING.

ORDER is Heaven's firſt law: through boundleſs ſpace
Unnumber'd orbs roll round their deſtin'd race;
On earth, as ſtrict arrangements ſtill appear,
Suiting the varying ſeaſons of the year:
Beneficence divine preſents to view
Its plenteous gifts to man, in order true;
But chief a mind, theſe bleſſings to improve,
By arts, by ſcience, by fraternal love.

DIVISION.

When men exalt their views to Heaven's high will,
With ſteady aim their duty to fulfil,
The mind expands, its ſtrength appears,

Figure 1.21: "Order is Heaven's First Law," in *Masonic Miscellany*

Samuel Webbe, Israel Gore, and John Page were honorary members of the Catch Club and Somerset House Lodge.

Compositional Style

Songs that were conceived as Catch Club songs and later adapted to masonic texts, and songs composed by club members with texts that originally pertained to freemasonry often complied to the compositional style that supported the masonic performance practice of concluding with a full chorus. Masonic songs (particularly the formal-liturgical type) were often referred to as odes, and Catch Club songs were rarely titled as such. When they were, however, they often exhibit masonic characteristics. Individual sections within masonic songs were sung initially by soloists and then repeated in chorus by everyone present. Symbolic references to the number three are common, sometimes through pitch and/or rhythmic repetition, through E-flat major or A major key signatures with three flats or three sharps, or through three-part harmony.[128] Songs were predominantly homophonic in texture. Finally, song texts emphasized masonic themes.

For example, Cooke's "By Mason's Art" is comprised of three sections, each in three-part harmony, with the instruction that each section is to be repeated in chorus. The piece is written with alto, tenor, and bass clefs for male singers, and the text highlights masonic virtues: "all climates" indicates inclusivity, while "great, generous, noble, wise, and brave" are all desirable qualities cultivated by masons. The glee closes with a reference to "love and friendship" (Figure 1.22).[129] The text to Webbe's "Hail, Music! Sweet Enchantment Hail!" similarly emphasizes masonic themes of "nature; universality; harmony of form and face; beauties of the mind; love harmonious; friendship's ties; social pleasures; harmony divine; and love, concord, beauty" (Figure 1.23). It is subtitled "Occasional Ode, For Four Voices," and is designated as having won the prize in 1778 (referring to the Ladies Night prize for an ode). Another Ladies Night partsong titled "Occasional Ode," Cooke's "O Come ye Fair by Blooming May," similarly indicates that each section should be repeated in chorus. It may seem strange that Catch Club members composed odes in a masonic style for Ladies Night, except that these songs were designed to be sung by all of the men present (something that rarely happened at club meetings). Masonry provided the context within which members would have sung in a communal fashion.

---

[128] Three was significant in masonry for multiple reasons: There are three degrees, three major officers, three tenets, three Greater Lights and three Lesser Lights, three symbolic moral pillars, and the tripod image.
[129] Benjamin Cooke, "By Mason's Art," in Warren, *Collection* (1788), 5–7.

By mason's art the aspiring dome in various columns shall arise
All climates are their native home their godlike actions reach the skies
Heroes and kings revere their name and poets sing their deathless fame
Great generous noble wise and brave are titles they most justly claim
Their deeds shall live beyond the grave which babes unborn shall loud proclaim
Time shall their glorious acts enroll whilst love and friendship charm the soul.

Figure 1.22: Lyrics to Cooke, "By Mason's Art"

Hail, music! Sweet enchantment hail!
Like potent spells thy pow'r's prevail;
On wings of rapture borne away,
All nature owns thy universal sway.
For what is beauty, what is grace,
But harmony of form and face;
What are the beauties of the mind,
Heav'n's rarest gifts, by harmony combin'd.
From the fierce passions discord springs,
'Till nature strike the softer strings,
The soul compose, and love harmonious from passion flows.
Affection's flame, and friendship's ties,
And all the social pleasures, rise
From thee, O harmony, divine!
Love, concord, beauty, ev'ry joy is thine.

Figure 1.23: Lyrics to Samuel Webbe, "Hail, Music! Sweet Enchantment Hail!"

Yet another prize-winning occasional ode, John Stafford Smith's "When to the Muses Haunted Hill," is a tribute to the muse of music. It is composed in three-part harmony, with the male voices "countertenor, tenor, and bass" indicated. This song opens with a repeated three-note motive, and other three-note motives appear throughout (Figure 1.24). The number of voices expands from three to five during one of the choruses, supporting the associated text which describes the masonic performance practice of alternating soloists with chorus (Figure 1.25). When the final chorus arrives, the text states, "T'was then in Union three times three, they sung their first Celestial Glee." Smith's song concludes with a dedication to wisdom and beauty: "Shall Wisdom only claim the Lay / To Beauty too the Song is due and Ev'ry tribute Harmony can pay." As a final example, John Danby's "When Beauty's Soul, Attracting Charms" is titled as both a glee and an ode. Once again, the alternation of soloists and chorus is written into the score, rendering it a full

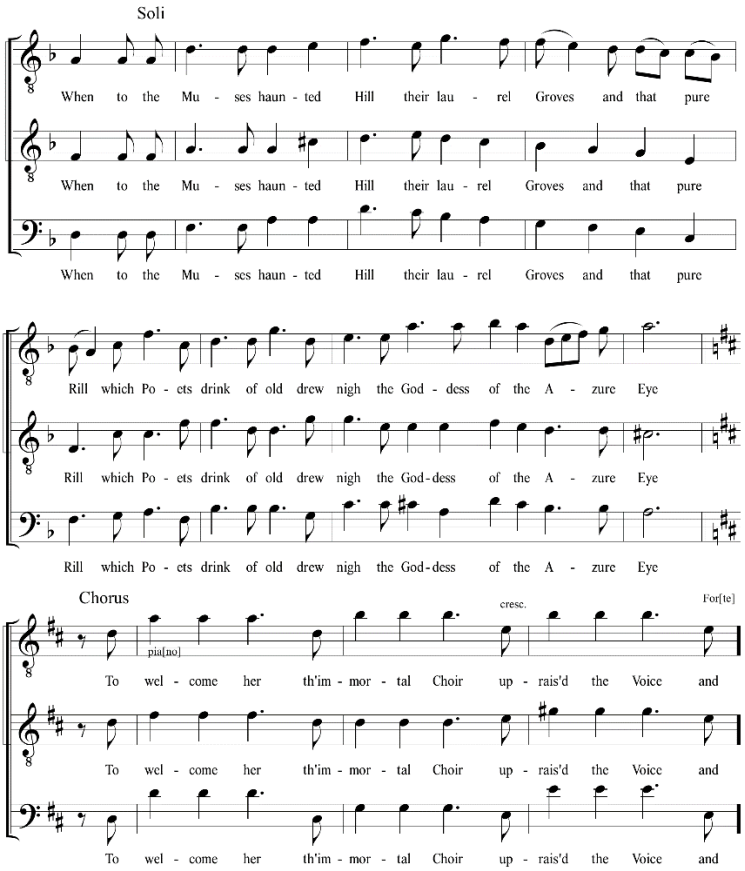


Figure 1.24: John Stafford Smith, "When to the Muses Haunted Hill," opening

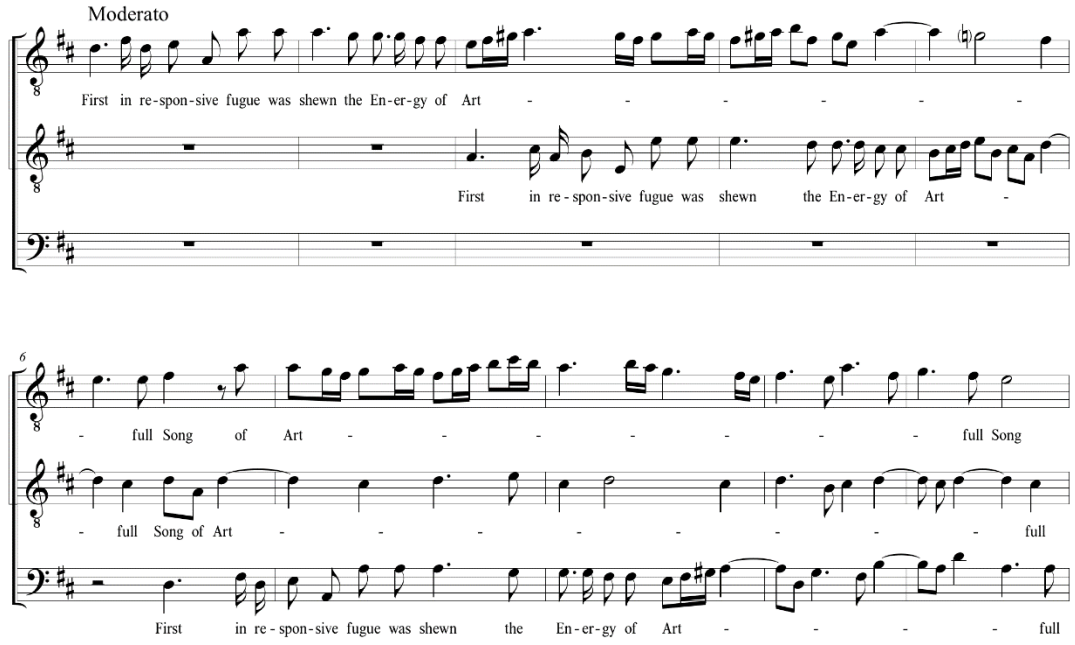


Figure 1.25: Smith, "When to the Muses Haunted Hill," fugue to chorus

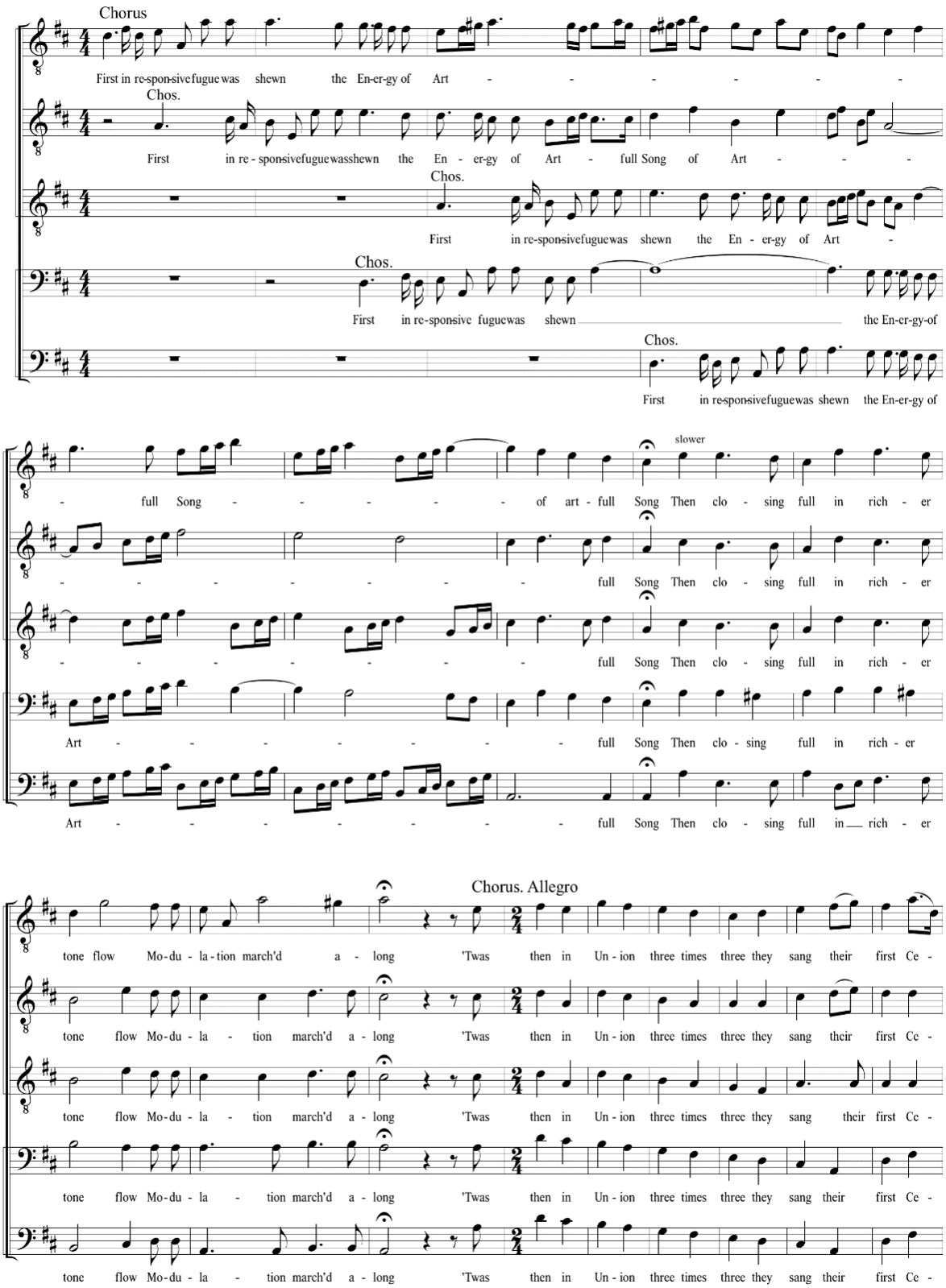


Figure 1.25 (continued)

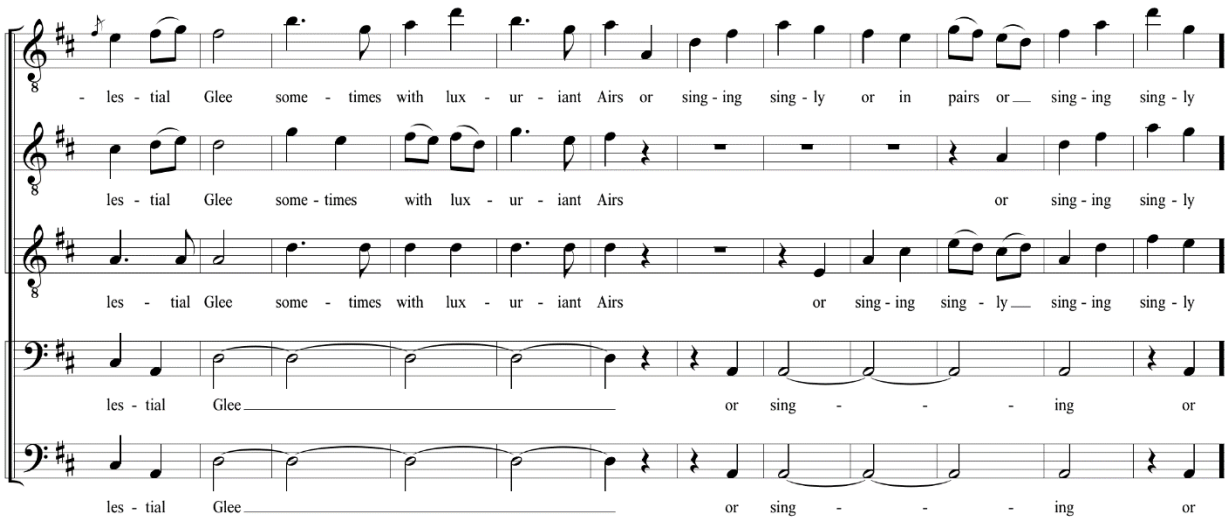


Figure 1.25 (continued)

participatory piece. The text emphasizes several masonic themes, namely "beauty, moral laws, harmony, and social board," which refers to the meal shared at the lodge.

Conclusion

The initial influences of parliamentarianism and freemasonry on Catch Club rituals have had lasting effects. After World War II ended, the club began meeting in the room where the House of Lords convenes, but they currently meet in private club rooms, not unlike the original Thatched House Tavern. Ladies Night is held in the peers dining room, which Williams described as a "nice room, a bit long and narrow, with room at the end where we can sing."[130] That space is very much like the rooms where lodge meetings occurred. Many of the members are peers, and the club maintains its hierarchal division of full and honorary members. Certain club songs, including *Non nobis* and "Glorious Apollo," are still sung regularly, and the alternation of toasting and singing persists.

Parliamentarianism and freemasonry impacted partsong clubs in many ways: rituals, song topics, and convivial masculinity. Yet a tension between parliamentarianism and freemasonry was present in regard to class dynamics. Parliamentarianism was clearly used by the gentlemen members to reinforce their elite social status. It is what provided these amateur musicians with the authority to determine talent among professional musicians through their club's competition. Parliamentarianism

[130] Williams, phone conversation with author.

was expressed through monetary exchange during meetings, and through record-keeping. It was expressed through a particular vocabulary and a monopoly on voting procedures. Freemasonry tempered the gentlemen's authority, through its emphasis on equality and harmony. Freemasonry assisted in ritualizing specifics concerning the food and drink consumed, topics of conversation, the identities of those toasted, and the repertoire performed as well as the manner in which it was performed. The values of parliamentarianism and freemasonry were embedded in club life, and appear to have sustained the club's longevity and continuing prestige.

Chapter 2: Antiquarianism, English National Identity and the Glee

> Ah! happy warbler, I replied,
> Contented thus to be;
> 'Tis only harmony and love
> Can be compared to thee.[131]

Ancient Music in Eighteenth-Century England

By 1770, the multi-sectional glee had supplanted the succinct catch as the predominant vocal genre. Two decades later, English plays were nearly obligated to include glees to ensure their own success, despite the word glee only being known to a few antiquarians in 1755.[132] The growth and legitimation of the glee stemmed from the work of associations like the Nobleman and Gentlemen's Catch Club, along with an increased interest in musical antiquarianism among amateurs and composers, which sought to position the glee as the contemporary instantiation of an English canon of vocal polyphonic music that extended back to the Elizabethan period.

Antiquarianism was at base an interest in ancient culture, but the concept of ancient music in eighteenth-century England was difficult to define. The phrase "ancient music" used to describe music of prior generations was likely an outgrowth of the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, a period between 1690 and the 1720s when scholars debated whether the intellectual authority of a literary canon should derive from antiquity or more recent times.[133] The Ancients believed that works of classical antiquity set the bar for future achievements, while the Moderns were convinced that the art and literature of their own time was more advanced than that of ancient times. The Moderns challenged the Ancients by inquiring as to why old poetry had been preserved, while old music had not. As the old literary canon that had once relied on the authority of history continued to be undermined by the Moderns, for the first time the freeing possibility of forming a musical canon not based on medieval music or earlier music of classical antiquity emerged.[134] In William

---

131 John Danby, "As Passing by a Shady Grove. A Glee for Five Voices" (ca. 1810).
132 Emmanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Detroit: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), 382.
133 William Weber, "The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47, no. 3 (1994): 497. Charles Avison addresses the Ancients and Moderns dispute in what is arguably the first music criticism published in English: *An Essay on Musical Expression. The Second Edition 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 that Subject [By J. Jortin]. 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* (London, Printed for C. Davis, 1753), 72.
134 Weber, "The Intellectual Origins," 493.

Weber's words, "The focus of musical thought changed from speculative ideas and the study of antiquity to musical criticism, aesthetics, and social commentary upon musical life."

This shift from speculation to empiricism was crucial for the explicit aim by all-male vocal clubs of positioning their repertoire as part of a canon of English music. Weber characterizes empiricism as "a kind of intellectual temperament" that provided a new way for processing knowledge and experience.[135] Empiricism enabled amateur connoisseurs to evaluate music's merits according to its overall effect on the listener, rather than the extent to which it adhered to proper rules of counterpoint. Callcott provides evidence that this particular approach to critical reception applied to the Catch Club gentlemen members. In Callcott's unpublished essay "On the Catch Club" dating from 1801, he describes how winning compositions were chosen in the club's annual competition:

> At the end of January 1763 after the pieces were sent in for the Preemium [*sic*] James Harris Liu. [Lieutenant] Of Salisbury (at that time a member) was requested to examine all the Prize music and to give his opinion how far they were consistent with the laws of composition and counterpoint. The result of this examination does not appear and after the first season they were always decided by their effects upon the audience.[136]

This is a specific example of how the broader cultural shift toward empiricism influenced how past and present music was valued. The club's initial design of judging the competition entries on their adherence to voice-leading procedures was quickly replaced by the motivation to judge the music according to its aurally-mediated emotional impact. Of course, the gentlemen doing the judging were amateur musicians, and thus not necessarily experts in the rules of counterpoint, but this lack of knowledge was not considered a hindrance to critical assessment.

With the ability to assess music on its own terms rather than using works of antiquity as a gauge, English composers and writers sought to establish the music with which they were familiar as their canon. In their histories of music, both Charles Burney and John Hawkins had used the word "ancient" as it had been applied to early literature, to describe in general the music and theoretical texts of antiquity.[137] Yet as English writers began to focus on specific pieces rather than abstract

---

[135] Weber, "The Intellectual Origins," 505–506.

[136] John Wall Callcott, "Essays on Musical Subjects," in *Essays on Music Literature and History* (1801), 145, British Library Music Collections Add. MS. 27646.

[137] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols. (London: Printed for the author, and sold by Payne and Son, 1776–1789); Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 4 vols. (London: T. Payne and Son, 1776).

composition rules, "ancient music" gradually came to represent not antiquity, but sixteenth and early seventeenth-century repertoire instead, something that had not happened in any other arts disciplines.[138] In order for the idea of a canon to take shape, processes of positive critical reception had to be applied to an established repertory.[139] Joseph Kerman distinguished between repertory and canon, describing repertory as the performance of old works, and canon as the critical reception and admiration of old works, expressed in a literary context.[140] Like Weber, however, I have found Kerman's exclusive identification of canon with literary criticism to not be entirely accurate, as canon is also shaped by "forces, ideas, and social rituals."[141] In England, critical writings on music were reinforced by institutional and ideological factors. In particular, it reacted to a concert culture that was often dominated by Italianate instrumental and operatic music. English historians recognized English and Italian seventeenth-century composers such as Corelli, Alessandro Scarlatti, Purcell, and Blow as worthy of canonic status.

As efforts to construct an English musical canon continued through the eighteenth century and more repertoire continued to be added, the upper time limit of what constituted ancient music inched higher and higher. The strong Italian presence in eighteenth-century London of emigres such as Francesco Geminiani, Felice Giardini (a Catch Club member) and Giovanni Bonancini continued to inform a cosmopolitan canon representative of London musical life. As a German composing in the Italian style in London, Handel's exalted reputation in England exemplified the international disposition of the emergent English canon. The Academy of Vocal Music, a society named after its founding members (the majority of which were singers in the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's Cathedral, and Westminster Abbey), had formed in 1726 to promote sixteenth and seventeenth-century sacred music and madrigals. In 1731 it became The Academy of Ancient Music, and gradually came to cater more to the public's preference for late-Baroque music such as Handel's oratorios. The Academy was the first organization to perform early music on a regular basis, and co-founder Sir John Hawkins claimed that one of "the principal ends of the institution [Academy of Ancient Music] was a retrospect to those excellent compositions of former ages" and to revive names of composers who "had else been consigned to oblivion."[142] In 1776, the founders of the Concert of Antient Music

[138] Weber, "The Intellectual Origins," 498.
[139] Weber, "The Intellectual Origins," 493.
[140] Joseph Kerman, "A Few Canonic Variations," *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1983): 107.
[141] William Weber, "The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Musical Canon," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114, no. 1 (1989): 6.
[142] Hawkins, *A General History*, vol. II, 886.

declared ancient music to be anything more than two decades old, which for their purposes extended the purview of ancient music into the eighteenth century, and allowed for all of Handel's music to be programmed on their concerts (so that they could then compete with the Academy of Ancient Music).[143] This strategy of redefining ancient music for the sake of commercial sales meant that the term might refer to anything from pre-Reformation music to music that had been composed just twenty years prior.

London was saturated with foreign composers and singers during second half of the eighteenth century, and in many respects a native old guard competed with a continental new guard to attract concert audiences. The old guard was comprised of patriotic aristocrats such as Montagu who staunchly affirmed both convivial partsong and the music that was favored by the royal family, such as that of Handel. The new guard was represented by foreign impresarios of new music concerts, such as J.C. Bach and Carl Abel, whose concert series of 1765–81 premiered new chamber music and symphonies by Bach, Haydn and Mozart.

Within this diverse context, however, an attempt to cultivate an English vocal canon as distinct from the ascendant Italian tradition was supported by the numerous vocal societies located in London and the provinces, with the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club acting as the driving force. According to Callcott, the club was formed on the premise of furthering a national style of music.[144] Particularly at the height of the glee in the late eighteenth-century, British associational culture influentially cultivated the idea of a vocal canon comprised exclusively of English composers. Yet with the glee's gradual decline beginning in the 1810s, the attempts of English historians, editors and music reviewers to uphold the newly established English vocal canon's international reputation through rosy narratives were ultimately unsuccessful in overcoming continental perceptions of nineteenth-century England as *Das Land ohne Musik*. The primary aristocratic champions of the Georgian glee continued to be encroached by the musical tastes of the rising middle class. As late as 1895, historian David Baptie wrote in his *Sketches of the English Glee Composers*, "While in the madrigal our composers have never been surpassed, we can proudly add that in the glee we are—and ever have been—absolutely unrivaled."[145]

---

[143] The Statute of St. Anne, the first copyright law, only went back 28 years (copyright holders held it for fourteen years with a possible renewal for another fourteen years). Anything more than three decades old would have been public domain.

[144] "To revive neglected music of that period [English Renaissance] and to encourage the efforts of rising talents a few of the English Nobility and gentry in Nov. 1761 formed the design of establishing a Catch Club." Callcott, "Essays on Musical Subjects," 143–44.

[145] David Baptie, *Sketches of the English Glee Composers* (London: William Reeves, 1895), 152.

Convincing evidence for the formation of an English vocal canon in the eighteenth century can be found in the literature and music relating to the vocal societies. In 1824, Richard Clark dedicated *The First Volume of Poetry*, a revised, expanded version of his earlier *The Words of the Most Favourite Pieces, Performed at the Glee Club, the Catch Club, and other Public Societies*, "To All Lovers of English Music." Clark was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal and secretary to the Glee Club. His uncle, John Sale, was secretary of the Catch Club from 1812–1828, and during that period Clark published both of the above lyrics books. His dedication and the remarks that follow indicate a strong commitment on the part of English vocal societies to promote an exclusively English vocal canon. With this in mind, it is worth quoting the opening of Clark's "Remarks" in full:

> The Editor, among many of his professional brethren, regrets much to notice, the almost entire exclusion, of any of the beautiful compositions of our own countrymen from public concerts, and evening parties, to make way for foreign compositions, and singers, (for fashion sake) who, in consequence of the very great encouragement they have lately received, flock to this country in swarms, and devour what Englishmen, by their birthright, ought to enjoy, (notwithstanding the enormous charges made by them.)
>
> It is much to be wished, for the honour of our own countrymen, that the magnificent compositions of Morley, Ward, Weelkes, Benet, Gibbons, Wilbye, Dowland, Byrde, Kirkbye, Farmer, Hilton, Lawes, Este, and many others of the old school: —Blow, Purcel, Lock, Handel, Croft, Boyce, Arne, Webbe, Callcott, Danby, Dr. Cooke, Rt. Cooke, Green, S. Smith, Linley, Stevens, Horsley, Spofforth, Attwood, Dibdin, and many others of the modern composers, would not be so neglected; are any of the above composers' works encouraged on the Continent? where, then, is the English professor to seek or look for encouragement, if not at home, and among his own countrymen?
>
> If it were not for the Noblemen and Gentlemen belonging to the Catch Club, the Glee Club, and a few other Musical Societies, (some of which are mentioned in the title page) who can value the indefatigable study and labour of the above composers, their works would be laid, untouched, neglected, and almost forgotten, on the shelf.[146]

[146] Richard Clark, *The First Volume of Poetry; Revised, Improved, and Considerably Enlarged, Containing the Most Favorite Pieces, as Performed at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, the Glee Club, the Harmonists' Society, the Argyll Glee Club, the Lodge Of*

Clark's remarks affirm efforts to establish an English vocal canon despite the popularity of Italian music in England. In a long list traversing the Tudor, Elizabethan, and Georgian eras, Clark alludes to an English vocal canon with sixteenth-century origins that was being surpassed in concert programming of more fashionable music.

Clark's claims are not simply historiographic, but also reflect the words of Catch Club member John Callcott, who shared similar sentiments in an essay from 1801:

> It may be observed that the Madrigal to [originally "words of poeti" crossed out, then "poetical" crossed out] is the original source of the Glee as the Motett is of the Anthem and that our own composers, two hundred years past equaled if not excelled their contemporary Italians in the Time of Weelkes, Wilbye, Bennet, Morley and etc. To revive neglected music of that period and to encourage the efforts of rising talents a few of the English Nobility and gentry in Nov. 1761 formed the design of establishing a Catch Club and the Earl of Eglinton and Sandwich were the first institutions of the society.[147]

Both Callcott and Clark identify the same English Renaissance composers as being at least as good as their Italian counterparts. Both credit the Catch Club for reviving old English music and supporting contemporary English composers, a claim Callcott reinforces by citing an antiquarian, Montagu, as one of the primary founders of the society. Callcott's revision regarding "poetical" shows his attempt to link the madrigal and glee on the basis of their shared focus on expressing poetry through music. The ways in which English poetry and English music were integrated was an important stylistic feature of English music that contributed to canon formation, and will be discussed in greater detail shortly.

Prior to Callcott and Clark's remarks, William Hayes also identified sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers representative of an established English compositional style, stating (in the year he became a Catch Club member):

> In the following Compositions, I have endeavoured to imitate that simplicity of Style which distinguishes the Works of those Masters who are allowed to have excelled in this Species of Music; particularly those of our Countrymen Hilton, Lawes, Brewer, Ford and others of the last Century; But above all, the famous Purcell; whose incomparable Humour can never be outdone if equaled…[148]

Antiquity, the Somerset House Lodge, The Lodge Of Inverness, and the Lodge of Prudence, 122, of Freemasons, the Amateur Glee Club, Evening Parties, and All Public Societies, in General (London: Printed for the editor, 1824), i–ii.

147 Callcott, "Essays on Musical Subjects," 143–144.

148 William Hayes, *Catches, Canons, and Glees for Three, Four, and Five Voices* Bk. 1 ([Oxford]: Printed for

Hayes's attempt to imitate his predecessors' style enabled him to position his own compositions in relation to musicians who were already nationally venerated. The phrase "simplicity of style," though vague, had become a characteristic ascribed to English compositional style since the sixteenth century, and informed decisions regarding which genres should be represented within an English vocal canon.

The glee was one such genre. Especially during the first half of the eighteenth century, the term was used loosely since the genre was still in the process of being defined. Nineteenth-century historians attest to this genre confusion. Barrett states in 1886 (in relation to the eighteenth century), "There was still an uncertain application of the word 'glee' to all pieces of vocal harmonic combinations, an unrecognized reference to the ancient meaning of the term."[149] Due to the prominence granted to poetry in English music, the glee was frequently identified as originating from the madrigal because both genres represented an integration of literature and music. Both madrigals and glees could contain intertextual literary allusions and poetic cross-references. Connecting the two genres also made it possible to justify the notion of the glee as the culmination of a longstanding English vocal tradition. For example, Callcott declared in his "Essays" that "the Madrigal is the original source of the Glee as the Motett is of the Anthem."[150] By contrast, the late nineteenth-century historian William Barret proclaims the seventeenth-century catch rather than the Elizabethan madrigal as the glee's immediate chronological predecessor, claiming that "one form of composition in which Purcell excelled—namely, the Catch—was the immediate precursor of the glee, whose history and development form the chain which at this time binds us in a common bond."[151] Yet Barrett follows this assessment with a broader statement that extends the glee's history further into the past, explaining that "The glee is foreshadowed not only in the musical treatment of certain of the old 'Villanelli,' but also in the Netherlandish 'chansons,' madrigals, catches, and other pieces of part-music."[152]

The practice of relating the glee to the madrigal, combined with inconsistent definitions of the genre's characteristics, is supported by Warren's occasional classification of Elizabethan

---

the Author, 1757), Preface (n.p.).

[149] Barrett describes Thomas Holmes's catches as being more in the glee style (they lack a "catch"), and alternately claims that some of Arne's glees are in catch form (including "Which is the Properest Day to Drink"). William Alexander Barrett, *English Glees and Part-Songs, an Inquiry into their Historical Development* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1886), 208.

[150] Callcott, "Essays on Musical Subjects," 143.

[151] Barrett, *English Glees and Part-Songs*, 62.

[152] Ibid. Barrett refers to the Renaissance *villanella*, which is pluralized as *villanelle*.

madrigals as glees in both the club's music manuscripts and published *Collection* (see Figure 2.1). Not surprisingly, the majority of ancient music composers represented in the *Collection* were late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English composers, including Byrd, Morley, Weelkes, Lawes, and Gibbons (Figure 2.2). Warren and other composers relied on well-known seventeenth-century partsong anthologies as sources of ancient music, namely publications by Thomas Ravenscroft, John Hilton, and John Playford. Warren attributes the dates 1652 and 1667 fairly frequently to early songs in *Collection* volumes, most likely in reference to Hilton's two seventeenth-century *Catch that Catch Can* collections.[153] Similarly, a noticeable portion of early repertoire printed in the *Collection* derives from Ravenscroft's anthologies of 1609 and 1611.[154]

Collection volumes 1A and 1B are preceded by a common index, implying they were published at the same time, likely 1762. Volume 1A contains catches and canons, of which ten catches and one canon are by pre-eighteenth-century composers. Volume 1B contains glees, including two early madrigals that were titled as glees: Orlando Gibbons' five-voice madrigal "The Silver Swan" and John Bennet's "Whenas I glance on my sweet lovely Phyllis" (appearing with

Orlando Gibbons, 1612	The Silver Swan
John Bennett, 1599	When as I Look'd on my Dear Love
Thomas Weelkes, AD 1600	The Nightingale
Thomas Morley, 1596 [misattributed, should be John Farmer]	Fair Phyllis
Michael Este, n.d.	How Merrily We Live that Shepherds Be
Morley, 1600	Within an Arbour of Sweet Bry'r
Ravenscroft, 1614 [misdated, should be 1609]	We Be Three Poor Mariners
Nicholas Freeman, 1667	Of All the Brave Birds that Ever I See
Thomas Ford, 1620	Since First I Saw Your Face
William Byrd, 1563	How oft the Heathen Poets
Huberto Waelrant, 1590	O'er Desert Plains and Rushy Meers

Figure 2.1: Madrigals retitled as "Glees" in Warren's *Collection*

[153] John Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can, or, A Choice Collection of Catches, Rounds & Canons for 3 or 4 Voyces* (London: Printed for John Benson & John Playford..., 1652); Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can, or, The Musical Companion: Containing Catches and Rounds for Three and Four Voyces* (London: Printed by W. Godbid for J. Playford..., 1667).
[154] Thomas Ravenscroft, *Deuteromelia: or the Second Part of Musicks Melodie, or Melodius Musicke* (London: T. Adams, 1609); Ravenscroft, *Melismata; Musicall Phansies Fitting the Court, Citie, and Countrey Humours* (London: Printed by W. Stansby for T. Adams, 1611).

Vol. #, pg.	Pub. Year	Composer	Title	Genre, Voices
1A, 4	1762	Travers, John	Here Innocence and Beauty	Catch, 3
1A, 7		King, Charles	O Absolom My Son	Catch, 3
1A, 7		Travers, John	Underneath this Marble Hearse	Catch, 3
1A, 8		Travers, John	Doubtless the Pleasure	Catch, 3
1A, 17		Hawkins, J[ames] Sr.	To the King of Great Britain	Catch, 3
1A, 18		Roseingrave, Thomas	Jerusalem	Catch, 3
1A, 19		Bird	Pietas omnium virtutum	Canon, 3
1A, 20		Torri, Pietro	Levate suo bella Clori	Catch, 5
1A, 22		Travers, John	Life is a Jest	Catch, 4
1A, 25		Hawkins, J[ames] Sr.	Come on here's John	Catch, 3
1A, 31		Hawkins, J[ames Jr.]	Let the Woman be Damn'd	Catch, 3
1B, 5	1762	Travers, John	Ah Me what Perils do Environ	Canon, 3
1B, 7		Travers, John	Memento homo	Canon, 3
1B, 11		Ives, Simon	Si Deus nobiscum	Canon, 3
1B, 13		Bird	Miserere mei Domine	Canon, 3
1B, 13		Bird	Miserere nostri Domini	Canon, 3
1B, 18		Gibbons, Orlando	The Silver Swan	Glee, 5
1B, 24		Bennet, John	When as I Looked on My	Glee, 4
2, 24	1763	Purcell, Henry	Fairest Isle	Glee, 3
3, 22	1764	Weelkes, Thomas	The Nightingale the Organ	Glee, 3
5, 22	1766	Morley. Thomas	Fair Phyllis I Saw Sitting	Glee, 4
6, 26	1767	Este, Michael	How Merrily we Live	Glee, 3
6, 32		Green, James	When Love and Friendship	Glee, 3
8, 26	1769	Wilbye, John	Flora Gave Me Fairest Flowers	Madrigal, 5
9, 24	1770	Morley, Thomas	Within an Arbour of Sweet Bry'r	Glee, 4
13, 38	1774	Weelkes, Thomas	Ah Me! My Wonted Joys	Madrigal, 4
14, 23	1775	Converso, Girolamo	When All Alone	Madrigal, 5
15, 14	1776	Ford, Thomas	Fair Sweet Cruel	Madrigal, 4
16, 15	1777	Lawes, Henry	If My Mistress	Air, 3
16, 44		Brewer, Thomas	Turn Amarillis to thy Swain	Madrigal, 3
17, 35	1778	Freeman, Nicholas	Of all the Brave Birds	Glee, 3
18, 38	1779	Morley, Thomas	Whither Away so Fast	Madrigal, 3
19, 14	1780	Purcell, Henry	Fear no Danger	Rondeau, 3
20, 38	1781	Wilson, D.	From the Fair Alvinian Shore	Glee, 3
20, 40		Purcell, Henry	Ah How Gladly	Glee, 3
21, 18	1782	Wilbye, John	Down in a Valley	Madrigal, 5

Figure 2.2: 17th and early 18th-century works in Warren's *Collection* volumes

21, 41		Ravenscroft, Thomas	Can'st thou Love	Canzonet, 4
22, 20	1783	Marenzio, Luca	Will You Hear	Ballad, 3
22, 53		Hilton, John	I Charge ye O Daughters	Round, 3
23, 34	1784	Willaert, Adriana	Amen, alleluja	Canon, 4
24, 21	1785	Agostini, Paolo	Agnus dei	Canon, 8
25, 20	1786	Ford, Thomas	Since First I Saw	Glee, 4
28, 12	1789	Scarlatti, Alessandro	Cor mio	Madrigal, 5
28, 41		Bach, J. S.	Alleluja Amen	Canon, 4
29, 8	1790	Byrd (Byrde), William	How oft the Heathen Poets	Glee, 5
29, 24		Green, James	The Lord Mayor	Catch, 4
29, 25		Green, James	Here Lies Poor Toby	Catch, 3
29, 49		Green, James	Although You're a Cuckold	Catch, 3
31, 27	1792	Waelrant, Huberto	O'er Desert Plains	Glee, 4

Figure 2.2 (continued)

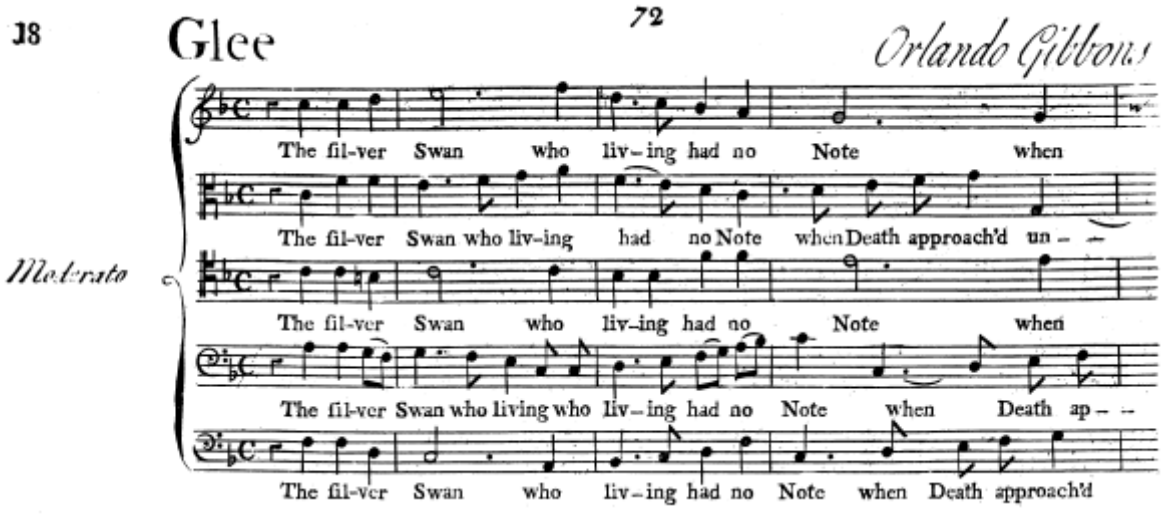


Figure 2.3: Gibbons, "The Silver Swan," labeled as a glee with late 18th-century cleffing, Warren's *Collection* (1762)

altered text in 1B as "When as I look'd on my Dear lovely Phyllis").[155] The notated pitches in "The Silver Swan" are in accordance with Gibbons's original partbooks, though Warren modernizes the clefs in the second and fourth parts (Figure 2.3). Similar labeling of madrigals as glees occurs in various partsong anthologies, and was not considered problematic at the time. The glee designation

[155] Orlando Gibbons, "The Silver Swan," in *A First Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees*, ed. Edmund Thomas Warren (London: Peter Welcker, 1762), 18–19. Originally in Orlando Gibbons, *The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets of 5 Parts* (London: Printed by Thomas Snodham, 1612); John Bennet, "Whenas I glance on my sweet lovely Phyllis," in *A First Collection*, 24.

may have been justified in part through its early association with all-male voices, thus distinguishing it from most madrigals. By connecting the glee to the madrigal, a sense of historical continuity was established.

Antiquarianism and the Emergence of an English Vocal Canon

The general concept of musical canon was spurred by the broader interest in historicism that first rose to cultural prominence during the eighteenth century. For eighteenth-century historians, a heightened awareness of "history in the making" and increased interest in learning from previous generations meant that the past seemed more tangible and less distant. Historian Rosemary Sweet characterizes eighteenth-century historicizing as "a constant interaction between past and present, in which antiquarian knowledge informed the culture and identities of the modern world."[156] She acknowledges some of the common stereotypes associated with antiquaries upon comparison with natural historians: a supposed concern with minutiae and insignificant events, overall narrower historical focus, reliance on tables and lengthy footnotes, and interest in the collection of coins and medals.[157] Despite these seeming pitfalls, Sweet attests that antiquarian research influenced the nineteenth-century championing of empiricism and documentation, as well as the attempt to offer an objective viewpoint seemingly removed from broader religious or political arguments.[158] Research undertaken by both antiquarians and natural historians was viewed as "scholarship" rather than pleasurable gentlemanly learning.[159] Antiquarians cultivated a sense of patriotism through their research and exchange of information concerning local antiquities, such as calling attention to an otherwise unknown manuscript. Their acquired knowledge informed their sense of identity and societal contribution on both a local and national level.[160]

Robert Bremner, the Scottish music publisher and editor of *The Vocal Harmonist's Magazine*, issued in six monthly installments during the 1760s, praised the antiquarian's role in music preservation in his preface:

> To the Public. In all civilized Countries, it has ever been deemed laudable and meritorious to endeavor at the Preservation of the valuable Works of Antiquity; by rescuing them from the Confines of Oblivion, 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

[156] Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon, 2004), xiv.
[157] Ibid., 4–6.
[158] Ibid., xvi.
[159] Ibid., 8.
[160] Ibid., xv.

