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A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711-1811:

A Documentary Study.

Simon David Iain Fleming

In the eighteenth century, Durham City was an important centre of political power, the nucleus of which was the cathedral whose own wealth and power was immense. The Bishop, as the King's representative, governed County Durham, and Durham City, as the capital of the palatinate, was a vibrant socio-economic centre. Those with means spent much of their free time patronising the large number of concerts, balls, assemblies, or theatrical productions that were frequently held in the city. For a musician, these public events provided ample opportunities to make a living. There were also opportunities to teach the children of wealthy patrons and to publish compositions. In consequence a large number of musicians came to the city, either to live or to visit, with race and assize weeks (the busiest time of the year) as a major focus of their employment.

The centre of musical life in Durham was the cathedral which dominated the production of both sacred and secular music. In order to attract good quality singers to the north, the cathedral's Chapter offered unusually high salaries to its lay-clerks. The clerks, as able singers, forged a high reputation as a musical force in the region at a time when the quality of sacred music and cathedral choirs was in serious decline. Some of the lay-clerks, most notably Edward Meredith and William Evance, would travel large distances to perform. Until 1763 the cathedral organist was James Hesletine who was succeeded by Thomas Ebdon. Both men were also involved in the local concert scene, although, under Hesletine, a significant dispute with the Newcastle musician Charles Avison took place which ultimately led to the establishment of a rival subscription series by Avison in partnership with John Garth.

Music permeated all levels of society at Durham. In addition to what was produced for concerts and at the cathedral, music was prevalent in many other arenas. Music formed part of worship in all of the city's churches, although it was only at St. Mary le Bow that it reached an appreciable standard. As part of the broader matrix of performances of secular music, Durham possessed its own musical society, and, as part of its wider public role, music performed a key role in civic and other ceremonial occasions as well as for local freemasonry, an organisation to which many of Durham's musicians belonged. Other forms of music-making took place in the domestic environment, but it was also possible to find music performed in the city's taverns. Furthermore, the performance of folk music and the presence of the town waits and military bands meant that music was commonly heard on the city's streets.

This thesis is based on a detailed study of several primary sources. The most important of these is the local newspapers, but ecclesiastical records, diaries, personal letters, published books on music and local history, and the music itself (both printed and in manuscript), have also been closely examined. By means of this archival work it has been possible to examine the whole spectrum of musical life across the city, a study which amply demonstrates that Durham was one of the most important provincial musical centres outside London. In fact, notwithstanding its provincial location, Durham was by no means insular in its outlook, nor was it entirely backward-looking, as can be seen in the distinctly innovative and inventive work of Garth.

A Century of Music Production in Durham City 1711-1811:

A Documentary Study.

Simon David Iain Fleming

Durham University

PhD in Music

2009

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Sigla of Institutions Referred to in this Thesis

GB-AS – Woodhorn Archives, Ashington

GB-CL – Carlisle Cathedral Library

GB-CLr – Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle

GB-Cu – Cambridge University Library

GB-DRc – Dean and Chapter Library, Durham Cathedral

GB-DRca – Durham Cathedral Archives, 5 The College, Durham Cathedral

GB-DRr – Durham Record Office

GB-DRu – Durham University Library at Palace Green

GB-GLr – Gloucester Record Office

GB-Gu – Glasgow University Library

GB-Lbl – British Library

GB-Mp – Henry Watson Library, Manchester

GB-NTa – Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle

GB-NTp – Newcastle Public Library

GB-Ob – Bodleian Library, Oxford

GB-SLp – Sunderland Provincial Grand Lodge Library

GB-Ya – York City Archives

US-BEm – University of California, Berkeley

US-CAh – Houghton Library, Harvard University

US-I – Cornell University Library, Ithaca

US-PRu – Princeton University Library

US-Wc – Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

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This thesis is dedicated to
Alan Frederick Clapham (1922-2007)
who showed great interest in a young boy's work
and was always a fountain of encouragement.

Introduction.

While I was completing the research for my MMus thesis on the Newcastle composer Charles Avison (Liverpool University, 1999), I became aware of the rich tapestry of Durham's musical heritage. One of the works that I examined was Avison's anthem 'Hast not thou forsaken us', composed for the use of the choir at Durham Cathedral (an edition of which I included in my thesis), but I also became aware, through a wider scrutiny of the archives, of the work of John Garth and, more particularly, his edition of the *Marcello Psalms*. The MMus course provided only a limited opportunity to get acquainted with this material, but it was clear to me that no significant research had been done on Garth, his Durham contemporaries (which included Ebdon, Hesletine, Evance and others) or the musical life of Durham itself. This is not to ignore the work of Brian Crosby (whose research on the musical life of Durham Cathedral has proved to be of considerable assistance) or Roz Southey's book *Music-Making in North-East England in the Eighteenth Century* (which contains various inaccuracies), but neither deals thoroughly with Durham or the music composed for both sacred and secular use during the eighteenth century.

My intention at the outset was to examine all aspects of music-making in Durham throughout the eighteenth century, a study which would include music at the cathedral, for public and private concerts, and for all other public and domestic occasions. My initial scheme was to explore the period from 1700 (when William Greggs was organist at the cathedral) until the death of Thomas Ebdon in 1811, but, after I became more familiar with the archival material, it seemed more practical to define the period of study by the 'two long reigns' (to quote Brian Crosby) of the cathedral organists, James Hesletine (in post from 1711 until 1763) and Thomas

Ebdon (in post 1763 until 1811).¹ These two musicians and their musical contributions figure prominently in my thesis along with that of Garth and other more minor Durham-based musicians. I have also attempted to place their works not only in the more local context of Durham and the north-east but also in a broader national context. However, figures such as Stephen Paxton and Ralph Banks jnr have only been mentioned in passing, for, although they emanated from Durham, their surviving compositions appear to have been written after they had relocated from the city.

I have divided my thesis into two principal sections: the first provides an historical background to the music and musicians; the second is devoted exclusively to an examination of the musical compositions themselves. I have then subdivided the each section into smaller chapters. The first section begins with a chapter defining the historical context of Durham in the eighteenth century and the lives of Hesletine, Ebdon and Garth. Subsequent chapters focus on music in the cathedral, concert life and other secular music-making.² The second section is divided into three parts: the first on sacred music, the other two on secular vocal and instrumental music.

During the course of my research I actively collaborated with the Avison Ensemble in the production of several CD recordings of music by Avison and Garth, though it was perhaps with the recording of Garth's cello concertos that I derived greatest satisfaction. The release of this recording, the first of the complete set of Garth's concertos, was particularly well received and drew approbation from many reviewers including Simon Heighes of *International Record Review* who described them as containing 'memorable music, persuasively performed, richly recorded and

¹ Crosby (1999), 32.

² It has been another aim of my research to examine, as far as is possible, the entire framework of musical activity across the class system of which concert life was only the pinnacle. In fact there is a noticeable bias in this thesis towards the production of secular music since more documentary evidence survives (in for example the forms of concert advertisements, reviews, and other newsworthy items provided by Newcastle newspapers).

among the most rewarding releases of the year.’³ Another reviewer, Peter Spaul of the *Liverpool Daily Post*, commented that ‘listening to this music makes one realise how ridiculous was the infamous remark from across the North Sea about Britain being a land without music. This release, with its information notes by Fleming, is very worthy of investigation.’⁴ In the wake of this successful recording, I have also produced notes for CDs of Garth’s Opp. 2 and 4 keyboard sonatas as well as four further CDs of Avison’s music and a recording of Handel’s *Grand Concertos*.

I have used several abbreviations in the course of my thesis that require further explanation. Major keys are represented by upper case (i.e. G major = G) and minor keys by lower case. Where a range of dates is provided for a newspaper (e.g. 1-8 September 1759), only the actual date of publication is given (e.g. 8 September 1759). All idiosyncratic spellings and use of capitalisations have been retained from the original sources. Modern editorial practices have been used in the production of musical examples (such as modern clefs, beaming, stem direction, key signatures), slurring and spelling have been standardised between the parts, but note values in all cases are as they appear in the sources. Figuring has been reproduced as it appears in the sources. Where the keyboard part has been realised, all editorially-added notes appear in small type. Superfluous accidentals have been removed without comment. In a few cases it has been necessary to reconstruct missing parts. Where this occurs it has been indicated in the score.

The majority of primary sources for this thesis are located in Durham. I am grateful to the staff at the Cathedral Archives for allowing access to their records and particularly to the assistance of Andrew Gray and Dr Michael Stansfield. I am also

³ <http://www.divine-art.com/CD/rev25059.htm>

⁴ *Liverpool Daily Post*, 11 January 2008.

extremely grateful to Roger Norris, the former Deputy Librarian, and his successor Joan Williams for their help in gaining access to the archives of the Dean and Chapter Library of the Cathedral which houses all the choir's part books, wordbooks and numerous published editions of music (most of which are contained in the Bamburgh collection). I would also like to thank the staff of Durham University's Palace Green Library (Special Collections) and Durham Record Office as well as the staff of the British Library, the Faculty of Music at Oxford University, the Robinson Library at Newcastle University, Newcastle Public Library, the Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle, Carlisle Cathedral Library, the Cumbria Record Office at Carlisle, Carlisle and Penrith Public Libraries, York City Archives, York Public Library, York University Library, Cambridge University Library, the Henry Watson Library at Manchester, Gloucester Record Office, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh, the Woodhorn Archives at Ashington, the Eda Kuhn Loeb and Houghton Libraries at Harvard University, Princeton University Library, Cornell University Library, and the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. Individual librarians who have been helpful to my studies include Canon David Weston, Ros Edwards and Thomas Coulson.

I also wish to extend my thanks to Gordon Dixon and the Avison Ensemble in Newcastle, and also to Richard Hird, Geoffrey Brown, and Philip Adamson, with whom I have discussed my research, and to Norman Emery for allowing me to view the Hesletine music fragment, and to several antiquarian book dealers who have provided rare material for my work, including John Turton, Lisa Cox, Rosemary Dooley, Colin Coleman, Decorum Books, and Travis and Emery.

I must also give my thanks to my tutor Professor Jeremy Dibble, who has guided me firmly through the PhD, and his friendship as well as his extensive

knowledge have always been warmly received, and to Dr Brian Crosby, who provided me with all of his notes. His help certainly made my life a lot easier, as well as bringing to my attention several important sources, notably the material in the Edinburgh newspapers and the music of John Pixell. I would also like to acknowledge his tireless efforts in proof-reading my thesis.

Finally I must extend my utmost gratitude to my wife Meena, whose patience and understanding were bountiful, particularly when ‘another old dusty book’ arrived at our doorstep.

Part 1: Music Making in Eighteenth-Century Durham City

Chapter 1: Background to Durham, Music and the Key Musicians

1.1.1 Durham City in the Eighteenth Century

Modern Durham is a small, bustling city with an immense amount of charm and vitality. Within walking distance are all the necessary amenities set within one of the most picturesque urban environments in Britain. Such is the iconic status of Durham Cathedral, which stands proudly over the river Wear, it was recently voted by the listeners of BBC Radio 4's 'Today' programme as the best-loved building in the UK.¹ The area of Palace Green, which includes the cathedral, castle, and other historical buildings, became an UNESCO world heritage site in 1986 and joined the ranks of other distinguished structures such as the Taj Mahal and the Great Wall of China.² Most modern visitors and inhabitants acknowledge Durham to be a beautiful and unique city but these attributes were acknowledged well before the twenty-first century. Visitors to the city, among them numerous writers, have offered complimentary accounts of their experiences. Two early visitors, Celia Fiennes (1662-1741), who came in the latter part of the seventeenth century,³ and Daniel Defoe (c.1660-1731), the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, who visited during the second decade of the eighteenth, spoke highly of the city. Fiennes thought that the 'whole city [sic] of Durham it's the noblest, cleane and pleasant buildings, streets large and well pitch'd...and the aire so cleer and healthy that persons enjoy much health and pleasure'.⁴ Defoe called it 'a little compact neatly contriv'd city, surrounded almost with the River Wear, which with the castle standing on an eminence, encloses the city in the middle of it; as the castle does also the cathedral, the bishop's palace, and the

¹ 27/08/2001 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1511841.stm> accessed 04/01/2005.

² <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/370> accessed 6/01/2007.

³ She possibly visited Durham in 1698. Fiennes (1949), xxiii.

⁴ Fiennes (1949), 215-6.

fine houses of the clergy, where they live in all the magnificence and splendour imaginable.’⁵

Their views stand in contrast to those of Spencer Cowper (1713-74), Dean of Durham Cathedral between 1746 and 1774. Cowper was in many ways unhappy with his appointment and during his time in residence would pine for his native Hertfordshire where he usually returned once his official annual residence was over.⁶ He thought that ‘The town itself [was] nasty and disagreeable, the streets narrow and wretchedly paved, and the houses dirty and black, as if they had no inhabitants but Colliers.’⁷ At the time of Cowper’s arrival, Durham ‘was still a medieval town, the narrow streets of which were blocked by the gates of the ancient citadel.’⁸ However, due to a lack of building outside the city walls, most new construction, to accommodate the rise in population, had been accommodated within the medieval boundaries. Consequently, by the late eighteenth century, the centre of Durham had become an unhealthy place to live, overpopulated with narrow, densely packed streets and alleys that had become a breeding ground for disease and vermin.⁹

More surprising about Cowper’s views was that he showed little love for the cathedral. He stated that it ‘has so little beauty in it that it is no improvement to the prospect. The inside is very clumsy. The Great Isle is filld with heavy massy pillars out of all proportion. The Choir very small but neat, not bigger than a College Chappel, but ornamented in the Gothic way very richly.’¹⁰ Other writers expressed a similar perception. Jonathan Gray, an alderman of York, solicitor and amateur musician, who visited Durham in 1796, noted that the cathedral ‘is an ugly place &

⁵ Defoe (1983), II, 124-5.

⁶ Stranks (1993), 71.

⁷ Hughes (1956), 61.

⁸ Stranks (1993), 72.

⁹ Roberts (2003), 114.

¹⁰ Hughes (1956), 62.

the Pillars are dreadfully clumsy. The exterior Appearance is better.’¹¹ Another visitor was the musician Charles Dibdin (1745-1814) who undertook a ‘musical-tour’, touring all the counties prior to his embarkation for India. He arrived in Durham in 1788 and his views of the city are far more in keeping with those of Fiennes and Defoe; and, despite visiting in February, he understood that Durham had the potential to be a beautiful place. ‘DURHAM, in summer, must be one of the most beautiful situations in ENGLAND. The river, the castle, the bishop’s palace, and the straggling suburbs, present you with a new and picturesque view wherever you turn.’¹²

Perhaps the greatest personality ever to live in Durham was the Polish dwarf Count Joseph Boruwlaski (1739-1837). He retired to the city in 1810, but had made several earlier visits, the first in 1800.¹³ He praised the cathedral as ‘a most ancient and grand edifice’¹⁴ but also offered a contrasting description of Durham itself: ‘The City of Durham, which is the metropolis of the Palatinate, has not an imposing appearance, as it contains not many buildings of fine architecture: but this disadvantage is abundantly compensated by the hospitality and kindness of its amiable inhabitants’.¹⁵ Dibdin had also thought highly of the city’s residents, remarking that the ‘more genteel part of the inhabitants are more a community than a neighbourhood, a family than a society.’¹⁶ It is evident, for both musicians, and in particular Boruwlaski, that the agreeable nature of Durham was engendered by the hospitality of its residents. Indeed, it was thanks to the friendship of Ebdon that

¹¹ GB-Ya: Diary of Jonathan Gray T2a, 12.

¹² Dibdin (1788), 277.

¹³ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 22 February 1800. For more information of Boruwlaski see pages 103-4.

¹⁴ Boruwlaski (1820), 352.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 361.

¹⁶ Dibdin (1788), 277.

Boruwłaski decided to settle in Durham having spent much of his life travelling throughout Europe.¹⁷

During the eighteenth century, Britain led the way in industrial development and expansion and this was felt keenly in urban centres such as Newcastle (whose wealth was founded on coal, shipping and ship-building). Durham City, by contrast, was not noted for any major industrial concentration; as Gray remarked brusquely: ‘There is not much Trade here.’¹⁸ The largest industry in the surrounding county of Durham was the mining of coal and, since Durham was located at the centre of the coalfield, it came to be recognised as the hub of the industry. Other small industries within Durham City itself included a woollen mill (established in 1780) and a cotton mill that was erected in 1796. Durham was also an important centre in the production of mustard from the early eighteenth century when it was first ground commercially.¹⁹

Durham may not have been a centre of industry, but its wealth came through its position as a centre of political power in the north-east. During the eighteenth century the ‘prince-bishop’ – the Monarch’s representative in the north of England – ran the Palatinate of Durham. Within the Palatinate the bishop enjoyed ‘royal privilege and status’ and possessed the ability to ‘enforce legislation, control the courts and mint his own coinage’,²⁰ facts that were not lost to Fiennes and Defoe. Fiennes remarked that the Bishop ‘is an absolute Prince and has a great command’,²¹ while Defoe commented that ‘the Bishop of Durham is a temporal prince, that he keeps a court of equity, and also courts of justice in ordinary causes within himself. The county of Durham, like the country of Rome, is called St Cuthbert’s

¹⁷ Boruwłaski (1820), 176-7.

¹⁸ Temperley (1977), 1; GB-Ya: Diary of Jonathan Gray T2a(17).

¹⁹ Roberts (2003), 28.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 185. The origin of the ‘prince-bishop’ originates from the Anglo-Saxon community of St Cuthbert. The bishop’s powers were greatly reduced by Henry VIII and abolished in 1836.

²¹ Fiennes (1949), 215.

Patrimony.’²² As the centre of political power Durham naturally attracted the presence of the aristocracy and gentry as well as a good deal of affluence from its middle classes. The cathedral, richly endowed, also owned considerable tracts land and the clergy lived well. Defoe found that the ‘church...is eminent for its wealth; the bishoprick is esteemed the best in England; and the prebends and other church livings, in the gift of the bishop, are the richest in England.’²³ It is not surprising therefore that, given its financial advantages and thriving community, Durham would prove to be a centre for the arts to flourish.

1.1.2 Music until 1710

The centre of Durham’s musical life at the beginning of the eighteenth century was without question the cathedral.²⁴ At this time William Greggs (c.1652-1710) was the organist and master of the choristers and he marked a break with tradition by being the first master of the choristers since John Brymley (c.1502-76) not to have graduated from the choir’s ranks.²⁵ We cannot be certain when he was appointed but he arrived in 1682 as indicated by the the inscription in the organ book MS A1:

Mr Will:Greggs

Alixander Shaw

Jan the 5th 1681²⁶

²² Defoe (1983), II, 125.

²³ Ibid., II, 125.

²⁴ Concert life may or may not have yet reached Durham, but the thesis has no evidence for it before 1735. The first London public concerts had been held in the seventeenth century. McVeigh (2004), 1.

²⁵ Crosby (1999), 30-1. Greggs originated from York.

²⁶ GB-DRc: MS A1: 334. The year following the modern calendar would actually be 1782. Alixander Shaw was Greggs’ predecessor as organist but not Master of the Choristers. Crosby (1999), 29.

Under Greggs' guidance the choir's repertory was modernised through the addition of more contemporary anthems including those by Henry Purcell (1659-95), William Croft (1678-1727) and John Blow (1649-1708). Greggs copied anthems by all three composers into the choir's part-books, a task that provided him with an opportunity to supplement his income.²⁷ However, it appears his enthusiasm got the better of him since, on 20 November 1702, the Chapter decreed 'That for y^e future noe Bille be allowed for Pricking unlesse thie Chapter be first acquainted therewith and not till y^e same be entered in the Song Bookes in the Quire, and soe Certified by the Precentor in the Bill'.²⁸ Greggs further increased his pay by repairing the organ on numerous occasions.²⁹

Greggs was an able composer as revealed in the fragments of six anthems that survive in the choir's books.³⁰ One, 'I will sing a new song' (for which he was paid £1 in 1697), was written to mark the 'General Peace' at the end of the Nine Years' War.³¹ He died on 15 October 1710 and was buried in the graveyard of St Mary the Less.³² His original stone marker survives in the south wall of the chancel having originated from an altar-tomb located in the churchyard:

Here lieth y^e body of Mr. William Greggs, late organist of y^e Cathedral Church at Durham, who died y^e 15th day of October 1710, in y^e 48 year of his age; was son of Io. Greggs, Gent. Of York, a sufferer for K.C.I.³³

²⁷ GB-DRc: The organ books MS A25 and MS A33 are among those copied by Greggs. Crosby (1986), 20, 22.

²⁸ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 75.

²⁹ All GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 8/8/96 £5 (36), 20/11/97 £3 (47), 20/7/99 40s (57), 4/9/00 £1.1s. (62), 20/11/00 £1.1s (63), 1s, 0d, 20/7/01 £4 (66).

³⁰ Crosby (1986), 161. The anthems are 'Hear my prayer O Lord', 'If the Lord himself', 'I will sing a new song', 'My heart is inditing', 'O Lord our Governor', and 'The Lord hear thee'.

³¹ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 47.

³² GB-DRr: EP/Du.ML 1.

³³ Surtees (1840), I, 45.

As Crosby points out, his age at death cannot be accurate as it would mean that he would have been aged eight when he was admitted as a songman at York in 1670.³⁴

It has been noted by several writers that cathedral music was in decline during the last years of the seventeenth century. Funds previously allocated for the production of music were diverted for other purposes and choirs were cut down to an absolute minimum.³⁵ Richard Eastcott (c.1740-1828) attended prayers at an unidentified cathedral in the latter part of the eighteenth century and reported that he heard a choir of three men, two of whom, on account of their low incomes, could not afford to wear surplices.³⁶ As choir pay dwindled throughout England, members of cathedral choirs were forced to seek work elsewhere, and it is no surprise that this created a strain on their ability and willingness to perform music to an acceptable standard.³⁷ Although financial constraints were less pronounced at Durham, there were nevertheless, notable problems with the organist and choirmen. Greggs got himself into trouble when he was ‘Admonished to be more carefully hereafter in his teaching the Choristers, and p.^esent to the Chapter Such as are to be Admitted at Christmas’.³⁸ Greggs was, nevertheless more financially secure than other members of the choir who had to supplement their income by other means. The consequences of finding other employment encouraged absenteeism. There were certainly issues at Durham regarding the non-attendance of choir members, to such a degree in fact that their duties needed to be set out in the cathedral statutes:

The minor canons, singing-men...shall not be absent a whole day and night, without leave of the dean, sub-dean, or senior residentiary, under

³⁴ Crosby (2004), 13.

³⁵ Temperley (1990), 358.

³⁶ Eastcott (1793), 276.

³⁷ Temperley (1990), 359.

³⁸ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 88.

pain of an arbitrary fine. If any of them leave the church, without giving three months notice to the dean or sub-dean, he shall forfeit three months stipend: And if absent from the morning service shall forfeit a penny; if from the evening service, a half-penny; if he comes not in before the first psalm, a farthing.³⁹

This does not appear to have acted as a sufficient deterrent for, with the prospect of better pay outside the cathedral establishment, chorimen were unafraid of the consequences. Richard Elford was one singing man who had many contretemps with the Dean and Chapter for not doing his required duties. Originally a chorister from Lincoln, Elford had been admitted as a lay-clerk at Durham on 20 July 1695 at a salary of £20,⁴⁰ which was increased to £25 on the 20 October, and to £30 on 1 October 1697 on the promise ‘That he will not leave y^e Service of the Church without y^e Consent of M^r Dean & y^e Chapter’.⁴¹ The inflation of Elford’s salary was intended to make him more financially secure, but the temptation to be involved in more lucrative secular activities was clearly too much as, on 18 February 1699, he ‘was admonisht for neglecting y^e Quire, & Singing in y^e Playhouse’.⁴² Soon after, on 7 March, he was expelled ‘for his Manifest Contumacy’, to be reinstated only two days later after his ‘Humble Submission’.⁴³ Before long, however, Elford left Durham for good.

Some time during 1709 and 1710 the choir was reduced to only four lay-clerks though they were assisted by the prebendary Theophilus Pickering (d.1711) who also received a lay-clerk’s salary. Elford’s previous misdemeanours appear to have been

³⁹ Hutchinson (1785), II, 132.

⁴⁰ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 28.

⁴¹ Ibid., 31, 45.

⁴² Ibid., 55.

⁴³ Ibid., 55,

forgiven as he was paid £10.15s, presumably to enable him to return to Durham.⁴⁴ By this time, however, he was well established in London and had no need to reclaim his position.⁴⁵ Elford's absence symbolised a low point in the fortunes of the Durham choir, a fact not lost on the Dean and Chapter who began take more serious steps to recruit quality musicians from the capital. With Durham Cathedral's wealth and position, it was able to offer higher salaries, a factor which was crucial in attracting applicants from the majority of other English cathedrals where pay was markedly lower.⁴⁶ Consequently many able singers made the journey northwards.

1.1.3 James Hesletine (c.1692-1763)

There was a short interregnum after Greggs' death when James Readshaw was organist. On 20 January 1711 his successor, James Hesletine, was appointed, but did not commence employment until 25 March.⁴⁷ Hesletine had been a chorister under Blow at the Chapel Royal, St James Palace, before his 1709 appointment as organist at St Katherine's Church by the Tower, London.⁴⁸ His starting salary at Durham was a respectable £60 per annum.⁴⁹ On 3 July 1711 he was made permanent and received a pay rise to £70 which was subsequently increased to £80 in 1734 and £100 in 1750, an exceedingly good salary at the time.⁵⁰ Hesletine elected to spend his whole life in Durham even though turbulent events might have tempted him to go elsewhere. On 24 February 1729 he married Frances Wheler, daughter of Sir George Wheler, but she

⁴⁴ GB-DRca: L/AA/4

⁴⁵ Burney (1776), III, 604-5.

⁴⁶ See pages 23-25.

⁴⁷ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 113.

⁴⁸ West (1899), 27; Dawe (1983), 46, 109. Hesletine retained this post on his appointment to Durham and engaged a deputy to fulfil his duties.

⁴⁹ GB-DRca: L/BB/51. DCD/B/AA/5, 113 records that his starting salary was supposed to be £70.

⁵⁰ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 33, 141.

died on 9 June 1731, most probably in childbirth.⁵¹ His professional life appears to have been just as traumatic which was probably hindered by his scorching temper. On 12 August 1727, the senior prebendary, Thomas Mangey (d.1755), reported to the Chapter that he had been notoriously ‘abused’ by Hesletine who was summoned before the Chapter but refused to apologise. So, on 19 August, Chapter requested permission from the Dean to suspend him.⁵² On 2 September the Dean approved the suspension if no apology was forthcoming, but, as there is no further reference to the matter, it could be concluded that Hesletine chose to relent.⁵³ However, his fiery demeanour clearly did affect his musical career, most notably in his prolonged dispute with Charles Avison (1709-1770) and John Garth with whom he refused to participate in any musical activities. Hesletine’s snub of Avison was well-known and evident to those who observed how the two musicians failed to interact. George Harris (1714-77), vicar at Egglecliffe, frequently attended concerts in Durham. He noted that, at a private concert held in 1751, ‘Hasletine [sic] refused to join with the Newcastle party in the music.’⁵⁴

⁵¹ White (1897), 119.

⁵² GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 188.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁵⁴ Burrows (2002), 279.

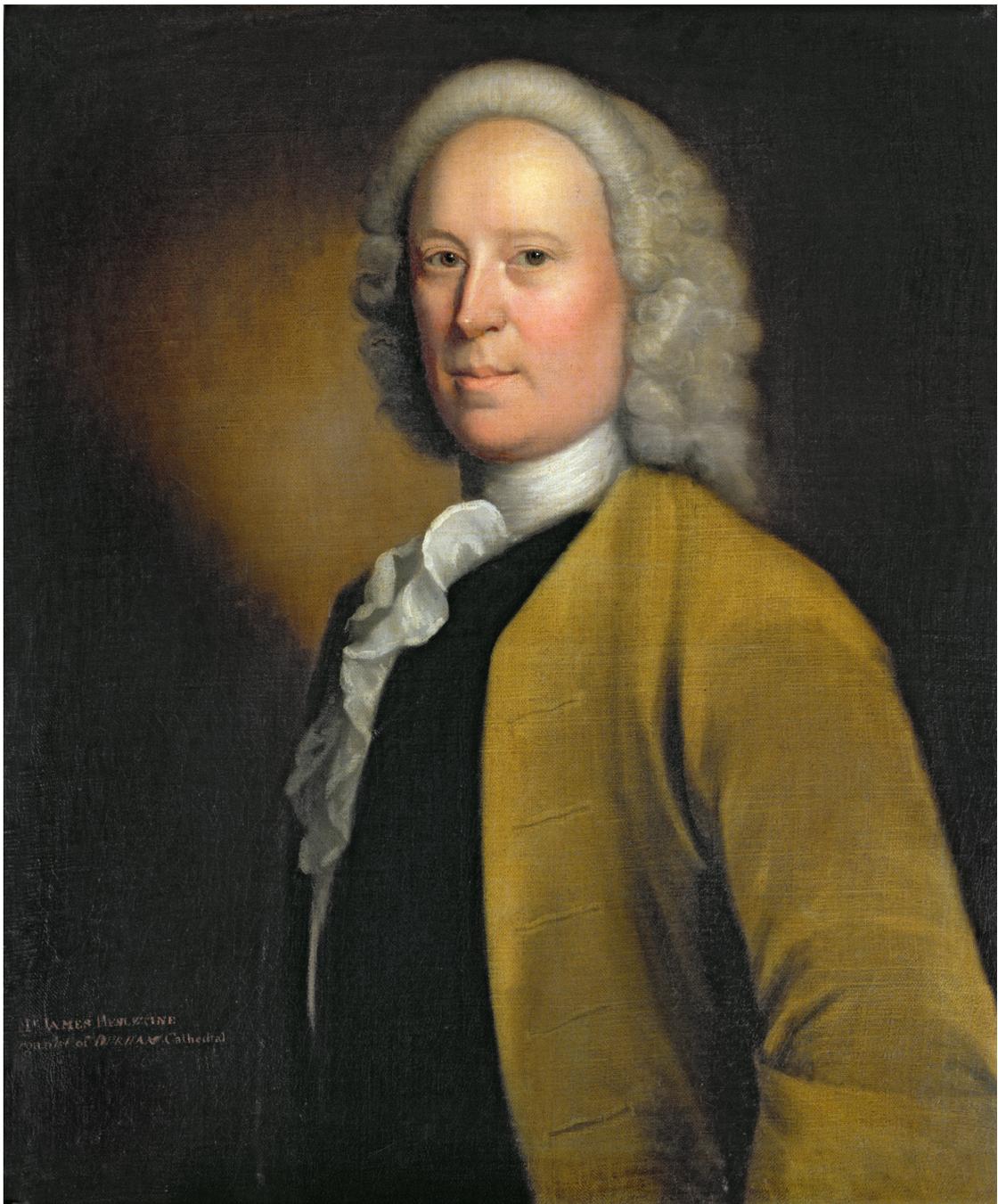


Fig. 1 Potrait of James Hesletine by Robert Taylor (1714-88).⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Reproduced by courtesy of the Faculty of Music, Oxford University.

Hesletine's hot-headedness may also have undermined his future presence in the music performed at Durham. If we are to believe tradition, he is reputed to have destroyed as many of his anthems as he could find in a fit of rage on account of some (probably musical) slight expressed to him by the Chapter.⁵⁶ Confirmation of this occurrence comes from the 1749 book, *A Collection of Anthems, As the same now Perform'd in the Cathedral Church of Durham*.⁵⁷ Although only a book of words, it contains seven anthems by Hesletine. Of the works so represented, three do not exist in any form within the cathedral part-books, three are incomplete, and only one, 'Praise the Lord' exists in its entirety. However, Hesletine's destruction did not extend beyond Durham and anthems did survive at other locations.⁵⁸ The British Library holds a copy of 'Unto thee I will cry',⁵⁹ while 'O let my mouth be filled' survives separately in manuscript at Durham Cathedral, but only by dint of its inclusion among the music of the Sharp library originally kept at Bamburgh Castle in Northumberland.⁶⁰ The inclusion of these anthems in the wordbook places the date of Hesletine's destruction sometime after 1749. Certainly Hesletine was unhappy in the late 1740s. In a diary entry, dated 19 February 1750, Harris noted that 'Whilst at Salisbury was told by Stephens the organist that about 4 years agoe Hasleden [sic] had

⁵⁶ Crosby (1999), 32. This information appears to have been passed down orally and I have been unable to find an eighteenth century source. The earliest written reference dates from the late nineteenth century and is inscribed on the copy of 'Unto thee I will cry' in the British Library (GB-Lbl Ad. 30760). The writer and previous owner of the manuscript, T. Crampton, stated that the disagreement was between Hesletine and the choir. If this is the case, the one wonders if the destruction of the anthems may have something to do with the dispute with Avison, and perhaps an unfavourable comparison with him by Blenkinsop, Paxton or Gelson (see pages 69-70).

⁵⁷ Wordbooks were frequently published throughout the eighteenth century and most major churches (such as the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral) issued their own. There were six collections of anthems for use at Durham Cathedral that were published before 1811. The earliest of these is the 1749 collection, but other volumes appeared in 1794, 1796 and 1801. Both the c.1808 and c.1811 wordbooks are comprised entirely of anthems by Ebdon. Bumpus (1908), 214.

⁵⁸ William Stafford, in 1830, included Hesletine in a list of composers that had 'distinguished themselves as composers of sacred music'. This perhaps indicates that Hesletine's reputation as a composer of anthems was more widely spread than previously thought. Stafford (1830), 375.

⁵⁹ GB-Lbl Ad.30860.

⁶⁰ GB-DRc: MS M206. Hesletine was related to that family through marriage as Thomas Sharp married Judith, another daughter of Wheler, in 1722. In c.1757 Hesletine received a 'musical' invitation from Granville Sharp to come to London for a visit but turned down the offer. GB-GLr: D3549 13/1/H13.

offered to exchange his organistship at Durham for that at Salisbury, Durham organist has got £90 per annum, but no house.’⁶¹ We do not know why Hesletine offered Stephens his post, but it may have had something to do with Cowper’s appointment as Dean in 1746. Whether this ultimately led to the destruction of his music we cannot be sure, but he certainly did a thorough job of forceably removing his works from the partbooks.⁶² Despite Hesletine’s destructive diligence, other copies appear to have survived at Durham as an attempt was made to recopy them into the part-books after his death. The keyboard part of ‘Praise the Lord ye servants’, which appears in the volume MS A17, was recopied in 1768,⁶³ and immediately after this there are the first four bars to his anthem ‘O let my mouth be filled’. This was never completed and the source has not survived.

Hesletine ‘died of a fit of the palsey’ on 20 June 1763 at ‘About six of the clock in the evening’,⁶⁴ and was buried three days later in an unmarked grave in the Galilee Chapel.⁶⁵

1.1.4 Thomas Ebdon (1738-1811)

Hesletine’s successor as cathedral organist was Thomas Ebdon, who, unlike Greggs and Hesletine, was native to Durham. Ebdon was the third of seven born to the cordwainer Thomas (1709-95) and his wife Margaret.⁶⁶ He was baptised on 30 July

⁶¹ Burrows (2002), 264.

⁶² GB-DRc: MS C19: 321-2.

⁶³ One of the remaining pages to his anthem ‘I will give thanks’ is missing a substantial section that appears to have been deliberately torn out. This has made it unusable, but did not damage the neighbouring anthems. GB-DRc: MS A17: 189-98.

⁶⁴ Hodgson (1910), 213.

⁶⁵ Hutchinson (1785), II, 238.

⁶⁶ His uncles John (1704-92) and Robert (1707-76) were both cobblers (GB-DRr: EP/DuSO 9). His father was also elected an almsman in 1763. GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/8: 185.

1738 at St Oswald's Church,⁶⁷ and admitted as a chorister at Durham Cathedral on 9 April 1748. He appears to have been an able singer for it is noted that, at the age of fourteen, he sang the aria 'I know that my Redeemer liveth' from Handel's *Messiah* on 9 November 1752.⁶⁸ It was also during his time as a chorister that he left his mark on the cathedral through the carving of his name several times on the woodwork that separates the choir from the north side aisle. As well as his cathedral duties he may have found time to help in the family business. The Ebdons were regularly employed by St Oswald's Church to repair footwear and on 18 December 1754 10s was 'p^d. to Tho^s. Ebdon for mending shoes' which could refer to either Ebdon or his father.⁶⁹

Ebdon would have progressed under Hesletine's tuition and was subsequently appointed a lay-clerk in 1756.⁷⁰ During Hesletine's final illness and the time after his death Ebdon deputised on the organ, and, on 1 October 1763, Chapter 'Agreed to Give Thomas Ebdon Twenty Pounds for Supplying the vacant Place of Organist from Midsummer to Michaelmas.' On the same day it was also recorded that 'Mr. Dean Elected and Appointed Tho^s. Ebdon to be Organist of this Cathedral ~~contra consilium of everyone of the Preb^{ty}s present in Chapter Held this day~~. He was then Sworn in by M.^r Dean.'⁷¹ Cowper, as Dean, possessed the ultimate decision over the appointment of the organist and used it to install Ebdon. However, this decision did not go down particularly well with some members of Chapter who took offence at this action. This is evident in the diary of Thomas Ghyll (1700-80) who wrote that 'John Ebden [was] appointed organist by the dean in the room of Mr. James Hesleton, but the chapter protested against the appointment, alledging their consent was necessary, and

⁶⁷ GB-DRr: EP/Du.SO 119.

⁶⁸ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 122; Burrows (2002), 284.

⁶⁹ GB-DRr: EP/DuSO 9.

⁷⁰ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 183.

⁷¹ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 218.

appealed to the bishop'.⁷² Despite their protests, Cowper's decision was not overturned and Ebdon remained in post.

Ebdon married Elizabeth Miller at St Nicholas' Church on 10 January 1765. Their first child, Mary, was baptised at St Mary le Bow, Durham, on 7 December 1766, and she was followed by John Miller Ebdon on 1 October 1767. John did not follow his father by joining the choir. Instead, he became the first lieutenant on the Royal Navy ship *Beliqueux* and saw action during the Napoleonic Wars.⁷³ Their third child, Elizabeth, was baptised on 13 February 1769. On 10 January 1771, Catherine, the last of Ebdon's children, was buried at St Oswald's unbaptised. It appears that there were complications and that either she was still-born or died immediately after birth. These complications were also fatal for her mother for, nine days later, Elizabeth was also buried at St Oswald's.⁷⁴ Musical commitments at the cathedral and elsewhere, together with the task of bringing up three young children, meant that life must have been demanding for Ebdon. Indeed his difficult circumstances appear to have been recognised by the cathedral, for, in 1775, the Dean and Chapter allocated the teaching of the choristers to others.⁷⁵ Nothing is known about Ebdon's wife and she does not appear to have had any role in his musical activities.⁷⁶ This did not, however, extend to his daughters, in particular Mary, who wrote three pieces for keyboard and a chant.⁷⁷

Unlike his predecessor, Ebdon appears to have possessed a more even temperament and was, by all accounts, well liked. Boruwlaski, who met Ebdon on his

⁷² Hodgson (1910), 213.

⁷³ *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 January 1801.

⁷⁴ GB-DRr: EP/Du.SO 156.

⁷⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7 270.

⁷⁶ It has been mentioned that Ebdon was married twice, but this does not appear to have been the case. There was a Thomas Ebdon who married a Jane Linton at St Nicholas' on 31 July 1785 but this was, more likely, the Thomas who was nephew of the organist and son of Robert. He was baptised at St Nicholas' on 5 October 1755.

⁷⁷ GB-DRc: MS D3: 10, 20-1; MS A22: 29.

arrival in Durham, described him as a ‘worthy man’ who was ‘richly endowed from above with virtuous principles’ and ‘enjoyed...his company and interesting conversation’.⁷⁸ Dibdin also spoke highly of Ebdon. He said that ‘During the time I was at DURHAM, I had many kindnesses shewn me...from Mr. EBDON - For I never acknowledge any thing as kindness but what is meant as an unaffected intention to please and oblige.’⁷⁹

From 1794 Ebdon held the post of organist at Auckland Castle, a small town situated twelve miles south west of Durham City.⁸⁰ It is impossible to be certain how long he remained there but he was still in harness in 1799. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to assume that he remained in post until his illness in 1805. It is also interesting to note that, during this illness, Chapter compensated him with a payment of ten guineas for the loss of his attendance allowance (the same as his annual salary at Auckland Castle) perhaps as a kindly gesture of support when he was unable to work.⁸¹ Ebdon was well respected as an organist and opened the organs at St Mary le Bow in Durham, the Masonic Lodge in Sunderland,⁸² St Hild’s Chapel, Sunderland,⁸³ South Shields,⁸⁴ and Tynemouth Parish Church.⁸⁵ He also, like Greggs, supplemented his salary by copying music for the choir. Occasionally he also used the lay-clerk, John Mathews, as a copyist, but received the payments himself!⁸⁶

Despite his busy schedule, Ebdon found time to help out at his parish church of St Mary le Bow where he was churchwarden and overseer to the poor from Easter

⁷⁸ Boruwlaski (1820), 351.

⁷⁹ Dibdin (1788), 243.

⁸⁰ GB-DRu: AUC 111/1-2.

⁸¹ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 52.

⁸² *Newcastle Courant*, 2 April 1785.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 5 August 1786.

⁸⁴ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 5 August 1786.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 19 April 1794.

⁸⁶ GB-DRca: L/AA/6-8.

1769 to 1772 and 1791 to 1793.⁸⁷ In 1790 the Mayor of Durham paid Ebdon £1.1s for services unknown,⁸⁸ and in 1793 he was further honoured by his election to Alderman, a position he subsequently rejected:

On Monday came on the election of an Alderman of the [City] of Durham, in the room of W[illia]m Archer, Esq; deceased. [Then] Mr Thomas Ebdon, organist of the Cathedral, was, [by] a large majority, declared duly elected.— On Thursday [Mr] Ebdon attended the Court, and politely thanked the [Gent]lemen for the honour they had conferred on him, but [beg]ged leave to decline accepting the office, as it would [interfere] with the time necessarily required by his professional [duties].- The court accepted his apology, on paying the [fu]ll fine of five guineas.⁸⁹

Following his illness Ebdon moved into his daughters' house near Prebends' Bridge where he lived until his death on 23 September 1811.⁹⁰ According to Boruwlaski, 'Ebdon was seized with a dangerous illness. Recourse was had, in vain, to all the help of medical art, and within a few months he died, with the same tranquillity and calmness of soul which had attended him through life.'⁹¹ He was buried in the family plot at St Oswald's on the evening of 26 September:

⁸⁷ The church paid £5 in 1781-2 when a Thomas Ebdon was balloted for the Militia. GB-DRr: EP/DuMB/17.

⁸⁸ GB-DRr: Du1/42/4: 33.

⁸⁹ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 27 July 1793.

⁹⁰ GB-DRr: Ep/DuMB12 records that Ebdon did not contribute to the accounts of St Mary le Bow in the year 1806-7, but certainly contributed until 1803-4.

⁹¹ Boruwlaski (1820), 379-80.

Monday se'nnight at his house in the South Bailey Tho[mas]. Ebdon, Esq. organist of the cathedral church, Durham, in the 73d year of his age. On Thursday evening his remains were interred in the church yard of St. Oswald's, when the gentlemen and boys of the choir attended the funeral, and sung a very solemn anthem, taken from the 9th and following verses of the 16th psalm. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the two last organists of Durham Cathedral held that place during one hundred and one years, viz. Mr Heseltine appointed 1710, died 1763; and the late Mr Ebdon appointed 1763, died in 1811.⁹²

1.1.5 John Garth (1721-1810)

If Heseltine and Ebdon oversaw musical life at Durham Cathedral, then one man, John Garth, dominated secular music in the city. Garth was born in 1721 and baptised on 27 December at the church of St Philip and St James, Witton-le-Wear. His parents were William (a yeoman of Harperley and a landowner at Low Woodifield) and Elizabeth.⁹³ He was the fifth of six children of which the eldest four were a product of William's first wife, Mary. Garth also had a younger sister, Margaret, who was baptised on 7 April 1724.⁹⁴ Garth's world changed at the age of four when his father died,⁹⁵ but this does not appear to have impacted on his education. He most probably attended the King James I Grammar School at Bishop Auckland and may have been

⁹² *Tyne Mercury*, 1 October 1811.

⁹³ GB-DRu: Wills DPRI/1/1726/G2/1.

⁹⁴ His older siblings were Elizabeth (b.1702), Mary (1705-97), William (1708-79) and Ann (1712-45).

⁹⁵ His father was buried on 12 March 1726 at Witton le Wear.

one of the first pupils of Charles Avison.⁹⁶ His friendship with Avison continued until his death in 1770 and, when Avison's reputation was questioned, Garth's loyalty to his master can be measured by a letter in Avison's defence that appeared in the *Newcastle Journal*.⁹⁷

Garth's first known musical position was that of organist at St Edmund's Church in Sedgefield. He occupied this position for the best part of forty years, prior to the publication of Avison's *Two Concertos* in 1742 until after the issue of James Nares' *Twenty Anthems* in 1778.⁹⁸ However, from as early as 1771, William Cowley (1740-81) is described as organist at Sedgefield in the notice of his marriage.⁹⁹ Given this evidence, it seems that Garth may have retained the Sedgefield post, but appointed Cowley as a deputy.¹⁰⁰ Garth's reputation as an organist, like Ebdon's, was widespread and he travelled far to give recitals. He opened the organs at Stockton Parish Church in 1759,¹⁰¹ Wakefield in 1767,¹⁰² and Kirkleatham in 1770.¹⁰³

In addition to his duties at Sedgefield, Garth was organist at Auckland Castle (preceding Ebdon to the post). There is no record of when he was actually appointed, but he may have been there as early as 1757 when he dedicated the *Marcello Psalms*

⁹⁶ There are no records of the pupils who attended this school at this period. There was a further grammar school situated at Wolsingham that was also in close proximity to Garth's family estate.

⁹⁷ Although the letter was signed 'MARCELLINUS', Garth is the most likely author as the first volume of the *Marcello Psalms* had only been issued two years earlier. *Newcastle Journal*, 17 March 1759.

⁹⁸ See the list of subscribers to these works. In both he is referred to as the organist at Sedgefield.

⁹⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 16 February 1771.

¹⁰⁰ Cowley was a native of Sedgefield and was baptised there on 31 July 1740. He was almost certainly a pupil of Garth and was well known by the local musicians. He was a subscriber to both Avison's Op. 4 (1755) and Garth's Op. 2. On Cowley's death in 1781 he was succeeded by Thomas Hill (1762-1845), who was subsequently appointed organist at Carlisle Cathedral in 1785, and Thomas Wright, in turn, succeeded him at Sedgefield. It has been impossible to ascertain when Garth relenquished the Sedgefield post, but he may have retained it until his death. In 1810 the organist was a Mr Fletcher. GB-DR: EP/Se/1/2; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 5 January 1782; *Newcastle Courant*, 11 June 1785; 'List of Subscribers' to Wright, T. *Six Songs* (Newcastle c.1785); Ebdon, T.: *Sacred Music* (London, c.1810).

¹⁰¹ GB-DR: EP/Sto/38.

¹⁰² *Newcastle Chronicle*, 5 September 1745.

¹⁰³ *Newcastle Courant*, 22 December 1770. All three recitals appear to have come about through Garth's contacts in those areas. The 'Subscribers Names' to his Op. 2 include 'The Rev. Mr. Bacon, [from] Wakefield', 'Mr. Jobson, Organist at Wakefield', and 'Charles Turner, Esq. [from] Kirkleatham.'

to Richard Trevor, the current Bishop of Durham.¹⁰⁴ The holding of this position and that at Sedgefield simultaneously does not appear to have been an issue for Garth as it later proved for Ebdon. The successful execution of his duties at Auckland Castle may have been helped by the services of William Emm (c.1733-1817), Bishop Joseph Butler's secretary and a capable organist.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, it appears that Garth did not need to derive his sole income from his organist duties. When the surviving accounts for Auckland Castle begin in 1791 Garth was receiving a salary of £10.10s.¹⁰⁶ This would not have been enough to live on. Instead, a large proportion of his income came from property in his possession. According to his will he owned land at Wolsingham, Butsfield in Lanchester, Brancepeth, Bradley and Medomsley.¹⁰⁷ Garth also owned his father's property at Low Woodfield but did not inherit that until 1779 when his older half-brother, William (1708-79), had died.¹⁰⁸ Given the late date of inheriting his father's property, we can be sure that this factor had no impact on his increasing stature as a landowner. By contrast, in the 1740s, when he was a young man with little money, he ran several benefit concerts to raise money for himself and his material needs. Garth held the position of organist at Auckland Castle until 1794 when he resigned in order to get married; his last payment was received at Michaelmas 1793.¹⁰⁹

Garth spent the majority of his working life in Durham City. By July 1746 he had moved into a house in Saddler Street and before July 1752 he was living on the

¹⁰⁴ Trevor (1701-1771) was Bishop of Durham from 1752-71. Stranks (1983), 123. When John Alcock's *Six and Twenty Select Anthems* appeared in 1771, Garth was attributed in the subscription list as the 'Organist at *Durham*'. We know that there were no organs in any of the Durham churches at that point and it seems more likely that he was at Auckland Castle.

¹⁰⁵ Bartlett (1839), 201.

¹⁰⁶ GB-DRu: AUC 111/1-2.

¹⁰⁷ GB-DRu: Wills GB-0033-300.

¹⁰⁸ Garth's father in his will left his property to his eldest son, William. In the event that he died without issue then the property would pass to John, which it eventually did.

¹⁰⁹ Garth, J.: *Thirty Collects set to Music* (London, 1794); GB-DRu: AUC 111/1-2.

Bailey.¹¹⁰ During his time there he was churchwarden and overseer to the poor at St Mary le Bow between Easter 1779 and 1781.¹¹¹ Garth continued to live in Durham until c.1789 when he moved to Bishop Auckland and soon after to the farmhouse at Newhall near Wolsingham.¹¹² On 20 July 1794 he married Nanny Wrightson from Cockerton at St Cuthbert's Church, Darlington.¹¹³ Like Garth, her father was a wealthy landowner. Garth had known his wife for a many years before they were married. She was a subscriber at age fifteen to Ebdon's keyboard sonatas, as well as Garth's Op. 2 and may have come to know Ebdon and Garth through the concerts that they ran in Darlington during the 1760s. She could even have been one of his students. After their marriage they moved into her property in Cockerton and much of his property, as arranged in their prenuptial agreement, was placed in trust for their firstborn son; sadly they died without issue.¹¹⁴ Following the death of Nanny's father in 1806 they moved into Cockerton Hall where Garth lived until he died on 29 March 1810. He had grown so much in stature both socially and financially that he was buried in the north aisle of St Cuthbert's Church. His obituary records his association with Avison and the *Marcello Psalms*, evidence which provides some useful indication of how long Avison's legacy survived in the north-east:

at Cockerton, near Darlington, John Garth, Esq. aged 88; well known as a musical composer; and particularly for the publication (in conjunction

¹¹⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 5 July 1746, 11 July 1752.

¹¹¹ GB-DRr: EP/DuMB17.

¹¹² GB-DRu: SDD 33.

¹¹³ In many secondary sources Nanny is referred to as 'Nancy', but this is incorrect as there does not exist any primary sources where she is referred to as such. The error appears to originate from Pritchett (1924).

¹¹⁴ GB-DRu: SDD 33. Garth did not forget his roots after his retirement for he donated £50 to both the Durham and Newcastle Infirmarys in 1805. *Tyne Mercury*, 28 May 1805, 4 June 1805.

with the late Mr Avison, of this town [Newcastle]) of *Marcello's Psalms*, adapted to English words.¹¹⁵

Garth's wife died on 1 December 1829 aged 79 and was buried alongside him.

Following her husband's death, Nanny set up a charity in his name at Cockerton that was founded to provide shelter for three poor elderly women of the village who, at the time, would have lived rent-free. This legacy survived until the cottages were demolished in 1944.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 14 April 1810.

¹¹⁶ *Darlington and Stockton Times*, 30 December 1944. Cockerton Hall survived until 1964 when it was razed. As to any books belong that once belonged to Garth, none have ever appeared on the market and it seems likely, given what happened to the libraries at other stately homes in the early twentieth century, that his books were incinerated.

1.2 The Cathedral and Churches

1.2.1 The Cathedral Choir

The cathedral choir was as the most important musical force in Durham. It, along with the minor canons, performed all the music in the cathedral services, at the choir's concerts, and for many private functions held within the cathedral's precincts.

Cowper, on his arrival, said that there was a 'fine organ, a good organist, and tolerable good voices'.¹ Dibdin, in 1788, also noted that the choir 'is remarkable for a good choir of singers'.² The statutes set out that the choir was to consist of 'ten young boys as choristers, with good voices, to serve in the choir; to teach whom (as well in singing as in good manners, besides the number of clerks) a person shall be appointed, of good sense and conversation, skilful in singing and in the management of the organ'.³ The twelve minor canons were also expected to sing.⁴

As already noted, in 1711 the choir was experiencing difficulties, but there were drives to recruit singers from the south. In order to attract them to Durham the cathedral was able to pay them a good salary, indeed well above the average. Dibdin discovered that 'the salaries [at Durham] are higher here than any where, and in consequence – for encouragement wonderfully nurtures genius – our concerts have been well stocked from thence'.⁵ However, there was a substantial difference between the salaries of those from the south and those of local origin. This is most starkly revealed in the salaries of the two cathedral organists. Hesletine, on his appointment, was paid a salary of £60 per annum, but by 1750 this had risen to £100.⁶ It remained

¹ Hughes (1956), 62.

² Dibdin (1788), 277.

³ Hutchinson (1785), II, 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 131. Even though they were expected to sing, the minor canons were not part of the choir.

⁵ Dibdin (1788), 277.

⁶ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 141.

at this level until his death. However, Ebdon's salary, on his appointment as a lay-clerk in 1756, was only a pittance at £5 - indeed less than a chorister received.⁷ It was raised to £10 on 28 September 1756 and to £30 in 1760.⁸ It remained at this level until his formal admittance in November 1761.⁹ His initial salary as organist was £40, but he retained his salary as a lay-clerk bringing the total up to £70.¹⁰ It was then raised to £80 the following year;¹¹ but it was only in 1783 that it was increased to Hesletine's £100.¹² An examination of the pay of individual lay-clerks also reveals that those of local origin were paid less. In 1711 most lay-clerks received £20 per annum. By 1761 the salaries ranged from £25 to £50, the highest of which was paid to those from the south. By 1811 they all received the same basic salary of £50. In 1711 the average salary for the choristers was £3.6s.8d per annum, but by 1761 it had increased to £4 and, after a modest increase in 1800-01 to £6, it had reached almost £11 by 1811.

One of the highest salaried choirmen was Jasper Clarke (d.1767) who was admitted in 1753.¹³ Cowper commented that: 'My Choir has just been improved by the arrival of one of the best Singers in that way I ever heard. I know of none but Minty who can excell him. I had him from Winchester, and to add to his Perfections he is a very decent Violino for our concert.'¹⁴ To entice Clarke to Durham, Cowper offered him a salary of £50, £20 more than was paid to the lay-clerks that had been choristers. He even received five guineas to cover his removal expenses,¹⁵ and he

⁷ Ibid., 183.

⁸ Ibid., 184.

⁹ Ibid., 206, 210.

¹⁰ Ibid., 221.

¹¹ Ibid., 221.

¹² GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9: 46.

¹³ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 160.

¹⁴ Hughes (1956), 169.

¹⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 160.

supplemented his salary by £6 through his role as janitor and barber surgeon to the Dean and Chapter.¹⁶

One of the most acclaimed singers to be in the choir was Edward Meredith (d.1809), who had been discovered by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn in a cooper's workshop. Wynn subsequently paid for Meredith's education and launched him into a solo career.¹⁷ Meredith arrived in Durham in December 1778 and received a salary of £50 with an initial £10 given gratis.¹⁸ He quickly became crucial to the choir's concerts and filled the role of Polytheme in *Acis and Galatea* the following February.¹⁹ He also sang in Newcastle that same month.²⁰ He also regularly sang alongside William Evance (c.1745-1828) who again had been appointed from outside Durham at a salary of £50. Evance came from a musical family and was a pupil of William Savage (1720-89), the master of the choristers at St Pauls Cathedral, London.²¹ According to the subscription list to Garth's Op. 2, he was a student at Christ Church, Oxford before his appointment to Durham in 1767.²² He was first mentioned in a concert advertisement in 1779;²³ his death was recorded in London on 7 August 1828. His obituary referred to him as 'a sound good musician, an excellent cathedral singer, and highly respected.'²⁴

In the case of the choristers, most would only remain in the choir for a few years, after which they would receive a paid apprenticeship to prepare them for adult

¹⁶ GB-DRca: L/BB/53. Clarke was obviously satisfied with life in Durham, as he married a Margaret Finch in 1755 at St Mary the Less and remained in the choir until his death in 1767. GB-DRr: EP/Du.ML 2.

¹⁷ McVeigh (1993), 188.

¹⁸ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9: 22.

¹⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 6 February 1779.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 13 February 1779. Meredith's reputation as a singer of distinction was noted by William Stafford who, over twenty years after Meredith's death, included him in a list of all the 'very excellent performers...in the English school of singing' during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Stafford (1830), 378-9.

²¹ Stevens (1936), 196. James was also a pupil of John Stanley. Dawe (1983), 96.

²² GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 234. There is no record that William Evance was ever a student at Oxford University. Foster (1888), II, 431.