> 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.[161]

Bremner himself was engaged in the "Preservation of the valuable Works of Antiquity," as he is best known today for acquiring the manuscript that became known as the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* and presenting it to Lord Fitzwilliam. He understood the historically-minded culture of his time, in which gentlemen connoisseurs of music possessed the financial means to assume the antiquarian role of preserver. Such men often collected ancient music manuscripts and prints, and acted as members and/or patrons of concert organizations associated with old music. The inclusion of the word "academy" in the Academy of Ancient Music reflects the invocation of scholarly authority in musical antiquarianism.

Organist and composer William Jackson of Exeter (1730–1803) pokes fun at composers who he claims occasionally took advantage of the antiquarian craze by passing a new composition off as old:

> Sometimes a piece makes its appearance that was lately found by accident, after a concealment of a hundred and fifty years. When it is approved, and declared too excellent for these degenerate days, the author smiles and owns it...It is as difficult to imitate ancient music, as ancient poetry.[162]

Jackson's wry comment arises from a broader literary context, as several authors and poets attempted similar forgeries. Horace Walpole claimed that *The Castle of Otranto* was based on a translation of a sixteenth-century Italian manuscript, which in turn was based on a story dating back to the Crusades. Thomas Chatterton fabricated poetry claimed to be by Thomas Rowley, a fifteenth-century priest, and William Henry Ireland forged letters and a supposedly new Shakespeare play. Barrett suggests that composer Samuel Webbe followed suit in regards to his song lyrics, stating,

> It is known now that he wrote the poetry for several of his glees, but he never claimed the authorship. In one instance at least he gave the credit to some unknown and unnamed writer…It is much more

[161] Robert Bremner, ed., *The Vocal Harmonist's Magazine: Being a Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons, and Canzonets. Selected from the Best Authors Both Ancient and Modern* (London: Printed and sold by R: Bremner, ca. 1766–67).
[162] William Jackson, "Letter X," in *Thirty Letters on Various Subjects in Two Volumes* (London: Printed for T. Cadell; and B. Thorn and Son, in Exeter, 1784), 74. I have not encountered any such forgeries within vocal club repertoire, which is not to say that they do not exist.

> reasonable to assume that, by way of joke, he yielded to the temptation of adding his quota to the remarkable discoveries which all seem bent upon making about the period."[163]

Barrett's surmise is believable considering that several early members of the Catch Club, including Sir Watkin Williams Wynn and founding members John Montagu (fourth Earl of Sandwich), Alexander Montgomery (tenth Earl of Eglinton), and Thomas Warren were interested in ancient music. Montagu had been a founding member of the Concerts of Ancient Music, and may have also tried his hand at song text forgery. Around the year of the club's founding in 1761, Montagu presented Purcell's "Under this stone lies Gabriel John" to the club. This three-voice catch appears in volume 1 of the club music manuscripts with the following handwritten preface: "From the Earl of Sandwich's Journal June 7th 1670. Mr. William Pierrepont, brother to the Marquis of Dorchester gave me leave to copy this following Epitaph which he said was unquestionably found upon an ancient Grave stone in London viz." (Figure 2.4).[164] The epitaph text immediately follows, and then the catch (dated 1690), which sets a similar rather than identical text. The Sandwich referred to in the inscription is the first Earl of Sandwich (1625–72), the great-great-grandfather of Montagu, whose manuscript journals still exist today.[165] Thus, an "ancient" story derived from an ancestor's manuscript accompanies an "ancient" catch.

Original Epitaph	Catch text
James Cavan lies under this stone In the Year fourteen hundred forty and one	1) Under this stone lies Gabriel John in the year of our Lord one Thousand and one
Cover his Head with a Turf or Stone Or any thing or nothing, all's one	2) Cover his head with turf or stone 'tis all one 'tis all one…
Yet pray for gentle James now he's dead and gone And tho- you shou'd forget him, all's one.	3) Pray for the soul of gentle John if you please you may or let it alone 'tis all one

Figure 2.4: Epitaph copied by the Earl of Sandwich compared with Purcell's "Under this Stone"

[163] Barrett, *English Glees and Part-Songs*, 225.
[164] Henry Purcell, "Under this Stone" (1690), British Library Music Collections H.2788.q, 93.
[165] William Pierrepont refers to the first earl of Kingston upon Hull, and younger brother of Henry Pierrepont, first marquess of Dorchester.

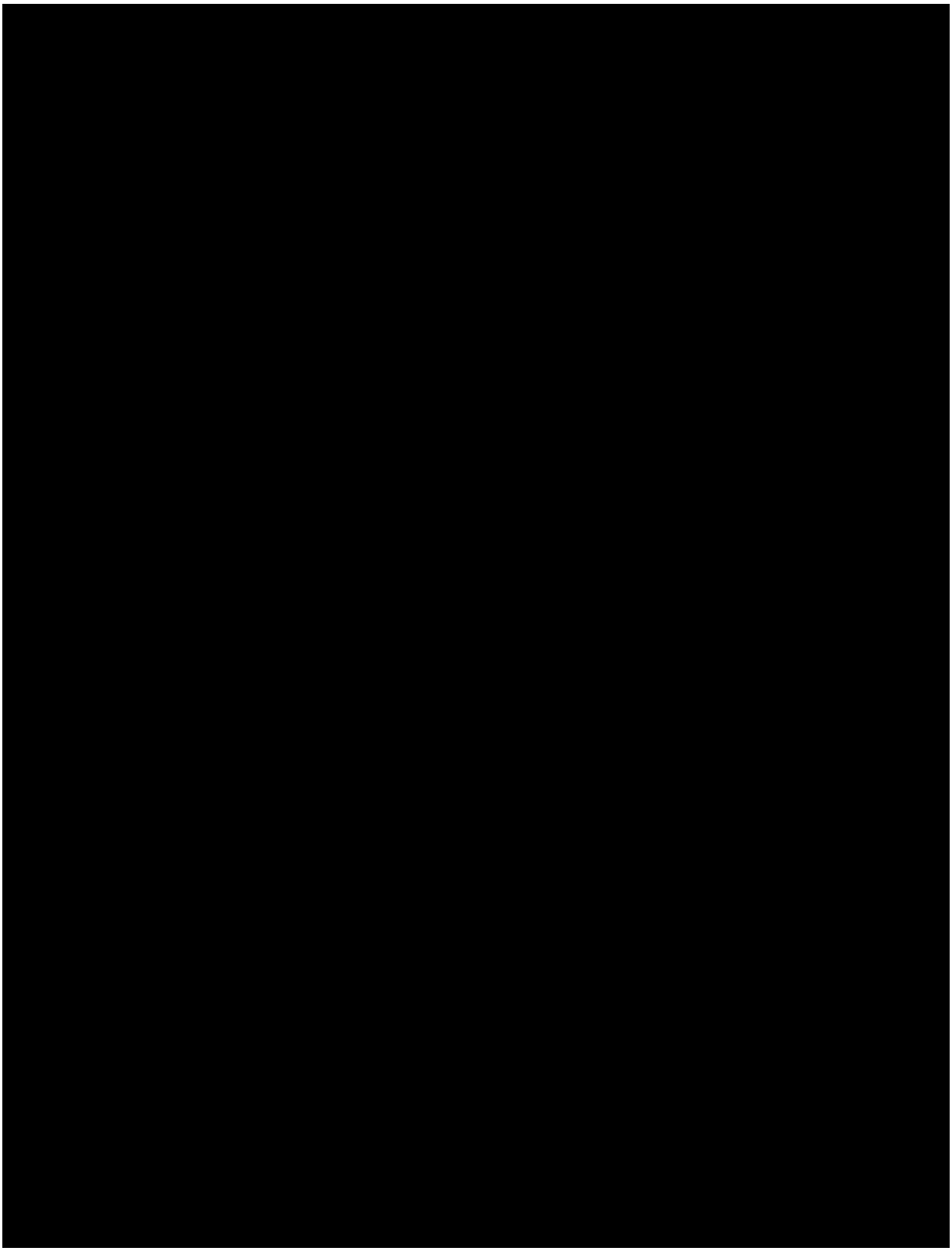


Figure 2.5: Purcell's "Under this Stone," British Library H.2788.q

Purcell's catch was originally published in the second book of John Playford's *Pleasant Musical Companion* (1686), where it is titled "An Old Epitaph." A comparison of the first Earl of Sandwich's copied epitaph and Purcell's song text reveals dissimilarities in the name and date of the deceased, basic information that increases the incredulity of Montagu's story (Figure 2.5). It is possible that Montagu really did discover this journal entry, and noticed its similarity to Purcell's catch, which should have been familiar to him. It is also possible that he was bluffing for the sake of a good story. Antiquarian falsifications appear to have been relatively uncommon, though. Regardless, the combined efforts of music antiquarians, editors and publishers ultimately succeeded in establishing an English vocal canon rooted in Elizabethan polyphonic genres and continued by the compositional activities of Georgian associations devoted to partsong.

Publishing Ancient Music

One of the most effective methods for disseminating new ideas on an English vocal canon was through music publications. Anthologies such as Bremner's aforementioned *The Vocal Harmonist's Magazine* belong to a broader category of music that paired ancient and modern music, manifesting the prevailing awareness of past and present. Additional examples abound during the time period, including *A Supplement to the Catches, Glees, and Canons Lately Published by Dr. Hayes: Consisting Chiefly of Some Favourite Pieces, Composed by Old and Approved Masters*; *A Collection of Catches, Canons, Glees, Duettos &c, Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern*; *Vocal Harmony: Being a Collection of Glees, Madrigals, Elegies, Quartetts* [*sic*]*, Canzonets &c. Compiled from the Compositions of the Best Authors Ancient and Modern Including the Prize Glees from 1763 to 1794*; and *The Apollo, or Harmonist in Miniature: A Selection of Ancient and Modern Catches, Glees, Canons, Epigrams*.[166]

In addition to his role as curator of the Catch Club's library and editor of their annual *Collection*, Thomas Warren made his own contributions to editions bridging ancient and modern repertoires, through his anthologies *A Collection of Vocal Harmony* and *Apollonian Harmony*.[167] *A*

---

166 William Hayes, *A Supplement to the Catches, Glees, and Canons Lately Published by Dr. Hayes: Consisting Chiefly of Some Favourite Pieces, Composed by Old and Approved Masters, to Which He Hath Added Parts, for the Sake of Enriching the Harmony, and Two New Canons* ([Oxford]: Printed for the editor, and may be had of him at Oxford; And of Mrs. Johnson, opposite to Bow Church in Cheapside, London, ca. 1765); *Vocal Harmony: Being a Collection of Glees, Madrigals, Elegies, Quartetts* [*sic*]*, Canzonets &c. Compiled from the Compositions of the Best Authors Ancient and Modern Including the Prize Glees from 1763 to 1794* (London: Clementi, Banger, Collard, Davis & Collard, ca. 1810–1830); *The Apollo, or Harmonist in Miniature: A Selection of Ancient and Modern Catches, Glees, Canons, Epigrams, &c. Most Respectfully Inscribed to the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Catch Clubs of England, Ireland, and Scotland.* 8 vols. (London: T. Williams, ca. 1815).

167 Edmund Thomas Warren, ed., *A Collection of Vocal Harmony: Consisting of Catches Canons and Glees Never Before Publish'd: To Which are added Several Motetts and Madrigals Composed by the Best Masters, Selected by Thomas Warren* (London: Printed by Welcker in Gerrard Street, St. Ann's Soho, issued periodically from ca. 1765); Warren, ed.,

Collection of Vocal Harmony was colloquially referred to as "Warren's monthly collection," likely to distinguish it from the other Catch Club *Collection*, and was issued monthly as a periodical during the 1760s. *Apollonian Harmony* was comprised of six volumes published between 1781 and 1790, and like *A Collection of Vocal Harmony* contained a significant portion of "ancient" repertoire. Warren's enterprises were well-known and respected, as evidenced by the copying of music from his *Collection of Vocal Harmony* in the seventeenth and nineteenth volumes of the Catch Club's manuscript music books, in which gentlemen members presented particular pieces from those collections likely in homage to their beloved secretary (the songs were presented a few years prior to his death).[168]

Warren's biggest undertaking never reached fruition. He had intended to publish a collection of Renaissance madrigals and motets in six volumes, but his initial 1777 publishing agreement with Mary Welcker, the widow of prominent London music publisher Peter Welcker, fell through due to her illness and subsequent death. Warren attempted to negotiate with her executors at that point, and they agreed to incorporate his corrections on the engraved plates for volume one for a fee of twenty pounds. He then provided them with the first forty corrected proofs (out of a total of one hundred), and heard nothing. Five years later, the executors returned the proofs to Warren, explaining that the plates had never been corrected. These proofs are all that remain of the project, and in the preface to them Warren writes "The only impression and collection in the world."[169] Corrections to the proofs include composer attribution, "first published by" history and/or additional information regarding the composer's professional position or patron, genre types, *musica ficta*, dynamics, slurs, and tempo markings, as in Luca Marenzio's "Chefa hoggi il mio sole," translated as "What doth my Pretty Darling," shown in Figure 2.6. This manuscript is valuable for relaying eighteenth-century performance practices of ancient music, as well as which composers were considered canonic at the time. It also demonstrates the strong interest shared my music antiquarians to present comprehensive collections of music representative of a particular time period.

While the frequent combination of ancient and modern music in vocal anthologies demonstrates a shared lineage between repertoires, disputes between proponents of different styles

---

Apollonian Harmony: A Collection of Scarce & Celebrated Glees, Catches, Madrigals, Canzonetts [*sic*]*, Rounds and Canons Antient & Modern, with Some Originals*, vol. i–vi (London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson; No. 75 St. Paul's Church Yard, [between 1781 and 1790]).

[168] Ruggiero Giovannelli, "Donna la pura," in British Library Music Collections H.2788.ff, 143; Luca Marenzio, "Questa ordi il laccio," in British Library Music Collections H.2788.hh, 6.

[169] Edmund Thomas Warren, "ms. notes by E. T. Warren," (1777) British Library Music Collections K.7.i.12.

Figure 2.6: Opening of Marenzio's "What Doth my Pretty Darling," in Warren's unpublished collection of Renaissance music, British Library K.7.i.12.

led contemporary critics to frequently prefer one over the other. For instance, Burney preferred the inventiveness and declamatory text-setting of the Classical galant. He pejoratively characterized music written prior to the invention of recitative as "gothic" due to its apparent prioritization of affect over textual meaning. For Burney, excessive ornamentation and overwrought counterpoint were permissible for sacred genres, but for secular genres such as opera, he believed that the musical setting should not obscure the text.[170] By contrast, Sir John Hawkins disliked what he perceived to be excessive ornamentation in the new music being performed in London, which he associated with foreign composers. As a member of the Academy of Ancient Music, Hawkins was a strong proponent of more conservative compositional styles. He described "the instrumental music of the present day" as "noise without harmony, exemplified in the frittering of passages into notes...and of this cast are the symphonies, periodical overtures, quartettos, quintettos, and the rest of the trash

[170] Howard Irving, "Classic and Gothic: Charles Burney on 'Ancient Music,'" *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 23 (1994): 244.

daily obtruded on the world."[171] He felt that earlier music contained all of the diverse features present in Classical music, claiming,

> In the compositions of Tye, Tallis, Bird, Farrant, Gibbons, and some others, all that variety of melody, harmony, and fine modulation are discoverable, which ignorant people conceive to be the effect of modern refinement.[172]

Hawkins's opinions were echoed by club member John Stafford Smith, who also valued the transparency and simpler styles of early music. Smith had assisted Benjamin Cooke in transcribing the ancient music into modern notation for Hawkins's *History*.[173] The introduction to his edited anthology, *Collection of English Songs in Score for Three and Four Voices: Composed about the Year 1500*, closes with the following summarizing statement, reminiscent of Hawkins' words professed a few years prior:

> In Music, as in every Thing else, Art carried into Excess becomes vicious and destructive, whether by labouring after extraneous, complex and obscure Modulations, as some of the Ancients did, or as some of the Moderns do, by running into extravagant Levities of Air. But the venerable Pieces of Antiquity in the present Collection seem so far out of the Reach of this Censure, that, for Purity of Harmony and Chastity of Melody, I should hope they will be read and heard with Approbation and Pleasure.[174]

The subscription list for *Collection of English Songs* reveals that Smith's patrons also professed antiquarian tastes, including the Anacreontic Society, lawyer and antiquarian Thomas Bever, Gentlemen of the Litchfield Cecilian Society, and Lord Sandwich. For critics and composers such as Hawkins and Smith, advocating for the qualities of ancient music provided a means for protesting modern music styles.

Ancient music was valuable, but its value derived from how present-day composers could employ its techniques to create new works. Smith's *Collection of English Songs* together with his later publication, *Musica Antiqua*, are emblematic of a method of presenting historical accounts during the eighteenth century through narratives of improvement. Smith introduces the preface to *Collection of*

---

[171] Hawkins, *A General History*, opening.
[172] Ibid., vol. II, 575.
[173] Tim Egginton, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music* (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), 114.
[174] Hawkins, *A General History*, vii.

English Songs with this premise: "the intention of this preface is to give the reader a short view of music in its different stages towards perfection."[175] He then presents a condensed history of music from the ancient Greeks through Purcell. The full title of his second ancient music anthology includes the word "improvement": *Musica Antiqua, a Selection of Music of This and Other Countries from the Commencement of the 12th to the Beginning of the 18th Century…The Whole Calculated to Shew the Original Sources of the Melody & Harmony of this Country; & to Exhibit the Different Styles & Degrees of Improvement of the Several Periods.*[176] The concept of improvement stemmed in part from revised assessments of the music of antiquity following the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, in which ancient music was understood as a lower step in the cultivation of a compositional Parnassus. In *A Letter to the Author, Concerning the Music of the Ancients* (1753), church historian John Jortin offers a historicist explanation for why ancient music appears to have been more appealing in the past, suggesting, "The Music then of the Ancients seems in general to have been more simple than ours, and perhaps it would not have the same effect upon us as it had upon them, if we could retrieve it."[177] The implication is that as civilization advanced, musical tastes became more sophisticated, with music approaching perfection accordingly.

The Gendered Canon

The ideals of musical perfection in modern music were predicated on metaphors of masculinity. Martha Citron's argument that the Western musical canon is not only comprised of male composers' works, but is also discussed by contemporaries in gendered terms, is borne out in eighteenth-century English histories of music.[178] For example, William Jackson states:

> The productions of genius require some ages to be brought to perfection. The liberal arts have their infancy, youth and manhood; and, to carry on the allusion, continue sometime in a state of

[175] John Stafford Smith, *A Collection of English Songs in Score for Three and Four Voices: Composed about the Year 1500. Taken from MSS. of the Same Age, Revised and Digested by J.S. Smith* (London: Printed for J. Bland, ca. 1779).
[176] John Stafford Smith, *Musica Antiqua, a Selection of Music of This and Other Countries from the Commencement of the 12th to the Beginning of the 18th Century Comprising Some of the Earliest & Most Curious Motetts, Madrigals, Hymns, Anthems, Songs, Lessons and Dance Tunes, Some of Them Now First Published from Manuscripts and Printed Works of Great Rarity & Value. The Whole Calculated to Shew the Original Sources of the Melody & Harmony of this Country; & to Exhibit the Different Styles & Degrees of Improvement of the Several Periods* (London, Printed and sold by Preston, 1812).
[177] John Jortin, "A Letter to the Author, Concerning the Music of the Ancients," in *An Essay on Musical Expression. The Second Edition 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 that Subject [By J. Jortin]. 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* (London, Printed for C. Davis, 1753), 19.
[178]Marcia J Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

> strength, and then verge by degrees to a decline, which at last ends in a total extinction.[179]

Though Jackson does not share the same perspective on modern music as Smith, Jackson similarly emphasizes a narrative of historical improvement. In likening the improvement of music over time to the life stages of a man, Jackson impresses the notion that the attainment of perfection is limited to men. He characterizes genius as a "state of strength," which can only occur during the life stage of manhood. Jackson also acknowledges that perfection cannot endure, but must eventually decline just as man must die. He was not shy in identifying which composers represented such perfection for him, classifying Corelli, Geminiani and Handel as "great men":

> Corelli gave a new turn to instrumental music, and was successfully followed by Geminiani and Handel: the last excelled in vocal as well as instrumental music. There have been refinements and confessed improvements upon all these great men since; and no doubt but at this time there are much better performers, and more elegant, tho' less solid composers. This is the united effect of the labours of the whole together; for there is no *one man* to be compared with either of the above-mentioned.[180]

Jackson concludes his statement somewhat evasively, claiming that though there were better performers and "more elegant" composers when viewed as a group, no individuals within that group were capable of the same level of greatness as the individual composers previously mentioned. Perhaps for Jackson, the 1790s signaled a time of decline since no one in his opinion had yet attained the same status as Handel.

Thirty years prior to the writing of *Thirty Letters*, another organist/composer adopted a similar narrative of improvement and cast of characters. Charles Avison mentions several foreign men who he considered to be "excellent composers," and positions Handel at the pinnacle of that list:

> From the Time of these Masters [various Italian Renaissance composers] to the present, there has been a Succession of many excellent Composers, who seeing the Defects of those who preceded them, in the too great Neglect of *Air*, have adorned the noblest Harmonies by a suitable Modulation: Yet still, so far retaining the Style of the more ancient Compositions, as to make the harmonic

[179] Jackson, "Letter X," in *Thirty Letters*, 63.
[180] Ibid., 72–73.

> Construction the leading Character of their Works...Such are the chaste and faultless Corelli; the bold and inventive Scarlatti; the sublime Caldara; the graceful and spirited Rameau. To these we may justly add our illustrious Handel; in whose manly Style we often find the noblest Harmonies; and these enlivened with such a Variety of Modulation, as could hardly have been expected from one who hath supplyed the Town with musical Entertainments of every Kind, for thirty Years together.[181]

The adjectives Avison uses to describe the named musicians are words that encapsulate masculine values of his time, namely "bold," "inventive," "sublime," "manly style," and "noblest." In particular, Avison's reservation of the term "manly" for Handel, combined with the additional description afforded his reputation, assists in identifying Handel as exceeding the others in talent.

However, Avison eventually announces, "And here, that I may do Justice to what I think the most distinguished of Merit, I shall mention, as Examples of true Musical *Expression*, two great Authors..." and proceeds to laud two Italians: Benedetto Marcello as the greatest vocal master, and Geminiani as the greatest instrumental master.[182] In describing Marcello's setting of the first fifty Psalms, Avison writes, "Here he has far excelled all the Moderns, and given us the truest Idea of that noble Simplicity which probably was the grand Characteristic of the ancient Music…In the last Psalm...he seems to have collected all the Powers of his vast Genius."[183] Avison uses Geminiani's own words to express what he had done for England: "That Music, by proper Culture and Encouragement, may be brought to as great Perfection in *England*, as in any other Nation."[184]

William Hayes criticized Avison for his continental favoritism in his *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression*. Hayes takes offense to Lully and Scarlatti being included on the same plane as Handel, writing,

> This seems to be owning rather too much: For a stronger Proof there cannot be of real superior Merit, than a Man's being universally admired and esteemed, in the Country where he resides, and imitated by his Successors as the standing Model of Perfection: But all this mighty yielding, is only for the sake of an Opportunity of sneering both Handel and his Brethren the Musicians of our own Country...[185]

---

[181] Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, 52–54.
[182] Ibid., 100.
[183] Ibid., 101–102.
[184] Ibid., 106.
[185] William Hayes, *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London: Printed for J. Robinson, 1753), 61–62.

By the above statement, it is clear that Hayes is one of those who considered Handel to be an English composer due to his permanent residence. Hayes claims that Avison champions Geminiani over Handel simply because he had studied with Geminiani, and Geminiani was reported to have said on occasion that Avison would produce better compositions than Handel.[186] Hayes (partially defending himself) also claims that unlike in Italy and most other countries,

> In *England* we are often too apt to despise the Professors of music, and to treat them indiscriminately with Contempt...And I may safely assert, that there is no Science with more Labour and difficulty attained to; that requires more sedulous Application, or a more intense Exertion of the Rational Faculties, in acquiring a competent Skill in the Principles thereof; or more of Genius in applying them, and putting in Execution its various Branches, than this of *Music*.[187]

Hayes evokes implicitly gendered language (Labour, Rational Faculties, Genius) when describing the science of music. He attempts to refute Avison's ranking of Italian composers above his own countrymen by exposing Avison's biases.

Imitations, Adaptations and Harmonizations of Ancient Music

In the effort to support native English composers, Hayes published *A Supplement to the Catches, Glees, and Canons…Consisting Chiefly of Some Favourite Pieces, Composed by Old and Approved Masters, to Which He Hath Added Parts, for the Sake of Enriching the Harmony*.[188] During the second half of the eighteenth century, concurrent with the glee's rise to fame, the practice of harmonizing or otherwise adapting music became fairly common. Hayes was not a purist, and was willing to arrange music to suit the public's perceived tastes and abilities. Through Hayes and others including Charles Knyvett and Thomas Oliphant, the term "glee" was often used as a placeholder for "harmonization," much to the ire of the Catch Club. While some composers and editors saw this as a beneficial manner of marketing ancient music, others felt that it undermined the sophisticated compositional skill upon which the glee's initial reputation lay. Nevertheless, the practice of adding additional voices and accompaniment parts continued. The most frequently harmonized songs were Scottish airs, which were presented within the context of improvement, but other solo songs were

[186] Ibid., 111.
[187] Ibid., 92.
[188] William Hayes, *A Supplement to the Catches, Glees, and Canons.*

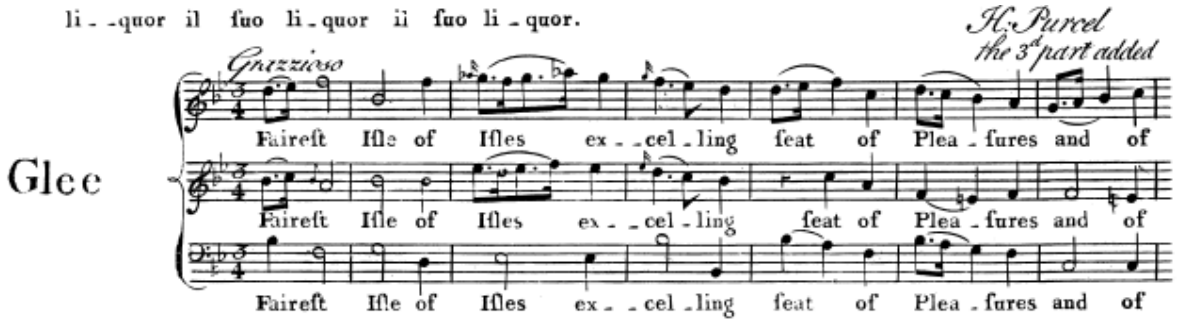


Figure 2.7: Henry Purcell, "Fairest Isle," in Hayes, *A Supplement to the Catches, Glees, and Canons…*

Figure 8: Inscription of "Tho[ma]s Ravenscroft 1611, somewhat altered from the original," in Hayes, *A Supplement to the Catches, Glees, and Canons…*

also harmonized, and all of these were then passed off as glees, as in Purcell's "Fairest Isles" (Figure 2.7).[189] Additionally, other ancient pieces that were already harmonized were later adapted with new words, as in *Catches and Rounds by Old Composers. Adapted to Modern Words by T. Oliphant.*[190] Such adaptations were often executed in the name of modernization and improvement, tying into general eighteenth-century views on historical development. Evidence of these practices are even present in

[189] An example is Purcell's "Fairest Isle," originally a solo sung by Venus in *King Arthur* Z. 628, which appears in a harmonized version in Warren, *Collection* vol. 2A (1762), 24.
[190] *Catches and Rounds by Old Composers. Adapted to Modern Words by T. Oliphant* (London: Jas Howell, ca. 1835), British Library Music Collections H.2788.l.(2.)

the Catch Club's music manuscripts, despite their general disapproval. For example, in volume 11, the statement "Ravenscroft, somewhat altered" is appended to Thomas Ravenscroft's "Can'st Thou Love" (Figure 2.8).[191]

Englishness in Eighteenth-Century Music

The idea of an English vocal canon was directly related to the concurrent cultivation of a new nationalistic English literary canon, incorporating such authors as Milton, Dryden, and Addison, which came to replace the more international literary canon of antiquity.[192] Textual comprehension in English music seems to have been a priority since ancient times, as expressed by Jortin:

> Yet one considerable advantage which arose even from the Simplicity of the ancient tunes, and which greatly set off their Concert of vocal and instrumental music, was that the Singer could be understood, and that the words had their effect as well as the music…[193]

The English considered the union of music and English text in clearly expressing a particular sentiment to be a sign of great accomplishment. Moving in the opposite historical direction from Jortin, Ian Spink compared this characteristic of English vocal music to German Lieder, stating, "It was not until the rebirth of lyricism in the Romantic period, and then in Germany, that poetry and music came together with such mutual sympathy as they had done in seventeenth-century England."[194] His statement can easily be applied to eighteenth-century English music too, as evidenced by William Horsley's dedication of his *Fourth Collection of Glees, Canons, &c.* to King George IV, in which Horsley states,

> The part-songs of Great Britain, which have been admired by the most celebrated foreign masters who have visited us, give to her composers a distinctive character among the musical nations of Europe…it is to the catch club that we are indebted for works which, by the genius of their authors, are now identified with some of the finest passages of our poets, and which must ever be prized by all Britons who have minds subject to the influence of harmony.[195]

---

[191] British Library Music Collections H.2788.z, 33.
[192] Weber, "The Intellectual Origins," 501.
[193] Jortin, "A Letter to the Author," 20.
[194] Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell*, corrected edition (New York: Taplinger 1986), 259.
[195] William Horsley, *A Fourth Collection of Glees, Canons, &c.* (London: Printed for the Author, by Birchall, Lonsdale, and Mills, 1827), dedication page.

Horsley is describing the integration of two English canons—literary and vocal—as well as a cultural aspect of the Georgian era, in which the use of elegant, well-crafted language was a barometer for intelligence, wit, cultivated taste, and social status. As such, language played a key role in everyday conversation and social mobility. For example, a middle-class constituent who possessed the ability to speak eloquently could attempt to ingratiate him or herself with titled aristocrats.

Due to the importance of language, not to mention a larger middle class, a wider sector of society in England was literate in comparison to other European countries.[196] Thus, the English love of language went hand-in-hand with an interest in promoting vocal repertoire such as the glee as a national genre. This is further evidenced by the publication of various collections of words to favorite songs and glees, implying that one needed to know the words to be able to fully appreciate the music.[197] As late as 1886, William Alexander Barrett wrote in his history of glees and partsongs, "It is only when music is connected with words that the emotions excited by the words become intensified, and capable of reproduction with more or less force."[198] Clark alludes to the extent to which partsong texts were valued in is 1824 preface, by communicating his desire to extend credit to the lyricists:

> The reader, on perusing this work, will find, in most instances, the names of the authors of the words, given to the respective pieces; and when that has been omitted, the Editor, must plead, in excuse, the great difficulty of ascertaining to whom the poetry should be ascribed.
>
> N.B. Were the composers to put the names of the authors, to the different compositions, the above difficulty would not exist.[199]

Finally, well before any partsong lyrics books had been published, gentlemen members of the adjudicating committee for the club's competition were provided with the words to the songs being performed, as prescribed in club minutes pertaining to the upcoming 1767 competition:

> Order'd that in the Advertisement proposing the Prizes for the Ensuing Year, a Paragraph be inserted to require the candidates when they send in their Compositions, to enclose at the same time an additional copy of the words they have made use of, and that they

[196] Rubin, *The English Glee*, 33.
[197] Ibid., 205.
[198] Barrett, *English Glees and Part-Songs*, 4.
[199] Clark, *The First Volume of Poetry; Revised,* Preface (n.p.).

> take care to have them written in a fair legible character, and on a paper seperate [*sic*] from the Music.[200]

The Advertisement for the 1767 competition was recorded in the minutes a few pages later, with the explanation that an additional copy of words be included in order "To prevent mistakes in transcribing." The new rule may have been inspired by the foreign language song categories, in which transcription errors would have been most likely.[201] Yet the practice of supplying the words appears to have continued even after the foreign categories were obsolete, as demonstrated by the existence of the actual voting paper printed for the 1789 competition. This paper lists the words of the two songs chosen as finalists for each category, upon which the votes of the adjudicatory committee are indicated by pencil marks.[202] It is presumed that each voting member had a copy of the lyrics sheet, which was printed and therefore must have been published ahead of time for the club's private use. The voting committee was not provided with scores due to the effort that would have entailed to copy them out. According to former president Viscount Gladstone, in many cases there was only one score:

> When the Club was formed printing was expensive and it was not possible to supply copies of the music sung to the Members or even to the singers. A folding desk was placed before the caller of a glee and those who took a part stood behind him and all read from one copy. This custom is still adopted. Though the supply of copies has greatly increased it often happens that a glee is called of which only one copy exists.[203]

The lack of individual scores led to the practice (beginning in the early nineteenth century) of publishing partsong words in lyrics books to enhance textual comprehension during performances, of which vocal societies tended to own multiple copies for members' use during meetings.

In addition to a strong vocal legacy and cultivation of language, Georgians of course had a strong associational culture promulgated with music societies. The ability of vocal music to engender conviviality among singers was an additional reason for prioritizing it over the more formalized

---

[200] "Monday 5 May 1766," in *Minutes,* British Library Music Collections H.2788.rr, 125.
[201] *Minutes,* British Library Music Collections, H.2788.rr, 130.
[202] *Catches. You Look Down in the Mouth, Quoth Thomas To Nell, What Ails You my Fair-One To Day?* [London: s.n., 1789], British Library Music Collections RB.37.c.40(68).
[203] Viscount Gladstone, "The Story of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club" (1930), in Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays Toward its History* (London: Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club at the Cypher Press, 1996), 49.

aesthetic of orchestral concerts. This characteristic was also applied to the cultivation of national identity. In his manuscript titled "Essays on Musical Subjects," Callcott associates conviviality with Englishness, stating,

> Every nation has also cultivated a style of music peculiar to the temper of its inhabitants; and, if the splendid compositions of Italy and Germany have sufficient excellence to excite the curiosity and attention of several neighbouring countries, yet there will be always found some particular bias towards a national music in whatever form it may appear. England, in this respect, may claim some degree of preeminence. While we modestly admit the superiorirty [*sic*] of two Nations by importing their music, and encouraging their performers, yet to the less important productions of France and Spain little attention can be paid. The social pleasures [originally "attractions"] of our own Vocal Compositions the Catch or the Glee fully interest [originally "occupies"] the friends of Harmony in the wide circle of the British Islands.[204]

Callcott argues that the temper of England's inhabitants has always been social in nature and is best expressed through singing in harmony, and offers this as a justification for the catch and glee to represent England both at home and abroad. His comments affirm the connection between English associational culture and the cultivation of an English vocal canon.

Furthermore, Callcott posited Germany and Italy, the "two Nations" mentioned in his essay, as the forerunners in musical talent at the turn of the nineteenth century, followed closely by England. His dismissal of France and Spain is characteristic of his time. In 1791, Jackson declared, "While the rest of the world was in a state of improvement, the French stood still."[205] Jackson claims that French musical development halted due to the French obsession with Jean-Baptiste Lully extending well into the eighteenth century, which in turn prevented other French composers from excelling. Jackson voices his fear that the same fate awaited England, due to England's worship of Handel's music:

> With all my admiration of the Abbey Music [annual music performance at Westminster Abbey], I think it has done a great deal of harm, and will do much more. The pieces which are performed there, have a mimic performance in almost every great town in the kingdom, which contributes to establish an exclusive taste for

[204] Callcott, "Essays on Musical Subjects," 140.
[205] William Jackson, *Observations on the Present State of Music* (London: Harrison and Co., 1791), 29.

> Handel's Music only. Any thing that helps to fix art to a *certain point* is destructive to farther improvement.[206]

Jackson was not a member of the Catch Club, and his opinion of Handel's music was not a universal one by any means (he also despised catches, and was not keen on glees). As founders of the Concerts of Antient Music, both Montagu and Wynn programmed Handel's music to please their elite audience (concert subscriptions were available only on personal application). Once George III had bestowed his patronage in the 1780s, it became even more appropriate to program Handel's music, though glees were also regularly performed. Montagu coordinated a series of concerts given by the Concerts of Antient Music in 1784 to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Handel's death. Known as the Handel Commemoration festival, this event set the precedent for regular performances of Handel's large-scale choral works. This is the event Jackson is referring to in his discussion of the Abbey Music.

Conservatives such as Jackson felt threatened by foreign musicians including Handel, while other English musicians (including William Hayes) had in some cases successfully co-opted Handel as one of their own. Yet Jackson had tapped into a broadly agreed upon sentiment that France was musically inferior. Weber has argued that Jackson's observations concerning French degeneration reflect differences in the history of empiricism between England and France that led to the acceleration of canon building in England at the same time it was deterred in France, where "empiricism was used as a weapon against the church and so became a highly partisan way of thinking."[207]Horsley draws the same connection in the dedicatory preface referenced above, claiming "This delightful species of composition [partsong], so thoroughly appreciated by your majesty, may be said to originate from the social and convivial feelings which prevail in our happy country."[208] The musical tastes, performances and publishing activities of London clubs influenced similar clubs throughout the British provinces, and had a profound effect on emergent ideas concerning an English vocal canon.

Constructing Canon Through the Composition Competition

The Catch Club's composition competition was instated for 1763 with the following resolution, recorded in the minutes for May 1762:

---

[206] Ibid., 28.
[207] Weber, "The Intellectual Origins," 508.
[208] Horsley, *A Fourth Collection*, dedication page.

> Resolv'd, that a Premium of a Gold Medal of ten Guineas value, or ten Guineas be given for the best Catch, Canon and Glee, words and Music new, and a Premium of half the value, for the second best of Each and that Mr. Secretary Warren do publish the same in the Daily Papers from time to time.[209]

The reference to the daily papers is important, for it indicates the efforts put forth to adequately advertise the competition so as to attract skilled composers. As early as 1764, the competition was announced in foreign papers as well, with the instruction that the advertisement "be Translated into French and Italian in order to be inserted in the Foreign Gazettes." Mr. Phelps, the club's treasurer, agreed to supervise its translation.[210] In advertising internationally, the club aimed to increase continental awareness of both the catch and glee, as well as international representation through the allowance of foreign language submissions. A closer look at evolving competition categories and supported languages reveals a shift from an international emphasis in the 1760s to an English emphasis from 1770 onwards (Figure 2.9). During the 1760s, fifteen percent of the club's publications were by foreign-born composers.[211] In the competition's first year (1763), entries in Italian, French, and Latin (for canons) were welcomed.[212] The club did not receive many French submissions, which likely contributed to their relatively brief solicitation.[213]

Between 1764 and 1766, there were separate categories for English and foreign catches, canons, and glees. 1767–68 represent the most international phase, with a return to the three basic categories allowing for submissions in Italian, French, Spanish, or English (with the additional Latin option for canons). Beginning in 1769, French was no longer an option for any category. The glee category was divided into two separate categories: cheerful and serious glees, and only English language glees were permitted. Also in that year, for the first and only time separate categories were created for Italian and English catches, likely in response to the recent admission of Italian professional musicians into the club (both castrati and lower voices). Between 1770 and 1793, the categories stabilized and became almost entirely English in language, with the exception of the canon, which was permitted in English, Italian, or Latin. In 1794 the canon was dropped as a genre

---

[209] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.rr, 3.
[210] Ibid., 39.
[211] James Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing: The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club* (London: The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, 2014), 54.
[212] Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), 52–53.
[213] An anonymous French canon was submitted for the 1764 competition. British Library Music Collections H.2788.q, 38.

Competition Categories	Winning entries								
	1763	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770-93	1794
Eng./It./Fr Catch	x								
Eng./It./Fr Catch runner-up	x								
Eng./It./Fr/Latin Canon	x								
Eng./It./Fr/Latin Canon runner-up	x								
Eng./It./Fr Glee	x								
Eng./It./Fr Glee runner-up	x								
Eng. Catch		x	x	x			x	x	x
Eng. Canon		x	x	x					
Eng. Glee		x	x	x					
It./Fr. Catch		x	x	x					
It./Fr./Latin Canon		x	x	x					
It./Fr. Glee		x	x	x					
Eng./It./Fr./Sp./Latin Catch					x	x			
Eng./It./Fr./Sp./Latin Canon					x	x			
Eng./It./Fr./Sp./Latin Glee					x	x			
It. Catch							x		
Eng./It./Latin Canon							x	x	
Serious Glee							x	x	x
Cheerful Glee							x	x	x

Figure 2.9: List of competition categories by year, 1763–94

category, due to it being outdated by that time. The competition was then temporarily discontinued after its primary organizer had died, and a significant number of glees had successfully been generated. The competition was eventually revived in 1811, and continued to occur sporadically throughout the nineteenth century: in 1812, 1821, 1822, 1827–35, 1839, 1844, 1861, 1866, 1869–79, 1880 (prize withdrawn due to lack of sufficient entries), and 1881.[214]

There was definitely a transition to focusing more exclusively on English language partsongs during the eighteenth century, and once that transition was completed, English language pieces remained the focus in the nineteenth century. The transition coincides with the division of the glee category to acknowledge two separate styles of glee composition. Warren explains the club's reasoning for having two glee categories:

> As it has frequently happened, that the Compositions which were sent in, under the Title of Glees, were of two different Sorts, the one of a very gay Turn, the other of a more serious Cast; the Society have ordered two Gold Medals, of Ten Guineas Value each, for the composer or Composers of the best Glee, in the two different Ways above-mentioned.[215]

[214] Dates based on cross-referencing club indices; Willets, *Handlist*, 94; and Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing*, 58–60.
[215] 1791 Advertisement, inserted into *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss. The 1769 advertisement for the year in which this division was inaugurated no longer exists.

Having two categories affirmed the wide-ranging subject matter glees could cover, and likely encouraged the practice in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of classifying typifying glees according to their textual content, as in fairy glees, humorous glees, commemorative glees, and so on. Yet it also meant that all glees were to be composed in English.

The prestige the competition granted to the glee led many composers to try their hand at composing them. John Callcott took this desire to an extreme during the 1780s. For the 1785 competition year Callcott entered 66 of the total 114 entries, and won three prizes. For the 1786 competition he submitted 28 out of the 89 entries, and won two prizes. For the 1787 competition year he submitted 98 out of 167 and won two prizes. Callcott's zealousness resulted in a new limitations rule that allowed for a maximum of three entries per category per composer.[216] Callcott protested by not competing in the 1788 competition. Yet for the 1789 competition year he could not resist, submitting the maximum number of entries allowed (twelve) and winning all four prizes. The voting paper for this competition survives.[217] It lists the words of the two songs chosen as finalists for each category, together with pencil strokes representing the votes of a jury of sixteen men. The pencil strokes reveal that Callcott won easily.[218] This anecdote provides further evidence of the glee's popularity during the 1780s, as well as the extent to which the competition was successful in fulfilling the club's mission of establishing a new national genre as a modern-day extension of, and improvement over, the madrigal.

The Catch Club's Library

The club's weekly meetings, competitions, and publications over time led to the acquisition of a large library of manuscript and print music. Their library was "generously presented to the British Museum in 1952."[219] The materials that were retained by the British Museum were later transferred to the British Library, where they are currently located. In his 2014 history of the club, Wilkinson states that the library "had become too large to accommodate easily."[220] Willetts's *Handlist of Music Manuscripts acquired 1908–1967* contains a finding aid listing the most relevant historical print

---

216 The minutes for June 6, 1787 read: "Great inconveniences having arising from the great number of pieces sent in for the prizes by the same person, notice is hereby given that for the future, if it shall happen that more than Three of each sort of composition shall be sent by the same person they shall be considered as forfeited." In *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss.

217 "Catches. You look down in the mouth," British Library Music Collections RB.37.c.40(68).

218 Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing*, 56.

219 Pamela Willetts, *Handlist of Music Manuscripts acquired 1908–1967* (London: The British Library Publishing Division, 1970), 94; *The Library of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Catalogue of Catches, Glees, Part Songs etc.* ([London?: British Museum?, 195-?]), British Library Music Collections M.R.REF 783.1.

220 Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing*, 80.

Proposed creation date	Title	Music Collections Shelfmark	Proposed Author
1795	Index to manuscript music	H.2788.oo	Webbe
1805	Index to manuscript music	H.2788.nn	Webbe
1805	Index to printed music	H.2788.ll	Webbe/later Sale?
1825	Index to manuscript music	H.2788.pp	Sale
1834	Index to printed music	H.2788.mm	Leete
1836	General index	H.2788.kk	Leete, then Elliott

Figure 2.10: Manuscript indices created by the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club

and manuscript items, including club minutes, account books, and music manuscripts. The finding aid includes six manuscript indices used by members to locate individual songs during meetings, in account books with letter tabs (Figure 2.10). There are two indices listing printed music, three listing manuscript music, and one comprehensive index listing both (the General Index). Though none of the indices are dated, watermarks assist in determining a chronology. The time investment that went into compiling these indices over a relatively short period of time is a testament to the antiquarian and documentary impulses of club members. Even more significant are the ways in which these indices reveal conscious efforts in canon construction. The materiality of the indices is important for understanding how club members utilized both indices and corresponding music books in their library during club meetings. Reinforcement of letter tabs and repairs to torn pages demonstrate their frequent use. An examination of the formatting methods and contents of each index, as well as a comparison of the indices with the music they represent, yields several observations related to processes of library cultivation (and simultaneously, canon growth) undertaken by the club.

The earliest index, catalogued as H.2788.oo, was created around 1795 and is an index to a collection of manuscript music. This index was evidently much used during meetings to locate particular songs, as there are several tears and food/drink stains throughout (Figure 2.11). It was presumably created by Samuel Webbe, who succeeded Warren as secretary following his death in 1794. It is possible that the club first felt compelled to catalogue their library through indices, since Warren had admirably assumed the role of club historian while alive. H.2788.oo refers specifically to a set of manuscripts labeled as volumes one through twenty by the club, which have since been catalogued by the British Library as H.2788. p–z; aa–ii (Figure 2.12). These manuscripts contain music dating from 1762 to 1808, with most manuscripts containing a few years' worth of music. In club minutes, the manuscripts are colloquially referred to as the "music books," most likely because they were the primary materials used for performing at meetings. Most of the music books were copied out by Warren, as the predominant hand matches Warren's signed affirmation as copyist of

Figure 2.11: Stains from use of 1795 manuscript index (British Library H.2788.oo)

Vol. No.	"BA" Years	BL Call #	Vol. No.	"BA" Years	BL Call #
1	1762-63	H.2788.p	11	1781-83	H.2788.z
2	mostly 1763-66, some 1767-69	H.2788.q	12	1783-84	H.2788.aa
			13	1784-85	H.2788.bb
3	1767-69	H.2788.r	14	1786-88	H.2788.cc
4	1770-71	H.2788.s	15	1787-88	H.2788.dd
5	1771-72	H.2788.t	16	1788-90	H.2788.ee
6		H.2788.u	17	1790-91	H.2788.ff
7		H.2788.v	18	1791-92	H.2788.gg
8	1776-78	H.2788.w	19	1792-93	H.2788.hh
9	1778-79	H.2788.x	20	mostly 1794, up to 1808	H.2788.ii
10	1780-81	H.2788.y			

Figure 2.12: List of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club music manuscripts and British Library catalog numbers

the first volume, which he dated as 1764.[221] Professional member John Wall Callcott received a small salary to assist Warren in the copying, and Webbe appears to have copied the majority of contents within the last few volumes. Two copies were made of each of the twenty volumes, so that there were three of each, thus facilitating weekly performance use. Each manuscript is fairly large with large staves, enabling several people to gather around and sing from one manuscript, though it is possible they sang from multiple books depending on the seating arrangements.

The second club index, H.2788.nn, was created ten years later, and though smaller than its predecessor, the smooth, brown cover material is identical. H.2788.nn also pertains to music manuscripts, albeit an entirely separate collection. Both H.2788.oo and H.2788.nn include number of voices, title and page number for each song (composer names are usually not included, likely due to lack of space). A prefatory statement written on the verso of the first page states: "A General Index to Twentyfive Vols of M:S: Peices [*sic*] consisting of Catches, Cannons [*sic*] and Glees, sent in as candidates for the Prizes given by the Members of the Catch Club from the Period of the first Prize being given, in the year 1763." The volumes are identified by consecutive years, beginning with 1769 and ending with 1794. This would in fact comprise twenty-five manuscripts, except that the index designates the 1778 volume as "not to be found." Most of these volumes (though not all twenty-four) have survived, and are described in Willetts's *Handlist* as "Prize catches and glees for the years 1769–72, 1774–77, 1779, 1780, 1782–84, 1786–90, and 1792" (E.1858. e–w). 1778 is still missing, as well as 1773, 1781, 1785, 1791, and 1793–94 (There was a fire in Warren's home, where he was known to have kept additional copies of the *Collection*, so it is possible that the music manuscripts currently missing were also stored there and destroyed at that time). This index also appears to be in the same hand as H.2788.oo.

In H.2788.nn, the years appear as headings in red ink and song titles appear in black, and for each letter, Webbe left some space under the 1778 heading, presumably in the hope that the missing volume would one day be located. Even though the prefatory address claims that the manuscripts indexed in H.2788.nn date from the competition's inception in 1763, in reality the club did not begin devoting entire manuscripts to competition submissions until the 1769 competition year. In the early years of the club's existence, members were just beginning to generate repertoire to sing at meetings. Competition submissions for 1763–1768 appear in the music manuscripts H.2788.p–q, and it is unknown if additional songs were submitted to these early competitions beyond what is included

[221] British Library Music Collections H.2788.p, final page.

there. By 1769, the competition would have been more established, and likely attracted more submissions, which would have generated enough repertoire to fill an entire manuscript. Even after the prize candidate manuscripts began to be annually compiled, a portion of competition entry pieces continued to be copied into the music manuscripts as well. Thus, an overlap of contents exists, acknowledged by Webbe in H.2788.nn. At the top of the A page near the 1769 heading is the clarification, "3rd Vol. Catch Club M.S. Books," meaning that the overlap in song content begins with the pairing of the 1769 manuscript (E.1858.e) and volume three (H.2788.r).

Despite this overlap in content, additional details make it apparent that of the two manuscript collections, the music manuscripts played a much greater role. The indices support this observation. H.2788.nn is the only extant club source documenting the prize candidate manuscripts. By contrast, the music manuscripts are listed in H.2788.oo, in the club's third music manuscript index (H.2788.pp), and in the General Index, further reinforcing their centrality to performance during club meetings. The music manuscripts clearly received much more use than E.1858. e–w, as evidenced by food, wine and candle wax stains as well as references to their use during club meetings in the minutes. In a minutes entry for October 1775, reference is made to "vol. 2nd" of the music books.[222] Furthermore, direct evidence that club indices were regularly used to locate particular songs can be found in the entry for January 29th 1833, which states: "It being found that the music books being placed on the table after dinner, causes great inconvenience to the members, the committee recommends to the club, that in the future the music books with the exception of the indexes be placed on the side table."[223]

The prize candidate manuscripts (E.1858. e–w) were thus likely only used during the competition itself (referred to in the minutes as the "tryals"), by the singers who were hired to perform the competition pieces for the gentlemen adjudicatory committee. When performing for the judges, the singers would not have been permitted to know the identity of the composers. It appears that composer attributions (often only the surname) were added to the prize candidate manuscripts hastily and somewhat haphazardly, presumably after the competition had concluded and winners announced, as in this example of a piece by Dr. Hutchinson (Figure 2.13).[224] Often the composer was designated as "unknown." Finally, with one on a part, singers would have been able to sing from just one manuscript, and there are no known copies of the prize candidate manuscripts.

[222] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss.
[223] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.uu.
[224] British Library Music Collections E.1858.f.

Figure 2.13: British Library E.1858.f

Figure 2.14: British Library H.2788.p

Figure 2.15: British Library H.2788.r

By comparison, the music manuscripts contain songs derived from two different scenarios. Like the prize candidate manuscripts, competition entries are present, but they are supplemented by additional songs introduced to the club by specific members. The latter type is identified by the introductory statement, "Presented By," followed by the name of the member who had offered it (Figure 2.14). Such pieces were almost always presented by Warren or the gentlemen members rather than professional musician members, which demonstrates the amateur musicians' role as connoisseurs and cultivators of an English vocal canon. This contrasts with the role of the more educated musician, who was required to rely on their craft for their livelihood more than their legacies, although some, namely Samuel Webbe, Horsley and Callcott, appear to have been influenced by their exposure to the gentlemen's views on canonicity. The competition pieces are distinguished from the "Presented By" pieces by the phrase, "By Advertising," usually followed by the competition year for which the piece had been submitted (Figure 2.15). Both winning and nonwinning entries are included, although the winning entries are usually identified as such.

Since both manuscript collections appear to have coexisted, why would the secretary and/or club choose to leave out some of the prize candidate pieces when compiling the music manuscripts? I believe the answer lies in extended efforts of canon cultivation. Numerous penciled X's adjacent to song titles in the indices to the prize candidate manuscripts appear to have been added by a secretary or curator much later, to reflect the selection process (Figure 2.16). The first manuscript (prize candidaates for 1769) concludes with the penciled statement, "26 enter'd, 35 not enter'd," and these numbers correspond to the number of song titles with and without X's, respectively (Figure 2.17).[225] The reference to "enter'd" refers to which songs were selected from the prize candidate manuscripts to be entered into the music manuscripts. The indices to E.1858.e and H.2788.r correspond in this way, since every song with an X in E.1858.e also appears in H.2788.r. As mentioned above, this means that the first three volumes of music manuscripts (H.2788 p-r) are the only manuscript sources to preserve competition entries from the competition years prior to 1769. Volume 1 (H.2788.p) contains "By Advertising" pieces for 1763, volume 2 contains "By Advertising" pieces from 1763–69, and volume 3 contains "By Advertising" pieces from 1767–69.

A majority of songs selected for inclusion in the music manuscripts were then selected for inclusion in Warren's *Collection*, demonstrating that the selection process for the music manuscripts not only established a working vocal canon for the club's private use, but ultimately constituted the

[225] British Library Music Collections E.1858.e.

Figure 2.16: E.1858.e

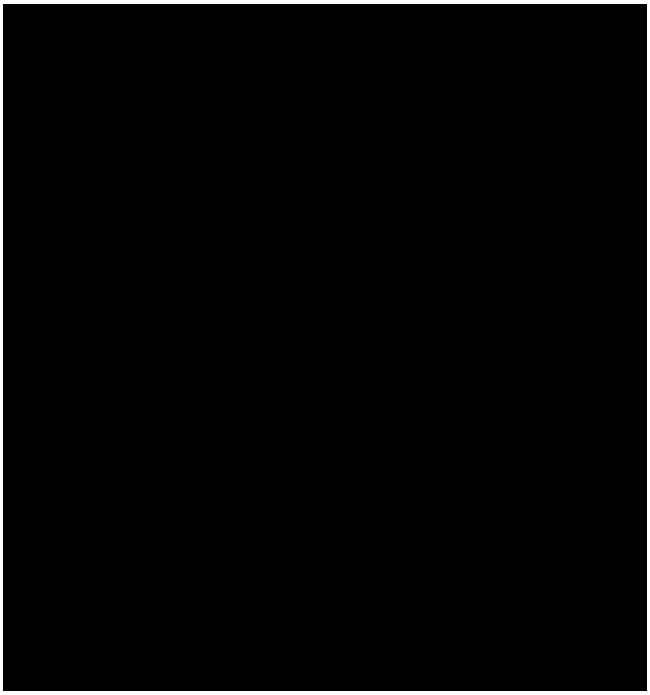


Figure 2.17: British Library E.1858.e

English vocal canon they would present to the public as well. More indiscreet songs were often (though not always) omitted from the music manuscripts and publications, as were songs that were appear to have been of lesser quality. For example, the 1769 prize candidate manuscript opens with Dr. Allcock's catch "As Dolly was Stitching," to the text "As Dolly was stitching some days past she prick'd her Thumb with too much haste, bold Roger told her to her face she run the *P_k in the wrong place."[226] The asterisk then states "of the needle," but the implication is clear. This particular catch was not included in the corresponding third volume of music manuscripts or eighth *Collection* publication.

The 1769 prize candidates manuscript contains catches, canons, cheerful glees, and serious glees, corresponding to the competition categories for that year. Of the 1769 total entries, the following numbers of songs were selected for inclusion in the music manuscript: eleven of the twenty-nine catches, four of the fourteen canons, three of the eight cheerful glees, and eight of the nine serious glees. The only serious glee that was not selected was titled "Choicest Work of This Creation Duet," meaning it was technically not a glee, but rather a duet. This distribution demonstrates that by 1769, the club was already favoring glees over catches and canons, particularly serious glees. This pattern continues in the other music manuscripts as well.

In regard to the ordering of songs within each music manuscript, shorter catches and canons tend to appear in groups, interspersed between longer glees. There does not seem to be any grand intertextual narrative within individual or multiple manuscripts, which would be uncommon within eighteenth-century partsong anthologies. Rather, emphases on a few topics tend to shift over time, reflecting changing club tastes. For example, "ancient music" from sixteenth and seventeenth-century repertoire, particularly catches, are interspersed throughout the earlier music manuscripts, with longer madrigals and motets typically appearing toward the ends of manuscripts. As discussed earlier in this chapter, this combination represents an attempt to forge a continuity between new and old as a means of affirming the new. By following contemporary songs (including prize winners) with canonic ones, the club demonstrates their view that both Elizabethan madrigals and eighteenth-century glees deserved the same level of canonic status. This nod to the past is most prominent in the first three manuscripts, and while ancient music continues to be incorporated in later ones, it is not to the same extent, as more contemporary music had been generated. The ancient music theme is gradually overtaken by a notable commemorative theme, featuring elegies and glees memorializing

[226] British Library Music Collections E.1858.e.

deceased musicians and club members (this topic is discussed in detail in chapter three). For example, the final song of volume fifteen is Robert Cooke's "Concord is conquered," an "Epitaph on William Lawes a Musician who was kill'd at the siege of Chester."[227] This prize-winning song must have been sung frequently during meetings, as it also appears in volume 14 (H.2788.cc), and was probably accidentally copied again into volume fifteen.

Finally, another theme that runs throughout all of the manuscripts is that of songs referencing convivial singing and/or drinking. For example, volume one (H.2788.p) concludes with William Webbe's seventeenth-century catch: "If thou art my honest Friend follow me come follow follow me, and we will sing this Catch to the end with mirth and merry Glee. But the Third part comes in what shall I do then take thy liquor off and begin again."[228] Such songs are crucial for understanding the social dynamics, performance practices and general tone of club meetings. Several songs mention specific performance rituals enacted during meetings, as in Giardini's immensely popular glee "Beviamo tutti tre," in which the singers were required at one point to sustain a note upon the syllable "be" while swallowing wine (Giardini was the only one who could actually achieve this, but the song was published in the first volume of Warren's *Collection* and became popular in public concerts regardless). The materiality of the music manuscripts, with their worn, stained pages and personalized introductions declaring who had presented which music, only enhances the ways in which the performance-oriented songs capture the energy and mood of club life.

The "Presented By" pieces are also important for processes of canon formation, as they represent specific pieces introduced at specific times by specific people. The club antiquarians (Warren, Sandwich, Wynn) often introduced ancient music to the club, with a perennial favorite being Gibbons's "The Silver Swan." The majority of ancient music presented for inclusion in the music manuscripts was English. A rare example of ancient Italian sacred music included in volume four (H.2788.s) is Wynn's presentation of Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere mei*. The vocal scoring (SSATB) is less typical for the Catch Club, but the higher parts could have been sung either in falsetto or by boy sopranos. In a style that resonated with their roles as patrons of partsong publications, the gentlemen assisted in shaping an English vocal canon through "presentations" of select pieces to the club. Warren assimilated their role by presenting his own pieces (nearly all ancient repertoire), and also assumed the additional role of selecting what he (and by implication, the club) must have perceived as the best songs among the competition entries. According to the organization of

[227] British Library Music Collections H.2788.dd.
[228] Hilton, *Catch that Catch Can*, 73.

manuscript contents, these two processes occurred concurrently, since "Presented By" pieces often alternate with "By Advertising" pieces.

It is therefore most useful to view this collection of twenty music manuscripts as one gradually evolving collection, in which the repertoire with which one volume concludes and the next one begins is not significant. This is particularly evident in the last volume, which begins with candidates for the 1794 prizes, but then appears to cover the widest range in "Presented By" pieces, from 1794 to 1808. The last annual competition since its inauguration in 1793 was in 1794, the year that Warren died, and it was not revived until 1812. Dates for "Presented By" pieces do not make an appearance until volume 19 (H.2788.hh), presumably as the amount of competition-generated repertoire significantly waned. Due to the lack of new music, volume twenty is the only volume considered incomplete in the sense that it contains segments of blank pages (55–104 and 173+). Finally, instead of the usual method employed in previous volumes of writing the song index in the first few pages of the volume, volume twenty contains a smaller page pasted onto the first page of the volume, with the heading "Temporary index to Vol: 20." This makeshift index is not as thorough as previous indices, with incomplete pagination perhaps indicative of an intention to continue adding to the volume.

The music manuscripts constituted a significant portion of the club's repertory, which was also represented by print sources within their library. Interestingly, the thirty-two volumes of Warren's *Collection* are not referenced in any of the club indices, and I argue that this is due the *Collection* representing an English vocal canon that had been handpicked for public consumption. This crafted representation of the club's repertory appears to have in turn been influenced by the anticipated tastes of a mixed-gender audience rather than the homosocial tastes of a private club (see chapter four). Certainly prize-winning partsongs were included, as were partsongs that were performed in public concerts, and it appears that amateur skill levels were also somewhat taken into account. This perspective on Warren's *Collection* thus demonstrates yet another level of canon cultivation.

Returning to the club indices, in 1825 the third and final index devoted to manuscripts (H.2788.pp) was created, presumably by secretary John Sale. This index lists the same contents pertaining to the twenty music manuscripts as H.2788.nn, and supplements that with a reference to prize candidate manuscripts containing the entries for the years 1811, 1812, 1821, 1822, and 1827–29 (E.1858.x-z, aa). H.2788.pp thus affirms that no additional manuscripts following the design of

the twenty "music manuscripts" were ever created, though the club did continue with the tradition of recording the compiling the competition entries within prize candidate manuscripts.

In addition to the three manuscript indices, two print indices, H.2788.ll (1805, Webbe's hand) and H.2788.mm (1834, secretary Robert Leete's hand), document the print music contained within the club's library. The very existence of these indices indicates that club members sang from both manuscript and print volumes during meetings, an observation further corroborated with the following remark in the minutes for June 30th 1828:

> Resolved
> To recommend, that in consequence of the increased labor of Callcott—the head waiter—in placing in order and replacing the Books at the weekly meetings—as reported by the Secretary—an addition of one Guinea annually be added to his usual allowance.

This statement affirms that several books were brought out and returned for each meeting. As mentioned earlier, these books did not include Warren's *Collection*. They were assigned volume numbers and efficiently identified by composer, abbreviated title, or allusion to genre (Figure 2.18). The print indices indicate the presence of duplicate books for certain titles. A few of the titles are in fact manuscripts and not printed books, but are presumably included in the print index to avoid confusion with the music manuscripts. Both ancient and newly composed partsongs are represented by library holdings, and it is likely that all of the books bear some connection to a club member, whether a title represents a collection of ancient music edited by Warren or an anthology of newly composed glees by Webbe. H.2788.nn was created at the same time H.2788.ll was begun, a fact that is further borne out by similar handwriting and cover materials, though at least one additional hand besides Webbe's appears to be present in H.2788.ll.

Of the twenty-five volumes listed in H.2788.ll, four "Upright Books" and four "Longways Books" are described according to their appearance in portrait or landscape orientation, but are also referred to by volume number within the same index. Hence, songs from these volumes are listed twice. It is likely that the addition of volume numbers came later, and that H.2788.ll represents a work in progress as the club's first print music index, which may have been continued by Webbe's successor, Robert Leete. In fact, such rewriting appears to have occurred with other volumes as well: "W. Linley Esqr" was later referred to as volumes twenty-one and twenty-two "Linleys Glees & Elegies M.S.," and Battishill's two volumes were later referred to simply as volume twenty-three "Battishill," which is likely two Battishill publications bound together as one. Likewise, volume

Vol. No.	Duplicates	Title as given in Index
1		Webbe
2	x (dup. of Vol. 1)	Webbe
3		Various Authors (prev. "No. 1")
4		Various Authors (prev. "No. 2")
5		Vocal Harmony
6		Long ways No. 1/Various Authors
7		Long ways No. 2/Various Authors
8		Long ways No. 3/Various Authors
9	x	Horsley's
10	x	Callcott
11		Stevens
12		Long ways No. 4/Various Authors
13		Upright bk no. 4/Various Authors
14		Upright bk no. 1/Various Authors
15	x	Webbe's Collection Madrigals
16		Webbe's 3 Books
17		Upright bk no 3/Various Authors
18		Upright bk no. 2/Convito
19	x	Callcott
20	x	Horsley
21		Linleys glees & elegies M.S.
22	x (dup. of Vol. 21)	Linleys glees & elegies M.S.
23		Battishill
24		Dr. Cooke
25		Horsley

Figure 2.18: Books listed in British Library H.2788.ll[229]

[229] Richard Clark clarifies some of these contents: "The Convito Harmonico, in 4 volumes," refers to vol. 18 and 27, Samuel Webbe, *Convito Armonico: A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets*. London: Printed & sold by S. Chappell...135, New Bond Street., ca. 1828. "Vocal Harmony" refers to vol. 5, *Vocal Harmony: Being a Collection of Glees, Madrigals, Elegies, Quartetts* [*sic*], *Canzonets &c. Compiled from the Compositions of the Best Authors Ancient and Modern Including the Prize Glees from 1763 to 1794*. London: Clementi, Banger, Collard, Davis & Collard, ca. 1810–1830. "Callcott's Two Volumes" refers to vol. 10, John Wall Callcott, *A Collection of Glees, Canons, and Catches*, ed. William Horsley (London: Published, for the Author's Widow, by Birchall, Lonsdale, and Mills, 1824). In Richard Clark, *The First Volume of Poetry; Revised,* Preface.

sixteen appears to be three Webbe publications bound as one with continuous page numbering.

About thirty years later, around 1834, a second index of print music was created (H.2788.mm), which extends the material in H.2788.ll to forty-six volumes, with volume forty-six apparently added at a slightly later date. There are two copies of H.2788.mm, and one looks to be less worn and stained than the other, perhaps indicating that one was used during meetings and the other kept as a preservation copy. Finally, a comprehensive index extending to fifty-three volumes was created around 1836, and functions as a compendium of all previous indices except H.2788.oo. Each letter tab begins with an alphabetical listing of song titles that references both print and manuscript volume numbers, thus showing when songs were available in both formats. This is followed by a list of printed songs not listed previously in H.2788.kk, now appearing in volume number order and constituting print volumes one through forty-eight. This list is followed by references to prize candidate manuscripts as late as 1835, which is the last prize candidate manuscript catalogued in the British Library (E.1858.bb). Once again, any manuscript corollaries are also listed. Then, songs within the twenty music manuscript volumes are listed, without print corollaries, since any manuscript songs with print corollaries would have already been listed by this point. Finally, and most likely added at a later date, volumes forty-nine through fifty-three were added, and these contain newer nineteenth-century music. For about a half century, then, the club was involved in processes of meticulous documentation and canon formation.

Lyrics Books and Canonicity

Efforts in canon formation extended to the publication of partsong lyrics books at the same time that the Catch Club was creating its indices. Like the indices, they fulfilled a practical function by enhancing listeners' comprehension during performances and enabling them to sing well-known pieces without a score.[230] Lyrics books were used by vocal societies in London and throughout the British provinces, with subscription lists touting both individual and society names.[231] The first book

[230] Bellamy attests to this practice, stating "Having frequently witnessed the gratification derived by the auditory in vocal societies, from being enabled to follow the words of concerted pieces during the performance… ." In Bellamy, *Lyric Poetry of*, Preface. Lyrics were even printed for the pieces chosen as competition finalists for the benefit of the full membership (who ultimately provided the final vote). This is confirmed in *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss: On May 3rd 1785 the prize committee chose the finalists, and "Ordr'd that in future the words of the several pieces of music return'd by the Committee, be printed for the use of the Members who may meet to decide on their music."

[231] Bellamy's lengthy subscription list includes twenty-five books for his primary patron, the London-based Adelphi Glee Club. He states, "The following work was originally undertaken at the suggestion of my much esteemed friend, E. Hawkins, Esq., President of the Adelphi Glee Club, who, with myself, lamented that so many magnificent compositions should remain in obscurity for the want of some general record to keep them in the recollection of the

was published by club member Richard Clark in 1814, and was followed by an enlarged second edition in 1824.[232] In 1833 Robert Leete (secretary from 1828–36) expanded Clark's second edition, and in 1840 club member Thomas Ludford Bellamy provided his own expansion of Clark's second edition, claiming it was necessary for its inclusion of many songs by "eminent Composers of the last fourteen years, a large proportion of which have been composed since the publication of Mr. Clark's work."[233] Bellamy's edition only adds songs from the club's personal library, corresponding with some of the song titles listed in volumes forty-nine through fifty-three of H.2788.kk.[234]

Leete opens *Continuation of the Words* with an index to the additional songs, using pagination that begins where Clark's second edition left off. Song texts follow, and Leete closes with a comprehensive, alphabetized index that combines the indices of his book and Clark's. According to minutes from a committee meeting on January 29th 1833, the club had requested that Leete provide the closing index for efficiency's sake:

> The comm[ittee] having examined the new book of glees, approve of the manner in which the work has been executed, but observe with regret that the index has not (with the exception of the first letter) been alphabetically arranged, and being of opinion that the members will probably wish to have the new volume bound up with the former one
> Resolved
> To recc[ommend] to the club to request the sec[retary] to prepare a new index, embracing the glees of both volumes, and to have it printed without delay.[235]

As the minutes indicate, Leete's opening index grouped the new song titles by first letter, but they were not alphabetized within each letter category. The closing index remedied that, and also combined the contents with that of Clark's book, enabling club members to locate song texts quickly during meetings. All of the song lyrics printed in *Continuation of the Words* were drawn "chiefly

---

numerous Amateurs and Professors, forming the various Glee and Catch Clubs in the United Kingdom." In Bellamy, *Lyric Poetry of*, Preface.

[232] Richard Clark, *The Words of the Most Favourite Pieces, Performed at the Glee Club, the Catch Club, and Other Public Societies. Compiled by R. Clark* (London: Printed for the Editor, 1814); Clark, *The First Volume of Poetry; Revised, Improved,* 1824.

[233] Robert Leete ed., *A Continuation of the Words of the Glees, Catches, Rounds &c. not Inserted in Mr. Clark's Second Volume; chiefly from the MS. and Printed Collection Belonging to the Catch Club* (London: Printed by Harjette & Savill, Printers, 107, St. Martin's Lane, 1833); Bellamy, *Lyric Poetry of*, 1840.

[234] For the club's 150th anniversary in 1911, Catch Club Secretary William Fell published *Lyric Poetry of Glees, Madrigals, etc. Being a Supplement to the Collections of Clark and Leete and Bellamy* (London: Privately printed, 1911). Unlike the other lyrics books, this one seems intended for private Catch Club use. In Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing*, 61.

[235] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.uu.

from the MS. and Printed Collection Belonging to the Catch Club."[236] Furthermore, Leete concludes each song text within *Continuation of the Words* with its source type (manuscript or print), title, and page number where it can be located within the club's library. It is possible that Leete's publication inspired the creation of H.2788.kk just one year later.[237] The two sources certainly worked together to facilitate locating songs within what had become an enormous repertory. These books build on each other's contents and represent the lofty goal of amassing new repertoire while attempting to prevent old repertoire from falling into obscurity, in a manner indicative of the institutional awareness of past and present.

Enacting Canon Through Performance

In 1780, the club began to methodically cycle through the manuscript volumes chronologically for the purpose of singing through all of the repertoire they had generated. By this time, the number of music manuscripts had increased together with a greater conception that these manuscripts constituted an English music canon. The minutes for May 1780 acknowledge a committee that met outside of the usual weekly meeting time to discuss repertoire. Noted antiquarians Wynn and Warren were present. At that meeting, it was resolved

> That for the future the president of the day do name those performances exclusive of those that are perform'd in the usual rotation, beginning with the first Volume in our Collection, by which means many valuable pieces will be reviv'd—which have been for some time buried in oblivion.
> When the club is of opinion that all the pieces in the first Volume which deserve attention have been heard, it will be proper to go on to the second volume and so progressively on thro the whole Collection.
> Resolv'd
> That the secretary do keep a List of the compositions that have been so selected by the President.[238]

This decision conveys the committee's antiquarian commitment to preventing pieces from becoming forgotten, in a manner similar to the revival of ancient music. The earliest repertoire from 1762 was

[236] Leete ed., *A Continuation of the Words*, title page.
[237] *General Index*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.kk is the only index that alphabetizes titles within each letter category as Leete does.
[238] "Sat. 27th May 1780," in *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss, 43.

cast as "buried in oblivion" less than two decades later. Current member James Wilkinson clarified that this new club rule required the presiding President at each meeting to "select three catches from the Club's first volume of music," until all suitable music in that volume had been sung through.[239] Furthermore, the minutes for another private committee meeting in January 1828 mention this performance ritual a second time, demonstrating that this concern was longstanding:

> Resolved "To recommend to the Club that the President's calls—except when he sings himself—be in [the] future limited to two Glees, and that it shall be his care to have two pieces performed in the course of the Evening to be selected from the Books of the Club, beginning from the first Volume and so on in regular succession; passing over only such Glees, Catches or Rounds as may appear to him impracticable of performance, or to which any other reasonable objection may be raised."[240]

When the revision to club policy was first employed in 1780, it was treated seriously (like all club policies). For example, on November 28th the President erred in selecting a piece from the second volume before all of the pieces in the first volume had been selected (keep in mind that these were all catches, a genre that by that time had become outdated). Minutes for Dec. 5th 1780 request that "as there are many more valuable pieces of music in the first volume which have not been perform'd of late, the last entry of the 28th past be expung'd." The minutes then declare that "the president of this day be allow'd to name six compositions out of the first vol. at this meeting."[241] In March 1781 the completion of volume 1 was recorded.[242] By the time the club repeated the process of choosing songs in volume order in 1828, they had cultivated an even more formidable sense of history, undoubtedly pressured by the decline of the glee, poor meeting attendance and increased distance from the Warren era, when Warren had acted as the fount of knowledge concerning club history. Thus it was recommended "that a List of all the Members of the Club from its first establishment to the present time be ordered to be reprinted, there being only one Copy remaining in the possession of the Club."[243] This time, the performance ritual resonated as an act of self-preservation.

---

[239] Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing*, 58.
[240] "22nd Jan. 1828," *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.tt.
[241] "Tues. 5th Dec. 1780," in *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss, 46.
[242] "Tues, 13th March 1781," in Ibid., 49.
[243] "30th June 1828," in *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.tt. This particular list appears to have survived as *Members elected, 1779–1868*, H.2788.bbb.

Conclusion

The eighteenth-century fascination with ancient music was thus fueled by the broader antiquarian priority of preservation, and the dovetailing of that interest with canon formation as a means of cultivating national identity. Even after catches and glees had fallen out of favor with the public in the early nineteenth century, the Catch Club insisted on promoting them as the definitive national genres, demonstrating their commitment to building an English music canon focused on vocal polyphony and excluding solo songs, parlour songs and ballad operas. The devotion to particular genres is demonstrated in Leicester amateur musician William Gardiner's description of his visit to a club meeting in 1812:

> My Lord Blessington had brought with him the humourous Mr. Matthews, and he called upon him for a song; upon which Mr. [William] Linley, the vice-president, arose, and addressing the chair, said, "It was contrary to the rules of the society for a song to be introduced at their meetings. Their object was to give encouragement to a species of composition peculiar to the English, catches and glees, in which style of music this country has excelled all others."[244]

This anecdote helps explain why madrigals were often reclassified as glees. In short, club members were attempting to claim a musical legacy for their own era, in a musical climate where cosmopolitanism and Italian music dominated. The close study of club indices and minutes demonstrates the seriousness with which club members approached this mission.

[244] Gardiner, *Music and Friends, or Pleasant Recollections of a Dilettante* vol. 2 (London: Longman & Co., 1838), 513.

Chapter 3: Sympathetic Mourning Through Partsong

> Moral tears, in general, flow from sensibility, tender affection, and good nature, as from their natural source.[245]

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, catches and glees frequently engaged themes of mortality, death, and grief. This trend is evidenced by the large variety of partsongs, often employing the formal structure and compositional style of the glee, which were designated as dirges, elegies, epitaphs, requiems, or odes, and which I will refer to collectively as mourning songs. Titles including "On His Death Bed Poor Lubin Lies," "On a Lady Who Died Young," and "Beneath this Stone Lies Catherine Gray" emblematize a certain degree of familiarity with expressing sentiments associated with death and mourning.[246] Mourning songs were often commemorative in nature, particularly if dedicated to the remembrance of a specified person, as in Dr. Boyce's "Genius of Harmony: Elegy on the Late Earl of Eglinton," or to a group of people, as in Benjamin Cooke's "Blessed are the Dead Who Die in the Lord: A Dirge for Departed Members."[247] Commemorative songs extolled both Catch Club members and other composers, poets, playwrights and aristocrats.

A closer examination of the textual sources, compositional approaches, and performance practices of mourning songs reveals their resonance with cultural approaches to mourning in eighteenth-century Britain, and demonstrates their participation in the discursive phenomenon literary studies scholar Esther Schor labels "textual mourning." Schor offers an understanding of mourning predicated on Enlightenment theories of sympathy, particularly that voiced by Adam Smith in *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. She states, "I interpret mourning as a phenomenon of far greater extension and duration than an individual's traumatic grief; as a force that constitutes communities and makes it possible to conceptualize history."[248] One way in which mourning was sympathetically diffused beyond individual experiences of grief was through print. Poetry (elegies, sonnets, odes, epics, epitaphs, graveyard meditations), political pamphlets, tragedies, ancient Greek funeral orations, Anglican funeral sermons, and eulogistic memoirs all contributed to an extended textual

---

[245] A.B., anonymous letter published in *Man: A Paper for Ennobling the Species* (London: Printed by J. Haberkorn, 1755), 4.
[246] Samuel Webbe, "On His Death Bed Poor Lubin Lies," *in A Selection of Glees, Duetts, Canzonets etc. Principally Taken from the Nine Books, Published at Different Periods from the Year 1764 by Saml. Webbe, to Which are Added Many New Glees...Never Before Published* (London: Printed by R. Birchall for the Author, 1812); William Bates, "On a Lady Who Died Young" (1770), British Library Music Collections H.2788.s, 48; John Wall Callcott, "Beneath this Stone Lies Catherine Gray" (1785), British Library Music Collections H.2788.bb, 18.
[247] Dr. Boyce, "Elegy on the Late Earl of Eglinton" (1770), British Library Music Collections H.2788.s, 1–7; Benjamin Cooke, "Blessed are the Dead Who Die in the Lord." A Dirge for Departed Members Sent to the Catch Club for the Year 1793, etc. (London: Birchall & Co., for Mr. H. Cooke, ca.1825).
[248] Esther Schor, *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 4.

discourse on mourning.[249] Schor claims that the British nation was caught up in a cultural rather than psychological approach to mourning. Whereas a psychological approach understands mourning as a discourse between the living and (imagined) dead, a cultural approach to mourning views it as a discourse among the living.[250] The power of this cultural discourse on death to form and unite communities was enabled in great part through print. Through publication, narratives on death became accessible to a wide readership, and open to communal interpretation.

Britain's thriving print industry easily supported discursive processes of textual mourning. Increased literacy rates combined with a wide selection of affordable publications resulted in greater consumer demand for both literary and music publications. *Ars moriendi* texts offered Christian guidance on how to die well, as did devotional prayer books. Funeral sermons, essays and poems eulogizing the deceased and comforting mourners were either published individually or circulated through newspapers and periodicals, including the monthly *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731–1907), *London Magazine* (1732–1785), *Universal Magazine* (1747–1814), and *Lady's Magazine* (1770–1837). Local histories and memoirs even included illustrations of tombstones of eminent residents, with epitaphs printed in full. Printed music contributed to processes of textual mourning. Prosodic and poetic methods employed in writings on death were imitated in mourning song texts, and many songs used such texts as lyrics. Intertextual relationships are enhanced through composer adaptations and modifications of familiar texts.

Socio-economic circumstances in Britain, such as the cultural commodification of mourning, led to a heightened visibility and transparency of death within everyday life. The first professional undertaker in London, William Boyce (resemblance to composer's name coincidental), began his trade in 1675, and funerals soon became a commercial enterprise, in which everything from coffins to government-decreed woolen shrouds, black wall hangings, black mourning clothes, the pall for the coffin, candlesticks, and mourning rings could be rented or purchased. Wealthy families sometimes hired ceremonial mourners to be positioned intermittently between the hall door and the top of the stairs.[251] Mourning cards granting admission to middle- and upper-class funerals were often issued with the ancient Roman phrase "Memento mori" ("Remember that you will have to) die") coupled with a skull and crossbones (Figure 3.1).[252] These "tickets to funerals" linked the

[249] Ibid., 6.
[250] Ibid., 3.
[251] Maureen Waller, *1700 Scenes from London Life* (Four Walls Eight Windows: New York, 2000), 108.
[252] "Invitation to the Funeral of Mr. John Moore" (London, 1702).

experience of attending the funeral to the ticket-bearer's own sense of mortality, in part to cultivate detachment from worldly things.

Richard Steele's comedy, *The Funeral; or, Grief a-la-mode* (1702), ridicules the relatively new mortuary profession and typified mourning behaviors of the early 1700s. The play was well-received and remained popular throughout the century, with numerous reprints issued through 1794.[253] Following the Prologue, Mr. Cabinet begins with this statement: "I burst into laughter. I can't bear to see writ over an undertaker's door, Dresses for the dead, and necessaries for funerals! ha! ha! ha!"[254] The play's positive reception effectively documents the degree to which both humor and the material commodification of death tempered the topic's discomfort. William Hogarth's print "The Company of Undertakers" (1736) provides a complementary example of the eighteenth-century humor regarding death (Figure 3.2).[255] Here, framed within a mock coat of arms, a company of doctors is satirically portrayed as undertakers together with the Latin motto *et plurima mortis imago* (And many an image of death). The print's black background and crossbone motif is reminiscent of mourning cards.

Such objectified portrayals of death confer with historians' characterization of the eighteenth-century as a secular society, following "the late seventeenth-century removal of God from the position of historical 'subject-king' and the substitution of 'the past' in God's stead."[256] In transitioning to a more secularized, increasingly capitalist society, Britain faced considerable moral and economic dilemmas, including a concern for balancing self-interest and social harmony, and wavering public confidence in the economy due to the proliferation of paper money rather than gold and silver coins.[257] A common approach to theorizing morality during this time involved identifying moral virtues and actions with the metaphorical concept of sympathy. During the first half of the century, moral sense philosophers Shaftesbury, Hume and Hutcheson reasoned that individual moral judgment was guided by an inborn, natural quality, and provided various theories as to why this was the case.[258] Each author addresses the concept of sympathy, but it is Adam Smith who

---

253 Sir Richard Steele, *The Funeral; or, Grief a-la-mode* (London: [Pr]inted for Jacob Tonson within Gray's-Inn-Gate next Grey's-Inn-lane, 1702).
254 Ibid., 5.
255 William Hogarth, "The Company of Undertakers" (1736).
256 Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1988), 46.
257 In 1759, the Seven Years War resulted in gold shortages, forcing the Bank to issue a £10 note for the first time. At the start of the war against France in 1793, the first £5 notes were issued.
258 Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *An Inquiry Concerning Virtue, or Merit* ([London: Printed by J. Purser], 1738); David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (London: Printed for A. Millar, 1751); Francis Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections. With Illustrations upon the Moral Sense. The Third Edition* (Glasgow: Printed by Robert & Andrew Foulis ..., 1769).

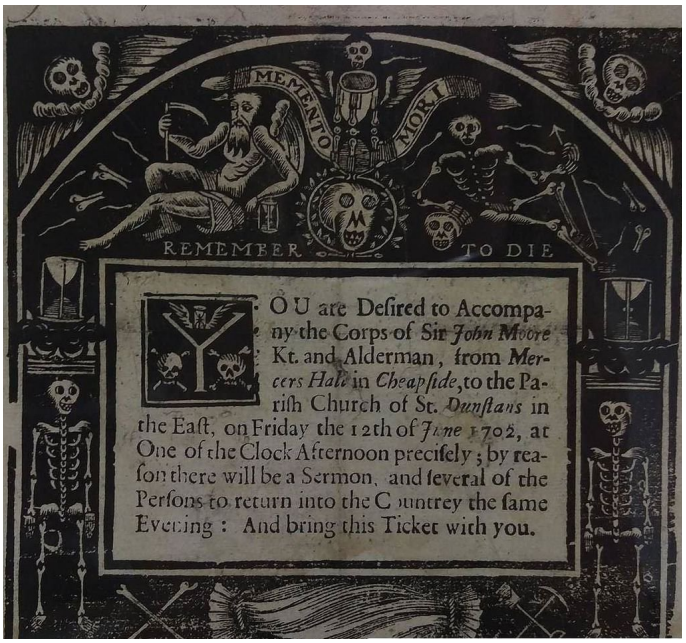


Figure 3.1: Funeral ticket (1702)

Figure 3.2: William Hogarth, "The Company of Undertakers" (1736)

establishes sympathetic acts as the basis of his moral theory. In doing so, Smith redefines the "natural" sympathy proffered by his predecessors as a directed function of the imagination.[259] Instead of viewing sympathy as arising out of an inborn, intuitive "moral sense," Smith characterized sympathetic acts as rational and outwardly directed.