²³ *Newcastle Courant*, 10 July 1779.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 16 August 1828.

work. As a chorister, a boy would receive a free education and any musical talents would be encouraged as part of their schooling. In addition, a chorister would also receive a nominal salary. Both these factors were highly attractive to impecunious families of the lower-middle and working classes. There were several notable choristers who progressed to be lay-clerks, and who subsequently remained in post for many years. The longest serving member of the cathedral choir was George Ashton (1751-1837). He had been a chorister between 1758 and 1770, and a lay-clerk until his death in 1837, amounting to a total of 79 years in post. He was also a competent organist and deputised with Evance during Ebdon's illness in 1805.²⁵ Another long-serving member was Peter Blenkinsop (d.1778) who had been a chorister between 1712 and 1724, and a lay-clerk from 1729 to 1778. He was a town wait,²⁶ and ran a tavern called the 'Star and Rummer'.²⁷ A further example was Cuthbert Brass (1707-81), who had been a chorister between 1717 and 1727, and lay-clerk until 1781. He was in charge of the choristers in 1748 when Hesletine went to Finedon,²⁸ and was responsible for copying much of the choir's music between 1730 and 1761.²⁹

Membership of the choir could also be a family affair. Ebdon's brother Christopher (1744-1824) was a chorister between 1712 and 1719 before becoming an architect, and Christopher's son, another Thomas, was a minor canon from 1811.³⁰ Another family with strong cathedral associations were the Banks. Ralph Banks had been a chorister between 1739 and 1751, and then a lay-clerk until 1775; his name survives, along with Ebdon's, carved into the woodwork in the north aisle next to the choir. In March 1775 James Boswell (1740-95), when visiting Durham, 'sent for Mr.

²⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 52.

²⁶ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/6: 98. See page 199.

²⁷ GB-DRr: Ep/Du.SO 156.

²⁸ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 122.

²⁹ GB-DRca: L/AA/5-6.

³⁰ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 122. He is not to be confused with another aforementioned nephew, also called Thomas, who was the son of Robert Ebdon.

Banks, a chorister, and *negotiated* with him...about some music for an oratorio in the Edinburgh Theatre. It struck me somewhat to see a man who was probably a good musician heavy and clumsy....Banks told me he had never been sixty miles from Durham. I cannot think that a man who has seen so little can have much *compass* either of feeling or execution, so far as mind is exerted.’³¹ Ralph’s brother Thomas (b.1723) was also a chorister between 1733 and 1739, as was Ralph’s son, another Ralph (1767-1841), between 1774 and 1788. The younger Ralph later received payment for teaching the choristers,³² and went on to become the organist at Houghton-le-Spring before his appointment as a lay-clerk and teacher of the choristers at Rochester Cathedral in 1789. He subsequently became their organist in 1792.³³ There was also a John Banks, a chorister between 1770 and 1783, who may have been the brother of Ralph Banks jnr.

These lay-clerks were of ‘good character’ and carried out their everyday duties without issue (as testified by their absence from the cathedral act books). However, there were some notable examples of lay-clerks who did get into trouble with the Chapter.³⁴ On some occasions this was for relatively minor offences. For example, in July 1712 Thomas Laye (d.1729) was reprimanded for sending a deputy to the 6am prayers. Chapter were not impressed, particularly given that the previous November they had instructed ‘That all y.^e Lay Singing men [should] attend in turns at 6 a clock pray^{rs} & raise the Psalm’, and ordered Laye to do it himself.³⁵ The 6am service was a perennially contentious issue with the lay-clerks and in 1733 they were further disciplined for non-attendance.³⁶ However, Chapter could occasionally be

³¹ Ryskamp (1963), 79.

³² GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9: 7.

³³ Shaw (1991), 238.

³⁴ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 155, 157; DCD/B/AA/6: 67, 94.

³⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 116, 118.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 88.

sympathetic, as in 1718 when Thomas Parkinson and John Blundevile were excused from attending this service on account of their 'old Age & Infirmitys'.³⁷ Nevertheless, such an act would not have gone down well with the other lay-clerks who were expected to make up 'their Duty'.³⁸ Some got into more serious trouble because of their activities outside the cathedral. One of the most troublesome members was William Lee. He had appointed in 1716 and two years later was reprimanded for his 'Drunkenesse & Disorderly Living_ aswel as negligent Attend.^s his Duty in the Quire' and was expelled.³⁹ His behaviour improved and he was readmitted but was again in trouble in November 1721 when he was accused by Zadock Smith (b.1680) of committing incest with his daughter.⁴⁰ He was suspended immediately, but clearly the charges could not be proven as he was partially reinstated in April 1722.⁴¹ There were occasionally issues with minor canons, as, in 1765, Thomas Drake (d.1788) was suspended for a month for 'Throwing down Christopher Young in the Church'.⁴²

Drunkenness was an ongoing problem with some of the lay-clerks and minor canons. William Hayes was admonished in 1807 for his 'drunkeness & indecent conduct at Ryhope'.⁴³ However, the worst offender, by far, was lay-clerk Robert Marlor.⁴⁴ On 23 March 1782 he was 'Admonished on Acc.^t of his Drunkeness and General Misbehaviour',⁴⁵ and again a month later.⁴⁶ It was almost another decade before he was again in trouble, but one can imagine that he may have attended the cathedral intoxicated on other occasions. However, intoxication was only one of his

³⁷ Parkinson was a chorister between 1666 and 1672 and subsequently a lay-clerk from 1674 to 1720. Blundevile came from outside Durham but was a lay-clerk at the cathedral from 1703 until 1721.

³⁸ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 128.

³⁹ Ibid., 125.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 138.

⁴¹ Ibid., 140.

⁴² GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/8: 195. Drake was also suspended in 1767 but restored once he had apologised. GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/8: 219. Drake was a minor canon between 1760 and 1774.

⁴³ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 69-70. Hayes was a minor canon between c.1791 and c.1848.

⁴⁴ Marlor had been admitted in 1776 at a salary of £40 per annum.

⁴⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9: 37.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 38.

vices. In May 1791 his salary was suspended for two months ‘on Account of his very ill Behaviour in Church’.⁴⁷ The following year he was again suspended, but for four months, on account of ‘his very Ill Behaviour to D^f Cooper...and for very indecent and disorderly Conduct in Church’.⁴⁸ Finally, on 10 April 1795, he went too far. He was immediately suspended without pay ‘In consequence of [his] gross and disorderly behaviour at Church in a state of great intoxication by loud ~~laughing~~ Talking and the most shocking imprecations, by which the Reader was Prevented for a considerable time from proceeding in the Service’.⁴⁹ The decision regarding Marlor’s future was left to the Dean, who expelled him.⁵⁰

Sexual immorality was another reason why a lay-clerk could be barred from the choir. One of the most notable was Cornforth Gelson (b.1726), who, despite pleading for clemency, was expelled in 1754 for fathering an illegitimate child.⁵¹ Neither were the minor canons immune from the carnal pleasures, as on 20 June 1726 William Turner and Ralph Eden were both suspended.⁵² Turner acknowledged what he had done, handed in his resignation, and was subsequently given £20 by the Chapter.⁵³ Eden, on the other hand, was unable to give ‘any Satisfaction to the Chapter of his Innocence’ and was dismissed.⁵⁴ However, Eden’s trouble with the Chapter did not end there as he was unable to pay his rent.⁵⁵

Despite the issues with certain wayward members, the choir, for the most part, was a closely-knit fraternity who was supportive of its fellow members. In February 1755 they held a concert at which a selection from *Messiah* was performed to raise

⁴⁷ Ibid., 84.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 98.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 122.

⁵⁰ Despite what Marlor had done, Chapter appear to have taken pity on him and gave him five guineas on 21 July 1795. GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9: 125.

⁵¹ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 171.

⁵² GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 172. Turner had been a minor canon since 1708, and Eden since 1723.

⁵³ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5:, 180-1.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 182.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 200.

money for ‘the Widow and many Orphans’ of Henry Marshall (1714-55).⁵⁶ A similar gesture was even extended to the evicted Gelson in aid of his family.⁵⁷

The high standing of the choir remained intact throughout most of the century. Frances Sharp (1738-99), who had attended a Sunday morning service on 24 July 1785, commented that the choir was ‘very fine indeed’.⁵⁸ Also James Boswell, who visited the cathedral on 16 July 1788, said that he ‘heard good music’.⁵⁹ However, by the following decade cracks were beginning to appear. Gray, who had attended a service on 10 August 1796, wrote that the music ‘was slovenly chounted & wretchedly hurried, more than in any Place I ever was at.’⁶⁰ Just the month before, the lay-clerks had been reprimanded over their poor performance and tardiness:

the Singing-Men, [should know] that it is expected that they be more regular in chaunting the Psalms and in making the Responses, and that they are in their Places in the Cathedral before the Service Begins⁶¹

Others had already commented that there had been a drop in the quality of the choir since the departure of Meredith in 1788:

In the evening Service, that beautiful composition of “*Croft’s Blessed is the People,*” was sung by the Gentlemen of the Choir; –and we cannot help observing, that we never felt the loss of MEREDITH’S powers, so forcibly as in the Solo “*For thou art the Glory,*” which he used to sing

⁵⁶ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 15 February 1755.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 11 January 1755.

⁵⁸ GB-GLr: D3549 15/1/1.

⁵⁹ Lustig (1986), 240.

⁶⁰ GB-Ya: Diary of Jonathan Gray T2a, 14-15.

⁶¹ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9: 133.

with such majestic ability: In short, that Anthem, when formerly performed in that Cathedral, supported by the fine tones of MARLOW, and the taste and scientific judgment of EVANCE, and the powers of MEREDITH, was such a treat to the Connoisseurs of Music, as not to be equalled out of the Metropolis.⁶²

Meredith's departure in itself would not have resulted in what Gray heard in 1796 for there must have been other reasons behind this decline. Perhaps the crux of the problem was Ebdon. He had always been distracted by outside influences, but his appointment as organist at Auckland Castle in 1794 meant that music at the cathedral was organised by others. George Chrishop (1772-1803), who had been organist at Staindrop,⁶³ fulfilled the role of deputy organist and master of the choristers at Durham Cathedral during Ebdon's absence.⁶⁴ In 1797 he purchased a 'Bedstead, Chairs and a Table for the Song-School',⁶⁵ presumably as he was residing there,⁶⁶ and when he moved out he was given permission to take the furniture with him.⁶⁷ One of the manuscript books is inscribed 'George Chrishop Organist of the Cathedral Church of Durham' which is not far from the truth,⁶⁸ and his obituary referred to him as the 'sub-organist'.⁶⁹ He was rather impoverished during these years and, despite regular payments for copying music and teaching the choristers,⁷⁰ he was given £10 in 1802

⁶² *Newcastle Advertiser*, 13 August 1791.

⁶³ 'Subscribers Names' Ebdon, T: *Sacred Music* (London, c.1790). The organ at Staindrop was given to the church in 1787 by Henry Vane of Raby Castle, who also appointed a suitable organist and paid his salary. It seems that Chrishop was appointed in that year. *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 21 September 1787.

⁶⁴ GB-DRca: L/AD/1798/1/4.

⁶⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9: 153.

⁶⁶ Chrishop was never a member of the cathedral choir although, as revealed in the list of subscribers to the 1785 edition of Hutchinson's *History...of Durham*, he had lived in Durham City.

⁶⁷ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 19.

⁶⁸ GB-DRc: MS C15: 213.

⁶⁹ *Tyne Mercury*, 5 July 1803.

⁷⁰ GB-DRca: L/AA/8.

‘on account of his distressed Circumstances’.⁷¹ As there were no payments to him as organist it must be assumed that Ebdon was paying him directly; but whatever Chrishop received was clearly not enough to live on. It may have been due to these financial concerns that he took several lay-clerks and a chorister to Edinburgh to perform oratorios in January and February 1803 to supplement his income.⁷²

Ebdon’s assiduous use of a sub-organist was itself a contentious issue. Chapter were only too conscious that he was absent from his cathedral post on numerous occasions (more than likely carrying out his duties at Auckland Castle), so, in order to entice him back, Chapter agreed to pay him ‘Five Shillings p[er] day when he Attends the Cathedral Service morning and evening’.⁷³ Following his illness in 1805 Ebdon almost entirely retired from music but continued to hold the cathedral organist post. Clearly at this stage there were serious problems in the choir and new blood was urgently required if music was to improve. Quite surprisingly the following notice appeared in the newspapers. Although not worded as an advertisement for singers, its publication was no doubt part of a drive to entice good vocalists from within the city’s environs:

The Dean and Chapter of Durham, with a munificence worthy of their exalted station, at their last sealing-day made a very handsome addition to the salary of the singing men of that cathedral; they also doubled the salary of the boys, and proposed a considerable reward for those who stay a certain number of years in the Church; one of them is already in possession of that emolument.⁷⁴

⁷¹ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 23.

⁷² *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 29 January 1803.

⁷³ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 27.

⁷⁴ *Tyne Mercury*, 1 December 1807.

The decision to increase pay at this time appears to have originated earlier that year when some of the boys were accused of stealing lead.⁷⁵ They agreed to increase pay for those aged thirteen and over by £10 per annum and to increase the apprenticeship fee from 40s, where it had been in 1702,⁷⁶ to £20, while the head chorister received an extra £4. The lay-clerks fees also increased but not if he retained any position that would affect his attendance.⁷⁷ Despite these improvements, as long as Ebdon held the organist post, there was no real hope that the quality of the singing would improve. What the choir needed was new blood at the top, but this was not to happen until after Ebdon had passed on.

1.2.2 The Cathedral Organs

The music used for cathedral services, unless unaccompanied, appears to have always been supported by the organ.⁷⁸ This instrument, erected by Father Smith between 1685 and 1686,⁷⁹ stood over the choir screen. The case survives in the south aisle of the nave.⁸⁰ The former choir organ also survives in the Tunstall Chapel at Durham Castle, but only contains two original stops.⁸¹

Throughout the eighteenth century the organ was continually in need of repair and improvement. Following Hesletine's appointment in 1711 there was clearly a

⁷⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 68.

⁷⁶ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 72.

⁷⁷ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 73-4.

⁷⁸ In the seventeenth century there were several instances when wind music was used but it is unlikely that this tradition continued into the next century as there are no instrumental parts for any of the domestically composed anthems. North (1742), 135.

⁷⁹ Hird (1991), 12-13.

⁸⁰ The case contains no real pipes and is currently used for storage. A list of the stops that dates from c.1813 survives in GB-DRc: MS A14: 41. See page 35.

⁸¹ Hird (1991), 26. Many of the eighteenth-century Durham histories report that there were three organs at the cathedral, but their source dates from before the Commonwealth.

more urgent desire to repair it as £120 was spent, a substantial amount at the time.⁸² The organ underwent further repairs two years later at a cost of £20,⁸³ and in 1734 eight guineas was paid to a Mr Bristow and in 1738 five guineas to a Mr 'Kinople'.⁸⁴ On 31 December 1744 the Chapter requested that the Dean and other members of the cathedral investigate the possibility of someone 'Cleaning the Organ',⁸⁵ but it was not until 1746 that £15.15s was paid to a Mr Jordan. A further £170 was paid to him in both 1747 and 1748,⁸⁶ at which time a swell organ appears to have been added.⁸⁷ The work itself, although undertaken by Jordan, was done in partnership with Richard Bridge. In November 1748 Chapter 'Agreed to Give M.^r Bridge & the other two Workmen_at the Organ Fifteen Guineas Conditionally that they_Tune the Organ when they come into the Countrey the next year'.⁸⁸ He was again contracted to mend the instrument in 1750-1,⁸⁹ and in 1754 the organ was painted, four years after it was proposed.⁹⁰

⁸² GB-DRca: L/AA/4.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/6: 102, 135; L/AA/5. 'Kinople' may have been the organ builder John Knopple, who had previously been employed to repair and improve the organ at Canterbury Cathedral. Harvey (1916), 451.

⁸⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 98.

⁸⁶ GB-DRca: L/AA/6.

⁸⁷ Hird (2000), 17. It may have been due to Cowper's desire to raise the musical standards that the alterations were done at this time. On 26 March 1748 Hesletine, Mountier and three choristers were given leave to go to Finedon, the family seat of the prebendary Sir John Dolben (1684-1756). Hesletine's leave of absence was extended on 20 July until the first Sunday in September. GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 122-3.

⁸⁸ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 125. As well as Bridge, Smith also received 18s for 'Work at the Organ'. GB-DRca: L/AA/6.

⁸⁹ GB-DRca: L/AA/6.

⁹⁰ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 136; DCD/B/AA/8: 136. In 1748 Avison took advantage of Bridge's visit to the area to have the organ at St John's Church, Newcastle, which had 'been long useless', put into good repair. GB-NTa: MD/NC/2/5.

Specification of the organ at Durham Cathedral, c.1813.

Great Organ

Left Side

|1| Op: Diapason

|2| Stop.^d D^o

|3| Twelfth

|4| Flute

|5| Sesquialtra

|6| Trumpet

Right Side

|1| Op: Diapason

|2| Principal

|3| Cornet

|4| 15.th

|5| 22-Tierca

|6| Fourniture

Echoes

|1| Stop.^d Diapason

|2| Op: D^o

|3| Cornet

|1| Hautboy

| |

|2| Trumpet

Choir Organ

Dulciano

|1| Flute

|2| Stop.^d Diapason

|3| Principal

|1| Voc Hermana

|2| Flagalet Dul: Prime:

|3| 15th

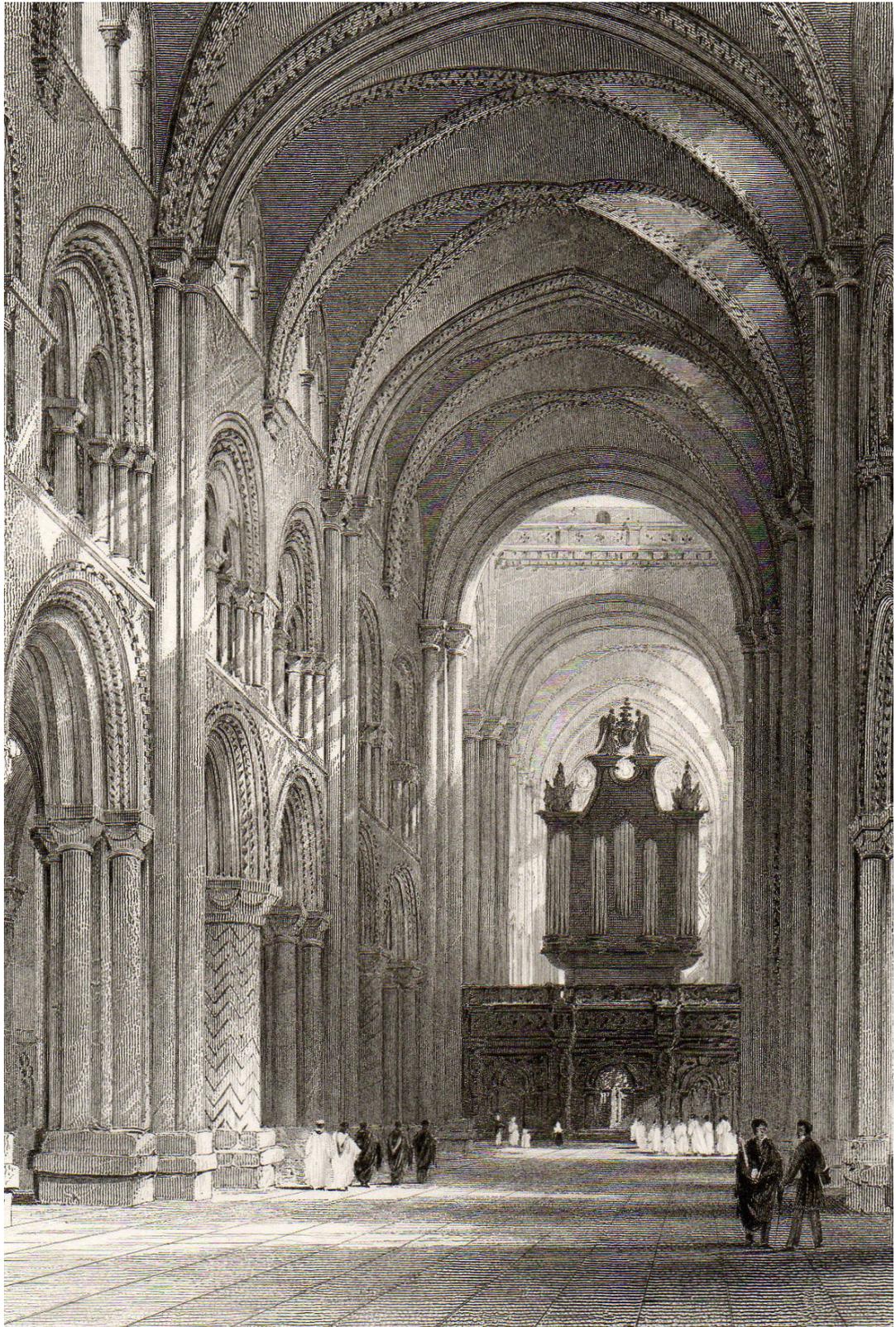


Fig. 2: The nave and organ of Durham Cathedral, 1834.⁹¹

⁹¹ From the author's private collection.

With Ebdon's appointment in 1763 there were again moves to modify the instrument. Snetzler was appointed in 1765 and paid £130 for cleaning and repair work.⁹² He was followed in 1780 by John Donaldson (1745-1807) from Newcastle, who was received £42.5s.6d. There continued to be regular repairs to the organ to the end of the century.⁹³ The last repair during Ebdon's lifetime was in 1804-5 when 19s.2d was paid to a Robert Pearson.⁹⁴ In 1810 there may have been issues with someone trespassing onto organ loft as it was 'Agreed that no person be employed about the Organ or Organ Loft without a Chapter Order, and that this order be given to M^r Ebdon'.⁹⁵ However, there does not appear to have been any significant damage as no major work was undertaken until after the appointment of the next organist, William Henshaw, in 1813.⁹⁶

As well as the organ located in the choir of the cathedral, there was a smaller instrument in the song school. The Chapter minutes for 24 September 1711 instructed 'That the Small Organ at Newcastle be brought for the use of the Song Schole', at the cost of £12.⁹⁷ However, it appears not have been a good instrument as on 20 July 1719 it was ordered that £10 be given 'tow.^{ds} buying a Harpsichord, to be used for the Improvem.^t of the Quire in Musick'.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, a further two guineas were spent on the organ in 1728 for repairs by Briscow.⁹⁹ By 1737-8 however, it appears to have

⁹² GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 227; L/AA/6.

⁹³ 1786/7 (GB-DRca: L/AA/7); 1788/9 (L/AA/7); 1790/1 (L/AA/8); 1792 (DCD/B/AA/9: 43, L/AA/8); 1796/7 (L/AA/8); 1798/9 (L/AA/8); 1803 (DCD/B/AA/11: 10).

⁹⁴ GB-DRca: L/AA/8; L/AD/1805/2/2.

⁹⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 100. One position of some importance is that of organ blower. From 1711 an Edward Bullock (1674-1743) received an annual salary of £8 for his services. He was then succeeded by James Bullock (1717-1801) in 1743 who, in 1775, had his salary increased by 40s 'in consideration of his Service, and constant Attendance'. Bullock continued to do his job until his death at age 83, but was assisted in his later years by a deputy called Frances Holmes who succeeded him in 1801. GB-DRca: L/BB/53-54; DCD/B/AA/7: 270.

⁹⁶ Hird (2000), 18.

⁹⁷ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 115.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 200.

become dilapidated, so 15s was paid for its removal.¹⁰⁰ There was never any attempt to replace this organ with another instrument. Instead, as is evident from later references, rehearsals were accompanied on the harpsichord. This instrument would have remained in regular use until a piano was purchased in 1803-4.¹⁰¹

1.2.3 Feast for the Sons of the Clergy

The Feast for the Sons of the Clergy was held every September from 1711 at St Nicholas' Church in Newcastle.¹⁰² Initially no musicians from Durham were involved, but in 1722 the festival was 'honour'd with the Presence of the Lord Bishop; [when] two fine Anthems were Sung by the Choir of Durham in our great Church'.¹⁰³ The novelty of having a choir at St Nicholas' was obviously a success but it was not until 1733 that that a choir next attended.¹⁰⁴ The choir were there again in 1735 when they performed a *Te Deum* by Purcell,¹⁰⁵ but there are no further accounts of their attendance for over a decade. Avison's anthem 'Hast not thou forsaken us', which was copied into the Durham part-books in late 1741, may have been composed for the Durham choir to sing at that service.¹⁰⁶ The organ part survives a minor third lower than the vocal parts, indicating that the organ at St Nicholas' was tuned too high. Fifty

¹⁰⁰ GB-DRca: L/AA/5

¹⁰¹ Burrows (2002), 427; GB-DRca: L/AA/8.

¹⁰² The Feast for the Sons of the Clergy was first held at St Paul's Cathedral, London, in 1697. Its purpose was to raise money for those members of the clergy who were incapacitated and were unable to earn a wage and for the families of those who had died. Robins (1998), 123; *Newcastle Courant*, 5 November 1711, 7 September 1771.

¹⁰³ *Newcastle Courant*, 15 September 1722. Unlike the London festival it does not appear that an orchestra was ever used for the Newcastle/Durham series.

¹⁰⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 8 September 1733.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 23 August 1735.

¹⁰⁶ GB-DRc: MS B10: 161. See Fleming (1999) for an edition of this anthem.

years later John Ashley, who co-organised the 1791 Newcastle Musical Festival, had an identical problem with the same instrument.¹⁰⁷

We know that the choir next attended in 1751 when they performed at the request of Cowper.¹⁰⁸ The *Newcastle Courant* recorded that ‘two Anthems were sung by the Choir of Durham, who, at the Dean’s Request, gave their Attendance’,¹⁰⁹ while the *Journal* reported that the choir ‘gave great satisfaction by their Vocal Performances.’¹¹⁰ Cowper also thought that their attendance had been a success, commenting that their presence ‘greatly enlarge[e]d the Collection much, and gave great pleasure.’¹¹¹ Following this particular service the Bishop laid the foundation stone of the new infirmary for the benefit of which Avison held a concert that evening.¹¹²

The choir were there again in 1758 when an anthem was performed that was composed by ‘Mr Hasselton [Hesletine] on the taking of *Cape Breton*’.¹¹³ It is impossible to be certain who played the organ for these visits by the Durham choir, but given the rivalry that existed between Avison and Hesletine, Stephens (1968) wondered if Hesletine would play on these occasions.¹¹⁴ Certainly, at later meetings, it was Ebdon who accompanied the choir and not the organist at St Nicholas’. In 1789 he so impressed the congregation that he received an excellent review in the newspaper:

¹⁰⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 3 September 1791. ‘Mr John Ashley, notwithstanding the difficulty of the Organ being at too high a pitch, conducted that instrument with great skill.’

¹⁰⁸ Cowper had first attended in 1748 but did not think highly of Newcastle and was reluctant to return so, when he eventually did, he decided to take the choir along. Hughes (1956), 102, 142.

¹⁰⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 7 September 1751.

¹¹⁰ *Newcastle Journal*, 7 September 1751.

¹¹¹ Hughes (1956), 142.

¹¹² *Newcastle Courant*, 7 September 1751.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 9 September 1758. This anthem has not survived.

¹¹⁴ Stephens (1968), 45.

The anniversary meeting of the Society of the Sons of the Clergy was held in this town on Thursday last...Several select pieces of music were performed by the Gentlemen of the Choir of Durham cathedral, under the direction of the celebrated Mr Ebdon, who with his wonted taste and judgement, delighted the congregation with his excellent performance on the organ.¹¹⁵

The choir again attended in 1768,¹¹⁶ with the festival continuing to be held at St Nicholas' before transferring to St John's church in 1769 (while St Nicholas' was undergoing repairs).¹¹⁷

From 1774 the festival began to alternate between Durham and Newcastle, at which the choir performed Purcell's *Te Deum* and 'O give Thanks' and Handel's coronation anthems.¹¹⁸ They were back in Newcastle the following year,¹¹⁹ and in 1787 performed a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* by Ebdon, three anthems, including psalms 104 and 89, set by Croft, and the 'Hallelujah Chorus' from *Messiah*.¹²⁰ Ebdon composed several anthems specifically for this occasion. In 1791 the 'Gentlemen and boys of the Choir of Durham sung several admired pieces, amongst which none attracted more notice than the excellent new Anthem, composed for the occasion, by Mr Ebdon.'¹²¹ This anthem appears to have been 'Blessed is he that considereth the Poor' which was published in the second volume of Ebdon's *Sacred Music*.¹²²

¹¹⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 5 September 1789.

¹¹⁶ *Newcastle Journal*, 3 December 1768.

¹¹⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 2 September 1769.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3 September 1774.

¹¹⁹ *Newcastle Journal*, 9 September 1775.

¹²⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 1 September 1787.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 3 September 1791.

¹²² GB-DRc: MS A10: 45 records that this anthem received its first performance in September 1791.

Another, 'Blessed is the man that Feareth the Lord', was also intended for the Sons of the Clergy.¹²³

John Marsh (1752-1828), an attorney, landowner and concert promoter in Canterbury and Chichester,¹²⁴ spent a day in Durham on 1 September 1796 and happened to visit on the day of the feast, attending the service at the cathedral:

it being, as it happen'd luckily for me, the annual Festival there for the Sons of the Clergy, on w'ch occasion the Bishop (Barrington) came in his coach at 6. & was attended to the Cathedral by an immense conclave of clergy. On this occasion Mr [Edward] Parker [a minor canon at the cathedral] said there wo'd be 3 anthems & the service performed in the very best manner, with a full choir, which we found to be the case, Mr Ebdon also doing his best upon the organ, w'ch seemed to be a very fine one. One of the anthems was also new to me, viz. "The Lord is good" by Dr W. Hayes, w'ch I liked very much, & that last sung was the Coronation Anthem...¹²⁵

Given that Marsh had attended the cathedral only three weeks after Gray had heard the service 'slovenly chouted', one might have expected the choir's performance to be poor; but given that this was a special occasion they may have put more effort into their performance. At this same service the choir performed a *Te Deum* by Kent and Croft's anthem 'O Lord, I will praise thee'.¹²⁶

¹²³ See the 1794 wordbook.

¹²⁴ McVeigh (2004), 4.

¹²⁵ Robins (1998), 623. Shute Barrington (1734-1826) was bishop from 1791 to 1826.

¹²⁶ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 3 September 1796.

The choir's association with the festival continued into the next century. The last recorded time that they attended with Ebdon was in 1803 when he played the organ,¹²⁷ but they were still singing at the Feast in 1810.¹²⁸

1.2.4 Other Special Services

Over the course of the century the choir would have sung at many special services including christenings, weddings and funerals. One of the earliest recorded funerals was that of Dorothy Eden, wife of Dr. Thomas Eden (1682-1754). She died in 1734 but the notice of her funeral failed to record what was sung.¹²⁹ Eden, as a prebendary at the cathedral, would have had the choir assist at his own funeral in 1754,¹³⁰ but given that they performed at his wife's, who would have been a relatively minor figure, it seems likely that they officiated on many similar occasions.¹³¹ Another notable example is that of Cowper's funeral in 1774 at which 'the full service of Croft and Purcell was performed with the greatest solemnity',¹³² while a better recorded ceremony was that of the prebendary John Sharp, who died in 1792.

At the entrance of the Cloisters, the body was met by the whole Choir, who sung before it the sentences appointed in the burial service. The evening service then began, in the course of which, a selection of some of the most solemn parts of Messiah were performed. The corpse was then conveyed to the vault in the Virgin Mary's chapel, at the west end

¹²⁷ Ibid., 3 September 1803.

¹²⁸ *Tyne Mercury*, 11 September 1810.

¹²⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 7 December 1734.

¹³⁰ Sanderson (1767), 104.

¹³¹ It is logical that the choir would have received payment for their services, but if so then the book that would have been used to record these payments has not survived.

¹³² *Newcastle Courant*, 9 April 1774.

of the church, where the choir again sung the sentences of “Man that is born of a woman”¹³³

The choir had sung for the funeral of John’s father Thomas, the archdeacon of Northumberland and a prebendary at Durham, in 1758,¹³⁴ as well as that of Judith, one of John’s sisters, who had died in March 1809. At her service the choir sang Croft’s *Funeral Service* as well as an anthem composed by Ebdon specifically for this occasion.¹³⁵ The anthem in question may have been ‘The souls of the righteous’ which is dated March 1809 and was included in the second volume of his *Sacred Music*.¹³⁶ As well as the funerals of important church members and their families, the choir also sang at the funerals of those with few cathedral connections, including Jonathan and Elizabeth Martin, both of whom died in 1787 within two months of each other.¹³⁷ The record of their burials states that they were from St Andrew’s Church in Newcastle.

Some members of the choir travelled great distances in order to provide music for the funerals of other notable personalities. In 1787 John Friend and, presumably, Ralph Banks jnr sang at the funeral service of Edmund Law (1703-87), the Bishop of Carlisle:¹³⁸

The remains of this respectable prelate were interred in the cathedral church of Carlisle on Saturday, when Dr Nare’s anthem, *The souls of*

¹³³ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 5 May 1792.

¹³⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 March 1758.

¹³⁵ GB-GLr: D3549 14/1/2.

¹³⁶ GB-DRc: MS A30: 83; Ebdon, T.: *Sacred Music* (London, c.1810).

¹³⁷ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 17 November 1787; GB-DRr: EP/DuSO/156. Jonathan was buried at St Oswald’s on 14 September and Elizabeth on 12 November. The newspaper report incorrently gave his name as Joseph. Martin appears to have been a musician and subscribed to both Ebdon’s and Wright’s Op. 1. In both his residence is given as Sunderland.

¹³⁸ John Friend was a lay-clerk at Durham between 1782 and 1819.

the Righteous, &c. was performed to a very numerous congregation, by Messrs Friend and Banks, from Durham, accompanied on the organ by Mr Hill. The performance was solemn and affecting, and particularly the solo by Mr Friend, which was executed with great taste and judgment.¹³⁹

A rather happier occasion at which the choir officiated was the installation of new members into the cathedral's hierarchy. In 1788 the choir sang Purcell's *Te Deum* and 'I will give thanks' at the installation of Dean John Hinchcliff,¹⁴⁰ and in 1791 they sang at the installation of Bishop Barrington:

Thursday, August 4th, being the day appointed for the public entry of the Honourable and Right Rev. Dr Shute Barrington, Lord Bishop of Durham....at the head of Elvet [they] were met by the banners of the incorporated companies of the city of Durham, music, &c....The procession then went forward to the cathedral, where his Lordship....advanced to the body of the church, where he was met by the Prebendaries, Minor Canons, Lay-singers, and Choristers, who preceded his Lordship to the high alter singing *Te Deum*. After a short prayer, his Lordship was led to his throne, and was seated with the usual ceremonies.

¹³⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 August 1787. Friend did not travel to Carlisle specifically to sing at this event, as he had already agreed to perform at an assize concert that was organised by Thomas Hill. Curiously, there was a Mr. Banks from Edinburgh who also performed at this concert. This perhaps indicates that the Banks referred to in the funeral's report may not have actually been from Durham. *Cumberland Pacquet*, 8 August, 22-29 August 1787.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 25 October 1788.

Divine service then began, which was read by the Rev. the Dean of Rochester, the Residentiary,– in the course of which Ebdon’s *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* were sung, and an excellent anthem, at the conclusion of which his Lordship gave his blessing to the congregation. Service being finished, his Lordship was conducted as be[for]e to the great north door of the cathedral, where the Prebendaries took their leave...and attended by many gentlemen, his Lordship went to the castle.¹⁴¹

The choir also sang annually from the top of the cathedral’s central tower. In previous centuries the choir had done this to commemorate the battle of Neville’s Cross, fought on 17 October 1346, and later the Restoration of the monarchy on 29 May 1660.¹⁴² The choir would sing to the north, south, and east but never to the west in re-enactment of the monks who did not dare face west to watch the ensuing battle.¹⁴³ On one occasion they sang from the tower to celebrate the coronation of George II in 1727.¹⁴⁴ This tradition continued throughout the eighteenth century but, with the death of Ebdon in 1811, it abruptly ceased.¹⁴⁵

1.2.5 Cathedral Repertory

Several musicologists have drawn attention to the fact that the majority of music performed and composed at English cathedrals during the eighteenth century was retrospective in style. Blom (1947) deduced that the ‘Church music was flat and

¹⁴¹ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 6 August 1791.

¹⁴² Crosby (1992), 198.

¹⁴³ Dufferwiel (1996), 54.

¹⁴⁴ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 192.

¹⁴⁵ GB-DRca: L/AA/4-8.

superficial compared with that of the seventeenth',¹⁴⁶ while Grout and Palisca in their *A History of Western Music* felt that 'the generally low level of church music is relieved only by the works of a few composers such as Maurice Greene (1696-1755) and Samuel Wesley (1766-1837).'¹⁴⁷ To modern eyes it appears that sacred music was lagging behind secular music in compositional technique, but for composers of the time, the 'old' style (often dubbed the *stile severo*) was considered more appropriate for worship (a view, incidentally, which prevailed well into the nineteenth century). This desire for an earlier style of sacred music is particularly evident in the writings of Arthur Bedford (1668-1745) and Thomas Bisse (d.1731), both of whom had strong opinions on what music should be performed at church. Even Durham, with its supposed degree of autonomy, did not escape such ideals.

The choir had a large pool of musical works from which to select their repertory, a considerable amount of which came from published collections. Members of the cathedral establishment would frequently subscribe to newly published works and occasionally, when it was thought beneficial, multiple copies would be purchased. For example six sets of William Boyce's (1711-79) highly important *Cathedral Music* was purchased by the Dean and Chapter (to which Hesletine also subscribed).¹⁴⁸ Other works that the Chapter subscribed to included Samuel Arnold's *Cathedral Music* (6 sets),¹⁴⁹ John Alcock's *Six and Twenty Select Anthems* (5 copies),¹⁵⁰ Boyce's *Fifteen Anthems* (9 copies), Croft's *Musica Sacra*, Greene's *Forty Select Anthems* (9 copies),¹⁵¹ William Hayes' *Sixteen Psalms* (12 copies),¹⁵² James Kent's *Twelve*

¹⁴⁶ Blom (1947), 134-5.

¹⁴⁷ Grout (1988), 580.

¹⁴⁸ London, 1780.

¹⁴⁹ London, 1790.

¹⁵⁰ London, 1771.

¹⁵¹ London, 1743.

¹⁵² London, c.1775; GB-DRca: L/AA/7.

Anthems (5 copies)¹⁵³ and his *Morning and Evening Service* (7 copies),¹⁵⁴ and James Nares' *Twenty Anthems* (9 copies).¹⁵⁵ The choir supplemented their repertory with music that had been copied out by one of the lay-clerks or the organist. This was frequently transcribed from the published editions. As printed music tended to be prohibitively expensive, it was difficult for the church to purchase enough copies for the whole choir.¹⁵⁶ The fact that the Chapter could afford multiple copies of some editions gives some indication of how wealthy the cathedral was. However, by 1800, the Chapter did not want the expense of purchasing large numbers of the printed volumes so they instructed that 'in future [they were] never to subscribe for more than one Set'.¹⁵⁷

It is difficult to determine from these sources what the choir would have performed as it is unlikely that they would have sung everything in the published or manuscript volumes. It is therefore important to refer to the wordbooks produced by the cathedral.¹⁵⁸ The 1749 wordbook contains music by forty-two composers of which thirty-eight are English. Of these seventeen are pre-Commonwealth composers, seven lived and worked through this period, and thirteen are from the Restoration period, although only four were alive in the year the book was published. Among those mentioned are King Henry VIII, Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625), Thomas Tallis (c.1505-85), Thomas Tomkins (1572-1656), Purcell, Blow, William Byrd (1563-1623), John Bull (1562-1628) and Matthew Locke (1630-77). The book also contains anthems by two composers from Durham, Hesletine, who is represented by seven and Theophilus Pickering by one. Of these anthems 119 are full and 132 verse. The most

¹⁵³ London, 1773.

¹⁵⁴ London, c.1797

¹⁵⁵ London, 1780; London, 1778.

¹⁵⁶ Temperley (1990), 363.

¹⁵⁷ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 11.

¹⁵⁸ See page 12 footnote 57 for more information on wordbooks.

numerously represented composer in this book is Croft with 51 anthems, followed by Aldrich with 23. What is clearly evident from this book is that the music performed at Durham in 1749 was distinctly old-fashioned and perhaps even reflected Hesletine's upbringing as a member of the Chapel Royal.

From 1794 there was a rush in the number of wordbooks produced. The collection from that year contained 24 full and 69 verses anthems. Of the fourteen composers mentioned, all worked after the Restoration, but only four were alive in 1794, including Ebdon and Garth, the latter represented through his arrangement of the *Marcello Psalms*. John Alcock was most numerous represented with 24 anthems but he was closely followed by Nares with 21. The next set of words appeared two years later in 1796 as there had been such 'a great Variety of new Cathedral Music...lately introduced into the Choir at Durham...[that] it was found necessary to print an additional Collection'.¹⁵⁹ Curiously it contains no anthems by Ebdon, probably because the wordbook was put together by Chrishop who was more regularly in attendance at the cathedral. Although this wordbook contains anthems by five living composers, including two by Garth, there are a further ten Restoration and four pre-Commonwealth composers represented. The most popular composer in the set was William Hayes (1729-99), the professor at Oxford, who is represented by thirteen anthems.

The 1801 volume contains anthems by eight composers who were still alive at the time of publication, a marked development on previous collections. This set includes the ten anthems by the lay-clerk James Radcliffe that had been published as part of his *Church Music* in the same year and eighteen other composers were of the

¹⁵⁹ 'Advertisement' *A Collection of Anthems* (Durham, 1796).

Restoration period.¹⁶⁰ Christopher Tye (c.1500-73) and Benjamin Rogers (1614-98) were the only earlier examples. There are additionally two further undated booklets that only contain anthems by Ebdon. The first dates from c.1808 as three anthems are dated January 1808 in the part-books.¹⁶¹ Three anthems from the later group do not survive in the cathedral and one would assume that the reason behind this is that Ebdon died before they were copied into the part-books.¹⁶² However, there are nine anthems in the part-books that are dated 1810 and one dated February 1811, none of which features in these wordbooks.¹⁶³

Others valuable sources of information regarding cathedral repertory include diaries and newspapers. These are the only sources that mention specific music on an identifiable occasion, but given the thousands of services that would have been sung over the century, only a few references exist. Harris frequently recorded the music when he attended the cathedral but gave few details as to the performances themselves. The earliest recorded occasion dates from 24 July 1741 when he attended the Friday morning service during assize week and heard ‘Dr Mangey one of the Prebends & a Minor Canon chant...Tallis’s Litany with the organ’.¹⁶⁴ Harris recorded a second performance in 1751.¹⁶⁵ As well as that by Tallis, the choir is recorded as singing settings by Robert Creighton (c.1636-1734),¹⁶⁶ Blow, and Purcell,¹⁶⁷ along

¹⁶⁰ Radcliffe was a lay-clerk between 1795 and 1818.

¹⁶¹ These are ‘Haste thee to help me’, ‘The Lord knoweth the days’ and ‘Hear me when I call’.

¹⁶² These are ‘Give thanks unto the Lord’, ‘Help us, O God of our salvation’ and ‘Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle’, the latter two of which survive in the Thorp collection at Princeton University Library along with earlier versions of several of the anthems that survive at Durham. US-PRu: Thorp Collection 16.

¹⁶³ These are ‘Blessed is he whom thou chastness’, ‘Great is our Lord’, ‘Help me now O Lord’, ‘Hide not thou face’, ‘My song shall be always’, ‘O Lord the very heavens’, ‘O praise the Lord with me’, ‘The King shall rejoice’, and ‘The Lord liveth’ (all 1810), and ‘Rejoice in the Lord O ye righteous’ (1811)

¹⁶⁴ Burrows (2002), 117. Assize week was held in either July or August when the courts were in session and criminals would be tried and, for the worst crimes, hanged. Around this event a whole festival sprang that was well attended.

¹⁶⁵ Burrows (2002), 278.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 262.

with his *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*.¹⁶⁸ Harris also refers to ‘God save the King’ several times in relation to evening vespers,¹⁶⁹ but this appears to be referring to Handel’s (1685-1759) ‘Zadok the Priest’ rather than the national anthem.¹⁷⁰ It was also included in the 1749 wordbook and remained popular throughout the century.¹⁷¹ Handel’s music was well represented at the cathedral services as movements from *Messiah* and *Saul* were both mentioned by Harris,¹⁷² and Jasper Clarke sang ‘My song shall be alway’ from the *Cannons Anthems* (HMV 252) for his first service on 2 October 1753.¹⁷³ Furthermore, the 1749 wordbook contains eight anthems by Handel and there are a large number of vocal works by him preserved in the part-books.¹⁷⁴

In terms of anthems the choir had an extensive selection from which to choose their repertory, but, with the exception of Handel, the only other composer mentioned by Harris was Giovanni Bassani (c.1657-1716) who is represented in the surviving part-books by two anthems.¹⁷⁵ Marsh noted some other works that were performed at the service in 1796, including Kent’s *Te Deum* and an anthem by Croft.¹⁷⁶ It goes without saying that the music composed by Durham musicians would also have been performed at the cathedral. As well as those already mentioned, other domestic

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 284.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 262, 279, 284.

¹⁷⁰ In one instance Harris refers to it as ‘Handel’s God Save the King’, Burrows (2002), 262.

¹⁷¹ Bedford (1998), 623.

¹⁷² Burrows (2002), 262, 285, 326.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 293.

¹⁷⁴ Amongst these are two versions of Handel’s anthem ‘As pants the hart’, the later version of which was copied into the part-books in 1768 (GB-DRC: MS A26: 73-83). This version is based on the arrangement for voices and organ alone by Boyce that was composed for the Chapel Royal in the late 1750s and copied into their part-books in the late 1760s. As well as replacing the instrumental parts with voices, Boyce also transposed the anthem down by a tone (Em to Dm). The Durham copy has been transposed down by a further tone (to Cm) and some of the solo organ writing has been replaced with voices. (For example, bars 16-17 in the Boyce arrangement). As the anthem was copied into the Durham part-books by Ebdon, it seems probable that he also produced this arrangement. Beeks (1983), 48-55.

¹⁷⁵ Burrows (2002), 279. The anthems are ‘As for me I will call’ and ‘I will magnify thee O God my king’.

¹⁷⁶ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 3 September 1796. Marsh himself is represented at Durham by the inclusion of his service in D in the part-books, but this was copied post 1811

composers of sacred music include Philip Falle (d.1742), John Friend, Edward Gregory, Mary Ebdon, and Susannah Ogle (d.1825).¹⁷⁷

The surviving evidence indicates that the music used at Durham cathedral was old-fashioned, particularly during the first half of the century. As the century progressed the situation did improve slightly, but there remained a large amount of archaic music in the choir's repertory. As such, Durham followed the national predilection for a style of sacred that was placed well in the past. Given this, and what others have written, one would have expected the music that was composed by Durham musicians for performance at the cathedral to have emulated these earlier styles.

1.2.6 Music in the City Churches

There appears to have been little of significance happening in the city's churches, as, with the exception of the cathedral, all organs that had been removed during the Commonwealth were not replaced.¹⁷⁸ Most music would have consisted of unaccompanied psalm-chanting which, as it was frequently led by non-musicians, was not have been of a high quality. Avison commented on the deplorable state of parochial music in his *An Essay on Musical Expression* (1752) where he stated that the psalm tunes 'are every where sung without the least Regard to *Time* or *Measure*, by drawing out every Note to an unlimited Length.'¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ See page 252 for more information on Philip Falle. Edward Gregory was a minor canon from c.1730 to 1755. Crosby (1986), 198.

¹⁷⁸ Both St Nicholas' and St Oswald's lost their organs at this time, neither of which were replaced until the nineteenth century. Barmby (1888), 253.

¹⁷⁹ Avison (1967), 89.

The earliest eighteenth century reference to any music at a Durham City church comes from the records of St Mary the Less where, in 1717, there is a payment for “y^e Clerk & Singing Boy”.¹⁸⁰ One of the roles of the parish clerk was to choose and announce the psalms, then to read or chant the text one line at a time to which the congregation would respond by singing the line after him very slowly and in unison.¹⁸¹ The introduction of a boy, to lead the singing, indicates that music had degenerated and that there was a decisive attempt to rectify this. Payments to the singing boy continued until 1721 and following this the clerk alone is recorded as receiving the same salary that had been previously allocated for both.¹⁸² In later years there are some references to boys receiving payment. For example, in 1745, 4s.6d was paid ‘To Stratfords Boys Sallary’,¹⁸³ but as the account books include many payments to the poor it is impossible to be certain what this payment was for.

An annual event that would have been held in most churches was the boundary day when the parishioners would ‘beat out’ the boundaries of their parish.¹⁸⁴ At St Giles’, musicians from the town waits were regularly employed to participate in this celebration. The first reference dates from 1723 when 2s was paid to “y^e musicon”, but in the following years there are frequent payments to ‘y^e Drummer & Musick’ and in 1749 for “Drums and Fiddles”.¹⁸⁵ Also, from 1740, the musicians were provided with a “drink on y^e moor”.¹⁸⁶ Throughout most of the century music continued in Durham’s churches in a similar relatively insignificant fashion and it was not until

¹⁸⁰ GB-DRr: EO/DuML6.

¹⁸¹ Temperley (1979), 379.

¹⁸² It is possible that a lay-clerk may have filled the role of parish clerk.

¹⁸³ GB-DRr: EP/DuML6.

¹⁸⁴ Occasionally the city’s mayor attended. GB-DRr: Du1/42/26: 50.

¹⁸⁵ GB-DRr: EP/DuSG30.

¹⁸⁶ GB-DRr: EP/DuSG31.

Edward Parker (1763-1809) was appointed vicar of St Mary le Bow in 1788 that music began to regain a major role in parochial worship.¹⁸⁷

St Mary le Bow had strong musical connections, as both Garth and Ebdon lived within the parish boundaries. However, almost as soon as Parker arrived he made steps to develop the music there. Parker's reforms were aided by the publication of a volume of psalms in 1790 by the Doncaster organist Dr Edward Miller (1735-1807). Entitled *The Psalms of David*, this book was published in order to produce a 'reformation in the performance of psalmody'.¹⁸⁸ It was a highly anticipated book and had an exceptionally large number of subscribers.¹⁸⁹ It was such an unusual occurrence that it received comment in the *Newcastle Courant*: 'The list of subscribers to Dr Miller's Psalms, is supposed to contain more names than has ever before appeared to any book published in this kingdom.'¹⁹⁰ Miller knew that his collection of psalms was a break from the past and recorded in his preface that they were 'the *first* publication of congregational psalmody that has appeared since the Reformation'.¹⁹¹

Purchasing a copy of the psalm book was only a small step towards reform and Parker would not have been able to make improvements without adequate musicians or instruments. He was able to entice Ebdon to become a churchwarden for a second time, giving Parker a professional musician from which to seek advice and help with his reforms. The only hurdle Parker had to cross was to get the parishioners to approve the installation of an organ.

According to Surtees the St Mary le Bow organ was 'purchased by parochial subscription in 1789, from the executors of the Rev. John Rotherham, Rector of

¹⁸⁷ Parker had been a minor canon at the cathedral since November 1785. GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9: 55.

¹⁸⁸ Miller (1790), ix.

¹⁸⁹ There were 3420 copies subscribed to (Parker was also a subscriber).

¹⁹⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 12 February 1791.

¹⁹¹ Miller (1790), ix.

Houghton-le-Spring'.¹⁹² This does not appear to be entirely correct, as the records indicate that Parker bought the organ with own money. At this time there was strong resistance to the installation of organs as there were concerns over cost and the general feeling that they were unnecessary.¹⁹³ Parker got around this issue by ensuring that the cost of its installation would not be borne by the congregation. He achieved this by offering it as a gift to the church. The churchwarden's accounts reveal that on 11 September 1792:

At a meeting of the parishioners it was resolv'd to accept an organ with thanks offer'd to the parish by the Rev Mr Parker_Rector- which he hereby promises to vest as Church property_ and that leave be given to the Rector to use the organ & church for the purposes of sacred music.¹⁹⁴

In reality it was not necessary for Parker to finance this endeavour as the music festival, organised to help with the expense of its installation, not only covered all the costs, but there was enough left over to make a substantial donation to the Durham Infirmary. The festival ran over three days from Wednesday 17 October 1792 and consisted of three concerts, the first of which was held in the church and the others at the Saddler Street theatre. There were also assemblies held at Hoult's on the Wednesday and Friday evenings.¹⁹⁵ Most of the musicians gave their time gratuitously. Among the performers were several lay-clerks including Evance and Meredith (who only charged for his travelling expenses). William Shield, a musician

¹⁹² Surtees (1816), IV, 40.

¹⁹³ Dearnley (1970), 156-7.

¹⁹⁴ GB-DRr: Ep/DuMB17.

¹⁹⁵ Thomas Hoult (c.1743-1799) ran an inn known as the 'Red Lion'.

from the north-east who has also an active composer to Covent Garden, played the cello, while Charles Avison jnr (1751-1795), the youngest son of the Newcastle organist, played the double-bass, and Ebdon the organ:¹⁹⁶

The Musical Festival at Durham commenced on Wednesday, and was, as we expected, numerously attended:— The Selection at the church was opened by *Mr Friend*, who sung “Pious Orgies” with great taste and execution; *Miss Worrall*, in her songs, displayed much sweetness and simplicity; and *Mrs Shepley* justified the liberality of Mr Parker, who engaged her but a few days previous to the performance; *Evanse* displayed great taste and scientific knowledge; and *Meredith*, as usual, was wonderfully great. The instrumental part was well supported; *Robinson* led with correctness and ability; Ashton, Hackwood, and Shields, had much merit; and *Ebdon* made the most that could be of the organ, which, by the bye, is much too small for so powerful a Band: The chorusses were full, and sung with great spirit and effect.— On Thursday evening, *Acis and Galatea* was admirably performed,— *Meredith* was peculiarly at home in Polythème; his “Indian war Song” was much applauded; Wright’s Clarinet Concerto was greatly admired; Mr Nesfield’s Flute Concerto was delightful; he is certainly the first Gentlemen on that instrument we ever heard: In short, the whole performances merited that applause and approbation with which they have been honoured. We must not

¹⁹⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 13 October 1792. A native of Swalwell near Gateshead, Shield had been a pupil of Avison. Following advice from Giardini, he went to London where he became a regular composer for Covent Garden.

omit mentioning that the Band was greatly strengthened by several Gentlemen performers, who politely came forward and gave their assistance. Among the number we could distinguish the Rev. Mr Greville, Rev. Mr Viner, Mr Methold, Mr Jackson, Mr Bainbridge, and many others.¹⁹⁷

The event was highly profitable as the accounts for this concert reveal. These records are unique as they provide a breakdown of the cost of putting on a concert at Durham.¹⁹⁸

Table 1: Receipts and payments regarding the 1792 St Mary le Bow Music Festival.

Receipts	£	s	d
Amount of tickets for the three performances including benefactions	227	--	6
Books of words sold for	2	18	--
In money at door of Theatre	6	14	--
Collected at the parish church of St Mary Le Bow in Durham on Sunday 21st. inst, when a sermon was preach'd by the Revd. Wm. Alston	14	16	10

¹⁹⁷ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 20 October 1792.

¹⁹⁸ Because of the circumstances of these concerts for which a large number of musicians provided their services for free, and the extra advertising that was done, these were not typical concerts and should not be viewed as such.

Payments	£	s	d
The Original cost of the organ	42	--	--
Building the organ gallery	38	5	--
Erecting the organ	5	8	6
Ornamenting and repairing ditto	5	17	6
Miss Worrall	16	16	--
Mrs Shepley by agreement	25	--	--
Mr Meredith to defray the expense of his journey	10	10	--
Mr Hackwood	4	4	--
The expenses of sundry performers resident in Durham who did not accept any farther gratuity	14	17	--
Printing hand bills, books, tickets & advertisements in ye N. Castle papers	15	18	--
Sundry incidental expenses	26	5	--
Balance paid into the hands of the Treasurer to the Durham Infirmary	50	8	4
total receipts & payments	£251	- 9	- 4

There is no record of who took over the playing of the organ following its installation, although a lay-clerk, perhaps John Friend, may have officiated. Despite the amount spent on its installation, the organ needed to be repaired in 1797 and

1800.¹⁹⁹ The singing of hymns continued, as it is recorded on 14 November 1795 that Friend was paid £1 ‘for 4 copies of his selection of Millers Psalms with Music for the use of the Minister, Clerk, Churchwardens & Organist’.²⁰⁰ This presumably refers to Friend’s published book of psalm tunes, *Parochial Harmony* which was issued in that year.²⁰¹ There is also a manuscript dating from after 1801 that was used at St Mary le Bow that contains six hymns, none of which are in Miller’s 1790 psalm book.²⁰² One of these is Haydn’s ‘Praise the Lord ye heav’ns adore him’ which indicates that the hymn-singing at St Mary le Bow did not remain stagnant.²⁰³ To lead the congregation in their worship, St Mary le Bow also had a group of singers that were trained by Friend. Presumably, if they used Friend’s *Parochial Harmony*, they were capable of singing four-part harmony.²⁰⁴ It appears due to the improvement in standards of music at St Mary le Bow that the choir sang at the Sunday service on at least one occasion. On 22 March 1801 a ‘very beautiful hymn, composed by Mr Friend, was sung by him, on this occasion, with great pathos and effect. The other Gentlemen of the Cathedral attended, and performed an Anthem, selected on the occasion by Mr Evance.’²⁰⁵ The hymn in question was presumably the appropriately titled ‘Morning Hymn’ that was set to words by the minor canon Thomas Hayes.²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁹ GB-DRr: EP/DuMB/12. It was repaired on the 3 April 1797 by a W. Wright who was paid £1.16s.6d, and again on 15 April 1800 by Ralph Brocket, a carpenter, who was paid 6s.9d.