Within the conceptual framework of textual mourning, commodification of death, and sympathetic morality, this chapter discusses how mourning songs encapsulated contemporaneous mourning practices. Focusing on music composed and performed by Catch Club members, including unpublished songs preserved in the club's music manuscripts, I consider how the personal significance of songs for the people who initially created and performed them may have changed once published versions became incorporated into the culture of textual mourning. First, I introduce Smith's theory of sympathetic morality, contextualizing it within British capitalist society. Second, I consider how the psycho-social response of sympathy might relate to the acoustic phenomenon of sympathetic resonance that emerged in the late seventeenth century. I apply this scientific angle to an interpretation of Smith's writings connecting sympathy and music. Third, I investigate how mourning songs composed and performed by club members may have facilitated the expression of grief among men, focusing on three common song topics: contemplation of death, weeping, and commemoration. Finally, an examination of Thomas Arne's "Come Shepherds We'll Follow the Hearse" demonstrates some of the ways in which commemorative songs may have operated on multiple levels—personal and public—as well as how repeated performances of songs not only served to memorialize their subjects, but came to memorialize the Catch Club and its musical legacy.

The Rhetoric of Sympathy

In *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Smith characterizes sympathy as an imaginative act, in which the sympathizer's role is that of a spectator.[260] Therefore, the sympathizer does not envision *being* the sufferer, but rather imagines positioning himself in the sufferer's *situation*. In doing so, the sympathizer is ideally able to cultivate a "fellow-feeling" that resonates with the sufferer's emotions. The sufferer in turn senses the sympathizer's willingness to personally relate in this way, and experiences a pleasurable alleviation of some grief through their exchange of fellow-feeling. When the sufferer responds in this way, the sympathizer also derives pleasure from the exchange. Smith conceptualizes sympathetic exchange in musical terms throughout his text. For example, he

[259] Schor, *Bearing the Dead*, 36.
[260] Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London, Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand, 1759), 5.

acknowledges that while the sympathizer will never experience the sufferer's emotions "in unison," or to the same degree of intensity, it is sufficient and mutually beneficial that the two perceive their respective "sentiments as concords." For just as the sympathizer imagines himself in the sufferer's situation, the sufferer imagines himself in the sympathizer's position, which ultimately lessons the emotional intensity he is experiencing.[261]

Smith implies that sympathy for the dead can function as the basis for "all other occasions of sympathy."[262] Smith first mentions the dead in Part I, as his fourth and final illustration of situations inclined to elicit sympathy. His words express the frustration that arises when sympathy apparently fails to alleviate distress, whether that be the distress of the deceased or the distress of the mourners:

> We sympathize even with the dead, and overlooking what is of real importance in their situation, that aweful futurity which awaits them, we are chiefly affected by those circumstances which strike our senses, but can have no influence upon their happiness…The tribute of our fellow-feeling seems doubly due to them now when they are in danger of being forgot by every body: and, by the vain honours which we pay to their memory, we endeavor, for our own misery, artificially to keep alive our melancholy remembrance of their misfortune. That our sympathy can afford them no consolation seems to be an addition to their calamity; and to think that all we can do is unavailing, and that, what alleviates all other distress, the regret, the love and the lamentation of their friends, can yield no comfort to them, serves only to exasperate our sense of their misery.[263]

This passage is interspersed with economic metaphors such as "the *tribute* of our fellow-feeling seems *doubly due*," and "what alleviates all other distress…can *yield* no comfort to them." Economic language emphasizes a sense of indebtedness to the dead, stemming from the knowledge that sympathy cannot benefit the deceased. Smith's interweaving of the theme of death with economic terminology to instruct readers in the art of sympathetic exchange is in keeping with London's capitalist environment. He uses the British commodification of mourning to "mediate between received ideas of virtue, both classical and Christian, and a burgeoning, property-based commercial society." In doing so, his sympathetic theory "dramatizes the Enlightenment's translation of an ethics of virtue into an ethics of value."[264]

---

[261] Smith, *Theory* Part I, Section II Ch. III, 39.
[262] Schor, *Bearing the Dead,* 5.
[263] Smith, *Theory* Part I, Section I Ch. I, 11–12.
[264] Schor, 5.

Smith uses several examples involving sympathy for the dead as a means for establishing the underlying importance of the dead for the maintenance of a moral society. In Part II of *Moral Sentiments*, Smith describes how a sympathizer would imagine the feelings of resentment that a murder victim would feel, despite the fact that the deceased is no longer capable of feeling such emotions. The sympathizer experiences these feelings regardless, out of habit of responding sympathetically to the living. The end result is that the sympathizer upholds what Smith refers to as "the sacred and necessary law of retaliation," meaning justice.[265] Thus, in imaginatively sympathizing with the dead, the sympathizer experiences a sense of indebtedness which cannot be paid back to the dead. Instead, the sympathizer reduces the debt by expecting that others will share in its responsibility, and through upholding it in similar situations involving the living. Schor describes this solution as "Smith's sense of an unpayable debt to the dead reflects his conviction that the debt to the dead is not confined to the solitary sympathizer, but is rather distributed among the members of the society at large."[266] In this manner, the dead become the unspoken authorizers and preservers of morality. In economic terms, "The dead…provide the gold standard for the endlessly circulating currency of sympathy which constitutes a normative morality."[267]

Sympathetic Resonance, Sympathy, and Music

In the early seventeenth century, the unexplained mystery of sympathetic string vibrations led to their association with occult science, as "occult" at that time meant "invisible." Multiple explanations of sympathetic resonance coexisted throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including mystical interpretations and scientifically-based theories of sound propagation through air. Prior to the founding of the London Royal Society in 1660, Descartes and Mersenne laid the foundations for future attempts to determine the true causes of sympathetic resonance. After the Royal Society had been founded, Hooke, Chladni, and Sauveur applied the then nascent experimental method to their investigations. For example, Hooke discovered that vibrations of glass plates produce nodal patterns. Chladni followed suit by drawing a bow across a piece of metal covered in sand. When the metal achieved resonance, the so-called Chladni figure emerged. Studies of sympathetic vibrations eventually led to the discovery of what is now referred to as the overtone

[265] Ibid., Part II, Section I Ch. II, 156.
[266] Schor, 36.
[267] Ibid., 37.

series. The resultant rational explanation of sympathetic strings quickly came to "resonate" with and inform other scientific discoveries.

Once a scientific explanation for acoustic resonance had been successfully posited, and sound was primarily understood as an acoustic phenomenon, descriptions of Cartesian psycho-physical responses such as sympathetic feeling were often likened to the physical experience of listening to music. For example, Smith's contrast of consonant music comprising regular phrase lengths with dissonant music comprising irregular phrase lengths functions as a metaphor for sympathetic exchange. He explains how different musics can trigger different psycho-physical responses in listeners, writing:

> When music imitates the modulations of grief or joy, it either actually inspires us with those passions, or at least puts us in the mood which disposes us to conceive them...Joy, grief, love, admiration, devotion, are all of them passions which are naturally musical. Their natural tones are all soft, clear, and melodious; and they naturally express themselves in periods which are distinguished by regular pauses, and which upon that account are easily adapted to the regular returns of the correspondent airs of a tune. The voice of anger, on the contrary, and of all the passions which are akin to it, is harsh and discordant. Its periods too are all irregular, sometimes very long, and sometimes very short, and distinguished by no regular pauses. It is with difficulty, therefore, that music can imitate any of those passions; and the music which does imitate them is not the most agreeable.[268]

The first sentence is crucial: Smith claims that music can imitate certain emotions, and music can either invoke those emotions in the listener or incline him toward feeling them. Additionally, Smith's grouping of joy and grief as "naturally musical" passions reiterates his claim that one can effectively sympathize with someone who is either joyful or grieving.

Sympathetic exchange is prefigured by the capability of emotional reciprocity, which can be described in terms of sympathetic resonance of strings. Sympathetic resonance works well as an analogy for what Smith perceived to be a required process of lowering one's emotional pitch for the purpose of enabling sympathetic exchange:

> He [the sufferer] must flatten, if I may be allowed to say so, the sharpness of [grief's] natural tone, in order to reduce it to harmony and concord with the emotions of those who are about him [the sympathizers]. What they feel will, indeed, always be, in some respects, different from what he feels, and compassion can never be exactly the same with original sorrow;…These two sentiments,

[268] Smith, *Theory* Part I, Section III Ch. III, 76–77.

> however, may, it is evident, have such a correspondence with one another, as is sufficient for the harmony of society.[269]

Here, the sufferer must lessen the intensity of his grief through the artificial process of tuning, by consciously lowering the tone of his suffering. Only then is he able to sympathetically resonate with the spectators, as a means of reinstating harmony and concord. Once the sufferer has enabled sympathetic resonance, however, its sensory realization is similar to the mechanism of sympathetic vibration, in which a string vibrates in response to specific external vibrations from another source. Smith also evokes the antithesis of sympathetic vibration, explaining, "The person who feels none [no emotion] that bears any proportion to mine, cannot avoid disapproving my sentiments, on account of their dissonance with his own."[270]

Mourning Songs and Sympathetic Grief

The idea that one can sympathetically identify with the emotion of grief when it is expressed through music can be applied to the mourning songs composed by members of the Catch Club. Together with ribald catches and cheerful glees, catch club members composed dirges, elegies, epitaphs, requiems, and odes. These latter types were often classified as serious glees, meaning their texts were of a serious nature. Partsongs performed at weekly Catch Club meetings were often written for some combination of alto, tenor, and bass voices, with one singer per part. Mourning songs frequently appear in their music manuscripts and *Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees*.

In *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Smith argues that when someone sympathizes, it is not in response to the emotions the sufferer portrays, but is instead a response to the situation that generated the emotions. This understanding of sympathy as a response to the source of an emotion is supported by a fundamental principle of glee composition, in which one or two overarching moods arising from the text are evoked through compositional features. By sustaining a general mood for an extended portion of a glee, composers offered listeners the opportunity to contemplate the textual scenario, which in turn might prompt particular emotions. This practice contrasts with the use of madrigalisms to emphasize individual words in madrigals or solo songs. Instead of dramatic text-painting, glees incorporated an element of restraint and reflection. Thus, the genre itself was conducive to provoking a sympathetic response.

---

[269] Smith, *Theory* Part I, Section II Ch. III, 37–38. Smith's reference to tempering grief's tone relates to Rousseau's second definition of tone in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Complete Dictionary of Music. Consisting of a Copious Explanation of all Words Necessary to a True Knowledge and Understanding of Music*, Second Edition (London, 1779), 439.
[270] Smith, *Theory* Part I, Section II Ch. II, 23.

This response would likely have been experienced differently within private club meetings and public concerts. Catch club meetings involved an elaborate ritual of alternating toasts and songs, led by each meeting's acting president and vice president, according to a formal rotation system that insured each member would have the opportunity to participate. A sense of exchange between members was therefore built into their performance ritual, evoking a mindset receptive to sympathetic response. Smith's characterization of sympathy's ability to bring the emotions of sufferer and sympathizer into closer equilibrium, by requiring the sufferer to tone down his emotions in order to relate to the sympathizer, finds its musical counterpart in tuning. The individual singers performing the glees at Catch Club meetings must have adjusted their intonation accordingly as they progressed through a piece. This necessary element of harmonized singing thus prioritized communal awareness and reciprocation, unlike the virtuosic ornamentation and vocal techniques employed in solo arias. Finally, Catch Club members have always sung *a capella* at their meetings, further highlighting the voice and sympathetic resonances occurring between individual voices. Current club secretary Rodney Williams confirmed that this unaccompanied tradition continues today.[271] Public performances of glees, on the other hand, usually involved doubling of vocal parts reinforced by instrumental accompaniment (either piano or orchestral). This augmented performance practice, occurring within large public venues such as outdoor pleasure gardens, likely eliminated all sense of the intimacy present in club performances, and could therefore have diminished the degree to which listeners responded sympathetically.

Evidence that glee composers were aware of Smith's theory of sympathetic exchange is communicated through Samuel Webbe's choice of text for his 1788 glee, "To Wipe the Tear from Sorrow's Eye."[272] The text derives from the first stanza of a poem by contemporary author Andrew Hervey Mills, subtitled "To a Lady in Distress." In this poem, grief is associated with the inevitability of death. Mills begins by describing the value of extending sympathy to a stranger in the first stanza:

> To wipe the tear from sorrow's eye,
> And stop the unavailing sigh;
> Tho' all a stranger can bestow,
> 'Tis something sure to melt at woe!
> Kindly to feel what others feel,
> And blush the frailty to reveal;
> Untold, by sympathy to find,
> The struggles of a virtuous mind.
> To few, alas! this skill is given,

[271] Rodney Williams, phone conversation with author, June 20 2014.
[272] Thomas Edmund Warren, ed., *Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees* v. 27 (1788), 8.

For 'tis the fav'rite gift of heav'n.[273]

There are eight stanzas total, and the entire poem presents sympathy, compassion and mercy as tools for effectively alleviating suffering. The final stanza affirms the importance of offering compassion to others, since "'Tis the all in all we have, 'Tis our comfort in the grave! From the woeful hour of birth 'Tis the heav'n of heav'ns on earth."[274] Published less than a decade after *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, this poem clearly projects Smith's philosophy. Webbe's selection of this particular poem exemplifies how glee composers adapted published texts circulating through textual mourning, and then recirculated the texts through music publications.

This glee is notated for SATB voices in three sections, with the first and last sections repeated (Figure 3.3). It begins in G major with a larghetto tempo, establishing an initial mood of gravitas. A sfzorzando on the word "sure" reassures the listener of sympathy's effectiveness. The second section begins quietly in e minor, with parallel thirds accompanying the text "kindly to feel what others feel," seemingly representing the act of sympathetic exchange, in which both parties temper their respective emotions to each other through singing consonant intervals. The key change from e minor to E major accompanying the text "untold, by sympathy to find" signals the social significance of the sympathetic act for sustaining the "friendship, charity and love" described in the third stanza. The last two lines of the poem are emphasized through a shift from common time to ¾ meter together with an increase in tempo from larghetto to andante, a common tendency in older polyphonic repertoire. The ways in which the sympathetic act is characterized through music in this song supports the broader idea that mourning songs could have precipitated a psycho-social sympathetic response in performers and listeners.

Contemplation of Death

Themes such as contemplation of death, weeping, and commemoration were foregrounded in literary and musical sources related to grief. Song texts were often drawn from poetry, immediately positioning the music within networks of textual mourning. High infant mortality rates and the regular occurrence of death in youth or middle age foregrounded the inevitability of death. Authors addressed this awareness through a variety of means, including offering advice on preparing for death, offering reassurance couched in faith, and focusing on the potential moral benefits that

[273] Andrew Hervey Mills, *Bagatelles, or Poetical Trifles* (London: Printed for Messrs. Walkingame; Dodsley; Robson; Davis; Walter; Owen; Richardson and Urquhart; and Griffin, 1767), 4.
[274] Ibid., 6.

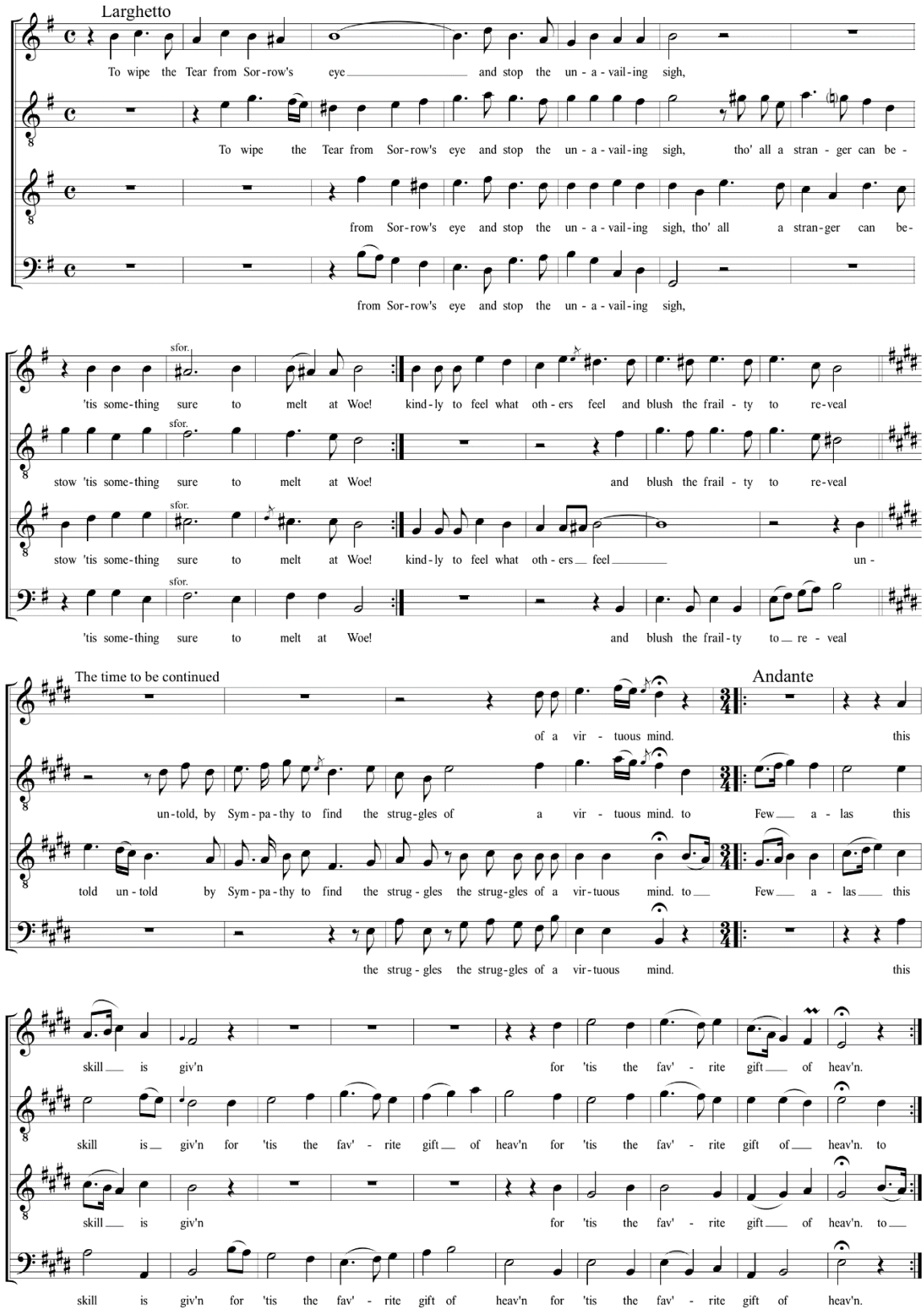


Figure 3.3: Samuel Webbe, "To Wipe the Tear from Sorrow's Eye" (1788)

could arise from the fear of death, similar to Schor's reading of Smith's sense of an unpayable debt to the dead. The following discussion examines these three topics in greater depth, relating them to specific literary genres and showing how they are manifested in partsong.

A variety of literary genres provide reading material suitable for contemplation of death. Several benefits could arise from such reflection, including a wholesome perspective regarding worldly pleasures and a sense of preparedness and peace. One such genre is *ars moriendi* literature. The phrase a*rs moriendi* (art of dying) derives from two medieval Latin texts, a long and short version, dating from about 1415 and 1450 respectively.[275] These texts include instructive woodcuts that attempted to illustrate how to die well. They served as a model for an extended *ars moriendi* tradition that continued into the nineteenth century in both Catholic and Protestant traditions. Such texts consoled their readers by claiming that preparing for death through embracing a virtuous, faithful lifestyle would alleviate fears associated with it.

In an *ars moriendi* text dating from 1745 titled *Dying Merrily*, French philosopher Andre Francois Deslandes appeals to the reason, good taste, and common sense of his intended male readership. In the chapter "Death is more to be wish'd for than dreaded," Deslandes writes:

> It is easily perceivable that the Weak only are liable to be terrify'd at the Approach of Death; and that to be above the Apprehensions of it, it requires only that a Man be tolerably reasonable. A moderate good Taste, and some Knowledge of the World, set a Man presently above those ridiculous Terrors which work so much on the Vulgar. If a Man should maturely consult that Philosophy which has pure Morals and Virtue for its Objects, how despicable would Life seem to him?[276]

By attempting to experience the pleasures of this earth with a moral and virtuous mindset, Deslandes suggests that a man can both enjoy life and assuage his own fears of death. Deslandes also advocated for using one's awareness of death to enhance life, by rendering the present moment that much sweeter for its transience. Several Catch Club songs pair enjoyment of the moment with an awareness of death's immanence, as in this glee by Luffman Atterbury: "Happy the man and happy he alone he that can call today his own. He who secure within can say tomorrow do thy worst

---

[275] The long version, *Tractatus* (or *Speculum*) *artis bene moriendi*, was authored by an anonymous Dominican friar. The short version originated in the Netherlands and is adapted from the second chapter of the long version.

[276] Andre Francois Deslandes, *Reflexions Sur Les Grands Hommes Qui Sont Morts En Plaisantant: Avec des Poëis Diverses* (A Amsterdam: Chez Jacques Desbordes, 1712). Trans. as Andre Francois Deslandes, *Dying Merrily: or, Historical and Critical Reflexions on the Conduct of Great Men in All Ages*, trans. by T.W.–A.M. (London: Printed for M. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row, 1745), 21.

for I have liv'd today. Be fair or foul or rain or shine, the joys I have profess'd are mine, the joys in spite of fate are mine."[277] Finally, eighteenth-century men appear to have frequently resorted to humor when confronting death, as demonstrated through numerous humorous epitaphs included in periodicals. Deslandes declares, "A Man must be something more than a Great Man to be able, in those terrifying Moments, to compose himself so thoroughly. In short, he must know how to Sport with Death."[278]

Another publication dating from the same year, Leonard Howard's *Newest Manual of Private Devotions*, contains a section which functions as an *ars moriendi* text, titled "Exhortations against the Fear of Death, and Directions how to Prepare Our Selves to Die Well."[279] Howard was an Anglican rector at a church in Southwark who advocated for the spiritual desire of death. Like Deslandes, Howard denounces cowardice, pronouncing that since "*it is appointed unto Man once to die* [original source italics]," it is weak and cowardly to live in continual fear.[280] Unlike the French philosopher, however, he considers the afterlife to be more worthwhile than one's earthly existence, a view that likely reflects differences in cultural rather than religious beliefs. Howard argues that it is ultimately better for the virtuous man to dwell in the light of heaven rather than the darkness of earth: "The expiring Soul of the *perfect and upright Man* may be compared to the Sun's breaking out of an Eclipse; every Moment removes it further from the dark and interposing *Planet* that deprives us of his Light."[281] Howard then appeals to Scripture for evidence of heaven's existence and immunity from earthly evils, pains, sorrows, wants, injustices, etc. He closes by encouraging his readers to "*desire to be dissolved*, *and to be with Christ*, *which is far better*;" and to prepare for the transition to immortality by being steadfast in the Christian faith.[282]

Finally, funeral sermons often fulfilled the double function of eulogy and *ars moriendi* text. Nonconformist pastor and renowned hymn composer Isaac Watts lived with in the Abney household for thirty-six years, serving as their chaplain and tutoring their daughters. His sermon *The Watchful Christian Prepared for Early Death*, written for the funeral of the eldest Abney daughter, is preceded by the statement "Yet the Providence hath a Voice in it, and the Friends of the Deceased

---

[277] Luffman Atterbury, "Happy the Man" (1768), British Library Music Collections H.2788.r, 80–83.
[278] Deslandes, *Dying Merrily*, 111.
[279] Leonard Howard, Section II, "Exhortations against the Fear of Death, and Directions how to Prepare Our Selves to Die Well," in *Newest Manual of Private Devotions. In Three Parts. The Third Edition* (London: Printed for James Hodges, 1760). First edition printed in 1745.
[280] Ibid., 320.
[281] Ibid., 324.
[282] Ibid., 330.

are very sollicitous [*sic*] that such an unexpected and instructive Appearance of Death might be religiously improv'd to the Benefit of the Living."[283] Watts then analyzes a few Biblical verses to advocate for preparing for death by living a moral and faithful life, reasoning "Surely those who are dead in Sins are not prepared to receive their Lord."[284]

In addition to *ars moriendi* texts, another genre intended to promote contemplation of death is the lapidary or epitaph anthology, in which epitaphs were presented for entertainment, moral instruction, or inspiration for cultivating one's own legacy. Such books had been popular on the continent since the sixteenth century, and had achieved similar prominence in Britain during the seventeenth century. As literary studies scholar Joshua Scodel notes, "With economic expansion, increased urbanization, and the growth of the middle classes, more and more literate people of diverse backgrounds composed and read epitaphs."[285] John Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglicana* prints inscriptions from the monuments of prominent people who had died in the seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries, and numerous lapidary anthologies published throughout the century are similarly organized.[286]

Coinciding with these, extensive local histories were produced during the second half of the century, including the twelve-volume sets of R. and J. Dodsley and Daniel Lysons.[287] Both

---

283 Isaac Watts, *The Watchful Christian Prepared for Early Death. A Sermon on Occasion of The Decease of Mrs. Sarah Abney, Daughter of The Late Sir Thomas Abney, Knt. and Alderman of London. Preached at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, April 2. 1732* (London: Printed for E. Matthews at the Bible in Paternoster-Row; R. Ford at the Angel, and R. Hett at the Bible and Crown, both in the Poultry, 1732), 1.

284 Ibid., 6.

285 Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1991), 313.

286 John Le Neve, *Monumenta Anglicana: Being Inscriptions on the Monuments of Several Eminent Persons, Deduced Into a Series of Time by Way of* Annals; 4 Volumes (London, Printed by Will Bowyer, 1717–1719). Additional epitaph anthologies include: James Jones, *Sepulchrorum Inscriptiones; or, a Curious Collection of Above 900 of the Most Remarkable Epitaphs, Antient and Modern, Serious and Merry: in The Kingdoms of Great Britain, Ireland, &C. In English Verse: to Which is Added a Compleat Index of Each Person's Name* (Westminster: Printed for J. Cluer, A. Campbell, and B. Creake, 1727); William Toldervy, *Select Epitaphs. Collected by W. Tolderv* (London: Printed for W. Owen: And sold by R. and J. Dodsley, A. Millar, J. Jolliffe, and T. Waller, 1755); John Hackett, *Select and Remarkable Epitaphs on Illustrious and Other Persons ... and Compendious Accounts of the Deceased, Their Lives and Works* (London: T. Osborne & J. Shipton, 1757); T. Webb, *A New Select Collection of Epitaphs, Panegyrical and Moral, Humourous, Whimsical, Satyrical, and Inscriptive: Including the Most Remarkable Inscriptions in the Collections of Hacket, Jones, and Toldervy; Together With One Thousand Epitaphs Never Before Published* (London: Printed for S. Bladon, Paternoster-Row, ca. 1775); Nathaniel Frobisher, *Frobisher's New Select Collection of Epitaphs; Humorous, Whimsical, Moral, & Satyrical* (London: Printed for Nathl. Frobisher, York, 1790); John Bowden, *The Epitaph Writer; Consisting of Upwards of Six Hundred Original Epitaphs, Arranged on a New Plan; Designed for Those Who Write or Engrave Inscriptions on Tomb Stones; to Which is Prefixed, an Essay on Epitaph-Writing, Etc.* (J. Fletcher: Chester, 1791); Thomas Caldwell, *A Collection of Epitaphs and Inscriptions, Ancient and Modern: Distinguished Either for Their Wit, Humour and Singularity, Elegance of Composition, Morality of Sentiment, or Celebrity of Character: Carefully Selected from Preceding Publications, Including Many Never Before Printed* (London: Lackington, Allen, 1802).

287 *London and its Environs Described: Containing an Account of Whatever is Most Remarkable for Grandeur, Elegance, Curiosity or Use, in the City and in the Country Twenty Miles Round it* (London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1761); Daniel Lysons,

collections situate their contents geographically, according to various regions constituting the "environs of London," and both relay a significant portion of their histories through descriptions of monument inscriptions. For example, volume one of Dodsley's *London and its Environs* begins with an account of Westminster Abbey, which discusses in detail the statues and monuments within the church, moving from one inner chapel to another. In *Environs of London*, Lysons relies on the historical records of local churches, stating in his introductory advertisement that among other things, his history will cover "the biography connected with each parish."[288] Extensive family trees are accompanied by images of actual tombs, including the tomb of Nicholas Carew and his wife in Beddington Church, County of Surrey (Figure 3.4).[289] In fact, some partsongs bear location-oriented titles resembling the format of local histories, as in "Epitaph in Brading Church Yard, Isle of Wight" and "Epitaph in Westmeon Church."[290]

The prevalence of epitaph anthologies in eighteenth-century Britain coincided with poems fashioned as epitaphs, which were generously scattered throughout periodicals. The most famous poem involving an epitaph was Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," which closes with the narrator reading the following inscription on a monument:

> Here rests his head upon the lap of Earth
> A youth to Fortune and to Fame unknown.
> Fair Science frown'd not on his humble birth,
> And Melancholy mark'd him for her own.
>
> Large was his bounty, and his soul sincere,
> Heav'n did a recompense as largely send:
> He gave to Mis'ry all he had, a tear,
> He gain'd from Heav'n ('twas all he wish'd) a friend.
>
> No farther seek his merits to disclose,
> Or draw his frailties from their dread abode,
> (There they alike in trembling hope repose)
> The bosom of his Father and his God.[291]

Earlier in the poem, Gray explores a rural cemetery and proclaims that the lives of those buried there are now forgotten, and that this is a fate destined for all. A narrator concludes the poem with a

---

Environs of London: Being an Historical Account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, within Twelve Miles of that Capital; Interspersed with Biographical Anecdotes (London: Printed by A. Strahan, for T. Cadell, 1795–96).

[288] Lysons, "Advertisement," Volume I Part I, v.

[289] Ibid., 58.

[290] John Wall Callcott, "Epitaph in Brading Church Yard, Isle of Wight"; Charles Dignum "Epitaph in Westmeon Church."

[291] Thomas Gray, "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" (London: Printed for R. Dodsley, 1751), lines 117–128.

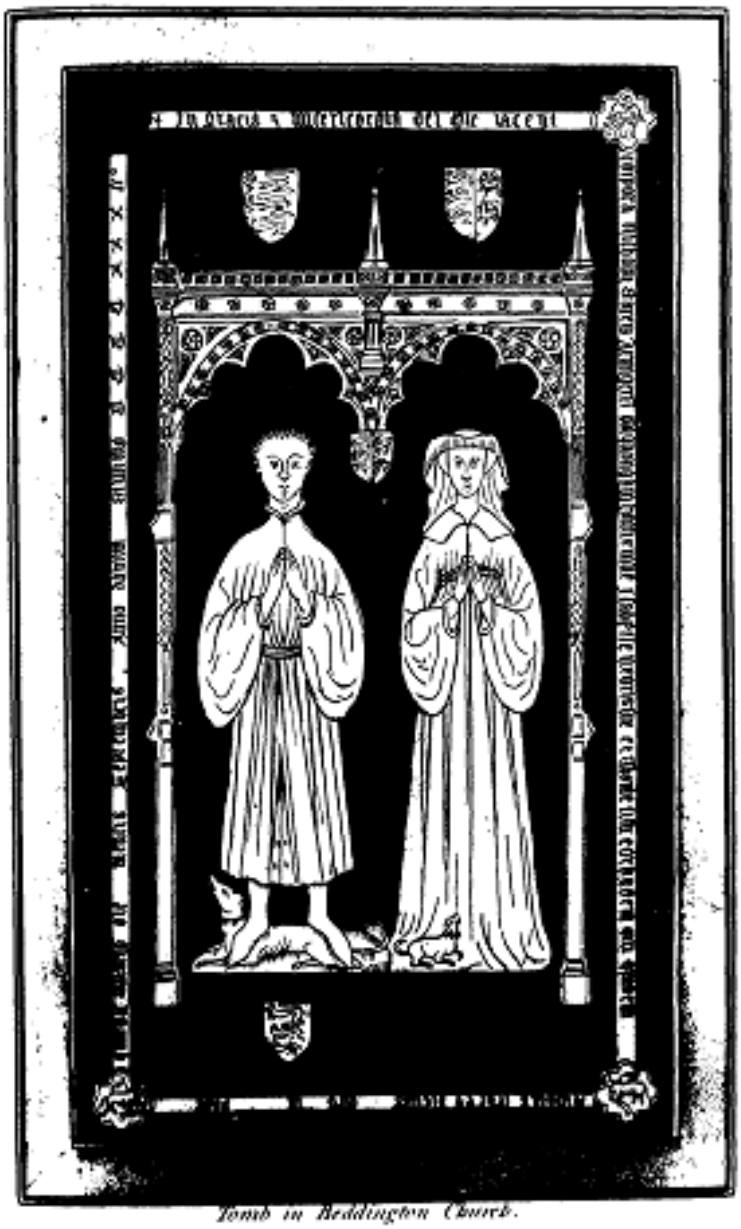


Figure 3.4: Daniel Lysons, *Environs of London*

fictitious account of Gray's funeral procession and reading of his epitaph (the epitaph is now engraved on Gray's monument). The description of "Heavn's recompense" for the youth's "sincere soul" resonates with Smith's incorporation of economic metaphors. Gray was a member of the Graveyard School, a pre-Romantic group of poets that also boasted William Cowper, Thomas

Chatterton, and Oliver Goldsmith.[292] Their poetry is often set in churchyards, and reflects upon sentiments arising when exploring such places.

Allusions to this epitaph appear in other poems, novels and song texts throughout the century, often as parodies. For example, the organist, bookseller, and Canterbury Catch Club founder William Flackton set Gray's epitaph as a three-voice catch titled "Epitaph" (Figure 3.5).[293] With all three stanzas sung simultaneously, Flackton sets the text in a freer recitative-like style, ending with an authentic cadence and conventional descending-fifth motion in the lowest voice. The repetitive nature of the catch form gives the listener a sense of reading and rereading the epitaph, as if the nondescript monument were positioned directly before him or her (as the second singer enters, the first repeats his line, and so on). The last line is emphasized through a notated ritardando, initiated by longer durations in the lower voice, which provides a pedal point for the upper voices to settle into by the arrival of the last measure.

Catches have always been associated with wit and humor, hence humorous epitaphs have been set as catches at least as early as Purcell's time (See discussion concerning *An Old Epitaph* in

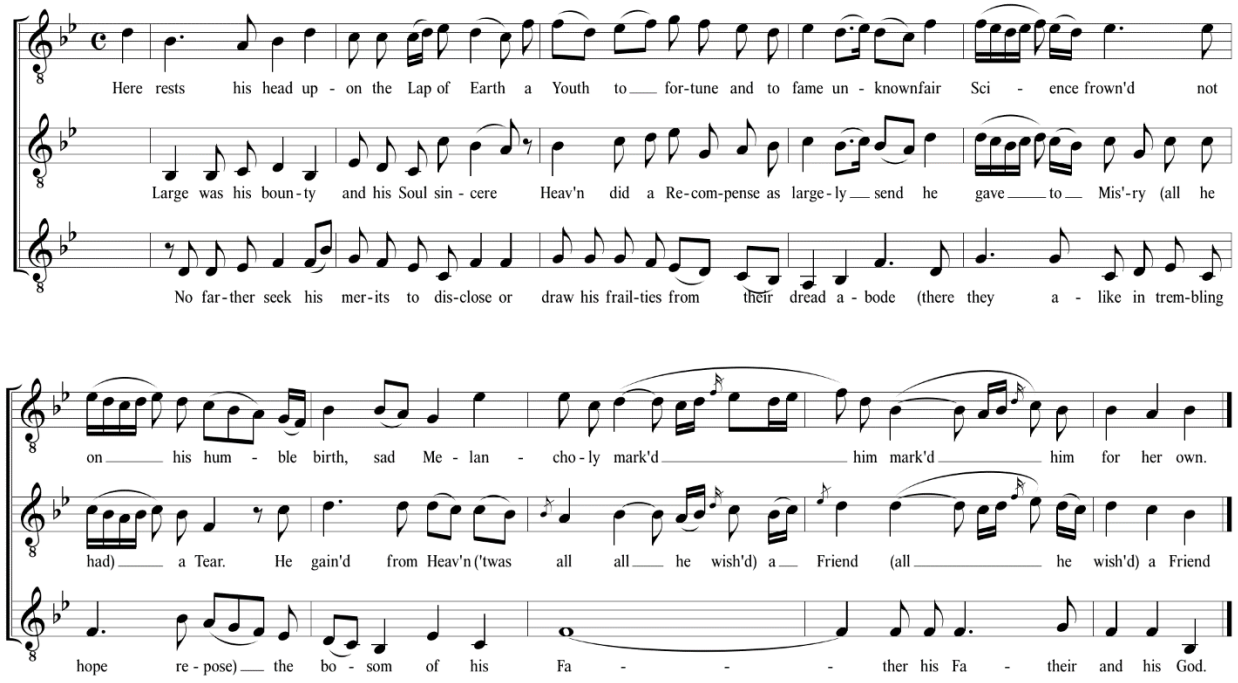


Figure 3.5: William Flackton, "Epitaph" (1767)

[292] Club songs set to poems by Shenstone include "Beneath a Churchyard Yew" and "Come Shepherds We'll Follow the Hearse."

[293] William Flackton, "Epitaph" (1767), British Library Music Collections H.2788.q, 152; Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 6 (1767), 13.

chapter two).[294] Catches derived from both real and fictional epitaphs published in various sources were usually titled as epitaphs. The phrase "Here lies—" is thought to have originated with the last couplet of Alexander Pope's epitaph for John Gay (1685–1732), which is engraved on Gay's marble monument in Westminster Abbey: "The worthy and the good shall say, Striking their pensive bosoms—Here lies GAY."[295] That phrase has surfaced in numerous epitaphs ever since its inception, most of which are humorous. Indeed, Gay's spirit seems to inform this doggerel verse. The dramatist prematurely wrote his own epitaph, which now appears immediately below his portrait bust on the same marble monument. Gay's text reads, "Life is a jest; and all things show it, I thought so once; but now I know it." His text cleverly acknowledges the inevitability of death. Prior to the Catch Club's founding, Chapel Royal organist John Travers set Gay's epitaph as a four-voice catch in A minor.[296] Warren included Travers's catch in his first *Collection* publication.

Epitaph catches often appeared in minor keys, particularly a minor. The text to club member Theodore Aylward's five-voice catch in A minor reads:

1) Here lies honest Ned because he is dead
2) Had it been his father we had much rather
3) Had it been his mother we had rather than the other
4) Had it been his sister we ne'er should have mis't her
5) But since 'tis honest Ned there's no more to be said[297]

This text derives from an old Cornish epitaph referring to a corrupt attorney, Edward Hoblyn, who is known to have declared that he would have an estate by law, whether it was right or wrong to do so. The tempo is designated as "slow" in the manuscript, and "Slow, and with Expression" in the *Collection* publication, increasing the text's hilarity by presenting the song as if it were a somber dirge. A performance practice that was likely utilized in club meetings is recorded in the *Collection* (Figure 3.6). Apparently striking a glass or ringing a bell often produced the pitch A, which allowed for the special effect of a death knell, and may further justify the association of epitaph texts with the key of A minor.

Another elegiac catch appearing in the first club manuscript includes a direct reference to bell ringing:

---

[294] Henry Purcell, *An Old Epitaph*, Z.286. In John Playford, *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, Second Edition (London: Printed for John Playford, 1686), No. 6.
[295] Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 315.
[296] John Travers, "Life is a Jest," Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 1 (1762), 22.
[297] Theodore Aylward, "Here Lies Honest Ned" (1776), British Library Music Collections H.2788.w, 77; Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 15 (1776), 29.

1 Ding dong ding dong bell
2 Oh cruel death that stop'd the breath of him I lov'd so well
3 Alack and well away 'tis a heavy day that ever us befell
4 Then for his sake some order let us take that we may ring his knell
ding dong[298]

This catch originates as a round credited to a Mr. Stonard. It was initially "Presented by Mr. Warren" to the club in 1762, with an indicated composition date of 1652. A similar performance practice to "Here Lies Honest Ned" is prescribed in both the manuscript and print versions, using slightly different instructions, for the purpose of enacting the text (Figure 3.7).

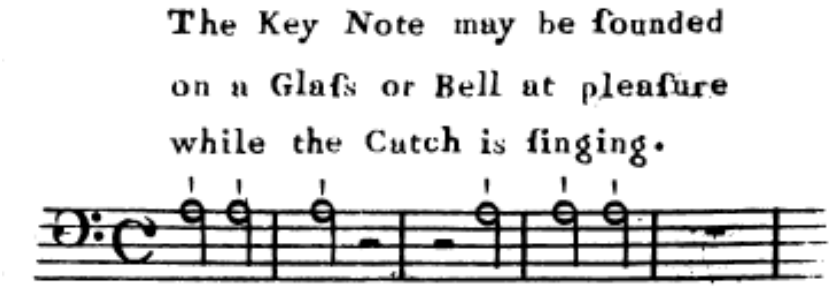


Figure 3.6: Bell striking notation from Theodore Aylward, "Here Lies Honest Ned" (1776)

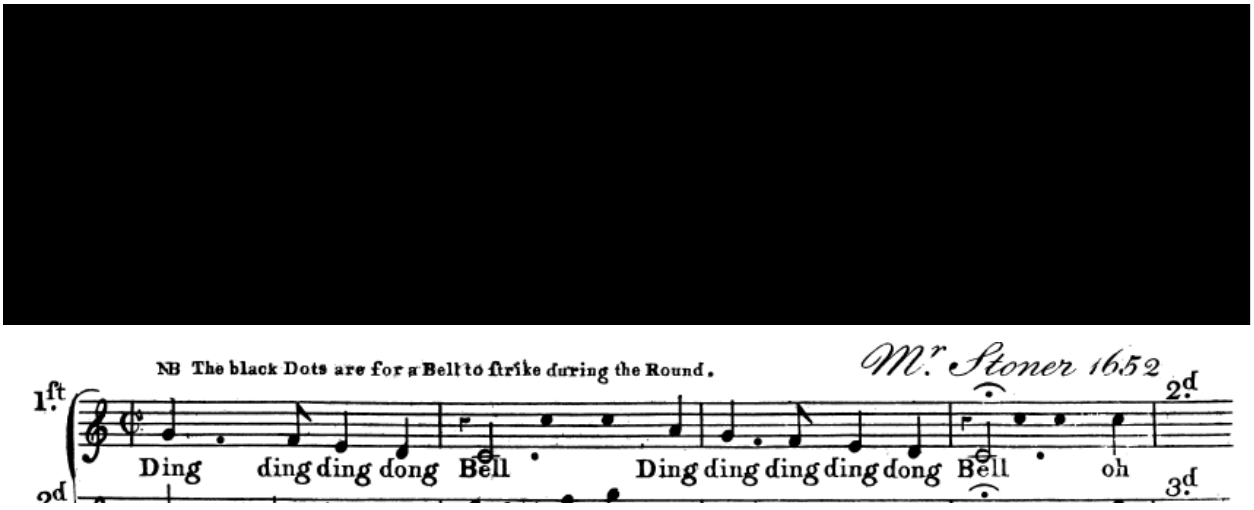


Figure 3.7: Mr. Stonard, "Ding Dong Bell" (1652), manuscript (top) and print version (bottom)

[298] Mr. Stonard, "Ding Dong Bell" (1652/1762), British Library Music Collections H.2788.p, 92; Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 19 (1780), 31.

Another epitaph catch in A minor also touting a political theme is William Hayes's 1756 four-voice catch, "Here lies Judge Boat Within a Coffin," also "Presented by Mr. Warren":

> 1) Here lies Judge Boat within a coffin, pray gentle folks forbear your scoffin.
> 2) A boat, a judge yes where's the blunder? A wooden judge is no such wonder,
> 3) And in his robes you must agree, no boat was better deck'd than he
> 4) 'Tis needless to describe him fuller in short he was an able sculler[299]

The text derives from the epitaph concluding Jonathan Swift's "A Quibbling Elegy on Judge Boat" (1723), which describes a harsh judge.

Two additional examples will suffice as examples of crude humor in epitaph catches. Italian violinist and club member Felice Giardini developed a reputation for inappropriate catches. His three-voice catch "Beneath this Stone the Earl of Lincoln Lies" parodies Gray's "Elegy," as in:

> 1) Beneath this stone the Earl of Lincoln lies, Who dug his grave betwixt his lady's thighs.
> 2) His fate I envy and shall think it hard when I die to be buried in a Country Church Yard.
> 3) His fate I envy and shall think it hard when I die to be buried in a Country Church Yard.[300]

The anonymous text likely refers to Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, the ninth earl of Lincoln, who likened himself to Hercules.[301] Another vulgar song by Jonathan Battishill is the four-voice catch "Here on his Back Doth Lye Sir Andrew Keeling," which reads:

> 1) Here on his back doth lye Sir Andrew Keeling
> 2) and at his feet his mournfull Lady Kneeling.
> 3) But when he was alive and had his feeling
> 4) She laid upon her back and he was kneeling.[302]

These vulgar catches capture the masculine attitude expressed by Deslandes when he claimed man must be able to sport with death.[303]

---

[299] Dr Hayes, "Here Lies Judge Boat within a Coffin" (1756/1762), British Library Music Collections H.2788.p, 100–101.
[300] Felice Giardini, "Beneath this Stone the Earl of Lincoln Lies" Ibid., 32–33.
[301] Horace Walpole, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's correspondence* vol. 30, ed. W. S. Lewis and others, (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1961), 1.
[302] Jonathan Battishill, "Here on his Back Doth Lye Sir Andrew Keeling" (1762), British Library Music Collections H.2788.p, 87.
[303] Deslandes, *Dying Merrily*, 111.

Finally, humor was extended to mourning songs not based on epitaphs, as in Stephen Paxton's "A Plague on Egypt's Art: Quin's Soliloquy on Seeing Duke Humphrey's Tomb at St. Alban's."[304] This unpublished glee (submitted to the club's 1784 competition) incorporates text from David Garrick's sardonic epigram concerning his visit with actor James Quinn to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester's tomb, located in a church in St. Alban's. The Duke's body had been preserved in some sort of preservation liquid at one point, and Quinn commented that it was a waste of expensive wine and spices. Later that evening at dinner, Garrick wrote a soliloquy for Quinn that captured his sentiments, including the text "Let *me* embalm this flesh of mine / With turtle fat and Bordeaux wine." This song and others like it further demonstrates the degree to which textual mourning promoted different modes of intertextuality.

As demonstrated here, epitaphs can evoke images of graveyards, which were often characterized in literature as appropriate places for reflecting on death. Poetry and sentimental novels include scenes set in graveyards as an opportunity for the reader to contemplate death. Edward Young's *The Complaint: or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality*, relays the author's personal observations on death as they came to him over a series of nine "nights," or poems, with each poem focusing on a specific topic associated with death.[305] The frontispiece to Young's tome depicts a woman leaning against a tomb emblazoned with a skull and crossbones, together with the caption, "We read their monuments; we sigh, and while We sigh we sink, and are what we deplor'd; Lamenting or lamented all our lot" (Figure 3.8). The author relies on a graveyard scene to impress upon the reader the notion that much of life is frivolity arising from human weakness, and urges him to be mindful of present opportunities. *Night-thoughts* received numerous reprints throughout the century.

Like the author of *Night Thoughts*, composers imagined the physical space of the graveyard as a tangible, human means of relating to and accepting death. Songs such as Michael Rock's "Beneath a Churchyard Yew," Stephen Paxton's "Sonnet Spoke in the Character of Werther," and Reginald Spofforth's "In this Recess, this Melancholy Shade" recreate the experience of meandering through a graveyard.[306] This repertoire often resonates with similar scenes in sentimentalist literature intended

---

[304] Stephen Paxton, "A Plague on Egypt's Art" (1784), British Library Music Collections H.2788.bb, 61–66.
[305] Edward Young, *The Complaint: or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* (London: Printed for R. Dodsley, at Tully's Head in Pall-Mall; And sold by M. Cooper in Pater-noster-Row, 1743). Additional eighteenth-century London reissues/revisions in 1748, 1749, 1756, 1760, 1767, 1768, 1776, 1777, 1780, 1782, 1787, 1790, 1791, 1793, 1795, 1796.
[306] Michael Rock, "Beneath a Churchyard Yew," also titled "Slender's Ghost" (1784), British Library Music Collections H.2788.aa, 108-10; Stephen Paxton, "Sonnet Spoke in the Character of Werther": Reginald Spofforth, "In this Recess, this Melancholy Shade" (1791), British Library Music Collections H2788.ff, 85–90.

Figure 3.8: Edward Young's *The Complaint: or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* (1743), frontispiece

to provoke spiritual and moral contemplation. For example, a passage near the end of Henry Mackenzie's 1771 novel, *The Man of Feeling*, demonstrates how graveyard scenes represent opportunities for the reader to personally reflect on death. Following the death of the main character, Harley, the narrator declares,

> I sometimes visit his grave; I sit in the hollow of the tree. It is worth a thousand homilies! Every nobler feeling rises within me! Every beat of my heart awakens a virtue!—but it will make you hate the world—No: there is such an air of gentleness around, that I can hate nothing; but, as to the world—I pity the men of it."[307]

This passage presents the gravesite as a sanctuary, inviting moral transport and escape from the pithy concerns of mortals. There is a sense of peace and personal communion with the deceased's spirit.

The mood and themes of MacKenzie's text are echoed in the Earl of Mornington's glee "Hail Hallow'd Fane: On Walking in Westminster Abbey," composed only a few years after *The Man of Feeling*. The text is as follows:

[307] Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling* (London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1771), 241.

Hail hallow'd fane amidst whose mould'ring shrines,
Her vigils, musing melancholy keeps;
Upon her arm her harrow'd cheek reclines,
And o'er the spoils of human grandeur weeps!
Hail awful edifice! thine ailes along,
In contemplation wrapt, O let me stray;
And stealing from the idle busy throng,
Serenely meditate the moral lay.

What pleasing sadness fills my thoughtfull breast,
When e'er my steps these vaulted mansions trace;
Where, in their silent tombs, forever rest,
The honour'd ashes of the British race.[308]

Mornington's glee is composed in two contrasting sections: the first stanza is set in E minor and common time, conveying a sense of meditative awe. The second stanza is set in the contrasting parallel major and triple meter, with a shift in focus from grief to the glorification "of the British race."

Wesley Garrett, first Earl of Mornington (1735–81), was an Irish representative in the House of Lords and the first Professor of Music at Trinity College, Dublin. He founded his own music academy in Dublin. His music was admired and published by the Catch Club, and this song is written in the same prosodic style and tone as sentimental novels. The narrator in *The Man of Feeling* noted an "air of gentleness" while sitting in the graveyard, the Earl identifies a "pleasing sadness" in his breast, and London lawyer, diarist, and friend of Eglinton James Boswell describes his emotions when walking among the Westminster Abbey tombs in 1762 as "solemn and happy."[309] Eglinton had taken Boswell to a club meeting in 1763, and Boswell occasionally took lessons with Eglinton.[310] The text "Pleasing sadness" initiate the shift to E major and triple time, though set in a slower tempo with half notes and descending melodic contours (Figure 3.9). The reference to melancholy in the first section contributes to the somber opening mood. When viewed as a whole, one possible interpretation of this song is the way in which it relates to the narrative structure of a funeral oration. The first section can be viewed as an acknowledgement and profession of grief, while the second section can be construed as the glorification of the dead by respecting and honoring their memory.

---

[308] Earl of Eglinton, "Hail Hallow'd Fane" (1778), British Library Music Collections H.2788.x, 88–91; Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 18 (1779), 11–14.
[309] James Boswell, "Entry for Tuesday 30 November," in *London Journal, 1762–1763*, with introduction and notes by Frederick A. Pottle (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950), 57.
[310] James Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing: The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club* (London: The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, 2014), 54.

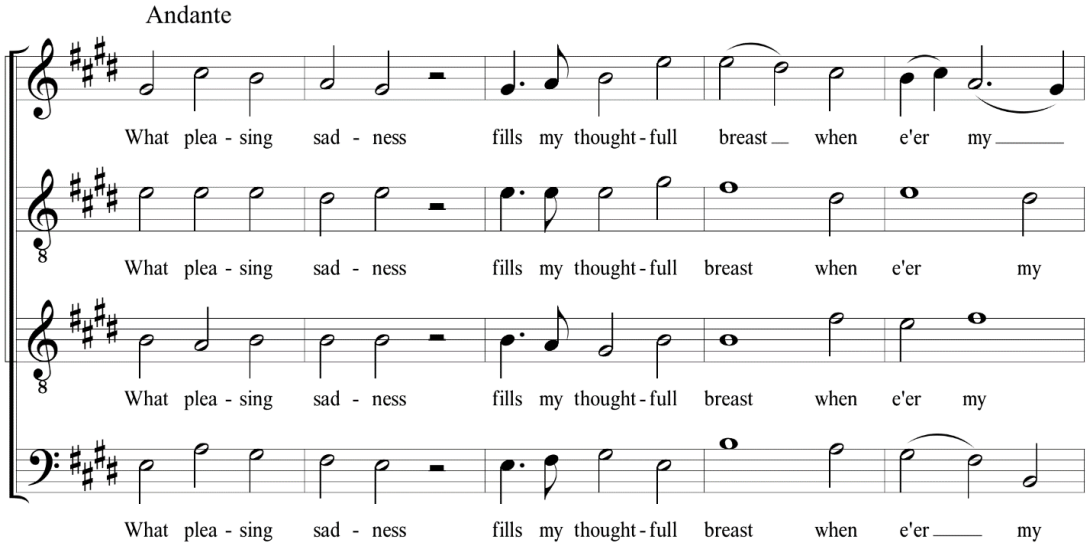


Figure 3.9: Earl of Eglinton, "Hail Hallow'd Fane" (1779), beginning of second section

This binary structure is often present in glees involving texts memorializing the deceased, and will be discussed in greater detail in relation to Arne's "Come Shepherds We'll Follow the Hearse."

The idea of the graveyard as an open, sprawling area to be explored, together with its connection to an extended community of souls, some personally known, others unknown, allows it to inhabit a complex space inviting both introspective solitude and transcendent community. In this regard, the graveyard embraces both feminine and masculine grieving, in which femininity is linked with introspection and masculinity with community.[311] This model may appear opposed to modern notions of women as communal grievers and men as solitary and stoic, yet I argue that it coincides nicely with predominantly male participation in British associative culture.

Weeping

Weeping is a second topic common to mourning songs. Since this chapter focuses on songs sung in all-male clubs, it is necessary to first summarize eighteenth-century thought concerning weeping men. Sources offer contrasting views concerning the extent to which men should cry, though the belief that crying was representative of the weaker sex intensified through the second half of the century (in tandem with a marked rigidification of gender norms beginning in the 1780s). When mourning literature such as *ars moriendi* texts, devotionals, and funeral sermons addresses both sexes, it is often to recommend grieving in moderation. Such sources typically recommend truncated

[311] See Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 134.

episodes of grief, as opposed to extensive mourning periods. The latter were typically viewed as unreasonable, because the dead are no longer in pain, and unchristian, because the dead are believed to experience the joys of resurrection and afterlife.[312]

In support of crying men, Anglican minister Vicesimus Knox's 1790 essay "On the Unmanliness of Shedding Tears" challenges the belief that shedding tears in his time automatically raised an effeminate flag. Rather, Knox attempts to neutralize the standard belief that masculine tears were a sign of weakness, stating "To shed tears on sorrowful occasions, is no mark of a weak understanding, but of that tenderness and susceptibility, as it is in the noblest distinction of human nature, is emphatically styled HUMANITY." He supports his argument with biological evidence—"The lachrymal glands were intended by Providence for use, as much as any other part of the mechanism of the human frame,"—and historical evidence, by noting how the greatest men in antiquity were represented as "commonly giving vent to their sorrow by the fountains of the eyes."[313]

A few decades prior to Knox's essay, in the weekly periodical *Man: A Paper for Ennobling the Species*, an anonymous author known simply as "A.B." also wrote in support of men who cry. A.B. characterized tears provoked by sympathy as "moral weeping," stating:

> Moral weeping is the sign of so noble a passion, that it may be questioned whether those are properly men, who never weep upon any occasion. They may pretend to be as heroical as they please, and pride themselves in a stoical sensibility, but this will never pass for virtue with the true judges of human nature. What can be more nobly human than to have a tender sentimental feeling of our own and other's [sic] misfortunes? This degree of sensibility every man ought to wish to have for his own sake, as it disposed him to, and renders him more capable of practising all the virtues that promote his own welfare and own happiness.[314]

A.B.'s essay precedes Smith's *Moral Sentiments* by only four years, yet Smith essentially rejects weeping as unmanly. He declares, "We are disgusted with that clamorous grief, which, without any delicacy, calls upon our compassion with sighs and tears and importunate lamentations. But we reverence that reserved, that silent and majestic sorrow, which discovers itself only in the swelling of the eyes, in the quivering of the lips and cheeks, and in the distant, but affecting, coldness of the

---

[312] John Owen, *Immoderate Mourning for the Dead* (London, 1680), 91.
[313] Vicesimus Knox, "On the Unmanliness of Shedding Tears," in *Winter Evenings: or, Lucubrations on Life and Letters*, Second Edition v. II (London: Printed for Charles Dilly, 1790), 179–82.
[314] A.B., *Man: A Paper*, 4.

whole behavior."[315] Smith's opinion coincides with the rational underpinnings of his sympathetic rhetoric, with its end goal of mitigating rather than exacerbating suffering through tempered emotions. A.B., on the other hand, considers weeping to be a healthy method for fostering sensibility in general. He believes that men who cry are also men who feel, and that through feeling, men are more receptive to living virtuous lives.

Catch Club mourning songs make frequent reference to tears. It appears that in frequently setting texts construed in a sentimental style, partsong composers would have been accepting of the accommodative views of A.B. and Knox. The songs almost always describe men's sorrow rather than women's, usually in first person narrative. Tears are often used to signify remembrance, a concept that relates to the fear voiced in Gray's "Elegy" of being forgotten. For example, in John Stafford Smith's prize-winning 1774 glee "Let Happy Lovers Fly," the deceased actually narrates the song, and concludes with the queries, "Wilt thou, Monimia, shed a gracious tear on the cold grave where all my sorrows rest? Wilt thou strew flow'rs, applaud my love sincere and bid the turf lie light upon my breast?"[316] Remembrance also offered a way for the living to acknowledge the dead with gratitude for what they had accomplished in life, particularly in songs recalling those who perished in battle. For example, George Berg's "Epitaph on General Wolfe" instructs:

> Beneath this stone, entomb'd with martial fame,
> Lies Wolfe the brave of ever glorious name.
> Oh! Passenger, Oh! Passenger, with awe approach this bust,
> Enrich'd and hallow'd with your heroe's dust;
> Recount his deeds, and pay the friendly tear,
> To virtue, truth, and honour rested here:
> Yea, let your gen'rous bosom melt with grief,
> To pay the last sad tribute to your chief;
> Nor let a Briton pass the hallow'd pile,
> But stop and weep the glory of his isle in triumph slain.[317]

Here, a specific military hero is remembered. Other songs commemorate other martial heroes, further demonstrating the extent to which mourning, national identity, and masculinity intersect.

Several songs make reference to a single tear, as in the above examples, "Wilt thou, Monimia, shed a gracious tear," and "Recount his deeds, and pay the friendly tear." The pattern likely derives from Gray's "Elegy," which was surely known to club members, since it is alluded to in several songs. In these instances, the single tear should not be literally interpreted as indicative of

---

315 Smith, *Theory* Part I, Section II Ch. IV, 42–43.
316 John Stafford Smith, "Let Happy Lovers Fly," Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 13 (1774), 1–9.
317 George Berg, "Epitaph on General Wolfe," Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 12 (1773), 1.

restrained mourning. Rather, the single tear functions as a trope arising out of Britain's commodified culture surrounding death. A single tear could symbolize a quantifiable, material tribute extended to the deceased as a token of remembrance. Hence Webbe refers to the single tear in his unpublished glee, "Tho' Mirth Our Object," dedicated "To the Memory of Sir W.W. Wynn Bart.," written upon the death of club member Sir Watkin Williams Wynn. This song was presented to the club in the year of Wynn's death (1789), and published the following year as sheet music with the addition of the word "Epicedium," meaning funeral ode, and it may very well have been performed at Wynn's funeral.[318]

Due to its subject matter, this glee functions as a commemorative mourning song. The song is divided into two sections, and begins by lamenting Wynn's death: "Tho' mirth our object can we yet forbear, to worth like his now gone one friendly tear; Attach'd to us yet not to us alone, on arts in ev'ry branch his bounty shone." The falling tear is illustrated by an appoggiatura sigh figure and half cadence, allowing the singers to indulge in their sorrow (Figure 3.10). The second section of the song functions as a communal benediction, with the text "Peace to this shade who while on earth was prov'd, the model of that harmony he lov'd. Peace, peace."[319] The 3/2 meter opens with imitative, alternating duets (soprano/tenor and alto/bass). Voices enter and exit until the final phrase, when all singers rise into a dramatic fermata on the first iteration of the word "harmony," before concluding with a homorhythmic authentic cadence. The text for the two drawn-out

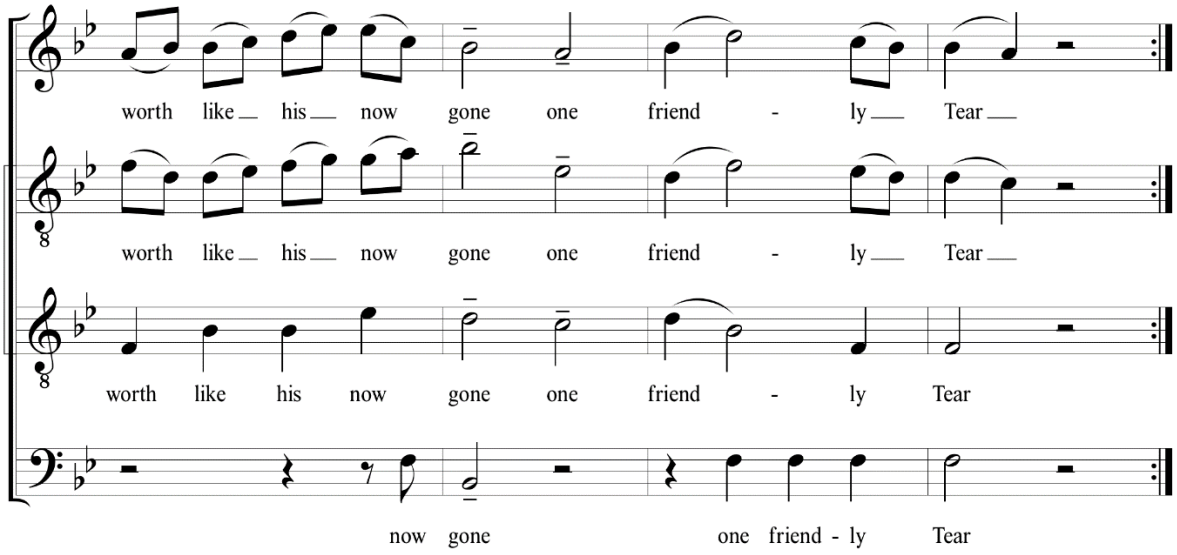


Figure 3.10: Samuel Webbe, "Tho' Mirth Our Object" (1789), end of first section

[318] "Epicedium: To the Memory of the Late Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart." (London: J. Bland, 1790).
[319] Samuel Webbe, "Tho' Mirth Our Object" (1789), British Library Music Collections H.2788.ee, 137.

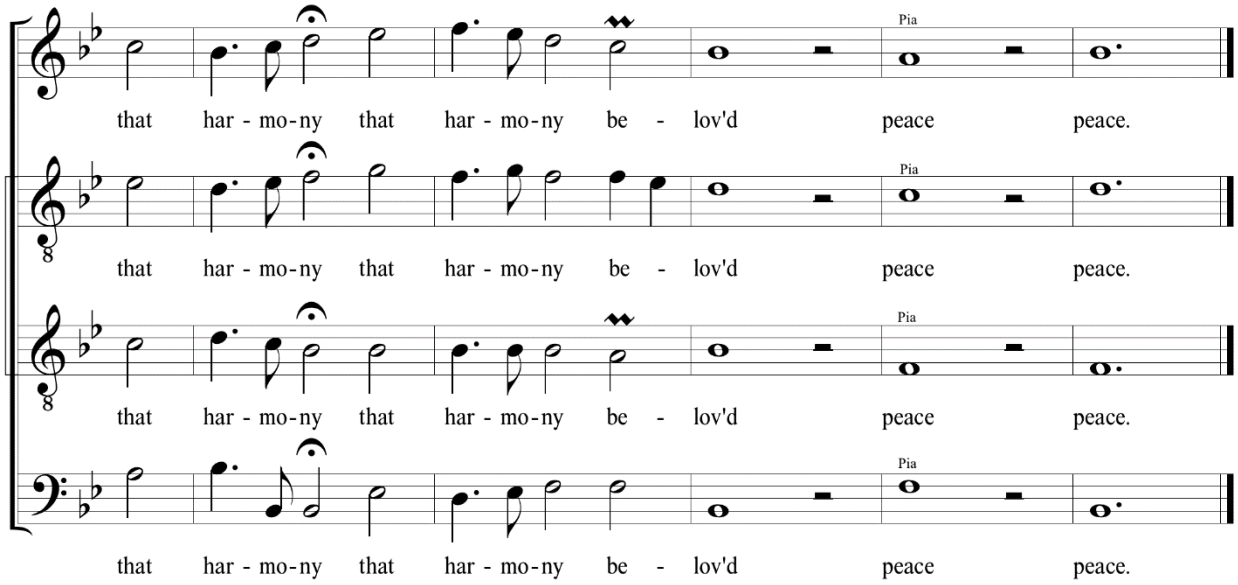


Figure 3.11: Webbe, "Tho' Mirth Our Object," conclusion

cadential chords is "Peace, peace," with the indication to sing quietly. This final, drawn-out cadence emphasizes the depth of the sentiment "peace." (Figure 3.11).

Commemoration

Commemorative songs were composed to mourn, memorialize and glorify historical figures such as British kings, queens, poets and composers, as well as specific club members who had passed. The tone of these songs differs from that of prototypical seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century commemorative odes, which tend to be less personal, with a stronger focus on the "didactic efficacy of idealized moral exempla."[320] Georgian era commemorative songs frequently paid homage to musicians, and occasionally to poets, personages from antiquity, and well-known political figures. Figure 3.12 lists commemorative songs (mostly glees) originally produced for the auspices of the club (Manuscripts refers to the twenty club music manuscript volumes copied primarily by Warren, and "Publications" refers to Warren's *Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees*).

Of the songs listed above, several feature texts originating as lapidary inscriptions on their dedicatees' monuments.[321] The composer of "Applaud So Great a Guest" is a woman, Mary Hudson (d. 1801), who set the English translation of Purcell's Latin epitaph to music. As the daughter of

[320] Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, 315.
[321] "Applaud So Great a Guest," "Go Happy Soul," "Concord is Conquered," "Interred Here Doth Lye," "In Yonder Grave," "The Body of Great Elizabeth Lies Here."

Category	Song Title	Composer
Musicians		
	"Genius of Harmony": Elegy on the Late Earl of Eglinton	Dr. Boyce
	"Applaud So Great a Guest:" On the Gravestone of Hen.y Purcel in Westminster Abbey	Mary Hudson
	"Go Happy Soul:" On the Grave of W.M. Child, Mus.D. in St. Georges Chapel Windsor	Robert Hudson
	"Sweet Muse Who Lov'st the Virgin Spring:" in remembrance of Handel	R.J.S. Stevens
	"Concord is Conquered:" Epitaph on William Lawes A Musician, who was Killed at the Siege of Westchester	Robert Cooke
	"Interred Here Doth Lye:" On the Tombstone of Thomas Tallis at Greenwich who died on Nov. 23 1585	Benjamin Cooke
	"To a Friend So Sincere:" Epitaph on a Late Member of the Club	Robert Cooke
Poets		
	"In Yonder Grave:" On the Death of Mr. Thompson (Author of The Seasons)	Dr. Arnold
	"Come Shepherds We'll Follow the Hearse:" Elegy on the Death of Mr. Shenstone	Thomas Arne
Antiquity		
	"Soft Tread Ye Beauteous Nymphs:" in remembrance of Corydon	J.S. Smith
Political		
	"The Body of Great Elizabeth Lies Here:" The Monument of Queen Elizabeth	James Hook

Figure 3.12: Commemorative songs composed for the Catch Club

tenor Robert Hudson, she submitted her song to the club's competition in 1771, and initially won. Yet once it was revealed that a thirteen-year-old had composed "Applaud So Great a Guest" with assistance from her father, who had also been employed to sing the competition entries that year (including an entry of his own), her prize was revoked and reassigned to the runner-up, Benjamin Cooke.[322] Singers at the club trials were forbidden from entering the competition. In the club manuscript, no composer is given, most likely due to her gender. However, the piece was published in Warren's *Collection*, where Mary was credited. The text reads:

> Applaud so great a guest, celestial pow'rs,
> Who now resides with you, but once was ours:—
> Yet let insidious earth no more reclaim
> Her short-liv'd fav'rite and her chiefest fame,
> Complaining that so prematurely dy'd
> Good nature's pleasure and devotion's pride.
> Dy'd? No! He lives while yonder organs sound,
> And sacred echoes to the choir rebound.[323]

The tempo marking is "Pomposo Adagio," indicating that the singing be slow and measured. A dramatic crescendo arrives at a fermata on the word pride, then pushes through to a fortissimo exclamation of the word "Dy'd," rendered more poignant by the palette of five voices (Figure 3.13).

[322] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.rr, 275. Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing*, 58.
[323] The original Latin begins "Plaudite, filias suplir tanto hospite…" Mary Hudson, "Applaud So Great a Guest" (1771), British Library Music Collections H.2788.s, 136; Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 10 (1771), 1.

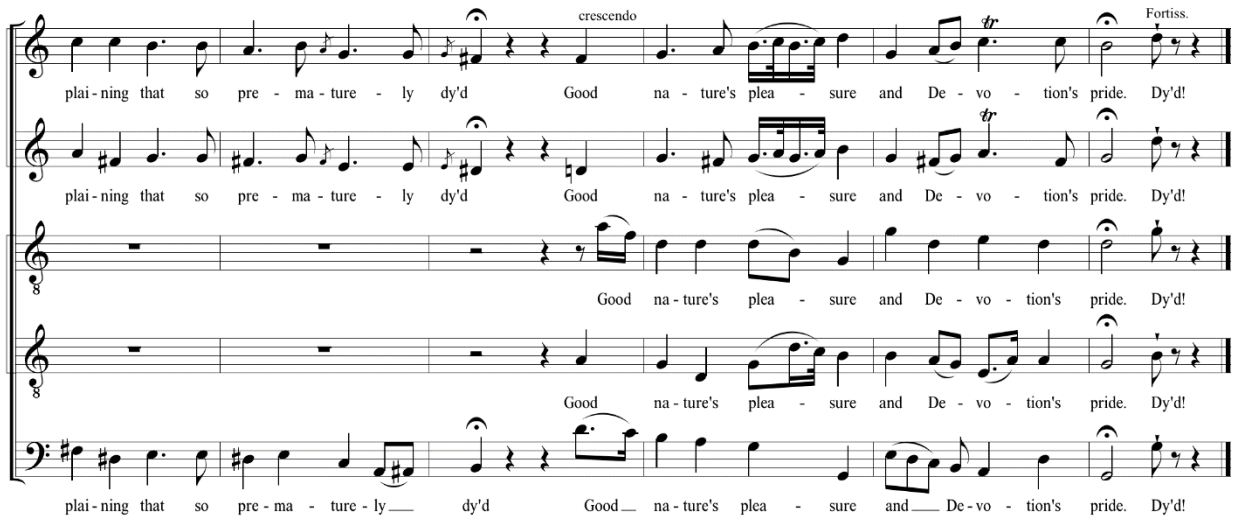


Figure 3.13: Mary Hudson, "Applaud So Great a Guest" (1771), accent on "dy'd"

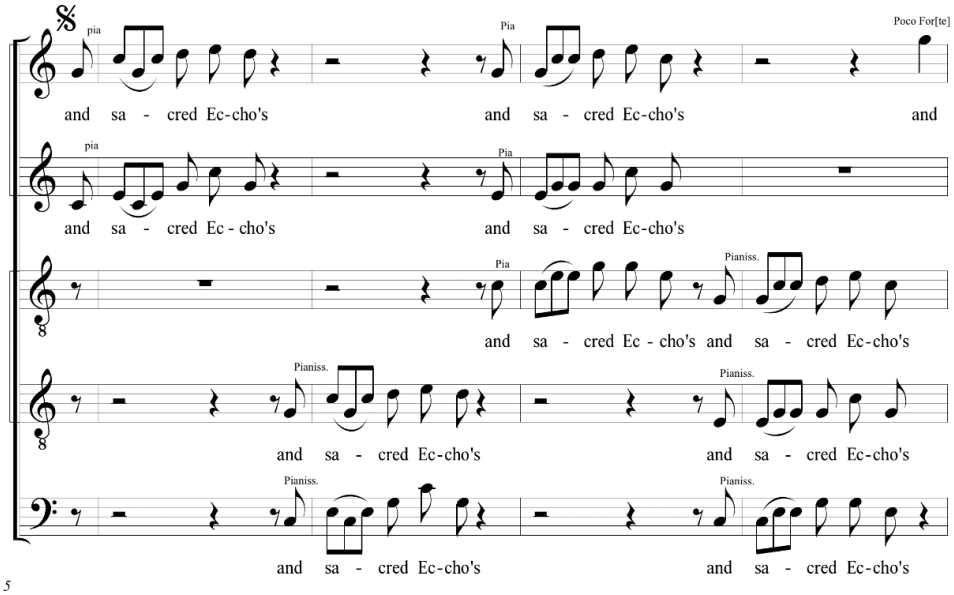


Figure 3.14: Hudson, "Applaud So Great a Guest," setting of "and sacred Eccho's"

The text "And sacred echoes" is scored as a "horn fifths" fanfare, with upper and lower voices in alternation, and Hudson's song ends triumphantly upon its return to a fortissimo dynamic (Figure 3.14). "Applaud So Great a Guest" is written in a Purcellian style, through its inclusion of written-out *notes inégales* (dotted quarter, eighth rhythms), diverse vocal scoring, and intervallic content. By invoking the compositional style of the musician being remembered, the composer (and performers) pay homage to the song's honoree in a personalized manner.

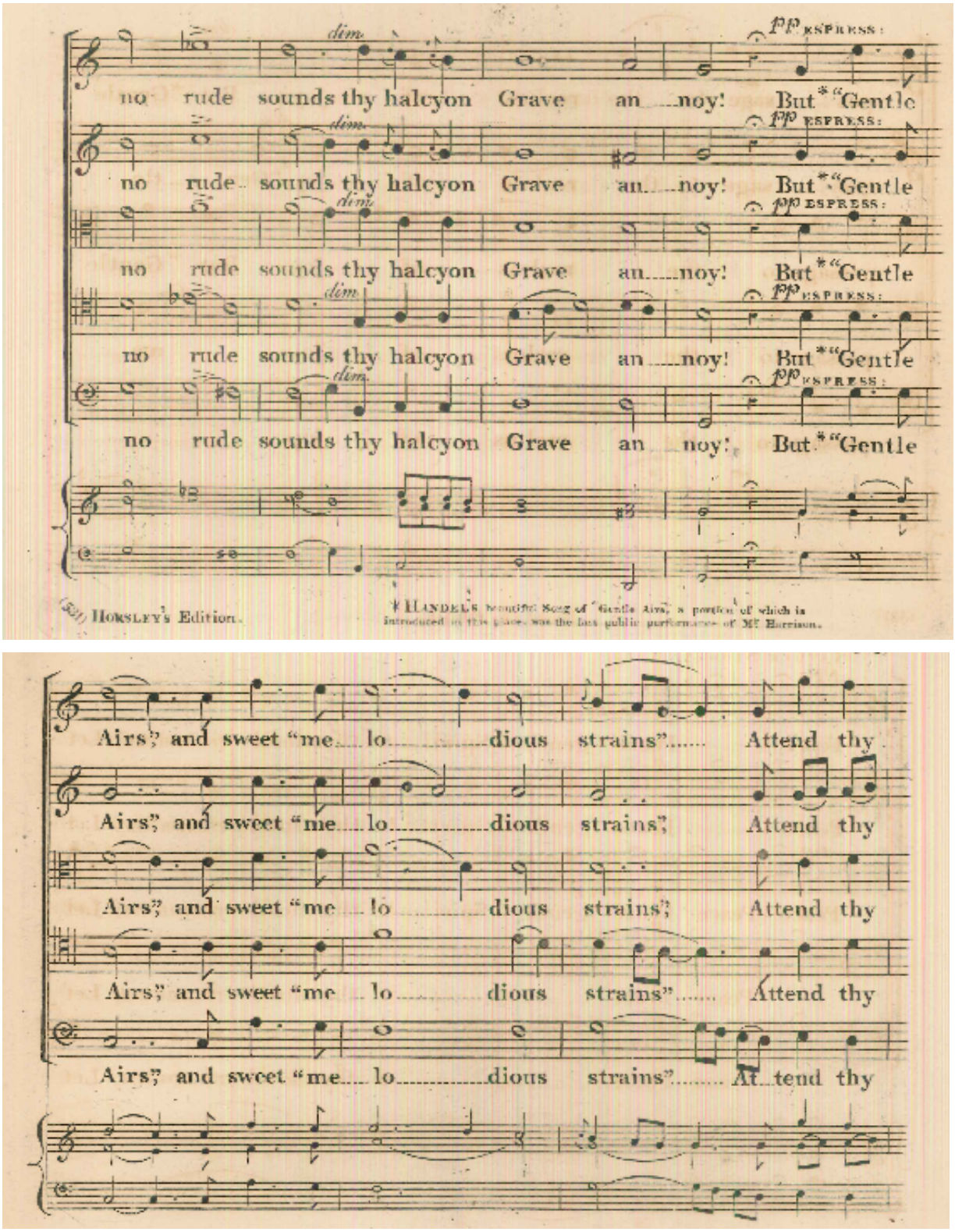


Figure 3.15: William Horsley, "The Breathing Organ Swells the Sound of Woe" (1812)

Personalized commemorative glees continued to be popular into the nineteenth century, as in William Horsley's "The Breathing Organ Swells the Sound of Woe," composed to honor the organist Samuel Harrison. Both Horsley and Harrison were Catch Club members. On May 8th 1812, Harrison sang Handel's song "Gentle Airs" at his own benefit concert, and unexpectedly died the following month. Mindful of this, Horsley quotes the main melody of "Gentle Airs" in the final pianissimo section of the glee (marked "expressive"), where it is designated by an asterisk (Figure 3.15).[324] The glee's text is also epitaphic—the Reverend Thomas Beaumont penned an elegiac ode in Harrison's memory, an excerpt of which appears on Harrison's tombstone and functions as the lyrics for "The Breathing Organ." A few years after Harrison died, club secretary Webbe Sr. died. In 1818 an appointed club committee advertised for club members to provide lyrics to be used as the basis for several musical settings to commemorate the renowned glee composer. William Linley's words (beginning with "Chant we the Requiem") were selected, and were subsequently set to music by six composers.[325]

In addition to memorializing specific people, more versatile commemorative songs appearing in Figure 3.12 were written to honor any deceased club member, the most popular being Robert Cooke's "To a Friend So Sincere, Epitaph on a Late Member of the Club" and Arne's "Come Shepherds We'll Follow the Hearse," which was originally composed as an "Elegy on the Death of Mr. Shenstone" but soon became ritualized as a song sung upon the death of any club member. Cooke's tri-partite glee could be described as an opening section expressing grief, followed by a middle section glorifying the deceased and a closing benediction:

> <u>A: Moderately quick "Grief"</u>
> To a friend so sincere to a comrade so gay
> Who brought care on himself to drive our cares away
> Who lov'd still to laugh yet ne'er wish'd to offend
> & a friend to mankind found mankind not a friend
> To a spirit so rare let us ever be just
> nor forget him poor fellow tho' laid in the dust
>
> <u>B: Allegro "Glorification"</u>
> Then haste with your myrtles to hang on his shrine
> With odours enrich it bedew it with wine

[324] William Horsley, "The Breathing Organ Swells the Sound of Woe: Elegiac Ode for Five Voices" (London: Printed & sold by Rt. Birchall ..., ca. 1812).
[325] Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing*, 59. *A Requiem to the Memory of the Late Mr. S. Webbe. The Words by Mr. Linley [Beginning: "Chant We The Requiem"] And Set to Music Severally by Lord Burghersh, Messrs. Linley, W. Knyvett, Hawes, Elliott, Beale & Evans* (London, ca. 1820).

C: Rather slow "Benediction"
Ne'er cease on his turf early roses to bloom
And green be the laurel that waves o'er his tomb[326]

British poet, Russell Thomas, wrote the somewhat generic text (titled "Epitaph"). It is unclear if Cooke composed his glee with a particular club member in mind, as most commemorative club songs do specify names. Another generic remembrance song written for club members, though not included in the Catch Club manuscripts or *Collection* is Benjamin Cooke's "Blessed are the Dead Who Die in the Lord: A Dirge for Departed Members Sent to the Catch Club for the Year 1793." Not much is known concerning the origins of this tripartite ATTB glee, with text from Revelations. It was likely submitted to the 1793 club competition. The first section is indicated Largo, while the second section shifts to 3/2 meter with the text "Their bodies are buried in peace," and an indication to sing "slow and soft." The third section returns to cut time with extended, overlapping melismatic phrases underlying the word "Amen," producing the effect of a full celestial choir (Figure 3.16).

More information is known concerning Arne's "Come Shepherds," a piece that continues to hold special significance for Catch Club members. "Come Shepherds" is based on the first and third stanzas of Irish poet John Cunningham's poem "Corydon, a Pastoral," written to memorialize British poet William Shenstone following his death in 1763.[327] Cunningham was influenced by the graveyard school, poets whose texts factor heavily in club repertoire. Three years after his poem was

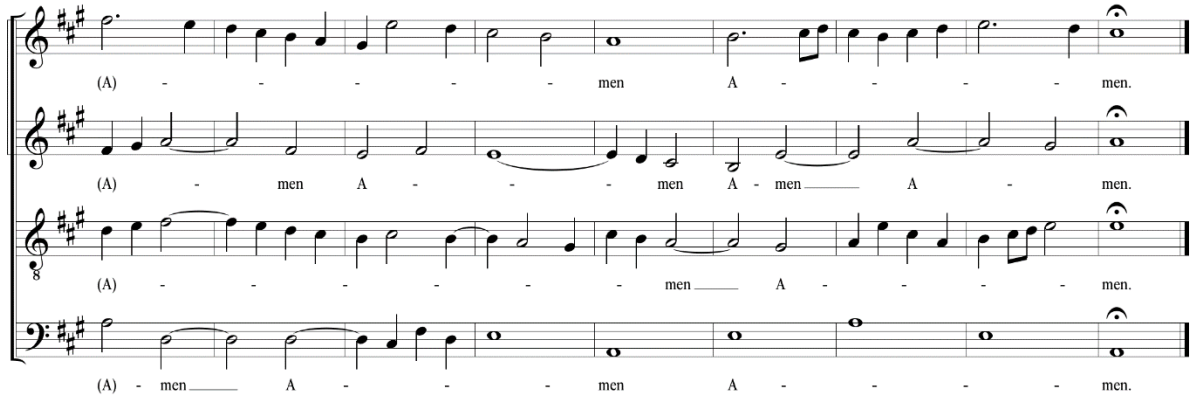


Figure 3.16: Benjamin Cooke's "Blessed are the Dead Who Die in the Lord (1793), conclusion

[326] Robert Cooke, "To a Friend So Sincere," Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 32 (1793), 34.
[327] "Corydon: A Pastoral. To the Memory of William Shenstone, Esq.," in *Poems, Chiefly Pastoral* (Dublin: Printed for Peter Wilson, in Dame-Street, and Boulter Grierson, in Parliament-Street, 1766), 24–25.

published, Arne entered his song in the club's 1769 competition. Though not selected as a winning entry, Warren included it in the eighth *Collection* volume. The song is pitched for male vocal ranges (ATTB). Unlike other commemorative club songs, "Come Shepherds" inaugurated a particular performance ritual that club members have participated in since the 1760s. At least by the later nineteenth century, this ritual was apparently known and practiced by other vocal societies, as described in the lyrics book for the City Glee Club: "The above Glee is usually sung at the Glee and Catch Clubs on the first meeting after the decease of a Member."[328] In 1964, club member Guy Boas affirmed that "Come Shepherds" "is still sung at the first meeting after the death of any Member of the Club."[329] Later, in 1996, club member Harald Christopherson recalled that "Come Shepherds" was sung by honorary (professional musician) members at secretary Victor Marster's funeral at St. Paul's Cathedral in 1988. Christopherson echoes Boas in describing "Come Shepherds" as "the Dirge which is traditionally sung on the death of a Member of the Club."[330] In the Catch Club's most recent publication of their own history, current member James Wilkinson affirms that the performance ritual continues today.[331] Furthermore, current club secretary Rodney Williams informed me that "Come Shepherds" is never sung at the club's annual Ladies Night meeting. Williams underscored its solemnity, stating that the current performance tradition at club meetings requires all members to stand while it is sung by a trio of honorary members.[332]

As one of eleven singers to be appointed as the club's first privileged members in 1763, it is fitting that Arne composed a song of such significance.[333] Furthermore, Arne had composed another song (entered in the club's 1768 competition) that constituted another club performance ritual—"To Our Member Elect," which is accompanied by the direction, "May be sung at the election of a new member." The first stanza states,

> To our member elect
> we a carol direct
> that glows with the warmth of each heart.

---

328 City Glee Club*, Book of the Words of Glees, Madrigals, Part Songs, Rounds, Catches ... [for 1853]* ([London], [The Club], 1880), 182.
329 Guy Boas, "A Bicentenary Review" (1964), in Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays Toward its History* (London: Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club at the Cypher Press, 1996), 79.
330 Christopherson, "A Post-War Review" (1996), in Gladstone, Boas, Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club*, 105. "Come Shepherds" is printed with the subtitle "The Dirge" in William Horsley, ed. *Vocal Harmony, A Collection of Glees & Madrigals, Compiled from the Most Celebrated English Authors, with a Variety of New Pieces, Written Expressly for this Work. The 2d ed. Carefully Rev., with Considerable Alterations and Additions* (London, Printed & published by Collard & Collard, ca. 1832).
331 Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing*, 64.
332 Rodney Williams, phone conversation with author, June 20 2014.
333 Wilkinson, *To Drink*, *To Sing*, 63.