²⁰⁰ GB-DRr: EP/DuMB/12. Friend was also paid for copying music for the mayor of Durham. A receipt from 1805 records that he copied, among other items, the ‘Psalm Books [for the] Alderman’. GB-DRr: DU1/42/29: 24.

²⁰¹ London, c.1795.

²⁰² GB-DRr: EP/DuMB/210/76. One of the hymns, ‘Great god what do I see and hear’ was, according to Temperley (1998), not published until 1801.

²⁰³ This version of Haydn’s tune ‘Austria’ set to these words first appeared as part of Edward Miller’s *Dr Watts Psalms and Hymns* (London, 1800).

²⁰⁴ Friend, J.: *Parochial Harmony* (London, c.1795)

²⁰⁵ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 28 March 1801.

²⁰⁶ GB-DRc: MS A16:190, B11:94, B16:95, B18:27-8, B26:174, B34:123.

Parker resigned his minor canon post at the cathedral in 1801 after he was accused of showing disrespect towards the prebendary Charles Cooper (d.1804).²⁰⁷ He continued his work at St Mary le Bow until his death on 27 May 1809 aged 46.²⁰⁸ Parker was a gifted musician and his passion for music and change in the church made him a pioneer in church music in Durham. Before him what little music there had been was of poor quality but through him moves were made to increase the importance of music at Mary le Bow. The reverberations from Parker's actions continued to be felt for many years after he had passed away.

²⁰⁷ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 13-14.

²⁰⁸ His wife Jane (c.1764-1809) died on 6 November in that same year. GB-DRr: EP/Du.MB 3.

Chapter 3: Secular Music I: Concert Life

1.3.1 Concert Organisation

The staging of public concerts had been an important way for a musician to earn a living since their establishment in London in 1672.¹ Many musicians in England were freelance and, if successful, could earn a sizeable profit from their performances and publication of their music, unlike their counterparts in mainland Europe who were subject to the whims of the aristocratic patrons. Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) is a notable example of a musician who worked in a European court but spent several highly profitable years working in London. He achieved the status of a celebrity and rubbed shoulders with the top men of his day. Musicians like Shield, Avison and Garth were also able to reach a social level that would not have been possible had they lived on the continent.

After its inception in London, concert life slowly crept northwards but did not, as far as records go, reach Durham until the middle of the 1730s. However, it did quickly become a vital part of musical life that, in turn, fuelled a boom in the production of secular music. The first recorded concert from Durham dates from 1735 when a benefit was held at the 'Grammar-School, *on the Green*'.² The concert was organised by the lay-clerk Thomas Mountier, who had originated from Chichester. Mountier had been a favourite singer at concerts in London in the early 1730s,³ before his admission into the cathedral choir on the 26 April 1735 at a salary of £50,⁴ £30 more than local musician Henry Marshall (1714-55) had received on his appointment five months earlier.⁵ Benefit concerts were an honourable way for a musician such as

¹ McVeigh (2004), 1.

² *North County Journal*, 21 June 1735.

³ Burney (1776), IV, 654; Aspden (2009).

⁴ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/6: 109.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 107, 109. Chapter even agreed to pay three guineas towards Mountier's expenses.

Mountier to supplement his income and he would have been well supported by members of the choir.⁶ However, this concert was a full decade later than the earliest advertised in Newcastle and this perhaps indicates, given the availability of good quality musicians, that concerts had been taking place in Durham from a much earlier date.⁷

Another phenomenon to come out of London was the subscription concert, where a subscriber would pay a single fee that guaranteed him entry into every concert in a series and occasionally admitted him into various other social events that were not always open to the general public. Avison set up a subscription series at Newcastle in 1735, one of the first outside the capital,⁸ but the first advertisement for a similar series at Durham did not appear until five years later.⁹ As this advertisement contains little information regarding the series' particulars and is more of a reminder rather than the establishment of a new series, it is likely that the Durham series had run before 1740.¹⁰ This series was likewise advertised for the following year,¹¹ but not for 1742. This in no way indicates that it did not take place, but perhaps the cost of advertising was high, and since most subscribers were drawn from the local environs, no wider publicity was required. However, the Newcastle series for that year *was* advertised.¹²

Avison's first venture into Durham was in 1742 when he organised a whole week's worth of entertainment for Durham's race week in partnership with one of the Newcastle theatres:

⁶ Fleming (1999), 36.

⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 22 May 1725.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 September 1735.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 20 September 1740.

¹⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 20 September 1740. Certainly the admission of vocalists from London into the choir would have meant that ideas passed freely northwards.

¹¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 26 September 1741.

¹² *Ibid.*, 18 September 1742.

We hear that the Managers of the Concert at Newcastle design to entertain the City of Durham with a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick every Night during the Races, and after each Concert, a Play gratis; accordingly on Monday Night, after the Concert, will be perform'd gratis, THE BEGGAR'S OPERA, with a new Farce (which has been perform'd in this Town with universal Applause) call'd, *The Lying Valet*.¹³

Aware of the extra profits available by holding concerts during Newcastle's race week, Avison looked to affluent Durham as another source of financial gain. His incursion into territory traditionally occupied by musicians from the cathedral appears to have been met with some hostility, not least from Hesletine. It is likely that the animosity that existed between Avison and Hesletine originated at this time. Only three years earlier several members of the choir had performed at one of Avison's concerts in Newcastle, when they had clearly been on amicable terms:

On Wednesday last were perform'd with great Applause, at Mr. Avison's Concert in the Assembly-Room, upon twenty-six Instruments, and by a proper Number of Voices from Durham, the three following celebrated Pieces of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, composed by the greatest Masters of the Age, viz. *To Arms, and Britons strike home; The Oratorio of Saul;* and *The Masque of Acis:* The Gentlemen and Ladies join'd in the Chorus's at the End of each Song; all present saluted the Performers with loud Peals of Claps, acknowledging a general

¹³ *The Lying Valet* is a play by David Garrick (1717-79). *Newcastle Journal*, 17 July 1742.

Satisfaction. There was the greatest Audience that ever was known on
the like Occasion in Newcastle.¹⁴

But after this event, relations between the two men appear to have deteriorated on account of Avison's 1742 series of concerts in Durham. Unsettled by this experience, Avison did not organise a series the following year and it was several years before he again performed in the city. When he did return he was no longer organising the concerts himself, but, instead, it was to support his friend Garth.

The first reference to a Durham concert organised by Garth appears is for a one-off benefit concert in 1746, again held during the race week:

*For the BENEFIT of Mr GARTH, At the ASSEMBLY-ROOM in
DURHAM, On Friday next, at Eleven o'clock in the Morning, WILL
begin a CONCERT of MUSIC.*

Tickets, at 2s.6d. each, to be had at the Assembly-Room, and at Mr
Garth's in Sadler-Street.¹⁵

He held another benefit in 1747,¹⁶ and a concert in 1748;¹⁷ and it is likely that the Newcastle orchestra supported him from the outset. Garth, as a Durham resident, would have found it easier to endear himself to the concert-going public but memories were long. By now, Garth had firmly entered territory that had, thus far, been to all extents and purposes the exclusive domain of the cathedral choir. They

¹⁴ It is likely that excerpts from both *Saul* and *Acis and Galatea* were performed at this concert. *Newcastle Courant*, 1 December 1739. Also in the 1730s, when there had been a dispute regarding the leaders of Avison's orchestra, Hesletine was nominated as a suitable judge. *Newcastle Courant*, 10 April 1736 – 22 May 1736.

¹⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 5 July 1746.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18 July 1747.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 16 July 1748.

finally came to blows in 1752 when Garth, with the assistance of Henry Vane (c.1705-58) of Raby Castle, Avison and the Newcastle orchestra, set up his own series of subscription concerts in Durham. Cowper commented in a letter dated 26 November that:

our Concert is threaten'd with a Rival Concert being open'd in Opposition to it; the plan of this concert is laid at Raby. Garth the violincello teaches that family, and it is for his service this new one is designed; the organist at Newcastle joyns his forces with all his Myrmidons, and having no vocal, they have bid high for one of the Boys of our Choir, but I have forbid either vocal or Instrumental to give the foe any assistance if they march this way. Poor Hasletine, tho' he has had no share in our present Concert, but his own trouble, is mortify'd at this, and in a great fuss.¹⁸

However, what occurred appears to have been a last resort as both Avison and Garth had previously offered their services to the choir. Cowper placed the blame for the current state of affairs firmly on Hesletine's shoulders:

It is true it is a good deal owing to his [Hesletine's] own jealousy, who cannot bear a Competitor, that these very people have not coalesced with them of his Band, for they have often offer'd it, and the two leaders particularly without reward or pay. But so it is, and the quarrel now has

¹⁸ Hughes (1956), 159.

subsisted for so many years that there is no hopes of its ever being brought to an end, So much for Music.¹⁹

Cowper, profoundly disappointed at the situation, had no choice but to support the cathedral series and was unable to attend Garth's concert. Instead he sent his wife to report on what had transpired:

The Subscription Concert was open'd last Wednesday. 14 is the number of Subscribers, but as they each had 4 tickets to be disposed of they had four times the number of Ladies; they ended with a Ball, and made up a dance of about 18 couple, Mr W. Cowper, and some few other strangers being admitted gratis. My Mrs Cowper and her Comp[an]y were there and brought me home this account, with the Bill of fare. The Musick was chiefly Instrumental performers at least equal to our own; but the choice of it wretched. It open'd with the Overture of Clotilda, an Opera many ages older than Camilla, and consisted of Concertos and solos from *Rameau*, *Giardini*, and *Avison*. Poor *Corelli*, and *Handel* were excluded almost *Nem. Con.* only one man amongst them pleaded hard that *Corelli* might conclude the affair, but he was only hooted at for his pains, and told that there was not one part of *Corelli* that the children in the streets cou'd not whistle from beginning to end, and their music was to be all *New*. I wish I cou'd pick up some of these children for my Entertainment, in the mean while I shall not fear that my Crowds will be

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 159.

injured in their Concert, whilst these adhere so closely to having what is perfectly *new*.²⁰

Cowper thought that they were not much of a threat and Hesletine, upon hearing the concert's review, thought it would be a good idea to lend them the lay-clerk Peter Blenkinsop. However, this gesture was by no means an attempt at reconciliation as Cowper had reported that Martin Benson (1689-1752) had said that Blenkinsop squeaked 'thro' his nose like a penny trumpet'.²¹

What happened next is unclear, but it appears that they did loan Blenkinsop. However, if their plan was to attempt to undermine Garth's series then it backfired as Blenkinsop subsequently jumped ship. He had previously been involved in selling tickets for the cathedral series, but by 1753 he was selling those for Garth,²² and may have sung the only song at a concert attended by Harris in September of that year.²³ Blenkinsop became heavily involved in Garth's series holding the annual meeting to elect a new treasurer at his home,²⁴ and one can only imagine the tensions that this would have caused within the choir itself. Cowper and Hesletine must have been badly stung by this act of treachery, but they both remained silent on the matter. However, at this time tensions between the two groups were high and went far beyond local concert life. Nonetheless, it was a third party who perhaps embodied the distaste that existed between the two groups the most.

As already noted, Avison's *An Essay on Musical Expression* had appeared in 1752, the first substantial attempt at music criticism in the English language. This book did not go unnoticed and the following year a scathing reply was published

²⁰ Ibid., 161.

²¹ Ibid., 108, 161. Benson was the Bishop of Gloucester and a prebendary at Durham.

²² *Newcastle Courant*, 13 July 1751, 8 September 1753.

²³ Burrows (2002), 293.

²⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 16 September 1758, 22 September 1759.

anonymously by William Hayes. His *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (1753) is an attack on Avison, his writings and his music. Most have assumed that his reaction came purely because of Avison's elevation of composers such as Geminiani and Rameau at the expense of Handel. However, this in itself does not account for the brutality of the assault. Hayes begins with a lengthy analysis of Avison's Op. 3 concertos, the compositional style of which he heavily criticises,²⁵ and there is a decisive attempt to undermine Avison's musical reputation. However, it is not until the final few pages of the book that there is a possible reason for the origins of his *Remarks*. In the postscript, Hayes gives Avison advice as to whom he might submit his concertos once he had corrected them, and he recommends none other than Hesletine:

I shall venture to recommend one who is extremely capable of it, and who will (provided Mr. AVISON has behaved like a *Man of Honour* to him) do it with the utmost Cordiality; being no less remarkable for his *good-Nature*, than his *good-Sense* and *Skill* in his profession; namely Mr. HESSELTINE, Organist of the Cathedral Church at DURHAM.²⁶

We do not know how well Hayes and Hesletine knew each other, but given the 'man of honour' comment it appears that Hayes was aware of what had transpired at Durham, subsequently utilising Avison's *Essay* as an opportunity to support Hesletine. Avison, for his part, did not mention Hesletine directly, but did speak out against many of the practices of the time regarding the performance of music in church, and certainly had a low opinion of 'old Cathedral Music' which he thought

²⁵ Hayes (1753), 7-11.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 132.

adhered too strongly to the ‘dry Rule of Counterpoint’.²⁷ He went on to express his opinion that church music needed reform and placed this firmly on the organist’s shoulders:

IF it should be asked, who are the proper Persons to begin a reform in our Church-Music? It may be answered, the Organists of Cathedrals, who are, or ought to be, our *Maestri di Capella*, and by whom, under the Influence and Protection of their Deans, much might be done to the Advancement of their Choirs.²⁸

Hayes was not impressed with what he read and commented that Avison knew ‘very little [about old Cathedral Music]; otherwise he could not speak so slightly of it.’²⁹ In 1753 a revised second edition of Avison’s *Essay* appeared along with his *Reply to the Author of Remarks*, but there was no further reaction from Hayes. Charles Burney, author of the seminal *History of Music* (1776), thought Avison was ‘an elegant writer upon his art’, but agreed with Hayes’ criticisms.³⁰

Tensions were still high in 1754, when the advertisement for the choir’s subscription series appeared in the newspapers, with minimal information. However, the same week Garth’s series was also advertised:

²⁷ Avison (1752), 74-8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

²⁹ Hayes (1753), 45.

³⁰ Burney (1776), IV, 670-1.

On Thursday the Tenth of October, will begin (at the Assembly-room in Durham) the GENTLEMEN'S SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT, and continue for the Season as usual.³¹

Garth's rebranding of his series as the 'Gentlemen's Subscription Concert' was a calculated attempt to make the concerts sound more exclusive besides stealing a march on the rival series.³² However, Garth rarely included any details regarding what was performed, so, perhaps to minimise any damage, the advertisements for the choir's concerts began to contain, on a more regular basis, information on what they intended to perform. Moreover, with a number of capable singers at their disposal, they were able to capitalise on the surge in popularity of Handel's oratorios.³³ The tensions were further exacerbated in 1754 when two more of the cathedral musicians, the aforementioned William Paxton and Cornforth Gelson defected to Garth's band.³⁴ Cowper had borrowed a violin for Gelson to use and it was with dismay that he wrote about his desertion. Perhaps the two musicians were thinking more of the music rather than the dispute. However, given that the battle lines had been firmly drawn, there was no hope of their readmission:

His brother [Paxton's] at pres't is in open Rebellion against me, and what is worse his Rebellion has brought our Concert to be on its last Legs, as he has gone over to our Enemies' quarters. I have not yet heard that he or Gelson (the other Reprobate who I borrow'd you Fiddle for,

³¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 21 September 1754.

³² Mackerness (1964), 115-6.

³³ Over the coming years it became increasingly common for the oratorio that was performed to be mentioned by name.

³⁴ Crosby (2000), 49. Crosby, by a process of elimination, deduced that the 'brother' in Cowper's letter referred to William Paxton.

and is also a Deserter) are as yet received by them, but their Desertion has made them incapable of being admitted into our own.³⁵

Relationships between the two groups remained tense for several more years, but despite the influx of new blood, things were not all rosy at Garth's concerts. Cowper, in 1757, gloated about their slow demise:

When the Mich's Geese are put to the Spit, our Concerts begin. I believe one more Winter leaves us Masters of the field, for the Gentlemen-subscribers are heartily sick of the Expense of theirs, and the chief Manager has left this Town and Country for good and all.³⁶

Be that as it may, this was not the final year of Garth's series, for soon afterwards relationships between the two rival groups began to thaw. Alderman Joseph Grey, who lived in the Bailey, had begun to sell tickets for the choir's concerts in 1756,³⁷ but by 1759 he also sold them for Garth.³⁸ Hesletine had also subscribed to Garth's edition of the *Marcello Psalms*, issued from 1757, which he clearly would not have done if the two men had remained at odds. Evidently the dispute had begun to fade with time and this enabled the two groups to build new bridges. The need for a second subscription series was now becoming redundant and so Garth's series folded in 1760,³⁹ although he did continue with his race week concerts.⁴⁰ The reason for the conflict's resolution is unknown, but it was presumably due to Avison, Hesletine, or

³⁵ Hughes (1956), 174-5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 190.

³⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 17 July 1756.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 21 July 1759.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6 October 1759.

⁴⁰ e.g. *Newcastle Courant*, 1 August 1761, 17 July 1762.

both, retiring from concert organisation in Durham. There is no evidence that Garth immediately joined the choir's concerts following the cessation of his series. The first occasion that they were advertised as working together was for a concert held at Darlington in 1765.⁴¹ However, the 1762-3 Durham choir subscription series was advertised as running for 24 nights,⁴² which would have required a large amount of music and a substantial amount of rehearsal time, and it could well be that Garth organised some of these concerts. Nevertheless, it was still too much work as the 1763-4 series was reduced to sixteen nights.⁴³ With the death of Hesletine in 1763, the final barrier between the two groups was gone and instead of open competition they could focus on making music, and Ebdon, his successor, was more than happy to take on the challenge.⁴⁴

Ebdon's first concert after his appointment as cathedral organist was held on 4 October 1763,⁴⁵ although he may have taken over the organisation of the concerts as early as 1759 when relationships had improved. From 1769 both Garth and Ebdon were running the Durham concerts together,⁴⁶ but by this time Garth was beginning to lose interest in concert promotion, passing the mantle onto the younger Ebdon. In 1770, following the death of Avison, Garth decided that it was time to withdraw from the Newcastle concerts, a decision that was greeted with howls of protest:

⁴¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 14 September 1765.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 2 October 1762.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1 October 1763.

⁴⁴ Ebdon, along with the Durham lay-clerks Clarke, Marshall and Mathews, subscribed to Avison's Op. 9 concertos (1766) and, given that Avison subscribed to Ebdon's *Six Sonatas* (c.1765), it appears that hostility had turned into mutual support.

⁴⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 1 October 1763. This was the first night of the 1763-4 subscription series.

⁴⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 8 July 1769.

A CARD.

PHILO-MUSICUS presents his compliments to Mr G- -h, and desires to know if he thinks that he hath cancelled every obligation he owed to the late worthy and ingenious Mr Avison. by playing at his concerts, for which he received adequate reward. It would give Philo-Musicus unspeakable pleasure to see Mr G and others, who excel in that elegant and divine art, of more harmonious and heavenly dispositions; from their behaviour one would imagine that it must cost them some trouble to confine their music to their heads and fingers, terribly afraid least it should reach their hearts, and humanize their selfish souls.⁴⁷

The last Durham concert in which we know Garth was involved was for a performance of *Messiah* on 8 August 1772.⁴⁸ The programme for a 1773 concert included a cello concerto, but it was not mentioned who performed or composed it. However, it may have been played by George Ashton, Garth's successor as the main violoncello player.⁴⁹ Music by Garth did continue to feature on concert programmes but it is uncertain whether he played himself.⁵⁰ After 1772 he continued to live in Durham and it seems likely that he continued to attend and even participate in concerts right up until his final retirement from music in 1794.

Despite the volatile relationships between the two concert groups, one form of stability was achieved in the form of ticket prices. Unlike modern times where the cost of tickets generally increases every season, the prices were relatively stable

⁴⁷ *Newcastle Journal*, 1 September 1770.

⁴⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 8 August 1772.

⁴⁹ *Newcastle Journal*, 24 July 1773.

⁵⁰ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 16 April 1774.

throughout the early part of the eighteenth century, and there was never any attempt by either group to undercut the other. Since Mountier's first concert in 1735 most concert tickets had remained at 2s.6d, but in 1769 prices began to creep upwards, moving to 3s on a permanent basis.⁵¹ Books of words also began to be advertised at 6d giving the concert organisers the opportunity to increase their takings. Season tickets for the 1769 subscription series were 10s.6d,⁵² the same price as they had been in 1753,⁵³ but in 1771 they jumped up to 15s for twelve concerts.⁵⁴ Clearly the rise in prices was not taken lightly and it may have resulted in a drop in the number of ticket sales. As a result, by 1778, the cost had been reduced to half a guinea but there were only eight nights in the series.⁵⁵ Individual tickets prices occasionally increased, touching 3s.6d,⁵⁶ but they did not remain at this level until the last few years of the century.⁵⁷ By 1811 they had risen to 4s. The extortionate 5s charged by Mr Charles at his 1754 benefit concert,⁵⁸ and by Felice Giardini (1716-96) at his race week concerts in 1753 and 1758 were isolated occurrences and were not particularly successful since no other concert organisers subsequently attempted to raise their prices to a similar level.⁵⁹

The choir's subscription concerts trundled on until 1794 season when they abruptly stopped.⁶⁰ Perhaps Ebdon's new duties as organist at Auckland Castle, coupled with his existing duties as cathedral organist left him little free time, and since concerts were not as profitable, he decided to withdraw from their organisation.

⁵¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 8 July 1769.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 14 October 1769.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 29 September 1753.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 28 September 1771.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 26 September 1778.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 13 June 1778.

⁵⁷ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 17 November 1798.

⁵⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 23 November 1754.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 21 July 1753; 29 July 1758. See pages 97-101 for more information on Charles and Giardini.

⁶⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 5 October 1793.

The series was restarted by a committee in 1796 but this only lasted for one season.⁶¹ Ebdon is only recorded as partaking in one further public concert, a benefit that was held on 14 February 1797.⁶² He did continue to attend private concerts, as Granville Sharp (1735-1813) recorded that he attended one on 3 October 1805 at his sister's home, but it is impossible to say if he played on this occasion.⁶³ Public concerts continued to be held, but there were few who were prepared to organise them and given that Britain was at war with France people's attentions were diverted to more pressing matters. There were a few single concerts during the last years of the eighteenth century, in particular those organised by the lay-clerk James Radcliffe.⁶⁴ Another proponent of concerts in Durham was Friend who organised one of the last concerts held there during Ebdon's lifetime:

The amateurs of vocal music have seldom experienced so great a treat as they did at Mr Friend's concert, at the assembly rooms in Durham, on Thursday evening. The selection of the music was universally allowed to be good and judiciously arranged; and the Whole met with the greatest approbation, from one of the most numerous and genteel audiences that city has witnessed for many years.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Ibid., 19 November 1796. Ebdon played harpsichord for the first concert in this series.

⁶² GB-DRu: Elephant case L792. 'Theatre playbills'

⁶³ GB-GLr: D3549 13/4/2.

⁶⁴ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 17 November 1798.

⁶⁵ *Tyne Mercury*, 10 January 1809.

1.3.2 Concert Venues

There were several venues within the city that were used for holding public concerts and other social events. These usually took the form of large public rooms that could be hired for an evening and were often located within a local tavern or public house. Durham possessed its own assembly rooms and this was the most popular venue during the early part of the eighteenth century. Through its reincarnation as Ebdon's concert room and return to an assembly room in the early nineteenth century, it remained in regular use and still survives as a public venue.⁶⁶

As already mentioned, the first recorded public concert that was held in Durham comes from an advertisement for a concert held in July 1735 run by Thomas Mountier. It was held in the 'Grammar-School, *on the [Palace] Green*',⁶⁷ now the university's Music Department. This is the only recorded instance of a concert held at this location, but, given its close proximity to the cathedral, it was probably used on other unrecorded occasions.

Although the most popular concert venue was the Bailey Assembly Rooms, there was another 'Assembly-House' in Saddler Street where Lax taught dance.⁶⁸ The Saddler Street room may have been an early venue for public events, although no concerts are recorded at that location. Mrs Thorpe held her assembly there in 1727:

THIS is to give Notice to all Gentlemen and Ladies, that an Assembly will be kept during the Assizes at Durham, by *Mrs. Thorpe*, at the House

⁶⁶ The Assembly Rooms now belong to the university and are frequently used for student productions. The upper floors have been removed in modern times to enable the building's conversion into a theatre.

⁶⁷ *North County Journal*, 21 June 1735.

⁶⁸ For more information on Lax see pages 192-3.

where Mr. Dempsey lately lived and kept the Assembly, and where Mr. Lax now teaches to dance in Sadler's Street, Durham.⁶⁹

After this the Bailey Assembly Rooms became the main venue for all such activities, including the choir's subscription series.⁷⁰ When Garth began concert promotion in 1746 he also opted for the Assembly Rooms.

There were several other public houses where musical events could have taken place and there would certainly have been social music-making at all of these establishments. The 'Nag's-Head' in the Market Place was advertised as providing a 'good Entertainment' and possessed a 'French Billiard Table',⁷¹ but was never used as a concert venue. Another, the 'Black Swan', was used as a venue for music in 1788.⁷² However, the most popular of these was the 'Red Lion' which was located on the Bailey close to the Assembly Rooms.⁷³ From 1763 the Red Lion was run by Laurence Richardson (b.1731) who was quite forward in his aims of making his inn a major social venue.⁷⁴ He established a series of assemblies that were held there during race and assize weeks in 1765 that were in direct competition to those run by a Mrs Proud. In previous years she had run assemblies unchallenged during these weeks. They were first advertised for race and assize weeks 1763, but the comment 'as usual' indicates that they had been held in previous years.⁷⁵ We do not know where Mrs Proud's rooms were. They may have been the Saddler Street rooms, or could have

⁶⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 29 July 1727.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 20 September 1740.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 21 August 1731.

⁷² *Newcastle Advertiser*, 21 November 1788.

⁷³ This venue still exists, but is now part of Hatfield College.

⁷⁴ Until 1763 the Red Lion was occupied by James Nicholson. *Newcastle Courant*, 16 May 1752, 16 July 1763.

⁷⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 16 July 1763.

been part of another Durham establishment. Her assemblies were likewise run in 1764:

Mrs PROUD Takes this METHOD to inform the NOBILITY and GENTRY, THAT ASSEMBLIES will be, as usual, every Night during the Race Week; and as she proposes to illuminate the Room with Wax Lights every Night, the sub-cription, for the Week, will be Six Shillings; and Three Shillings each night for Non Subscribers. NOTE, the SECOND QUARTER takes Place in the ASSIZE WEEK, upon the same Terms.⁷⁶

Proud may have been trying to corner the market on the highly profitable assemblies by making it cheaper to purchase a ticket for the whole week as opposed to individual event. She perhaps made more from the sale of consumables than from the ticket sales and if a person bought a weekly ticket it may have been her feeling that they would attend every night. Clearly there had been little competition which made her confident that she could guarantee a good attendance. However, any complacency was disrupted as, the following year, Richardson set up his own:

At Mr RICHARDSON'S LONG ROOM, In the BAILEY, DURHAM, THERE WILL BE ASSEMBLIES On the WEDNESDAY and FRIDAY EVENINGS in the ASSIZE WEEK. Mr RICHARDSON begs Leave to return his most grateful Thanks [to] the Nobility and Gentry, who have

⁷⁶ Ibid., 14 July 1764.

honoured him with Their Company since it was first opened, and humbly requests the Continuance of their Favours.⁷⁷

Any rivalry between the two parties appears to have been quickly resolved as when two assemblies were organised for December of that year, Richardson and Proud were working together:

there will be TWO ASSEMBLIES next week at DURHAM: The first at Mr Richardson's on Wednesday the 18th Instant; the second, on the day following, at Mrs Proud's.⁷⁸

Both venues continued to be important venues for public events. A race week concert run by Blenkinsop and Mrs Proud in 1751 did not mention the venue, but was presumably held at her rooms.⁷⁹ However, the increase in the number of available venues in Durham had a marked impact on the Assembly Rooms. In 1763 the choir moved their race week concert to Richardson's,⁸⁰ returning to the Assembly Rooms for the start of the subscription series.⁸¹ They likewise returned to Richardson's for the same concert the following year.⁸² There appears to have been a gradual decline in the number of events held at the Assembly Rooms.⁸³ All of the single concerts for 1769 were held at Richardson's and the choir's 1769-70 series was held alternatively at Richardson's and Proud's.⁸⁴ There is no recorded reason why the Assembly Rooms

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 27 July 1765.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 14 December 1765.

⁷⁹ *Newcastle Journal*, 13 July 1751.

⁸⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 16 July 1763.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1 October 1763.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 14 July 1764.

⁸³ The last recorded occasion that the Assembly Rooms were used was for the 1768-9 subscription series. *Newcastle Courant*, 1 October 1768.

⁸⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 14 October 1769.

fell into disuse but they may have become dilapidated, or perhaps Richardson's room was cheaper to hire. Whatever the reason, they did not reappear as a venue for concerts, at least called as such, until the next century. However, they did continue to be used for musical purposes, receiving a new lease of life under the name of 'Mr Ebdon's Music Room'. In 1770 Ebdon had sold his house in Bow Lane in Durham,⁸⁵ raising the necessary funds for the purchase of the rooms.⁸⁶ We can be certain that the Assembly Rooms and Ebdon's Rooms were the same due to a notice that appeared in the newspaper in 1806 which stated that the 'Durham assize ball on Thursday of Assize week [would be held] in the OLD ASSEMBLY ROOM, lately Mr Ebdon's Concert Room, in the Bailey'.⁸⁷ The first recorded instance of a concert there under Ebdon's new management was for a performance of *Messiah* during Easter week 1772,⁸⁸ but it became the main venue for all of the cathedral choir's concerts in the last quarter of the century. The 1778-9 subscription series was advertised as taking place in Ebdon's room,⁸⁹ but the last night of the 1779-80 series was held in Richardson's room with a performance of *Messiah*,⁹⁰ a move that was repeated the following year.⁹¹ At the time no reason was given as to why there was a sudden return to Richardson's, a move that would have increased costs. However, this may have been due to these nights concluding with a ball. The holding of the first and last night of the subscription series at the Red Lion became the norm for the choir series under Ebdon.⁹²

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 7 April 1770.

⁸⁶ Ebdon presumably lived there as the cathedral did not provide him with his own accommodation.

⁸⁷ *Tyne Mercury*, 22 July 1806.

⁸⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 11 April 1772.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 26 September 1778.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22 January 1780.

⁹¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 27 January 1781.

⁹² Later advertisements for Ebdon subscription series stated that the first and last night of the subscription concerts, which were held at the Red Lion, did include a ball. e.g. *Newcastle Advertiser*, 29 September 1792, 19 January 1793. Boswell attended a ball that followed a concert on 18 July 1788. Lustig (1986), 244.

There were several other venues within the city where concerts were occasionally held. These include the playhouse in Drury Lane which was first used as such in 1753.⁹³ Garth and Ebdon also organised concerts at the Durham theatre.⁹⁴ The church of St Mary le Bow was also occasionally used for concerts,⁹⁵ as was ‘Old Durham’, the public gardens on the outskirts of the city,⁹⁶ and what appear to have been spontaneous concerts given by the Sharps in the lantern of the cathedral and on the riverbanks.⁹⁷ The lantern was the most unlikely place to hold a concert. Although unaccompanied singing might have occasionally taking place there, it would have been difficult to get the instruments up the steep steps, not to mention the lack of room in which they had to perform.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, two concerts were given there by the Sharps in 1756. The *Courant* recorded that a concert was given ‘in the Church, in that Part of the Steeple called the Lanthorn. The Solemnity of the Pieces inspired the Hearers with an awful Kind of Satisfaction, infinitely superior to the Pleasure experienced by lighter Pieces’,⁹⁹ no doubt a veiled attack on the music played at Garth’s concerts. Between 1772 and 1776 no concerts were advertised for Richardson’s room and in 1776 part of the Red Lion was sold, having been turned into a coffee-house.¹⁰⁰ However, there were clearly good relations between the new owners and Ebdon as his concert tickets could be purchased there.¹⁰¹

⁹³ *Newcastle Courant*, 21 April 1753.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8 August 1772. It seems that the reason for using the theatre was that it accommodated far more people than either the Red Lion or Ebdon’s Room. It also provided a good evangelical opportunity as the cost of a ticket for a regular concert, then at three shillings, was much more expensive than the cheapest theatre tickets, at only one shilling for a seat in the gallery

⁹⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 6 October 1792.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 25 May 1754.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 5 June 1756.

⁹⁸ The other alternative is that they played at floor level beneath the lantern, although this is referred to as ‘the crossing’.

⁹⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 5 June 1756.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 16 March 1776.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 19 July 1777.

In 1783 Thomas Hoult took over the Red Lion from Richardson.¹⁰² The first concert there under his ownership was held by Ebdon on 22 July 1784.¹⁰³ The 1784-5 series was again first held at the Red Lion before moving back to Ebdon's room.¹⁰⁴ Under Hoult the number of events held at the Red Lion began to grow and the room was rebranded as the 'New Assembly Rooms'.¹⁰⁵ In November of that year Hoult set up his first series of subscription assemblies that were held monthly on a Monday evening,¹⁰⁶ and were later rechristened the 'Durham City Assemblies'.¹⁰⁷ Over the following years both Hoult's and Ebdon's rooms continued to be used for concerts.¹⁰⁸

After the final season of the subscription series in 1793-4, Ebdon's room suddenly fell out of use. Hoult's became the main venue for all musical events and even the attempt to restart the subscription series in 1796 was held at the Red Lion.¹⁰⁹ Later concerts included one organised by another William Paxton (c.1767-1805) that was held at his own establishment, the 'City Tavern' in 1798.¹¹⁰ Boruwlaski, who advertised his concert as being held at the Assembly Rooms, was presumably referring to Hoult's room.¹¹¹ Following Hoult's death in 1799 he was succeeded by his son,¹¹² and assemblies continued to be held there right up until the last series of the Durham City Assemblies in 1804-5.¹¹³ From 1807 the dancing teacher, Mr Alsop, was running the Red Lion, where he also held assemblies and gave dancing lessons:¹¹⁴

¹⁰² Ibid., 8 November 1783.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 17 July 1784.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 2 October 1784.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 30 October 1784.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 20 November 1784.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 26 October 1793.

¹⁰⁸ Hoult's was frequently called the Assembly Rooms. e.g. *Newcastle Courant*, 22 September 1787.

¹⁰⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 19 November 1796.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 20 January 1798. This was presumably organised to help raise funds for the coffee-shop he had recently opened. *Newcastle Chronicle*, 20 January 1798.

¹¹¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 22 February 1800.

¹¹² *Newcastle Chronicle*, 5 October 1799.

¹¹³ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 18 December 1800.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 11 July 1807.

ASSEMBLY ROOM, DURHAM,

(LATE HOULT'S)

MR ALSOP

RETURNS his most grateful Thanks to his
Friends, for their Favours conferred on him during his
Residence in Durham, and respectfully informs them and the
Public that his School will re-open, after the Summer Vaca-
tion, in the above Room, on Monday the 27th of July, 1807.

Having fitted up the Room in a neat and elegant Stile,
he begs to add that there will be Assemblies on Wednesday
and Friday Evenings in the ensuing Assize Week, when
every Endeavour will be exerted for their Amusement and
Accommodation.¹¹⁵

As for Ebdon's room, it appears that early in the following century Ebdon, who had no further use of it, sold it to a Messrs Watts and Wetherell.¹¹⁶ They restored it to its original function as a public assembly room:

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 11 July 1807.

¹¹⁶ They taught dance at Ravensworth Vale and ran assemblies in Sunderland. *Tyne Mercury*, 19 April 1808, 13 March 1810.

DURHAM ASSIZE BALL.

—————
Messrs WATTS and WETHERELL

RESPECTFULLY inform the Public, that the ASSIZE BALL will be on Wednesday the 22d of July, in their own Rooms.

∴ The Subscription City Assemblies, for the ensuing Winter, will be opened as before.

Messrs W. and W. having at their own Risk and Expence. (and after the Town had been for a Year deprived of the Opportunity of having any Balls whatever) purchased, re-opened, and conducted the Old Assembly-Rooms in a Manner that has met with the most flattering and general Approbation, trust that they may safely throw themselves upon the Candour of a liberal Public.¹¹⁷

1.3.3 Old Durham and other outdoor concerts

As well as the established year-round concerts in Durham, there were at least two outdoor venues where music could be heard in the summer months. Durham, like many large urban centres, possessed its own public gardens. These were known as ‘Old Durham’ and located due east of Durham just behind the present Maiden Castle sports centre.¹¹⁸ They were originally the gardens of a house called ‘Old Durham’, that, even in the eighteenth century, had become ruinous, but the gardens had become a welcome diversion for Durham’s inhabitants during the summer months.

Hutchinson recorded that they had ‘become a place of public resort, where concerts of

¹¹⁷ *Tyne Mercury*, 14 July 1807.

¹¹⁸ The gardens still exist but are not maintained to their eighteenth-century standard.

music have frequently been performed in the summer evenings, and the company regaled with fruit, tea, &c. The gardens are open all summer for rural recreation.¹¹⁹ If musical events were ‘frequently’ performed there then few references survive, though it should be noted that unlike the Spring-Gardens at Newcastle, the musical events at Old Durham were never advertised in the newspapers.¹²⁰ We would have been left unaware of what actually happened there if it were not for the existence of occasional reports that appeared in the Newcastle newspapers. The most detailed surviving review we have is for a concert that was put on by the Sharp family and which involved the cathedral choir:

Last Wednesday Evening was performed in the Gardens at old Durham, a Concert of vocal and instrumental Musick, by several Gentlemen, for their own Amusement: The Double-base, Bassoon, French-horn, Hautboy, and Kettle Drum Parts, by the Rev. Dr Sharp’s Sons, and other instrumental Parts, by the Gentlemen of the Choir, and the vocal Part by Mr Clark. The Company which was very large and genteel, universally applauded the Performance; and the fine Evening with the Pleasantness of the Gardens, made it altogether a most agreeable Entertainment.¹²¹

The brothers that performed at this event were John (1723-92), Thomas (1725-72), William (1729-1810), James (1731-83) and Granville. Granville was the only brother that knew how to play the drums and probably filled that role.¹²² The choir, as stated, filled the ‘other instrumental Parts’ with the exception of Jasper Clarke, who sang. It

¹¹⁹ Hutchinson (1785), II, 305.

¹²⁰ e.g. *Newcastle Journal*, 14 May 1763, 17 May 1766.

¹²¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 May 1754.

¹²² Crosby (2002), 12.

seems probable that the choir performed at Old Durham on a regular basis, but there is only one further reference to a concert at which they sang:

We hear that the Gentlemen of the Choir of Durham perform'd a grand Concert of Music, to a brilliant Assembly of Gentlemen and Ladies, last Tuesday in the Evening, in the Gardens at Old Durham, with great Applause, and a general Satisfaction appeared in the whole Audience; which, it is hoped, will encourage the Performers to entertain the Quality a Second Time with such agreeable Harmony in those Gardens.¹²³

There were other local musicians who also performed at Old Durham, and this included Garth. His participation at this venue would have further aggravated the tensions between the two concert groups:

We hear from Durham, that on Tuesday Mr Garth gave a Concert of instrumental Musick in the Gardens at old Durham, to a numerous Company of Gentlemen and Ladies, which went off very well, and was afforded a general Satisfaction.¹²⁴

There was a second outdoor venue that was also occasionally used for the performance of music and this was known as 'The Banks'. This consisted of a stretch of land that ran around the peninsula on the opposite side to the city that was a popular walk during the eighteenth century. Fiennes said that 'the walks are very pleasant by the river side' and Gray described them as being 'sheltered by the hanging

¹²³ *Newcastle Journal*, 9 June 1753.

¹²⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 31 May 1755.

Woods above & has the River below'.¹²⁵ Although not the most obvious concert location, 'The Banks' was an attractive venue for the Sharps who held two there in May and June 1756. There would have been problems in getting the performers assembled onto what appears to have been a narrow stretch of land, so they resolved this by the use of a boat:

We hear from Durham, that last Thursday se'ennight the Sons of Dr Sharp, in company with most of the musical Gentlemen and Quire of that Place, gave a Concert of vocal and instrumental Musick upon the Banks and upon the River, (to a genteel and numerous company) consisting of several Overtures, Songs and Choruses. The instruments were two French Horns, two Hautboys, two Bassoons, Flutes, Flagelets, Violins, and Basses.- On...[the following] Wednesday Evening there was another on the Water and the Banks.¹²⁶

Despite few formal events, it seems likely that music-making frequently happened there on an informal basis. Robert Wharton wrote in a letter how he went with a friend to perform music there on what appears to have been a spontaneous decision:

On Saturday evening I went with an acquaintance & played flute duets for an hour on the Banks (our public walks where there are seats in the wood by the river side so that you need not be seen without you like it) to the astonishment of many people who were walking there.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Fiennes (1949), 214; GB-Ya: T2a, 16.

¹²⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 5 June 1756.

¹²⁷ GB-DRu: Wharton papers, 175.

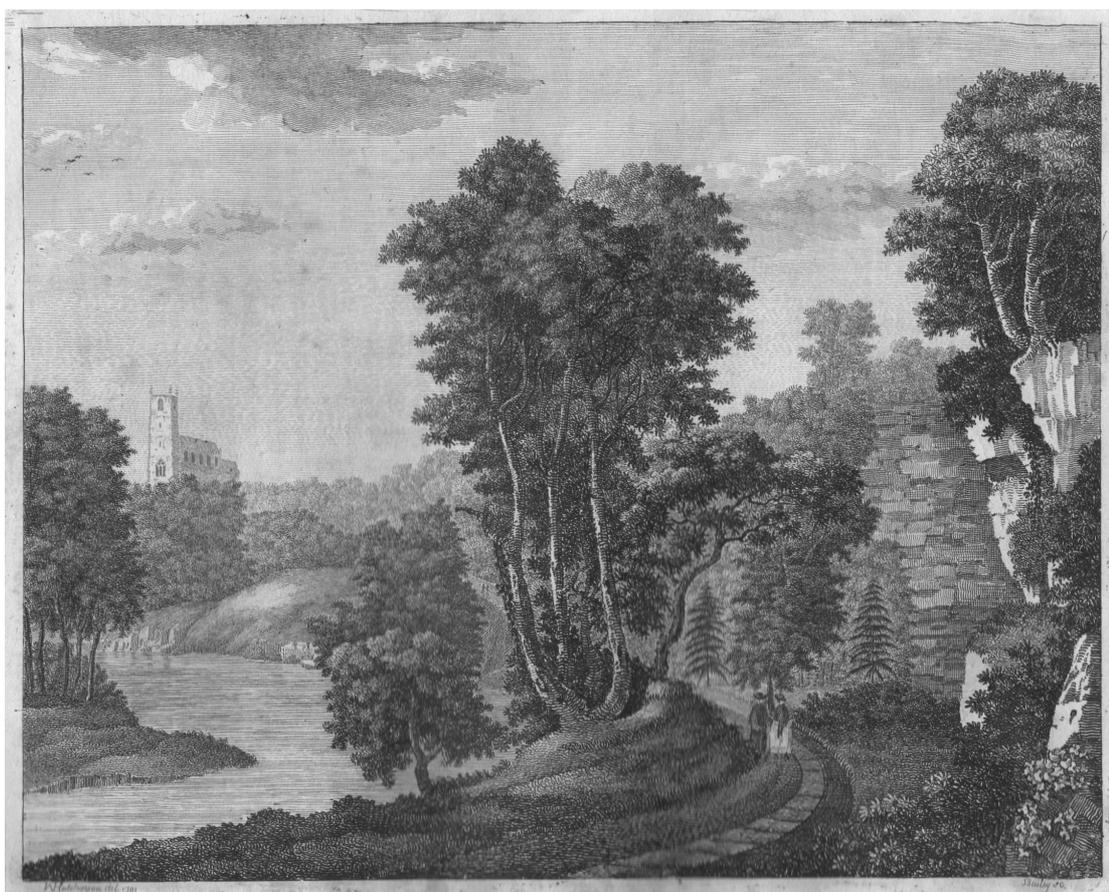


Fig. 3: The Banks, 1785.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Hutchinson (1785), II, 316. From the author's private collection.

Whatever music did take place at the outdoor venues, we can safely say that we are aware of only a fraction of what took place. Music in the summer months enhanced the long evenings, when people would relax by spending time in Durham's picturesque open-air environments, an attraction that most musicians would have exploited to the full.

1.3.4 Durham Musicians in the Concert Orchestras

As far as the Durham-based concerts were concerned, the majority of musicians who filled the orchestras would have originated from within the city's environs. For the choir's concerts the substantial resources of the lay-clerks were always available, as well as musical clergymen such as the minor canons, Cowper and the Sharps. Garth, on the other hand, was able to rely upon the support of Avison, the Newcastle orchestra and the aristocracy. Little is known about many of the non-cathedral musicians who lived in Durham, but they would also have played a crucial role in concert production.

Ever since Mountier's 1735 concert the choir had supplied the vocal parts for almost all of the concerts in the north-east, but there is limited information on their roles as active instrumentalists. Those who had been choristers would have received tuition on a wide range of instruments. John Thompson had been a chorister between 1753 and 1760 before he set up a music academy in Newcastle. He was proud of his cathedral upbringing, stating in his advertisement that he had been 'regularly educated under the late Mr Hesletine'. Primarily he taught voice but he was also conversant

with the ‘Violin, Hautboy, Clarinet, German Flute and French horn’, instruments that he would have learnt as a chorister.¹²⁹

With regard to the known instrumentalists, one of the earliest referred to is Cornforth Gelson who was a violinist in the choir’s orchestra. Cowper, in October 1752, requested a violin for Gelson’s use from his elder brother William, the second Earl Cowper:

I have heard you mention a maker of violins who is in Jail and makes them very good and at a reasonable rate, shall I desire you to speak to Mr Culling to get one of them for me. It is for my Violino Primo, who plays very tolerably, but has a wretched Instrument of his own, and not enough before hand in the world to afford a better.¹³⁰

However, there appears to be issues with the source, since, in the following month, Cowper asked his brother to purchase one on his behalf from a shop in Covent Garden:

I shou’d be obliged to you if you thought the violin you saw at Covent Garden wou’d do and come for the 4 Guineas that you would get Cull[ing]. To secure it; for the sooner my Chap here was supplied with one, the better it wou’d be for us, that sit at the end of his Bow.¹³¹

¹²⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 30 January 1779.

¹³⁰ Hughes (1956), 155.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 157.

Cowper's brother succeeded in acquiring the violin on his behalf and proposed to send it by carriage. However, Cowper had his concerns with this mode of transportation:

I must now, my Dear Br. Thank you for yr violin, I fear it will run great hazard of damage by so long a Carriage, and had no thoughts that you intended to supply my wants in so extraordinary a manner, if I had I shou'd have rather chose Guelson (for that is Violino's name) shou'd have scrath'd on his own vile instrument, than the Cardinal shou'd have run the Perils he will do in so long a journey. I believe him a very careful, sober man, and that the violin will be safe under his care, unless he shou'd run away with it into Scotland.¹³²

Just over a week later the violin arrived safely:

Last Friday his Eminence, the *Cardinal* arriv'd safe and sound at the Deanery. It was too late then to repeat my thanks to you for it, but I do it now most sincerely. Violino Guelson is in Raptures with him, and has promised to use him as tenderly as if he was his own child.¹³³

The violin was put into use immediately, but Cowper unfortunately discovered that Gelson's poor tone was not purely due to the quality of his old violin:

¹³² Ibid., 158-9.

¹³³ Ibid., 159.

Yr Cremona has improved our Concert very much, tho' one of poor Guelson's failings is, and I think his cheif, [sic] that he does not draw a good tone from his fiddle, that even the Cardinal is not shewn to his advantage.¹³⁴

Gelson continued to use the violin for choir's concerts but left it behind when he joined Garth's series; Cowper subsequently returned it to his brother.¹³⁵ Despite losing Gelson, Cowper was able to boast in 1757 that his orchestra had nine violins,¹³⁶ one of whom was undoubtedly Clarke who had played the first violin at a concert in 1756.¹³⁷

Cowper and his family were all good instrumentalists, and frequently held concerts in which they participated. When William Cowper visited Durham in 1748 he played the violin in a private concert at the Deanery and the first violin for a public concert the following week.¹³⁸ In a letter to Elizabeth, his sister-in-law, Harris recorded the huge impact that he had on the local concerts as well as the poor standard of many of the local musicians:

I mention'd in my last what extraordinary encouragement the cause of music has had here from my Lord Cowper's presence; but is now gone back to London again, which is, indeed, an irreparable loss to the concerts here, not so much for his own performance, though that's considerable, as for the direction he gave our rustic hands in the manner of their playing, excellent music of Handel & other great masters being I

¹³⁴ Ibid., 161.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 174-5.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 190.

¹³⁷ Burrows (2002), 320.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 251.

assure you absolutely spoiled by them, by their now & then mistaking Adagio's for Allegro's, together with some few capital errors of that kind.—These my Lord tried all he could to rectify, & had really pretty good success at last; though now he is gone, 'tis to be feared our musicians here will follow their natural bias to what is wrong, & relapse into their former errors.¹³⁹

At the private concert at which William Cowper played, Harris noted that two of the Paxton brothers played violin and cello along with Hesletine on the harpsichord.¹⁴⁰ The two brothers in question were probably Robert and William, although another brother, Stephen (1734-87), was to enjoy great success as a cellist and participated in several local concerts.¹⁴¹ His obituary recorded that he 'left upwards of ten thousand pounds, all acquired in his professional line',¹⁴² a substantial amount for any musician. Burney could only speak in praise of his abilities:

Among English performers on the violoncello, must not be forgotten, the late Messrs. GORDON and PAXTON, whose full and sweet tone, as well as judicious manner of accompanying the voice, placed them very high in the favour of the public, as concert players.¹⁴³

Another important cellist in the choir was George Ashton who was first recorded as playing a solo on the violoncello at a Newcastle concert in 1773.¹⁴⁴ He had been a

¹³⁹ Ibid., 252-3.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 251.

¹⁴¹ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 15 August 1772, 12 June 1773.

¹⁴² Ibid., 20 October 1787.

¹⁴³ Burney (1776), IV, 677.

¹⁴⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 12 June 1773.

chorister and a lay-clerk and, in 1776, was given £10.10s. ‘towards the Expenses of his Journey to, and at London, to Improve himself in Musick’.¹⁴⁵ Clearly, whatever tuition he received worked for he was regularly mentioned in later concert advertisements alongside another lay-clerk, Thomas Robinson. Robinson was to become the *primo violino* in most of the choir’s concerts,¹⁴⁶ and, such was his important role that, in 1783-4, Chapter gave him £5.7s for a new violin.¹⁴⁷ These two men, along with Meredith and Evance, became stalwarts of all the choir’s concerts including those organised by Matthias Hawdon (1732-89), the primary concert promoter in Newcastle during the late 1770s and early 1780s.¹⁴⁸

Thomas Wright from Newcastle was another local musician who played first violin in one of the choir’s concerts.¹⁴⁹ He later played violin at the St Mary le Bow music festival, along with both Thomas and Robert Robinson, and Evance on the harpsichord.¹⁵⁰ This group, including Wright, regularly received excellent reviews in the newspapers:

On Tuesday Messrs. Evance, Ashton, Robinson and Friend’s annual Concert at Durham was honoured with a very numerous and elegant Company. –The music was well selected, and admirably performed. –Mr

¹⁴⁵ This payment may have been retrospective as, on 17 February, he had been given two months leave which was extended by a further month on 27 April. GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9: 8-9.

¹⁴⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 17 November 1781. Robinson had also been a chorister between 1767 and 1775, and a lay-clerk from 1775 to 1823, He took over the teaching of the choristers from Ebdon in 1775, for which he received an additional salary of £15. GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 270.

¹⁴⁷ GB-DRca: L/AA/7.

¹⁴⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 24 January 1784, 27 March 1784.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 28 July 1792.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 6 October 1792. Robert had been a chorister between 1772 and 1780 and a lay-clerk from 1793 until his death in 1795. He supplemented his income by working as an upholsterer (*Newcastle Advertiser*, 11 July 1795). A Mr Walton, also apparently from Durham, took part in this particular concert. He was not a member of the choir; and this is the only reference to his involvement in any musical activity at Durham. However, he did sing at the 1787 Doncaster festival along with Meredith and Evance, and it appears to be that the *Newcastle Courant* made a mistake in stating that he was from Durham. *York Courant*, 11 September 1787.

Robinson, in his violin Solo Concerto, displayed a sweet tone, and scientific knowledge. –Mr Evance’s harpsichord concerto was deservedly applauded. –Mr Wright of this town [Newcastle], whose abilities on the clarinet are well known, never displayed greater taste and execution, than in the pleasing Scotch air which terminated his concerto; and the flute quartetto far exceeded any thing of the kind ever heard in Durham; in short the whole was a treat to the amateurs of music, not to be excelled in this part of the kingdom.¹⁵¹

The only other reference to cathedral musicians as instrumentalists dates from assize week in 1792 when Bishop Barrington employed a group of musicians for four days to entertain him during his stay at Durham Castle. Among them were Friend, who organised the group and played the bassoon, John Hamilton, Robinson and Smith on the clarinet, and another Robinson and Sherif Middleton (b.1777) on the horns.¹⁵² Hamilton had never been a member of the choir but may have been a member of the concert orchestra.¹⁵³

There are even fewer references to musicians who played in Garth’s orchestra. Certainly Garth and Avison both played as is evidenced by a Durham subscription concert held in 1756: ‘Avison play’d the harpsichord. Garth the Ist fiddle, & likewise [a] solo on the violoncello.’¹⁵⁴ Neither of the concert orchestras appears to have been particularly large, and there are no references to the numbers of musicians that played in Garth’s orchestra, although it seems unlikely that there were more than two

¹⁵¹ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 5 March 1791.

¹⁵² GB-DRu: Auckland Castle Accounts 1792, Assizes 1792, Receipt 18.

¹⁵³ Middleton may refer to William Middleton, who had been a chorister between 1778 and 1792. The most likely candidate for Smith is William although there was a John Smith, who was a chorister between 1785 and 1800. There was a George and a William Hamilton who had been choristers, but John was never in the choir.

¹⁵⁴ Burrows (2002), 320.

performers to each part and perhaps as few as one.¹⁵⁵ Some of Avison's concertos, particularly his Op. 9, were flexible enough so that they could be performed as quartets rather than in the usual seven parts, but the fact that Avison's orchestra could perform Garth's cello concertos indicates that it had at least two cellists available. In the 'Preface' to his Op. 3 concertos Avison recorded his views on the maximum number of *ripieno* performers that should be used to perform his concertos. He appears to have been particularly concerned that the concertino parts would be 'lost and overpower'd' if the *ripieno* was too large, and he was against doubling the solo parts.¹⁵⁶ However, it seems unlikely that any of the orchestras at either Durham or Newcastle ever represented his ideal dimensions:

I would propose, exclusive of the four Principal Parts, which must be always complete, that the *Chorus* of other Instruments should not exceed the Number following, viz. six *Primo*, and four *secondo Ripeanos*; four *Ripeano Basses*, and two *Double Basses*, and a *Harpsichord*.

Maunder (2004), after examining Avison's 1744 concertos based on Scarlatti's *Essercizi*, was of the opinion that Avison wanted doubled rather than single *ripieno* violins.¹⁵⁷ However, even when taking this into account, it seems likely that his orchestra would only have consisted of approximately eleven members in total.¹⁵⁸ Ebdon's orchestra appears to have been of a similar size, with no more than two

¹⁵⁵ It was the norm before 1740 for there to be one performer to a part. Maunder (2004), 1.

¹⁵⁶ Avison, C.: 'Preface' *Twelve Concertos in Seven Parts....Opera Sesta* (1758).

¹⁵⁷ Maunder (2004), 253. Avison, C.: *Twelve Concerto's in Seven Parts...done from two Books of Lessons for the Harpsicord composed by Sig. Domenico Scarletti, with additional Slow Movements from Manuscript Solo Pieces, by the same Author* (London, 1744).

¹⁵⁸ This is based on the use of three concertino instruments, four ripieno violins, a viola, a ripieno cello, double bass and a harpsichord.

performers to each part as is suggested by the manuscript of his harpsichord concertos (where the parts only survive in single copies).

Individual members of Garth's orchestra probably included George Williams who was apprenticed to Avison in 1739.¹⁵⁹ Williams was again in the area fifteen years later when he held a benefit concert at Durham.¹⁶⁰ A later member was German-born William Herschel (1738-1822) who led Avison's orchestra from 1761 and almost certainly would have played this role at Garth's concerts too.¹⁶¹ William Paxton, Gelson and Blenkinsop may also have played instrumental parts as well as sung. It is possible that some of the treasurers, whose names are recorded in the advertisements for the subscription concerts, may also have played instruments. In 1755 the treasurer was George Clavering,¹⁶² in 1756 Ralph Gowland,¹⁶³ 1757 William Reed,¹⁶⁴ 1758 Ralph Carr,¹⁶⁵ and a Mr Bainbridge in 1759.¹⁶⁶ The last of these may have been John Drake Bainbridge who was mayor for several years¹⁶⁷ and subscribed, along with Clavering and Carr, to Ebdon's *Sacred Music*. A 'Mr [Ralph] Bainbridge, Jun.', possibly John's son, played the flute at the 1792 music festival.¹⁶⁸ Another member of Garth's orchestra may have been Ralph Brockett (1700-72) who had been a chorister between 1708 and 1715. On leaving the choir he became a surgeon and apothecary.¹⁶⁹ He appears to have earned a good income as he had plenty of money in which to indulge his interest in music. He subscribed to several works including

¹⁵⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 17 February 1739.