Many years may he live
The gay joys to receive,
Which music and claret impart.[334]

"Come Shepherds" is set in a binary form, with the first section in duple meter and the second in triple, a schema that has been acknowledged above in "Hail, Hallow'd Fane" and "Tho' Mirth Our Object." The duple/triple relationship is common to most mourning songs. I propose that this metrical structure corresponds to a predictable shift in tone, in which the first section's text functions as a solemn eulogy and inward profession of grief, while text comprising the second section turns outward, representing communal glorification and benediction of the deceased. This narrative is often reinforced by a tonal shift from minor to major. The text divides into two contrasting sections accordingly:

Common Time, E Minor	***3/2 Meter, E Major***
Come shepherds we'll follow the hearse, We'll see our lov'd Corydon laid; Tho' sorrow may blemish the verse, Yet let the soft tribute be paid.	No verdure shall cover the vale, No bloom on the blossoms appear; The sweets of the forest shall fail, And winter discolour the year. [Repeat]
They call'd him the pride of the plain, In sooth he was gentle and kind; He mark'd in his elegant strain, The graces that glow'd in his mind.	No birds in our hedges shall sing, Our hedges so vocal before; Since he that shoud welcome the spring, Can hail the gay season no more. [Repeat][335]

The entire song is appropriately set in a grave tempo. In the first stanza, the text "Yet let the soft tribute be paid" relates to Smith's use of economic language to characterize sympathetic exchange, and is repeated. In the second stanza, "The graces that glow'd in his mind" is of course set to grace notes in the upper two voices (Figure 3.17). Dynamics alternate between forte and piano throughout, as if the funeral procession were moving in and out of earshot, ultimately receding into the distance with the final pianissimo reiteration (Figure 3.18).

The opening line of "Come Shepherds" references a familiar scene, that of a funeral procession. Cunningham casts Shenstone as the shepherd Corydon (of Virgil's *Eclogues*), likely in relation to Shenstone's *A Pastoral Ballad in Four Parts.* [336] This characterization would have resonated with all-male clubs, due to Virgil's account of the close friendship shared by Corydon and his male

[334] Thomas Arne, "To Our Member Elect" (1768), British Library Music Collections H.2788.r, 30.
[335] Thomas Arne, "Come Shepherds" (1769), British Library Music Collections H.2788.r, 176; Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 8 (1769), 20.
[336] Virgil, "Eclogue II," in *Eclogues.* William Shenstone, *A Pastoral Ballad in Four Parts* (1743), in Robert Dodsley, ed., *A Collection of Poems in Four Volumes. By Several Hands.* Vol. IV (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1755).

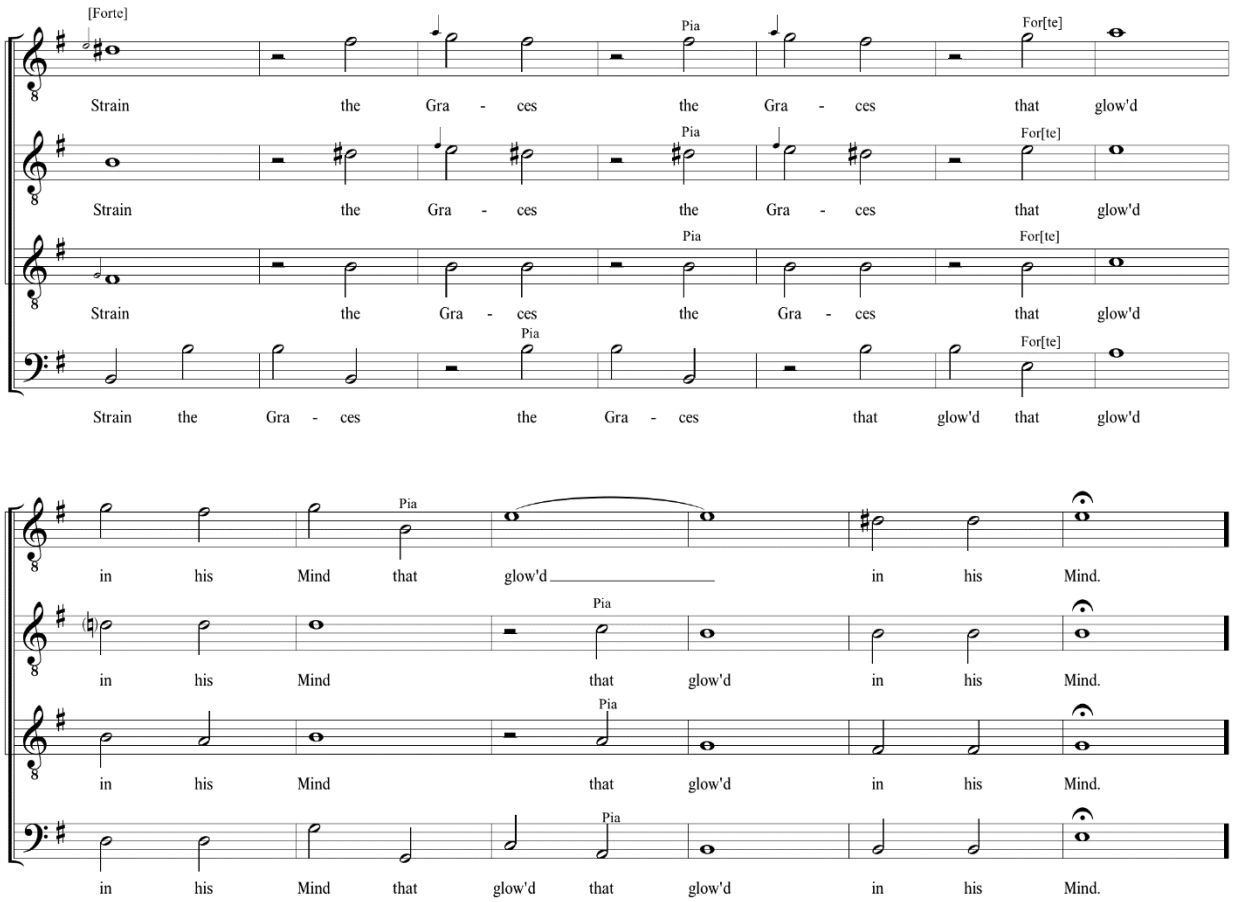


Figure 3.17: Thomas Arne, "Come Shepherds, Let's Follow the Hearse" (1769), second stanza

friend Alexis. It is difficult to determine exactly how the expression of such a friendship might have been interpreted by club members. On one level, the story's potential allusion to a homoerotic relationship was well established, with Corydon and Alexis's friendship resembling that of David and Jonathan as discussed in the Book of Samuel. Yet Alexis is not named in "Come Shepherds," hence no explicit homoerotic reference exists. Songs composed and sung by club members were rarely homoerotic, and little to no information exists concerning the ways in which club members expressed their sexuality. Several aristocratic members were known to have mistresses, and it is not known if club members graced the Molly houses with their presence. During the eighteenth-century, homosexuality was sometimes explained according to the rationale that male friendship was of a higher priority than heterosexual love, because men had always viewed other men (rather than women) as their intellectual equals. In Linda Austern's words, "Platonic and Aristotelian thought had long privileged maleness and the intellect above femaleness and physicality of gestation and

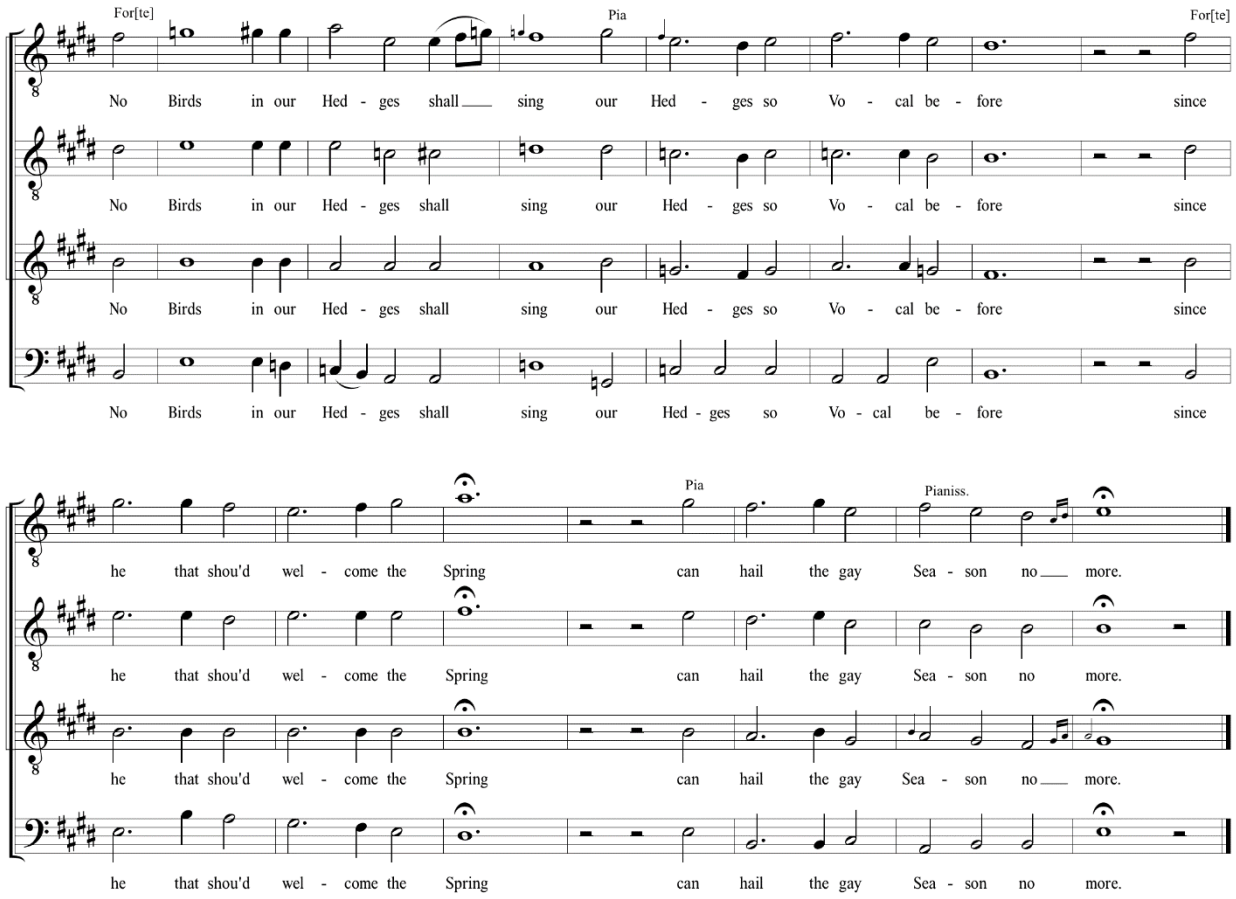


Figure 3.18: Arne, "Come Shepherds," conclusion

childbirth."[337] Indeed, in Plato's *Symposium* Diotima acknowledges this distinction in creative desires, explaining that for some (men), "creative desire is of the soul." She claims that such creators beget spiritually rather than physically, and their progeny is wisdom and virtue.[338]

Austern's description of manly creativity as it was exhibited through seventeenth-century catches also applies to eighteenth-century music clubs, particularly members' mutual interest in classical philosophy.[339] Eighteenth-century writers often evaded the topic of homoerotic attraction, preferring instead to frame it in terms of a soulful element inherent in male friendship. For example, eighteenth-century theologian Patrick Delany acknowledges the "silence of the Scriptures" regarding

[337] Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard, eds., *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 283.
[338] Plato, "208e–209a," *The Symposium*, trans. Walter Hamilton, Penguin Classics 24 (London: Penguin Classics, 1951), 90.
[339] See also Ellen Harris, *Handel as Orpheus: Voice and Desire in the Chamber Cantatas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

the moment when Jonathan meets David (when Jonathan presents the head of Goliath to Saul). Delany writes:

> There is an inexpressible dignity in the silence of the Scriptures on this and such-like occasions. Minute description would bring these two men to the level of common history; and, on occasions so very extraordinary, would, with all the strictness of truth, debase them even to an air of romance; whereas, in the present management, the writer's end is fully answered, by a short account of the effects of this conversation upon the part of a pious, an intelligent, and heroic youth…The friendship of *David* and *Jonathan*, so suddenly conceived, and so strongly cemented from that moment, is matter of just admiration with all thinking men, and seems to have something in it far transcending the ordinary course of human affections; or, to speak more plainly, seems to have been very peculiarly appointed and raised by Providence, for the preservation of *David*.*

The asterisk pertains to a footnote which states:

> This friendship is thus set forth in the sacred text: *The Soul of Jonathan was knit with the Soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own Soul.* And again: *Jonathan and David made* (or, as it is in the Hebrew, cut) *a covenant, because he loved him as his own Soul.*[340]

Delany attempts to refute a homoerotic interpretation by appealing to a providentially ordained friendship that "transcended the ordinary course of human affections."

Within the club's music manuscript, "Come Shepherds" is succeeded a few pages later by Luffman Atterbury's "While Corydon his Sylvia Lov'd," a song that describes Corydon's attraction to the shepherdess Sylvia.[341] Thus, club members may have been aware of the shepherd's pursuit of both sexes. Corydon's significance is further emphasized in John Stafford Smith's round, "Soft Tread Ye Beauteous Nymphs," which is actually a commemoration of Corydon.[342] The text, apparently conceived by the composer, states: "Soft tread ye beauteous nymphs, this hallow'd ground, and gently scatter all your flow'rets round/Here sleeps young Corydon beneath this mould, whose thoughts were virtuous and his actions bold/Esteem'd by shepherds and by you approv'd, he died lamented as he liv'd belov'd." This song describes the approval of both shepherds and nymphs for the "virtuous and bold." The reference to Corydon in "Come Shepherds" supports the value club members invested in their homosocial friendships, a value that is reiterated through multiple

---

[340] Patrick Delany, *An Historical Account of the Life and Reign of David, King of Israel* (London: Printed for J. Osborn, 1740–42), 46–48.
[341] Luffman Atterbury, "While Corydon his Sylvia Lov'd" (1769), British Library Music Collections H.2788.r, 191–93.
[342] John Stafford Smith, "Soft Tread Ye Beauteous Nymphs," Warren, ed., *Collection* v. 22 (1783), 22.

references to friendship and harmony throughout their oeuvre. The repetition of the song for every deceased member, spanning multiple generations, unites club members past and present in an uninterrupted communal bond.

Conclusion

Catch Club mourning songs provide insight into expressions of grief deemed culturally appropriate for eighteenth-century men, and offer some indication of club members' experience of male friendship. The themes of contemplation of death, weeping, and commemoration each resonate with Smith's sympathetic approach to mourning. As sympathy was experienced through a reciprocation of emotions, it was in essence a social act. In this context, members of homosocial music societies such as the Catch Club applied the concept of sympathetic exchange to mourning songs. Through singing, club members gave voice to mutual feelings of grief, and were able to express gratitude for the friendships and talented musicians they had lost over the years. Mourning songs also provided club members with a means of accepting the inevitability of death. In sharing their thoughts and emotions concerning death, members discovered a means for participating in the rich dialogue of textual mourning. The dialogue was replete with a sense of national identity, involving the integration of gravestone epitaphs, epigrams, poetry, and partsong. This was a public mourning practice facilitated by print networks, which enabled Schor to characterize eighteenth-century British mourning practices as more masculine than feminine, a status she claims was maintained until the Victorian period, when the culture of mourning became "re-feminized and domesticated" within the privacy of the home.[343]

The singing of harmonized mourning songs also metaphorically united club members in friendship and social harmony. Smith writes:

> Society and conversation, therefore, are the most powerful remedies for restoring the mind to its tranquility, if, at any time, it has unfortunately lost it; as well as the best preservatives of that equal and happy temper, which is so necessary to self-satisfaction and enjoyment. Men of retirement and speculation, who are apt to sit brooding at home over either grief or resentment, though they may often have more humanity, more generosity, and a nicer sense of honour, yet seldom possess that equality of temper which is so common among men of the world.[344]

[343] Schor, *Bearing the Dead*, 19.
[344] Smith, *Theory* Part I, Section II Ch. III, 40.

In light of the above sentiment, singing clubs functioned as sympathetically motivated communities of singers, offering guidance in appropriate expressions of grief and morality. Although all-male vocal societies convened privately, they commanded a prominent position within English associational culture. The Catch Club's prestigious competition and numerous partsong publications were well-known, granting their activities and repertoire public provenance. The club's reputation for endorsing the glee as an English national genre lent it an authoritative voice in musical taste, and with it, social influence. Indeed, these men were not "brooding at home over grief and resentment." No, they were laughing, drinking, singing, and mourning together, and all the while creating social harmony.

Chapter 4: Women as Patrons, Consumers, and Performers of Partsong

> Gender, the behavioral and cultural attributes of masculinity and femininity, collapsed into sex, that is, into the physicality inscribed on the body of every individual.[345]

This chapter considers how a dramatic shift in English eighteenth-century gender paradigms influenced a reconfiguring of the glee repertoire to accommodate female performers and audiences. The catch had fallen out of favor by the 1770s due to its association with ribald texts, and the sacred subject matter of canons meant that they were typically sung during church services or as after-dinner graces rather than for entertainment. The glee, however, achieved the height of its popularity during the second half of the eighteenth century. I argue that the transformation the glee underwent redefined it as an amateur rather than professional genre, which ultimately led to its decline within the English vocal canon. Focusing on patronage, publishing methods, and other means by which glees were marketed to a broader public outside of the all-male club, I show how adjustments in compositional style and performance practices of glees were both welcomed and critiqued. The changes often translated to increased profitability within a burgeoning print market already saturated with more traditional glees scored for male voices. At the same time, professional musicians criticized what they perceived to be a sacrifice in the skill required to both compose and perform glees.

I consider how in marketing the glee to women, the wide variety of song topics previously associated with men gave way to more standardized subjects often concerning love or the pastoral. Evidence of changes in glee performance contexts lies in the addition of piano accompaniment to what was once an *a capella* genre, a noticeable increase in periodical publications containing vocal music, as well as the number of such periodicals aimed at women. Concert series such as the Ladies Concerts occurred within the home, upholding historian Dror Wahrman's assertion concerning the collapse of gender into sex. As the glee became resituated within the domestic sphere, an area governed by women, fundamental changes in the repertoire reflect broader changes in gender identity occurring during the 1780s and 90s, through which distinctions in masculine and feminine behaviors became much more rigidly defined.

This chapter begins with a discussion concerning how changes in patronage were influenced by London's capitalist, entrepreneurial society, demonstrating how patronage became deeply

---

[345] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 44.

integrated with the production of published music. In utilizing various methods of publication, professional musicians repeatedly referenced the esteemed name of the Catch Club in their title pages and dedications as a means of professional endorsement. From patronage I turn to performance, focusing on the gender conservatism of so-called "Ladies Nights" hosted by all-male clubs, in which female guests were either physically segregated from the men or were primarily passive audience members. These private concerts, followed by the establishment of their public counterparts, are framed according to Wahrman's analysis of eighteenth-century developments in English conceptions of identity and its implications for gender norms. The chapter closes with an analysis of glee publications intended for women, and a comparison of the "Ladies Nights" mentality with that of two public concert series: the Ladies Concerts and the Vocal Concerts. Through changes in venue and performance practices, these events ultimately refashioned the glee into an amateur, domestic genre at the advent of the Victorian period.

Patronage in a Capitalist Context

The glee's transformation into a public, mixed-ensemble genre was enabled by society's effusive support for concert life in London. Following the Restoration, the public concert flourished in London, drawing performers from the European continent and contributing to the city's reputation as a cosmopolitan center. Permits were generally not required for public concerts in Britain, as opposed to monopolistic controls by court or municipal theatre in other European locales.[346] Professional musicians working in London were more likely than those on the continent to engage in fee-for-service relationships with wealthy families, which ultimately supported an environment saturated with entrepreneurial ventures.[347] The variety of opportunities for economic gain attracted foreign and native musicians alike. By 1750, the upper classes in London, particularly gentlemen amateur musicians, acted as leading arbiters of cosmopolitan taste in music.[348] A culture of consumption developed in London due to its extreme concentration of elites and the resulting competition among musicians for patron endorsements.[349] Wealthy women contributed to this elite patronage sector through subscribing to publications and concert series, and through hosting salon-style concerts within their homes. As musicians turned more and more to diverse methods to make a

[346] William Weber, "The *Beau Monde* in London, 1700–1870," in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 77.
[347] Ibid., 76.
[348] William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 20.
[349] Weber, "The *Beau Monde,*" 75.

living such as concertizing and publishing and a growing middle class began to wield an influence on concert programming and taste, the upper-classes responded by periodically adapting, not through progressive actions, but rather through new approaches to patronage that enabled preservation of their musical tastes and customs. McVeigh summarizes, "while early modern English musical culture laid down structures we should consider modern, it was not undergoing a process of modernization."[350] Developments in London musical life can mostly be attributed to its less centralized forms of institutionalization (apart from the small group of nobles who controlled opera in England) in comparison to other European cities.

Within this flourishing, versatile economic environment, the traditional Renaissance and Baroque patronage model, in which an aristocrat employed a musician who then produced music dedicated to and intended to be enjoyed particularly by that patron, was uncommon. Rather, composers often relied on patronage secured through a variety of means, such as employment (as composers, performers, or teachers), commissions, and subscriptions for concerts and publications. For example, Handel composed music for George I and other British patrons, receiving a yearly stipend from the royal family, yet also profited from audience subscriptions to the three commercial opera companies he owned in London. In addition to his affiliation with the Esterhazys, albeit late in his career, Haydn fulfilled several English commissions, including the Oxford symphonies, London symphonies, and *The Creation*. Johann Christian Bach settled in London following successful English premieres of his operas, and also found employment as Queen Charlotte's music master. The famous Bach-Abel concerts were sponsored by a female patron, Teresa Cornelys. The successful eighteenth-century musician possessed an entrepreneurial flair, and was expected to piece together a living primarily through one's own initiative. This was especially true in cosmopolitan London, where a thriving music scene provided musicians with ample opportunities for advancement, but lacked the steady employment of earlier patronage.

Some patrons and musicians certainly longed for the days when noble patronage was the norm. Yet this new, entrepreneurial paradigm was perceived as more enlightened, casting the old relationship between patron and author as, in historian John Brewer's words, "a form of…prostitution."[351] The eighteenth century witnessed a shift in the balance of power between patron and composer, in favor of the latter. The composer no longer required exclusive employment

[350] Ibid., 89.
[351] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997), 162.

by a single patron. Rather, he or she cultivated financial support and social prestige through conversation with other potential purchasers. In other words, patrons became promoters and consumers of works, as opposed to commissioners. This role change is especially reflected by the growing popularity of subscriptions, in which publications would be supported by several patrons who provided down-payments and assurances of purchase before printing, thus covering its production costs. The subscription approach was often most successful when employed by native composers, since they would likely have already attracted a local following and would have needed to collect the subscription money up front before publication could ensue. (As we will see, many English glee composers employed this model, unlike the German-born composers of the previous paragraph.)[352] Composer, patron, and those involved in the publication and distribution each benefited from subscriptions. The subscription list was often included within its publication, listing names and number of copies purchased, thus broadcasting each supporter's taste as an arts patron. Music publishers often subscribed to multiple copies, to sell in their own shops. In this manner, subscribers of glee anthologies publicly registered their support of the genre, as well as their general support of native English music. There was reduced financial risk for publishers since the initial costs were already accounted for, and booksellers often increased publisher profits through using the subscription list as a marketing tool.

Either separate from or together with subscriptions, music books frequently contained "inscriptions," the then-popular wording for dedications. Such dedications might be verbose and sycophantic, as in dedications of earlier times, or they could be matter-of-fact, simply designating the dedicatee. Unless the wording explicitly references remuneration, it is difficult to determine if the dedicatee proffered financial support. Composers and editors often included the phrase "with his/her permission" in their inscriptions as a means of declaring the dedicatee's support, thus drawing on the dedicatee's musical authority and/or social reputation. In demonstrating that their music had gained elite approval, composers aimed to boost sales in the same manner as a formal subscription.

Subscription represents one of three common routes to publishing in eighteenth-century London, the other two being private and third-party printing.[353] Before publication processes were streamlined during the nineteenth century, the terms "printer," "publisher," and "bookseller" were

[352] Of course, Johann Peter Salomon assumed the role of entrepreneur for Haydn's English sojourn, and as such represents an exception to the native composer as initiator of subscriptions.
[353] Jennifer Burchell, "'The First Talents of Europe': British Music Printers and Publishers and Imported Instrumental Music in the Eighteenth Century," in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 94.

often used somewhat interchangeably, though each represented distinct roles.[354] The printer obviously did the actual printing of the book. A publisher might or might not double as a printer. If not, the publisher paid a printer to produce the book. Publishers often doubled as booksellers, but there were also individuals who made a living simply by selling books. The myriad methods of publishing are reflected in the frequent presence of lengthy publication information on title pages.

Private printing was most common among foreign musicians, performers, and composers who were not yet fully established, and was undertaken solely at the author's risk and expense. Fewer books could be printed at less cost, as a method of cautiously testing the market before printing in greater quantities. Privately printed books were then sold at the author's home and/or the printer's shop. If the private publication proved successful, however, the composer could then sell the engraved plates to a publisher for additional printings at the publisher's expense, and possibly procure that publisher's support for future publications.[355] Once established, authors often benefitted from third party printing, meaning that their works were produced at the editor or publisher's expense (indicated by books that were "printed for the author"). Once a publisher had reason to believe that a composer's music would sell, they were willing to publish on that composer's behalf as a third party. Third party printing could be combined with a subscription to alleviate production costs. Whether utilizing subscription, private or third-party publication, however, within this newer patronage model, the impetus for publication lay with the composer rather than the patron.

Many English composers employed these varied marketing strategies to profit from publications. First, William Horsley composed an *Elegiac Ode for Five Voices* to organ accompaniment, with text by The Revd. Thomas Beaumont. Horsley was an organist at the Asylum for Female Orphans and son-in-law of Callcott. Beaumont appears to have been an amateur musician and poet. Horsley and Beaumont inscribed the ode "to the memory of their Friend The Late Samuel Harrison."[356] Harrison was a tenor and impresario who became well-known after singing at the Hanover Square concerts in the 1780s.[357] Obviously this dedication did not involve monetary profit, yet nevertheless fulfilled a promotional function by referencing the successful career of a respected

---

[354] See Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice*; Kate van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe*.
[355] Ibid., 100.
[356] William Horsley, *Elegiac Ode For Five Voices* (London: Rt Birchall, ca. 1812). Accessed as British Library Music Collections H.2788.e.
[357] Saloman arranged for Haydn's London symphonies (Nos. 93–101) to be performed at the Hanover Square Rooms during the 1790s.

musician. Also, as sheet music it may have doubled as a souvenir of sorts for those wishing to possess a token of remembrance for Harrison.

Horsley adopted a different promotional approach with his *Fourth Collection of Glees, Canons, Etc.*, dedicated to George IV, the most prominent member of the Catch Club. Horsley's inscription reads:

> To his majesty.
> Sire,
>
> The part-songs of Great Britain, which have been admired by the most celebrated foreign masters who have visited us, give to her composers a distinctive character among the musical nations of Europe.
>
> This delightful species of composition, so thoroughly appreciated by your majesty, may be said to originate from the social and convivial feelings which prevail in our happy country: at the same time it owes much to one distinguished society, which has been honoured, sire, by your gracious presence. It was by the catch club, that Webbe, Cooke, Smith, Callcott, and others, were first stimulated to exertion; and therefore, it is to the catch club that we are indebted for works which, by the genius of their authors, are now identified with some of the finest passages of our poets, and which must ever be prized by all Britons who have minds subject to the influence of harmony.
>
> Though I follow, at a very humble distance, the excellent writers just named, yet I may boast of one proud distinction-that of dedicating my work to your majesty; and, while I lament my inability to render it more worthy of the exalted patronage which it has received, it becomes me the more gratefully to acknowledge, the condescending manner in which that patronage was bestowed.
>
> I remain,
> Sire,
> Your majesty's
> Most dutiful subject
> And servant,
> William Horsley[358]

[358] William Horsley, *A Fourth Collection of Glees, Canons, Etc. Etc.* (London: Printed for the author by Birchall, Lonsdale & Mills, 140, New Bond Street, 1827). Accessed as British Library Music Collections E.1858.

Through effusive writing, Horsley acknowledges the King's role as the authenticator of the Catch Club's compositional activities. Horsley then applies this designation to identify the King more broadly as a patron of British partsong. His closing paragraph professes his dedication of the collection to the King, and multiple references to the King's patronage imply that Horsley likely received a payment from the King in return for the dedication. Horsley's interest in profiting from this publication is further communicated by listing the numerous booksellers and locations from whom it could be purchased.[359] Along with his inscription to George IV, Horsley indicates his use of the subscription model by inserting a subscribers' list in the book. The names of the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge, the Duchess of Kent, and Princess Augusta appear in all caps at the top of the list, followed by two and a half pages comprising several professional musicians, gentlemen amateur musicians, clergymen, vocal clubs, and music publishers. An up-to-date appendix listing all of Horsley's publications concludes with the statement, "Just published (dedicated to His Majesty by special permission) a Fourth Collection of Glees, Canons &c." Horsley's *Fourth Collection* plays on the prestige of royal patronage indicative of the older model, but takes advantage of new entrepreneurial opportunities afforded to late-eighteenth-century composers.

Catch Club Endorsement of Publications

Glee composers involved with the Catch Club, such as Horsley, epitomize this shift to a more entrepreneurial approach to a musical career. Most glee composers were primarily employed as organists or professional singers, with publications providing supplemental income. Yet their involvement in Britain's associational club culture provided patron endorsement that extended their reputations into the provinces. The Catch Club in particular helped composers achieve greater renown through its competition and *Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees*, described in greater detail in chapter one. The *Collection* was published primarily by Longman and Broderip, music publishers and instrument makers. James Longman established his publishing company in or around 1767 as J. Longman and Co., and the name "Longman" appears in various combinations over the years, due to fluctuations in firm personnel. Title pages of *Collection* volumes include the phrase, "Printed by Longman and Broderip, Music Sellers to the Royal Family." In this regard, the publisher functioned

[359] In addition to the printer, "Birchall, Lonsdale & Mills, 140, New Bond Street," the following is specified: "Sold also by Chappell, and T. F. Latour, New Bond-Street; Willis and Co, St. James's-Street; Cramer and Co. and at the Royal Harmonic Institution, Regent-Street; J.H. Callcott, Great Marlborough-Street; Goulding and D'almaine, Soho-Square; Power, Strand; and Clementi and Co. Cheapside, 1827."

as a representation of royal patronage, just as the Prince of Wales's club membership communicated the same. Due to Longman's established relationship with the club, professional musician members often went on to publish their own single-author publications with Longman and Broderip. In doing so, they maintained these associations with royal patronage.

For the most part, then, the Catch Club utilized newer modes of aristocratic patronage shaped by London's early capitalist society. First, the fact that both patron and musician are members of the same organization, as opposed to the usual master/servant relationship exemplified by Haydn's early career, upholds the principles of Enlightenment social equality. Significant flexibility was exercised in regard to the attendance of club meetings by the professional musicians, while attendance by gentlemen members was strictly enforced. In other words, professional musicians experienced greater autonomy than Haydn did when employed full time by the Esterhazys.[360] Second, the sense that the club as a whole acted as a patron, rather than any one individual, points to Britain's associational culture and the masonic values of brotherhood and fraternity discussed in chapter two. Third, anyone could compete in the club's competition for the privilege of club patronage, bestowed through a prize medal and publication in the *Collection*, which included the winning pieces from the previous year's competition. Catch Club prize-winning songs were often published in additional anthologies, such as *Vocal Harmony: Being a Collection of Glees, Madrigals, Elegies, Quartetts, Canzonets &c. Compiled from the Compositions of the Best Authors Ancient & Modern, Including the Prize Glees from 1763 to 1794.*[361] Professional musicians benefitted from the Catch Club's public endorsement of their music.

The issue of copyright for winning pieces seems to have caused some strife, however, due to the ways in which Warren attempted to enforce it. It is unclear what the club's initial copyright policy was, or if there even was one. What is known is that Warren attempted to enforce copyright on Richard John Samuel Stevens's "Sigh No More Ladies" in 1788, since "Sign No More" was published in the *Collection* of that year (volume twenty-seven). Stevens states that he sold the copyright to "Sigh No More" to John Bland in 1788 for ten guineas, and that he did not consent to Warren's claim.[362] Stevens initially didn't think highly of the song, claiming it was "rather trifling, it

---

360 By the 1780s, Haydn had also shed his patron.

361 William Horsley, ed., *Vocal Harmony: Being a Collection of Glees, Madrigals, Elegies, Quartetts, Canzonets &c. Compiled from the Compositions of the Best Authors Ancient & Modern, Including the Prize Glees from 1763 to 1794; With a Variety of New Pieces, Written Expressly for this Work by the Most Esteemed Composers* (London: Clementi, bet. 1795 and 1815).

362 Mark Argent, ed., *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), 64; R. J. S. Stevens, "Sigh No More Ladies" ([London]: Printed for J. Bland ..., ca. 1789).

being nothing but mere Counterpoint," yet admits that "it became a very great favorite at all Concerts, and was generally and universally encored, wherever it was accurately exhibited."[363] This incident appears to have inspired Warren to issue an official copyright decree to club members sometime between 1791 and 1793. Stevens replicates Warren's advertisement for the competition dated June 1793, which includes the following:

> And it will be expected that each Composer who wins a Prize, shall, before he receives it, give it under his hand, that he relinquishes all *future claim*, *Right*, and *Property whatsoever* in the said Composition, for the term of *two years and a half* after the decision, and that he has strictly conformed to the foregoing regulations.

Robins affirms that the copyright rule changed at this time.[364] Yet another similarly worded, typed advertisement for the composition competition was inserted into the *Minutes*, but this statement is dated 1791 (In the letter heading, Warren crossed out the printed date and wrote "1791" in the margin, and "1791" is typed within the first sentence.). The paragraph concerning copyright is present in an earlier form, and the stipulation "for the term of two years and a half" is written in.

This addendum appears in Warren's hand and corresponds to the X following the word "Composition." It is possible that Warren added this addendum to reflect a copyright practice he had already been attempting to enforce prior to 1793. This supposition aligns with Stevens's defense of "Sigh No More" in 1789. At any rate, Argent's suggestion that a group of catch club composers retaliated against copyright enforcement by issuing *The Professional Collection of Glees* is certainly plausible.[365] Stevens additionally withheld his works from publication in the Catch Club *Collection*, so as to avoid additional copyright disputes. There is no evidence that any club members other than Warren were concerned with copyright. The issue became moot in March of 1794 when the competition was called off, not to be reinstated until 1811. Though the Club claimed that the reason for doing so was due to "the large stock of music of which the Club is now possessed," Warren's role as facilitator and his concurrent failing health (he passed away later that year) likely played a significant role.[366]

---

[363] Ibid., 64; 67.
[364] Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2006), 51.
[365] Argent, ed., *Recollections*, 68; Stevens, Callcott, Cooke, Danby, Hindle, Webbe, *The Professional Collection of Glees for Three, Four and Five Voices* (London: The Authors, ca. 1791).
[366] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss, 150.

It appears that aside from the Stevens incident, composers generally abided by club copyright policy (however brief it may have been), and instead benefited from new opportunities resulting from the renown that came from winning the competition. A good example of a composer who extended his patronage benefits in this fashion is John Stafford Smith, the composer of "To Anacreon in Heaven," the song that became "The Star-Spangled Banner." Smith became a member of the Catch Club in 1774, and had won several prize medals by 1777 for glees that were subsequently published in *Collection* volumes. Smith then managed to publish a self-anthology of his partsongs, *A Select Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees of Different Kinds: For Three & Four Voices: Some of Which Have Gain'd Prize Medals, and Others Have Never Before Been Published*, with John Welcker (the son of Peter Welcker, the first publisher of the Catch Club *Collection*).[367] In grouping winning songs with new ones, Smith was able to cleverly promote his new pieces by relying on the reputation of his old ones. Following a different approach, Longman & Broderip printed John Wall Callcott's *A First Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons &c., for Three, Four & Five voices, Some of which have [n]ever been printed, & several that never were candidates for the prize medals Op. IV* around 1790.[368] By the time this volume was printed, Callcott had won thirteen Catch Club medals, including a clean sweep of all four prize categories (catch, canon, serious glee, cheerful glee) in 1789. The publication's humorous title highlights his new music rather than his previously printed music, claiming that the volume even includes songs that were *never* entered in the competition. This statement is significant particularly since the prolific Callcott was known to flood the competition with entries (including one hundred and twenty in 1786, which prompted a future curtailment of no more than three entries per category).[369]

Not surprisingly, then, many composers established their professional reputations through Catch Club connections before venturing into more entrepreneurial realms. In addition to referencing the club's competition, a majority of composers relied on the Catch Club's good name by dedicating their publications to either the club as a whole, or to individual aristocratic club members. References in publications to the entire Catch Club were common. Even the volumes comprising the *Collection* were "Most humbly Inscribed to the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the

[367] John Stafford Smith, *A Select Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees* (Printed and sold by John Welcker ca. 1780).
[368] John Wall Callcott, *A First Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons &c.* (London, Printed for Longman & Broderip ca. 1790).
[369] Robins, *Catch and Glee*, 50.

Catch Club…by their much obliged and devoted Servant Thomas Warren."[370] Warren edited other anthologies, including *A Collection of Vocal Harmony*, to which he included the following inscription:

> To the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Catch Club.
> My Lords and Gentlemen
>
> The liberal encouragement you have been pleased to give this entertaining species of Music, almost buried in oblivion, has now raised it to the highest degree of reputation.
>
> By your benign influence, the admired Compositions of the fifteenth & Sixteenth Centuries have been restored, many of which are annexed to this Collection.
>
> Most of the modern Pieces have been honoured with your approbation & as all of them are collated & form'd into a Volume by your permission, I take the liberty to dedicate it to your Service.
>
> I flatter myself they will afford you entire satisfaction, in which case, a lasting Honor will be reflected on one who sincerely wishes prosperity may ever attend the Society, and that Vocal harmony may continue to flourish under the happy auspices of your Protection.
>
> with respectfull gratitude I remain
> My Lords & Gentlemen
> Your most obliged &
> most devoted humble Servant,
> Thomas Warren

Here Warren alludes to the gentlemen members granting him permission to reprint songs that had in many cases already appeared in the Catch Club *Collection*, together with ancient music. Warren uses flattering language that appeals to the club's role as preserver and protector of English partsong.

Many partsong publications claim club endorsement by referencing performance at club meetings. Club member Luffman Atterbury introduces his 1790 *Collection of Twelve Glees, Rounds &c.* "as performed at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, Glee Club, etc."[371] Atterbury's reference to more than one society implies the eminent prestige of his oeuvre. Similarly, Callcott presented his 1790 *Collection of Five Songs, Four Duetts, & Three Glees* "as sung at the Academy of

---

[370] Edmund Thomas Warren-Horne, *A Collection of Vocal Harmony: Consisting of Catches Canons and Glees: Never Before Published: To which are added Several Motetts and Madrigals* (London: Printed by Welcker in Gerrard Street, St. Ann's Soho, ca. 1765).

[371] Luffman Atterbury, *A Collection of Twelve Glees, Rounds &c. for Three, Four & Five Voices, Op. 2* (London: Printed for G. Goulding, ca. 1790).

Antient Music, Catch Club, Glee Club, etc." Dedicatory exchanges between individual members include Stevens's inscription of *Eight Glees: For Four and Five Voices* to the Duke of Hamilton, to express his gratitude to the duke for making him an honorary member of the Catch Club (the Duke proposed Stevens' membership after Stevens succeeded in leading a round as a visitor at a club meeting).[372] The Duke Samuel Webbe Sr. and Jr. dedicated their *Ninth Book of Catches, Canons, and Glees* to Sir Henry Englefield, 7th Baronet, antiquary and scientist.[373] Both anthologies were printed by Longman and Broderip, acting as the third party on behalf of the composers. This author/publisher relationship is clearly indicated by the phrase "Printed for the Authors" in *Ninth Book of Catches, Canons, and Glees*. Longman and Broderip likely chose to endorse these particular publications on the grounds of their authors' prior successes, but the dedications enhanced their marketability further through reliance on name recognition as a type of product branding.

Ladies Nights and the Sanctioning of Female Participation in Clubs

As club composers undertook ventures that exposed their music to broader audiences, a movement toward mixed-gender performance and consumption of glees ensued. Soon after the Catch Club announced its commitment to generating more glee repertoire as a national English genre in the early 1760s with the inauguration of their competition, glees began to be performed in public. These performances may have inspired the club to establish their annual Ladies Night. These elite events, also sometimes referred to as the "Audit Dinner," tended to occur in May, June or July, near the end of the regular club season, and typically involved club members performing tasteful music for their wives and female friends. The female guests may have joined in a couple of songs, but were primarily spectators. The first Catch Club Ladies Night occurred in 1774.[374] Minutes for April 5, 1774 record "A motion by Lord Warwick, seconded by Lord Paget, that at the next meeting of the society a day be fixed to entertain the ladies."[375] Only lady guests of gentlemen members were invited; not until the 1950s could professional members bring their wives.[376] The Catch Club has

---

372 R. J. S. Stevens, *Eight Glees: For Four and Five Voices, Op. 3* (London: Printed by Longman and Broderip, ca. 1792).
373 Samuel Webbe Sr. and Samuel Webbe Jr., *Ninth Book of Catches, Canons, and Glees* (London: Printed for the Authors, Sold by Longman and Broderip, ca. 1795).
374 Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays Toward its History* (London: Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club at the Cypher Press, 1996), forward.
375 Gladstone, "The Story of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club" (1930), in Gladstone, Boas, Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club*, 56. See also "April 5" in *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ss.
376 Christopherson, "A Post-War Review" (1996), in Gladstone, Boas, Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club*, 97.

traditionally set Ladies Night apart from their usual club meetings as a purely social event, meaning no club business is enacted.[377]

As a concert for a wider audience, Ladies Night became an impetus for a smaller-scale composition competition, in which professional members were invited to compose an ode for the occasion.[378] The title "ode" was often applied to masonic songs, the connection of which has been discussed in chapter one. Glees were sometimes subtitled as odes, often due to a lofty text and the call for more singers, either through a larger number of parts or by including a chorus.[379] Rubin states:

> For odes within the glee repertory it was the eloquence—the elevated tone—of Horace that provided the model, though not necessarily the text, for a poem sometimes in Latin or, more usually, in "Latinized" English: elegant, polysyllabic, and imbued with lofty (sometimes pompous) sentiment. The musical settings tended to be syllabic and occasionally set off with stylized quasi-Netherlandish counterpoint in an antiquarian *prima prattica* vein.[380]

The minutes for May 9, 1775 state, "Ordered that a compliment of 5£ 5s be paid to Mr. Cooke for composing an Ode for the Ladies Dinner. Also that in the future an Ode shall be composed every year to be performed at the dinner given to the ladies."[381] The following year, the minutes claim that "The Ladies Dinner this year was celebrated by an occasional Ode of which the words were given to the privileged members of the Club and the preemium [sic] of 5 Guineas adjudged to Mr. [Samuel] Webbe for his Ode 'multiple Ladies Concerts, claiming he was "glad."'"[382] It is likely that "O Come Ye Fair While Blooming May" by Benjamin Cooke was the elected ode for the 1777 dinner. It is subtitled "Occasional Ode" in volume sixteen of the *Collection* (published 1777), where it is also designated as receiving a prize in 1777, yet it is not recorded as being a prizewinner in the general composition competition. After 1777 it is difficult to identify prize-winning odes, and it is uncertain how long this practice persisted. I surmise that other Catch Club compositions subtitled as odes and published in the *Collection* may represent additional entries or

---

377 Gladstone, "The Story of," 56.
378 "June 30 1828 Audit Dinner," in *Glees Performed, 1828–41*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ddd.
379 Emmanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Detroit: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), 56.
380 Ibid., 57.
381 Gladstone, "The Story of," 56.
382 Callcott, "Essay III On the Catch Club," in *Essays on Musical Subjects* (1797–1801), in British Library Music Collections Add. MS. 27646, S. 23.

Benjamin Cooke "O Come Ye Fair While Blooming May" v. 16 (1777), 19.
Earl of Mornington "Pale April with her Childish Eye" v. 16 (1777), 24.[383]
John Stafford Smith "When to the Muses Haunted" v. 19 (1780), 43.
John Danby "When Beauty's Soul" v. 26 (1787), pg. 38.
Stephen Paxton "Come O Come Ethereal Guest" v. 28 (1789), 33.

Figure 4.1: Catch Club compositions subtitled as odes in *Collection* volumes

prize-winning compositions, whether or not they are specified as such (Figure 4.1 includes volume and page numbers). All of these odes contain texts that would have been considered appropriate for ladies. Since odes were primarily defined by their lofty texts, themes would often entail pastoral scenes, Shakespearean references, and love as opposed to drinking songs or sexual innuendos.

Other than a hiatus during World War II when the club did not meet, Ladies Night appears to have been held annually, and continues to this day. When club meetings resumed in 1948, Ladies Night was revived in June at the Bonnington Hotel.[384] In May 1968 Princess Margaret attended Ladies Night and reportedly sang all of the songs with parts for ladies' voices.[385] Current secretary Rodney Williams informed me that presently Ladies Night is often held in the Peers Dining Room at the House of Lords, due to the room's convenient layout. He described the room as being "a bit long and narrow, with room at the end where we can sing." Williams compared the historic Ladies Nights with the current ones. In the past, he claimed that the female guests "used to sing virtually nothing, just Silver Swan [Gibbons madrigal]." He acknowledged that this has since changed, mentioning that Thomas Walmisley, Lord Mornington, Robert Lucas Pearsal, and R. J. S. Stevens wrote lovely pieces which "we can now do on Ladies Nights." Williams stated that two professional soprano singers sing on Ladies Night.[386] In a separate conversation, he stated that "everyone present sings," and repertoire often consists of Purcell, John Liptrot Hatton, and madrigals.[387]

Songs performed at Ladies Nights between 1828 and 1848 were consistent in subject matter and composers.[388] Tasteful drinking songs often based on Anacreontic texts were included, but

[383] It is possible that "Pale April with her Childish Eye" was an entry in the ode competition, since it dates from the same year as Cooke's winning ode.
[384] Christopherson, "A Post-War Review," 93.
[385] Ibid., 94.
[386] Rodney Williams, phone conversation with author, June 20 2014.
[387] Rodney Williams, interview with author, June 21 2014.
[388] Consistent records of repertoire sung at meetings and Ladies Nights date from 1828. *Glees Performed, 1828–41*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ddd; *Glees Performed, 1841–71*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.eee. Ladies Nights repertoire was recorded for June 30 1828, July 7 1829, June 19 1838, June 25 1847, and July [n.d.] 1848). Sometimes Ladies Night is indicated with a date, but the repertoire is not listed, as in June 25, 1839 and June 27, 1845.

ribald ones were not. For example, Michael Rock's "Let the Sparkling Wine" appears on two concerts during this period, with the text

> Let the sparkling wine go round,
> And the praise of Bacchus sound:
> Venus with her darling boy,
> Nurs'd the rosy infant joy.

Other songs that appeared on two of the select concerts are "Mark'd you her Eye" (Spofforth), "Amidst the Myrtles" (Battishill), "Crabbed Age" (Stevens), and "Thou Art Beautifull" (Callcott) (see Figure 4.2). James Elliott's "Come See What Pleasures" appears in three of the concerts, for SATTB. The text is translated from Virgil:

> Come, see what pleasures in our plains abound,
> The woods, the fountains, and the flowery ground;
> As you are beauteous, were you half so true,
> Here could I live, here could I love, and die with only you.

Pastoral themes were prominent in Ladies Night repertoire, as were Shakespearean and classic texts. While club members did repeat performances of Ladies Night songs during club meetings, they also sang songs that would have been inappropriate for their female guests. For example, on July 3, 1838, less than a month after the annual Ladies Night meeting, club members sang "Fill Me Boy" and "Come See What Pleasures" two glees with tasteful texts that had been

Figure 4.2: Concert program for Ladies Night (1828)

performed at the previous Ladies Night. Yet they also sang Thomas Arne's satirical glee "Poculum Elevatum," which parodies the elevation of the host during Mass. The text is in Latin, and during the song the singers drink wine from mock chalices. In the index to the sixteenth volume of the *Collection* deposited in the British Library, a handwritten annotation adjacent to "Poculum Elevatum" reads, in reference to its sacrilegious text, "very good, but very bad."

Following the Catch Club's lead, other all-male societies hosted ladies nights, including the Harmonists Society, which hosted an annual Ladies Concert, sometimes referred to as the Anniversary Concert. R. J. S. Stevens and John Stafford Smith were founding members in 1794, and the first Ladies Concert was held on April 10, 1795."[389] Stevens states that he introduced manuscript glees at multiple Ladies Concerts, claiming he was "glad of the opportunity of exhibiting them to so much advantage."[390] The program for March 22, 1798 included songs by Stevens, Smith, Webbe, John Danby, William Shield, Haydn, and Mozart, opening with the "Harmonists' Glee," as song written specifically for that society. Musicologist Mark Argent suggests that the female attendees may have sung the occasional soprano parts during these concerts.[391]

Women were invited to attend the annual festivals of the Madrigal Society, but did not participate in the singing. In his account of attending a meeting of the Madrigal Society, presumably in 1837, music critic John Hullah chastises the society for not counting women among their members, an odd complaint in that it could very well have applied to any of the all-male vocal societies.[392] Hullah acknowledges that while the gentlemen do not get as drunk as they had in years past, their behavior is still not entirely appropriate for women to observe. Nevertheless, he writes,

> Hold! there is a slight drawback on our pleasure,—perfection is not to be found even in the Madrigal Society. Where are the ladies? Oh, Madrigalians! with what countenance can ye, month after month, and year after year, continue singing Fair Oriana's praise, and bewailing the cruelty of your Phillises, and Cynthias, and "Nymph of Diana," when you thus close up the fountain of all your inspirations? Is your by-law, forbidding all speechifying, a tacit confession of fear lest some gallant visitor, fired with your own sweet songs, should spring on his legs and propose "The Ladies"? Is this the reason why ye only

[389] Argent, ed., *Recollections*, 96.
[390] Ibid., 98; see also 107.
[391] Ibid., 98.
[392] Charles Dickens, William Harrison Ainsworth, and Albert Smith, ed., *Bentley's Miscellany* v. 1 (London: Printed by Samuel Bentley, Dorset Street, Fleet Street, 1837), 465–69.

> drink "The King," "The Queen," and--your noble selves? Shame on ye!—where are the ladies?[393]

The author then criticizes the way in which ladies are treated at the annual festival, stating "At the annual festival, where the madrigals put on all their splendour, the ladies are admitted; but alas! they are perched up in a gallery 'all by themselves.' And even this bird's-eye view of gentlemen eating and drinking, comes, like 'the grotto,' only once a-year."[394]

Choir boys from St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey choir, and the Children of the Chapel Royal sang the upper parts of madrigals until the suspension of meetings in April 1940 due to the war. When meetings resumed after the war, women began singing the upper parts, but they were not considered to be members.[395] According to current Madrigal Society member Sally Crosher, November 2014 would inaugurate the first season in which ladies would have the option of becoming paying (and thus fully privileged) members. She explained that in these modern times, women are more likely to have day jobs, and it may be more convenient for them to attend a madrigal meeting immediately after work before commuting home.[396] When Sally and I spoke in August of 2014, the current practice was that most women would remain at home caring for young children until 8 pm, after which they would arrive to join the men in singing. If women did arrive before 8, they were served sandwiches in the anteroom while the men dined in the hall. After the men finish dining, the women entered the hall and sit at tables at the opposite end, and all sing in this segregated fashion. Sally confirmed that the Ladies Dinner still occurs, though it is now a biannual rather than annual event. Male members invite their wives or partners, who are not expected to sing.

Unlike the Madrigal Society, the Catch Club remains an all-male institution. Former president Viscount Gladstone states that "The music, moreover, was limited to alto, tenor, and bass. In 1763 two boys were present to sing in compositions for prizes. Accounts for 1763 include £2. 2. 0' for the singing boys (doubled the following year).[397] But it was not till the beginning of the next century that specially selected boys were frequently brought in to take the treble part."[398] The preface to the club's *Three Essays Towards its History* attests that "two trebles attended regularly from c.1800–

[393] John Hullah, "A Visit to the Madrigal Society," in *Bentley's Miscellany* v. 1, 468–69.
[394] Ibid., 469.
[395] J. G. Craufurd, "The Madrigal Society," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 82, no. 1 (1955): 37.
[396] Sally Crosher, phone conversation with author, Aug. 27, 2014.
[397] *Minutes*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.rr.
[398] Gladstone, "The Story of," 29.

1940."[399] It seems that the Catch Club began to recruit boys more frequently at the same time that glees began to incorporate more soprano parts. Castrati recruited between 1766 and 1780 as privileged members may have also sung soprano parts, but since the minutes from this period only record the gentlemen members' attendance, it is unknown if they attended meetings. As castrati often performed abroad, it is more likely that the club primarily relied on boys to cover the soprano parts.[400] Though the Catch Club and Madrigal Society both utilized choir boys, it was for contrasting repertoire, and the Madrigal Society seems to have done so to a greater extent. Gladstone explains that the Catch Club membership's vocal capacities precluded members from regularly singing madrigals.[401] Thus, clubs dealt with the tension of female attendance in different ways. In fact, the Duchess of Devonshire's private attendance of an Anacreontic Society meeting, later disclosed to the membership, spurred that society's sudden dissolution in the early 1790s.

Wahrman's *Ancien* and *Modern Régimes* of Selfhood

The conceptualization of soprano parts as "women's parts," and the notion of "women's partsong" and its distinct song topics from men's partsong is indicative of a nascent concretization of the relationship between biological sex and cultural gender in late eighteenth-century England. Wahrman addresses the collapse of gender into sex in his analysis of the transformation from one identity regime to another during the eighteenth century. He refers to 1700 through 1780 as the *ancien régime* of identity and the latter two decades as the *modern régime* of selfhood. Identity in the *ancien régime* is malleable, allowing for one's unfixed personal identity to be "sometimes perceived as double, other times as sheddable, replaceable, or moldable."[402] Since identity was not associated with an inflexible self, it was often defined through assimilating various identity categories.[403] Historian William Sewell has likened this mutability of identity to the capitalist precept of converting use value into exchange value, which could "be applied not only to cloth, tobacco, or cooking pans, but to land, housework, bread, sex, advertising, emotions, or knowledge, each of which can be converted into any other by means of money."[404] Yet by the end of the century, the *modern régime* of selfhood

---

399 Gladstone, Boas, Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club*, Preface.
400 Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee*, 46. Castrati included Tommaso Guarducci, Gaetano Guadagni, Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Giuseppe Millico, Francesco Rancaglia, Gasparo Pacchierotti, and Venanzio Rauzzini. They were likely recruited to lend prestige to the Catch Club.
401 Gladstone, "The Story of," 29.
402 Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 168.
403 Ibid., 176.
404 W. H. Sewell "A Theory of Structure; Duality, Agency, and Transformation" *American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 1 (1992): 25-26.

was instantiated, recognizable as the first time when identity becomes essentialized and synonymous with self. "Personality" emerges as a neologism in 1795, and the concept of autobiography was realized in the 1790s, gesturing to this shift toward more permanent, individualized notions of selfhood.

What spurred the transition in regimes? Wahrman argues that the American Revolution, with its inherent identity confusion regarding whether the Americans were kin or enemies, triggered the shift. For example, there were debates as to whether or not this was indeed a civil war. Wahrman characterizes the American war as complex, and therefore difficult to categorize:

> In the fraught years before and after the declaration of American independence, English commentators of all political stripes tried to impose virtually every identity category imaginable on the American conflict, in repeated and often desperate attempts to create order out of chaos. But these attempts to identify who was against whom in this national crisis were time and again baffled by the actual complexities of the situation, complexities that exceeded any conceptual tools available for dealing with them.[405]

One approach to dealing with the identity crisis ended up being a reassessment of identity categories as they pertained to gender. Wahrman associates the *ancien régime* with gender play and the *modern régime* with gender panic. He distinguishes between the two paradigms as "whether gender identity was understood to be *assumable*—so it could be learned, imitated, performed, donned and doffed at will—or whether it was understood as innate, essential, and predetermined by sex."[406] Gender play was epitomized by the popular English masquerade—a masked, non-elitist public entertainment popular between 1720 and 1790. Masquerade attendees were free to assume various identities, such as the macaroni, the foppish 1770s stock character famously mentioned in Yankee Doodle, or his alter ego, the sentimentalist man of feeling encountered in chapter three. Clothing assisted in promoting the fluidity of identity categories, hence a macaroni type could be communicated through "oversized wigs, brightly colored tight-fitting coats, and impractical accessories."[407]

During the late 1770s and early 1780s, though, periodical writers warned readers of the dangers of disguises and masquerades, and the practice fell out of favor by the 1790s.[408] Thus

---

[405] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 220–21.
[406] Ibid., 48.
[407] Ibid., 60.
[408] Ibid., 257.

through a reevaluation of self-identity, all aspects of identity, including gender, became realigned. Wahrman summarizes, "The initial mid- to late-1770s intensifications of interest in gender categories and their limits should be understood in the context of the repeated attempts to use gender to articulate the problem with identity categories that the war had suddenly posed. Subsequently, the intense discomfort with which such gender play was met from the early 1780s—spelling the beginning of the end of the *ancien régime* of gender—signaled the anxious reaction to these same developments."[409] By the end of the century, gender categories had become rigid and overdetermined, as reflected in corresponding changes in fashion. Late eighteenth century male fashion changed from "foppish peacock-like dress" through the 1770s to "somber attire with a limited palette, often reminiscent of military uniforms," while women's fashion changed from clinging dresses to clothing registering maternity, as in dresses designed for nursing.[410] The separation of gender roles, which for women meant an emphasis on child-bearing, typically associated with the Victorian era was becoming established, at the same time that gender and sex became inseparably linked.

Public Performance of Partsong

Wahrman's observations concerning a shift in gender regimes are reflected in changes that the glee underwent once it attracted more public visibility. As early as the 1760s, the glee became incorporated into domestic music making and the concert stage, as did the catch to a lesser extent.[411] Catches and glees were sung in London homes and country estates, including founding member Lord Sandwich's home at Hinchingbroke. The glee was introduced to the concert stage through the pleasure gardens, with the first documented public concert of catches and glees dating from 1765 at Marybone Gardens. At this time, there remained some confusion concerning the distinction between genres, hence glees were sometimes classified as catches. Pleasure gardens, public gardens doubling as entertainment venues, were sites where men and women publicly intermingled. The title character in the 1750s book *The Batchelor's Protest: or Matrimony in Disgrace* described them as such: "Neither of us [neither himself or his bachelor friend] being furnished with an Opportunity of becoming Servitor as yet, we took the Advantage of visiting the several Places of polite Entertainment, such as *Ranelagh*, *VauxHall* and *Sadler's-Wells*, *&c.* which were promiscuously

[409] Ibid., 253.
[410] Ibid., 63; 65.
[411] Robins, *Catch and Glee*, 103. For an extensive overview of partsong performances outside of club contexts, see chapter six, "The Catch and Glee in other Performance Contexts," in Robins, 103–134.

crowded with infinite Numbers of Persons of both Sexes, without the least Distinction of Title of Fortune."[412] The glee's transformation from an all-male, *a capella* genre to an accompanied, mixed-gender genre was encouraged by the number of women attending public concerts. In England, unlike the European continent, women were allowed to attend theaters, concert venues and pleasure gardens unaccompanied by men.[413] *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book* of 1780 alludes to the prevalence of women in attendance at catch and glee concerts, by including "The most esteemed New Songs, sung at Vauxhall, Ranelagh, the Theatres, and Catch Club" (Figure 4.3).[414] Beginning in 1767, club member Thomas Arne promoted catch and glee concerts at Marybone and Ranelagh Gardens. Between 1767 and 1771, Marybone was the only venue to program catches and glees regularly.[415] Arne's Ranelagh concert on May 12, 1767 made a significant impact in the press, and is the first known instance of these genres being expanded from one-per-part *a capella* performance to a chorus with instrumental accompaniment.[416] This is one of many examples of the ways in which glee performance outside of the all-male club impacted performance practice.

Following these pleasure garden ventures, it appears that Arne turned to partsong as a means of promoting his less successful theatrical works, through combining partsong concerts such as those at the pleasure gardens with short dramatic works. In the early 1770s, concurrent with the emergence of Ladies Nights, Arne presented catch and glee concerts sung by mixed-gender ensembles paired with theatrical productions. Charles Dibdin adopted Arne's tactics in similar productions combining music and dramatic pieces. By the early 1780s, it was common to incorporate glees into dramatic works as one entity, in which glees were composed specifically for ballad operas or plays. For example, William Reeve composed "Gardeners Glee" for the pantomime *Harlequin's Almanack*, which was showing at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (Figure 4.4).[417] Sheet music publications such as this one referenced the performers, plays, venues, and/or concert series through which particular songs had been premiered, thus increasing sales.

---

412 *Batchelor's Protest: or Matrimony in [D?]isgrace: In a Letter to a Friend.* (London: Printed for C. Corbett, in Fleet-Street, ca. 1754), 6.
413 Weber, *The Great Transformation*, 24.
414 "Chapter 9," *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1780.* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard, ca. 1780).
415 Robins, *Catch and Glee*, 109–10. Marybone Gardens is also identified as Marylebone Gardens.
416 Ibid., 108.
417 William Reeve, Thomas Dibdin, W. Ware, *The Introduction, Songs, Glees, Trios, Chorusses, &c. in the New Pantomime called Harlequin's Almanack, or, The Four Seasons: Performed at the Theatre-Royal Covent Garden* (London: Printed and Published by Barker and Son, 1801).

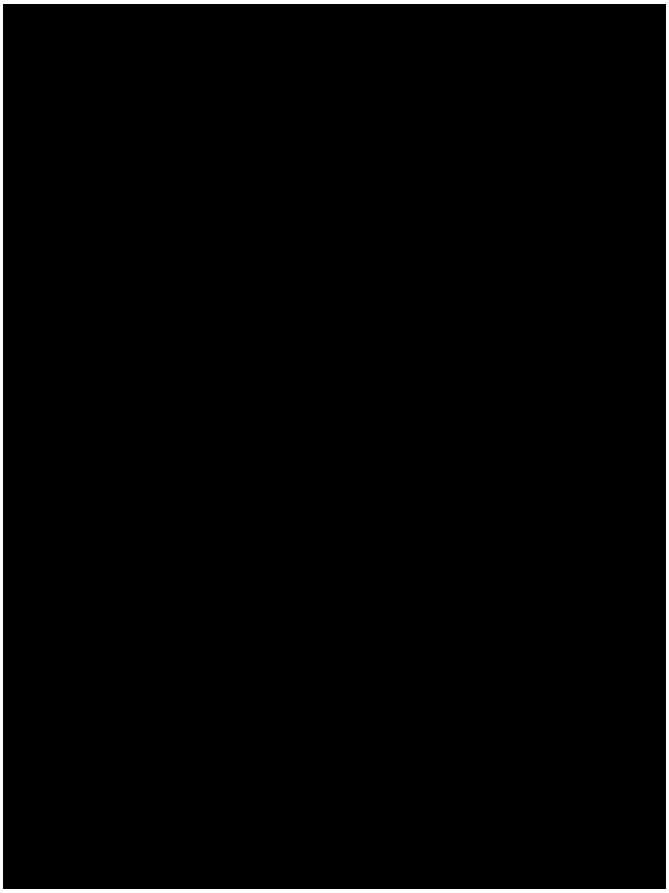


Figure 4.3: *The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum Book* (1780), title page

Figure 4.4: William Reeve, "The Gardener's Glee" (1801)

Sometimes, partsongs that originated outside of the theater were then adapted with new text for a particular play or opera, a common practice highlighted in the *The Beggar's Opera*, but also demonstrated in William Shield's adaptation of Michael East's early seventeenth-century madrigal *How Merrily We Live.*[418] Following performances at Vauxhall Gardens and Catch Club meetings in its original version, this madrigal was retitled as a glee with new text for Shield's 1779 comic opera *The Flitch of Bacon*. Its popularity, as well as the general extent to which glees were marketed, is further registered through its adaptation for voice and guitar and for flute ensemble.[419] This practice of adapting seventeenth-century madrigals as glees was especially common during the final quarter of the eighteenth century.

Female Performers

As women began to professionally sing glees in the theaters, pleasure gardens, and on subscription and benefit concerts, they indirectly encouraged the growth of mixed-gender audiences. Robins claims that "there is a parallel here with the sixteenth-century Italian madrigal, which in its early days, particularly in the case of those with obscene texts, seemed destined for an exclusively male clientele, but was later transformed to accommodate the participation of women both as performers and auditors."[420] Musicologist Simon McVeigh similarly connects female performers of glees with a growing mixed-gender consumer base. He writes,

> Amateur societies became more professionalized as they metamorphosed into concert societies with hired performers. In a similar way the private sphere crossed over into the public…The after-dinner glee also gained a much more public presence in formal glee clubs, eventually even becoming a concert item, sung by women and published under such titles as *The Ladies' Collection*. One might even regard in the same light the translation of women pianists into public performers with their own careers, essentially transferring a domestic pastime onto the concert stage.[421]

McVeigh's comment characterizing the glee as a concert item is substantiated by the small group of English women who established reputations as professional singers, including Harriet Abrams,

---

[418] Michael East, *Second Set of Madrigals* (London: Printed by John Windet, 1606).
[419] William Shield, *How Merrily We Live: The Favorite Glee in the Flitch of Bacon with the Original Words as Perform'd at Vauxhall Gardens and the Noblemen's Catch Club: also Transposed and Adapted for a Guitar and Voice, and for One Two or Three Gn. Flutes* (London: Printed by Longman and Broderip ca. 1778).
[420] Robins, *Catch and Glee*, 111.
[421] Simon McVeigh, "Introduction," in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 10.

Susannah Maria Cibber (Arne's sister), Maria Theresa Bland, Ann Turner Robinson, and Elizabeth Billington. Most of these women were born into musical families, and of the four, Billington was most known for singing glees. She debuted as a child prodigy playing a piano concerto at her mother's benefit concert in 1774. Her first vocal performance occurred a year later, again at her mother's concert. She married her voice teacher and launched her career in 1784, singing the role of Euridice in a version of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* in Dublin. In 1786 she sang her London debut as Rosetta in Arne's *Love in a Village*, Covent Garden. For the remainder of the 1780s Billington performed on the Handel commemorations (1786), Concerts of Ancient Music (1786–87), Professional Concerts (1786–88, 1791–92), and Vauxhall Gardens.

She then went to Italy in 1793, initially for leisure, but ultimately launched an Italian operatic career after debuting in Bianchi's *Inez de Castro* at the Teatro San Carlo in 1794. Between 1796 and 1799, composers including Paisiello, Paer, Nasolini, and Himmel created roles for her to perform in opera houses throughout Italy. Upon her return to London, she was viewed as the most popular English composer in Italy. Her reputation assisted in her return to the English stage, beginning in 1801 as Mandane in Arne's *Artaxerxes*, alternating nights between both Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Between 1802 and 1806 she starred in various roles at the Italian Opera Company at the King's Theatre, culminating in a benefit performance as Vitellia in *La clemenza di Tito* in 1806. As the first native soprano to sing for such an extended period at London's Italian opera house, Billington "received an unprecedented £2600 for her final season."[422] Billington then shifted her focus back to concertizing rather than opera, giving her final concert in 1811 in London. Webbe's glee "British Sentiments" is dedicated to Billington, acknowledging her reputation as a glee performer, and attempting to increase sales through association (Figure 4.5). Other glee composers followed suit in connecting publications with recognizable female performers, as in Webbe Sr.'s *Six Glees*, which he dedicated to the famous British courtesan and actor, Kitty Fisher.[423]

Once the glee became popularized through public performances featuring mixed ensembles, sales of partsong publications increased. Partsong anthologies geared toward women built on the already-established practice of marketing solo songs to women, as in *The Ladies Amusement: Being a*

[422] Rachel E. Cowgill, "Billington, Elizabeth (1765–1818)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed January 28, 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.library.stonybrook.edu/view/article/2397.
[423] Samuel Webbe Sr., ed. *Six Glees, Composed by an Amateur & Most Respectfully Inscribed to Miss Fisher* (London: Napier, ca. 1785).

Figure 4.5: Samuel Webbe, "British Sentiments" (1785)

New Collection of Songs, Ballads, &c. with Symphonies and Thorough-Bass.[424] As early as 1762, Samuel Webbe published *The Ladies Catch Book: Being a Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees: The Words of Which will not Offend the Nicest Delicacy.*[425] The book was reissued throughout the 1760s and 1770s. The concern with censoring the language of Catch Club compositions intensified during the Victorian period, to which an anecdote claims that due to the uncouthness of many catches in *Collection* volumes, "many copies of his edition were bought up and destroyed while others went up in flames in a fire at his house."[426]

[424] *The Ladies Amusement: Being a New Collection of Songs, Ballads, &c. with Symphonies and Thorough-Bass* (Dublin: Printed by James Hoey, for the Author, and Sold at Mr. Manwaring's Musick Shop ... and at Mr. Johnson's ... London., ca. 1748).
[425] *The Ladies Catch Book: Being a Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees: The Words of Which will not Offend the Nicest Delicacy* (London: Printed for S. and A. Thompson, ca. 1762). Further editions were printed in 1764, 1770, 1773, and 1778.
[426] James Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing: The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club* (London: The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, 2014), 51.

Writing in 1886, Barrett states, "In the pages of this work [*Collection* volumes] are some of the most exquisite gems of vocal compositions ever written, together with productions so questionable, or rather unquestionable, a character, that it is a pity that the fire which consumed the greater part of the stock of copies did not consume the whole."[427] Thus, despite the earlier success of the *Ladies Catch Book*, during the last quarter of the century it was much more common to deemphasize the catch genre in favor of the glee, and the decline of the catch accelerated dramatically in conjunction with the rise in public glee performances.

For the majority of women who did not pursue professional music careers, it was common to undergo musical training in a domestic setting. By the turn of the century, most middle and upper-class women studied music, and a new female consumer base for glees emerged in relation to musical study and public concert attendance. Publishers responded by issuing partsong anthologies for women during the 1780s and 90s. One such anthology, *The Ladies Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons, Canzonets, Madrigals, &c.*, was published in several editions between 1787 and the early 1800s and featured a variety of composers.[428] Other examples include *Musicae Vocalis Deliciae* and *Apollonian Harmony*.[429] Each of these anthologies was published around 1790, comprises two volumes and proclaims that the words to the songs are "consistent with female delicacy" (just as Webbe did earlier in *The Ladies Catch Book*). They differ in their endorsements, however. The link to public performances is made explicit in *Apollonian Harmony* with the text "Most of which are sung at the Noblemen's Catch-Club, Theatres & Public Gardens." This wording would have appealed to a more middlebrow taste. By contrast, *Musicae Vocalis Deliciae* only references gentlemen clubs, declaring "Most of which are sung at the Noblemens Catch-Club, Anacreontic Society, and Je Ne Sais Quoi Club." This wording, combined with the Latin title, appeals to a more highbrow, elite taste. Both anthologies contain ancient and modern songs and are otherwise not remarkably distinct.

R. J. S. Stevens's *Eight Glees Expressly Composed for Ladies* (1796) exemplifies how glees were composed and published with a female clientele in mind. Stevens "humbly inscribed them" to the Simpsons [sisters Maria and Frances Simpson], "by their most obliged humble servant."[430] Stevens states in his *Recollections* that both women were his pupils, that they granted him permission for the

---

427 William Barrett, *English Glees and Part Songs* (London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1886), 209.
428 *The Ladies Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons, Canzonets, Madrigals, &c.* ([London]: [John Bland] and sold by him at his music warehouse, No. 45. Holborn, ca. 1787). Further editions were printed in the 1790s and 1800s.
429 *Musicae Vocalis Deliciae* (London: Printed for T. Skillern, ca. 1790); *Apollonian Harmony* (London: Printed for S.A. & P. Thompson, ca. 1790).
430 Argent, ed., *Recollections*, 106.

dedication, and that Frances, being the eldest, gave him ten pounds for the dedication.[431] The dedication to women is reinforced by the volume's designation for female consumers. Song texts are attributed to "poetry from Shakespeare," and one glee, "Doubt Thou the Stars are Fire," is specified as "Harmonizd From a Song of the Authors." The practice of creating glees by harmonizing songs was extremely popular beginning in the 1790s, and will be discussed in more detail in the following pages. Stevens composed four-part glees are for SATB, and three-part glees for SSB, indicating that despite the publication's title, men were still required to perform them. This music would have appealed to middle and upper-class women with musical training such as the Simpson sisters.

As the market became saturated with harmonized vocal music, publishers sought out new methods to distinguish their products. Another manner of accomplishing this was through alternative publication formats. *Amusement for the Ladies* represents one of several partsong anthologies intended specifically for women, yet it is distinct from the others in that it was published as a periodical. It was originally issued around 1780 as three volumes of three books each by Longman and Broderip, under the full title *Amusement for the Ladies: Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees and Madrigals, Several of which have Gained the Prize Medals of the Noblemen & Gentlemen's Catch Club.* Since publication dates were not printed, the chronology of subsequent reissues must be surmised through a comparison of extant sources and their publishers. It appears that Longman and Broderip reissued all three volumes between 1785 and 1795 under this modified title: *Amusement for the Ladies: Being a Selection of the Favorite Catches, Canons, Glees, and Madrigals; as Performed at the Noblemen & Gentlemen's Catch Club including the Most Popular which have Gained the Prize Medals.* The new title lists more of the representative genres and inserts a statement claiming the songs were actually performed at club meetings, as well as the word "popular." I suspect that these edits were employed as advertising strategies, and the new title replaced the old one for all future reissues. Around 1800 Broderip and Wilkinson reissued *Amusement for the Ladies* again, and around 1810 it was reissued by the original publisher, Longman and Broderip, as well as by Preston, another London publisher. The publishing history, possibly spanning thirty years and involving three publishers, attests to this anthology's relevance for extending the glee's consumer base, as well as the extended appeal of a specific body of repertoire.

In each of the nine books, the majority of songs are glees, supplemented by madrigals, catches, and the occasional canon, rondo, round, or elegy. The glees are mostly pastoral or patriotic

[431] Ibid.

in nature. The presence of madrigals is reminiscent of repertoire performed at Ladies Nights, and the expectation that women would have already been familiar with them. Written for three to four *a capella* voices (usually SSB or SSTB), these songs would have been manageable by both upper and middle class women, since musical training was more widespread at this time. Individual books within the Broderip and Wilkinson issue at the Bodleian Library are signed by the Countess of Mansfield, supporting the idea that these books were indeed utilized by women.[432]

Other serial music anthologies aimed at female consumers often contained solo songs with accompaniment, as in *The Lady's Musical Magazine; or, Monthly Polite Repository of New Vocal Musick by the Principal Composers in Europe*.[433] *The Piano-Forte Magazine*, printed between 1797 and 1802, contained various vocal and instrumental genres, including catches, canons and glees comprising sixteen volumes in all.[434] Warren was responsible for editing a periodical that was colloquially referred to as "Warren's monthly collection," which was likely first published in 1765. The entire collection was then reissued as a single volume titled *A Collection of Vocal Harmony* around 1775.[435] As discussed in chapter two, this publication was part of the Catch Club's library, listed in their index simply as "Vocal Harmony, and contained both ancient and modern music."[436] One periodical, *The Gentleman's Musical Magazine; or Monthly Convivial Companion*, functioned as a male corollary to periodicals for ladies.[437] It contained "Anacreontics, Cantatas, Catches, Glees, Hunting Songs, and Sea Songs." Anacreontics, poems written on topics of love and wine in the style of the Greek poet Anacreon, were common to most men's periodicals, both music and literary, pointing to intertextuality within periodical and partsong culture.

Serial anthologies such as those described above stemmed from a broader European periodical culture, especially during the second half of the eighteenth century. Periodicals were much more affordable than bound books, providing a wider consumer base with the option of purchasing each issue as it was published, or several issues at a later date (as in the three books comprising volume one of *Amusement for the Ladies*). Wealthier consumers then had the option of overcoming the

---

[432] *Amusement for the Ladies*, Bodleian Library Harding Mus. E 646–48.
[433] *The Lady's Musical Magazine; or, Monthly Polite Repository of New Vocal Musick by the Principal Composers in Europe* v. 1. *Published as vol. 1 in 6 Parts, Containing 4 Songs Each. 24 songs, Mostly for Voice and Harpsichord or Continuo, Some with Versions for Flute* (London: Printed for Harrison and Co., 1788).
[434] *The Piano-Forte Magazine* (London: Printed for Harrison and Co. [etc.], No. 18, Paternoster Row, 1797–1802).
[435] Edmund Thomas Warren, ed., *A Collection of Vocal Harmony: Consisting of Catches Canons and Glees Never Before Publish'd: To Which are added Several Motetts and Madrigals Composed by the Best Masters, Selected by* [Edmund] *Thomas Warren.* (London: Printed by Welcker in Gerrard Street, St. Ann's Soho, issued periodically from ca. 1765).
[436] *Index to printed music*, British Library Music Collections H.2788.ll.
[437] *The Gentleman's Musical Magazine; or Monthly Convivial Companion Containing, Anacreonticks, Cantatas, Catches, Glees, Hunting Songs, Sea-Songs, &c.* v. 1 No. 1 (London: Printed for Harrison & Co, 1788. Reissued ca. 1710).

periodical's ephemerality by binding periodical installments together into larger volumes, demonstrating that the miscellany concert principle of combining various vocal and instrumental genres was also realized through print.[438] Furthermore, many literary periodicals of the time were styled as miscellanies, containing a mixture of poetry, prose, word games, as well as song texts and occasionally notated music, as in *The New Lady's Magazine; or, Polite and Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex*.[439] Due to the regular monthly schedule at which periodicals were issued, the music periodical functioned as an affordable, renewable source of entertainment, and as such was primarily associated with domestic performance for both genders.

The Ladies Concerts

Upper-class women also hosted private subscription concerts in their own homes, an emergent fashion around the turn of the century. It appears that such events arose to maintain a level of class exclusivity in order to counteract the growth in middle-class attendance at public concerts. Musicologist Ian Taylor suggests that

> The declining levels of exclusivity amongst audiences at venues such as the Hanover Square, Willis's and the King's Theatre concert rooms may have played a pivotal role in the development of an alternative strand of concert-giving, through which those in control were allowed to regain complete authority over the attendant audiences. Like the previously cited Concerts of Ancient Music, these domestic performances allowed for both the restoration of the sort of studied social framework now felt to be so lacking in the West End and for the provision of an ideological rebuke to the emerging commercial class, their location within the homes of the city's landed elite offering a very obvious illustration that money could not ultimately buy acceptance or success.[440]

One such series known as the Ladies Concerts occurred between 1791 and 1807 in the homes of its female subscribers. The oboist William Parke writes, "This winter I was engaged by Miss Abrams for a series of concerts denominated the ladies' concerts, conducted by that lady at

---

438 Rubin, *The English Glee*, 394.

439 *The New Lady's Magazine; or, Polite and Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex: Entirely Devoted to their Use and Amusement* (London: [Printed, by Royal Authority, for Alex Hogg, at the original King's-Arms, no. 16, Paternoster-Row (by whom the communications of ingenious persons—post paid—will be received, and immediately transmitted to the editor)], ca. 1786)

440 Ian Taylor, *Music in London and the Myth of Decline: From Haydn to the Philharmonic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 123.

Lord Vernon's, in which I performed a concerto on the oboe, and some of Handel's music, which were greatly applauded by the elegant auditors."[441] The concerts featured mostly vocal music with some orchestral pieces. Private concert series such as this one provided women with the rare opportunity to act as patrons and directly impact musical life in London. These activities intersect with opportunities women writers had achieved by the 1790s, when women experienced an unprecedented degree of public visibility as booksellers and periodical/newspaper editors. More women became self-sufficient as cultural producers, educators, and stage performers.[442] At the same time, gender roles were more strictly defined, hence the appropriateness of hosting concerts in the domestic confines of the home. As early as 1760, Teresa Cornelys hosted concerts in Carlisle House, her rented mansion.

Despite the elite audience, miscellany-style Ladies Concerts programs included three-voice harmonizations of contemporaneous solo songs. Such pieces were often referred to as glees, even though their song structures and stylistic elements were incompatible with the traditional glee. For example, one such glee performed at the Ladies Concerts was "A Shepherd Once had Lost his Love," an anonymous three-voice harmonization of a solo song by Storace, sung by Mrs. Bland in the comic opera *The Cherokee* (1794, Figure 4.6).[443] This song would have been familiar to audiences at the time, and the arrangement would have been manageable for amateur performers in domestic settings. Thus the popularity of harmonizing solo songs and passing them off as glees continued irrespective of performance venue.

The Vocal Concerts

The mixed-gender public concerts, rather than the usual all-male performances within clubs, appear to have propelled the glee to the height of its popularity. The most important of these was Samuel Harrison and Charles' Knyvett Sr.'s Vocal Concerts. As mentioned previously, Harrison was a respected tenor, and Knyvett was an organist and alto singer. Founded in 1791, the series ran for four seasons between 1792 and 1795, after which it was temporarily abandoned. Upon its revival in 1801 by Harrison, James Bartleman (a bass who trained in Westminster Abbey choir under Cooke), Thomas Greatorex (a Westminster Abbey organist, singer, and conductor of the Concert of Ancient

[441] Ibid., 121. Parke documented the 1791 concert series, while the Ashe collection contains programs pertaining to the 1805 series.
[442] Harriet Guest, *Unbounded Attachment: Sentiment and Politics in the Age of the French Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 8.
[443] "A Shepherd Once had Lost his Love" (1794), Bodleian Library Mus. Voc. I, 98 (8).

Figure 4.6: Anonymous harmonization of Storace's "A Shepherd Once Had Lost His Love" (1794)

Music), and William Knyvett (Charles's son, alto singer, and conductor of the Concert of Ancient Music succeeding Greatorex), the Vocal Concerts continued intermittently until 1821.[444] Harrison, Bartleman and Greatorex acted as the principal directors until 1813, when the concerts were renamed as "Bartleman, C. Knyvett [presumably Charles Knyvett Jr.] and W. Knyvett's Vocal Concerts" following Harrison's death in 1812.[445] All of these men were professional members of the Catch Club, and sang frequently in the concerts on their series.

The Vocal Concerts were founded on the premise that English vocal music would be the predominant music performed, with an emphasis on glees. The inaugural concert on February 11th 1792 was entirely comprised of solo and ensemble vocal numbers. The 1792 season utilized piano and string quartet accompaniment, enhanced by two horn players at the beginning of the 1793

[444] Taylor, *Music in London*, 165.
[445] Ibid., 59.

season, but the emphasis remained on vocal music throughout the 1790s.[446] The first season's audience included a "very numerous and brilliant circle, consisting of most of the higher patrons of the harmonic art in this country."[447] Tickets for the entire season were sold out before the first concert occurred.[448] Robins states that all four 1790s concert series excluded female singers, but this is incorrect.[449] Mrs. Harrison (Samuel's wife) sang two solo songs on the opening concert, and continued to sing in subsequent concerts.[450] Robins is also incorrect in claiming that during the 1790s, the Vocal Concerts upheld the traditional glee performance practice of all-male singing with minimal or no accompaniment. The programming of SATB glees and initial involvement of Mrs. Harrison suggests otherwise. The Vocal Concerts entry in the second edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* states in reference to the 1790s concerts, "Mr. and Mrs. Harrison and Bartleman were the principal singers, and were assisted in the glees, which formed the principal feature of the concerts, by Mr. Knyvett jun., Master W. Knyvett, and others." The author adds that Mme. Dussek and Miss Poole (afterwards Mrs. Dickons) joined the vocalists in 1793.[451] While Mrs. Harrison is designated in programs as having sung solo songs, the names of glee singers were typically not provided. That being said, the program for April 25, 1793 lists Mrs. Harrison as one of the singers in Jackson's harmonization of Arne's air "Where the Bee Sucks" (Figure 4.7). Though it is titled quartetto in the program, in publications it is designated as a glee. When the series was revived in 1801, a full orchestra and chorus were employed, and both male and female principal singers

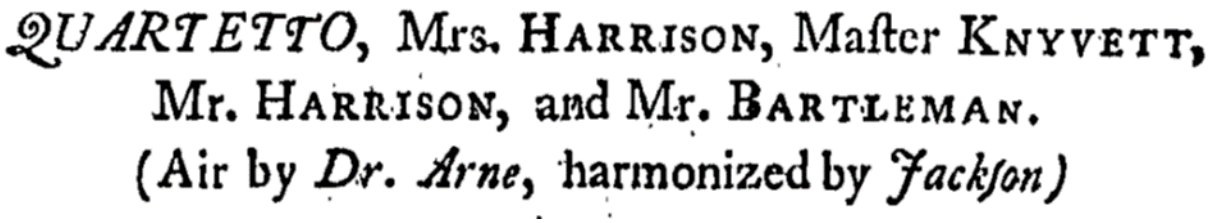

QUARTETTO, Mrs. HARRISON, Maſter KNYVETT,
Mr. HARRISON, and Mr. BARTLEMAN.
(Air by Dr. Arne, harmonized by Jackſon)

Figure 4.7: List of singers for William Jackson's harmonization of Thomas Arne's "Where the Bee Sucks"

446 Ibid., 58.
447 "Feb. 13, 1792," *Woodfall's Register* (London: [Printed by William] Woodfall, No. 62 Dorset-Street, Salisbury-Square, 1789–1793).
448 Robins, *Catch and Glee*, 120
449 Ibid.
450 Taylor, *Music in London*, 58. Harrison sang Andreozzi's "Nel vedermi" and Handel's "Angels ever bright and fair."
451 John Alexander Fuller-Maitland, eds., *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Second Edition v. 5 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), 359.

expanded to include "Mr. Harrison, Mr. Bartleman, Mrs. Harrison, Mrs. Bianchi, Miss Parke, Miss Tennant, and Mr. W. Knyvett."[452] Glees ranging from three to eight voices continued to be highlighted during the 1800s, with a greater number of voices also implying the need for female singers.