¹⁶⁰ *Newcastle Journal*, 23 February 1754.

¹⁶¹ Lubbock (1933), 18.

¹⁶² *Newcastle Courant*, 20 September 1755.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 16 October 1756. Ralph Gowland (c.1722-c.1782) was MP for Durham between 1761 and 1762, and MP for Cocker mouth between 1775 and 1780. Namier (1985), II, 523.

¹⁶⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 1 October 1757.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 30 September 1758. Ralph Carr (1711-1806) was a merchant and banker from Newcastle. Ellis (2009).

¹⁶⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 6 October 1759.

¹⁶⁷ Hutchinson (1785), II, 44. GB-DRr: Du/1/35/3. He was mayor in 1761, 1767, 1770, 1780, 1794 and 1805.

¹⁶⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 6 October 1792.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 28 March 1772.

Boyce's twelve sonatas (1747) and Avison's Op. 3 (1751) and Op. 4 (1755) concertos, and for this reason may have played a stringed instrument. A further member may have been William Cowley, sub-organist at Sedgefield.

1.3.5 Visiting Musicians

In addition to the musicians from Durham and the surrounding area, the concert organisers would occasionally employ musicians from much further afield who were passing through Durham at times when concerts were planned. This was a fairly common practice and it also happened at both Newcastle and York.¹⁷⁰ One of the earliest to come on a regular basis was Giardini who would spend his summer in the north-east and came to Durham on at least two occasions.¹⁷¹ One anonymous writer may have been referring to Giardini when he reported in the *Newcastle Journal*:

We hear that a Gentleman who is esteemed by those who have heard him, to be one of the first-rate Violins in this Kingdom, intends to favour the Lovers of Music with his Performance at Mr. Avison's Concert on Thursday next.¹⁷²

This notice dates from 1759 but we know that Giardini had visited the north-east for many years beforehand, usually attending during assize and race weeks. He may have

¹⁷⁰ e.g. *York Courant*, 27 January 1741. Parry played at a concert organised by John Hebden, one of the regular concert organisers in York at that time.

¹⁷¹ McVeigh (1989), 193-4.

¹⁷² *Newcastle Journal*, 6 January 1759.

performed at the very first concert in Garth's Durham subscription series¹⁷³ but is first recorded in an advertisement for a concert held on Thursday 26 July 1753:

AT THE
ASSEMBLY-ROOM in DURHAM,
On THURSDAY the 26th Instant, will be a
CONCERT OF MUSIC
The first Violin by SIGNIOR GIARDINI.
TICKETS at 2s. 6d. each, to be had at the Assembly-room,
And at MR GARTH'S in the Bailey.
N.B. The CONCERT will begin at Twelve in the Morning.¹⁷⁴

In the same edition of the *Courant* there was an advertisement for a further concert on the following day at which Giardini's wife, Vestris, sang. Avison thought highly of Giardini:

The Brilliancy and Fullness of his Tone, the Sweetness, Spirit, and
Variety of his Expression, his amazing Rapidity of Execution, and
Exuberance of Fancy, joined with the most perfect Ease and
Gracefulness in the Performance, concur to set him at the Head of his
Profession.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Hughes (1956), 161.

¹⁷⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 21 July 1753.

¹⁷⁵ Avison (1752), 119-20.

This view was echoed by others, among them the artist Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88), who recalled an occasion when Giardini picked up a violin of questionable quality and produced the most wonderful music:

a little Fiddle that Giardini pick'd up here at Bath, which nobody would think well of, because there was nobody who knew how to bring out the tone of, and which (though somewhat undersized) in his Hands produced the finest Music in the World.¹⁷⁶

Avison's admiration and friendship with Giardini went beyond verbal praise. Burney recorded that when Avison purchased a violin that belonged to Archangelo Corelli (1653–1713), from a Mr Corbet who had kept it at Newcastle, he presented it to Giardini.¹⁷⁷ They also collaborated on the oratorio *Ruth* which was premiered at the Foundling Hospital, London in 1763,¹⁷⁸ but given the issues Avison had in recruiting singers, it is unlikely that this work was ever performed in the north-east.

Giardini is next mentioned as performing at one of Garth's Durham concerts in race week 1758, again playing the first violin. He likewise held his own concert the following day.¹⁷⁹ His successor was another Italian, Giovanni Noferi, who first performed at one of Garth's concerts in 1768 and appeared almost annually until 1781.¹⁸⁰ Unusually, he was in Durham during October 1778, when he performed at the second night of the choir's subscription series.¹⁸¹ He also played the guitar, and

¹⁷⁶ Hayes (2001), 37.

¹⁷⁷ Burney (1776), IV, 640.

¹⁷⁸ Fleming (1999), 164.

¹⁷⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 29 July 1758.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 16 July 1768, 4 August 1781. There is no mention in newspapers of Noferi's attendance in 1770, 1774 and 1776 but in all probability he did attend these seasons. Giardini was still performing at York in the 1770s. *York Courant*, 19 August 1777.

¹⁸¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 3 October 1778.

included a 'Trio for the Spanish Guitar, Violin and Bass' at a Newcastle concert in 1781.¹⁸² Noferi seems to have been warmly welcomed by the local aristocracy during his Durham sojourns and honoured Ralph Milbanke (1747-1825), one of his local benefactors, through the dedication of his his c.1772 Op. 13 *Six Trios*.¹⁸³

Other Italian musicians who played in the local orchestras included Joseph Cantani who was first violin in the choir's orchestra in 1749, and Pietro Nardini (1722-93) who played in a 1759 Newcastle concert organised by Charles Claget (1740-c.95) and which involved the cathedral choir.¹⁸⁴ These are, however, the only recorded times they performed in the north-east.¹⁸⁵

Given the possibility of achieving high profits, a great many foreign, and particularly Italian, musicians came to Britain. The German Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) wrote in 1713 that 'Whoever wishes to achieve something in music these days makes for England. Italy and France are good for listening and learning; England is good for earning; Germany is only good for eating and drinking'.¹⁸⁶ It may have been for this very reason that Herschel and his brother Jacob came to England in 1757 but found London 'so overstocked with musicians that we had but little chance of success.'¹⁸⁷ Jacob returned home in 1759 while William joined the Durham Militia.¹⁸⁸

Avison, in his *Essay*, mentioned three performers on the violin that were within his 'own Knowledge'.¹⁸⁹ First he mentioned Knerler, who had 'great Execution and a fine Tone, but unsusceptible of the Powers of Expression, always disappointing

¹⁸² Ibid., 4 August 1781. His Op. 3 and Op. 12 were both written for the guitar.

¹⁸³ London, c.1772. Milbanke was the MP for Durham between 1790 and 1812,

¹⁸⁴ *Newcastle Journal*, 23 June 1759. Nardini played a 'Solo, on the Violin' that was presumably taken from his *6 Solos* (London, c.1760).

¹⁸⁵ Burrows (2002), 262.

¹⁸⁶ Translation quoted from Careri (1990), 9. *Das neu-eroffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713), 211.

¹⁸⁷ Dreyer (1912), xvi-xvii.

¹⁸⁸ It could also have been because of the abundance of good musicians in London that a group of Italians ran a series of winter concerts in York between 1740 and 1742. e.g *York Courant*, 22 January 1740, 13 January 1741, 5 January 1742.

¹⁸⁹ Avison (1967), 119.

the expecting Ear'. Knerler, who was the first violin at the York concerts, had visited the area in 1746 when he held a concert at Durham:

MR KNERLER, the first Violin of the Concert at York, (who has had the Honour to perform, with some Applause before most of the Princes in Europe) proposes, if agreeable to the Gentlemen and Ladies of Durham and Newcastle, to have a Concert at each Place.¹⁹⁰

Avison next mentions Carbonel, but he is never recorded in any concert advertisements Thirdly he mentions Giardini. According to Troost (2003), Shield also conducted the concerts at Durham but there is no evidence for this claim.¹⁹¹ Another leader of the cathedral orchestra was a Mr Bird, from the Theatre Royal Edinburgh, who performed at one of Radcliffe's concerts in 1798,¹⁹² but this is the only recorded occasion that he visited.

Most of the musicians who visited Durham did not travel to the city specifically to perform there, but would be touring the area, and organised events at other major towns. An example of this is the Hungarian horn-player and clarinetist Charles (first name unknown) who came in 1754 with his son.¹⁹³ They performed at York in 1742¹⁹⁴ but were at Newcastle in 1755 where they played 'several select Pieces performed on the French Horns, in particular the 'Coronation Anthem of God save the King'.¹⁹⁵ Another was the singer Mrs Stamper, who, before her marriage, had been known as 'Signora Mazzanti'. She held a concert in Durham in 1760 singing

¹⁹⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 16 August 1746.

¹⁹¹ Troost (2003).

¹⁹² *Newcastle Chronicle*, 17 November 1798.

¹⁹³ Rendall (2007), 1.

¹⁹⁴ *York Courant*, 9 February 1742.

¹⁹⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 28 December 1754.

songs ‘from the best Masters; viz Perez, Jomelly, Pergolesi, Saffone, Handel, &c.’,¹⁹⁶ and had given concerts in both Newcastle and Sunderland beforehand.¹⁹⁷

There were a many musicians who would visit Durham, some of whom would set up concerts and other entertainments without much forward planning. One such musician was Charles Dibdin. He had been touring Britain and only stopped in Durham because of the poor weather conditions while on route from Newcastle to York. He arrived in Durham on a Sunday in February 1778 without any plans to hold a concert but organised one for the following evening that was so successful that he opted to hold a second.¹⁹⁸ Dibdin returned to Durham in May 1799 when he performed a one-man entertainment called ‘Sans Souci’.¹⁹⁹ His programme included singing and the recitation of monologues.²⁰⁰

Another well-known musician to visit Durham was Johann Salomon (1745-1815) well known for bringing Haydn to England. He first visited Newcastle in 1783 when the newspaper had the following to report:

This Performer is universally allowed to be the best Violin Player in Europe, and as such, cannot fail to give delight to the audience, which we conclude will be very numerous. In Edinburgh, it was astonishing to see the company that resorted to the Concerts which he led, and where he never failed to give fresh proofs of his amazing, and unrivaled [sic] abilities.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 2 August 1760.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 25 October 1760.

¹⁹⁸ Dibdin (1788), 243.

¹⁹⁹ This was named after his purpose built theatre in London. Fiske (2007), 3.

²⁰⁰ Hartnoll (1967), 239.

²⁰¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 23 August 1783.

We do not know if he came to Durham on this occasion but when he returned to the north-east in 1800 he did play at Durham along with the child prodigy George Pinto (1785-1806).²⁰² Among the music they performed was a selection from Haydn's oratorio *The Creation* which included local singing talent. They received a fantastic review for their trouble:

The lovers of music were highly gratified on Wednesday evening at Durham with the performances of Mr Salomon and Master Pinto. –The selections were well chosen; the songs, &c. were from The Oratorio of the Creation, and sung with great taste and effect by Messrs Evance, Friend, and Stanley; the two former were peculiarly happy in the beautiful duet allotted them. –Master Pinto on the violin and pianoforte, was astonishingly great:–In short, the whole merited the reiterated applause which was loudly given by a very fashionable audience.²⁰³

Perhaps the most fondly remembered personality ever to visit Durham was the Polish dwarf, Count Boruwlaski. He arrived in Durham in January 1800 after having performed in Newcastle²⁰⁴ and held a breakfast and dance on 25 February at which he played the guitar.²⁰⁵ Boruwlaski was born in Polish Russia and spent most of his life touring Europe. He met many of the important figures of his day and was something of a celebrity not only for his many abilities but also for his diminutive height, standing at only 3 ft and 3 inches.²⁰⁶ He arrived in Durham late in his life and initially left intending to travel to America. He decided, nevertheless, to retire to Durham and

²⁰² Ibid., 27 September 1800, 15 November 1800. Pinto was a pupil of Salomon.

²⁰³ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 22 November 1800.

²⁰⁴ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 18 January 1800.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 22 February 1800.

²⁰⁶ Boruwlaski (1820), 15.

lived at first in Callimanco Hall.²⁰⁷ He subsequently moved in with the Ebdons at Banks' Cottage.²⁰⁸ He died on 5 September 1839 and was buried under the north-west tower of the cathedral, his gravestone in the floor bearing his initials. A portrait, a life-size statue of him and a selection of his personal effects including a dress suit, ring and violin can be viewed in Durham Town Hall.

1.3.6 Assize and Race Weeks

Both assize and race weeks were important events in the city's calendar. These two weeks attracted a large numbers of spectators, a result of which was that many entrepreneurs sought to capitalise on them by providing entertainment that ran outside the day's main events. The first recorded musical event dates from the assize week in 1727 when a Mrs Thorpe held an assembly at her rooms.²⁰⁹ Such affairs would, however, have occurred in previous years. To many these two weeks were a major event in the calendar when anyone of social status would have felt obliged to attend. Judith Milbanke (1751-1822), wife of Ralph Milbanke, travelled widely but tended to be in residence at Seaham Hall during these two weeks.²¹⁰ Her letters record some of the events that she attended. In assize week 1779, she wrote that she had been 'at Durham five days during the Assizes & I danced three Nights together and sat up till four each morning.'²¹¹ Assemblies were a good distraction for those who had little else to do in the evenings. They were great social occasions in which the audience could participate in the dancing, and were unlike concerts and theatrical productions where the audience had a more passive role. In the race week, 18 to 22 July 1763, the

²⁰⁷ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11: 103.

²⁰⁸ This cottage used to stand next to Prebends' bridge, of which the summerhouse is all that remains.

²⁰⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 29 July 1727.

²¹⁰ Judith Milbanke, formerly Noell, married Ralph Milbanke on 9 January 1777. Elwin (1967), 16.

²¹¹ Elwin (1967), 141.

newspapers recorded a large number of events to keep the people occupied. Every night of that week there was a production at the Drury Lane theatre. On the Monday there was a concert of music, added to the end of which was the ballad opera *Damon and Phillida*. On Tuesday there was *The Beggar's Opera*, Wednesday *The Jealous Wife*, Thursday *The Way of the World* and Friday *Elvira*.²¹² If the theatre was not to one's liking, then there were the assemblies that Mrs Proud ran every evening.²¹³ The plays and assemblies would have regularly clashed, but rather than damaging each other's proceeds it gave the visitors a choice of what they could do, as no single event would have had the capacity to host all those who desired some entertainment. This is most evident, again from Judith Milbanke, who attended the race week in 1783 and was not short of diversions to keep herself occupied:

On Tuesday we had a dressed Ball... Wednesday we all went to a Play. Thursday was an undress Ball to which we went from the Stand in Hats, Habits &c. That night I danced with Mr. Harry Ibbetson, & Friday was the Grand Ball of all, at which I danced with Mr. Tempest. Saturday after the Race we decided to end the week with spirit so we danced till the Clock struck twelve.²¹⁴

²¹² *Newcastle Journal*, 16 July 1763.

²¹³ *Newcastle Courant*, 16 July 1763.

²¹⁴ Elwin (1967), 216.

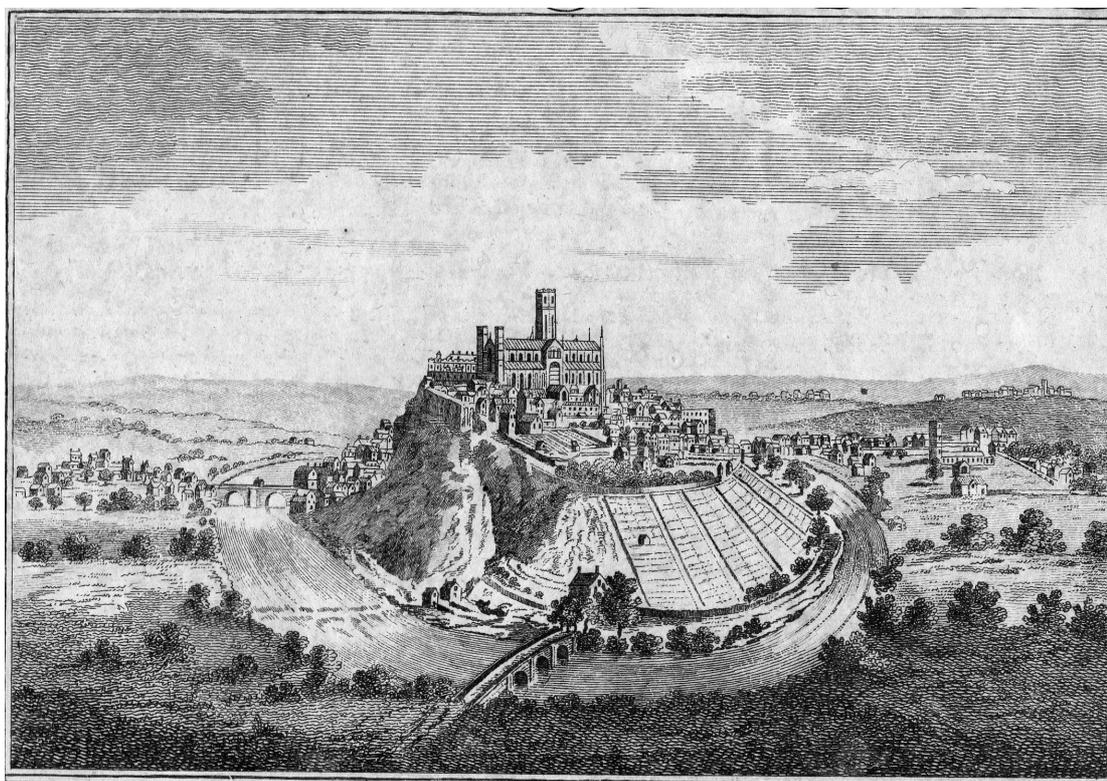


Fig. 4: A view of Durham City from the southwest, c.1764. At the bottom of this print can be seen the rivercrossing that preceded Prebend's Bridge (which was built slightly further downstream). The building adjacent to this earlier bridge is Bank's Cottage, the residence of Mary and Elizabeth Ebdon.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ From the author's private collection.

It is most interesting from both of her accounts that she refers to the evening's entertainment and makes no reference to the daytime activities. One may presume that the races did not begin until the afternoon for the concerts, a popular attraction, were frequently held in the morning.²¹⁶ They were often very successful and well attended as is indicated by a performance of *Judas Maccabeus* held during assize week 1770. It was attended by so many dignitaries that it deserved comment in the newspaper:

Friday in the Assize week was performed, in Richardson's Long-Room, the Oratorio of Judas Maccabeus (by Mr Handel) to the most brilliant company that ever appeared in that place; amongst whom were the Bishops of Durham, Oxford and Man, the Judges, the Deahs [Deans] of Durham and Winchester, several members of the House of Commons, and all the Prebendaries that were in Durham, with a brilliant shew of Ladies; the whole was conducted with the greatest judgment by Mr Ebdon and Mr Garth.²¹⁷

Since events held in these two weeks could be highly profitable, all of the local musicians were in on the act. Avison's initial venture into Durham was held during this week,²¹⁸ as were Garth's first concerts.²¹⁹ The cathedral choir would also organise events,²²⁰ as would a great many non-native musicians who travelled to Durham and

²¹⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 21 July 1753, 5 July 1746. When there was less organisted by other parties concerts were occasionally held in the evenings. i.e. *Newcastle Courant*, 9 August 1794.

²¹⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 August 1770.

²¹⁸ *Newcastle Journal*, 17 July 1742.

²¹⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 5 July 1746.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 17 July 1756.

then moved on once the festivities had concluded. The concerts faded from the newspapers in 1794 but the assemblies and balls continued right through until 1811.²²¹

The Bishop of Durham would regularly be in residence at Durham Castle during the assize week and would invariably require some form of entertainment during his stay. In 1788 James Boswell had attended dinner at the castle that was announced 'by the sound of wretched music, apparently of violins.'²²² In 1791, when Shute Barrington had just been installed as Bishop, Judith Milbanke recorded that many came to Durham to see him: 'Our Assizes were brilliant, much Company being brought to Durham by their wishing to wait on our New Prince Palatine, who lives in a most magnificent Stile indeed...'²²³ Musicians were usually employed to provide entertainment for both him and his guests during his visits to Durham. In 1791, for example, five musicians were employed for four days over assize week. The receipt was signed by Ebdon, indicating that he organised the musicians and received their payment although he may not have participated himself.²²⁴ In 1792 six musicians were employed. Friend received £2.2s for his trouble and the others £1.²²⁵ For the assizes in 1798 the bishop employed trumpeters and some singing boys as well as the 'usual annual Paym[en]ts to Bell Ringers &c. on his Lordship's coming to D[urha]m.'²²⁶ It was quite normal for bell ringers to be employed for special occasions. These occasions were mostly acts of celebration such as the announcement of peace at the end of war.²²⁷ One such campanologist was a Mr Douglas who is

²²¹ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 9 August 1794; *Tyne Mercury*, 6 August 1811, 16 April 1811, 6 August 1811.

²²² Presumably the violinists would have been lay-clerks but, if that is the case, then they must have been on better form later that day as Boswell attended a concert at the Red Lion that was 'not numerous in company but [featured] very good music.' Lustig (1986), 242, 244.

²²³ Elwin (1967), 386.

²²⁴ GB-DRu: Auckland Castle Accounts 1792. Receipt 23.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

²²⁶ GB-DRu: AUC1, Box 33.

²²⁷ For example, at St Mary le Bow bell ringers were employed in 1799 to announce Lord Nelson's Victory and to ringing in the New Year (GB-DRr: EP/DuSM53). At St Mary the Less bell ringers were employed to announce peace with France in 1801 (GB-DRr: Ep/DuML7).

referred to as ‘The Bellman’ in the Mayor of Durham’s accounts.²²⁸ The cathedral employed bell ringers on many occasions every year including during the weeks of the assizes and the King’s birthday. The year April 1757 to April 1758 was exceptional as they were used on nineteen separate occasions.²²⁹

Assize and race weeks in Durham would have been a hive of activity with the streets filled with large numbers of eager spectators keen to spend their money at local functions. They were, without question, the most important weeks in the Durham musicians’ calendar when many took advantage of the highly popular events to boost their income.

1.3.7 Domestic Concerts

As well as public concerts there were private events that were held within the homes of some of the more eminent residents, the most frequently mentioned of which was Cowper’s Deanery. Harris was invited to numerous functions there writing in his diary on 21 October 1748 that ‘A private concert [was held] at the Deanery in the evening.–Lord Cowper & a Paxton fiddles–another Paxton, violoncello. Hasleden, [Hesletine on the] harpsichord.–/[Music by]Corelli, Boyce [and] Geminiani [was performed].’²³⁰ There were few spectators present which met with Harris’ approval, particularly after having attended one of Garth’s concerts which he found rather disagreeable:

²²⁸ GB-DRr: Du1/42/21: 10.

²²⁹ GB-DRca: L/AA/6. As well as the standard ringing of bells, the cathedral was unique in Durham in that it also possessed a set of chimes. They were installed in the cathedral by Abraham Taylor, in 1719/20, for which he received £20. Taylor, who had been a lay-clerk between 1710 and 1749, had received £5 in 1711 ‘for his Services ab.¹ the bells’; and received further payments for repairing the chimes in 1723, 1730, and 1741. In 1743/4 lay-clerk Blenkinsop received £1.12s for his ‘Work at the Chimes and Bells’, but they appear to have been something of a nuisance as they also played during services, so a ‘Catch’ to turn them off was installed in 1738 (GB-DRca: L/AA/4; DCD/B/AA/5: 114, 152; DCD/B/AA/6: 73, 78, 133; L/AA/5).

²³⁰ Burrows (2002), 251.

Last week I was at Durham, at one of their public concerts. – But the music wasn't close at all to my taste; for under the notion of having variety, they had what seem'd to me but very indifferent. – There was another concert at the Deanery, a private one, which went off much more to my satisfaction.–There were but a few hands.– Lord Cowper played the 1st fiddle, & had the direction of it, & I heard my old acquaintance Corelli and Geminiani;– whom I vastly preferr [sic] to any other of the Italians.– And what made me enjoy it the more was, that there was nobody there by way of audience, but the Dean of Durham and myself; so that there was no interruption of any kind.²³¹

The Deanery was also a regular venue for performances of Handel's oratorios; Harris attended two performances of *Messiah* there in 1751.²³² Indeed the cathedral remained a central venue for performances of Handel's oratorios for they were still taking place there under John Sharp as the following report from the *Advertiser* for 1789 reveals:

On Saturday evening last, Dr Sharp, archdeacon of Northumberland, gave a grand entertainment and concert, at his home in the College, Durham. The performance was *Alexander's Feast* which was admirably performed by the gentlemen of the Cathedral.²³³

²³¹ Ibid., 252.

²³² Ibid., 278. See pages 124-26 for more information on this performance of *Messiah*.

²³³ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 21 February 1789.

The following year it was *Acis and Galatea* and in 1791 another performance of *Alexander's Feast*.²³⁴ Sharp held concerts in his house on a regular basis, Granville Sharp repeatedly referring to 'music at home' in his diary.²³⁵ Shield also received an invitation to attend these concerts. He recorded in a letter that:

The late Archdeacon of Northumberland, Dr. Sharp, held residence in Durham at an early period of my life, and honoured me with an invitation to his weekly performance of sacred music, to which he was so partial, that, notwithstanding he had a voluminous collection of Handel's scores, he commissioned me to subscribe to Dr. Arnold's edition of his favourite author, and to forward each number to his library immediately after publication.²³⁶

When Frances Sharp stopped in Durham for six nights in 1785 she commented that on one day she had 'Dined at My Brothers, & in the afternoon had a great deal of company & a concert of sacred Musick'. The following day a further concert was held at the Sharps' when 'some of the Chore [choir] sup[ped] with us and had many Gleees & catches & spent an agreeable Evening'.²³⁷ Granville recorded that it was Evance and Ashton who were in attendance at the latter event.²³⁸ There were numerous occasions when musicians were invited to the home of Judith Sharp for

²³⁴ Ibid., 6 February 1790, 26 February 1791.

²³⁵ GB-GLr: D3549 13/4/2.

²³⁶ Hoare (1820), Appendix xii.

²³⁷ GB-GLr: D3549/15/1/1.

²³⁸ GB-GLr: D3549 13/4/2.

private music-making. For example, on 8 October 1799 the guests included Ebdon, Evance, Friend and Chrishop.²³⁹

The Deanery continued to be used for musical events during the 1780s when Judith Milbanke attended 'a great Concert'.²⁴⁰ Another was organised in 1790 by John Hinchcliffe (1732-94), the Bishop of Peterborough and Dean of Durham, while, in 1795, it was the turn of James Cornwallis (1743-1824), his successor as Dean, and Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.²⁴¹ Also, in 1791, the men from the choir entertained several distinguished guests there with a 'Catch Party'.²⁴² A similar event was recorded by Harris in October 1751 when he dined 'with the Dean – [and] the singing men'. Several catches were sung including 'Non Nobis', the well-known canon by Byrd.²⁴³

Another less frequent venue was the home of Sir John Dolben who held a private concert there in 1752, the music including 'Sir J[ohn]'s Wedding Anth[em] by Croft – Croft's Praise the Lord &c – Purcell's Te Deu[m] & Jubilate.²⁴⁴ In 1749 Dolben was sick which prevented him from hosting any musical events. As Cowper remarked: 'My poor friend, Sr. John is ill of the Stone, so our musical parties are at a stand[still]'.²⁴⁵ There was also a concert held at Dr Knatchbull's in October 1751 at which Hesletine refused to join in with Avison and Garth in the music-making,²⁴⁶ and Granville Sharp attended a concert organised by Dr Robert Fenwick in 1796 and had

²³⁹ GB-GLr: D3549 13/4/2. Although they were clearly involved with music on this occasion, it is impossible to say, in other instances, whether they were social or musical events

²⁴⁰ Elwin (1967), 171.

²⁴¹ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 20 November 1790, 21 November 1795.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 15 October 1791.

²⁴³ Burrows (2002), 279.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 281.

²⁴⁵ Hughes (1956), 119.

²⁴⁶ Burrows (2002), 279.

‘Music Tea & Supper’ at his house in 1802. Granville also attended domestic events at Charles Cooper’s and Edward Parker’s homes in 1796.²⁴⁷

An occasional venue for private concerts was the Song School in the cloisters where the choir met to rehearse. On 21 September 1764 Harris went with Cowper to hear three anthems by Croft sung by Thomas Hayes, a minor canon at the cathedral, Clarke, and John Matthews. Ebdon accompanied them on the harpsichord.²⁴⁸

1.3.8 Concert Repertory

We have absolutely no documentary information about what was performed at the majority of the Durham concerts, since it was prohibitively expensive to advertise in the newspapers. Most concert particulars would have been given on printed handbills, as one advertisement for a Newcastle concert indicates,²⁴⁹ but few of these have survived. What we can say is that a large amount of the repertory consisted of music that had been composed by local musicians and that when others visited Durham they would have included music composed by themselves. As already mentioned, Garth’s concerts were chiefly instrumental while those given by the choir’s were, as one might expect, principally vocal. Harris, who attended both groups’ concerts, commented that Garth’s series had little in terms of vocal music,²⁵⁰ while one of the choir’s concerts held on 1 October 1751 consisted of three acts, each of an ‘overture, a song, & a concerto.’²⁵¹

For the early choir concerts under Hesletine it is possible to speculate on what the choir performed. There was certainly a preoccupation with Handel’s oratorios but

²⁴⁷ GB-GLr: D3549 13/4/2.

²⁴⁸ Burrows (2002), 427.

²⁴⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 6 April 1771.

²⁵⁰ Burrows (2002), 293.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 279.

there would undoubtedly have been music by others. It is possible that Hesletine or some of the lay-clerks may have written music for the choir's concerts but, if so, then no evidence survives. Until 1742 the choir would have played Avison's concertos but, after the dispute between Hesletine and Avison, the latter's music was undoubtedly shunned. Hesletine did subscribe to several works that may have been used in his concerts including John Travers' *Eighteen Canzonets* (c.1745) and Boyce's *Twelve Sonatas* (c.1747). It may have been one of these sonatas that was performed at a concert held in the Deanery in 1748 which also included music by Corelli and Avison's teacher, Geminiani.²⁵² Geminiani's music would have been performed on a regular basis at Avison's Newcastle concerts; moreover, such was the importance of the Italian that Avison chose to produce concerto grosso arrangements of Geminiani's Opp. 1 and 4 sonatas.²⁵³ Garth's early concerts would, for the most part, have consisted of music that had been performed in Newcastle. The first in his 1752 subscription series included the overture from *Clotilda* (1709) composed by Francesco Conti (1681-1732) as well as music by Avison's idols Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764), Giardini, and by Avison himself.²⁵⁴

In terms of music composed by Durham musicians, there appears to have been little, if anything, written for performance in their local concerts during the first half of the century. It was not until 1753 that an original composition by a Durham musician was played, and in this instance it was one of John Garth's cello concertos. Clearly it was something special and received an excellent review in the local newspaper:

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 251.

²⁵³ These survive in one of his two workbooks which also include music by Corelli, Domenico, Francesco and Stephani Scarlatti, and three sonatas by Johann Hasse (1699-1783). A CD of the Avison arrangements of Geminiani's Op. 1 sonatas was issued by the Avison Ensemble in 2007 (Northallerton: Divine Art, dda21210, 2007). Kroll (2005).

²⁵⁴ Hughes (1956), 161.

We hear from Durham, that on Thursday se'nnight there was a splendid Appearance of Ladies and Gentlemen at a Concert of Musick at the Assembly-Room there, where several fine Pieces of Musick were performed, particularly a Violoncello Concerto, composed and executed by Mr Garth, which was justly admired and applauded by all present.²⁵⁵

From then on there was an increase in the amount of local music appearing. Ebdon's harpsichord sonatas were issued in c.1765. He subsequently composed nine more that survive in manuscript,²⁵⁶ one of which was performed at a concert in Newcastle in 1773.²⁵⁷ Ebdon's published set was followed by Garth's highly successful Op. 2 sonatas in 1768 and Evance's set in c.1774. Garth published a further four sets of sonatas (Opp. 4-7) between 1772 and 1782 but, since he was in the process of retiring from concert life by 1772, it seems unlikely that the majority of these would have been included in the Durham concerts. There are a further four extant harpsichord concertos by Ebdon that survive in manuscript and a single concerto by Evance.²⁵⁸ Other instrumental works performed at Durham may have included some of Herschel's symphonies, six of which were written while he was stationed with the Militia at Sunderland and another two at Halnaby Hall in Yorkshire, one of the residences of the Milbanke family.²⁵⁹ They were certainly performed at concerts in Newcastle.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ *Newcastle Journal*, 16 June 1753.

²⁵⁶ GB-DRc: MS D6.

²⁵⁷ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 7 August 1773.

²⁵⁸ GB-DRc: MS.Mus.D6; MS.Mus.E42; Evance, W.: *A favorite Concerto* (London, c.1785).

²⁵⁹ Murray (1986), 306-7.

²⁶⁰ Lubbock (1933), 18, 22.

In terms of vocal music there was a great deal written, a substantial amount of which was also published. Ebdon published a set of six glees in 1795 and a set of *Six Favorite Songs* in c.1797 as well as several single songs. There are also the published songs by Jasper Clarke and also the set of glees that James Radcliffe composed at Worcester.²⁶¹ Glees were well represented at the local concerts. A benefit concert held for Friend in 1786 included '3 fav[ourite]. glees', 'Hark! the hollow woods resounding' by Shield, which was also performed at Meredith's Newcastle benefit in 1788,²⁶² as well as 'Flora gave me fairest flowers' and 'A generous friendship'. In the case of 'Flora' this was most likely the well know madrigal by John Wilbye (1574-1638).²⁶³ This particular concert also included a solo concerto performed on the violin by Robinson, with an accompaniment by Ashton, Evance's concerto, and a clarinet concerto performed by Wright. It concluded with the chorus 'He gave them hailstones for rain' from *Israel in Egypt*.²⁶⁴

Despite the rarity of surviving concert programmes, there are a few notable surviving exceptions. One was for a 1765 concert in Darlington that was organised by Garth and Ebdon, the music of which would have been heard at Durham:

The last NIGHT this Season.

At the ASSEMBLY-ROOM, in

DARLINGTON.

On Tuesday next, the 17th of September, 1765,

will be Perform'd,

²⁶¹ Radcliffe, J.: *Six Favorite Glees* (London, c.1790)

²⁶² Handbill in the author's possession.

²⁶³ At this time there was a revival in old music, the origins of which stem from the formation of the Academy of Ancient Music and the Madrigal Society. Published collections of madrigals began to appear from 1770. Johnson (1979), 201.

²⁶⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 11 February 1786.

A
CONCERT
OF
VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL
MUSIC,
The VOCAL PARTS by the Gentlemen of the
CHOIR at DURHAM.
The FIRST VIOLIN, by a Private Gentleman.
And a SOLO on the VIOLIN, by one of his Maje-
-sty's Musician in Ordinary.

PART I.

Overture in Sampson, HANDEL.

SONG.

Concerto XI. CORELLI.

TRIO. CAMPIONI.

Concerto German Flute

PART II.

Overture, ABEL.

SONG.

Concerto Violoncello, GARTH.

Solo. Violin.

And to conclude with

Mr HANDEL's GRAND

CORONATION ANTHEM.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁵ *Newcastle Journal*, 14 September 1765.

The programme reveals an obvious preoccupation with Handel and the one concerto from Corelli's Op. 6 would have been an old favourite. But these works were performed alongside more contemporary music. The trio by Carlo Campioni (1720-93) would have been taken from an edition published within the previous decade,²⁶⁶ while Karl Abel (1723-87) had only arrived in London in 1759. The overture played may have been that from *Love in a Village*, issued in a set along with five other opera overtures in c.1763.²⁶⁷ It had received its first performance in London the year before.²⁶⁸ Robert Wharton regularly attended concerts in Durham and recorded the music that he heard. In a letter dated 9 August 1773 he remarked:

W^d you think that we had the famous Chaconne Overture here at our last Fridays concert? Yet there I heard it & not indecently performed.²⁶⁹

The overture played may have been by Niccolò Jommelli (1714-1774) which would have been new to British audiences at the time. In another letter, dated 22 October 1776, he went into far greater detail:

I escaped from Newton at ½ past five to-day to come to the Concert which has been much better than the last & could have been decent had not 'the Grand' played tenor in a beautiful Quartet of Haydn, where your other favorite Minuet is. We had "Adieu to the Village' &c very.

Decently sung & Robinson played the 5th of Martini rarely.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ The earliest edition published in Britain by Campioni appears to be his Op. 1 *Six Sonatas* from 1756.

²⁶⁷ Walsh: London.

²⁶⁸ Fiske (1973), 648.

²⁶⁹ GB-DRu: Wharton Papers. 170.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 176.

The Haydn quartet would certainly have been fairly new to British audiences, his Op. 1 having been published in c.1762 and his Op. 9 in c.1777.²⁷¹ ‘Martini’ probably refers to Giuseppe Sammartini (1695-1750) who spent most of his working life in London, with Robinson presumably playing a violin solo or sonata.²⁷² The song ‘Adieu to the Village’ was composed by Joseph Baidon (c.1727-74). A slightly later programme survives for a concert held in Newcastle that involved Meredith and Evance and mentions the songs that each of them sang. Evance is recorded as singing two, one by Handel and another by Samuel Arnold (1740-1802), while Meredith sang ‘Hark, Hark, the Trumpet’ by James Hook (1746-1827).²⁷³

Concerts in Durham continued to include the latest music available. At a concert run by Evance, Ashton and Friend in 1792, the programme included William Boyton’s ‘Battle Song’, another of Wright’s clarinet concertos, and a ‘beautiful quartetto by Pleyel’.²⁷⁴ The battle song does not appear to have been published separately but certainly dates from the latter part of the century,²⁷⁵ while the first set of Pleyel’s quartets were issued in c.1785. Another contemporary programme was used at a concert organised in 1796 by James Radcliffe and included music that had been performed at ‘HARRISON and KNYVET’S VOCAL CONCERTS, [in] London.’²⁷⁶ Samuel Harrison (1760-1812) and Charles Knyvett (c.1752-1822) had initially run concerts together at Willis’ Rooms between 1792 and 1795 which

²⁷¹ Webster (2007).

²⁷² These were published in London. His *xii Sonatas for two German Flutes or Violins with a Thorough Bass* appeared in c.1730 and his *Six Solos for a German Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass* (Op. 4) in c.1740.

²⁷³ *Newcastle Courant*, 10 February 1787. The actual title of the song is ‘Hark hark the dreadful Din of War’ which was published in c.1788 by Preston: London.

²⁷⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 February 1792.

²⁷⁵ The British Library catalogue contains seven items by Boyton, all of which, with the exception of his keyboard concerto, were first published in the 1790s.

²⁷⁶ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 1 October 1796.

primarily featured English vocal solos, glees and catches with the occasional Italian aria or instrumental work.²⁷⁷

Many concerts would include the singing of patriotic songs. For example, at a concert organised by Garth in 1755, the programme included ‘the Chorus of *Britain Strike Home*, and that of *Long live great George our King*; –in which most of the Gentlemen present joined.’²⁷⁸ The singing of the national anthem as part of concert was a regular occurrence but during the Napoleonic wars there was a particular desire to participate in such communal activities. As part of an entertainment put on by the Mayor in the Guildhall for the King’s birthday in 1803, ‘God save the King’ was performed as a duet by ‘Messrs Wm Smith and Bone’²⁷⁹ as well as ‘several excellent songs...suitable to the renewal of War, each verse ending, “*the King and Nation save*’.²⁸⁰ Also Ebdon’s 1788-9 Sunderland subscription series concluded with his own arrangement of ‘God save the King’.²⁸¹

1.3.9 Handel’s Oratorios and other Large-Scale Choral Works

There was at Durham, as in the rest of the country, a surge of interest in the music of Handel. His oratorios were frequently performed at Durham concerts during the second half of the eighteenth century and single movements were used as anthems in cathedral services (a practice which continued well into the nineteenth century).

However, there were some notable musicians who refused to jump on the Handel

²⁷⁷ Sands (2007), 1. Harrison also performed at the two Newcastle music festivals. See pages 148-50. *Newcastle Courant*, 18 June 1791, 25 June 1796.

²⁷⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 15 November 1755.

²⁷⁹ Smith and Bone had both been members of the cathedral choir. There were two William Smith’s in the choir, either one could have been this William. One was a chorister between 1781 and 1794, the other between 1793 and 1796. Bone could refer to either Peter or Stephen. Peter was a chorister between 1765 and 1772, and Stephen between 1765 and 1771.

²⁸⁰ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 11 June 1803.

²⁸¹ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 7 March 1789. Ebdon’s arrangement is lost.

‘bandwagon’, focusing instead their attention on others. Locally the most notable of these was Avison who exalted his teacher Geminiani above all others.²⁸² His admiration for Geminiani is particularly evident from the first edition of his *Essay* in which he underplayed Handel’s importance, placing him after several major and minor composers including Palestrina, Tallis, Allegri, Carissimi, Stradella, Corelli, Domenico Scarlatti, Caldara and 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 supplied the Town with musical Entertainments of every Kind, for thirty Years together.²⁸³

He went on to say that ‘The celebrated LULLI of *France*, and the old SCARLATTI at *Rome*, may be considered in the same Light.’ Hayes firmly rebuked Avison’s opinion of Handel stating that he could ‘see no Business RAMEAU has in Company with Men whose Works have stood the never-failing Test of Time, unless it be purely for the sake of mortifying his Contemporary Mr. Handel’.²⁸⁴ He went on to accuse Avison of attempting ‘by his ridiculous Fondness and partiality to some Masters, to draw a Veil over, and eclipse his [Handel’s] great and glorious Character.’²⁸⁵ Avison responded by pointing out that Handel was ‘Born with Genius capable of *soaring the Flights*...[but] to suit the vitiated Taste of the Age they lived in, *descended to the*

²⁸² Avison (1752), 86-7.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 53.

²⁸⁴ Hayes (1753), 58.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

lowest'.²⁸⁶ Avison was by no means isolated in his opinions. Thirty-five years later Dibdin wrote that Handel 'has certainly left behind some wonderful MUSIC, but it cannot be denied that this *ore* is plentifully surrounded with *dross*.'²⁸⁷

Despite Avison's protests, Handel's oratorios gained a bigger foothold in the nation's psyche which peaked at the Handel commemorations held annually at Westminster Abbey from 1784.²⁸⁸ Their dominance was such that they became part of an expression of British national identity and, in doing so, led to the eclipse of much worthy native talent. Durham was not immune to this national 'Handelian' infection. Many of the German's oratorios were regularly performed in the city and, in some instances, individual oratorios such as *Messiah* were performed several times within a single year. The earliest Durham reference to a performance of music by Handel dates from 1748 when excerpts from *Judas Maccabaeus* were presented. However, since the choir had sung selections from *Saul* and *Acis and Galatea* at Newcastle in 1739, it appears that they had performed single movements of his oratorios and cantatas for many years.²⁸⁹

The first full choral work by Handel to be performed at Durham was *Alexander's Feast* in 1749 which met with great acclaim:

We hear from Durham, that on Wednesday Evening most of the
Gentlemen and Ladies of that County, and a great number from
Yorkshire and Northumberland, were present at the performing of the
Ode call'd *Alexander's Feast*, in the Assembly-Room of that City,

²⁸⁶ Avison (1967), 50.

²⁸⁷ Dibdin (1788), 199.

²⁸⁸ Burney (1776), IV, 683.

²⁸⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 1 December 1739. This may have been due to the fact that many early published editions of Handel's oratorios consisted of a selection of popular movements and not the entire work.

which gave universal Satisfaction, being allowed, by several of the best Judges, to equal, if not exceed the annual Performance of it in London, especially in some of the grand Chorus.²⁹⁰

Cowper recorded the concert in a letter dated 7 December 1749:

Our News Paper's may have informed you of the noble manner our harmonious Band celebrated St. Cecilia. If you can believe their Report, Alexanders Feast was better perform'd than at London. But it certainly was better than we cou'd expect to have it here. Our thin Canons were of great service in the Chorus's, but all, except old Gregory, much above singing single songs, so we failed in them. The Old Knight was the director and manager of the whole, and you may imagine very happy in his office. He has since the 20th been dignify'd with the office of Sub-Dean, which I am in hopes the Choir will be much better for.²⁹¹

The 'Old Knight' was almost certainly Sir John Dolben and it appears that he was one of the main proponents in the establishment of the Durham performances of Handel's oratorios.²⁹² In 1750 Cowper had requested a copy of *Messiah* but cancelled his order when he realised that Dolben had already sent for a copy from Oxford.²⁹³ *Messiah* received its Durham premiere on 25 September 1751 at a private concert held at the

²⁹⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 November 1749. The choir had presumably produced their copies from the published score of *Alexander's Feast* which had been issued by Walsh in 1738. However, the actual copies that the choir used at this concert have not survived.

²⁹¹ Hughes (1956), 118.

²⁹² I am grateful to Brian Crosby for providing this information.

²⁹³ Hughes (1956), 135.

home of Thomas Sharp which was also attended by Harris who recorded the event in his diary.²⁹⁴

Went to Dr Sharpe's & heard the Messiah performed. –The Dean gave this as an entertainment to the Bishop of Durham who with the Talbots[,] Sr J[ohn] Dolben's family, the Bishop of Gloucester & Dr Bland made up the company....Mr Nichols, son of Dr N[ichols] of West[minster], the Ist fiddle. –Old Gregory sung the base very well.²⁹⁵

After the well received first performance, a second was organised for the following Saturday:

Drank tea with Dr Kn[atcbull] and went with him to Dr Sharpe's, where Sir John Dolben gave the Messiah. /Pretty near the same company as before, excepting the B[ishop] of Durham & the Talbots[.] –Went afterwards & supped with Sir John Dolben. –15 dishes besides the desert. –6 ladies –11 gentlemen.²⁹⁶

The version of *Messiah* that was presumably used on this occasion was substantially cut-down and appears to have been accompanied purely on a harpsichord. This copy survives at Durham, the contents of which are as follows:²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ An advertisement for a performance of *Messiah* at Durham appeared in the *Newcastle Courant* on 6 July 1751, but this was in error and it was rectified the following week.

²⁹⁵ Burrows (2002), 278.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 278.

²⁹⁷ GB-DRc: MS A12. This copy of *Messiah* is in the hand of Brass and presumably dates from 1751 when £6 2s 0d was paid for a copy of 'Dr. Handell's Oratorio'. GB-DRca: L/AA/6; Crosby (1986), 16.

Part I

1. Comfort Ye Every Valley shall be exalted
2. And the Glory
3. Thus Saith The Lord
4. But who may Abide...His coming
5. And He shall purify
6. There were shepherds
7. And lo, the angel
8. And the angel said
9. And suddenly there was with the Angel
10. Glory to God
11. Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion
12. Then shall the eyes of the blind
13. He shall feed His flock
14. His yoke is easy
15. Behold, a Virgin shall conceive
16. O thou that tellest good tidings
17. For behold, darkness shall cover the earth
18. The people that walked in darkness
19. For unto us a Child is born

Part II

20. Behold the Lamb of God
21. He was despised
22. Surely He has borne our griefs
23. And with His stripes
24. All we like sheep
25. He that dwelleth in Heaven
26. Thou shalt break them
27. Hallelujah

Part III

28. I know that my Redeemer liveth
29. Since by man came death
30. Behold, I show you a mystery
31. The trumpet shall sound
32. But Thanks be to God
33. If God be for us
34. Worthy is the Lamb –Amen–

From Part I the overture is missing, although this may have been lost. But, more importantly, the movements from 'Behold, a Virgin shall conceive' to 'For unto us a Child is born' have been moved to the end of the first part. This presents something of

a problem as the narrative nature of the text is severely disrupted. One can only presume that the original order was reinstated for the performance. Part II was more heavily cut with two-thirds begin omitted, while Part III only had two movements left out. Despite the notable cuts in the first Durham version the c.1770 wordbook indicates that the full oratorio was performed at later concerts.²⁹⁸

Given the huge success of Handel's oratorios it is perhaps surprising that they took so long to reach Durham. *Messiah* was first performed over nine years after its premiere in Dublin, and it was an even longer before *Alexander's Feast*, which had been premiered at Covent Garden on 19 February 1736, reached the city.²⁹⁹ However, once established they quickly became a staple of the choir's concert repertory. *Messiah* was frequently performed throughout the century and from 1769 to 1772 was sung at Ebdon's annual Easter Monday concert.³⁰⁰ There was also the 1781 series of Handel oratorios at Durham theatre which included *Judas Maccabaeus*, the coronation anthem, and two performances of *Messiah*.³⁰¹ Ebdon appears to have been particularly fond of this work. In 1752, as a chorister, he had performed the aria 'I know my redeemer liveth' at the cathedral,³⁰² and later subscribed to Arnold's edition of Handel's works. He also, as can be seen in Ex. 1, included a passage in his anthem 'O give thanks unto the Lord' (Psalm 106) that has a distinct similarity to the 'Hallelujah Chorus'.³⁰³

²⁹⁸ See Handel, G.: *Messiah in Three Parts* (Durham, c.1770).

²⁹⁹ Hicks (2008).

³⁰⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 18 March 1769, 11 April 1772.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 17 March 1781.

³⁰² Burrows (2002), 284.

³⁰³ The setting of the text used in Ex. 1 (and in the 'Hallelujah Chorus') predates Handel and can be seen, for example, in Croft's anthem 'The Lord is a sun'. Carpenter (1971), 276.

Ex. 1: Ebdon, T.: 'O give thanks unto the Lord'

236 *Forte*

Tr en - dur - - - - - [eth] for - e - ver, for - e - ver,

A en - dur - - - - - eth for - e - ver, for - e - ver, en -

Te for - e - ver, for - e - ver, for - e - ver, for - e - ver,

B for - e - ver, for - e - ver, for - e - ver, for - e - ver,

Org. 7 6 6 6 5
5 4 3

29 *Pia*

Tr for - e - ver, give

A dur - - - - - eth for - e - ver, for - e - ver, give

Te for - e - ver, give

B for - e - ver, give

Org. 6 6 6 7
4 3

Despite *Messiah*'s popularity, the oratorio is not recorded as receiving a complete performance at Durham between 1751 and 1761 although both *Alexander's Feast* and *Acis and Galatea* were sung several times during this period. These three works form the bulk of recorded performances of Handel's music along with regular performances

of his coronation anthem 'Zadok the Priest' and occasionally *Samson*.³⁰⁴ *Judas Maccabaeus* did not receive a complete performance until 1770 but was performed a further four times, the last of which was in 1788.³⁰⁵ *L'Allegro* was only performed the once as was the *Funeral Music for Queen Caroline* which was performed at a 1765 concert given in memory of the Duke of Cumberland.³⁰⁶ There are several manuscript copies of other Handel oratorios that survive at Durham which were presumably used at the local concerts. These include a copy of *Joshua* in the hand of Mathews and *Israel in Egypt* which was copied by Brass.³⁰⁷ There is also an extant violin part in Ebdon's hand to the chorus 'Now the proud insulting foe' from *Deborah* and a full score of this oratorio survives among other Handel items in the manuscript collection that belonged to the prebendary Richard Fawcett (1714-82).³⁰⁸ It is, however, impossible to say if his copies were used locally.³⁰⁹ It seems likely that the oratorio overtures may have regularly featured in concerts at both Durham and Newcastle, and even at those run by Avison. The proportions of the known performances of large-scale choral works performed in Durham are shown in the following pie chart:

³⁰⁴ Hughes (1956), 135.

³⁰⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 11 August 1770, 4 October 1788.

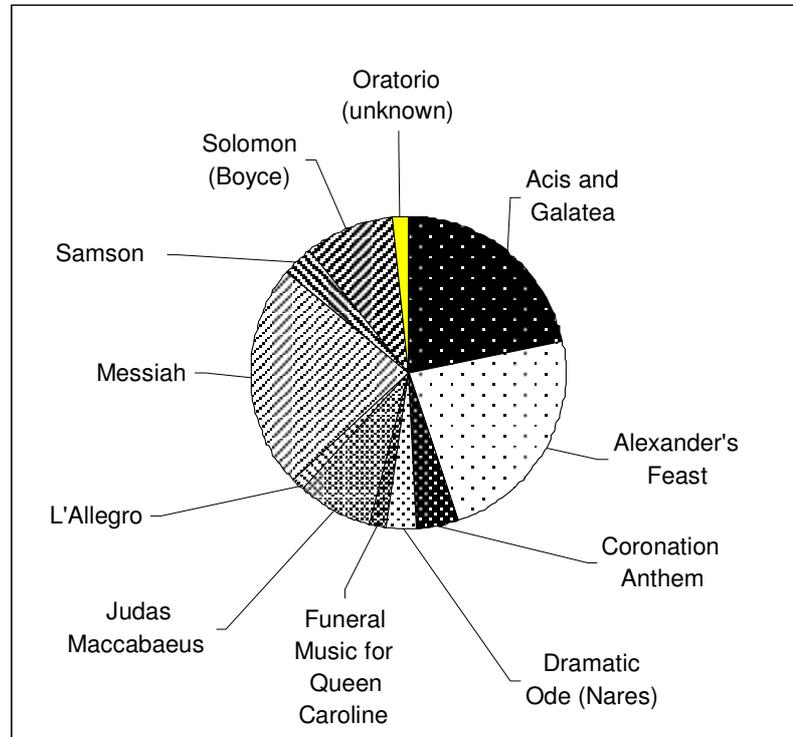
³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 17 September 1757; *Newcastle Journal*, 16 November 1765.

³⁰⁷ GB-DRc: MS A24, D8; MS E3; Crosby (1986), 53, 64.

³⁰⁸ GB-DRc: MS E43(i).

³⁰⁹ GB-DRc: MS E12; Crosby (1986), xx. Fawcett's collection dates from his time at Oxford, when he was musically active.

Table 2: Piechart showing the proportions of the known performances of large-scale vocal works at Durham during the eighteenth century.



Individual movements from Handel's oratorios were also popular choices for anthems. There was the aria that Ebdon sang, and 'If God be for us' from *Messiah* was performed on 11 November 1752.³¹⁰ The 1749 wordbook also contains eight anthems by Handel that are taken from his 'Cannons', coronation and 'Dettingen Anthems'.

In addition to the large-scale choral works by Handel performed by the choir, there were similar works by other composers that were sung on a regular basis. These include the serenetta *Solomon* by Boyce which was performed at both Durham and Sunderland,³¹¹ and the *Royal Pastorale* and *Dramatic Odes* by Nares which was

³¹⁰ Burrows (2002), 285.

³¹¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 14 July 1764, 5 October 1765, 25 July 1767, 9 June 1770.

successful enough to warrant a second performance exactly a year after its Durham premiere.³¹²

1.3.10 Assemblies and Balls

Perhaps one of the most popular pastimes for Durham's inhabitants was to attend the vast number of assemblies, balls and occasionally masquerades that were held in the city.³¹³ At concerts where musicians were most conspicuous, an audience necessarily took a more passive role, but at assemblies the attendants enjoyed participation in dancing, card-playing, and communal suppers. Boruwlaski had other reasons for enjoying the assemblies. He praised the the 'brilliant assemblies, which give us so favourable an opportunity to admire the elegant and beautiful features of the ladies.'³¹⁴ The assemblies tended to be well planned and often included numerous activities. Hoult's 1784-5 assemblies began with 'Tea at 6 o'clock and Dancing afterwards',³¹⁵ while his 1790-1 subscription assemblies were referred to 'Card & Dancing Assemblies'. These began with cards at five and then dancing at eight.³¹⁶

Music would have been required for dancing to take place and this was probably provided by local players. Lay-clerks from the cathedral may have earned some extra income by providing the instrumental parts or it could have been one of the non-cathedral musicians such as the dancing-masters or those associated with the theatre. An advertisement for a leader of the Newcastle assemblies appeared in 1811 which perhaps suggests that a similar situation existed at Durham:

³¹² Ibid., 14 July 1770, 13 July 1771.

³¹³ Ibid., 30 March 1754.

³¹⁴ Boruwlaski (1820), 361.

³¹⁵ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 20 November 1784.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 4 December 1790.

A LEADER TO A BAND – WANTED

A PERSON who will undertake to lead the Band at the NEWCASTLE ASSEMBLIES. Such Person to provide Assistants, for whom he must be responsible[.] There are generally nine Annual Subscription Assemblies in the small Room, four Guild Assemblies in the Race Week, in the large Room. The Payment to the Leader is 1l. 1s each Assembly, and shilling for Liquor; he will be paid for his Assistants Half a-Guinea each and a like Allowance for Liquor. Eight Assistants are allowed when there is an Assembly in the large Room, and four Assistants in the small Room. The Leader is usually employed at all private Dances given in Newcastle and the Neighbourhood; and he may very probably, procure a Situation in the Orchestra at the Theatre.³¹⁷

As has already been mentioned, these assemblies were well attended and frequently went on into the early hours of the next day. The 1806 Durham County Election Ball held at the Red Lion was remarkable as ‘upwards of 300 persons’ attended which must have exerted unusual pressure on the space available. The musicians, however, must have been exhausted as the dancing ‘continued till late the next morning’ but no doubt enjoyed regular breaks and free sustenance.³¹⁸

Balls were also a common feature of concerts and Ebdon frequently held one after his Sunderland and Durham concerts.³¹⁹ The four concerts that were organised by committee in 1796 also ended with a ball³²⁰ as did those of visitors to Durham who

³¹⁷ *Tyne Mercury*, 14 May 1811.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2 December 1806.

³¹⁹ e.g. *Newcastle Advertiser*, 30 May 1789, 28 July 1792, 19 January 1793; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 24 July 1790, 31 July 1790.

³²⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 19 November 1796.

would have used the concert orchestra to provide music for the dancing.³²¹ Many of the dancing instructors who worked in Durham City held balls that drew attention to the abilities of their pupils. Adam Kinlock (c.1744-99), who taught dance at Mrs Sugget's boarding school, brought pupils to his ball to demonstrate their prowess as well as his own skills as a dancing instructor.³²² For his balls he also provided playing cards printed by the Newcastle engraver Thomas Bewick (1753-1828).³²³ Many of the local musicians used Bewick for printing playing-cards and concert tickets among them Hawdon, Charles Avison jnr, and Meredith.³²⁴

Another dancing instructor who taught in Durham was Morin (d.1805) who was employed at Eleanor Greenwell's school. For a ball held at the Red Lion in 1772 he combined his young ladies from the school with his private pupils:

At Mr Morin's ball on Thursday, at Mr Richardson's Long-Room, Mrs Greenwell's young Ladies (and the rest of Mr Morin's Scholars) performed minuets, cotillions, and country dances before a genteel and crowded company, who all in general expressed the greatest satisfaction.³²⁵

Morin was still organising balls at the start of the following century and, like Kinlock, used them to spotlight his pupil's abilities. An advertisement from 1804 stated that:

³²¹ Knerler concluded his 1746 concert with a ball. *Newcastle Courant*, 16 August 1746.

³²² *Newcastle Advertiser*, 17 October 1789.

³²³ GB-NTa: Bewick Accounts, 1269/12, 27 October 1780.

³²⁴ Meredith owed Bewick £1.2s.6d when he left the north-east in 1788 and did not settle this account until 1791. GB-NTa: Bewick Accounts, 1269/13, 1269/230, 1269/231.

³²⁵ *Newcastle Journal*, 31 December 1772.

In the course of the Evening, Two Young Gentlemen will dance Hornpipes, and at the same Time perform Three Divisions of the Austrian Broad Sword Exercise; also, Six Divisions of the same Exercise, by Young Gentlemen.³²⁶

Given their popularity, assemblies and balls were a good way to raise money for worthy causes. In December 1798 Houlton held an assembly to mark Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile.³²⁷ Others who organised balls include Ralph Banks jnr who held one at 'Mr Peart's Long-Room' in 1783, the only time this venue was recorded.³²⁸ Cowper also organised such events holding 'a grand and elegant Entertainment' for the King's birthday in 1749 that ended with 'a splendid Ball at the Assembly Room.'³²⁹ There are also several instances when balls were held in private houses. One of these was organised by Dean William Digby (d.1788) the music of which was presumably provided by the choir.³³⁰

Assemblies and balls remained an important feature of social life in Durham City throughout the Napoleonic wars, and, while concerts fell from favour, they continued to be held until after 1811.

1.3.11 Music for Special Occasions

Besides looking to earn income from subscription series and the assize and race week concerts, composers were always on the look out for special occasions when they

³²⁶ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 10 November 1804.

³²⁷ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 8 December 1798.

³²⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 October 1783. This room appears to have been located at the 'Black Lion'.
Newcastle Courant, 4 April 1795.

³²⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 4 November 1749.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 25 January 1783.

could hold musical events in order to raise some extra money, and these normally tied in with important dates in the calendar. Perhaps one of the most significant of these was the King's birthday for which Durham musicians would frequently organise a concert or a ball. For several years Garth and the members of his subscription concert held a one-off concert on this particular day. In 1755 they held a concert and ball that was open to non-subscribers so as to increase ticket sales.³³¹ It was also a success as the review makes clear:

We hear from Durham, that on Monday last, the Anniversary of his Majesty's Birth-day, was observed there with the usual Demonstrations: In the Evening the Gentlemen of the Subscription Concert gave a Concert of vocal and instrumental Musick, to a very numerous Meeting of Gentlemen and Ladies from all Parts of the County, who expressed their Pleasure at the polite Behaviour of the Gentlemen and Goodness of the Performances, particularly the Chorus of *Britain Strike Home*, and that of *Long live great George our King*;- in which most of the Gentlemen present joined.

After the Concert the Ball was opened by Jennison Shaftoe, Esq; and Lady Milbank, which concluded at Twelve o'Clock; after which the Gentlemen adjourned to the Town-hall, where a Treat was given by the Right Hon. The Earl of Darlington, where Many Loyal Healths were drank, and the whole concluded with the greatest harmony and good Humour.³³²

³³¹ Ibid., 8 November 1755.

³³² Ibid., 15 November 1755.

Ebdon also ran concerts for the King's birthday but these were held in Sunderland, perhaps to avoid competition with those in Durham.³³³ Occasionally events were also held for the Queen's birthday but if they were a regular occurrence then they were rarely advertised.³³⁴ However, there was a splendid ball held in her honour on 17 January 1783:

On Friday the 17th, a Ball was given at the Deanery, in Durham, in honour of her Majesty's Birth Day. The anticipation of a day was with great judgement, as the festivities of it might have broken in upon a day of higher solemnity, if kept on the Saturday [the King's birthday] and the judicious mistake was afterwards corrected with an elact that surprized and pleased the whole company. The Ball opened with minuets, cotillions, and figure dances, at seven o'clock. At eleven the supper was announced, when the ancient refectory was lighted up, and embellished for the occasion, in a style and taste which expressed a happy union of old hospitality and modern elegance. At twelve, a trumpet gave the signal, and "The Queen's Health" was proclaimed thro' the room, to whose honour the first moment of the new day was thus pointedly dedicated. – This gave fresh spirits to the assembly, and the Ball was renewed and kept up till three o'clock, when the company dispersed, universally pleased with the very polite attention of their entertainers, and the elegant affluence of the entertainment.³³⁵

³³³ Ibid., 26 May 1781, 24 May 1783.

³³⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 January 1783, 16 January 1796.

³³⁵ Ibid., 25 January 1783.

A further annual event was the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot. The cathedral employed bell ringers for this day every year,³³⁶ but few details regarding other musical events were recorded in the newspapers. There were exceptions however. In 1754 there appeared a thorough account of the day's activities. In the morning there was a service at the cathedral, at which the choir would have sung, while:

In the Evening John Richardson, Esq; their worthy Mayor, complimented by the Officers and Gentlemen of the Place with a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick; particularly the Coronation Anthem, a Chorus from Alexander's Feast, and several Overtures and Concertoes for the French Horns, &c. The instrumental Parts were performed by Mr Garth, the two Charles's, several Gentlemen of the Choir, who performed the Vocal Parts with great Applause: After the Musick, the Mayor gave a genteel Entertainment to the Company, which was very large; several loyal Healths were drunk, and the Evening concluded with great Cheerfulness, Harmony, and Regularity.³³⁷

It is unlikely, given the animosity that existed between the two concert groups of Hesletine and Avison, that both would participate, since it was held in 1754 when tensions were high. However, the several gentlemen could be referring to Blenkinsop, William Paxton and Gelson.³³⁸ One even wonders if the mayor himself was unsympathetic to the cathedral since asking Garth to provide the music must have been a snub to Cowper. However, any animosity would not have endured since, from

³³⁶ GB-DRca: L/AA/5.

³³⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 9 November 1754.

³³⁸ Hughes (1956), 174-5.

1755 until after 1811, the mayor annually employed some ‘Vergers and Singing Boys’ from the cathedral.³³⁹

Enterprising musicians may have organised concerts to coincide with other major events in the sporting year, in particular hunting. There are no instances of such concerts happening in Durham before 1811 although Meredith held a benefit called the ‘Forest Hunt Concert’ at Newcastle in March 1788,³⁴⁰ and similar concerts were also held in Sunderland.³⁴¹ Friend’s published song, ‘The Durham Hunt’, was performed at a Durham spring concert before 1800 and there exists some instrumental parts to Charles Dibdin’s song ‘The Fox Chase’ that are in Ebdon’s hand.³⁴²

1.3.12 Novelty

Besides the more traditional musicians who visited the Durham, a select number drew spectators by means of unusual musical attractions. Some of these paraded special feats of ability while others played on unusual instruments. One of the earliest examples was Madam Violante who was a ‘rope dancer’ and performed on the stage at Durham during the race week 1735.³⁴³ She was so successful that she decided to postpone her plans and remained in Durham during the assizes.³⁴⁴ There is no mention of music in the advertisement but it appears some musicians may have been part of her troupe. As well as her several feats of ability, which included dancing ‘a Minuet on a Rope as neatly as can be dancer on the Floor’, there was a pantomime attached to

³³⁹ GB-DRr: Du1/42/3-5.

³⁴⁰ Handbill in the author’s possession.

³⁴¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 2 November 1782.

³⁴² GB-DRc: MS E43(ii).

³⁴³ *Newcastle Courant*, 28 June 1735.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 19 July 1735.

the end of her act as an afterpiece.³⁴⁵ Another group, the ‘Company of Rope-Dancers and Tumblers’, ran a similar event on Easter Monday 1753 and they definitely included music as part of their act.³⁴⁶

Novel instruments or unusual ways of playing commonplace instruments was clearly an attraction in the north-east. There was a Mr Parry from Bristol who stopped in Durham in 1741 after performing at York.³⁴⁷ He played what he referred to as the treble-harp which would have been an unusual attraction to northern audiences at the time; it was apparently well received at Durham.³⁴⁸ His York programme included music by Corelli, Handel, Geminiani and Vivaldi.³⁴⁹ An even more unusual instrument was played by a Mr Noell at a benefit concert at Durham in 1748. The programme, which included music by Handel, Festing, and Arne, was performed on an instrument called the ‘cymbalo’ which was advertised as ‘the only instrument of its Kind in England’.³⁵⁰ The cymbalo appears to have been similar to the modern day dulcimer, its sound produced by hitting strings stretched across a frame with hammers. Noell’s programme for a similar concert in Sunderland included a ‘grand march’ from *Judas Maccabaeus* and a solo composed by himself.³⁵¹

One of the more unusual musicians to visit Durham was Mr Lambourn, a ‘MUSICIAN from London, and late of the KING’S THEATRE, in the Hay-market’. He had achieved some success performing on the ‘musical glasses’,³⁵² and was apparently well received for in the newspaper he extended ‘his sincere Thanks for the great Encouragement he has already met with at Durham’.³⁵³ The musical glasses

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 28 June 1735.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 21 April 1753.

³⁴⁷ *York Courant*, 20 January 1741, 27 January 1741.

³⁴⁸ *Newcastle Journal*, 28 March 1741.

³⁴⁹ *York Courant*, 20 January 1741.

³⁵⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 1 October 1748.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 8 October 1748.

³⁵² *Newcastle Journal*, 23 April 1763.

³⁵³ Ibid., 7 May 1763.

were popular during the eighteenth century having been formalised in Great Britain and Ireland during that century. They were adapted into the glass harmonica around 1761, an instrument that was regarded highly enough to attract the attention of Beethoven and Mozart.³⁵⁴ Another local musician who played the glasses was Walter Claget (c.1741-98).³⁵⁵ It is not recorded whether he played them in the north-east but he did advertise a set for sale in 1766 while he was living in Dublin.³⁵⁶

At a concert held on 19 September 1750 and given by the band ‘belonging to his Majesty’s Regiment of OLD BUFFS’,³⁵⁷ one of the attractions was ‘a Solo upon the Violin, in Imitation of a Flagelet’.³⁵⁸ A flageolet is a type of flute or recorder that was very popular during the eighteenth century and clearly it was hoped, by mentioning it in the advertisement, that this ‘stunt’ would be a major attraction and swell audience numbers.³⁵⁹ However, it does not appear to have been a particularly impressive feat as Cowper commented that ‘One fellow imitated a flagelet with his violin, which he pretends to be entirely an invention of his own. I fancy the great mystery of it lyes in playing near the Bridge’.³⁶⁰ Dibdin was another who also relied upon novelty since, for a concert held during his second visit to Durham in 1799, he accompanied himself on an instrument that had ‘all the Properties of a Band’.³⁶¹

Perhaps the most unusual musical attraction to appear at Durham occurred during the 1766 race week. This was in the form of a mechanical device called the ‘Microcosm’. It was exhibited at the Red Lion where interested parties could pay a

³⁵⁴ Sachs (1940) 404-5.

³⁵⁵ *Newcastle Journal*, 9 December 1758.

³⁵⁶ Boydell (1992), 79.

³⁵⁷ *Newcastle Journal*, 15 September 1750.

³⁵⁸ An oboe d’amore is slightly larger than a standard oboe and sounds a minor third lower. Sachs (1940), 383.

³⁵⁹ Sachs (1940), 313.

³⁶⁰ Hughes (1956), 129.

³⁶¹ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 18 May 1799.

shilling s to see it run through its motions which included music. An exuberant, but rather vague, advertisement recorded how it operated:

The magnificence of its [the Microcosm's] structure, the variety of its movements, the beauty of its painting, the excellency of its music, the elegance of its composition, with the systems it exhibits, render it very justly worthy the inspection of the curious, who will meet with an entertainment that will abundantly exceed their expectations.³⁶²

Although there does not appear to be any surviving description of the machine that indicates how the music was produced, the 'Microcosm' was most likely a type of barrel organ and featured a 'vast variety of moving figures'.³⁶³ Most of these represented celestial movement and included moving versions of both the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems of planetary motion.³⁶⁴ The owner of the machine, Henry Bridges, mentioned alongside the advertisement that he was a repairer of musical instruments including church, chamber and barrel organs, and 'tuned and repaired' harpsichords and spinets.³⁶⁵ By all accounts the spectators were not disappointed. One anonymous lady was so impressed that she spontaneously created a poem in praise of the device that was noted down by an observer and subsequently published:

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 12 July 1766.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 29 August 1767.

³⁶⁴ *York Courant*, 2 July 1754. The Ptolemaic system was based on the idea that the earth was at the centre of the solar system, while Copernicus devised the correct version that was based on the sun's location at the centre.

³⁶⁵ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 12 July 1766.

What various scenes present themselves to view!
Just are their colourings, and their motions *true*.
Where'er I look new beauties strike my eyes!
Harmonious sounds my *ravish'd* sense surprize!
This *little world* so wond'rous does appear³⁶⁶

Novelty was clearly an attraction and, given the large amount of events that were held during race and assize weeks, the inclusion of something unusual was considered an important factor in drawing the curiosity of spectators.

1.3.13 Concerts outside Durham

Given the importance of musicians from Durham, in particular those associated with the cathedral, it seems logical that they would have played an important role in concerts in the surrounding area, particularly given the lack of high quality vocalists in the wider region of County Durham. The most important concert town local to Durham was Newcastle and Durham musicians regularly performed there. Avison's orchestra certainly featured performers from Durham which included Garth. Garth also ran concerts in other neighbouring towns which included a benefit concert in Stockton during the town's race week in 1745,³⁶⁷ and another in South Shields in 1772 where he performed one of his harpsichord sonatas and a cello concerto.³⁶⁸ For his participation in the 1759 opening of the organ at St Thomas' Parish Church in

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2 August 1766.

³⁶⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 3 August 1745.

³⁶⁸ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 6 June 1772.

Stockton he received £2.2s.³⁶⁹ A further ‘player and Singer from Durham’, possibly from the choir, received £3.3s for their performance at this event.

Hesletine, as far as we are aware, never opened any organs, but Ebdon inaugurated several, including one at Tynemouth in Northumberland where he took the choir to perform:

On Wednesday, the New Organ was opened at Tynemouth church, with a grand Selection of Sacred Music, under the direction of Mr Ebdon, organist of Durham Cathedral. –This festival was attended by a numerous and respectable audience: Upon the whole, the performance went off very well; but to those who have been gratified by the full effect of vocal harmony, the absence of Meredith, in the bass parts, must have been sensibly felt.³⁷⁰

There were other occasions when members of the Durham choir visited Tynemouth. Meredith performed there in 1783 as did Robinson in 1797.³⁷¹ The choir had also performed *Messiah* for the opening of the new organ at South Shields in 1786.³⁷²

Meredith frequently travelled great distances to perform. In 1787 he visited Morpeth and South Shields and had, two years earlier, been to Manchester and Edinburgh.³⁷³ Evance, in 1789, went to Aberdeen whose Musical Society recorded that ‘Mr. Evance of the choir at Durham [Cathedral] was brought north for a three

³⁶⁹ GB-DRr: EP/Sto/38.

³⁷⁰ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 26 April 1794.

³⁷¹ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 28 June 1783, 25 March 1797.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 5 August 1786.

³⁷³ *Newcastle Courant*, 10 November 1787, 22 December 1787; *York Courant*, 6 September 1785; *Newcastle Courant*, 23 July 1785.

month's season at 30 guineas and "a clear Benefit [Concert] of twenty guineas."³⁷⁴

London was also an arena for Durham-based musicians; Mountier returned there in 1740 to perform at a benefit concert for Valentine Snow.³⁷⁵ There was also a 'Mr. Evance' who sang tenor at the Handel commemoration held in Westminster Abbey in 1784 although this could have been one of the London-based relatives of the Durham musician.³⁷⁶ In 1794 Meredith also went to London having been engaged to sing oratorios at the New Theatre. The *Newcastle Courant* recorded that 'he is spoken of in very high terms of praise.'³⁷⁷

Although concert life in Newcastle was dominated by Avison until his death in 1770, other musicians did feature in the town's musical life. The Durham choir had performed at Newcastle on a regular basis for some years. The first reference to a performance by a Durham musician in Newcastle dates from 1733 when 'a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music' was performed at the Grammar School by the 'best Masters from York, Durham'.³⁷⁸ Mountier held a concert at the Newcastle Grammar School in 1735 and the following year sang an anthem at St John's Church.³⁷⁹ In 1738 a benefit concert was held for the chorister Robert Paxton.³⁸⁰ Paxton had been the subject of a letter from Avison to Hesletine where he requested the boy for use in one of his concerts. The letter, written before the dispute had arisen, reveals nothing of the troubles that were to come:

³⁷⁴ Farmer (1950), 71.

³⁷⁵ Aspden (2009).

³⁷⁶ HWM B.R.310.1.Hd674(12). Shield also attended this particular series of concerts, at which he played the viola.

³⁷⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 29 March 1794.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 29 September 1733.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 24 May 1735, 25 December 1736.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 29 April 1738.

NewCastle July 19th

1737

Dear S^r.

I am to have a Benefit Concert in the Assize Week, and if I cou'd have the Boy Paxton over, it wou'd oblige a great many of my Friends. I shou'd have requested the Favour of the Dean, because when I went to serve Mountier. he was so kind as to promise the Gentlemen of our Concert (when they Din'd with him) to let us have the Boy once to hear him – but as I know you have the Care of him, and can favour us at present, I thought it best to apply to you. your Answer as soon as possible, will greatly [assist us.]

Y^r most Obed^t [Serv^t.]

[Charles Avison.]³⁸¹

After Avison's 1739 concert the relationship between Avison and Hesletine soured. Subsequently the choir stopped coming to Newcastle to perform at his concerts. However, they did perform at several concerts that were organised by a rival to Avison called Charles Claget.³⁸² One cannot help but feel that their attendance at Claget's concerts must have been a deliberate snub to Avison. In the first three

³⁸¹ GB-GLr: D3549 7/1/5. On the top left-hand corner of the letter the following is inscribed: 'A Letter from M^r. Avison the eminent Musical Composer respecting Paxton Afterward an eminent Musician & Composer in London It was addressed to M^r. Hesletine Organist of Durham'. One would assume, from this information, that the letter referred to Stephen Paxton, but this is not possible as he was aged two at the time of the concert. It is more probable that the letter is in regard to his older brother Robert. Crosby (2000), 45.

³⁸² *Newcastle Courant*, 21 April 1759; *Newcastle Journal*, 23 June 1759; *Newcastle Courant*, 22 September 1759.

instances Avison remained quiet, but when Claget proposed a fourth concert for the winter of 1758, Avison responded. It could well have been due to the choir's attendance, rather than the threat from Claget himself, that Avison spurned his competition. Claget, an innocent party, replied apologetically:

As some Persons, misjudging Mr. Claget's Intentions, have taken the Publication of a Concert as an Opposition, he desires that they would not look on it in this Light, for the future but consider Music in his Profession: That this is not a Subscription Concert, but one Benefit Night, what is commonly granted to any Performers, tho' they stay not a Week on the Spot: That he had two before the unlucky Difference happened bewixt him and Mr Avison, and always proposed having one in the Summer and one in the Winter; the Truth of which he dares to say Mr Avison will justify the Curious; and further, this Difference ensued a Delay, or he proposed having it a Month sooner.³⁸³

Concert life in Newcastle trundled on. The Durham choir performed at the opening of the Newcastle Spring-Garden in 1763,³⁸⁴ but, apart from performances there and at the Feast for the Sons of the Clergy, they did not make a decisive move back into Newcastle until after Avison's demise in 1770. This was marked by the performance of a hymn at St Nicholas' Church in 1771.³⁸⁵ Concert series were subsequently set up by Avison's two sons, Edward and Charles, but these were short lived. One of Avison's pupils, Matthias Hawdon, did enjoy some success and was supported by the

³⁸³ *Newcastle Journal*, 9 December 1758.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 24 May 1763.

³⁸⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 13 July 1771.

choir on many occasions.³⁸⁶ Hawdon had been appointed organist at St Nicholas' on 17 December 1776.³⁸⁷ He quickly became involved in the concert scene and held his first concert there on 18 February 1777.³⁸⁸ He had the Durham choir perform in Newcastle on several occasions, the first in 1777,³⁸⁹ and in 1781 ran a successful series of oratorios at the Newcastle theatre.³⁹⁰ Oratorios had previously been performed in Newcastle the most notable of which was *Samson*, performed at a concert on 3 May 1774.³⁹¹ The almost complete void of Handel's oratorios before 1770 meant that these works, though well known in Durham, had were something of a novelty in Newcastle, a factor which undoubtedly contributed to their popularity. In 1783 Hawdon joined forces with Ebdon to run the subscription concerts in Newcastle which included Handel oratorios as a central feature:

We are assured from undoubted authority, that the Winter Concerts, which will begin at January next, will be jointly conducted by Mr Hawdon and Mr Ebdon, Organist at Durham. It may be expected such a junction will in all probability afford much entertainment to the musical public. In the course of the Subscription we are to have those inimitable compositions of the great Handel, Alexander's Feast, or Dryden's Ode on the Power of Music, and the Serenetta of Acis and Galatea, and a Miscellaneous Concert, with Handel's Grand Coronation Anthem, &c.

³⁸⁶ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 22 June 1751.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 December 1776. Hawdon had previously been the organist at Beverly Minster

³⁸⁸ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 8 February 1777.

³⁸⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 15 November 1777.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 17 March 1781, 14 April 1781.

³⁹¹ *Newcastle Journal*, 30 April 1774.

&c. The whole of the performances to be accompanied by the gentlemen and boys of the Choir of Durham, with a numerous Band.³⁹²

The series of oratorios that was held in January of 1784 was one of Ebdon's and Hawdon's most successful collaborations.³⁹³ Indeed so successful was the series that another was held at the theatre in April.³⁹⁴ However, the partnership between Hawdon and Ebdon proved to be ephemeral as Hawdon retired from concert promotion in 1785 due to a drop in his subscriber numbers.³⁹⁵ The 1785-6 Newcastle subscription series did take place but it was instead organised by Ebdon and Meredith. Despite receiving enthusiastic reviews in the local papers it only lasted for one season.³⁹⁶ Repertory included the music from *Macbeth* which was performed on two occasions and, although not recorded as such, must have also been performed at Durham.³⁹⁷ The music for this was composed by Locke but had appeared in an edition by Boyce in c.1770.³⁹⁸

Members from the choir continued to go up to Newcastle to perform although largely under their own initiative and only for one-off events. Charles Avison jnr, who was the next organist at St Nicholas', never invited the choir to Newcastle although his successor, Thomas Thompson, regularly did so.³⁹⁹ As concert life in Durham began its downward slide from the mid 1790s, so did that in Newcastle. As one might expect, the decline was mirrored by infrequent visits to Newcastle by the

³⁹² *Newcastle Journal*, 13 December 1783.

³⁹³ *Newcastle Courant*, 24 January 1784.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 27 March 1784. London: I. Johnston.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3 December 1785. Hawdon continued to hold occasional concerts such as those held in the Newcastle assize week. *Newcastle Courant*, 5 August 1786, 4 August 1787, 19 July 1788.

³⁹⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 24 December 1785, 21 January 1786.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10 December 1785, 4 March 1786.

³⁹⁸ London: I. Johnston .

³⁹⁹ In 1795 Evance Ashton, Friend and Thomas Acton performed 'several new Glees' at one of Thompson's concerts (*Newcastle Courant*, 25 July 1795). Acton was a lay-clerk at Durham from 1781 until his death in 1817.

Durham choir. In 1797 the chorister George Anderson performed at Newcastle with the choir,⁴⁰⁰ while, at a concert in 1805, the singers included Thomas Clamp, Radcliffe and Smith.⁴⁰¹ Radcliffe continued to perform at Thompson's concerts until 1809.⁴⁰²

Meredith, following his resignation from the Durham choir in 1788,⁴⁰³ returned to the area several times to perform. The St Mary le Bow musical festival in Durham has already been mentioned, but he returned twice to organise two similar festivals of oratorios in Newcastle which followed in the wake of a similar series at York in 1791 (at which 2000 people attended).⁴⁰⁴ The first at Newcastle was held in 1791 and featured several guest performers the most notable of which was Michael Kelly (1762-1826).⁴⁰⁵ The choir at Durham, usually at the forefront of oratorio promotion, was conspicuous by its absence. There may have been some talk following the event that they had refused to attend and felt the need to dispel such rumours by writing a letter to the *Newcastle Courant*:

As a very illiberal report has been circulated, that the Choir of Durham had refused to Comply with an application made to them to attend the Newcastle Musical Festival, we are authorised and requested, in order to contradict so injurious a report, to say, that such an application was never Made.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁰ Anderson was a chorister between 1790 and 1799. *Newcastle Courant*, 4 November 1797.

⁴⁰¹ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 9 February 1805. Clamp was a chorister between 1799 and 1811.

⁴⁰² *Newcastle Advertiser*, 21 January 1809.

⁴⁰³ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9: 68.

⁴⁰⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 20 August 1791.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 2 July 1791.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 27 August 1791.

(LAST PERFORMANCE.)

NEWCASTLE
MUSICAL FESTIVAL.

Second Grand Miscellaneous
CONCERT,

In the THEATRE-ROYAL,

On TUESDAY Evening, August 30th, 1791.

A C T I.

New Grand Overture — — PLEYEL.
Song—Mr MEREDITH.
Song—Mrs CROUCH.
Quartetto for two Violins, Viola, and Violoncello, by Messrs G.
ASHLEY, MAHON, R. and C. ASHLEY — PLEYEL.
Song—Mr HARRISON.
Song—MADAME MARA.
Concerto Clarionet—Mr MAHON.

A C T II.

Concertante for Violin, Oboe, Viola, and Violoncello, by Messrs G.
ASHLEY, PATRIA, J. and C. ASHLEY — PLEYEL.
Song—Mr KELLY.
Sonata, Pedal Harp—Mr MEYER.
Song—Mr HARRISON.
Concerto Violin—Mr G. ASHLEY.
Duet from the MASQUE of COMUS—Mrs CROUCH and Mr KELLY.
Song—MADAME MARA.
FULL PIECE.

Subscribers will be admitted into the Boxes and Pit; and should the Number
be insufficient to fill them, Single Tickets at Eight Shillings will be admitted.
— Tickets for the Green-Boxes Five Shillings, and for the Gallery Three
Shillings and Sixpence.

Tickets to be had at the Shakespeare Tavern, Mr Fisher's Circulating Library, at E. Humble's,
Molloy-street, at Messrs Hall and Elliot's, Pilgrim-street, and S. Hodgson's, Union-street.

* * * The Doors to be opened at Half past Six, and begin precisely at Half past Seven.

Fig. 5: Handbill from 1791 Newcastle Musical Festival.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁷ From the author's private collection.

The series, like the one at York, appears to have been a tremendous success, and it was due to this success that a second series, in partnership with Thompson, was organised in 1796. Unfortunately this was a financial disaster:

The performances of the Oratorios here last week we[re] well attended; yet we are sorry to hear that in consequence of the enormous expence [sic] incurred by the conductors, by the engagement of performers of eminence the receipts have not been adequate to defray the disbursements. –The admirers of the friendly, estimab[le] character of Mr Meredith, and all his wonderful powe[rs] will, we are convinced, and we are also sorry to say, [la]ment that he has suffered so considerably by an unde[r]taking, calculated to produce delight and universal gr[a]tification.⁴⁰⁸

After this Meredith left the area never to return, but he nevertheless remained a popular singer at concerts across the northern counties, in particular at Leeds.⁴⁰⁹ He finally settled in Liverpool where he continued to organise concerts and raise a family.⁴¹⁰

Durham musicians were also involved in concerts at other local centres. Ebdon ran a subscription series in Sunderland between 1769 and 1789 that had come about

⁴⁰⁸ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 6 August 1796.

⁴⁰⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 8 July 1809. On this date was published a premature obituary for Meredith that was corrected the following week.

⁴¹⁰ Meredith had held a benefit for himself in Liverpool in 1797. *Music Hall, Mr. Meredith's benefit on Tuesday evening, 8th Aug. 1797* (Liverpool, 1797); *Hull Packet*, 1 July 1805.

following a concert held there in April 1769.⁴¹¹ The concerts were apparently very successful as the following review indicates:

A numerous company of Ladies and Gentlemen honoured Mr Ebdon's Concert, at Sunderland, with their presence of Thursday se'ennight, and bestowed the highest encomiums upon the whole performance. – "God save the King," which concluded the evening's entertainment, was received with a warmth of applause, perfectly consonant to the feelings of a loyal people.⁴¹²

The choir were also involved in the opening of the new Masonic lodge there in 1777 and the inauguration of the new organ at St Hild's chapel in Sunderland where they sang *Messiah*.⁴¹³ From 1790 George Goodchild, organist at St John's Chapel in Sunderland, succeeded Ebdon as the town's primary concert promoter.⁴¹⁴

However, though Ebdon was no longer active as a concert promoter in Sunderland, musicians from Durham, such as Evance, continued to perform there.⁴¹⁵

Another nearby town where Ebdon, in partnership with Garth, organised a subscription series was Darlington. The earliest surviving advertisement that mentions their names is for the fourth concert in a summer series from 1765.⁴¹⁶ In fact Ebdon and Garth may have organised subscription concerts in Darlington before 1765, but, owing to the scant evidence provided by earlier advertisements, it is difficult to

⁴¹¹ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 21 October 1769; *Newcastle Courant*, 30 May 1789; *Newcastle Journal*, 15 April 1769.

⁴¹² *Newcastle Courant*, 29 November 1788.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 15 November 1777, 5 August 1786.

⁴¹⁴ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 27 November 1790.

⁴¹⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 22 January 1791.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 September 1765.

determine whether these took place.⁴¹⁷ It appears that they were still organising concerts there the following year.⁴¹⁸ In the 1780s the choir returned to Darlington to sing in a concert at St Cuthbert's Church.⁴¹⁹ Mountier also visited Hurworth, a small village near Darlington, in 1735-6, presumably to sing.⁴²⁰

Other non-Durham locations included Auckland Castle, where Evance, Ashton and Robinson went in 1793.⁴²¹ Meredith, in 1787, performed at an event organised for Lord Barnard's birthday at Raby Castle,⁴²² and in 1806 Ashton, Friend, Brown and Clamp went to perform at a service at Monkwearmouth church.⁴²³

Durham musicians performed in Yorkshire on many occasions, despite the presence of a choir at York Minster. There were generally no issues with the singers getting time off, as the number of references in the cathedral act books confirm, and there are several references to groups of singers taking leave from the choir together.⁴²⁴ The earliest reference to a Durham musician at York dates from 1746 when Mountier sang at a benefit concert for a Mr Zuckert that involved Knerler.⁴²⁵ Garth was there in 1753, playing cello in a Giardini/Vestris concert at which Nares played the harpsichord,⁴²⁶ and William Paxton sang in a series of oratorios in 1769.⁴²⁷

In 1784 Meredith was one of the principal performers at the Leeds festival of sacred music,⁴²⁸ and in 1787 Evance and Meredith sang oratorios at the Doncaster Festival of Music that was conducted by Edward Miller and featured instrumental

⁴¹⁷ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 4 May 1765, 1 June 1765.

⁴¹⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 3 May 1766; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 31 May 1766, 11 June 1766, 28 June 1766.

⁴¹⁹ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 23 September 1786.

⁴²⁰ GB-DRca: L/AA/5.

⁴²¹ GB-DRu: AUC 111/1-2. 30 September 1793.

⁴²² *Newcastle Courant*, 4 August 1787.

⁴²³ *Tyne Mercury*, 14 October 1806.

⁴²⁴ On 10 June 1786 Evance, Ashton and Robinson were all given 16 days leave, and on the 28 November 1789 Reynolds, Marlton and two choristers were granted 20 days leave. GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/9 57; DCD/B/AA/9 77.

⁴²⁵ *York Courant*, 25 February 1746.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 21 August 1753.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 23 March 1769.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 9 November 1784.

performers from many places, including Durham.⁴²⁹ Evance and Meredith travelled to Yorkshire several times to perform, particularly for concerts that involved music by Handel. In March 1785 they took part in an oratorio festival at St Michael le Belfrey in York to celebrate the opening of their new organ,⁴³⁰ and in the same month sang at a service for the benefit of the 'Lunatic Asylum'.⁴³¹ They were again there in 1791, when they performed at a concert that involved the minster choir,⁴³² and at the end of the month Meredith sang at a music festival in Hull.⁴³³ Meredith and Evance even travelled as far south as Louth in Lincolnshire, where, in 1786, they took part in another musical festival that was directed by Hawdon.⁴³⁴ Meredith also performed at the 1787 music festival at Liverpool.⁴³⁵ In August 1787 Friend sang at a concert at Carlisle, organised by Hill, that was so 'highly applauded' that it was repeated the following evening.⁴³⁶ Friend returned to Carlisle the following year.⁴³⁷ A larger group of singers from the choir attended an 1803 series of oratorios in Edinburgh, a city that had been visited by individual members of the choir in previous years. Following Gelson's expulsion in 1754 and refusal for re-admission he went to Edinburgh where he was elected 'Master and Teacher of Church Musick'.⁴³⁸ At the time there was a motion in Edinburgh to improve the quality of sacred music and Gelson quickly became an important element in that city's musical life. As well as running a music school and teaching private pupils he regularly promoted his own concerts and

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 11 September 1787.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 1 March 1785.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 5 April 1785.

⁴³² Ibid., 29 March 1791.

⁴³³ Ibid., 12 April 1791.

⁴³⁴ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 9 June 1786.

⁴³⁵ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 8 August 1787.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 8 August, 29 August 1787.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 12 November 1788

⁴³⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 17 April 1756.

frequently sang at those organised by others.⁴³⁹ He also published at least two collections of songs, one of which was assembled by Gelson for use by his students,⁴⁴⁰ while another was a collection of his own compositions.⁴⁴¹ Despite the manner of his departure from Durham, he remained on good terms with Ebdon.⁴⁴²

Meredith was another who went to perform at Edinburgh in 1785, as did Friend in 1801.⁴⁴³ Friend had been engaged to perform at four concerts in the subscription series by the concert organiser Domenico Corri,⁴⁴⁴ but for some reason only appeared in two as well as at a benefit for George Pinto.⁴⁴⁵ However, in 1803 several members of the choir, which included Acton, Brown, Evance, Radcliffe, a pupil of Chrishop, and Chrishop himself, went to Edinburgh to sing oratorios.⁴⁴⁶ They performed at six concerts organised by Valentino Urbani and sang *Samson* once and *Messiah* several times.⁴⁴⁷ Making such an extensive tour would have placed severe strain on the remaining lay-clerks left to sing services in Durham Cathedral. However, Chapter took a positive view of the tour and only one member, George Barrington (d.1829), voted against it.⁴⁴⁸ The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* unusually recorded who was going to sing which solos in *Messiah* with the exception of Acton who was probably

⁴³⁹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1 January 1757, 13 January 1757, 5 January 1758, 3 March 1759, 7 April 1762.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 24 July 1756. No copy of the 1756 edition of this book appears to have survived, although there was an edition published under the title *Lessons on the practice of singing* that appeared in 1759 (Edinburgh).

⁴⁴¹ Gilson, C.: *Twelve Songs for the Voice and Harpsichord* (Edinburgh, 1769).

⁴⁴² See 'Subscribers Names' to Ebdon *Six Sonatas* (London, c.1765).

⁴⁴³ *Newcastle Courant*, 23 July 1785.

⁴⁴⁴ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 5 January 1801.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 31 January 1801, 19 February 1801, 12 February 1801. Friend may have left early due to a misunderstanding over how long he was to remain in Edinburgh, or because of some other disagreement with Corri. It was perhaps due to this dispute that he did not accompany the other lay-clerks to Edinburgh in 1803.

⁴⁴⁶ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1 January 1803.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 29 January 1803, 5 February 1803, 7 February 1803, 10 February 1803. One of these concerts was postponed as Evance had 'caught a bad cold'.

⁴⁴⁸ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11 28.

the weakest of the group.⁴⁴⁹ On this occasion they performed an abridged version of the oratorio:

PLAN of the ORATORIO.

PART FIRST.

[Co]mfort ye–Air, Every valley, Mr URBANI.

[An]d the glory of the Lord.

[Thu]s saith–Air, Who may abide, MrRADCLIFF

[An]d he shall purify.

[Be]hold a virgin–Air, Mr BROWN.

[For] unto us a child is born.

[There] were shepherds, Miss TRAVIS.

[Glor]y to God in the highest

[Then] shall the eyes, Miss TRAVIS.

[He s]hall feed his flock, Miss HOG.

[His] yoke is easy.

PART SECOND.

[Beh]old the Lamb of God.

[He] was despised and rejected, Miss WATERS.

[Surely] he hath born our grief.

[All] they that see him, Mr URBANI.

[He] trusted in God.

[T]hy rebuke hath broken his heart–Air, Behold and see } Mr

⁴⁴⁹ GB-DRc: MS C12. Acton was the subject of several insults written by the choristers into one of the Durham part-books He is referred to as 'Old Grunting Acton' and 'O bad Acton' on v.15, and the rhyme 'Acton we see in human shape mutch like amonkey or an ape', which appears on v.161, is dated 1796.

EVANCE.

[He] was cut off, thou didst not leave his soul } Miss TRAVIS.

[Lif]t up your head.

[Unto] which of the Angels, Mr EVANCE.

[Let] all the Angels of God.

[Thou a]rt gone up on high, Mr WILSON.

[The] Lord gave the word.

[How] beautiful are the feet, Miss WATERS.

[Why] do the nations, Mr RADCLIFFE.

[Let] us break their bands.

[He] that dwelleth—Air, Thou [sha]lt break them, } Mr EVANCE.

[Cho]rus, Hallelujah.

PART THIRD.

[I know] that my Redeemer liveth, Miss WATERS.

[Since] by man came death, &c.

[Behold] I tell you a mystery, Mr RADCLIFFE.

[The tr]umpet shall sound.

[Then s]hall be brought to pass, Mr BROWN.

[But tha]nks be to God.—Air, If God is for [us,] Mr. URBANI.

[Chorus] Worthy is the Lamb.

Leader – Mr ALDAY.

CRISHOP will preside at the Organ.

[Director of] the Oratorio – – – Mr URBANI.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁵⁰ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 12 February 1803. Of the other singers Miss Travis was employed at Covent Garden, while Mary Hog was a pupil of Urbani. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1 January 1803.

By the time of the 1803 oratorio series the choir was not the resounding success that it had been. In places like York their pre-eminence had been replaced by local talent and there was no need to import musicians from Durham any longer.⁴⁵¹ The last mentioned occasion during Ebdon's lifetime of visits by Durham musicians to another town dates from 1808 when Friend organised a concert in Stockton. On this occasion they relied on two military bands, one of which was the Durham Volunteers, and the singer, Collier, was not a member of the cathedral choir:

Mr Friend, of Durham, conducted a vocal and instrumental concert and ball, patronised by Colonels Ralfbeck and Shepperdson, which was attended by all the beauty and fashion of the place. The Durham and Stockton bands assisted, and Mr Collier, of the Durham, [sic] sung "The Death of Abercrombie" in a most pathetic style.⁴⁵²

Although by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Durham Cathedral choir was in decline as a musical body, it was a tremendous musical force during the eighteenth century and, besides dominating musical life in Durham, it was immensely influential in concert life in Sunderland, Darlington, and Newcastle particularly after Avison's death in 1770. Its reputation extended over a great distance, as far as Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and London. Even at the start of the nineteenth century, when their standing was not as it had once been, groups of them were still able to secure concerts in other parts of the country. However, the rise in quality of professional musicians in other important musical centres, coupled with the decline of the

⁴⁵¹ e.g. *York Courant*, 8 August 1803.

⁴⁵² *Newcastle Advertiser*, 25 June 1808.

cathedral as a musical force, meant that the offers of work elsewhere became ever more scarce.

Chapter 4: Secular Music II: Other Music-Making

1.4.1 Music at the Theatre

During the eighteenth century Durham had several theatres, all of which held performances that involved music either in the form of an opera or oratorio, an instrumental concert, or a selection of songs and other incidental music performed alongside a play. Nothing of these theatres survives today, although their existence is still evident from the names of Drury Lane and the Shakespeare Tavern in Saddler Street. Surprisingly there is little surviving information on what was performed at Durham's theatres which is in marked contrast to Newcastle where detailed advertisements frequently appeared in the newspapers.¹ What does survive about Durham gives us some idea, however vague, of what took place and it appears that music did feature prominently at many theatrical events. One of the most interesting of these was undertaken by the 'Company of Rope-Dancers and Tumblers' who came to Durham in 1753:

At the PLAY-HOUSE in Drury-Lane, Durham, on Easter Monday, being the 23d of April, SEVERAL surprizing PERFORMANCES will be exhibited, by the celebrated Company of ROPE-DANCERS and TUMBLERS Likewise Mrs German will dance on the Stiff Rope with Fetters on her Legs...To which is added, a new grand Pantomine [sic] Entertainment, call'd, The Force of Magick; or, the Birth of Harlequin...The Cloaths, Scenes and Musick, entirely new.²

¹ e.g. *Newcastle Courant*, 28 July 1759, 25 February 1769, 20 September 1779.

² *Newcastle Courant*, 21 April 1753.

Pantomimes and operas tended to be composed by the same people and consisted of a number of arias, recitatives and choruses, with incidental music provided for miming.³ Many pantomimes were based on the story of Harlequin and the heroine Columbine,⁴ and although the composer of this particular pantomime is unrecorded, it may have been the 1727 version by Johann Galliard (c.1687-1749) though this was hardly new.⁵ There may have been another pantomime performed during the 1735 race and assize week, for Madam Violante, who appeared in Durham during these two weeks, included the pantomime *The Tricks of Harlequin or The Jealous Farmer* as part of her act when she was in Newcastle the week before.⁶ Given the sheer number of pantomimes that were staged at York, particularly during the 1760s and 1770s, it seems logical that far more were performed at Durham than surviving information indicates.⁷

The theatres in Durham appear to have been a more frequent venue for operas which mostly took the form of the more successful ballad opera. The most important of these was John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*, the music of which was composed and arranged by Johann Pepusch (1667-1752). Italian *opera seria* had been largely unsuccessful in England as was evinced by Handel's failures to establish Italian opera in London. Ballad opera, on the other hand, quickly achieved a high level of popularity. It was in English, featured plots that were topical, and tended to consist of spoken dialogue with a large number of songs, many of which were borrowed from other composers.⁸ *The Beggar's Opera* touched the hearts of the populace and became

³ Fiske (1973), 67.

⁴ Ibid., 68.

⁵ Ibid., 75. The original first title of this pantomime was *The Rape of Proserpine*.

⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 28 June 1735. The composer of this work is unknown.

⁷ The *York Courant* regularly recorded the performance of pantomimes, one of the most popular of which was *Harlequin Salamander*. It was performed on an almost annual basis - e.g. 28 January 1766, 12 May 1767, 26 January 1768, 7 March 1769, 8 May 1770, 24 March 1772, 23 March 1773, 26 April 1774, 14 March 1775.

⁸ Hartnoll (1967), 703.

one of the most popular English operas of all time.⁹ The earliest recorded Durham performance of this opera was in 1742 but it had been performed at Newcastle in May 1728, only four months after its premiere at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre.¹⁰ It was performed several times during the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth.¹¹ An 1803 performance was given in aid of the Durham Infirmary.¹²

With the success of *The Beggar's Opera* many other composers wrote similar works. However, despite the use of popular tunes, few ballad operas were successful in their own right and often achieved fame through their use in an abbreviated form as an afterpiece.¹³ The composer who was to achieve the greatest fame from this idiom was William Shield. His most famous opera, *Rosina*, was staged several times at Durham of which the first recorded occasion dates from 1796.¹⁴ Another of his operas, *The Poor Soldier*, was also performed on at least one occasion.¹⁵

There were many other known ballad operas performed at Durham. Often they were given top billing, but occasionally they were used as afterpieces. Isaac Bickerstaffe (1735-1812), a popular dramatist in the eighteenth century, was represented by three examples.¹⁶ The most important of these was *Love in a Village* which was set to music by Thomas Arne (1710-78) and featured a popular overture composed by Abel.¹⁷ It was staged in Durham at least three times,¹⁸ the first only two years after its London premiere.¹⁹ Bickerstaffe followed its success with the *Maid of*

⁹ Copies of *The Beggar's Opera* and Gay's banned sequel *Polly* were available for purchase at Durham. *Newcastle Courant*, 11 October 1755.

¹⁰ *Newcastle Journal*, 17 July 1742; *Newcastle Courant*, 25 May 1728; Fiske (1973), 94.

¹¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 16 July 1763, 14 July 1770; *Newcastle Advertiser*, 30 April 1803.

¹² *Tyne Mercury*, 10 May 1803.

¹³ Fiske (1973), 104.

¹⁴ GB-DRu: L792 180.052. It was also staged in 1803 and 1807. *Tyne Mercury*, 22 February 1803; *Newcastle Advertiser*, 28 March 1807.

¹⁵ GB-DRu: L792 180.052.

¹⁶ Hartnoll (1967), 108.

¹⁷ Fiske (1973), 605-6.

¹⁸ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 14 July 1764; *Newcastle Courant*, 12 July 1766, 25 July 1767.

¹⁹ Fiske (1973), 327.

the Mill,²⁰ the music compiled by Arnold,²¹ and *Lionel and Clarissa*, arranged by Charles Dibdin.²² Dibdin's two illegitimate sons, both of whom were a product of an affair with the Covent Garden dancer Harriet Pitt,²³ followed their father into the family business and they both had operas performed at Durham. The youngest of the two, Thomas Pitt (1771-1841), was represented by his opera *Two Faces Under a Hood* performed in 1808.²⁴ A reviewer in the *Newcastle Advertiser* stated that there was 'little to admire...except as the vehicle of most fascinating music'.²⁵ His elder brother, Isaac Mungo Pitt (1768-1833),²⁶ had a work called the *Song-Smith* performed at Durham in 1809 by Thomas Shaw (c.1760-c.1830) from the Theatre Royal at Edinburgh.²⁷ According to the advertisement for a concert around this time in Newcastle, the work consisted 'of a choice Collection of admired SONGS AND RECITATIONS',²⁸ and several Scotch songs.²⁹ Shaw was still in the area in November when he performed at Newcastle and South Shields.³⁰

Another dramatist, William Reeve, was represented with two operas *Turnpike Gate* and *Paul and Virginia*, the music arranged by Joseph Mazzinghi (1765-1844).³¹ Other ballad operas performed include Moses Mendez's *The Chaplet*,³² set by Boyce, Edward German's *Tom Jones*,³³ also set by Arne (described in the *Newcastle Literary Register* for 1769 as a 'very indifferent Opera'),³⁴ *A Summer's Tale* by Richard

²⁰ *Newcastle Courant*, 12 July 1766, 16 July 1768.

²¹ Fiske (1973), 332.

²² GB-DRu: L792 180.052; Fiske (1973), 333.

²³ Fiske (1973), 349.

²⁴ Thomas Pitt also appeared under the name of Thomas Dibdin.

²⁵ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 16 April 1808.

²⁶ Hartnoll (1967), 239.

²⁷ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 30 May 1809.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 May 1809.

²⁹ *Tyne Mercury*, 30 May 1809.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21 November 1809.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 21 May 1807, 22 March 1808.

³² *Newcastle Chronicle*, 14 July 1764.

³³ *Newcastle Courant*, 14 July 1770.

³⁴ *Literary Review* (1769), 23.

Cumberland (1732-1811), set by Arnold,³⁵ Allan Ramsey's *The Gentle Shepherd*, performed at least twice by the 'Edinburgh Comedians' in 1760,³⁶ and Henry Carey's *Damon and Phillida*.³⁷

In addition to operas, plays would also be put on at Durham, and often these would include music. For the staging of the play *Chapter of Accidents* on 30 March 1796, the second act concluded with 'A favourite Scots SONG, by Miss CHAPMAN', and at the end 'A Comic SONG, by Mr BRENT.'³⁸ On the following night Miss Chapman sang the song 'Willy of the Green'.

There were several occasions when notable opera singers would visit Durham. Shaw has already been mentioned, but perhaps the most famous was the Irish tenor Michael Kelly. He stayed overnight in Durham on his way to perform at the 1791 Music Festival in Newcastle. On this, his only visit, he did not perform. In 1802 Charles Incedon (1763-1826) visited and performed a 'COMIC, VOCAL, RHETORICAL, and MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT (never before exhibited)'. His programme included music by Shield, Davy, Reeve, Carter and Mazzinghi. He was accompanied on the piano by John Davy (1763-1824), composer to the Theatre-Royal.³⁹

With regards to the musicians that played in the theatre, very little information has survived. Despite Richard Elford's admonishment for 'Singing in y^e Playhouse' in 1699 by the Durham Cathedral Chapter,⁴⁰ no lay-clerks appear to have been disciplined for their participation in Durham theatrical events during the eighteenth century. It is possible that some of the lay-clerks did indeed sing or play in theatrical

³⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 July 1767; Fiske (1973), 332.

³⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 12 July 1760, 2 August 1760.

³⁷ It received two stagings, but many years after its 1729 premiere. *Newcastle Courant*, 16 July 1763, 12 July 1766; Fiske (1973), 652.

³⁸ GB-DRu: L792 180.052.

³⁹ *Tyne Mercury*, 13 July 1802.

⁴⁰ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5 55.

productions, not least because they needed the income, but there is no evidence to verify this one way or the other. It is unlikely that Garth's orchestra would have deigned to play there as many of his performers came from the middle and upper classes. However, at Whitehaven, the concert orchestra did provide music for the theatre.⁴¹ This, however, appears to have been a marked exception, for it was normal for theatrical groups to provide their own 'travelling' musicians rather than draw on local talent. Bates's theatrical group frequently held events at Durham's Drury Lane Theatre and his orchestra included Shield who played the violin.⁴² Shield, though a local musician, was nevertheless a musician who initially chose a life 'on the road'.

1.4.2 Military Bands

Military groups were widespread throughout England during the second half of the eighteenth century and each major town possessed its own militia. Each militia would have had a small band but, with regard to those at Durham, little information now survives. However, what little survives provides a tantalising glimpse of how these military bands were employed to produce music within the city.

Durham's own military outfit was the Durham Militia which had been formed in 1759 following the Militia Act of 1757.⁴³ William Herschel was the leader of the band for several years and it was through this position that he became associated with Avison, Garth and the local concert scene.⁴⁴ Having had little success in London Herschel was offered the position of band leader by Henry Vane (1726-92), the second Earl of Darlington and Colonel of the Durham Militia. The band was quite

⁴¹ *Cumberland Pacquet*, 7 December 1785.

⁴² Fiske (1973), 428.

⁴³ Pocock (1990), 41.

⁴⁴ Hoskin (2004).

small consisting of ‘only of two hautboys and two French horns. [but] The latter being excellent performers I [Herschel] composed military music on purpose to show off our instruments.’⁴⁵ Even though Herschel was considerably active at this time – his oboe concertos and first symphonies were written during his time with the militia – unfortunately none of his band music survives.⁴⁶ Quite soon after joining the band Herschel set his sights on other positions as, in a letter dated 11 March 1761, he recorded his desire to quit in the hope of getting a post superintending the concerts at Edinburgh.⁴⁷ Unfortunately for him, the concert manager decided to remain in post.⁴⁸ By the start of 1762 Herschel was tired of his current lifestyle writing on the 22 January that he had ‘no home or place to be fixed in’.⁴⁹ In April he was transferred to Pontefract but by April he had relocated to Leeds where he met with a great deal of success at their local concerts.⁵⁰ He returned to Pontefract and remained there until August but, soon afterwards, left the militia for good.⁵¹ There are few references to any other named member of the Durham Militia band although a later member may have been an ‘Ensign Hunter, of the Durham Battalion’, who subscribed to Evance’s *A Favorite Concerto*.

The only recorded occasion attended by the band of the Durham Militia in Durham City was long after Herschel had left. They played for the annual meeting of the Friendly Society of Florists in 1779:

⁴⁵ Dreyer (1912), xvii.

⁴⁶ One of these concertos is dated 1759, while the first two symphonies were composed at Richmond, Yorkshire, in June and September 1760. Jerome, W.(ed): *The Oboe Concertos of Sir William Herschel* (Philadelphia, 1998), xii.

⁴⁷ Dreyer (1912), xviii.

⁴⁸ Lubbock (1933), 18.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁰ Dreyer (1912), xviii; Lubbock (1933), 29.

⁵¹ Symphony No. 19 is inscribed ‘August 6, 1762 Pontefract’. Dreyer (1912), xviii. On 16 September 1762 Herschel went to Barnard Castle ‘to settle some accounts relating to my quitting the Militia service’. He left the northeast in 1766 and settled in Bath, which is where his musical career took off, and he began to observe the heavens. This ultimately led to his discovery of the planet Uranus and the honour of a knighthood.

We hear from Durham that on Tuesday last the 13th Just, a genteel company of the Gentlemen of the Friendly Society of Florists in and about the city of Durham, met at Mr Nicholas Clarke's, New Elvet, where an elegant entertainment was provided, and attended on by the band of music belonging to the militia of that place.⁵²

There were a number of other Durham-based military outfits that were set up in response to the threat of French invasion during the Napoleonic Wars, several of which possessed bands. One of these was the Durham Armed Association, but again references to this band are few. In October 1798 they held an assembly at Hoult's at which they played 'several martial pieces' between the dances.⁵³ Another instance is recorded in an advertisement for an assembly on 17 December 1798 which was held for the benefit of the families of those killed during the Battle of the Nile.⁵⁴

Another local outfit was the Durham Volunteers which was formed in 1803 having succeeded the Armed Association.⁵⁵ In 1808 the whole batallion attended a play at the theatre in Durham where, during the intervals, their 'band played many pieces...in a most capital stile.'⁵⁶ They were also involved in civic occasions which included the laying of the foundation stone to the new county courts in 1809.⁵⁷ This band was rather larger than those of previous years as is evidenced by a march and quickstep composed for them by John Friend and scored for flute, clarinets, trumpet, horns, bassoon and serpent.⁵⁸

⁵² *Newcastle Journal*, 17 April 1779.

⁵³ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 20 October 1798.

⁵⁴ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 08 December 1798. Durham assembly advertisements do not usually contain information regarding the performers and this is the only example before 1811.

⁵⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/11, 30. One of their band members was Joseph Bland (1785-1805) who had been a cathedral chorister between 1794 and 1799. *Tyne Mercury*, 19 March 1805.

⁵⁶ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 16 April 1808.

⁵⁷ GB-SLp: Minutes of Provincial Grand Lodge, 108-9; Logan (1886), 37.

⁵⁸ Friend, J.: *The Durham City Loyal Volunteers* (Preston. c.1810).

As well as for these social events a military band would be expected to provide music for military displays, for inspections by a commanding officer or for other special occasions. For the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of George III the Durham Volunteers provided the accompaniments for a performance of 'God Save the King' in the Market Place.⁵⁹ Another group formed at a similar time was the Durham Volunteer Calvary but it is unlikely that they ever possessed a band. In 1808 they held an assembly in honour of the King's birthday but they perhaps relied on the band from the Durham Volunteers to provide the music.⁶⁰ Other known groups included the Durham Rangers or Prince of Wales Light Dragoons and the Royal Elvet Volunteers, none of which is recorded as possessing its own bands.⁶¹

As well as these local groups there were regiments from other areas that would be stationed at the Durham barracks for long periods, and others that would pass through on their way north or south. One of these, the Scotch Greys, visited Durham on several occasions but there is no record of their band's involvement in any musical activities.⁶² However, the bands of some regiments did perform at events in the city. These tended to be in the form of benefit concerts either for themselves or occasionally for others, the earliest of which dates from 19 September 1750 when a benefit was held for the band 'belonging to his Majesty's Regiment of OLD BUFFS'.⁶³ The advert gave a list of some of the instruments that were used which included oboes, French horns, a bassoon, trumpets, a violin, and an oboe d'amour. The band took their concert to other local venues including Newcastle.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 28 October 1809.

⁶⁰ *Tyne Mercury*, 21 May 1808.

⁶¹ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 17 March 1798.

⁶² e.g. see *Newcastle Journal*, 25 March 1775, 1 June 1781.

⁶³ *Newcastle Journal*, 15 September 1750.

⁶⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 6 October 1750.