From its inception, the series attempted to cultivate a reputation for programming newly-composed glees. These glees were then published and sold, frequently as sheet music, thus earning additional profits for the impresarios. One anthology publication, *The Favorite New Glees Composed by Dr. Cooke, Mr. Callcott, Mr. Danby and Mr. Webbe, Expressly for, & Performed at Harrison & Knyvett's Vocal Concert*, was dedicated to the subscribers and advertised at the conclusion of various Vocal Concerts programs.[453] However, the designation "composed expressly for these concerts" was not entirely accurate, as demonstrated by Stevens' glee "To be gazing on these charms," proclaimed as a "New Glee" on the opening 1792 concert program, when in fact it had been submitted to the Catch Club competition for 1790.[454] Likewise, in many instances "new glees" were in fact harmonizations of popular songs, in the same manner as harmonized glees performed at the Ladies Concerts. The criteria for designating a song as a glee have never been stringent in the context of the music printing market. During the 1790s and following, newly-composed "glees" ranged from actual glees composed in the style upheld by the Catch Club to mere harmonized arrangements of popular songs, particularly Scotch airs.[455]

For example, Michael Arne (Thomas's son) composed "Sweet Poll of Plymouth" for John O'Keeffe's farce *The Positive Man* (1782). The song appeared as sheet music and in the *Edinburgh Musical Miscellany*, and its ensuing popularity must have inspired Webbe to harmonize it (Figure 4.8).[456] The harmonization is built on parallel thirds and sixths, with a slower moving bass line outlining consonant harmonic progressions. Webbe apparently was able to get away with this due to his already established reputation as a skilled glee composer. He arranged several Scots airs, older

---

[452] Ibid.
[453] *The Favorite New Glees composed by Dr.Cooke, Mr. Callcott, Mr. Danby and Mr. Webbe, Expressly for, & Performed at Harrison & Knyvett's Vocal Concert, 1792, etc.* (London: Printed for Harrison & Knyvett, ca. 1792).
[454] Robins, *Catch and Glee*, 121.
[455] Ibid., 122.
[456] D Sime, *The Edinburgh Musical Miscellany: A Collection of the Most Approved Scotch, English, and Irish Songs, Set to Music* (Edinburgh: Printed for J. Elder, T. Brown, and C. Elliot, 1793). Accessed as British Library Music Collections I.375.b v. 1.

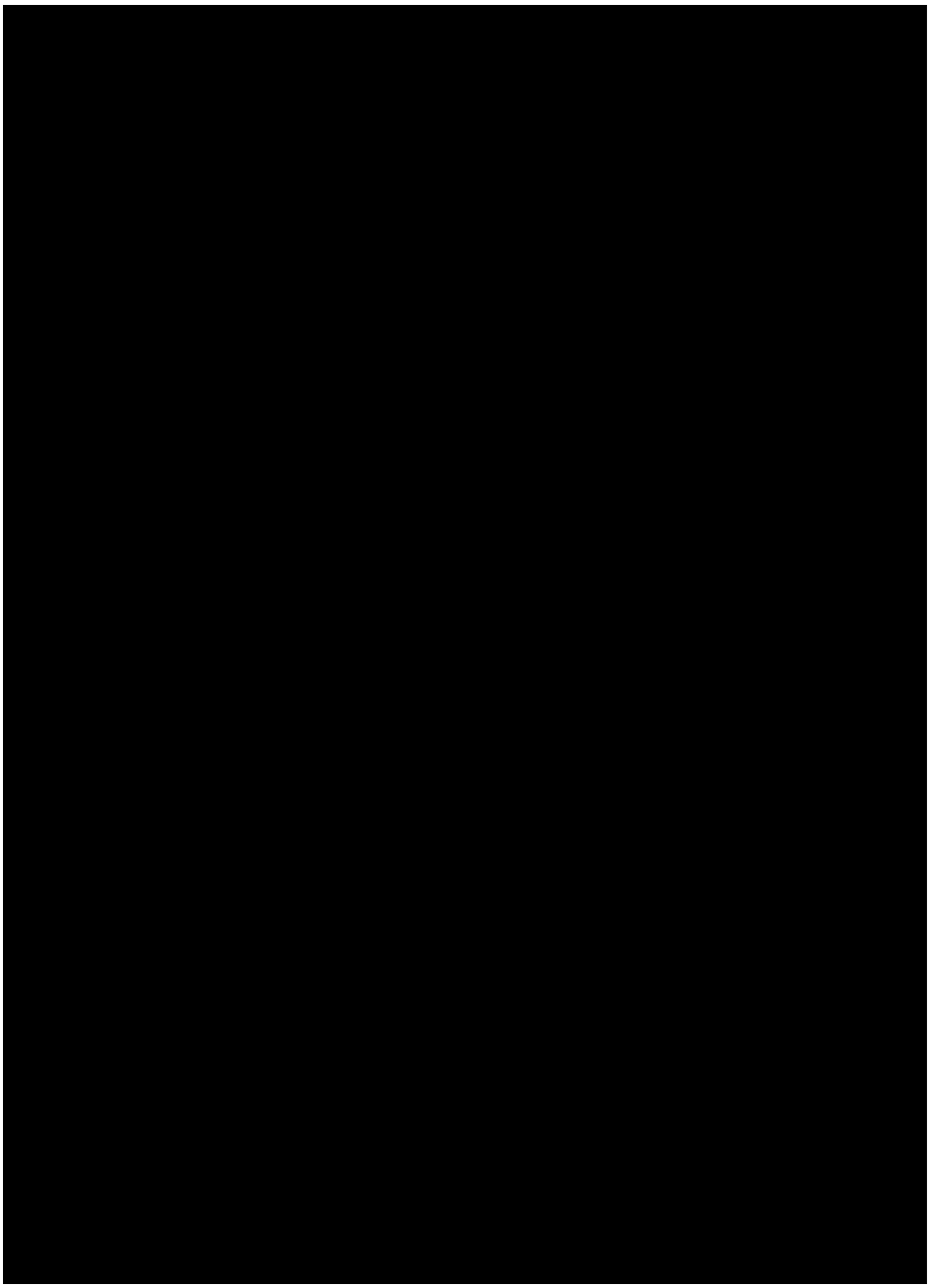


Figure 4.8: Michael Arne, "Sweet Poll of Plymouth," harmonized by Samuel Webbe (1793)

songs such as Boyce's "What Medicine Can Soften," and songs written by other well-known glee composers, such as Thomas Arne's "What Pleasing Pains."

Professional singers were also likely to pass off harmonizations as glees, particularly the impresarios of the Vocal Concerts. The Scotch air "Oh Nanny! Wilt thou gang with me" was one such glee, harmonized for four voices by Samuel Harrison. Additional glees created as

harmonizations of popular songs and performed on the Vocal Concerts, include Harrison's "Lullaby" from Storace's opera *The Pirates* (1792); Harrison's "Never Till Now," which occurs as a solo song in Frederick Reynold's farce *What's a Man of Fashion?* (1815); and William Knyvett's "Lochaber: A Favorite Glee," based on the traditional Scotch air.

All of the Vocal Concerts glee repertoire, whether original or harmonized, embraces sentimental, pastoral and patriotic themes deemed suitable for ladies. Harrison, Knyvett and Bartleman even appear to have organized a "Ladies Catch & Glee Concert" specifically for women, as revealed by the sheet music shown in Figure 4.9.[457] This concert may have resembled the Ladies Nights hosted by all-male clubs. This concert likely occurred during the 1800s, due to the reference to "sym." (symphony) within the accompaniment part, which may have indicated orchestral accompaniment. As Harrison, Knyvett, and Bartleman are specified as performers, it is presumed that one of them sang the opening solo to orchestral accompaniment.

Harmonizations such as those by Webbe, Harrison and Knyvett were extremely popular at the time, but ultimately led to a simplification of formal and harmonic properties, as well as a domestic orientation that associated the genre with female performers and, thus, devalued it. The Vocal Concerts therefore encapsulate a pivotal moment in the history of the glee, documenting a struggle between old and new approaches to its composition. This resulted in a proliferation of songs fashioned as glees, which may either contribute to the common view that this era represents the height of the glee's popularity, or be interpreted as indicating the beginnings of its decline as glee compositional practices shifted toward repackaging popular solo songs. One reason for the increase in harmonized glees was a lack of interest in new glee composition, evidenced by the cessation of the Catch Club's competition in 1794 due to lack of entries. During the first half of the nineteenth century, concert programs became more homogeneous, reflecting a newer practice of distinguishing light and serious music. The concept of popular music first emerged around this time, in association with songs and instrumental music performed at entertainment venues such as pleasure gardens. Concerts of popular music were oriented more toward the general public.[458] The Vocal Concerts presented serious music at the same time that the glee was on the verge of becoming more of a popular genre through harmonizations.

[457] "Long Life and Happiness Attend Our Gracious King" (London: Printed by Longman and Broderip, ca. 1798), Bodleian Library: Mus. Voc. I, 98 (12).
[458] Weber, *The Great Transformation*, 34–35.

Figure 4.9: "Song and Glee" indicating a "Ladies Catch and Glee Concert," ca. 1798

Accompaniment parts were also added to glees to market them for domestic performance. The Catch Club remains firm in the performance of unaccompanied glees to this day, yet some of its members proceeded to publish accompanied glees, undoubtedly to turn a profit. William Jackson and Stevens were pioneers in this practice. Stevens arranged his three-voice glee "O Strike the Harp in Praise of Bragela" for a "double accompaniment for the piano forte," in which two players could accompany themselves on one piano. Stevens claims that he was the first to compose double accompaniments, and that he did so for two sisters [Anna Maria and Susan Jeffery], with whom he sang the bass part.[459] Cooke's "Hark! The Lark," a four-voice glee performed at Vauxhall Gardens, includes both violin and harpsichord accompaniments. The composer states at the top of the printed music that the violin part may alternatively be "played an octave higher (with very little

[459] Argent, ed., *Recollections*, 96.

omission or variation) by another hand on the same Harpsichord."[460] Callcott also published glees with accompaniment. Barrett claims that Bishop "exalted the practice into a distinct artistic device, the more worthy as in the majority of cases his work was written to cover a dramatic weakness." Barrett claims that Bishop dealt with a scarcity of talented singers by composing orchestral-style accompaniments to create a choral effect without a chorus.[461]

Reinterpretation of the Glee as a Victorian Domestic Pastime

Publication of partsong anthologies and periodicals decreased after 1800, but single publications, as in sheet music, increased between 1800 and 1820. Rubin suggests that this could be due to the affordability of single publications, as well as their ephemerality, pointing to the glee as newly commodified for domestic entertainment. Anthologies, by contrast, were becoming more appropriate for association libraries and serious collectors.[462] A growing female consumer base altered the aesthetics and vocal scoring of the glee, with alternative SATB arrangements of AATB glees becoming prevalent.[463] In other words, compositional practices and musical tastes pertaining to the glee were shaped by the ways in which it was marketed. By the late nineteenth century, glees had been romanticized as "classic" songs that were easier to sing than the newer, chromatic songs.[464] Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century anthologies were often reissued over a period of a few decades, as in Webbe's *Convito armonico*, originally published in 1808 with multiple reprints into the 1830s.[465] *Convito armonico* features a variety of partsong composers and genres, but songs are reduced to two staves to facilitate accompaniment. This practice of repackaging old glees in new formats both reflects a move toward amateurism and reveals that fewer glees were being composed. Following the decline in the composition of new glees and their replacement by harmonizations of popular songs, the glee came to represent domesticity rather than masculinity.

---

460 Benjamin Cooke, "Hark! The Lark" (London: Muzio Clementi & Co., n.d.).
461 Barrett, *English Glees and Partsongs*, 318.
462 Rubin, *The English Glee*, 392.
463 Ibid., 394.
464 Ibid., 393.
465 Samuel Webbe, *Convito Armonico; A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets, Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed Into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment* (London, Printed & sold by Chappell ca. 1808, 1820, 1826, 1828, 1830, 1834). Publication dates for reissues are approximations, as reissue dates for anthologies were often not printed.

Conclusion

Conflicting definitions of the glee still persist, incongruities that arise out of its dual nature as an all-male private genre and a public genre oriented towards female audiences. In his recent history of the club, Wilkinson writes, "It is defined as an unaccompanied part song, usually for three or more male voices, which flourished in England from about 1750 until the First World War."[466] Wilkinson simply cites "Grove" as his source. Yet David Johnson's current Grove entry is slightly different, beginning with this sentence: "A type of unaccompanied partsong, typically for male voices *though often including female voices* [italics mine], which flourished in England from about 1750 until World War I."[467] Wilkinson's omission of Johnson's reference to female voices demonstrates that the Catch Club continues to characterize the glee as an all-male genre. This is not at all surprising, considering that their meetings, apart from Ladies Night, are (and always have been) limited to men.

The Catch Club's general perception of the glee is a nostalgic one, an understanding that in fact becomes obsolete in the 1780s once glees are marketed in earnest to women. I would further argue that during the late eighteenth century, this conservative outlook was proffered more so by gentlemen members, who attempted to garner attention and esteem as self-appointed guardians of England's perceived national genre. A desire to associate the glee with cultivated artistry led to a dismissal of glees that were mere harmonizations of solo songs, or arrangements for treble voices. The Catch Club's early library holdings supports this assessment. As discussed in chapter two, while the library did contain single-author anthologies intended for women, as in Stevens's *Eight Glees Expressly Composed for Ladies*, it did not preserve mixed-author anthologies such as *Amusement for the Ladies*. Of course, it would have been impractical on one level for an all-male club to possess music pitched for treble singers. Yet according to the club's supposed original mission of generating partsong repertoire, particularly glees, as a means of cultivating an English national identity during a time often perceived as a draught in English music history, storing ladies' anthologies could only attest to the ways in which the glee's popularity exceeded even club members' expectations.

Historians of the glee must therefore take its marketing to women into account, as fundamentally altering the texts, compositional style, performance practices, and performers and listeners of glees. Thus, while Catch Club gentlemen have consistently promoted the glee at their

---

[466] Wilkinson, *To Drink, To Sing,* 47.

[467] David Johnson, "Glee," in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed January 28, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11269.

meetings, the types of glees they have historically endorsed are generally representative of the mid rather than late eighteenth century. As glees continue to be sung in both private and public contexts today, vocal scoring and performance practices are influenced by which aspects of the glee's multi-faceted history performers choose to highlight.

Bibliography

British Library Manuscript Collections

British Library Music Collections M.R.REF 783.1: *The Library of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Catalogue of Catches, Glees, Part Songs etc.*

British Library Music Collections E. 1858 e-z, aa-dd; H. 2788, a-z, aa-zz, aaa-ggg: Print and Manuscript volumes of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club.

General Reference Collection 11601.ddd.17: *Lyric Poetry of Glees, Madrigals, etc. Being a supplement to the collections of Clark and Leete and Bellamy,* [With a preface by William Fell.] London: Privately printed for the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, 1911.

Primary sources

Anderson, James, and John Entick. *The Constitutions of the Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons: Containing their History, Charges, Regulations, &C. ... For the Use of the Lodges. By James Anderson ... Carefully Revised, Continued and Enlarged, with Many Additions, by John Entick.* London: Printed for Brother J. Scott, 1756.

The Apollo, or Harmonist in Miniature: A Selection of Ancient and Modern Catches, Glees, Canons, Epigrams, &c. Most Respectfully Inscribed to the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Catch Clubs of England, Ireland, and Scotland. 8 vols. London: T. Williams, ca. 1815.

Avison, Charles. *An Essay on Musical Expression. The Second Edition 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 that Subject [By J. Jortin]. 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.* London, Printed for C. Davis, 1753.

A.B., anonymous letter published in *Man: A Paper for Ennobling the Species*. London: Printed by J. Haberkorn, 1755.

Batchelor's Protest: or Matrimony in [D?]isgrace: In a Letter to a Friend. London: Printed for C. Corbett, in Fleet-Street, ca. 1754.

Bayly, Anselm. *A Practical Treatise on Singing and Playing with Just Expression and Real Elegance*... London: Printed for J. Ridley, 1771.

Boswell, James. *London Journal, 1762–1763*, edited by Frederick A. Pottle. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950.

Bremner, Robert, ed. *The Vocal Harmonist's Magazine: Being a Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons, and Canzonets. Selected from the Best Authors Both Ancient and Modern*. London: Printed and sold by R: Bremner, ca. 1766–67.

Burney, Charles. *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols. London: Printed for the author, and sold by Payne and Son, 1776–89.

Busby, Thomas, ed. *An Universal Dictionary of Music*. London: Harrison and Company, 1786.

Callcott, John Wall. *A Collection of Glees, Canons, and Catches*, ed. William Horsley. London: Published, for the Author's Widow, by Birchall, Lonsdale, and Mills, 1824.

— — —. "Essays on Musical Subjects," in *Essays on Music Literature and History*, c. 1797–1801. British Library Add. MS. 27646.

Catches. You Look Down in the Mouth, Quoth Thomas To Nell, What Ails You my Fair-One To Day? [London]: [n.p.], 1789]. British Library Music Collections, RB.37.c.40(68).

Church of England. *Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church According to the Use of the Church of England Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David Pointed as they are to be Sung or Said in Churches and the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*. London: by His Majesties' Printers, 1662.

Clark, Richard. *The First Volume of Poetry; Revised, Improved, and Considerably Enlarged, Containing the Most Favorite Pieces, as Performed at the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, the Glee Club, the Harmonists' Society, the Argyll Glee Club, the Lodge Of Antiquity, the Somerset House Lodge, The Lodge Of Inverness, and the Lodge of Prudence, 122, of Freemasons, the Amateur Glee Club, Evening Parties, and All Public Societies, in General* London: Printed for the editor, 1824.

— — —, ed. *The Words of the Most Favourite Pieces, Performed at the Glee Club, the Catch Club, and Other Public Societies*. London: Printed for the Editor, 1814.

A Collection of Catches, Canons, Glees, Duettos &c, Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern. Edinburgh: Printed for J. Sibbald & Co., ca. 1780.

Concerts of Antient Music under the Patronage of Their Majesties, as Performed at the New Rooms, Tottenham Street (Collected Programs). London: W. Lee, [between 1780 and 1800].

Corfe, Joseph. *A Treatise on Singing Explaining in the most Simple Manner, All the Rules for Learning to Sing by Note, without the Assistance of an Instrument… By…Joseph Corfe…, Gentleman of his Majesty's Chapels Royal & Organist of the Cathedral at Salisbury*. [London]: To be had at the principal music shops, 1799.

Delany, Patrick. *An Historical Account of the Life and Reign of David, King of Israel*. London: Printed for J. Osborn, 1740–42.

Deslandes, Andre Francois. *Dying Merrily: or, Historical and Critical Reflexions on the Conduct of Great Men in All Ages*, translated by T.W.–A.M. London: Printed for M. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-Noster-Row, 1745.

East, Michael. *Second Set of Madrigals*. London: Printed by John Windet, 1606.

The Favorite New Glees composed by Dr. Cooke, Mr. Callcott, Mr. Danby and Mr. Webbe, Expressly for, & Performed at Harrison & Knyvett's Vocal Concert, 1792, etc. London: Printed for Harrison & Knyvett, ca. 1792.

Gawthorn, Nathaniel. *Harmonia perfecta: A Compleat Collection of Psalm Tunes, in Four Parts*. London: Printed by William Pearson, 1730.

The Gentleman's Musical Magazine; or Monthly Convivial Companion Containing, Anacreonticks, Cantatas, Catches, Glees, Hunting Songs, Sea-Songs, &c. volume 1, no. 1. London: Printed for Harrison & Co, 1788.

Gibbons, Orlando. *The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets of 5 Parts*. London: Printed by Thomas Snodham, 1612.

Gray, Thomas. "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard." London: Printed for R. Dodsley, 1751.

Hale, Thomas. *Social Harmony Consisting of a Collection of Songs and Catches in Two, Three, Four and Five Parts, from the Works of the most Eminent Masters to which are added Several Choice Songs on Masonry.* [Liverpool]: Hale & Son, 1763.

— — —. *Supplement to T. Hale's Social Harmony, 47th Part: Consisting of Several Songs and Catches, Added by Particular Desire of Some of His Worthy Subscribers.* [Liverpool]: Hale & Son, 1763.

Harrison, Samuel, Charles Knyvett, and James Bartleman. "Long Life and Happiness Attend Our Gracious King." London: Printed by Longman and Broderip, c. 1795. Bodleian Library: Mus. Voc. I, 98 (12).

Hawkins, John. *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Music. With a Comparative View of the Music of the Past and Present Times. By a Member.* London: [s.n.], 1770.

— — —. *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. London: Printed for T. Payne and Son, 1776.

Hayes, William. *Catches, Canons, and Glees for Three, Four, and Five Voices.* [Oxford]: Printed for the Author, 1757.

— — —. *Catches, Glees, and Canons, for Three, Four, Five, Six, and Eight Voices: (Including Such as Gained Prize Medals at Almacks, A.D. 1763 & 1764).* Oxford: Printed for the Author, 1765.

— — —. *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression.* London: Printed for J. Robinson, 1753.

— — —. *A Supplement to the Catches, Glees, and Canons Lately Published by Dr. Hayes: Consisting Chiefly of Some Favourite Pieces, Composed by Old and Approved Masters, to Which He Hath Added Parts, for the*

Sake of Enriching the Harmony, and Two New Canons. [Oxford]: Printed for the editor, and may be had of him at Oxford; And of Mrs. Johnson, opposite to Bow Church in Cheapside, London, ca. 1765.

Hilton, John. *Catch that Catch Can, or, A Choice Collection of Catches, Rounds & Canons for 3 or 4 Voyces*. London: Printed for John Benson & John Playford, 1652.

— — —. *Catch that Catch Can, or, The Musical Companion: Containing Catches and Rounds for Three and Four Voyces: To Which is Now Added a Second Book Containing Dialogues, Glees, Ayres, & Ballads, &c., Some for Two, Three, Foure Voyces*. London: Printed by W. Godbid for J. Playford at his shop in the Temple, 1667.

Hiram: Or, the Grand Master-Key to the Door of Both Antient and Modern Free Masonry ... Second Edition ... By a Member of Royal Arch. London: [n.p.], 1766.

Horsley, William. *A Fourth Collection of Glees, Canons, &c*. London: Printed for the Author, by Birchall, Lonsdale, and Mills, 1827.

— — —, ed. *Vocal Harmony: Being a Collection of Glees, Madrigals, Elegies, Quartetts, Canzonets &c. Compiled from the Compositions of the Best Authors Ancient and Modern Including the Prize Glees from 1763 to 1794*. London: Clementi, Banger, Collard, Davis & Collard, ca. 1810–1830.

Howard, Leonard. *Newest Manual of Private Devotions. In Three Parts. The Third Edition*. London: Printed for James Hodges, 1760.

Hullah, John. "A Visit to the Madrigal Society." *Bentley's Miscellany* 1 (1837): 465–69.

Jackson, William. *Observations on the Present State of Music in London*. London: Printed for Harrison and Co, 1791.

— — —. *Thirty Letters on Various Subjects: In Two Volumes. The Second Edition, Corrected and Improved*. London: Printed for T. Cadell; and B. Thorn and Son, in Exeter, 1784.

Jones, Stephen. *Masonic Miscellanies, In Poetry and Prose: Containing I. The Muse Of Masonry, ... II. The Masonic Essayist. III. The Freem-Ason's [Sic] Vade-Mecum*. Dublin: Printed by Brother Joseph Hill, 1800.

Jortin, John. *An Essay on Musical Expression. The Second Edition 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 that Subject [By J. Jortin]. 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*. London, Printed for C. Davis, 1753.

Kemmish, William. *Kemmish's Annual-Harmonist: Or, The British Apollo; Being a Complete Lyric Repository and Banquet of Amusement: Containing the Whims of the Night and Day: With all the Monstrous Good, and Convivial Songs Catches, Glees, Duets, &C. Sung this Season, in The Prisoner, Just in Time, Hartford Bridge, Pirates, At Vauxhall, Bermondsey Spa, and Various Other Polite Assemblies. Likewise,*

The President's Companion; Or, Compleat Toast-Master. For the Better Encouragement of this Work, W.K. Offers for the Best Song, that Comes to Hand by September, 1793, a Silver Medal, Value 1d. 1s. Southwark [London]: Printed and sold by W. Kemmish, King-Street, Borough, ca. 1793.

Knox, Vicesimus. *Winter Evenings: or, Lucubrations on Life and Letters*. Second Edition v. II. London: Printed for Charles Dilly, 1790.

The Ladies Catch Book: Being a Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees: The Words of Which will not Offend the Nicest Delicacy. London: Printed for S. and A. Thompson, ca. 1762.

The Ladies Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons, Canzonets, Madrigals, &c. [London]: [John Bland] and sold by him at his music warehouse, No. 45. Holborn, ca. 1787.

The Ladies New and Polite Pocket Memorandum-Book, for the Year of our Lord 1780. London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard, ca. 1780.

The Lady's Musical Magazine; or, Monthly Polite Repository of New Vocal Musick by the Principal Composers in Europe v. 1. *Published as vol. 1 in 6 Parts, Containing 4 Songs Each. 24 songs, Mostly for Voice and Harpsichord or Continuo, Some with Versions for Flute*. London: Printed for Harrison and Co., 1788.

Le Neve, John. *Monumenta Anglicana: Being Inscriptions on the Monuments of Several Eminent Persons, Deduced Into a Series of Time by Way of Annals*. 4 volumes. London, Printed by Will Bowyer, 1717–1719.

Leete, Robert, ed. *A Continuation of the Words of the Glees, Catches, Rounds &c. not Inserted in Mr. Clark's Second Volume; chiefly from the MS. and Printed Collection Belonging to the Catch Club*. London: Printed by Harjette & Savill, Printers, 107, St. Martin's Lane, 1833.

London and its Environs Described: Containing an Account of Whatever is Most Remarkable for Grandeur, Elegance, Curiosity or Use, in the City and in the Country Twenty Miles Round it. London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1761.

Lysons, Daniel. *Environs of London: Being an Historical Account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, within Twelve Miles of that Capital; Interspersed with Biographical Anecdotes*. London: Printed by A. Strahan, for T. Cadell, 1795–96.

Mackenzie, Henry. *The Man of Feeling*. London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1771.

Mornington, Garrett Colley Wellesley, Earl of. *Amusement for the Ladies, Being a Selection of the Favorite Catches, Canons, Glees, and Madrigals; as Performed at the Noblemen & Gentlemen's Catch Club Including the Most Popular Which Have Gained the Prize Medals.* 3 volumes. London: Printed by Broderip & Wilkinson, [ca. 1800]. Bodleian Library Harding Mus. E 646–48.

Musicae Vocalis Deliciae. London: Printed for T. Skillern, ca. 1790.

Nares, James. *A Concise and Easy Treatise on Singing, Addressed to the Delettanti in Music who are Desirous of Performing Duets, or any Vocal Music in Parts*. London: Printed for the author, sold by John Preston, 1786.

The New Lady's Magazine; or, Polite and Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex: Entirely Devoted to their Use and Amusement. London: [Printed, by Royal Authority, for Alex Hogg], ca. 1786.

Oliphant, Thomas. *A Brief Account of the Madrigal Society, from its Institution in 1741, up to the Present Period*. London: Calkin & Budd, 1835.

— — —, ed. *Catches and Rounds by Old Composers. Adapted to Modern Words by T. Oliphant*. London: Ja[me]s Howell, ca. 1835.

Owen, John. *Immoderate Mourning for the Dead*. London: Printed by J. Macock, for John Williams at the Crown in St Paul's Church-yard, 1680.

Parry, John, ed. *The London Collection of Glees, Duets & Catches Comprising the Established Compositions of the Old Masters, with Selections from the Works of [Thomas] Attwood, [Henry Rowley] Bishop, [John] Braham etc…Calculated for Public or Private Performance*. London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co., ca. 1820.

Parsley, Robert. *Parsley's Fashionable Lyric Companion: A Collection of the Newest and Most Favourite Songs ... And A Collection of Toasts....* London: Printed and sold by R. Parsley; And also sold by J. Nunn, 1787.

Pepusch, John Christopher [Johann Christoph]. *A Short Treatise on Harmony: Containing the Chief Rules for Composing in Two, Three and Four Parts: Dedicated to All Lovers of Musick by an Admirer of This Noble and Agreeable Science*. London: J. Watts, 1730.

— — —. *A Short Treatise on Harmony. The 2nd ed. ... enlarg'd, etc*. London: Printed by W. Pearson, 1731.

The Piano-Forte Magazine. London: Printed for Harrison and Co., 1797–1802.

Playford, John. *Introduction to the Skill of Musick for Song & Viol*. London: Printed for John Playford & are sold at his shop ..., 1655.

— — —. *Musicall Banquet: Set Forth in Three Choice Varieties of Musick. The First Part Presents You With Excellent New Lessons for the Lira Viol, Set to Severall New Tunings. The Second A Collection Of New and Choyce Allmans, Corants, and Sarabands for One Treble and Basse Viol, Composed by Mr. William Lawes, and Other Excellent Authours. The Third Part Containes New and Choyce Catches or Rounds for Three or Foure Voyces. To Which is Added Some Few Rules and Directions for such as Learne to Sing, or to Play on the Viol*. London: Printed by T[homas].H[arper]. for John Benson, and John Playford, and are to be sold at their shops ..., 1651.

— — —. *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*. Second Edition. London: Printed for John Playford, 1686.

Ravenscroft, Edward. *The Citizen Turned Gentleman: A Comedy*. London: Printed for Thomas Dring, 1672.

Ravenscroft, Thomas. *Deuteromelia: or the Second Part of Musicks Melodie, or Melodius Musicke*. London: T. Adams, 1609.

— — —. *Melismata; Musicall Phansies Fitting the Court, Citie, and Countrey Humours*. London: Printed by W. Stansby for T. Adams, 1611.

Reeve, William, Thomas Dibdin, and W. Ware, *The Introduction, Songs, Glees, Trios, Chorusses, &c. in the New Pantomime called Harlequin's Almanack, or, The Four Seasons: Performed at the Theatre-Royal Covent Garden*. London: Printed and Published by Barker and Son, 1801.

Review of Richard Clark, *The Words of the Most Favourite Pieces, Performed at the Glee Club, the Catch Club, and Other Public Societies. Compiled by R. Clark*. In *The Monthly Repertory of English Literature* 21, no. 84 (1816): 103–113.

Review of T. Cooke's Glee, "Johnny Adair," In *New Music. Weekly True*, November 15, 1835.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *A Complete Dictionary of Music. Consisting of a Copious Explanation of all Words Necessary to a True Knowledge and Understanding of Music*. Second Edition. London, 1779.

Sharp, Granville. *A Short Introduction to Vocal Musick*. [London]: [n.p.], 1767.

Shield, William. *How Merrily We Live: The Favorite Glee in the Flitch of Bacon with the Original Words as Perform'd at Vauxhall Gardens and the Noblemen's Catch Club: also Transposed and Adapted for a Guitar and Voice, and for One Two or Three Gn. Flutes*. London: Printed by Longman and Broderip, ca. 1778.

Sime, D. *The Edinburgh Musical Miscellany: A Collection of the Most Approved Scotch, English, and Irish Songs, Set to Music*. Edinburgh: Printed for J. Elder, T. Brown, and C. Elliot, 1793.

Sketchley, J. *The Free Masons Repository. Containing a Selection of Valuable Discourses, Charges, Rules, Orders, Aphorisms, and Letters: ... To Which is Added, a Variety of Anthems, Odes, Songs, Poems ... Also, the Secret Way of Writing Used Among Masons*. Birmingham: Printed by and for J. Sketchley, ca. 1785.

Smith, Adam. *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. London: Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand, 1759.

Smith, John Stafford. *A Collection of English Songs in Score for Three and Four Voices: Composed about the Year 1500. Taken from MSS. of the Same Age, Revised and Digested by J.S. Smith*. London: Printed for J. Bland, ca. 1779.

— — —. *Musica Antiqua, a Selection of Music of This and Other Countries from the Commencement of the 12th to the Beginning of the 18th Century Comprising Some of the Earliest & Most Curious Motetts, Madrigals, Hymns, Anthems, Songs, Lessons and Dance Tunes, Some of Them Now First Published from Manuscripts and Printed Works of Great Rarity & Value. The Whole Calculated to Shew the Original*

Sources of the Melody & Harmony of this Country; & to Exhibit the Different Styles & Degrees of Improvement of the Several Periods. London: Printed and sold by Preston, 1812.

Steele, Richard. *The Funeral; or, Grief a-la-mode*. London: [Pr]inted for Jacob Tonson within Gray's-Inn-Gate next Grey's-Inn-lane, 1702.

Storace, Stephen. "A Shepherd Once Had Lost His Love: Harmoniz'd for Three Voices, and Sung at the Ladies Private Concerts." London: Printed for and Sold by J. Dale, ca. 1795. Bodleian Library Mus. Voc. I, 98 (8).

The Vocal Harmonist's Magazine: Being a Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons, and Canzonets. Selected from the best Authors both Ancient and Modern. London: Printed and sold by R: Bremner, ca. 1766–1767.

Vocal Harmony: Being a Collection of Glees, Madrigals, Elegies, Quartetts, Canzonets &c. Compiled from the Compositions of the Best Authors Ancient and Modern Including the Prize Glees from 1763 to 1794. London: Clementi, Banger, Collard, Davis & Collard, ca. 1810–1830.

Walpole, Horace. *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, edited by W. S. Lewis et al. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1961.

Warren, Edmund Thomas, ed. *Apollonian Harmony: A Collection of Scarce & Celebrated Glees, Catches, Madrigals, Canzonetts* [sic.]*, Rounds and Canons Antient & Modern, with Some Originals*. Vol. i–vi. London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson; No. 75 St. Paul's Church Yard., [between 1781 and 1790].

— — —, ed. *A Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees,* Vol. i–xxxii. London: various publishers, 1762–1794.

— — —, ed. *A Collection of Vocal Harmony: Consisting of Catches Canons and Glees Never Before Publish'd: To Which are added Several Motetts and Madrigals Composed by the Best Masters, Selected by* [Edmund] *Thomas Warren*. London: Printed by Welcker in Gerrard Street, St. Ann's Soho, issued periodically from ca. 1765.

— — —. "Manuscript notes by E. T. Warren." Unpublished, 1777. British Library Music Collections K.7.i.12.

Watts, Isaac. *The Watchful Christian Prepared for Early Death. A Sermon on Occasion of The Decease of Mrs. Sarah Abney, Daughter of The Late Sir Thomas Abney, Knt. and Alderman of London. Preached at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, April 2. 1732*. London: Printed for E. Matthews at the Bible in Paternoster-Row; R. Ford at the Angel, and R. Hett at the Bible and Crown, both in the Poultry, 1732.

Webbe, Samuel. *Convito Armonico; A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets, Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed Into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment*. London: Printed & sold by Chappell, ca. 1808, 1820, 1826, 1828, 1830, 1834

The Words of such Pieces as are most Usually Performed by the Academy of Ancient Music. The Second Edition. London: Printed by J. Dixwell, in St. Martin's Lane, near Charing Cross, 1768.

Young, Edward. *The Complaint: or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality*. London: Printed for R. Dodsley, at Tully's Head in Pall-Mall; And sold by M. Cooper in Pater-noster-Row, 1743.

Secondary Sources

Achilleos, Stella. "The Anacreontea and a Tradition of Refined Male Sociability." In *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, edited by Adam Smyth, 21–36. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006.

Argent, Mark, ed. *Recollections of R.J.S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992.

Austern, Linda. "Music and Manly Wit in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of the Catch." In *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, edited by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard, 281–308. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013.

Baptie, David. *Sketches of the English Glee Composers*. London: William Reeves, 1895.

Barker, Hannah, and Elaine Chalus, ed. *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representation, and Responsibilities*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Barrett, William Alexander. *'English Glee and Madrigal Writers': Two Lectures Read at the London Institution on January 18th, and February 15th, 1877*. London: W. Reeves, ca. 1877.

— — —. *English Glees and Part-Songs*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1886.

Beckett, J. V. *The Aristocracy in England, 1660–1914*. New York: Blackwell, 1986.

Bellamy, Thomas Ludford, ed. *Lyric Poetry of Glees, Madrigals, Catches, Rounds, Canons, and Duets*. London: Printed by Richard and John Edward Taylor, 1840.

Bernstein, Jane A. *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press, (1539–1572)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Bernstein, Jane A., ed. *Philip van Wilder: Collected Works*. Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance 4. New York: Broude Trust, 1991.

Black, Jeremy and Jeremy Gregory, eds. *Culture, Politics, and Society in Britain, 1660–1800*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.

Boas, Guy. "A Bicentenary Review" (1964). In Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays Toward its History*. London: Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club at the Cypher Press, 1996.

Brett, Philip. "Did Byrd Write 'Non Nobis, Domine'?" *Musical Times* 113 (1972): 855–57.

Brewer, John. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997.

Burchell, Jennifer. "'The First Talents of Europe': British Music Printers and Publishers and Imported Instrumental Music in the Eighteenth Century." In *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, edited by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, 93–114. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.

Carter, Tim. *Music, Patronage and Printing in Late Renaissance Florence*. Aldershot [u.a.]: Ashgate Variorum, 2000.

Castelvecchi, Stefano. *Sentimental Opera: Questions of Genre in an Age of Bourgeois Drama*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Christopherson, Harald. "A Post-War Review" (1996). In Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays Toward its History*. London: Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club at the Cypher Press, 1996.

Citron, Marcia J. *Gender and the Musical Canon*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000.

City Glee Club. *Book of the Words of Glees, Madrigals, Part Songs, Rounds, Catches....* [London], [The Club], 1880.

Clark, Peter. *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

— — —. *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200–1830*. New York: Longman, 1983.

— — —. *Sociability and Urbanity: Clubs and Societies in the Eighteenth-Century City*. Leicester: University of Leicester Victorian Studies Centre, 1986.

Claydon, Tony and Ian McBride, eds. *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1737-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Cowgill, Rachel E. "Billington, Elizabeth (1765–1818)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed January 28, 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.library.stonybrook.edu/view/article/2397.

Craufurd, J. G. "The Madrigal Society." *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 82, no. 1 (1955–56): 33–46.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*. Cambridge: UK Polity Press, 2007.

Day, Thomas. "Old Music in England, 1790-1820." *Revue Belge De Musicologie/Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Muziekwetenschap* 26–27 (1972): 25–37.

— — —. "A Renaissance Revival in Eighteenth-Century England." *Musical Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (1971): 575–92.

de Certeau, Michel. *The Writing of History*, translated by Tom Conley. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Earle, Peter. *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society, and Family Life in London, 1660–1730*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Egginton, Tim. *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014.

Feldman, Martha. *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

French, Henry and Mark Rothery. *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, 1660–1900*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Gardiner, William. *Music and Friends*, *Or Pleasant Recollections of a Dilettante*, Volume 2. London: Longmans, Orme, Brown, and Longman, 1838.

Gibson, Kirsten. "Music, Melancholy and Masculinity in Early Modern England." In *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, edited by Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson, 41–66. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.

Green, Burdette and David Butler. "From Acoustics to *Tonpsychologie*." In *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, edited by Thomas Christensen, 246–71. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Green, Emily. "Dedications and the Reception of the Musical Score, 1785–1850." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2009.

Gregory, Jeremy. "*Homo religious*: Masculinity and Religion in the Long Eighteenth Century." In *English Masculinities, 1660–1800*, edited by Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, 85–110. New York: Longman, 1999.

Guest, Harriet. *Unbounded Attachment: Sentiment and Politics in the Age of the French Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Harris, Ellen. *Handel as Orpheus: Voice and Desire in the Chamber Cantatas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Harvey, Karen. *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Heiden, Mary Gifford. "Patronage, Connoisseurship and Antiquarianism in Georgian England: The Fitzwilliam Music Collection (1763-1815)." Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, 2011.

Irving, Howard. "Classic and Gothic: Charles Burney on 'Ancient Music.'" *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 23 (1994): 243–63.

Jupp, Peter. *The Governing of Britain, 1688–1848: The Executive, Parliament, and the People*. London: Routledge, 2006.

— — —. "The Landed Elite and Political Authority in Britain, ca. 1760–1850," *Journal of British Studies* Vol. 29, No. 1 (1990): 53–79.

Kerman, Joseph. "A Few Canonic Variations." *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1983): 107–25.

Lovell, Percy. "'Ancient Music' in Eighteenth-Century England." *Music and Letters* 60 (1979): 101–15.

C. M. "The Glee Club." In *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450–1889)*, volume 1, edited by George Grove, 599. London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1900.

Maurer, Shawn Lisa. *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century English Periodical*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.

McCahill, Michael W. *The House of Lords in the Age of George III (1760-1811)*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

— — —, and Ellis Archer. "The New Peerage: Recruitment to the House of Lords, 1704–1847" *The Historical Journal* 46, no. 1 (2003): 1-38.

McVeigh, Simon. "Freemasonry and Musical Life in London in the Late Eighteenth Century." In *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, edited by David Wyn Jones, 72–100. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000.

Neale, R. S. *Class in English History, 1680–1850*. Totowa, N.J.: Blackwell, 1981.

Orden, Kate van. *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Pink, Andrew. "When They Sing: The Performance of Songs in English Lodges of the 18th Century." In *Freemasonry in Music and Literature*, edited by Trevor Stewart, 1–14. London: CMRC, 2005.

Porter, Roy and Marie Mulvey Roberts, eds. *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Macmillan, 1996.

Potter, John. *Vocal Authority: Singing Style and Ideology*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Richardson, Sir A. E. *The English Inn, Past and Present: A Review of its History and Social Life*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1926.

— — —. *The Old Inns of England*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1934.

Robins, Brian. *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*. Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2006.

Rubin, Emanuel. *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society*. Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2003.

Schor, Esther. *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Scodel, Joshua. *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Sewell, William H. "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation" *American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 1 (1992): 1–29.

Spink, Ian. The Blackwell history of music in Britain. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1988.

Sweet, Rosemary. *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. London: Hambledon, 2004.

Taylor, Ian. *Music in London and the Myth of Decline: From Haydn to the Philharmonic*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays Toward its History* (London: Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club at the Cypher Press, 1996)

Wahrman, Dror. *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Waller, Maureen. *1700: Scenes from London Life*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2000.

Walvin, James. *English Urban Life, 1776–1851*. Dover, NH: Hutchinson, 1984.

Weber, William. "The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Musical Canon." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114, no. 1 (1989): 6–17.

— — —. *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

— — —. "The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47, no. 3 (1994): 488–520.

— — —. *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975.

— — —. "Musical Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the *Beau Monde* in London, 1700–1870." In *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, edited by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, 71–92. Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.

— — —, ed. *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

— — —. *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual & Ideology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Wilkinson, James. *To Drink, To Sing: The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club*. London: The Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, 2014.

Willetts, Pamela. *Handlist of Music Manuscripts acquired 1908-1967*. London: The British Library Publishing Division, 1970.