Other bands to visit Durham included that of the 43rd regiment from Newcastle who took part in a benefit concert for John Mathews in 1769 having given a benefit for themselves in the Newcastle a few weeks earlier.⁶⁵ Their programme at Newcastle included music by Avison, the Earl of Kelly and Garth. There was also the Huntingdon Band who gave a concert of military music in 1780 and the band of the East Riding Militia which took part in a concert directed by Ebdon in 1781.⁶⁶ One of their members may have been 'Ensign Beilby', possibly the son of Thomas Beilby, the organist at Scarborough.⁶⁷ Others include the West Yorkshire Militia who played for the King's birthday in 1793 and the Queen's Own Regiment of Light Dragoons who held a ball and supper at Houl's in 1796.⁶⁸ Even Boruwlaski, who would not have been in the area for long, employed the Cornwall Light Dragoons to play at his concert.⁶⁹

Although there are only a few surviving references to military bands which performed at Durham, what evidence that does survive reveals that the bands of both local and visiting regiments would be used to provide music. Obviously these bands would also have needed to rehearse in their barracks and may have provided music for the pleasure of the performers themselves and for members of their own regiments. It seems that the little information that survives is the tip of the iceberg and that these bands did play an important role in a great many occasions for which music was required.

⁶⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, 6 May 1769; *Newcastle Journal*, 8 April 1769. Mathews was a lay-clerk between 1764 and 1776.

⁶⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 25 March 1780, 26 May 1781.

⁶⁷ See list of subscribers to Garth, J. *Six Sonatas* (London, 1768); Evance, W. *A Favorite Concerto* (London, c.1785); Wright, T.: *Six Songs* (Newcastle, c.1785).

⁶⁸ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 8 June 1793, 12 March 1796.

⁶⁹ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 22 February 1800.

1.4.3 Music in the City Taverns

Little information survives on what was performed at the large number of taverns that were in Durham no doubt because much of the music in this environment would have been created spontaneously. One can imagine that the cathedral lay-clerks, after evensong, headed to their local tavern or coffee shop where they would partake in some form of music-making together with commensurate refreshment. Although there is no record of what might have been sung, it is likely that the selection of musical pieces performed could have included secular music from the local concerts as well as popular and patriotic songs or even music that was improvised on the spot. There are, however, some tantalising glimpses in what would have been performed and this comes in the form of songs that were written locally but set to more universal popular tunes.

The setting of songs to well known tunes was very common in Durham at the end of the century as is evident from examples which appeared in the local newspapers.⁷⁰ However, collections of these songs were also published the earliest of which is Ritson's *The Bishopric Garland*.⁷¹ It contains two songs about Durham the first of which is called 'The Durham Garland',⁷² while the second, 'MILITIA boys for my theme I now chuse', was in praise of the Durham Militia.⁷³ The Durham Volunteers were also honoured in another collection by the song 'WHEN Britannia her sons calls to aid her in arms'.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ One of these, 'The Hunting of the Fox', appeared in the Newcastle *Literary Register* (1769), to be sung to the tune of 'O'er the hills and far away'. 306.

⁷¹ The edition which I examined was a later edition, (London, 1809).

⁷² Ritson (1809), 1-10.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 49-51.

⁷⁴ Bell (1812), 274-5.

Most surviving examples of these songs were written for local elections, the earliest of which is dated 20 December 1792 and set to the tune ‘Bow wow wow’.⁷⁵ while one the largest collections ever published followed the 1802 parliamentary elections.⁷⁶ Examples in this book include ‘To us now *Durham’s* genius calls’ set to ‘Rule Britannia’ and ‘FOR Lambton and Taylor, tho’ Slaves make a noise’ to the tune ‘Chapter of Kings’. Some songs state where they were performed while, in some instances, the author of the text is mentioned. One, ‘CONFUSION’s the word’, was apparently ‘Sung at Tom Brand’s’, probably a tavern, while another ‘The Toast-master’s Vade-mecum’ was ‘*sung at the Red Lion...and all other Houses set apart to promote the Old interest.*’ Hoult, the manager of the Red Lion was also a budding writer. The same book contains a song by him called ‘Come, good fellows all-confusion’s the toast’ and set to the tune ‘Vicar and Moses’.

1.4.4 Musical Societies

Many cities possessed their own musical societies of which Durham was no exception. Generally, these societies consisted of musicians who met to make music for pleasure rather than profit and, as a result, references to their activities rarely appeared in the newspapers.⁷⁷ There are in fact only five surviving references to the Durham musical society and all of these are from subscription lists.⁷⁸ Significantly all of these works are by local composers. The first two are both by Avison – his Op. 2 concertos from 1740 and his *Two Concertos* from 1742. The musical society did not

⁷⁵ GB-DRu: SC++ 01401/9

⁷⁶ *The Addresses, Poems, Songs, &c, Relative to the Elections for the County and City of Durham.* (Durham, 1802).

⁷⁷ Burchell (1998), 2.

⁷⁸ A large number of other musical societies, such as that at Carlisle, are only known through subscription lists. Burchell (1998), 1.

subscribe to his Op. 3 concertos published in 1751 which may be a further indication of the political ‘fall-out’ of the dispute between Hesletine and Avison (i.e. that Hesletine, and possibly Ebdon, exercised considerable influence over the musical society’s views and activities). Another set of concertos that the society subscribed to was John Hebden’s (1712-65) Op. 2. from c.1745. Hebden was a concert organiser from York and given the choir’s connections there, it seems likely that they knew him well.⁷⁹ The fourth was Jasper Clarke’s *Cantata and Five English Songs* from 1760 and fifth Thomas Wright’s Op. 1 *Six Songs* from c.1785. It is surprising, given that the Durham Musical Society was in existence for at least forty-five years, that no record of it survives in any other sources. However, we can glean some information about the musicians from what they subscribed to. In the case of the Clarke they subscribed to four sets of his songs probably so that they could be utilised for their own performances. Moreover, since the edition is written for string accompaniment, it seems likely that they could also play instrumental music. This is further reinforced by the subscription to the Avison and Hebden concertos, all of which are for strings and keyboard. There must also have been some vocalists and if they included lay-clerks then there would have been no shortage of capable singers.⁸⁰ Presently there are no further known references to their activities, but it is possible that more information may come to light in the future.⁸¹

⁷⁹ e.g. *York Courant*, 27 February 1733, 27 January 1741.

⁸⁰ The ‘Concert-Choir at *Durham*’ also subscribed to the *Eight Songs* by ‘R.S.’ (London, c.1763). If we assume that R.S. is someone whom the choir knew, which seems likely given that there were several subscribers from Durham, then possible candidates include Robert Spearman, Robert Smart, Robert Scott or Robert Sykes. Scott was a chorister between 1756 and 1763 and Sykes between 1754 and 1758.

⁸¹ There is one further Durham reference to a music society that comes from a copy of the published edition of the sixth collection of Handel’s *Six Overtures* that was given by Ebdon in 1785 to an unknown ‘Harmonick Society’. However, it is unlikely that this refers to a Durham based group. The Harmonick Society was, more probably, based at Alnwick (approximately 45 miles north of Durham) which is where the music was preserved. GB-DRc: D78.

There were several other local organisations that appear to have employed music for special occasions, including the Sunderland ‘Skull Club’ of which Ebdon was an honorary member. He composed the music for their ‘anthem’ and a song that was performed at one of their meetings on 21 October 1809.⁸² A further Durham-based group was the ‘Revolution Club’ which had been founded there in 1788 to commemorate the centenary of the overthrowing of James II by William III.⁸³ Although it is uncertain whether they participated in any form of music production, the Edinburgh branch did arrange to have music performed on special occasions.⁸⁴ There was also the Durham Friendly Society who performed music at their meetings.⁸⁵ Further musical societies existed in Newcastle with which Avison was involved and another in Sunderland,⁸⁶ but there is no record of who attended the latter, and it seems unlikely that any Durham musicians were involved with either.⁸⁷

1.4.5 Masonic Music

Although freemasonry has come under a substantial amount of criticism in modern times, but in the eighteenth century it was the largest secular fraternity in Europe and North America. Through its belief that all are united no matter their family

⁸² In both instances only the text survives. The ‘anthem’ dates from 1806 and was set to words adapted by their president, Dr. Tipping Brown, from the poems of James Montgomery. Ebdon’s original version was in three parts, but he rearranged it into four in 1808. He was subsequently made an honorary member of the Skull Club on 5 March 1808 which was confirmed on 23 April. The Skull Club was a dining club that held regular meetings at Skull Hall in Sunderland. US-I: M1621.2 .E15 ++ broadside box. Ebdon, T.: *SONG, As written and sung on the 21st. October, 1809, at the MEETING of the SKULL CLUB* (Sunderland?, 1809); GB-AS: SANT/GEN/SOC/1/2-3.

⁸³ *Newcastle Courant*, 8 November 1788, 30 October 1790; GB-DRc: Raine MS 89. They met once a year at the Red Lion and were comprised of 100 members.

⁸⁴ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 January 1758. To mark the birthday of Frederick III, the King of Prussia, the Edinburgh Revolution Club arranged for the performance of ‘songs &c. three new anthems particularly adapted to the occasion...with a grand chorus to each.’

⁸⁵ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 22 November 1788.

⁸⁶ GB-NTa: Bewick Accounts 1269/1, 1269/12.. See preface to Avison, C.: *Six Sonatas...Opera Prima* (London, c.1758).

⁸⁷ GB-SLp: Minute Book for the Phoenix Lodge Sunderland 1778-1809, 96.

background, it promoted a great deal of social mobility that otherwise would not have been achieved, and although contrary to the movement's ideals, many would use their membership to their advantage.⁸⁸ Despite being for the most part male only, freemasonry became synonymous with the Enlightenment and, as such, was a vehicle for the discussion of many topical issues such as science, religion, philosophy, politics and the arts. Music also played an important part in Masonic circles as it embodied and aided the principle of freemasonry that all are members united no matter their background, and for that reason most songs written for use at lodge meetings were polyphonic with three differing parts uniting into one harmonious whole.⁸⁹ Given the importance and quality of music at Masonic ceremonies it was understandable that many important musicians would readily become freemasons, and notable examples include Mozart, his father Leopold, Haydn, Gluck and Beethoven.⁹⁰

In England music played a vital role in Masonic life from the start, in particular to the Queen's Head Lodge to which Geminiani (1687-1762) was associated.⁹¹ Avison, who also appears to have also been a freemason,⁹² may have first encountered it whilst studying under Geminiani in London in the early 1730s.⁹³ Handel was apparently never a freemason but other important domestic musicians were. These include Maurice Greene (1696-1755), Arnold, Samuel Wesley (1766-1837), J. C. Bach (1735-82) and Giardini.⁹⁴ The importance of music as a part of Masonic ritual remained intact as freemasonry spread northwards and eventually

⁸⁸ Elliott (2006), 207.

⁸⁹ McVeigh (2000), 75.

⁹⁰ Thomson (1976), 25, 28.

⁹¹ McVeigh (2000), 73.

⁹² Wildgust (2007).

⁹³ Charles Avison jnr was definitely a freemason and may have been the Newcastle lodge's organist. *Newcastle Courant*, 15 October 1785, 29 March 1788.

⁹⁴ McVeigh (2003), 78-80.

reached Durham where, as in many other places, musicians became involved in their lodge's musical activities.

The Durham 'Granby' Lodge first met without warrant on 24 June 1738 at the 'Bird and Bush' in Saddler Street, but over the century moved several times to other locations within the city. They usually held their meetings in taverns including 'The Shoulder of Mutton' and 'The Fox' in Claypath. They also met at 'The Castle' in Dun Cow Lane in 1768. Occasionally meetings were held in private rooms for on 15 January 1746 they assembled at 'Bro[ther]. C. Shaftes's home' in Framwellgate. From 1781 until 1792 they met at a 'Private Room [at] Bro[ther]. Nicholson's, [in] Old Elvit' and between 1792 and 1811 in a room that belonged to Brother Richardby. Both of these also appear to have been taverns.⁹⁵

Given the large numbers of musicians who worked in Durham, it would be expected that an appreciable number of them would have originated from within the ranks of the choir, but this does not appear to have been the case. There were several notable masons within the choir but the majority were not subscribing members to the Durham Lodge. However, since a large proportion of the lay-clerks originated from the south of the country it is certainly possible that some may have been members of other lodges before they came to Durham.

Of the Durham-based musicians Hestletine does not appear to have been a member, but Garth was certainly a freemason as he was admitted as an apprentice on 23 June 1742. It has been impossible to ascertain if he had any further involvement beyond that date as he is not subsequently mentioned in their minute books.⁹⁶ However, given his musical ability and the importance of music in Masonic ritual, it seems likely that he may have continued to operate in a musical capacity. Many

⁹⁵ Lane (1895), 132.

⁹⁶ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge minute book 1738-1790, 3.

lodges had the position of ‘organist’ and although there is no recorded mention of this in the Durham lodge’s records, there is evidence that at least someone proficient on the keyboard and able to read figures was required. This comes from a collection of four Masonic songs written for keyboard and voice that are preserved in the lodge’s minute books. These appear to be universally well-known songs rather than by local musicians. One ‘On Mason’s and Masonry’ is taken from the 1730 ballad opera *The Generous Freemason* by William Chetwood (d.1766) while another, ‘The Fellow Craft’s Song’, is sung to a tune composed by Johann Lampe (1703-51).⁹⁷ In modern times the role of organist is more ceremonial with many current holders possessing little or no professional musical ability. However, in the eighteenth century, the organist would have been expected to provide music through the accompanying of the opening and closing odes, the chanting of prayers and to provide incidental music during the ceremonies, particularly for choreographic movement.⁹⁸ The Phoenix Lodge in Sunderland, established in 1755, had a new organ with six stops built by Donaldson of Newcastle and installed in their new meeting room in 1785.⁹⁹ They had several organists during the latter part of the eighteenth century including George Goodchild and John Huquiei, both of whom were also organists at St John’s Chapel in Sunderland. Furthermore, Huquiei went on to hold the post of organist at Sunderland Parish Church.¹⁰⁰

As to the music itself there are no surviving examples by Durham musicians for use in general meetings despite the presence of several able composers in the city at the time. Garth's popular catch ‘Care thou canker of our joys’ was sung to the words

⁹⁷ Ibid., 171, 173. The other two songs are an *Ode on Masonry*, sung to the tune ‘Kilwinan Lodge’, and *The Treasurer’s Song*, the tune of which has not been identified.

⁹⁸ Inman (1942), 115.

⁹⁹ The organ still survives but in poor condition. Todd (1906), 18-19, 57.

¹⁰⁰ GB-SLp: Minute book, Pheonix Lodge, 1778-1809, 52; Waples (unpublished).

‘Glorious Craft, which fire the mind’ in other lodges but *not* at Durham.¹⁰¹ There was also a ‘Grand Masonic Chorus’ by Evance which was sung at a concert at the Newcastle Lodge but this has been lost.¹⁰² However, there are surviving examples of music composed by local musicians for important events that took place within Masonic circles and these are all written by Ebdon.

Ebdon appears to have held a longstanding interest in freemasonry and its associated music as is revealed by his subscription to the Masonic songbook *Social Harmony* compiled by Thomas Hale and published in 1763. However, it was many years later before he had any direct involvement with freemasonry in the city. His first appearance in the Granby Lodge’s minute books dates from 9 March 1785 when he was proposed as a member. He subsequently accepted and then passed as a Fellow Craft at the same ceremony.

Bro[ther]. G[eorge]. Finch proposed Bro[ther]. T[homas]. Hebden [sic] to be made an entered Apprentice-who was bean’d for, unanimously approved of, & paid the usual fees. He also was proposed to be passed a Fellow Craft by Bro. Geo. Finch unanimously approved & paid accordingly.¹⁰³

Ebdon’s rise through the Masonic ranks was nothing short of spectacular. On 20 March, only eleven days after his admission, he was ‘proposed to be rais’d to the sublime Degree of a Master Mason’.¹⁰⁴ His swift progression upwards could only

¹⁰¹ Poole (1928), 12.

¹⁰² *Newcastle Courant*, 13 October 1781.

¹⁰³ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1738-1790, 113. George Finch was an alderman and mayor of Durham. He was a pupil at the Grammar School and was appointed ‘Kings Scholar’ in 1763. GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/8: 175.

¹⁰⁴ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1738-1790, 113.

have been due to one of two reasons. Firstly, that the lodge was in need of securing an organist because the position was currently vacant, or secondly, of securing Ebdon because of his exceptional talent. However, in order for him to participate in all three ritual stages to Master Mason, he needed to pass through the 'Craft' quickly. Later that same year he was acting as Junior Warden before his election to the post on 27 June 1785;¹⁰⁵ he was also acting treasurer at the same meeting.¹⁰⁶ He subsequently acted as Senior Warden on three occasions before his appointment to the post on 25 June 1787.¹⁰⁷ Ebdon's duties as treasurer are obvious enough, but as Junior and particularly Senior Warden he would have been heavily involved in the ceremonies that accompanied the meetings including the opening and closing of the lodge, and may not have been able to provide the music, a result of which may have been that another musician within the Masonic ranks fulfilled the role of organist. Either way, it was expected that all wardens would have had experience 'in the mysteries of the Craft' which make it even more surprising that Ebdon was appointed Junior Warden after being a mason for only three months of membership, the third highest person in their hierarchy. As Senior Warden he was second in rank only to the Master himself and in the Master's absence he would have been required to accept responsibility for the proceedings,¹⁰⁸ which he did on several occasions.¹⁰⁹

The highest post that Ebdon held within freemasonry was that of Provincial Grand Senior Warden for County Durham, the first holder of that title and the third highest-ranking freemason in County Durham at that time. This was certainly an achievement for Ebdon who had, despite being the son of a shoemaker, progressed to

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 115.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 115.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 5 December 1786 (121), 6 March 1787 (122) & 1 May 1787 (123).

¹⁰⁸ Inman (1942), 205.

¹⁰⁹ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1738-1790, 11 October 1790 (141), 1 November 1790 (141); Granby Lodge Minute book 1791-1815, 3 May 1791 (2).

become the cathedral organist through his exceptional musical talent, and as Grand Senior Warden was now rubbing shoulders with the highest members of local aristocratic society, and undoubtedly presided over masons of higher birth than himself. The Provincial Grand Lodge was established on the 9 September 1788 in Durham City with tremendous pomp uniting all of the County Durham lodges under one banner and installing William Henry Lambton (1764-1797) as Provincial Grand Master.¹¹⁰ It was an important event at which over a hundred members taken from all of the County Durham lodges attended. The events of the day were recorded in the lodge's minute book:

Sep.^t 9.th 1788. This being the day appointed for the Installation of Brother William Henry Lambton Esq.^t Provincial Grand Master, the following Brethren assembled at Bro[ther]. Ebdon's Room (who obliged the Society with the Use of it) at 11 o'clock in the forenoon...The P[rovincial].G[rand]. Sec[retar].^y [William White] read a Dispensation from the P[rovincial].G[rand].M[aster]. empowering Brother [George] Finch and others to hold a Lodge in Brother Ebdon's Room.____The Lodge was opened in due form in the Master's Degree,___The Procession formed, and marched Once round the Room.__The P[rovincial].G[rand]. Sec[retar].^y read the Petition and Patent; and the Grand Master was installed in Ample Form. with all the honors of Masons.

The P[rovincial].G[rand].M[aster]. then returned Thanks and gave an Elegant Charge to the Brethren, which was received with

¹¹⁰ Lambton was one of a landed family who made their fortune from the coal mining industry. He lived at Lambton Hall, near Washington, and was the MP for Durham City from 1790 until 1796.

unbounded Applause, accompanied with the usual Honours.

The P[rovincial].G[rand]. Master was then pleased to appoint the following Brethren Grand Officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge...

The Grand Officers then returned Thanks, and received the Congratulations of the Brethren, after which the following Grand Procession moved three times round...The Lodge was then closed, when Rev.^d Brother Nesfield P[rovincial].G[rand]. Chaplain delivered an Excellent and animated Oration. and an elegant Anthem composed by Brother Ebdon was sung by the Boys of the Choir &c.

The Brethren then adjourned to Bro[the].^r Clark's to Dinner, after which many Loyal and Constitutional Toasts were drank, and the day concluded as becoming that Character which all true Masons are instilled to, and bear.¹¹¹

For the inauguration ceremony, Ebdon composed several pieces including the anthem that was 'sung by the Boys of the Choir'. This was published in the first volume of his *Sacred Music*, to which the Granby Lodge subscribed, and set to the words 'Behold how good and joyful a thing it is brethren to dwell together in unity'.¹¹² It is written for two trebles with chorus. Furthermore, a march also survives that was composed specifically for the inauguration ceremony and was presumably performed as the procession marched around the room. It must also have been well received as it was also subsequently published, unusually in full score,¹¹³ and both

¹¹¹ GB-SLp: Minutes of Provincial Grand Lodge, 4-9.

¹¹² Ebdon, T.: *Sacred Music* (London, c.1790) 98-103. An organ part also survives in manuscript at Durham Cathedral. GB-DRc: MS A31: 40-2.

¹¹³ J. Dale: London, c.1792.

pieces were included in one of Ebdon's subscription concerts at Sunderland.¹¹⁴

Understandably extra performers would have been required to play the music and the minute book records a total of twelve non-subscribers who attended the inauguration ceremony.¹¹⁵ Some lay-clerks from the choir would have been vital to perform the parts for the anthem and presumably for that reason Evance and Thomas Robinson attended as guests.¹¹⁶ Evance had applied to become a subscribing member of the Granby Lodge in 1788 but had been rejected.¹¹⁷ He subsequently attended three times as a guest.¹¹⁸ Robinson was never a freemason, although another local guest was Parker who was, in 1789, appointed chaplain to the Granby Lodge. Given his post of minor canon at the cathedral, he may have sung with the choir on this occasion. For the performance of the march some further instrumentalists would also have been required and it seems likely that a military band would have been engaged. Any of the remaining nine non-members could have been members of that band but it is impossible to say who or to which regiment they belonged.

There were other important occasions in the city in which freemasons were involved and some of these certainly required music. Understandably most information regarding these has been lost but there are some clues with regard to what would have occurred. One such event was a meeting that coincided with St John's Day in 1740:

¹¹⁴ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 7 March 1789.

¹¹⁵ They were Appleby, Rev. Parker, Evance, Green, Brown, Lawes, Robinson, Byers, Hanby, Smith, Sowerby & Clapperton.

¹¹⁶ GB-SLp: Minutes of Provincial Grand Lodge, 7.

¹¹⁷ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1738-1790, 130.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 194. Evance was referred to as 'Brother Evance' in the newspaper on several occasions which must either have been a mistake or, alternatively, he may have been a member of another lodge. *Newcastle Courant*, 13 October 1781, 15 October 1785.

We hear from Durham, that on the 27th of last Month, being St. John's Day, the Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons met at their Lodge in that City, from whence (having din'd and other Business over) they went in Procession, adorn'd with their Jewels, and Musick playing before them.¹¹⁹

These processions may have been occurred on at least an annual basis, as there was a similar event in 1742 but in this instance the source makes no mention of music.¹²⁰ There were other civic occasions in which the freemasons were involved and these were often in relation to the construction of new public buildings. On 17 August 1772 they partook in the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone to Prebends' Bridge and although there is no mention of music, there was a procession from their meetinghouse on Claypath to the bridge that may have required some form of accompaniment.¹²¹ A later and better-recorded ceremony was the laying of the foundation stone to the new theatre in Saddler Street in 1791, where 'Drum & Fife' were employed in the as well as a military band. A piece of music, composed by Ebdon, was played at start of the ceremony and a further piece at the ceremony's conclusion.¹²²

Another occasion in which the Masons participated was the laying of the foundation stone to the new county courts on 31 July 1809. On this instance it the Durham Volunteers who provided the music. As 'the Stone was let down into its place...a Martial Air was played by the Durham Volunteer Band' and after the laying

¹¹⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 12 January 1740.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3 July 1742.

¹²¹ Logan (1886), 15.

¹²² GB-SLp: Granby Lodge minute book 1791-1815, 3-4.

they played 'a solemn March'¹²³ and 'God Save the King'.¹²⁴

During the eighteenth-century there was a zeal for the singing of glees within Masonic circles. McVeigh (2000) noted that 'Masonic meetings always concluded in conviviality, where wine flowed freely and sociable songs and glees were sung; and communal participation, even if only in the choruses to Masonic songs, was clearly a central feature.'¹²⁵ Although there are no recorded occasions when we know that glees were sung as part of the Granby Lodge's meetings, there were several composers of glees who lived in Durham, the most important of which was Ebdon. Many of these survive in three-part arrangements and could easily be performed unaccompanied. Throughout the lodge's minute books there are numerous references to meetings that ended in 'harmony' but this infers that those present were in agreement rather than any musical connotations. This, however, does not mean that glees were not sung. The subscription list to the previously mentioned *Social Harmony* includes a Henry Mills from Durham, and four minor canons at the Cathedral,¹²⁶ and one wonders if a copy of this book may have been used for such music-making at the Durham Lodge.

Other freemasons that were members of the choir included Meredith, who applied to become a freemason on 3 June 1783 after he had previously attended on six occasions as a guest.¹²⁷ It appears that he was admitted as the reference to him in the newspaper as 'Brother Meredith' indicates,¹²⁸ but his membership must have been short-lived as on 25 June 1787 he is recorded as a visitor.¹²⁹ As well as those already

¹²³ GB-SLp: Minutes of Provincial Grand Lodge, 108-9.

¹²⁴ Logan (1886), 37.

¹²⁵ McVeigh (2000), 75.

¹²⁶ These were Ralph Gelson, Abraham Gregory, Thomas Hayes and John Wheeler.

¹²⁷ Meredith attended as a guest on 4, 12 and 17 August 1772, 24 June 1779, 27 December 1781 and 5 February 1783. SGPLL Granby Lodge Minute book 1738-1790, 186, 196.

¹²⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 2 April 1785.

¹²⁹ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1738-1790, 196.

mentioned there were several other cathedral lay-clerks who became freemasons and may also have occupied the organist position. Blenkinsop was a member, as was Robert Robinson who was admitted in 1787 and quickly rose up through the ranks to be proposed as a Master Mason a year later.¹³⁰ Another was Charles Stanley, who was admitted to the lodge in March 1799 and had, by the following January, been elected Junior Warden, and Senior Warden by July.¹³¹ There was also Ralph Brockett who was fined along with seven others ‘for not bringing their Books of Constitutions to the Lodge.’¹³² His interest in freemasonry appears to have waned as the minute book records that he, along with lay-clerk Abraham Taylor, were ‘To be no more summoned’.¹³³

There were other occasions when musicians from other lodges visited Durham, the most important of which was Shield, who attended a meeting on 21 February 1776. He was then a member of St John’s Lodge in Newcastle,¹³⁴ but was later accepted into the Sunderland Lodge.¹³⁵ Another famous member of the Durham Lodge was Boruwlaski, who was made an honorary member on 7 October 1806.

Br. Count Joseph Boruwlaski was proposed by Br. Wolfe, and seconded by Br. C[hristopher]. Ebdon to become an Honary Member of this Lodge and unanimously approved of.¹³⁶

Boruwlaski had previously visited the Lodge on the 6 May 1806 and was recorded as

¹³⁰ Ibid., 123, 129.

¹³¹ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1791-1815, 38, 42, 45.

¹³² GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1738-1790, 3.

¹³³ Ibid., 143.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 67.

¹³⁵ Shield was made a Mason on the 7 December 1791 and ‘Passed and Raised’ on the 21 December 1791. GB-SLp: Minute Book for the Pheonix Lodge Sunderland 1778-1809, 119-20.

¹³⁶ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1791-1815, 90.

a guest when he visited again on 16 March 1807 and 1 May 1810.¹³⁷

There were also instances when musicians from Durham were involved in events held at other lodges in nearby towns, the most important of which was the dedication ceremony of the new hall for the Pheonix Lodge in Sunderland on 5 April 1785. An advertisement recorded that in the morning *Messiah* would be performed at St John's Chapel 'by the whole Choir of Durham Cathedral, assisted by all the principal Musical Gentlemen of Durham, Newcastle, and Sunderland, under the Direction of Brother Ebdon, who will perform the full accompanyments on the Organ.' It went on to say that after dinner a 'New Ode, [now lost] written purposely for this occasion by Brother Cawdell, and set to Music by Brother Shield, will be sung by Brother Meredith, Evance and Chorus Singers.'¹³⁸ Musicians from Durham were also involved with St John's Lodge in Newcastle and performed at its dedication in 1777.¹³⁹ Also, in 1779, Meredith and Evance performed at a concert there to celebrate its anniversary, when they sang Nares' setting of 'Behold how glad and joyful a Thing is it Brethren, to dwell together in Unity'.¹⁴⁰ They also had links with the lodge in Darlington as the choir performed *Messiah* there in 1786 at their request.¹⁴¹

Ebdon kept his link with freemasonry up for many years although there were times when his interest faltered. This is perhaps best indicated in the fact that he was fined twice in 1789. The first for non-attendance was waived on account for him being ill,¹⁴² but he was fined a second time on the 5 May for which no reason was

¹³⁷ Ibid., 183.

¹³⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 2 April 1785.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 18 October 1777.

¹⁴⁰ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 9 October 1779. This anthem had been published a year earlier in Nares' *Twenty Anthems in Score* (London, 1778).

¹⁴¹ *York Courant*, 26 September 1786.

¹⁴² GB-SLP: Granby Lodge Minute book 1738-1790, 134.

given.¹⁴³ He did, however, donate £1.1s towards furnishing the new lodge that was set up at Richardby's room in 1792.¹⁴⁴

Ebdon initially stepped down as Senior Warden for the Granby Lodge on 30 June 1789 but acted in the same position temporarily on 7 July 1789.¹⁴⁵ He subsequently acted as Junior Warden for several meetings before he was re-elected Senior Warden on 28 June 1790 and it was during this year that his son, John Miller Ebdon, was elected a Mason.¹⁴⁶ The highest position Ebdon reached in the Granby Lodge was Master Mason, a position he held for several meetings before he stood down on 5 July 1791.¹⁴⁷ Later he acted as both Senior and Junior Warden, the last recorded occurrence of which was on 7 October 1794.¹⁴⁸ The last meeting that we know Ebdon attended as a subscribing Mason to the Granby Lodge was on the 6 December 1798 when he came with his son.¹⁴⁹ Ebdon continued to pay his subscriptions to the Granby Lodge in March and December 1798, but made no payments in 1799 and was not recorded as a member in the list of subscribers for 1800. He was subsequently recorded as a visitor when he visited the lodge on 7 October 1806 for Boruwlaski's admission and on 24 June 1807.¹⁵⁰

With regards to the Grand Provincial Lodge, Ebdon stepped down from the position of Grand Senior Warden on 25 February 1790 but subsequently acted as Senior and Junior Warden several times.¹⁵¹ The last time he attended was on 31 July

¹⁴³ Ibid., 134.

¹⁴⁴ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1791-1815, 7-8.

¹⁴⁵ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1738-1790, 135.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 21 July 1789 (135), 1 September 1789 (136), 3 November 1789 (137), 4 May 1790 (139).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 11 October 1790 (141), 1 November 1790 (141); Granby Lodge Minute book 1791-1815, 3 May 1791 (2); GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1791-1815, 2.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 16.

¹⁴⁹ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1791-1815, 16. Ebdon may have been at subsequent meetings but there is some confusion in the minute book with his brother Christopher.

¹⁵⁰ GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1791-1815, 183.

¹⁵¹ GB-SLp: Minutes of Provincial Grand Lodge, 20, 25, 32, 43.

1798 when ‘a Grand Anthem Composed by Br[other]. Ebdon was performed.’¹⁵²

There is no indication that this was a special occasion in the lodge’s minute book, but this performance may have been arranged to mark Ebdon’s retirement.

1.4.6 Music Education

Most of the established musicians in Durham were able to supplement their incomes by teaching music. Hesletine and Ebdon, on top of their usual organist duties, would have instructed the boys at the cathedral ‘Song School’ and taught private pupils outside the cathedral establishment. Hesletine clearly had paying pupils for, on 9 June 1730, he was given ‘leave for Three Months from this day to Teach one day in the week in the Countrey’.¹⁵³ He appears to have been a competent teacher as his 1734 pay rise was partially due to his ‘Dilligence in Teaching the Boys’.¹⁵⁴ Ebdon would also have taught the choristers but may have had some issues with discipline since, in 1766, Christopher Watson got into trouble ‘on Acc.^t of his Neglect of Duty and Misbehaviour’ and was threatened with expulsion if anything further happened.¹⁵⁵ Ebdon appears to have had a rather extensive teaching practice in the country for he felt compelled to turn down his appointment as an alderman in 1793 citing that ‘by reason of his profession of a Musician was Obliged to be frequently from home’.¹⁵⁶ Most of these pupils are unknown although some of their names may have survived in his subscription lists. However, one of his known private pupils was a Miss Hubback from Stockton whose book of manuscript lessons survives at the Henry Watson Library in Manchester. The book, dated 1799, contains information on note pitches,

¹⁵² Ibid., 54.

¹⁵³ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/6: 64.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 103.

¹⁵⁵ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 229.

¹⁵⁶ GB-DRr: Du/1/35/3: 168.

length and ornamentation as well as several short keyboard pieces by Ebdon.¹⁵⁷ The majority of the book is unused, perhaps indicating that her lessons did not continue for very long. Another of Ebdon's pupils was Thomas Wright (1763-1829), the son of Robert, the organist at Stockton parish church. He was apparently 'more an assistant than a scholar', and in 1774, at the tender age of eleven, helped Garth at Sedgefield by filling in during the absence of Cowley.¹⁵⁸ He subsequently became sub-organist there in 1785 and was still there in 1790.¹⁵⁹

Garth certainly had several pupils among whom was probably Cowley and to whom he would have taught the organ and possibly a stringed instrument. He also instructed Robert Wharton in playing the cello. In a letter dated the 4 July 1776 Wharton wrote that:

I have applied to Garth about the Violoncello but he tells me I must not think of being able to play Quartetts before a much longer time than I had expected I might, & dissuades me intirely [sic] from attempting it, so I must still be content with strumming on as usual.¹⁶⁰

Garth also taught music to several notable families located outside Durham including the family of Henry Vane at Raby Castle and went out to Seaham Hall where he taught Judith Milbanke.¹⁶¹ In 1779 she wrote: 'yesterday Garth came, which engaged

¹⁵⁷ GB-Mp: B.Rm.740 Eb31.

¹⁵⁸ Richmond (1868), 156.

¹⁵⁹ See the List of Subscribers to Wright, T. *Six Songs* (Newcastle c.1785) and Ebdon, T. *Sacred Music* (London, c.1790).

¹⁶⁰ GB-DRu: Wharton Papers, 175.

¹⁶¹ Hughes (1956), 159.

me the whole day at the Harpsichord'.¹⁶² Garth was also asked to teach the harpsichord to her niece, Sophia Curzon. On the 8 February 1785 Judith wrote that:

In the course of the summer Garth says she is to begin Music...he says the only objection is the smallness of her hand.¹⁶³

She began lessons with Garth later that year, but may not have been the most eager student:

She [Sophia] began the Harpsichord last time Garth was here, & was all attention—in short she learns everything well, but working & that she hates most cordially.¹⁶⁴

Garth continued to teach this family until the 1790s, although by this time he was almost 70 and was finding teaching hard work:

as to poor Garth, tho' he has been here once, he is almost incapable of tuning the instrument, yet poor Soul! he rides about just as usual to collect his *Guineas*, and he is so much loved by everybody that no one cares to hurt him by saying he is *useless*.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Elwin (1967), 146.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 266.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 391.

Perhaps the biggest problem with teaching in the country was the long rides on horseback between the homes of pupils which could make a tutor's life insufferable when the weather was poor. Herschel recorded one such instance in July 1761 when:

at 9 o'clock, when I still had about 20 miles to ride, I was caught in an unusual heavy thunderstorm, which continued, accompanied by torrents of rain, with unbroken fury for three hours, and threatened me with sudden death. The distance from an inhabitation, the darkness and the loneliness, obliged me nevertheless to ride on. I pursued my way therefore with unshaken sangfroid although I was often obliged to shut my eyes on account of the blinding lightning.

“At last the flashes all around me were so terrifying that my horse refused to go on; luckily at this moment I found myself near a house, into which, after much knocking, I was admitted. This morning, at 3 o'clock, I proceeded on my journey and arrived safely at this place.”¹⁶⁶

As well as the musical training that the professionals provided, there were several schools in the area where music was taught. Most boys would have attended the Grammar School located on Palace Green, a school that may have existed since Saxon times.¹⁶⁷ However, there is no mention of music being taught there and it is likely that their education would have focused on Maths, English and Latin. In the eighteenth century Granville Sharp had been a pupil before he was sent to another smaller school, but it is unlikely that he received any musical training at either.¹⁶⁸ The Grammar School, at any one time, gave tuition to eighteen poor boys, although those

¹⁶⁶ Lubbock (1933), 21-2.

¹⁶⁷ Burbidge (1940), xix.

¹⁶⁸ Hoare (1820), 27.

that 'have proved themselves particularly serviceable to the choir, and skilful in music...[were] preferred before any others.' Those who did well in their studies were honoured by being made 'Kings Scholars'.¹⁶⁹ In this way William Ebdon (b.1753), nephew of the organist, was elected to that position in 1763.¹⁷⁰

For girls it was a different matter, but there were several schools in the city where they could receive some formal education that included music and dance. One such school was run by Mrs Peacock:

Whereas Mrs PEACOCK formerly COTES, who keeps a Boarding School in Durham, having for the Advantage of young Ladies that are, or may be, under her Care, taken to her Assistance a Teacher from London, skilful in all sorts of Needle-work; she begs leave to inform the Publick, that within her House is also taught Musick, Dancing, Reading, and English Grammer, [sic] Writing, and all other Female Accomplishments.¹⁷¹

It was probably her husband George who taught both music and dance there. He also ran a dance school in Newcastle.¹⁷²

Another boarding school was run by a Mrs Burdett in Old Elvet. In 1759 she advertised that she had appointed a new teacher following the previous incumbent's death. In addition to music and dance, the new teacher was expected to give instruction in a large array of other subjects and one cannot help but feel that what

¹⁶⁹ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/5: 164.

¹⁷⁰ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/8: 184.

¹⁷¹ The advertisement first appeared in the *Newcastle Courant* on 27 March 1742 but, due to the illegibility of the text, the advertisement is quoted from the *Newcastle Courant* for 3 April 1742.

¹⁷² It was normal for these schools to hold an annual ball that showcased the abilities of their students. One, organised by Peacock, was held on 1 November 1742 at the Durham Assembly Room. *Newcastle Courant*, 23 October 1742

musical education the girls received would not have been of a particularly high standard.¹⁷³

From the BOARDING SCHOOL in DURHAM.

Mrs BURDETT begs Leave to acquaint the PUBLICK, THAT since the Death of her late Partner Miss CREWE, she has taken to her Assistance one who is every way qualified for improving such Young Ladies as are, or may be intrusted to her Care. The following Accomplishments are taught by Mrs Burdett and proper Assistant: All Kinds of Needle work, Musick, Dancing, and the French Language, Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, and Drawing.¹⁷⁴

Notwithstanding the level of education and attainment, the cost of tuition at these schools was by no means cheap. Suggett ran a school in Old Elvet and charged £1.11s 6d for music lessons per quarter, and 10s.6d for dancing.¹⁷⁵ The dance teacher there was Adam Kinlock who had previously been employed by Eleanor Greenwell at her school in Crossgate.¹⁷⁶ He also taught dance in Newcastle.¹⁷⁷ His obituary referred to him as ‘a man whose acknowledged abilities as a dancing-master...united with every good quality that could render him worthy of the universal respect and esteem which he possessed in the minds of all who knew him’.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ *Newcastle Courant*, 12 May 1759.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 12 May 1759.

¹⁷⁵ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 10 January 1789, 3 March 1792

¹⁷⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 22 September 1787, 17 June 1779

¹⁷⁷ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 18 June 1789.

¹⁷⁸ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 29 June 1799.

Boys, if they wanted dancing lessons, had to attend a separate school to receive them. One was run by a Mr Fawcett, who also taught at Miss Wilson's school in New Elvet.¹⁷⁹ He proposed to set up a boys' school in 1793:

DANCING

MR FAWCETT will commence
Teaching at Miss WILSON'S BOARDING-
SCHOOL, in New Elvet, Durham...He
Likewise intends OPENING a SCHOOL
For young Gentlemen, in the Course of
A few Months...¹⁸⁰

With the popularity of assemblies and balls in Durham there was a vast need for dancing instructors and, given the presence of several instructors in Durham at any one time, the environment was highly competitive. Dempsey, in 1751, retorted that 'if there were ever so many Dancing-masters'.¹⁸¹

The first reference to a dancing school at Durham dates from 1726 when an advertisement appeared in the *Newcastle Courant*: 'MR. Lax, Dancing-Master in Newcastle upon Tyne will teach at Durham on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays'.¹⁸² Lax had set up his dancing school in the absence of another tutor called Hugh Dempsey who had taken a trip to London in order to learn new dances.

¹⁷⁹ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 22 June 1793.

¹⁸⁰ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 24 August 1793.

¹⁸¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 6 July 1751.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 3 September 1726, 20 May 1727.

Lax took advantage of his absence in order to set up his own school and abscond with Dempsey's pupils even setting up his school in the house where Dempsey had lived.¹⁸³ Dempsey, on his return, was taken aback and published a stern reply in the *Newcastle Advertiser*:

WHEREAS it hath lately been maliciously reported by Dancing-Masters and Others, that would promote their Interests that Mr. Hugh Dempsey, when he was at London informing himself of the newest Methods belonging to his Profession, would never return to Durham, according to his promise: Therefore he thinks himself oblig'd to give Notice to the Publick, that he begun School at the present Assembly-Room, Durham...where he now teaches six Schollars to any other Masters one.¹⁸⁴

Most dancing instructors were not based solely in Durham but worked in other towns as well. Robert Haughton taught at the Red Lion in Durham three days a week with another three in Newcastle.¹⁸⁵ Dempsey was able to guarantee a good number of pupils by also teaching fencing. He was only in Durham six months of the year and spent the other six in Lancaster and Preston.¹⁸⁶ Kinlock also taught at Houghton-le-Spring.¹⁸⁷ Paris Webb, who succeeded Peacock in 1761, gave lessons at both Newcastle and Durham,¹⁸⁸ as did Morin from Stockton who succeeded Peacock in

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 29 July 1727.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 3 June 1727.

¹⁸⁵ *Newcastle Journal*, 29 June 1757.

¹⁸⁶ *Newcastle Courant*, 3 June 1727.

¹⁸⁷ *Newcastle Chronicle*, 23 April 1791.

¹⁸⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 23 October 1742, 26 September 1761.

1764.¹⁸⁹ Morin worked in Durham for many years and into the next century.¹⁹⁰ His obituary recorded that he had been ‘upwards of 40 years an eminent dancing master there [Durham]’.¹⁹¹

1.4.7 Music at Home

Given the number of people, especially from the upper and middle classes, who received a musical education and participated in the numerous musical activities during the eighteenth century, it is self-evident that a great deal of domestic music-making took place. Certainly the rise in the affluence of the middle and lower classes caused a larger number of the population to devote more of their leisure time to musical activities, and music-making became an important element of middle-class life not only as productive pursuit but also as a profession.¹⁹² In order to cater for this need there was a boom in the amount of available published music. There were several shops in Durham at any one time where music and instruments could be purchased and many of the booksellers had the ability to print material themselves. Despite the convenience of the local printers most Durham musicians chose to have their music published in London where most of the prestigious music publishers were located.¹⁹³ Those who wanted to purchase music for their own purposes would have needed to travel, primarily to Newcastle, but sometimes further afield.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 11 February 1764.

¹⁹⁰ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 3 December 1803.

¹⁹¹ *Tyne Mercury*, 16 March 1805.

¹⁹² McGeary (1990), 397.

¹⁹³ The choir’s word books were all printed in Durham. Isaac Lane (d.1762) printed the first in 1749 while Lewis Pennington (1755-1826) printed the 1794 and 1796 editions. The other examples were all most likely printed in Durham, but do not bear the name of the printer.

Alternatively there was the opportunity to subscribe to new publications since this provided the subscriber with the chance to publish his or her name in the list of subscribers as well as the chance to obtain and perform new music. In some instances, of course, subscribers often consisted of local supporters who were not necessarily musicians and were not intrinsically interested in the musical content. In the case of a non-local publication, however, motivation to subscribe was almost certainly due to an interest in the musical work. If one looks at a volume that has no local connections, such as the 1755 set of *Six Voluntaries for the Organ* issued by the Oxford musician William Walond (1719-68), the subscription list reveals the names of two subscribers from Durham, neither of whom are well-known outside this list and most likely purchased the music to play on their own individual harpsichords. In this instance they were a 'Miss Sally Dennis of Durham', probably a relation the minor canon Samuel Dennis,¹⁹⁴ and a 'Mr. Thomas Stogg of Durham'. This edition was also subscribed to by Revd Thomas Sharp who received two copies, and John Richardson in Durham who subscribed to three, most likely to sell at his bookshop in the Market Place.¹⁹⁵

There was certainly domestic music-making at the home of Cowper, whose niece, a guest in their house during 1749, spent a great deal of time practising on the harpsichord. She appears to have been actively involved in the music at Dolben's house:

¹⁹⁴ Dennis was a minor canon from c.1743 to 1775.

¹⁹⁵ Hunt (1975), 78. The subscription list to a local publication, such as Garth's Op. 2 sonatas, reveals that the subscribers were not purely drawn from the local environs. Of the 260 subscribers Garth received 190 have their residing town mentioned. Most subscribers (24 in total) were at Cambridge when the subscription was taken, while 23 came from Oxford and both Durham and Newcastle had 16 subscribers each. By district, County Durham had the most subscribers with 40, but this was closely followed by Yorkshire with 35. This perhaps indicates the Garth was better known in that area than previously thought. (There are several further subscribers in the list from County Durham, whose residing town was not recorded in the subscription list. These include William Cowley, Jennison Shaftoe and Frederick Vane.)

Your Daughter continues pure well, and in high spirits. She has contracted a kind of friendship with Sr. J. Dolben's youngest Daughter, which helps her to pass her time very agreeably, and at the same time usefully to herself....Her present intimacy too with Sr. John's family obliges her to practice much more upon the harpsichord than she was ever inclined to do before, which I beleive [sic] you will be glad to hear, and his whole store of music which is very large is open to her use so that she wants for nothing that can induce her to stick close to it.¹⁹⁶

Another musical home was that of Ebdon and, although there are no recorded instances where music was produced there, he did have an extensive music library as the catalogue from the 1815 sale of his music indicates.¹⁹⁷ There is a tantalising glimpse of what was happening at his home by way of two of his personal manuscript books that survive in the Dean and Chapter Library. The first is a set of songs most of which are written in three parts for two sopranos and bass and which were possibly used by himself and his two daughters.¹⁹⁸ The other is a collection of 58 pieces written for keyboard that, according to the books title, could also be played on the violin or flute.¹⁹⁹ The book appears to have been compiled by Ebdon from a variety of sources dating from different times. Many of the pieces are very short and may have been used for keyboard tuition; although this book was, almost certainly, used for domestic music-making within the Ebdon household. The majority appears to have been composed by Thomas Ebdon although three pieces within the source are

¹⁹⁶ Hughes (1956), 117-8.

¹⁹⁷ White (1815). The catalogue contains primarily music that belonged to Ebdon, but also that by 'several other Professors and Gentlemen'. As a result, it is impossible to determine what actually belonged to Ebdon.

¹⁹⁸ GB-DRc: MS D11.

¹⁹⁹ GB-DRc: MS D3.

attributed to an 'M.E.' which most likely stands for Mary Ebdon. There is also a further piece in this collection that is attributed to Boruwlaski who stayed with the Ebdons during his time in Durham.

Robert Wharton frequently partook in domestic music and went to Old Acres, the residence of the Spearman family in 1776:

I was at old Acres (where lives Miss Spearm[an]) the greatest performer on the harpsichord that I ever heard[. We played] & we kept it up from the time I got there till near 7 oclock only just leaving out music at Dinner. The Celestine who carried &, pretty well worked. The 3^d of Boccherini goes excellently with it. She played the 6th in a capital style. & I accompanied it as capitally.²⁰⁰

Understandably Thomas Brand, the recipient of the letter, was unsure what a celestine was, so asked Wharton for a description:

you ask of me for a description of the celestine, which tho a difficult performance I will attempt. the Form of the instrument is like a Harpsichord. the length about 3 feet & a half. the Compass nearly for octaves, by which you will easily guess at the number of keys & consequently the Breath. the keys turn towards the small end, and not from it, as in the harpsichord & if I can remember right strike with hammers, as in the piano forte. these hammers light the strings against the Bow, (or rather saw, it being more like the saw of a stone cutter)

²⁰⁰ GB-DRu: Wharton Papers, 175.

which has only one hair or silken string; & is fixed to the instrument but so as to be moved backwards & forwards over the strings by the left hand while the right runs over the keys ad libitum. the string being thus pressed against the bow gives a continued [continued] sound like a good violin & the crescendo or diminuendo made by the ~~lightness~~ or strength or violence of the fingers pressure on the key, and its power in swelling Chords is very great. . . . It is more proper for Sostenuato then Staccato, yet I do not despair of making a part in a quartetto with it. its chords when swelled put me in mind of those on an Aolian harp and are little inferior to it. its chief we will I think be in accompaniment, which it is most admirably adapted to. to Conclude, if it is played on as it deserves it will prove a most glorious acquisition to all those who have souls²⁰¹

The celestine has no modern equivalent and appears unknown outside this letter, but it was one of many novel instruments that were devised by the inventive harpsichord makers who tried keep pace with the success of the piano and compensate for a decline in their business.²⁰² Despite Wharton's praise for the instrument it, like many other similar innovations, did not last long. The owner of the celestine, Miss Spearman, probably refers to Dorothy Spearman (d.1772). She appears to have been a friend of the Sharps and subscribed to Garth's Op. 2 and Ebdon's sonatas, and her father Robert to Clarke's *Cantata and Five English Songs*.²⁰³

Even in the homes of those from lower down the social order, there would have been some form of music production taking place although little information

²⁰¹ Ibid., 170.

²⁰² Thomas Haxby, the instrument maker from York, patented a harpsichord where the volume could be increased through the use of a swell pedal. *York Courant*, 12 March 1777.

²⁰³ GB-GLr: D3549 15/1/1. Dorothy Spearman's personal copy of Evance's *Six Sonatas* is preserved in Durham's Palace Green Library. GB-DRu: PamXLL 786.41 EVA.

survives. Shield, in 1809, wrote about his own youth stating that ‘During my infancy, I was taught to play and sing the following Airs [including *The Keel Row*], which were then called Border Tunes’.²⁰⁴

Although we have little to go on, it is safe to assume that, in the eighteenth century, domestic music was flourishing in Durham. The rise in affluence of the city resulted in a great many more people having the time and money to indulge their interest in music and, given the number of musicians in Durham, we can safely say that many households in Durham would have frequently echoed with the sound of music.

1.4.8 Town Waits and Folk Music

Town waits were a common feature of most British towns, their main function to attend the mayor on ceremonial occasions. In some towns their duties included playing on the streets at night and they were frequently employed to provide music for important events.²⁰⁵ Durham certainly had a group of town waits but their records from the eighteenth century have not survived and there are only a few references to them. Several were employed annually for beating the boundaries at St Giles’ Church and there was also at least one wait in the cathedral choir as Blenkinsop was persuaded to give up his post so that it would not impact on his cathedral commitments.²⁰⁶ He received an additional £5 per annum in compensation. The cathedral annually employed waits for the ‘Audit’ in November as well as Christmas

²⁰⁴ Shield (1809), 35.

²⁰⁵ Rastall (2009).

²⁰⁶ GB-DRr: EP/DuSG30; GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/6: 98. Southey (2006), 63, records that Abraham Taylor was also persuaded to give up his waits post, but no such record exists in the Chapter Acts.

and Candlemas.²⁰⁷ The Mayor of Durham's account books contains many payments to waits but does not record their names and rarely the events for which they were employed. In May 1789 'the Banners Waites and Drums' received in total 19s.6d. for their services 'on y^e Thanksgiving Day'.²⁰⁸ There were also '3 Waite [and] 3 Drums' employed to celebrate what is referred to as 'The Kings Accession'; which was presumably the celebration that accompanied the thirty-fifth anniversary of George III's crowning.²⁰⁹ The Mayor regularly employed musicians including waits, bell ringers, drummers and singing boys.²¹⁰ Southey (2006) deduced that Peter Bone, who received the same salary as a wait, must have occupied this post. However, his payments were due to him being the 'Corn Inspector'.²¹¹

Another type of music for which little information survives is folk music which would certainly have been performed in Durham throughout the century. It would primarily have been produced by travelling musicians who would come to the city at key times of the year to try and scrape a meagre living by performing to passers by. Shield adapted a large amount of such music for use in his operas, the most well-known example of which was used in *Rosina* and later set by Robert Burns to the words 'Auld lang syne'. However, with regard to Durham itself, all we can say is that folk music was performed in the city throughout the century but no actual information survives.

²⁰⁷ GB-DRca: L/AA/4-8.

²⁰⁸ GB-DRr: Du1/42/4, 29b.

²⁰⁹ GB-DRr: Du1/42/21: 10.

²¹⁰ GB-DRr: Du1/42/3-5.

²¹¹ Southey (2006), 64; GB-DRr: Du1/42/5: 2. Southey also records that Philip Young was a wait, but there is no evidence that he was ever paid for fulfilling this particular role.

Chapter 5: Summary

Given the amount and diversity of the musical activities that occurred in eighteenth-century Durham City, it can readily be said that music penetrated all spheres of city life. Most of the inhabitants' experience with music would have occurred at an early age either through their musical education or through the dance lessons that all of the middle and upper classes would have received. Even the lower classes would have been aware of music and would have produced their own musical entertainment in communal environments such as their local tavern or by hearing folk music on the streets. They may also have attended the theatre or heard others perform it at one of the many public or civic events that took place. As the affluence of the inhabitants grew, so did the thirst for middle-class attributes which included an appreciation of the arts and music. Bearing in mind this demand, there were many who became reliant upon it for their livelihood whether in the form of membership of Durham Cathedral choir, as a performer at public concerts and other such social events including balls, assemblies, or theatrical entertainments, or as a teacher of music or dancing or even as a commercial retailer. The local music scene was largely dominated by the cathedral choir and even the competition with Garth did little damage to its standing. This dispute had a much more profound affect on Garth as it limited his choice of music that could be performed at his concerts.

There was, throughout the century, a greater appreciation for music at Durham than in most other cathedrals and, as a result, high quality musicians were imported from other places and were paid handsomely for their services as lay-clerks. As a result Durham bucked the national trend in that, while sacred music in Britain as a whole declined sharply from the start of the century, the standards at Durham rose so

high that they dominated the musical scene across the north of England and beyond. Most of the music that was played in secular circles tended to be taken from a variety of different genres and often included a selection of old favourites alongside some of the latest music available, amongst which were the regular performances of Handel's oratorios and other large-scale works. This stood in stark contrast to the cathedral where most of the music performed had a distinctly archaic atmosphere that only marginally improved as the century progressed.

The musicians in Durham wrote primarily for these two areas, i.e. sacred and secular. In the first half of the century all surviving music written was for use at the cathedral, but from the early 1750s the amount of secular music composed increased exponentially fuelled by a need for new music to be used in domestic concerts and for publication. Given what has so far been discovered, the expectation is that a distinct bifurcation of musical styles prevailed, depending on whether the music was composed for a sacred or secular environment. This will be explored further in the next section.

Part 2: The Music Written by Durham Musicians

Chapter 6: Sacred Music

2.6.1 The Eighteenth-Century Anthem

British sacred music of the eighteenth century has often been the victim of negative criticism; indeed, several twentieth-century scholars categorically declared that, after the arrival of Handel in 1710, the native repertoire stagnated. In fact most academic research has been devoted to secular music of the period to the detriment of the sacred repertoire. Walker (1931) had a notoriously low opinion of British sacred music and wrote that ‘though their music still to some extent survives, [it] comes to little or nothing’.¹ He went on to say that except for ‘the best works of Croft and Greene, these stacks of services and anthems contain hardly any music that would be worth remembering for a quarter of an hour were there not such a dearth of anything better.’² More recently, and with regards to Durham itself, Southey (2006) wrote that ‘the music at Durham Cathedral remained backward-looking throughout the century’ though it is clear that she was barely acquainted with the vast majority of music composed there.³ The origins of these negative opinions stem from the Commonwealth period of the seventeenth century when sacred music experienced perhaps its greatest rupture. Following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, music quickly returned to religious life, but, after eleven years when cathedrals and churches were bereft of their choirs and organs, the road to recovery was a tortuous one. Blom (1947) noted that ‘So far as the order of the services went the church was reinstated on its old lines; but church music now became a very different thing, for all that it was

¹ Walker (1931), 221-2.

² *Ibid.*, 227.

³ Southey (2006), 1, 104-5. Southey made her assumptions from several sources such as diaries, wordbooks of anthems sung at Durham, and Ebdon’s communion service, but made no attempt to look into the substantial amount of manuscript and other printed music that survives at Durham.

set to the same words as before, when great and pure polyphonists like Tallis and Byrd and Gibbons had set them. The old school was, of course, still respected and some of its music was still recognised as a glorious memory'.⁴ This yearning for the glory of the pre-Commonwealth period and its preservation as part of modern worship led to a reaction by some against the inclusion of anything that was deemed unsuitable (and this effectively meant a reaction against the influence of secular styles). New, and essentially secular, developments in the seventeenth century were suppressed by certain elements within the church with varying degrees of success. Scholars have differed on how far this went. Dearnley (1970) thought that the 'defence of sheltering behind a glorious heritage led to the endless production of anthems and services negatively non-secular, avoiding anything that would cause offence or be unworthy of their past.'⁵ Alternatively, Blezzard (1990) had a more relaxed view, believing that 'the history of English church music, from its inception throughout its growth...shows it to have been almost constantly a reflection of the latest developments in music, both British and European, from outside the church....Far from being insular, archaic and remote, English church music has for the most part constituted a lively reflection of current musical activity.'⁶ Temperley (2008) also thought that sacred music *did* progress, but only 'well behind the fashions of secular music.'⁷ Certainly as music continued to move forward, many of those in positions of authority in church music (and these were by no means restricted to musicians) entrenched themselves, curbing any attempts at new innovations in musical technique and composition.

⁴ Blom (1947), 95-6.

⁵ Dearnley (1970), 84.

⁶ Blezzard (1990), 7.

⁷ Temperley (2008).

One of the most outspoken opponents of secular music was Arthur Bedford (c.1668-1745) who blamed it for ‘the Ruin of many Thousands of *Souls*’.⁸ He believed that many of the ‘*Songs* are full of deadly Poison, and the *Musick* gilds them over, that they might pass unsuspected’.⁹ Bedford reasoned that anything that had its origins in secular music should be excluded from the church. He primarily blamed the organists, who ‘do us the most Mischief. They who guide the Congregation in *Singing Praises to God*, do afterwards compose *Tunes* for the Synagogues of *Satan*, revel at a Tavern or an Ale-house, in *Serving the Devil*, and teach such *Songs* as are Incentives to *Profaneness, Atheism, and Debauchery*’.¹⁰ In the face of such reactionary views, it is little surprise that many church musicians found a release for their creative talents within secular music. Not everyone was as polarised as Bedford, but such attitudes did have their impact on what was composed. It produced a situation where anything that did not acknowledge the past could be branded as unsuitable, and this had the effect of strangling the development of church music, preserving its past achievements in formaldehyde. Another opponent of secular music was Thomas Bisse, who wrote that:

In the Compositions for the Sanctuary let care be taken, that a Theatrical levity be avoided; which was the subject of complaint and caution given in the ancient Church...Behold the compositions of ancient Masters. What a stateliness, what a gravity, what a studied majesty walks thro’ their airs? Yea their harmony is venerable: insomuch, that being free from the improper mixtures of levity, those principles of decay, which

⁸ Bedford (1711), 166.

⁹ Ibid., 166.

¹⁰ Ibid., 206-7.

have buried many modern works to oblivion, these remain and return in the courses of our worship, like so many standing services.¹¹

Avison, who echoed what Pier Tosi (c.1653-1732) had said in 1723,¹² thought that secular music should not be used as part of divine worship, or vice-versa:

The different Species of Music for the *Church*, the *Theatre*, or the *Chamber*, are, or should be, distinguished by their peculiar Expression. It may easily be perceived, that it is not the *Time* or *Measure*, so much as *Manner* and *Expression*, which stamps the real Character of the Piece. A well wrought *Allegro*, or any other quick Movement for the Church, cannot, with Propriety, be adapted to theatrical Purposes; nor can the *Adagio* of this latter kind, strictly speaking, be introduced into the former: I have known several Experiments of this Nature attempted, but never with Success. For the same Pieces which may justly enough be thought very solemn in the Theatre, to an experienced Ear, will be found too light and trivial, when they are performed in the Church.¹³

However, even within Avison's lifetime there were musicians such as Garth who were ready to embrace secular ideas in their church music. In fact, as the eighteenth century progressed, the influences of secular music became more conspicuous, even though,

¹¹ Bisse (1721), 54-5.

¹² Tosi (London, 1742), 66-7, 92, 118-9. Tosi's *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni* (Bologna, 1723) was published in an English translation by John Galliard in 1742 under the title *Observations on the Florid Song*, Boyd (2009).

¹³ Avison (1967), 122.

to a large degree, the style of church music, in its desire to reflect a zeal for piety, remained predominantly conservative in its demeanour.¹⁴

Much of the music composed for cathedral worship tended to be anthems. They could be in one of two types, the first of which, the full anthem, was primarily for full chorus, but occasionally also had a central section for solo voices. The other, the verse anthem, consisted of several verses, some for soloists and others for full chorus. Invariably only the last verse contained any writing for the whole choir since the soloists tended to dominate the main body of the anthem. A popular sub-species of this form was the solo anthem which, as the name suggests, featured a single soloist. Most examples in this genre were composed with a particular singer in mind.¹⁵

Following the Restoration, composers such as Child developed a new style of music that was predominantly in four-part harmony with little contrapuntal writing and an emphasis on solo voices with little modulation between verses.¹⁶ This became the style of most of the verse anthems of the period and examples can be easily located in the works of all the great anthem composers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, including examples by Purcell, Blow, Croft and Turner. This style of writing was most prevalent at Durham throughout the eighteenth century.

2.6.2 Anthems by James Hesletine

Of the two cathedral organists, Hesletine and Ebdon, Ebdon was the most productive composer of anthems, although our knowledge of Hesletine's music is frustrated since

¹⁴ There has constantly been, since this period, a dispute over whether secular music is suitable for worship in church. Although there has been progress, and continues to be, there are still some who resist the adoption of music that is deemed inappropriate.

¹⁵ Temperley (2008).

¹⁶ Ibid.

much of his known output is lost. The 1749 book of words for Durham includes seven verse anthems by him, and of these only four are represented at all in the cathedral part-books.¹⁷ In the case of ‘This is the day’, only the Bass part is extant,¹⁸ while ‘I will give thanks’ also has a tenor part.¹⁹ Of the two anthems that survive in their entirety at Durham, only one, ‘Praise the Lord’, exists in a complete state in the choirs’ part-books, while the other, ‘O let my mouth be filled’, survives separately as part of the Bamburgh collection.²⁰

Hesletine’s earliest extant anthem is ‘Unto thee will I cry’. Although it was sung at Durham, it predates Hesletine’s arrival and was presumably first performed at the Chapel Royal.²¹ This is, as are all his other surviving sacred works, a verse anthem that consists of several verses, most of which are for soloists; the full chorus is only required for the final verse.²² The pattern of verses is as follows:

Table 3: Verses in Hesletine’s anthem ‘Unto thee will I cry’.

First line	Key	T.S.	Voices
Unto thee will I cry	a	C - 3/4	ATB
Hear ye voice	a	[3/2]	A
Praise be ye Lord	C	C - 3/4	ATB
The Lord is my strength	C	3 4	ATB

¹⁷ *A Collection of Anthems, As the same now Perform’d in the Cathedral Church of Durham* (Durham, 1749). The three lost anthems are ‘We have a strong city’, ‘I cried by reason of my affliction’ and ‘Unto thee will I cry’. See page 12 for more information on these workbooks.

¹⁸ GB-DRc: B27:78-80 & C27:175-9. Both books are for bass voice.

¹⁹ GB-DRc: B21:15 (tenor), B27:81-5, C19:321-2 & C27: 100-5 (all bass).

²⁰ GB-DRc: M206:1-19.

²¹ The manuscript is dated ‘Sep:^t y^c 17.th 1707’.

²² This is also a feature of Purcell’s version of ‘Unto thee will I cry’. In his other surviving anthems the chorus is also used at a central point.

Hallelujah	C -a	C - 3/4	ATB
Hallelujah	a	C - 3/4	Chorus

The flair exhibited by this anthem – as can be seen in the use of contrast and the lively nature of some of the writing – belies the youthful time of its composition (Hesletine was no more than fifteen.), though the stylistic deference to Purcell is fully evident.

Purcell’s setting of ‘Unto thee will I cry’ was more than likely the source of Hesletine’s inspiration for his own anthem. Purcell’s version, unlike Hesletine’s, has a substantial instrumental introduction with accompaniments for string parts as well as an organ (although, by the 1690s, the organ alone was used at the Chapel Royal).²³ The text is largely the same in both anthems (Psalm 28) although there are some significant differences between them. Most notably Hesletine omits the verse ‘O pluck me not away’, but also many of Hesletine’s verses are strikingly shorter, avoid large amounts of word repetition and lack the extensive instrumental sections. This underpins the notion that this anthem was written as part of his musical apprenticeship. The verse ‘Praise be ye Lord’ is one such example, as Hesletine’s setting lasts for a mere eight bars, while Purcell’s version, with the orchestral introduction and coda, lasts for 87 bars and includes a full chorus.

Both Hesletine’s and Purcell’s settings are largely written for ATB and chorus, but both contain verses for other solo voices. In Purcell’s version, the first verse is for bass solo, while ‘The Lord is the strength’ is a duet for tenor and bass. The only verse that uses different resources in Hesletine’s version is the verse ‘Hear ye voice’ which is written for bass solo. However, this verse is of additional interest as it uses a ground

²³ Holman (1996), 111, 140. The use of instruments, other than the organ, had been banned by Queen Mary in 1689. It appears that violins continued to be excluded under William III, as in 1691 he gave an order that that the music at the Chapel Royal should be ‘like [at] a collegiate church’.

bass, a device highly typical of the seventeenth century. (Surprisingly Purcell's version does not use a ground despite his predilection for this technique.)²⁴ As can be seen in the following extract, Hesletine's ground had a resemblance to the famous 'Dido's lament' from *Dido and Aeneas* with its slow downward motion and deliberate cadence:

Ex. 2: Hesletine, J.: 'Unto thee will I cry', verse 2.

Alto Solous Hear ye voice, ye voice of my

Organ 6 6 # 6 7 4 #3 6 # 6

A hum - ble pe - ti - tions when I cry, [I cry,]

Organ # 7 4 #3 b4 #4

A hear ye voice of my hum - ble pe - ti - tions

Organ # # 4 7 4 3 6 # 7 4 3# 6

A when I cry, when I cry, when I cry un-to

Organ # 6 7 4 3 6 7 4 3#

²⁴ Grounds appear in, for example, the final verse of his anthem 'Awake put on thy strength', and the introduction and final verses to 'In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust'. There is also a short, upward moving, ground that uses minims in the anthem 'O sing unto the Lord'.

This ground, like that in ‘Dido’s lament’ and other Baroque examples, uses a favourite device of a descending tetrachord.²⁵ In Hesletine’s case he uses *two* tetrachords, the first of which descends to E and the second to B before the bass moves to the dominant and subsequently repeats. This ground is particularly unusual as it is only three bars long, but despite its irregular periodicity, it meshes well with the melodic line. The melody also uses several common features of lament writing such as melisma and the stylistic descending ‘sighs’. For the change to D minor Hesletine omits the second tetrachord which is slightly odd as this particular statement of the ground is reduced to only two bars. The reprise, which is reached by means of a subtle alteration to the ground, is managed very effectively.

The final verse of this anthem is a simple choral ‘Hallelujah’, a feature of two of Hesletine’s other anthems.²⁶ This is, again, an attribute of Purcell’s version, but can be found in many other verse anthems from the Restoration period when uncomplicated choral textures were written specifically for unexperienced boys’ voices.²⁷

Most of Hesletine’s modulation between individual verses and within the verses themselves is only to closely related keys. Much of the writing is homophonic with some imitation and a little, albeit unambitious, contrapuntal writing. There is much evidence of the use of word-painting, such as the descending crotchets in verse one that accompany the words ‘goe down’, but this is again a feature of the Purcell version and of the wider popular style.²⁸

²⁵ Purcell’s example in ‘Dido’s lament’ moves downwards chromatically rather than tonally.

²⁶ These are ‘Praise the Lord’ and ‘O let me mouth be filled’.

²⁷ Examples include Purcell’s ‘Thy way O God’, ‘O God thou art’, and ‘Be merciful unto me’, Child’s ‘Sing we merrily’, Blow’s ‘I was in the spirit’, Croft’s ‘I will always give thanks’, Wise’s ‘Awake put on thy strength’, Nares’ ‘It is a good thing’, Kent’s ‘When the son of man shall come’, Alcock’s ‘Rejoice in the Lord, and Boyce’s ‘O praise the Lord’.

²⁸ Examples include ‘They that go down to the sea’ by Purcell, ‘Hear my prayer’ by Croft, ‘By the Waters of Babylon’ by Boyce, ‘Who is this that cometh’ by Kent, and both Alcock’s and Garth’s versions of ‘Out of the Deep’.

At Durham Hesletine wrote a further six known anthems, all of which generally contain a large number of verses. 'Praise the Lord' and 'O let my mouth be filled' both have ten verses, while the lost anthem, 'We have a strong city', had twelve. 'Praise the Lord' is unusual as its structure is punctuated by the repeat of the first two verses at the end of the anthem, immediately before the final Purcellian 'Hallelujah'.²⁹ This anthem is also written for a wider range of differing combinations of voices with verses for ATB, TB and bass solo. 'O let my mouth be filled' is different again in that all the verses, with the exception of the choruses, are written for bass solo, and was presumably written for a specific lay-clerk in the choir.

Hesletine, following the popular style, includes fugal writing in several of his anthems. The verse 'Blessed be the name' from the anthem 'Praise the Lord' (Ex. 3) begins in such a fashion and the contrapuntal writing continues throughout most of the verse:³⁰

²⁹ This 'Hallelujah' bears a distinct similarity with that from Purcell's anthem 'In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust'.

³⁰ Such fugal writing was, again, a common feature of earlier anthems and examples can be found throughout the works of Purcell. Examples by him include the anthems 'O Praise God in his holiness', 'Bow down thine ear' and 'Man that is born a woman'.

Ex. 3: Hesletine, J.: 'Praise the Lord', verse 3.

There is also some effective use of imitation between the parts where Hesletine pairs the voices together. In the following passage (Ex. 4) he pairs the treble with the tenor, and the alto (countertenor) with the bass to produce an imitative effect, but again this is a common feature of many other anthems of the time:³¹

³¹ This can also be seen in Purcell's 'Praise the Lord O my soul' and 'O give thanks unto the Lord', as well as Croft's 'O praise the Lord' and 'God has gone up', Friend's 'Hear O Lord', Kent's 'Who is this that cometh', and Alcock's 'Lord what love have I' and 'O Lord grant the King'.

2.6.3 Anthems of Thomas Ebdon

The most prolific composer of anthems at Durham was Ebdon, who wrote over sixty examples. One anthem is known to have been lost, while twenty-one were published in his two volumes of *Sacred Music* that appeared in 1790 and c.1810. Both of these collections received a healthy number of subscribers, the first of which had 422 for 518 copies. Indeed, the subscription list reads like a *Who's Who* of the local aristocracy and well-to-do residents. Famous musician subscribers included Arnold, Dibdin, Hayes and Shield. His second set was not as successful, but he still received just under 300 subscriptions, a substantial amount when compared with other published works of the period such as those by Boyce and Arnold which were not well received.³² Of the five anthems from Ebdon's first set, only two exist in a complete state in the cathedral choir's part-books, presumably because the printed scores would have been used instead. This places the date of the other three anthems immediately before 1790. The two anthems that survive in the choir's part-books date from the late 1760s and, of these two, the anthem 'To God O my Soul' is set to words paraphrased by Cowper.³³

The later volume is also of interest as it contains sixteen anthems that date from 1791 to 1809 and, given that the two volumes cover almost the entire length of Ebdon's career, it may safe to assume that these volumes contain what Ebdon viewed to be his best and most representative work.

³² Johnstone (1975), 32. 39.

³³ GB-DRC: MS B10: 350.

Table 4: Anthems contained in Ebdon's two volumes of *Sacred Music*.

Date	First line	Volume
Feb 1808	Behold God is my Salvation	2
Sept 1788	Behold how good and joyful	1
Sept 1791	Blessed is he that considereth	2
c.1769	Blessed is the Man	1
Mar 1804	Cry unto the Lord	2
Dec 1807	Deliver me from mine	2
Jan 1808	Hear me when I call O God	2
Jan 1804	I did call upon the Lord	2
Jan 1805	I will give thanks	2
April 1808	I will magnify thee	2
April 1809	I will remember thy name	2
July 1808	O give thanks unto the Lord	2
Mar 1808	O Lord my God I cried unto	2
April 1809	O Lord my God I will exalt	2
c.1788	O Lord rebuke me not	1
Feb 1809	O sing unto the Lord	2
Jan 1804	Praised be the Lord daily	2
c.1788	Teach me O Lord	1
Dec 1804	The Lord is my Shepherd	2
Mar 1809	The souls of the righteous	2
c.1769	To God O my Soul	1

Of these twenty-one anthems, six are full while the others are all verse. In these two sets Ebdon essentially wrote two types of full anthems. There are the short type which were sung with full choir throughout, and a second type that consists of several movements, usually three, that begin and conclude with full chorus and has one or more central verses for soloists.³⁴ The only full anthem in the first set is of the latter type ('Behold how good and joyful') which consists of three verses in a ternary format; the central verse, a duet for alto and bass, is in the relative minor. The full anthems in his second set are in a variety of forms. There are those that have three sections, for example 'Deliver me from mine Enemies', which has a central solo verse for two trebles and a bass.³⁵ The anthem 'Hear me when I call O God' has an almost identical pattern, although the key structure in this instance is a-F-A. There are also examples of the one-movement type, such as 'I did call upon the Lord'.

The style of writing used in Ebdon's full anthems tends to be quite old-fashioned which concords with Dearnley's observation that 'when they [composers of sacred music] had observed their obligations with a due share of full anthems, felt at liberty to satisfy their own natural inclinations by writing verse anthems less restricted by style.'³⁶ If we examine the manuscript full anthem 'The dead praise not thee' (Psalm 115), it begins with a section for full chorus that is written in homophony with a rhythmically slow, conjunct melodic line (Ex. 5). This certainly has parallels with much earlier anthems such as those by Blow, Locke and Croft, but can also be seen in

³⁴ The scale of the anthem may have been partly due to the service at which it was intended but there are no indications as to what the arrangement was at Durham. Although services at St Paul's Cathedral, London, regularly included both a full and verse anthem, at Durham only one anthem was sung. For example, Harris recorded that at a service on 1 November 1749 the 'Anthem for the Day' was Blow's 'I saw a great multitude'. It is possible that shorter anthems may have been chosen for cold winter mornings. Dearnley (1970), 99, 109; Burrows (2002), 262.

³⁵ This anthem does not have such a clear structure as 'Behold how good and joyful' as the first verse is in G minor and the second and third verses are in the tonic major. There is also an increase in tempo as the anthem progresses. Verse one is a 'Grave', the second an 'Andante' and the final verse is marked 'Tempo Guisto'.

³⁶ Dearnley (1970), 112.

the later eighteenth-century contexts of those by Boyce, Kent, Webbe and Alcock. In contrast, the treble duet of the central verse is written in a much more modern style that makes greater use of dotted rhythms:

Ex. 5: Ebdon, T.: ‘The dead praise not thee’, verses 1 and 2.³⁷

The musical score is for the hymn 'The dead praise not thee' by Thomas Ebdon. It is written in 3/2 time and marked 'Slow'. The score includes parts for Treble 1 [reconstructed], Treble 2 [reconstructed], Alto, Tenor [reconstructed], Bass, and Organ. The lyrics are: 'The dead praise not thee, praise not'. The organ part is written in two staves, with the right hand playing a treble clef and the left hand playing a bass clef. The organ part features a prominent dotted rhythm in the right hand.

³⁷ Even though no treble part-books that contain this anthem survive, a reconstruction was easy as the organ part, in common with Restoration practices, doubles the outer voices (Herissone (2006), 19). The word setting of the treble part was also included in the organ book.

4

Tr
thee O Lord, nei - ther they that go down, go

Tr2
thee O Lord, nei - ther they that go down, go

A
thee O Lord, nei - ther they that go down, go

Te
thee O Lord, nei - ther they that go down, go

B
thee O Lord, nei - ther they that go down, go

Org.

6 7 6 8 7 # 6#
4 #

8

Tr
down to the grave, *Pia* to the grave in si - lence But

Tr2
down to the grave, *Pia* to the grave in si - lence.

A
down to the grave, *Pia* to the grave in si - lence.

Te
down to the grave, *Pia* to the grave in si - lence.

B
down to the grave, to the grave in si - lence.

Org.

Pia

6 6 5 # 6

Ver: 2 Trebles

12

Tr
we will praise thee, will praise thee, we will [praise] thee O

Tr2
But we will praise thee, we will praise thee O

Org.

6

16
Tr
God, [we will] praise thee O God, we will praise thee O
Tr2
God, we will praise thee O God, we will praise thee O
Org.
7 7 6 5 6 5 #
4 3 4

20
Tr
God, we will praise thee, we will praise
Tr2
God, we will praise
Org.
6

Ebdon's preferred choice (perhaps an understandable one, given that he had more compositional freedom) was the verse anthem. He primarily used a type that was for solo voices in which the chorus only entered for the final verse. His anthems also generally consisted of fewer verses than those by Hesletine. One of the most striking anthems in the second set is 'O give thanks unto the Lord' (Psalm 107) which is a short anthem that consists of many short sections for different combinations of voices. This anthem utilises a verse/chorus pattern and the choruses are sung by a treble duet to the words 'and his mercy endureth for ever'. The music of this repeating idea is the same, but all the verses are written to different music. Although rare in Ebdon, such a rapid change of voices was hardly new, as Locke uses a similar idea in his anthem 'Lord let me know mine end'.

Ebdon's part-writing is for the most part homophonic, with some imitation between the voices and although some verses, particular duets, do contain sections of contrapuntal writing, they quickly return to homophony. An example of this is the second verse of manuscript anthem 'Why art thou so vexed' (Psalm 42). As can be seen in Ex. 6, the first section concludes after 17 bars with a homophonic cadence before a second series of entries:

Ex. 6: Ebdon, T.: 'Why art thou so vexed', verse 2.

15 Moderato Full

Tr
A
Te
B

Org.

30

Tr
A
Te
B
Org.

God, put thy trust in God, for I will yet give him thanks, I will yet give him
God, put thy trust in God, for I will
God, put thy trust in God, for I will yet give him thanks give him thanks,
God, put thy trust in God
for I will

6 7

Despite these occasional examples of fugal writing, Ebdon, like others, preferred to group his voices together so that there were never more than two different set words sung at any one time. A good example is 'Hear me when I call', the last verse of which (Ex. 7) uses two different groups of the voices. Ebdon initially pairs up the treble with the tenor, similar to what Hesletine did in 'Praise the Lord'; this idea can also be observed in Croft's anthem 'God is gone up':

Ex. 7: Ebdon, T.: 'Hear me when I call', final verse.

CHORUS
Vivace Maestoso

Treble
Of - fer the sac - ri - fice of right - eous - ness, of right - eous - ness and put your

Alto
Of - fer the

Tenor
Of - fer the sac - ri - fice of right - eous - ness, of right - eous - ness,

Bass

Piano

Tr
trust in the Lord, and put your trust, - put your trust in the Lord, in the

A
sac - ri - fice of right - eous - ness and put you trust in the Lord, in the

T
Of - fer the sac - ri - fice of

B
Of - fer the sac - ri - fice of

Piano

11

Tr Lord, and put your trust in the Lord, in the Lord, and put your trust in the

A Lord, and put your trust in the Lord, in the Lord,

T right - eous - ness and put your trust in the Lord, and put your trust in the

B right - eous - ness and put your trust in the Lord,

6 7 6 6 6 6 6 5 6 4 5 3 6 6 6 6

16

Tr Lord, in the Lord, Of - fer the sac - ri - fice of

A and put your trust, put your trust in the Lord,

T Lord, in the Lord, Of - fer the sac - ri - fice of

B and put your trust, put your trust in the Lord,

5 7 5 6 5 6 7 6 6 5

6 4 3

Though the aforementioned anthem provides a clear example of a repetitive structure, the majority of Ebdon's anthems are through-composed. The first verse of 'Blessed is he that considereth' is unusual as it has an AABA plan, but many individual verses have little in the way of modulation and perhaps only contain a cadence in the relative major as in 'He has delivered'. Others also move to the relative minor and other closely related keys in the harmonic cycle. There are exceptions where Ebdon does vary the key scheme considerably. One of these, 'O Lord my God', moves to almost

all the neighbouring keys in a short space of time. The anthem begins with an organ introduction in B-flat before it moves to G minor for the entry of the voices. Four bars later it touches E-flat before it immediately returns to B-flat, and another five bars later is in F. There are other attempts at more rapid modulation, but in the case of ‘O praise the Lord with me’ (Psalm 34), his attempts are not particularly successful. Beginning in G major, the music cadences in G minor in bar eight before modulating to B-flat. The change back to G, via G minor, is rushed, poorly handled, and produces an abrupt transition from one key to the next.

Despite the atmosphere of experiment in some of these pieces, the manuscript examples show little in advance of his published anthems. The solo anthem ‘Rejoice in the Lord’ (Psalm 33), which dates from February 1811,³⁸ consists of 89 bars of which the chorus only sings for the last three. The remainder of this anthem is for treble solo. ‘O Lord the very heavens’ is similarly constructed, but composed for bass solo. It may have been intended for Radcliffe, principal bass in the 1803 Edinburgh oratorio season.³⁹

Ebdon’s anthems demonstrate only limited development and are largely similar to other anthems of this period. Even though there is an air of experiment in some examples, his anthem-writing is generally conservative in its technical parameters, with attractive melodic lines and homophonic textures. His attempts at more striking modulation are clumsy which is perhaps why he largely avoided anything outside the normal tonal orbit, but, at the same time, he also may have, like Avison and Hesletine, tried to avoid anything that would have caused opprobrium amongst traditionalists. This gives credence to the notion that the movement against secular music in the church stifled what was composed for use at Durham Cathedral.

³⁸ GB-DRc: MS A30: 128.

³⁹ *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1 January 1803.

2.6.4 Anthems of John Garth

Although Garth is not recorded as having any direct involvement with music-making at the cathedral itself, he did write three anthems specifically for the Durham choir. These are preserved in the cathedral part-books. Of these, two are full anthems, while the other is a verse anthem. They were all composed late in Garth's career. The earliest of these appears to be 'Out of the deep' (Psalm 130) which was copied into the organ books in 1783, over a decade after Garth had stopped concert promotion.⁴⁰ This anthem is of the full variety and consists of two verses with no sections for solo voices. The style of writing, one dominated by four-part counterpoint, is in marked contrast to Ebdon's own predilection for homophony. Indeed, the first verse of 'Out of the deep' continues in a contrapuntal fashion until the end of the stanza (Ex. 8), in a similar way to the earlier version by Alcock.⁴¹ Another interesting feature is the use of a countersubject that is inseparable from the main subject and moves at a faster rhythmic pace. As the verse progresses more parts adopt the countersubject, but towards the end, the first subject returns, giving the verse a strong ternary flavour. Indeed the recapitulation slows the anthem down before a short coda in four-part harmony provides the final conclusion. Similar examples appear in the music of Handel, such as the verse 'At thy rebuke' from 'Let God arise' (HWV256a). There are also examples in his oratorios, for example, 'Egypt was glad when they departed' from *Israel in Egypt*, also 'And he shall purify' and 'And with his stripes we are healed' from *Messiah*, where the countersubject, particularly in the latter, also moves at a faster rhythmic speed. However, despite Handel's use of these ideas they do not

⁴⁰ GB-DRc: MS A20: 25. The organ part is dated September 1783, but the vocal parts do not appear to have been copied into the part-books until 1791 (GB-DRc: MS B31: 131; MS B13: 166).

⁴¹ Alcock's version dates from 1732. See Alcock, J.: *Six and Twenty Select Anthems* (London, 1771), 66-71.

appear to have been as readily adapted for use in anthems by British composers and, as such, Garth's examples stand out amongst the Durham anthems of this period.

The second verse of 'Out of the deep' is rather different from Alcock's version which is entirely homophonic. Garth's rendering is even more fugue-like than the first verse and has more restatements of the subject. It can be divided into two sections, each of which concludes in homophony. The first section begins fugally, while the second, and more substantial, section makes use of stretto, although not all parts enter with the fugal subject:

Ex. 8: Garth, J.: 'Out of the deep', verse 1.

Full Slow

treble

alto

tenor

bass

organ

Out of the deep have I called un - to

6 6 7 6

20

have I call - ed un - to thee, out of the
 the deep have I call - ed, have I call - ed,
 out of the deep have I call -
 call - ed up - on thee O

7^b 5 4³/₂ 6 7 6 7

Garth's other full anthem, 'Unto thee O God' (Psalm 75), dates from 1804 and is different again because of its largely homophonic textures.⁴² It begins with the treble part that moves at a faster rhythmic pace from the other voices, before the melodic line is passed among the other parts (Ex. 9). Indeed, at times, it appears in more than one part simultaneously. There is a gradual build-up as the anthem progresses until, at the end, all four parts move together at the faster pace:

⁴² GB-DRC: MS A16: 201; MS B11: 191.

Ex. 9: Garth, J.: 'Unto thee O God'.

Full [♩ = 108]

Treble [reconstructed]

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Organ

Un - to thee O God do we give - - thanks, yea un - to thee do we give -

Un - to thee - - - - - O

Un - to thee - - - - - O

Un - to thee - - - - - O

6
5

6
5

Tr

A

T

B

Organ

5

thanks, thy name - - - al - so is so nigh - - - and that do thy - - - wond - 'rous works de -

God do we give thanks, do we, do we give

God do we give thanks, do we, do we give

God do we give thanks, do we give

6 5 6 5 6 7 6 4 4 3

10

Tr
-clare, yea un - to thee. do we give

A
thanks, un - to thee O God do we give thanks, yea un - to thee do we give

T
thanks, un - to thee O

B
thanks, un - to thee O

7
4

15

Tr
thanks, thy name al - so is so nigh and that do thy wond - rous works de -

A
thanks, thy name al - so is so nigh and that do thy wond - rous works de -

T
God do we give thanks, do we give

B
God do we give thanks, do we give

6 5 7 6 5 6 5 7 6 5 4 5 4 4

If Garth's two full anthems set a more impressive standard, then his only surviving verse anthem, 'Dust thou art', is particularly fine. It appears to be of a similar date to 'Out of the Deep' and was copied into the organ book at some point

between 1783 and 1787.⁴³ The text is taken from several biblical sources including Psalms 23, 104, and Corinthians, and is combined in such a way that a continuous narrative is formed which, with its dramatic nature, has a marked similarity to an oratorio.

Despite its distinctly morose subject matter and the key of G minor, the anthem, probably having been written for a funeral or perhaps an Ash Wednesday service, possesses a rhythmic *élan*, especially the distinctively ‘French’ dotted patterns of the first verse which generates a lively, compelling ambience.⁴⁴ The tenor solo in this particular verse represents the voice of God, one which Garth certainly imbues with a sense of grandeur as it majestically rises above the organ accompaniment. Nevertheless, as can be seen in the next example, there is a striking angularity to the bass line which, with its solemn characteristics, lends a ‘grave’ intensity to the movement:

⁴³ GB-DRc: MS A26: 183; MS A26: 193. Again, the vocal parts were not copied into the part-books until 1791 (GB-DRc: MS B12: 354; MS B35: v.136).

⁴⁴ Alcock makes extensive use of dotted rhythms in the verse ‘Praise him in the Sound of the Trumpet’ from the anthem ‘I will sing a new song’; although, in this instance, this rhythmic pattern appears in the the melodic line.

Ex. 10: Garth, J.: 'Dust thou art', verse 1.

Larghetto

Treble

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Organ

Solo

T

Dust thou art and un - to

dust thou shalt re - turn, dust thou

6

5 6 6 4 6 6 5 #

6 4 #

17
T
art and un - to dust thou shalt re - turn, dust thou art,
6 # 6 #

22
T
dust thou art and un - to dust thou shalt re - turn, and un - to dust
6 6 5 6 4 6 7 7
2

27
T
thou - - - shalt - - - re - turn, dust thou art and un - to
7 6 5 6
4 3

32
T
dust thou shalt re - turn, un - to dust thou shalt re - turn, dust thou
6 4 6 # 6
4 #

Verse two is a homophonic ‘Grave’ for chorus (Ex. 11) that is similar to the opening of Croft’s *Burial Service*. There then begins a series of expressive suspensions that illustrate the words ‘so death passed’. The third verse rather dramatically moves to G major with a return of the tenor soloist again representing the voice of God with the

words of hope ‘I am the resurrection’. It is dramatically short and lasts a mere five bars. Such a theatrical change of mode is a common feature of Handel’s oratorios where the minor key is preferred for more melancholy movements. An example of this is again in *Messiah*, where, after the minor key ‘Since by man came death’, there is an immediate movement to the major for the words ‘By man came also the resurrection’. It is also evident in other anthems of the period such as Kent’s ‘Hear my Pray’r’ which, despite its minor mode, dramatically moves to the tonic major for the final chorus.

Verse four of the *Garth* is a setting of the words ‘Though I walk thro’ the valley of the shadow of death’ which is written in a lively manner with a walking bass, and still firmly grounded in G major. Handel notably utilised a walking bass in the aria ‘The people that walked in darkness’ from *Messiah*. The nature of the tenor solo, which changes at this point, now represents man:

Ex. 11: *Garth*, J. ‘Dust thou art’, verses 3-5.

Chorus
Grave

60

Tr
A
T
B

By Man Sin en - ter'd in - to the World and

By Man Sin en - ter'd in - to the World and

By Man Sin en - ter'd in - to the World and

By Man Sin en - ter'd in - to the World and

7
5

65

Tr death by Sin, and so death pass - ed, so death

A death by Sin, and so death pass - ed

T death by Sin, and so death pass - ed, so death

B death by Sin, and so death pass - ed

7/5 # 6 4#/2 6 4#/2 6 4/2 6

71

Tr pass - ed up - on all Men, and so death

A up - on all Men, so death

T pass - ed up - on all Men, so death

B up - on all Men, death

4/2 6 4#/2 6 7 6# 4 3

76

Tr
A
T
B

pass - ed, pass - ed up - on all Men.

9 8 4 3 9 8 4 3 4 #

82

Solo

T

I am the re - su - rec - tion and the life.

6 7 6#

87

Andante

T

6 6 6 5 5 5 5 6

93

T

Though I walk thro' the vall - ey - of the Shad - ow of

6 6 4 6 5 6 6 6 5

After a treble duet which, with its dotted rhythms and writing in thirds, is similar to the wider sacred style of that time, verse six is an intense but spectacular fugue (Ex. 12) in which the counterpoint continues throughout most of the verse. It is occasionally broken by sections where the parts move together, but unlike other anthems that are broken with substantial homophonic sections (such as in Avison's 'Hast not thou forsaken us' and Nares' 'Call to remembrance'), the contrapuntal movement continues until the end of the verse. The conclusion of an anthem with a fugal movement was a common, but not essential, stylistic feature of the verse anthem, and usually accompanied words that were meant to give or express hope:⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Examples include Croft's 'Give the king thy judgments', Nares' 'Arise thou judge of the world', and Boyce's 'Turn thee unto me'.

Ex. 12: Garth, J.: 'Dust thou art', verse 6.

Chorus
188 *Alla Capella*

Tr
A
T
B

We have a build - ing of God a house not made with

194

Tr
A
T
B

We have a build - ing of God a house not made with
hands, not made with hands, a house not made with, not made with

200

Tr
We have a build - ing of God, a build - ing of God a house not

A
hands, a build - ing

T
hands, we have a build - ing of God, of

B
We have a build - ing of God, of

6
4
3

6 6 4 6 7 6

206

Tr
made, not made with hands e - ter - nal in the hea - vns,

A
of God a house not made with hands, a house not

T
God, a house not made with hand, not made

B
God, we have a build - ing, we

5
4

3

4#
2

6 7 #

undermines the notion that all English sacred music was immutably conservative or unimaginative. Although one might have expected the music for this anthem to be slow moving and rather sombre, Garth's setting has a degree of vitality through its use of dotted rhythms and its distinctly theatrical nature. As such, it bears a marked similarity to Handel's oratorios which combine a more theatrical style with a sacred text. Garth's use of polyphony in two of his anthems, although old-fashioned in manner, is unique among all the sacred works composed at Durham at this time. Without doubt, therefore, these three anthems reveal Garth to be a far more accomplished composer of sacred music than Ebdon ever was, even at his best.

2.6.5 'Hear O Lord' by John Friend

John Friend's only surviving anthem was copied into the part-books at some point between 1800 and 1804.⁴⁶ The text, like Garth's 'Dust thou art', is assembled from several different sources, but is primarily based on Psalm 42.⁴⁷ However, rather than forming a narrative, it articulates more of a personal journey that imitates the irrational nature of despair.

On the surface it is a traditional verse anthem. The first six verses are for a tenor soloist and the final verse for choir. All of the verses are through-composed, although the second verse, 'My tears have been my meat', is reprised after another verse in the relative minor which produces an overarching ternary pattern. The anthem begins in a similar way to Garth's 'Dust thou art', where an organ introduction is followed by a majestic vocal line that rises above the accompaniment (Ex. 13). Also

⁴⁶ GB-DRc: MS A16: 201.

⁴⁷ It also uses material from Psalm 130.

13
T voice, the voice, the voice of my complaint, O

Org.

6 5 6 7 9 8 6 6 6 5
4 # 6 # 4 3 6 6 4 #

17
T Lord, O Lord, my soul has a thirst for God, my

Org.

6 6 4 3 6 6 7 6 9 8 6 4[♯]
5 3 2

There is a wide range of keys used between verses of this anthem and each is smoothly linked to the next by the organ. In the first four verses the modulation is to closely related keys, but for the recitative of verse five the music modulates from E-flat major to A-flat minor (Ex. 14). Such a radical change is cause for note in itself (not least the use of the key signature of seven flats which is unique to the whole Durham collection) but it is reached smoothly over the space of only one bar. This is achieved by the omission of the third from the E-flat major chord at the end of the previous verse which enables it to be reinterpreted as the dominant of A-flat minor. The tension this change creates effectively portrays the torturous words ‘Why so full of grief O my soul’. The music resolves to E major for the next verse through a sharpened fifth in the tonic chord.

Ex. 14: Friend, J.: 'Hear O Lord', verse 5.

67 night.

67 *Adagio Recit. ad lib.*
Why, why so full of grief O my soul,

75 why, why so full of heav-i - ness O my soul, and

79 *Andante Moderato*
why art thou, art thou so dis - quiet - ed with -

6 6 6 5
4 3

6 6 6 4 3

6 6 7 6 no chords

6 6 3 6 5
4 4

For the final verse, the nature of the text changes from the personal to the collective, the choir declaiming 'O put your trust in God'. Unlike Garth's example, this final movement is not fugal but does have some effective imitation between the parts which are paired together.

Although Friend's anthem is exceptional for Durham, such types of anthems are not unprecedented since as Dearnley discovered that the verse anthem 'with its

succession of aria-like movements, had reached cantata type proportions. Owing much at first to the appeal of favourite voices, its popularity was later borne along by a general relish for music in church that was a match for the instrumental sonata and concerto grosso that had such prestige outside.⁴⁸ However, Ebdon never attempted to write anything approaching this level of ingenuity, which is perhaps understandable given that his lesser attempts are poor. However, this anthem, like Garth's examples, again dispels the notion that all British sacred music of the time was unimaginative.

2.6.6 Anthems by James Radcliffe

As well as Ebdon's two published collections of anthems, there was a further collection of ten published by Radcliffe in 1801 that were dedicated to James Cornwallis (1743-1824), the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.⁴⁹ There was a delay during its engraving and printing due to the increase of costs caused by the Napoleonic Wars. However, there had clearly been some positive encouragement for their publication as the preface makes clear:

THE Composer of the following pieces feels it incumbent to apologize for the late appearance of a work, the proposals for which were encouraged by very powerful and liberal patronage, for which he desires to return his most sincere thanks. The circumstance which occasioned the delay was the great increase in the price of paper and labour; which

⁴⁸ Dearnley (1970), 112.

⁴⁹ Cornwallis also held the post of Dean at Durham concurrently.

rendered the subscription, as it stood at the proposed time of delivery, inadequate to the expence [sic] of publication.⁵⁰

Unlike Ebdon's two volumes, Radcliffe's set was not enthusiastically received. There were only 75 copies subscribed to prior to publication and there was a notable lack of well-known musicians from outside the local environs in the list of subscribers. This set consists of one full anthem and nine verse anthems, all but one based in a major key. They are very similar in style to Ebdon's anthems and, like his, are not unattractive, but they are distinctly old-fashioned when compared with the anthem by Friend.

As has already been observed in Ebdon's anthems, much of the choral writing is in a uniform four-part homophony, although there are some effective pieces of fugal writing such as in the second verse of 'Blessed is he'. The first verse of this anthem sounds distinctly archaic and rather angular, and demonstrates a marked similarity to those from the early eighteenth century. Others are much more contemporary with lively melodic lines that feature dotted rhythms, such as in 'O give thanks unto the Lord'. The last verse of the anthem 'O be joyful' (Psalms 66, 72, 77, 89) is of interest as it is in eight parts, for double choir, the only Durham-composed anthem from the time set in such a manner. The first part of this verse is homophonic before an increase in tempo accompanies a change to a fugal texture. The main theme used here has a distinct similarity to that of Croft's anthem 'God is gone up'. The writing itself is never truly in eight-part counterpoint as the parts are frequently doubled, and the voices regularly move together as demonstrated in the following extract:

⁵⁰ Preface to Radcliffe, J.: *Church Music*

Ex. 15: Radcliffe, J.: 'O be joyful', verse 5.

CHORUS *Largo assai*

135

Tr1
Bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed be the Lord, the Lord God of Is - rael

A1
Bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed be the Lord, the Lord God of Is - rael and

Tr1
Bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed be the Lord, the Lord God of Is - rael

B1
Bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed be the Lord, the Lord God of Is - rael -

Tr2
Bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed be the Lord, the Lord God of Is - rael

A2
Bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed be the Lord, the Lord God of Is - rael and

Te2
Bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed be the Lord, the Lord God of Is - rael

B2
Bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed, bless - ed be the Lord, the Lord God O Is - rael

Org.
135
6 5 6 7 7
3 4 2

142 *A tempo con spirito*

Tr1
a - men, for - e - ver - more, for - e - ver - more a - men,

A1
bless - ed by the name of his ma - jes - ty a - men, a - men, for -

Te1
and bless - ed be the name of his maj - es - ty

B1
for

Tr2
a - men, a - men, a - men,

A2
bless - ed be the name of his ma - jes - ty a - men, a - men, for -

Te2
and bless - ed be the name of his ma - jes - ty

B2
and

Org.

8 — 8 — 7 — 6
5 4 3 — 4 —

2.6.7 Anthems by Philip Falle

One of the cathedral's prebendaries, Philip Falle (1656-1742), appears to have been a competent musician. He played the bass viol and composed numerous pieces, the most substantial part of which was anthems. Most, if not all, of these anthems appear to have been composed locally, presumably for use in the cathedral, although none of those contained in the British Library manuscript was ever copied into the part-books.⁵¹ Despite being bound together into one volume, this manuscript appears to have been assembled from a series of eight booklets, each of which contains one or more anthems. In total, fourteen anthems have survived but others may have been lost.⁵²

Falle's anthems were largely composed in the first and second decades of the eighteenth century and at least one predates Hesletine's appointment in Durham. The anthem 'Hear O thou shepherd' (Psalm 80) dates from 1710 and is the most substantial anthem of the set consisting of no less than fourteen verses.⁵³ Falle's anthems are largely similar to others from the period, with simple choruses that are almost entirely homophonic and many of the verses with more than one soloist are predominantly contrapuntal. The anthem 'In the Lord put I my trust' is unusual as it is written entirely for a duet of alto and bass and lacks any sections for chorus. Another

⁵¹ GB-Lbl: Ad 31586. Falle was appointed to Durham in 1700 and remained in post until his death in 1742. He appears to have been an able musician, as he gave, in 1738, 'a large Collection of Musick & Musical Treatises' to the cathedral. His autograph music catalogue is extensive and contains a large number of treatises on music and collections of sacred music, a great deal of which dates from the seventeenth century. There is also music for the harpsichord, lute, viol, flute and violin, which perhaps indicates that he could play all of these instruments. GB-DRc: MS A.iv.32: 87; Add MS 154.

⁵² Most of the surviving anthems have been numbered, usually twice, the larger figure of which has been crossed out. The last anthem in the volume, 'Come ye children' (Psalm 34), was revised to number 28, which indicates that at least half of his output for this genre may have been lost. Most of the surviving anthems are verse anthems, although two are full anthems. A further copy of the anthem 'Tell ye daughter of Sion' survives at York Minster Library (M 47).

⁵³ This anthem was 'Set to Musick upon Occasion of D^r. Sachevenl's Tryal'. Henry Sacheverell (1674-1724) was a radical and political clergyman, whose sermons resulted in him his trial before the House of Commons in February 1710. Speck (2008).

anomaly is the first verse of 'If the Lord had not helped me' which, like Hesletine's 'Unto thee will I cry', features a ground bass which betrays its seventeenth-century origins. Although a ground continues throughout the entire first verse, it modulates for the middle section into the relative major and, for a further time, on the return, moves to the tonic minor. Such changes were not unusual and were common parlance in the works of Purcell.⁵⁴

Many of these anthems reveal a competent level of craftsmanship with some invention in their melodic lines, though at times they are distinctly chant-like in their marked use of repeated notes. The harmonies are well thought out, but are modal and rather angular, creating a distinctly old-fashioned sound even for their time of composition, and they certainly exhibit parallels with those by other Restoration composers such as Locke, Blow and Humfrey. All but one are in a minor key and although this mode is particularly suitable for an anthem such as 'O death how bitter', the sadness of the music to the anthem 'Thou shewest wonderful things' (Ex. 16) is strangely contradictory, particularly since it was written as a 'Thanksgiving for Rain, and a plentiful Harvest'. One is forced therefore to conclude that Falle believed in the general and severe solemnity of sacred music:

⁵⁴ Miller (1948), 343.

Ex. 16: Falle, P.: 'Thou shewest us wonderful things', verse 1.

Treble
Thou shew - est, thou shew - est us won - der - ful things in -

Alto
Thou shew - est, thou shew - est us won - der - ful things in

Tenor
Thou shew - est, thou shew - est us won - der - ful things in

Bass
Thou shew - est, thou shew - est us won - der - ful things in

Organ
5 6 6 # 4# 6 6#
2

Tr
thy right - eous - ness won - der - ful things in thy right - eous - ness O God

A
thy right - eous - ness won - der - ful things in thy right - eous - ness O God

T
thy right - eous - ness won - der - ful things in thy right - eous - ness O God

B
thy right - eous - ness won - der - ful things in thy right - eous - ness O God

Org
6 6 # # 4# 6 6# 6 6 # 6

Despite Falle's importance at Durham there is only one anthem that was copied into the choir's part-books and that is the full anthem 'It is a good thing' (another example, incidentally, of a severe setting in a minor mode) which is not represented in the British Library manuscript.⁵⁵ It is much shorter than those in the British Library manuscript and consists of one verse that ends with a simple six-bar

⁵⁵ Only the alto, tenor and bass parts survive.

'Hallelujah'. This anthem most likely postdates Falle's other surviving examples and was copied into the books at some point just before 1729.⁵⁶

Falle's anthems, although by no means groundbreaking, reveal an able musician who possessed considerable abilities in composition. Although his anthems show little in advance of others for the period in which they were written, he was still an important composer of anthems at Durham during his time.

2.6.8 Anthems of Ralph Banks

Ralph Banks jnr is represented in the choir's part-books by two anthems; a third survives in one of the organ books. Of these anthems, 'O sing unto the Lord' was copied into the part-books in 1793,⁵⁷ and 'O Lord grant the King' in 1796.⁵⁸ Given that Banks had left the cathedral choir in 1788 and had taken up his appointment as a lay-clerk and teacher of the choristers at Rochester Cathedral in 1789, both of these anthems were probably written after he left Durham.⁵⁹ This is further reinforced by the third anthem 'O Lord how glorious' which is bound into the back of the organ book MS A17.⁶⁰ This anthem is in short score and several sections are written in three staves. This is highly unusual as the domestically produced organ parts were usually written on only two staves. Furthermore, this copy seems out of place in the organ volume in which it is bound. It is in a different hand and on different sized paper to the rest of the volume and may actually have been produced at Rochester and brought

⁵⁶ Several of the part-books are in the hand of Thomas Laye, who died in 1729. It could date from as early as 1710, but appears to be from the years immediately prior to his death.

⁵⁷ GB-DRc: MS B11: 10.

⁵⁸ GB-DRc: MS B11: 60; MS B34: 101.

⁵⁹ Shaw (1991), 238.

⁶⁰ GB-DRc: MS A17: 207-15.

back to Durham by either Banks or one of his family, but never copied into the part-books.

2.6.9 Marcello Psalms

From 1757 Garth began to issue his eight-volume English transcription of the psalms of Benedetto Marcello, the source of which had been published in Venice between 1724-6 under the title *Estro Poetico-Armonico Parafrasi Sopra li primi Venticinque Salmi*. The first indication that there were plans to produce an English version comes from the second edition of Avison's *Essay* at the end of which he attached a five-page proposal for their publication. Despite this, it appears that Avison may have already decided to produce them in partnership with Garth as the reference to 'our Version' indicates.⁶¹ By the time of their publication Garth had largely taken over the task although Avison contributed a lengthy 'Remarks on the Psalms of Marcello' among the prefatory material. Avison thought highly of Marcello, writing that his:

inimitable Freedom, Depth, and comprehensive Style, will ever remain the highest Example to all Composers for the Church...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 this extensive and laborious Undertaking, like the divine Subject he works upon, he is generally either grand, beautiful, or pathetic; and so perfectly free from every Thing that is low and common, that the judicious Hearer is charmed with an endless Variety of

⁶¹ Avison (1967), 102.

new and pleasing Modulation; together with a Design and Expression so finely adapted, that the Sense and Harmony do every where coincide. In the last Psalm, which is the fifty-first in our Version, he seems to have collected all the Powers of his vast Genius, that he might surpass the Wonders he had done before.⁶²

Others were just as impressed with the *Psalms* as is evident from the Venetian edition which contains many enthusiastic letters from musicians including Telemann.⁶³ Garth similarly included in his version a translation of a letter from an equally enthusiastic Johann Matheson which had been written in October 1725:

If it is not Presumption in a Stranger, and a *German* too, to join his Voice of Praise and Gratulation with the most renowned [sic] Master of *Italy*, who are undoubtedly the first Virtuosi in *Europe*, your Excellency will accept the Testimony of a Heart sensible of the highest Regard for the Merits of your distinguished Talents in Music, my Esteem for which will continually increase: Your celebrated Work of the *Psalms*, lately published, (of which I have received with the greatest Pleasure the first five Volumes) having raised in me a Degree of Admiration beyond which I can express.⁶⁴

⁶² Ibid., 101-2.

⁶³ *Marcello Psalms*, VIII.

⁶⁴ Ibid., V.

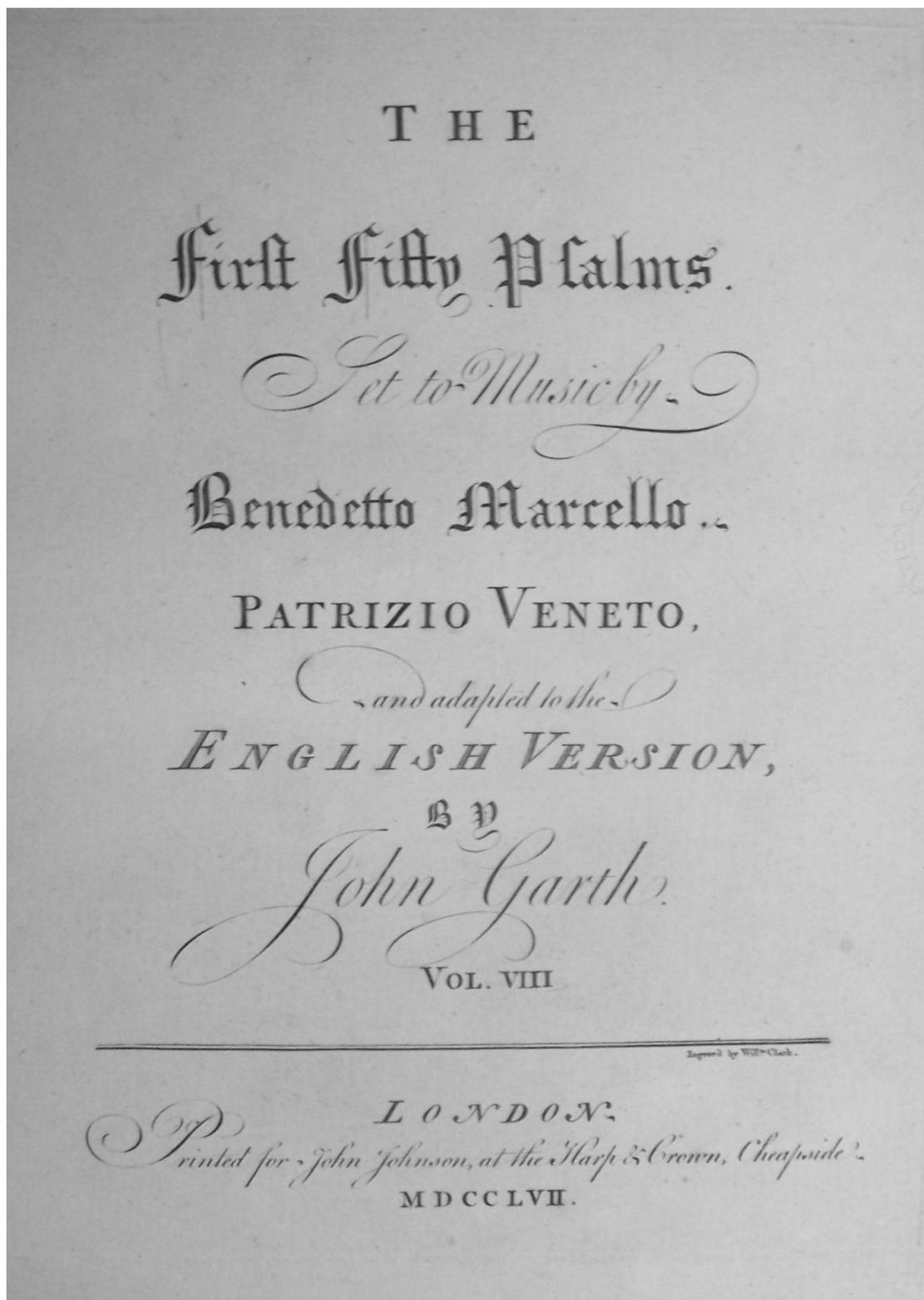


Fig. 6: Title-page to Garth's version of the *Marcello Psalms*, Vol. 8.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Taken from the author's private collection.

Despite the enthusiasm for the original Venetian edition, Garth's transcriptions were not particularly successful. Although there were several notable subscribers, including Boyce and Stanley, in total the subscription to the first volume only extended to less than 100 copies. By the time the second volume was issued there were over twenty further subscriptions, but still this was only a qualified improvement considering the number Ebdon had received for his first volume of *Sacred Music*. Clearly the predicted sales were not what had been expected and, by the time Garth's Op. 3 organ voluntaries were issued in c.1771, his edition of the *Psalms* had been reduced to half-price. Nonetheless, Avison's goal, that 'they will soon be universally known', appears to have been realised,⁶⁶ and, for the most part, those who knew the *Psalms* spoke highly of them. They attracted some favourable responses, notably from Edward Miller who spoke of 'the superiority of sacred music in raising the affections' and gave several examples including the 22nd and 51st psalms.⁶⁷ However, there were those who were not particularly enthralled with them, or Garth's arrangements. Burney accused Avison of over-rating 'Marcello's Psalms either to deprecate Handel, or forward the subscription for publication.'⁶⁸ Of the original edition Burney thought that 'though there is considerable merit in the work, that the author has been *over-praised*'.⁶⁹

Both Avison and Garth believed that the *Psalms* would be suitable for use in religious services. Garth wrote in the 'Advertisement' to the first volume that:

they will be considered as proper Performances for the Service of our
Cathedrals, for which purpose chiefly they are adapted to the *English*

⁶⁶ 'Remarks on the Psalms of Marcello', *Marcello Psalms*, I.

⁶⁷ Miller (1790), iii.

⁶⁸ Burney (1776), IV, 670.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 543.

version: And that they will now not only prove useful on this Account, but also give great Pleasure to Lovers of Music in general, I have been encouraged to hope from the Approbation of many Judges who have perused them in Manuscript.

One of these 'judges' was the Cambridge poet, Thomas Gray, who wrote that 'Marcello has set out from Newcastle & is travelling as fast as a Northumberland Waggon can bring him.'⁷⁰

A comparison of Garth's edition with the original reveals how similar they are, although it contains minor alterations that enable the music to fit the English words. Garth himself admitted that:

I have followed the Original, Verse By Verse, throughout each Psalm; and have endeavoured to preserve each particular Design in this Work, by strictly adhering to every Change of Sentiment and Passion, and by adapting the *Melody* and *Expression* of MARCELLO'S Music, to the *Construction* and *Prosody* of the *English* Language.⁷¹

The vocal parts in Marcello's original edition and Garth's version are the same, set for the same voices with the same clefs, ornamentation and markings. For example, the first psalm is identical apart from the substitution of the English words. In order to fit the English text some notes are split equally into smaller length notes, while other repeated notes are combined, slurs and ties having been added or removed. There are a few places where Garth alters the music more radically, for example in the bass solo

⁷⁰ Stephens (1968), 176.

⁷¹ 'Advertisement' *Marcello Psalms*, I.

of verse five, where almost all the note lengths are doubled. However, most amendments are reserved for the shorter recitative movements that are frequently reduced in length or occasionally omitted in their entirety.

The cathedral subscribed to two sets (despite the dispute between Hesletine and Avison) which clearly enjoyed some success there since an arrangement, based on Psalm IV, was subsequently produced by Edward Gregory and set to the words 'O Lord Give Ear'. It was copied into the part-books in October 1757.⁷² There are several important differences in Gregory's version including the transposition of the key from F to E-flat and the change of time signature to four crotchet beats in a bar in the first verse rather than the eight of the original. However, notwithstanding Gregory's initial use of material from Psalm IV, the two versions diverge as they progress until they are so different to suggest that Gregory composed the latter movements entirely himself.

Garth's version of the *Psalms* continued to remain in use for many years.⁷³ Avison, rather flatteringly, wrote that the *Psalms* 'have been admired: And every Succession of true Lovers of Music will admire them, till Time, and the Art itself, shall be no more'.⁷⁴ However, Garth's version has, for the most part, been forgotten and is only likely to retain a degree of interest in that they represent an English version which, for its time, was an important exigency.

⁷² GB-DRc: MS A14: 67.

⁷³ William Ayrton used several pieces from the *Marcello Psalms* in his *Musical Minstrelsy* (1835) but also referred to both Garth's and the original editions. [Ayrton, W.]: *Sacred Minstrelsy* (London, 1835), xii.

⁷⁴ 'Remarks on the Psalms of Marcello', *Marcello Psalms*, I.

2.6.10 Service Settings

Of all the composers in Durham, Ebdon left us the most music for general use in services, the majority of which was published in his first volume of *Sacred Music* (the contents of which are outlined in table 5). There is a further spurious set of responses in Charles Ashton's *Services of the Church*,⁷⁵ but these are by the rector of St Mary le Bow, William Smith (1603-45). Of Ebdon's authentic service settings, the responses date from just before 1790, while the services themselves are much earlier and date from c.1768:

Table 5: Service Music in Ebdon's *Sacred Music*.

Morning Service	Te Deum laudamus
	Jubilate Deo
	Kyrie Eleison
	Nicene Creed
Communion Service	Sanctus
	Gloria in Excelsis
Evening Service	Magnificat
	Nunc Dimittis
	Cantata Domino
	Deus Misereatur
Responses	

⁷⁵ London, 1844. 33-40.

All of these settings are in C major except the responses which are set in A minor and are mostly composed for full choir with verses for differing groups of soloists. The movements themselves are largely what one would expect in a service setting. For example, Byrd's Service in D consists of the four components of the morning service plus the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis for the evening service, while Purcell's service in B-flat contains everything but the communion service and responses.⁷⁶ Ebdon, as in his verse anthems, varies the voice combinations considerably but echoes what his predecessors had done. He also divides the choir into decani and cantoris, something that he does not do in his anthems. Again, in doing this, he was following an earlier tradition that can be seen in settings of Tallis, Blow, Child and Gibbons. The compositional style of Ebdon's setting is severely archaic, with functional melodic lines that are similar to his full anthems with their restricted range of movement and large numbers of repeated notes. The choral texture is essentially homophonic. However, Ebdon appears to have put more effort into these pieces since his use of modulation is far more effective than in most of his anthems and the shifts from one key to the next are executed with greater elegance.⁷⁷ The type of writing that Ebdon utilises throughout these settings can be clearly seen in this soundly written passage from start of the *Te Deum*:

⁷⁶ See Boyce, W.: *Cathedral Music*, II.

⁷⁷ Fellowes thought that Ebdon's music was 'of very slight merit' and believed that their main importance was in 'that nothing else of its kind is known within a very long period both before and after this date.' Fellowes (1941), 32.

Ex. 17: Ebdon, T.: *Te Deum*, verse 1.

Full

Treble
We praise thee O God we ac-know-ledge thee to be the Lord all the Earth doth wor-ship thee the

Alto
We praise thee O God we ac-know-ledge thee to be the Lord all the Earth doth wor-ship thee the

Tenor
We praise thee O God we ac-know-ledge thee to be the Lord all the Earth doth wor-ship thee the

Bass
We praise thee O God we ac-know-ledge thee to be the Lord all the Earth doth wor-ship thee the

Organ
6 6 4 2 5 6 6 5 6 # 4 6 6 6
4 3 2 4 3 2 5

7
Tr
Fa-ther e-ver-last-ing to thee all An-gels cry a-loud and all the pow'rs there -

A
Fa-ther e-ver-last-ing to thee all An-gels cry a-loud the Heav'ns and all the pow'rs there -

T
Fa-ther e-ver-last-ing to thee all An-gels cry a-loud the Heav'ns and all, and all the pow'rs there -

B
Fa-ther e-ver-last-ing to thee all An-gels cry a-loud the Heav'ns and all, and all the pow'rs there -

Org.
6 5 # 6 6 5 6 # 6 6 # 6 6 6 6 6 5
4 # 5 5 # 6 4 #

13
Tr
in to thee Che-ru-bin and Se-ra-phin con-tin-ual-ly do cry, con-tin-ual-ly, con-tin-ual-ly do cry

A
in to thee Che-ru-bin and Se-ra-phin con-tin-ual-ly do cry, con-tin-ual-ly, con-tin-ual-ly do cry

T
in to thee Che-ru-bin and Se-ra-phin con-tin-ual-ly do cry, con-tin-ual-ly, con-tin-ual-ly do cry

B
in ti thee Che-ru-bin and Se-ra-phin con-tin-ual-ly do cry, con-tin-ual-ly, con-tin-ual-ly do cry

Org.
6 # 6 6 # 7 6 6 5 # 6 6 7 6 #
#

Those who have explored this area of composition have not discovered anything of especially inventive and have expressed a certain lack of interest in the daily sung services. Fellowes, for one, noted that ‘once these works, however small their merit, found their way into the weekly lists, there they stayed, securely entrenched, few considering how little was their value, and none showing initiative to disturb their position.’⁷⁸ In this respect service-writing appears to have largely followed the tradition of the full anthem where older models were employed and were written to be functional rather than to display the talents of the composer or musicians. Dearnley, making a more general observation, also thought that ‘church music was not distinguished for its service writing. There were no successors to the fruitful industry of Blow and Child in this sphere until Stanford and Howells. Settings of the canticles continued to be written that fulfilled an undemanding function and yet were neatly designed and pleasingly melodious.’⁷⁹ Ebdon’s settings are written in such a style, with their simple but euphonious melodic lines and sympathetic harmonies. Ebdon appears satisfied with the aesthetic level of his settings since he made no attempt to replace them with anything new or more inventive in the subsequent decades. It is also true to say that there was little or no development in service writing during this period, so he had no reason to update them.⁸⁰

No-one else working in Durham wrote an entire service, although single movements were written by others. Radcliffe included a ‘Sanctus’ in his *Church Music* that had been composed at Worcester. The same volume also includes an extraordinarily truncated four-bar ‘Gloria’ which further exemplifies the lack of interest in service music at the end of eighteenth century. There is also a ‘Kyrie’

⁷⁸ Fellowes (1941), 178.

⁷⁹ Dearnley (1970), 109.

⁸⁰ There are some responses by Ebdon for use in the communion services that date from 1808, which survive in the manuscript collection at Princeton University Library. US-PRu: Thorp Collection 16.

composed by Susannah Ogle,⁸¹ which, surprisingly for Durham, lacks an organ part, and a Magnificat and Nunc dimittis by Edward Gregory. The two pieces by Gregory are substantial and, though much earlier than Ebdon's settings, are written in a similar vein. Gregory's writing is more innovative than Ebdon's and makes more use of free counterpoint. There are some other unusual features in this setting such as a verse for bass duet, two separate alto lines in another verse, and both end with an eight-part chorus. However Gregory, like Radcliffe, frequently doubles the parts.

Gregory's style of writing is inventive, with large amounts of imitation between the parts, but is not in advance of others of the period. The melodic lines, like those in Ebdon, are generally functional, although chromatic at times, with melodic lines that are frequently orientated around a central pitch.

The service-writing at Durham, though it played an important role in worship, made no effort to push back any boundaries in compositional style. Although there was a great deal of freedom within the verse anthem as a genre, these service settings, like their full anthem counterpart, were written in an archaic, constrained, and, in many ways, unoriginal fashion, typical of the period. Composing these pieces clearly was a matter of some importance and those by both Ebdon and Gregory reveal a high degree of craftsmanship and musical competence, but are, in essence, entirely retrospective.

2.6.11 Garth's Collects

Garth's *Thirty Collects* were published in 1794 and reveal a great deal about the musical practices at Auckland Castle in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In

⁸¹ Ogle was the daughter of Newton Ogle, a prebendary at Durham between 1768 and 1804.

most cases the collects that were used at most churches would, if sung, have been chanted (and quite poorly if the parish clerk lacked any musical ability). It seems logical that, if a church had a talented organist and a modest body of singers, such music would have been performed at appropriate times in the service though much of this would never have been considered good enough for publication. The publication of anything comparable (i.e. such as collects or prayers) from this time is unheard of and Garth's set is unique in the back catalogue of eighteenth-century music publishing. Garth, perhaps embarrassed by the simplicity of the music, made it clear in the preface that he had never intended them for publication and that they were written for purely practical reasons:

THE following compositions were not originally designed for publication, but as that they have been so fortunate as to obtain the approbation of some of the Author's friends, of whose judgement he has the highest opinion, he is induced to flatter himself that they may prove no less acceptable to others; particularly to those who wish to have something in the *Vocal Way* easy and proper for their Sunday evening's recreation.

Garth composed these pieces for different combinations of singers that consist of one (S), two (SS or SB) or three voices (SSB), and they are mostly accompanied by keyboard. They provide, as a set, music for over half of the church's year. There is no record of any established choir at Auckland Castle, though, in 1793, a group of singers from Durham Cathedral went there to perform (but the costs involved made it

unlikely that they would have attended every week).⁸² Garth may have had a few competent singers on whom he may have been able to depend on a regular basis, but such singers would not have been large in number.⁸³

The Father Smith organ that Garth played at Auckland Castle still exists *in situ*. Although it seems logical that Garth would have accompanied these collects on that instrument, three lack a separate organ part and have no figuration. Garth may have composed these for Sundays when either he was not present or he perhaps sang himself. In terms of tempo the fastest is marked 'Andante', the tempo of twelve examples, while another ten are marked 'Largo'. They are equally divided between major and minor. Seven are in G major, and another seven in G minor. Garth never ventures beyond three accidentals and modulation is always restricted to closely related keys.

Garth, quite rightly, thought that 'In a work of this kind, *much* cannot reasonably be expected'. His main aim was 'to convey the sentiment in such a manner, as that the *musical sensation* should not take the lead of *devotional feeling*'. The part-writing is simple and for the most part homophonic with some limited use of imitation between the voices and a little word repetition. While in another composer's hands these collects may have become much grander, the music in Garth's interpretations is subservient to the words. The collects, in many ways, adhere to John Wesley's ideals on how music should be in the church. Wesley disliked the custom of unnecessarily repeating lines as well as the 'shocking custom of modern music' where

⁸² GB-DRu: AUC 111/1-2, 30 September 1793.

⁸³ Garth did subscribe to several collections of sacred music which may indicate that he may have had a larger choir available at either Sedgfield or Bishop Auckland. Certainly, if he did not purchase them for purely scholarly purposes then he must have bought them for use at either, or both places.⁸³ His subscription to Ebdon's *Sacred Music* and Nares' *Twenty Anthems* can be easily disregarded, as Garth knew both composers and may have subscribed to their works purely to support them in their publication. However, Boyce's *Cathedral Music* and Alcock's *Six and Twenty Select Anthems* cannot be as easily dismissed and he may have purchased these to use himself.

‘different words [are sung] at one and the same moment’. He thought that this was ‘an intolerable insult on common sense, and utterly incompatible with any devotion.’⁸⁴

Garth seems to have been well aware of this attitude as he admitted in the preface that he had:

endeavoured to adopt the chase simplicity of the *Capella* stile, and has studiously attended to the *syllabic quantity*; as far as least as the nature of *musical* or *measured time* would admit. He has likewise on the same principle avoided all repetition of the words, as useless and unnecessary, as well as a complex disposition of parts; excepting very occasionally, when a *light* and *shade* appeared requisite, for the purpose of giving *relief* to passages, which otherwise might have been looked upon as *heavy* and *overcharged*.

All of the collects are quite short, the longest of which is the sixteenth at 37½ bars, the shortest of only 20. Those of particular interest include the eleventh which contains both imitation and word repetition. As can be seen in Ex. 18, it begins with a solo by the first soprano, after which the second soprano subsequently enters, singing the same melody with the first soprano a third higher. We then have a series of fugal entries, but this is not maintained and the texture rapidly returns to a blander homophony:

⁸⁴ Curnock (1909-16), V, 281.

Ex. 18: Garth, J.: *Thirty Collects*, no. 11.

ANDANTE

The musical score is in 3/8 time and G major. It consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system contains the first six measures, and the second system contains measures 7 through 12. The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and organ part are shown. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 3, 4, 5, and 6 below the organ staff.

Lyrics for the first system:

LORD of all pow - er and might, LORD of all pow - er and might, who art the
 LORD of all pow - er and might,
 LORD of all pow - er and might,

Fingerings for the organ part in the first system:

6 6 5 6 6 5
 5 4 3 5 4 3

Lyrics for the second system:

auth - or and giv - er, who art the auth - or and giv - er of all good things;
 who art the auth - or, the auth - or and giv - er of all good things;
 who art the auth - or and giv - er of all good things;

Fingerings for the organ part in the second system:

6 6 7 6

Another interesting example is the twenty-fifth (Ex. 19) which features a walking bass in the organ part. However, the vocal lines are unremarkable and it reveals a marked similarity with a much earlier Baroque style:

Ex. 19: Garth, J.: *Thirty Collects*, no. 25.

LARGO

Grant, we be - seech thee mer - ci - ful LORD, to thy faith - ful
 Grant, we be - seech thee mer - ci - ful LORD, to thy faith - ful

6 6 7 7 6 6

7
 peo - ple par - don and peace, that they — may be clean - sed from all their
 peo - ple par - don and peace, that they — may be clean - sed from all their

6 6 6 5 6 6

It may be safe to assume that these collects represent only a tiny amount of the music that Garth must have composed during his tenure of over fifty years at Sedgefield and Bishop Auckland. However, the only other extant music that could have been performed at Auckland Castle are his voluntaries and the three hymns tunes that survive in the collection compiled by William Howgill (1769-1824), the organist and concert organiser at Whitehaven.⁸⁵ Although Garth's collects are by no means revolutionary, they do reveal a competent composer who sought to enhance the musical experience of the churches where he was organist. Moreover, these slight but interesting liturgical works perhaps provide an insight into Garth's own ideas on religion and how music could serve the larger interests of the liturgy. As such, the music is of minimal importance in comparison with the message the collects convey

⁸⁵ Hawdon, M.: 'List of Subscribers' *An Ode on the King of Prusia* (London, c.1760); *Cumberland Pacquet*, 13 March 1781.

and lacks the flair of his secular works. However, it is undoubtedly because of their functionality and lack of grandeur that the collects have been entirely forgotten.

2.6.12 Hymns, Psalms and Chants

Several of the Durham musicians were involved in the composition of hymns, psalms and chants, many of which were published. Much of the music within these pieces is perfunctory and only modulates as far as the dominant, usually at the mid-point, and consists of simple but attractive melodic lines. However, the presence of hymns reveals that Durham musicians recognised the importance of a genre which, for its time, was a new and popular form.

There are two surviving examples of pieces that are called hymns, one by Ebdon and another by Friend. Ebdon's solitary example was published under the title of a 'Sunday Morning Hymn' and set to the words 'Again the day returns'. It is composed with two vocal lines and an organ accompaniment and includes a short introduction and coda. There is another setting of the same words by Friend, although he omits verses three and four. His version survives in the cathedral part-books and was published in c.1805.⁸⁶ Friend's setting, which was intended for the use of the Durham choir rather than congregational singing, is much more ambitious than Ebdon's, but both have highly attractive melodic lines:

⁸⁶ Edinburgh, c.1805.

Ex. 20: Friend, J.: *Morning Hymn*.

treble

alto

tenor

bass

organ

Pia *For*

A - gain the day re - turns of ho - ly rest,

Pia *For*

A - gain the day re - turns of ho - ly rest,

Pia *For*

A - gain the day re - turns of ho - ly rest,

Pia *For*

A - gain the day re - turns of ho - ly rest,

6 6 6 6 5
4 4 4 4 3

Tr

A

Te

B

Org.

Pia *For* *Pia*

which when God made the world Je - ho - vah blest. When like his own he

Pia *For* *Pia*

which when God made the world Je - ho - vah blest. When like his own he

Pia *For* *Pia*

which when God made the world Je - ho - vah blest. When like his own he

Pia *For* *Pia*

which when God made the world Je - ho - vah blest. When like his own he

6 6 4 6 4 # 6 7
4 5 4 4 4 4

Tr *ff* *For* bade our la - bours cease, and all be pi - e - ty, *pp* and all be peace.

A *ff* *For* bade our la - bours cease, and all be pi - e - ty, *pp* and all be peace.

Te *ff* *For* bade our la - bours cease, and all be pi - e - ty, *pp* and all be peace.

B *ff* *For* bade our la - bours cease, and all be pi - e - ty, *pp* and all be peace.

Org. *ff* *For* *pp*

6 6 6 5 5 6 6 5 5
4 3

A similar form to the hymn, the psalm tune, also found favour with Durham musicians, a collection of which was produced by Friend under the title *Parochial Harmony* in c.1795. This book, assembled from Miller's important hymnbook *The Psalms of David*, only contains one item that was composed locally, namely William Evance's four-part psalm 'St. Mary le Bow'.⁸⁷ There are several examples of psalm-tunes called 'Durham' including one by Evance's brother James (d.1811),⁸⁸ and another that was published in a book of approved tunes that Gelson used to teach his pupils in Edinburgh.⁸⁹ Garth also wrote three examples that were published in *An Original Anthem & Two Voluntaries for the Organ or Piano Forte, with a Selection of Thirty-Eight ... Psalm Tunes* by William Howgill. They are given the titles of 'Sedgefield', 'Durham' and 'Bishop Auckland'.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ (London, c.1795), 30-1.

⁸⁸ This was published in Charles Pryce's *A Selection from the New Version of the Psalms* (London, c.1810), 43.

⁸⁹ *The CHURCH TUNES in Four Parts, Published by Order of the HON.BLE the COMMITTEE, for the Improving CHURCH MUSIC in the CITY of EDINBURGH.* (Edinburgh, 1756), 6.

⁹⁰ London, c.1800. The hymns are 'Awake my glory' (39), 'To bless thy chosen' (47), and 'To God the mighty' (40).

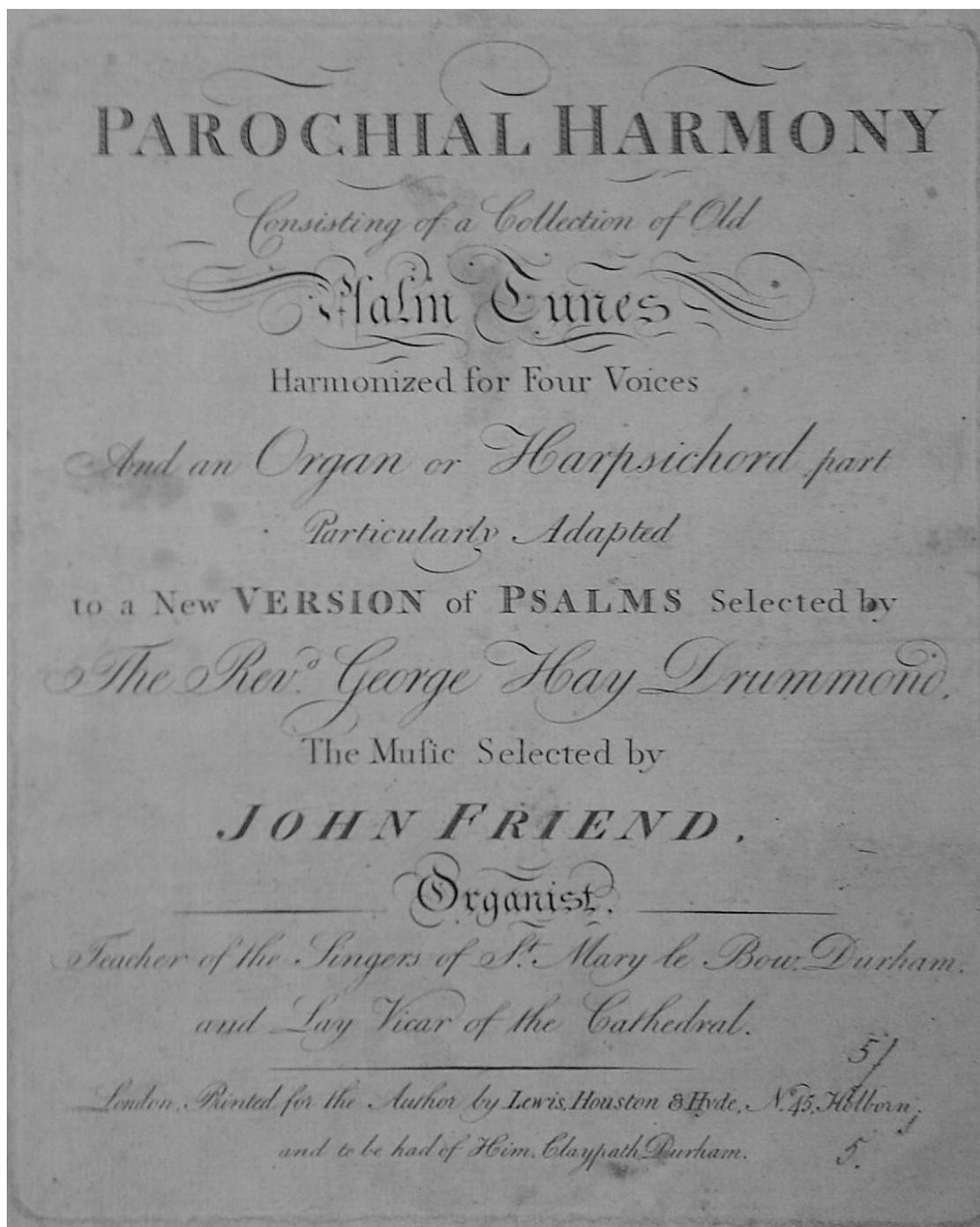


Fig. 7: Title page to John Friend's *Parochial Harmony*.⁹¹

⁹¹ Reproduced by courtesy of Carlisle Cathedral Library.

Anglican chants were also common throughout the century and several Durham musicians produced them. Published examples by Ebdon appear in both volumes of his *Sacred Music*, and those by Radcliffe in his *Church Music*. There were also several chants, including those by Thomas Sharp and Gregory, that were published in the c.1765 *Fifty Double Chants, being the most Favorite as Performed at S^t Paul's Westminster*. Added to a copy of this book in the Dean and Chapter Library are ten pages of manuscript chants in the hand of the lay-clerk Charles Stanley,⁹² amongst which are examples by Stanley, Ashton, and Ebdon.⁹³

Perhaps the most important collection of Durham chants was used at Carlisle Cathedral in the early nineteenth century. These appear to have been copied by their organist Thomas Hill who had strong links with Durham. Indeed, the few surviving part-books at Carlisle contain an unusually large amount of Durham anthems.⁹⁴ The Carlisle chant book contains a large number of chants by Ebdon as well as examples by Evance, Gregory, Ashton, Mathews, and Hesletine.⁹⁵

There are other manuscript chants that survive in the Durham Cathedral part-books which include a solitary example by Mary Ebdon. However, it may even have been quite common for the lay-clerks, and even the organist, to compose such pieces in idle moments by pencilling them into their scores during particularly long services. Some of these are incomplete with crossings-out,⁹⁶ while others appear complete in themselves⁹⁷ and, occasionally, even the composer is named.⁹⁸ Among these pencil

⁹² GB-DRc: A24; Crosby (2007), 3.

⁹³ Although only presented to the library in 2000, this particular copy is dated 1797 and appears to have been used at either the cathedral or St Mary le Bow.

⁹⁴ GB-CLr: D&C/Music 4/1/3-9; GB-CL: two manuscript volumes.

⁹⁵ GB-CLr: D&C/Music 4/1/9.

⁹⁶ e.g. GB-DRc: MS B27: 160; MS C27: 174.

⁹⁷ e.g. GB-DRc: MS A30: v1; MS A31: 147.

⁹⁸ GB-DRc: MS B13: 162. This particular chant was composed by Thomas Brown, a lay-clerk in the nineteenth century.

additions are also examples of more secular pieces,⁹⁹ some of which are quite substantial,¹⁰⁰ and the part-books occasionally became a way for lay-clerks to pass comments to others when it was inappropriate to speak.¹⁰¹ They even occasionally commented on their performances. After Blow's anthem 'I was in Spirit' the comment has been added 'Murdered by Mess.^{rs} Ashton, Radcliffe, Evance & Brown on Sunday 22nd of May 1814'.¹⁰²

2.6.13 Music of Thomas Drake

Thomas Drake, a minor-canon at the cathedral between 1714 and c.1720, bequeathed to the cathedral in 1747 two volumes of sacred music, both of which were, as indicated by the 'Book of Acquisitions', composed by him.¹⁰³ The first of these is a short oratorio entitled *Messiah. A Christ-Mass Song*, and the second, *Hymnus Ambrosianus*. Drake's version of *Messiah* certainly predates the more famous example by Handel, but unlike the latter, Drake's focuses exclusively on the nativity story rather than the entire story of Christ's life.¹⁰⁴ The *Hymnus Ambrosianus*, a version of the *Te Deum*, was set to words by Anthony Alsop (c.1669-1726). Given that Alsop died in 1726, both works must predate that year. However, it is unlikely that either volume was composed at Durham, or ever performed there. Drake presumably left them to the cathedral as he perhaps anticipated that they might

⁹⁹ GB-DRc: MS C27: 76. This is a short piece for keyboard.

¹⁰⁰ GB-DRc: MS B8: 220-1.

¹⁰¹ GB-DRc: MS C27: 117.

¹⁰² GB-DRc: MS B27: 117.

¹⁰³ GB-DRc: MS A.iv.32: 87. Given the high standard of the composition in both of the works attributed to Drake, it could well be that they were actually composed by a professional musician.

¹⁰⁴ A published edition, under the title of *An anonymous Messiah*, was issued by Breitkopf and Härtel in 1912 in an arrangement by Otto Taubmann. It received a scathing review in the April 1931 edition of *Music & Letters*. Kitson (1931), 184-93.

contribute to the choir's repertoire, but there is no evidence from surviving partbooks or other archival material that they ever did.

2.6.14 Organ Voluntaries

Despite the compositional talents of Hesletine and Ebdon, the only surviving organ voluntaries by a Durham composer are those by Garth, whose solitary set was published in c.1771. By this time the number of published voluntaries had grown as the demand for such works increased, although, like the anthem, the organ voluntary was subject to censure. Bedford questioned their appropriateness: 'It is very strange...to hear the *Organs* play when the Congregation is dismiss'd, as if they play'd them out of a *Tavern*, or out of an *Ale-house*, or rather out of a *Play-house*.'¹⁰⁵ However, he did feel that if they must be used that there was to be 'nothing in *Voluntaries* but what is grave and serious'.¹⁰⁶

Over forty years later this view, though very much watered down, was still held by some musicians, including Avison, who did not feel that music for the church could be successfully transplanted from the theatre to the chamber, or vice-versa.¹⁰⁷ As the century progressed the voluntary continued to develop, but still met with resistance. In 1770 a writer simply referred to as 'R' wrote a letter to the Newcastle *Literary Register* in which he complained about the secularisation of what the organist played:

That such organists mistake their business, and the very nature of the instruments is evident; but how much more is their taste depraved, who (to

¹⁰⁵ Bedford (1711), 238.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 237.

¹⁰⁷ Avison (1967), 122.

shew the dexterity of finger) play a psalm tune as if it were a jig, and fill it up, 'till it is so disguised, that the most delicate ear and best judge of music cannot tell, whether 'tis one or the other?

The very tone on an organ will tell such performers, if they will attend to it, that it was never intended for such unmeaning airs; nor, to use the expression of a late ingenious performer, to be converted into a fiddle.¹⁰⁸

The most influential composer of voluntaries was John Stanley (1712-1786) who published three sets of ten between 1748 and 1754.¹⁰⁹ Stanley essentially wrote two types, the first and most common of which was a two-movement form known as the 'cornet voluntary'.¹¹⁰ This type begins with a slow movement, frequently for diapasons, followed by a livelier quick movement that features a solo stop, usually a cornet. All five of Charles Avison jnr's surviving voluntaries follow this particular structure and were clearly influenced by Stanley.¹¹¹ The second type of voluntary adopted a larger structure that had its origins in the concerto genre, particularly in its range and order of movements, and follows the Italian species of 'da camera' or 'da chiesa'.¹¹²

After Stanley there was an explosion in the number of published collections, partly fuelled by the national demand for keyboard music by the growing number of amateur musicians eager for new and interesting pieces to perform in private. In many ways it was fortunate for British composers that their native organs did not, in the vast

¹⁰⁸ *Literary Register* (Newcastle, 1770), 122.

¹⁰⁹ *Ten Voluntaries for the Organ or Harpsichord ... Opera Quinto*. (Johnson, 1748).

¹¹⁰ Caldwell (1973), 190.

¹¹¹ The slow movement of his first voluntary is similar to the first movement of Stanley's Op. 7, No. 8. US-Wc: M7 A95 V5.

¹¹² Stanley's voluntary Op. 5 No. 8 uses the 'da camera' format, while No. 1 uses the 'da chiesa' format. The remaining eight in the Op. 5 all use the 'cornet voluntary' paradigm.

majority of cases, have pedals. As such, it meant that published voluntaries could be performed on a range of keyboard instruments, whether it was the harpsichord or, later on, the pianoforte.

Garth's voluntaries are all based on the four-movement 'da chiesa' paradigm of slow-fast-slow-fast. The second and third voluntaries use this plan exactly while the first has an additional 'Andante' placed after the first movement and the remaining three lack the third, slow movement. The four-movement 'da chiesa' structure was certainly in use for voluntaries before Garth as Stanley used it several times,¹¹³ as did John Bennett (c.1725-1784) in his c.1758 set.¹¹⁴ However, all of these sets (i.e. Stanley's and Bennett's) vary between the 'cornet' and 'concerto' types of voluntaries, unlike Garth's set where *all six* have more than two movements. Charles Avison snr, who favoured the 'da chiesa' format in his Op. 9 string concertos (also arranged for keyboard), appears to have been influential on the scheme of Garth's voluntaries.¹¹⁵ Ten of Avison's Op. 9 concertos follow the four-movement plan exactly, while numbers VI and XII have five movements. Despite the obvious concerto-like structure in his voluntaries, Garth chose to fuse the two different forms together. The first two movements in all his voluntaries are remarkably similar to the 'cornet voluntaries'. The opening slow movements are through-composed and homophonic in nature, conforming with the standard solemn style of prelude movements with a sedate harmonic rhythm, sequential voice-leading patterns and a large number of suspensions. The 'Grave' from the second voluntary best exemplifies this:

¹¹³ e.g. Op. 5 No. 1 & Op. 7 No. 8.

¹¹⁴ Bennett, J: *Ten Voluntaries for the Organ* (London, c.1758).

¹¹⁵ Fleming (1999), 101.

Ex. 21: Garth, J.: *Six Voluntarys* No. 2 (1st movement).

The musical score for Ex. 21 is for Organ and is marked 'Grave'. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has a treble clef staff with a melody and a bass clef staff with a crotchet accompaniment. The second system continues the piece with a repeat sign at the beginning of the treble staff.

With the second movement, or third in the case of Voluntary I, Garth always adopts a more formal, rounded-binary structure, in which the writing is entirely in two parts. As such it has a striking similarity to the second movements of the ‘cornet voluntary’. All six of these movements are tuneful in nature and require a higher level of technical ability than the previous movements. However, they are still not overtly difficult and certainly require less dexterity than his keyboard sonatas. The ‘Allegro’ in Voluntary IV is particularly unusual as it features a syncopated melody that is more akin to his sonata writing practices,¹¹⁶ played above a repeated ‘galant’ crotchet pattern:

Ex. 22: Garth, J.: *Six Voluntarys* No. 4 (2nd movement).

The musical score for Ex. 22 is for Organ and is marked 'Allegro'. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has a treble clef staff with a syncopated melody and a bass clef staff with a repeated crotchet pattern.

¹¹⁶ e.g. Op. 2 No. 1 and Op. 4 No. 5. These are both for quavers and semi-quavers rather than crotchets and quavers.

The second movement from Voluntary VI is also very secular in style with its use of dotted rhythms and again bears a striking similarity with his keyboard sonatas:¹¹⁷

Ex. 23: Garth, J.: *Six Voluntaries* No. 6 (2nd movement).

Andante

The use of such a light, trifling secular style in sacred music is even surprising to modern ears, but at the time it must have been a watershed as Garth pushed back the boundaries much further than he did with his three anthems. However, Garth was not unique in this respect, as Temperley noted that in ‘the eighteenth-century voluntary all trace of liturgically based composition had disappeared, and the composer was free to delight his audience with whatever took his fancy, within the bounds of ecclesiastical decorum.’¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ i.e. Anytime up to 1768 when the Op. 2 sonatas were published.

¹¹⁸ Temperley (1990), 377-8.

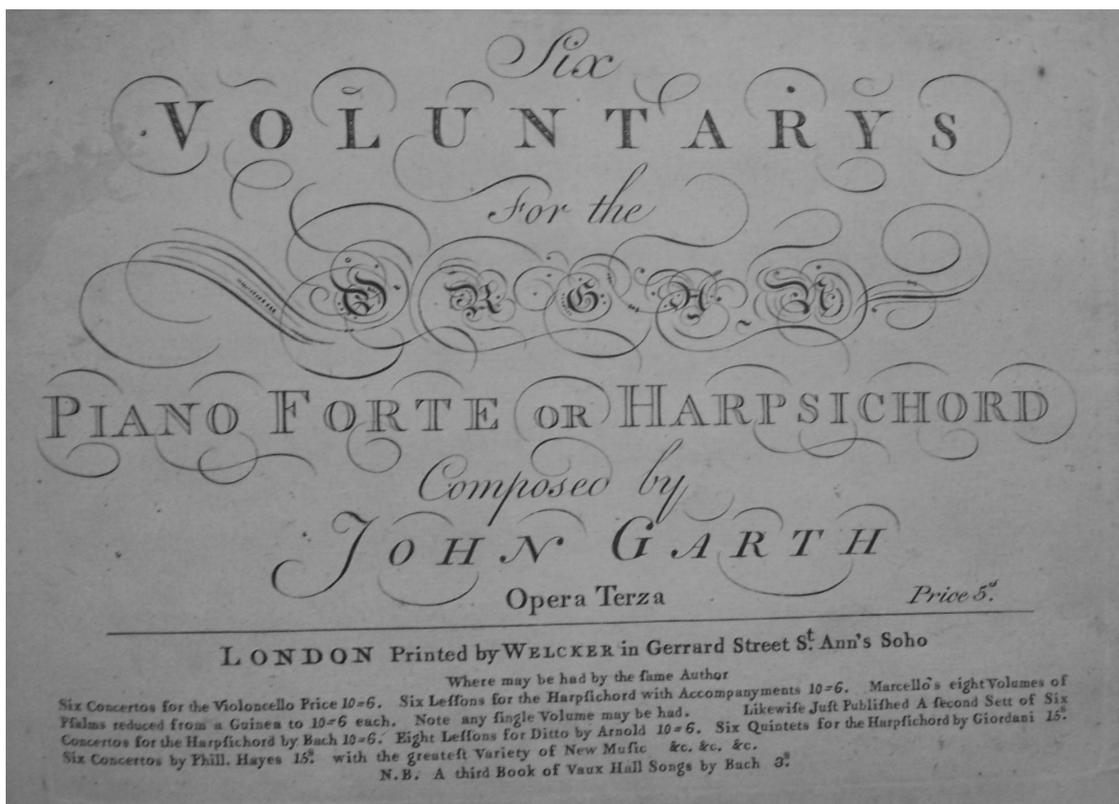


Fig. 8: Title-page to Garth's Op. 3 *Six Voluntariys for the Organ*.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ From the author's private collection.

The first three voluntaries all continue with a slow movement.¹²⁰ Having already exhausted the two-movement cornet voluntary structure, Garth took the opportunity to expand and bring the voluntaries more in line with a concerto. These developments turn out to be surprisingly substantial movements, and not merely a link between the two fast movements, as one might expect. All three have a two-part texture which is expanded into three parts, with the upper melodic work in thirds, a device derived from vocal rhetoric. The third movement from Voluntary II, similar in style to a minuet, makes the most obvious use of this mannerism:

Ex. 24: Garth, J.: *Six Voluntaries* No. 2 (3rd movement).

The musical score for Ex. 24 is for Organ and is marked 'Adagio'. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has four measures, and the second system has four measures. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The time signature is 3/4. The music features a two-part texture with the upper part in thirds.

Another unusual feature is the third movement of Voluntary III which adopts a rondo format, another common feature of his keyboard sonatas.¹²¹ This is the only time he used it in his voluntaries and is further evidence of the fusion of sacred and secular.

Still following the 'da chiesa' form, all six voluntaries conclude with a rounded binary fast movement, five of which are marked 'Allegro'. In the first three voluntaries, all the final movements have a fanfare-like style and were clearly

¹²⁰ These are a 'Largo', an 'Adagio' and an 'Andante affettuoso'

¹²¹ i.e. Op. 2, No. 1, No. 4, etc..

envisaged as trumpet voluntaries. Those from the last three voluntaries are more similar in style to the second movements, particularly in IV and VI which use a two-part texture.

Structurally, many of the fast movements are in rounded binary form, but several adopt a plan that is more analogous with sonata practice. This is more conspicuous in the keyboard sonatas, but can be seen in three of the fast movements.¹²² Garth adopted a common plan for his rounded binary movement featuring a first theme in the home key followed by a second idea in the dominant. After the repeat bar there then occurs a transitional section that begins with the first theme transposed to the dominant. This is subsequently expanded and moves through several closely related keys. In most, the movement eventually returns to the tonic, articulated by the return of the second theme:



Out of the twelve fast movements, nine use this particular structure. However, in the other three, there is a restatement of the first theme immediately after the transition and in the tonic which provides a much more vivid analogy with the ‘double-return’ so quintessential to the later established sonata paradigm of Haydn and Mozart. Again, it demonstrates the use of more secular practices in the composition of sacred instrumental music:¹²³

¹²² Voluntary II, second movement, and Voluntary VI, movements 2 and 3.

¹²³ Charles Avison jnr also used this structure in his organ voluntaries.



Garth's organ voluntaries are of considerable musical interest and were, in some ways, ambitious for their time. They firmly have their origins in the cornet voluntary and concerto tradition, an interesting feature in itself, but they also reveal a willingness to introduce secular musical rhetoric to an ecclesiastical environment more associated with conservatism. Indeed, Garth clearly felt happy to write in a style that was not hindered by 'ecclesiastical decorum'. Although not particularly influential, his voluntaries are nevertheless a rare survivor of a genre that was seldom published by composers emanating from the north-east.

Chapter 7: Secular Music I: Vocal

2.7.1 Glee, Catches, Cantatas and other Secular Songs

‘Eighteenth-century academics amused themselves by setting doggerel to forgettable music’, so David Johnson quoted at the start of his paper on the glee.¹ Certainly this genre of vocal composition was the most numerous secular type in the eighteenth century, and almost the entire repertory is dismissed by most commentators in one swift sentence. However, this type of song was one of the rare examples from the eighteenth century that was created by native composers who owed little to any outside influence.²

The composition of secular songs was commonplace in Britain throughout the entire eighteenth century, most of which were intended for both public and private events. Many would have been sung at concerts, particularly those that held at public gardens, the most notable of which was Vauxhall in London. There were also numerous groups that sprang up in the eighteenth century specifically for the performance of vocal music, such as catch and glee clubs, not to mention the Madrigal Society (of London). In Durham there were several notable composers of small-scale secular vocal music such as Ebdon, Clarke, Friend, Ashton, Stanley, and William and Stephen Paxton, although the latter appears to have written all of his examples after his relocation to the capital.³ However, it was the glee above all which achieved an unprecedented level of popularity, not only at Durham, but across the

¹ Johnson (1979), 200.

² Robins (2004), 142.

³ Avison was also a composer of songs, all examples of which survive in his manuscript workbooks. He has been recently attributed as the author of the secular cantata ‘Delia and Thyrsis’ which is contained in the manuscript book GB-NTp: SL780.8, but given that it is possible to say with almost absolute certainty that the manuscript source did *not* belong to Avison, his authorship is unlikely. Southey (2009), 31.

entire British Isles.⁴ Most musicians of note composed glees including those of particularly high social standing; indeed, the most successful of all the glee composers of the second half of the eighteenth century had MusD degrees, cathedral organ posts or university chairs, and this included Durham where the most prolific composer was Ebdon.⁵ Glees were, however, essentially a form of private or semi-private music-making and much of the repertoire was composed in the knowledge that it was little more than *Gebrauchsmusik* and an ephemeral phenomenon.

As well as glees there were many other types of secular songs that enjoyed a good deal of popularity. These include the catch, a type of unaccompanied song that could be performed in a similar fashion to a round, of which Garth's 'Care thou canker of our joys' was particularly admired. Other songs had a distinctly patriotic ethos, many of which were written in response to the Napoleonic wars. Another popular form was the cantata, in essence a series of four movements linked by a common theme or programmatic element. By the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, this term 'cantata' had been adopted in England among the earliest of which were the c.1710 *Six English Cantatas* by Pepusch.⁶ Other important composers of this genre include John Stanley and Arne. Durham never possessed an institution that could be defined as a 'catch-club' although the cathedral choir participated in the singing of glees and other songs at several domestic events.⁷ It seems likely that groups would meet up regularly to sing these types of works for they were frequently sung at the local concerts. However, despite the popularity of secular

⁴ Richard Eastcott admitted that he was quite partial to glees and confessed 'that I have frequently experienced great delight in hearing them, and think that there cannot be a greater treat than *an elegy, a canzonet, a glee*, or any two, three, or four part-song of character, well performed'. Eastcott (1793), 273.

⁵ Johnson (1979), 200.

⁶ London: Walsh. See page 301 for more information on the cantata.

⁷ Burrows (2002), 279; *Newcastle Advertiser*, 15 October 1791.

songs in other parts of the country, Durham musicians were relatively late to publish such items, all surviving examples of which date from the second-half of the century.

1.7.2 Gleees and Songs by Ebdon

It does not appear that Ebdon composed any secular vocal music until around his fiftieth birthday, the first of which was a single song entitled ‘The Scotch Shepherd’, set to words by Robert Burns (1759-96). It was first published in c.1790 which is exceedingly late given that his time as a concert director was drawing to a close. This particular example appears to have been fairly popular as it was reissued in c.1798 as part of *Dale’s 4th Collection of Sixty Scots Songs*.⁸ ‘The Scotch Shepherd’ is rather simple and is written for single voice and keyboard. Although it is through-composed, it does contain some repetition in the music that accompanies the second, fourth and sixth lines in each verse, all of which end with the words ‘Nannie O’ (Ex. 25):

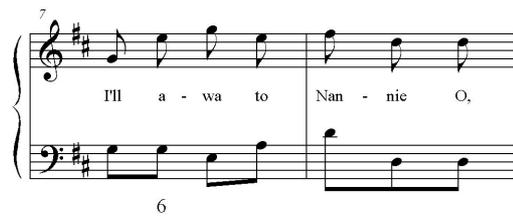
Ex. 25: Ebdon, T.: ‘The Scotch Shepherd’.

Allegretto

Be - hind yon hill where Stin - char flows, are moors and moss - es

ma - ny O, the win - try sun the day has clos'd, and

⁸ This collection does not appear to have been completed, although Ebdon’s song was issued separately along with another Scotch song, ‘Roy’s wife of Alldivaloch’.



The first set of glees published by Ebdon was his 1795 Op. 3 collection.⁹ The words for the first and last were written by Tipping Brown and all are scored for three voices (SSB) with the option of performance by a single voice with harpsichord. The subscription list is extensive and consists of almost 300 subscribers, many from the surrounding area.

The second glee in this set appears to have been Ebdon's most popular. Set to the words 'Come Shepherds we'll follow the hearse', it was performed at one of Wright's concerts at Newcastle in 1791,¹⁰ possibly with Ebdon's participation. It is also the only Ebdon glee in a book that belonged to Edward Lough, a singing master from Appleby.¹¹ It consists of eight verses that are grouped together in pairs. Each pair uses largely the same music, separated by a short passage for the keyboard. The writing is entirely homophonic with no word repetition, but the melodic lines are attractive which is presumably why it became so popular. Glees four and six are the only two in the set that are multi-sectional and both have a ternary structure that involves a change to a faster tempo for the central section. Glee six begins in E-flat with a stately section set to the words 'Sweet Harmony!' that is recapitulated in an abbreviated form at the end. The middle section, an 'Allegro Moderato', begins in B-flat before it quickly moves to C minor. This movement adopts a binary structure and

⁹ A proposal to publish his Op. 3 glees had appeared the previous year. *Newcastle Advertiser*, 20 September 1794.

¹⁰ Handbill in author's possession.

¹¹ HL MS Mus 52. I am grateful to Jennie Rathbun of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, for providing this information.

modulates to E-flat at the midpoint, but immediately jumps back to the minor key for an intense four bars of imaginative harmonic word-painting, depicting the words ‘Or the harsh discords of despair’. From a chord of C minor, the harmony immediately moves to a diminished 7th that resolves onto an F minor triad. It next moves chromatically to G minor before it reaches the dominant. This type of more adventurous harmonic writing is rare in Ebdon yet its more successful execution suggests that he was happier working in this idiom than in the genre of the anthem where his more radical modulations are far less elegant.

Ex. 26: Ebdon, T.: ‘Sweet Harmony !’ verse 2.

[Allegro Moderato]

36

S Or the harsh dis - cords of de - spair ----- by Just gra - da - tions

S Or the harsh dis - cords of de - spair ----- ny Just gra - da - tions

B harsh dis - cords of de - spair by Just gra - da - tions

36

b 7 5 4 ♯

39 *pia.*
 S soft' - ning, slow sink to the so - - - lemn tones,
 S soft' - ning, slow sink to the so - - - lemn tones
 B soft' - ning, slow sink to the so - lemn tones,
 39 *pia.*
 b # pia. 6 6 4 5 # 6 6# 7 6 4 5 3

There are further examples of word-painting in this glee. In the following line there is a descending melody that accompanies the word 'sink', and in the first movement the words 'the purest joy' ends on an affecting plangent chord of F major.

Ebdon published his Op. 4 songs in c.1797, but, unlike the Op. 3, these were written for solo voice with an accompaniment of two violins and cembalo, or piano-forte alone, with further indications in the score for horns. Two of these songs exist in three-part arrangements. 'The Lapland Song' survives in his pocket manuscript book, while 'The Sympathising Tear' is in a collection of Ebdon manuscripts that belonged to Robert Thorp of Alnwick.¹²

¹² GB-DRc MS D11; MS E42(v).

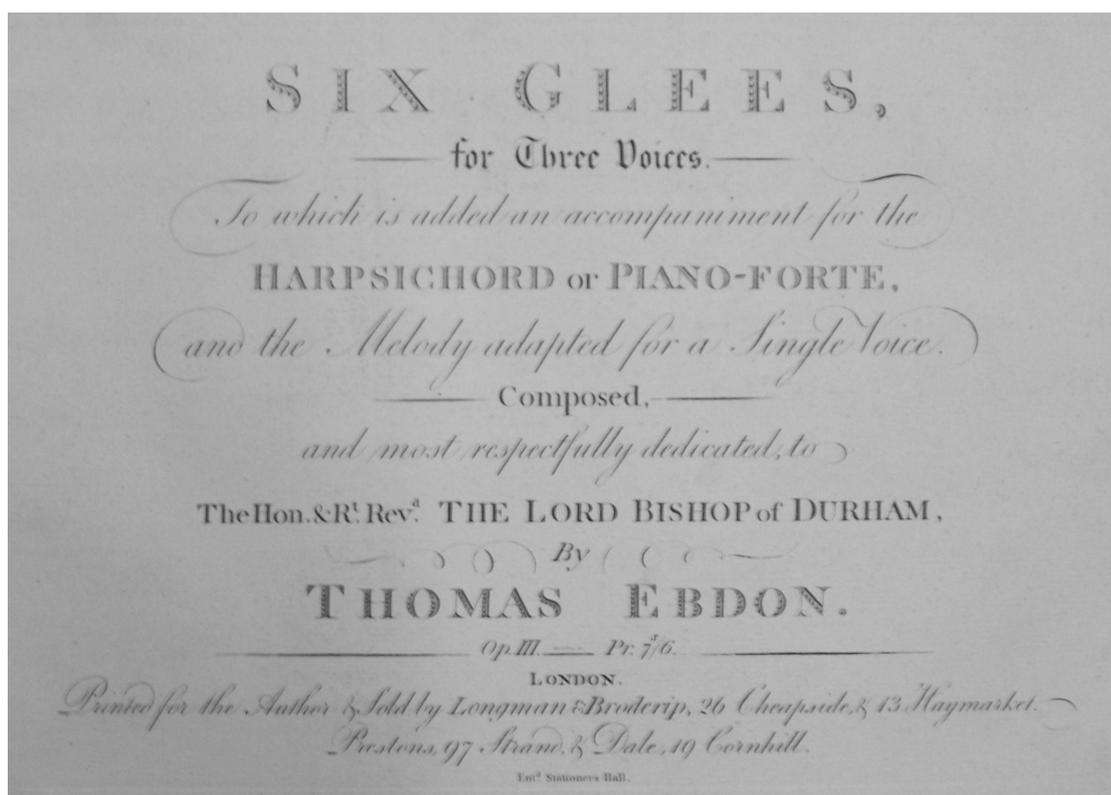


Fig. 9: Title-page to Ebdon's Op. 3 *Six Gleees for Three Voices*.¹³

¹³ From the author's private collection.

Ebdon's Op. 4 songs are all similar in style and structure to the Op. 3 with a strophic plan and simple modulations, but chromatic at times. This style is particularly evident in the second song, while the third, 'O'er moorlands and mountains' (Ex. 27), is a delightful pastorella that makes use of the 'Scotch snap':

Ex. 27: Ebdon, T.: 'O'er moorlands and mountains'.

Vivace

[Viol. 1st.]

Viol. 2d.

[Cembalo]

[Soprano]

Vln. I

Vln. II

Cem

6 6

5 6 5 3 7

p

f

The remainder of Ebdon's published songs are all single items and are largely similar to those in Opp. 3 and 4. 'Mimosa, the Sensitive Plant' is unique as it has a rounded binary structure. This and the glee 'Nay, Nay, Nay you must now stay' were both published and sold by Robert Birchall at his music library in London and were included in the fifth set of John Bland's *The Ladies Collection*.¹⁴ The latter glee also survives in manuscript at Durham that bears the inscription 'The words sent by Lord Curzon'.¹⁵ This most likely refers to Nathaniel Curzon (1751-1847) who married Judith Milbanke's youngest sister Sophia in 1777 and who subscribed to the second volume of Ebdon's *Sacred Music*.¹⁶ He was an MP and heir to a barony, but had a gambling problem and ran up a substantial debt.¹⁷ The words are strangely prophetic for Curzon was driven into exile on the continent on account of his debts. Other published songs include the Edinburgh edition of the Scots song the 'Rothsay & Caithness Fencibles' and 'Britannia's Boast', the latter of which is a patriotic song that directly refers to the Napoleonic Wars (the words by the Durham resident, Samuel Castle).¹⁸ There was also the rather melancholic song, 'Since wine, my good friends, thus enlivens the heart' which Ebdon set for the Sunderland Skull Club, for whom he also composed the music for their 'anthem', 'Pledge the memory of the Brave'.¹⁹

There are other unpublished vocal pieces by Ebdon that survive, the most important of which are in his pocket manuscript book.²⁰ Most of these follow a basic strophic structure, although 'Sweet are the notes the Lark begins' has an overall

¹⁴ Bland, J.: *The Ladies Collection of Catches, Glees, Canons, Canzonets, Madrigals, &c.* Vol. V, (London, c.1795) 510, 526.

¹⁵ GB-DRc: MS E42 (i)b

¹⁶ Elwin (1967), 16.

¹⁷ Ibid., 18.

¹⁸ He subscribed to Ebdon's first collection of *Sacred Music*.

¹⁹ US-I: M1621.2 .E15 ++ broadside box; GB-AS: SANT/GEN/SOC/1/2.

²⁰ GB-DRc: MS D11.

ternary plan. Not all of the pieces in this book are glees and there are several catches and other pieces are of a religious nature such as a different, shorter setting, of his anthem 'The King Shall Rejoice'. These pieces of a religious demeanour were far too brief to have been used in the cathedral and might instead have been sketches for anthems that were discarded, yet preserved as short, complete pieces in themselves. There are also several other manuscript glees that survive at Durham Cathedral as part of the Thorp collection, including 'Thus let us gently kiss' that was written by Ebdon for Curzon.²¹

2.7.3 Glees, Catches and Canons by William Paxton

The surviving secular vocal pieces by William Paxton are somewhat problematic as we do not know for certain who he was. However, five pieces by him were published in Stephen Paxton's Op. 5 collection while numerous others were submitted to the London Catch Club, two of which won prizes in 1779 and 1780. The true identity of William Paxton offers two possible alternatives. The first was the William who was the elder brother of Stephen. He was born in February 1725,²² was a chorister at Durham Cathedral between 1735 and 1742, and a lay-clerk until his death in 1778. In 1750 he was given three months leave to enable him to go to London to receive musical tuition.²³ After his return to Durham he became heavily involved with the city's concerts and, as well as selling tickets for the choir's subscription series,²⁴ he held several benefit concerts at both Durham and Newcastle.²⁵ The problem with this

²¹ GB-DRc: MS E42 (i) a.

²² GB-DRr: EP/Du.SO 119.

²³ GB-DRca: DCD/B/AA/7: 135

²⁴ *Newcastle Courant*, 29 September 1753.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 24 July 1756, 29 July 1758, 4 August 1757, 19 July 1760; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 15 August 1772.

'identity' is that this particular William was dead by the time of the Catch Club Prizes in 1779 and 1780. Crosby (2000) offers two possible reasons, that either Stephen submitted the glees posthumously on his brother's behalf or that Stephen submitted his own glees under his brother's name.²⁶ However, despite Crosby's assertion that there was 'no other William Paxton known to have been musically active anywhere', there was in fact another William Paxton (c.1767-1805) who was also musically active in Durham and was alive at the time that of the Catch Club prizes. However, this Paxton is also far from an ideal contender since he was only ten years old at the time of the first entry in 1777.

There is even less surviving information about this 'younger' William Paxton and his musical abilities. In fact we are only aware of his musicianship through a single concert that was held in 1798 at the City Tavern,²⁷ an establishment run by him and his wife Mary (c.1768-1806).²⁸ Granville Sharp also appears to have known them, as he went to 'drink Tea' on 12 April 1796 'with M.^r & M.^{rs} Paxton in Framwelgate'.²⁹ This Paxton was never a member of the cathedral choir and it has been impossible to determine his relationship to Stephen since it does not appear that he was baptised in the area.³⁰ However, he may have been a cousin or perhaps a nephew.³¹

Of the five pieces by William in Stephen's c.1782 Op. 5 *Collection of Glees Catches*, four are glees, while the fifth is a catch.³² Despite the family's Durham

²⁶ Crosby (2000), 63.

²⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 20 January 1798.

²⁸ William married Mary on 8 April 1793 at St Nicholas' Church. GB-DRr: Du1/42/27: 2 ; Du1/42/8 : 3.

²⁹ GB-DRr: D3549, 13/4/2.

³⁰ This could have been due to the family's membership of the Roman Catholic Church. Crosby (2000), 53.

³¹ William was also proposed to be a freemason at the Durham Lodge in 1802, but was rejected a month later. GB-SLp: Granby Lodge Minute book 1791-1815, 60.

³² The four glees are 'Breathe soft ye winds', 'Grant me powers', 'In friendship's mark' and 'Soft God of sleep'. The catch is set to the words 'He that fights'.

connections, few people from the area subscribed to the publication, and the sole subscriber from the Evance family was presumably one of the Durham Evance's London relatives. William's pieces are all short, particularly when compared with Stephen's, and evince highly conservative tonal schemes. Nevertheless his use of contrast in tonality is effective and some of the music is well crafted as is demonstrated by the following excerpt:

Ex. 28: Paxton, W.: 'Grant me ye powers'.

Andante
Dolce

Soprano I
Grant me ye powers I ask not wealth grant me but In - no-cence, but

Soprano II
Grant me ye powers I ask not wealth, grant me, grant me but In - no-cence, but

Bass
Grant me ye powers I ask not wealth, grant me, grant me but In - no-cence, but

S
In - no-cence and health, grant me but In - no-cence and health. Ah! what is

S
In - no-cence and health, grant me, grant me but In - no-cence and health. Ah! what is

B
In - no-cence and health, grant me, grant but In - no-cence and health. Ah! what is

S
Vir - tue, what is Vir - tue link's to Vice 'tis on - - - ly Vir - tue gives the price.

S
Vir - tue, what is Vir - tue link'd to Vice 'tis on - ly Vir - tue gives the price.

B
Vir - tue, what is Vir - tue link'd to Vice 'tis on - ly Vir - tue gives the price.

The most popular glee by William from this set was ‘Breathe soft ye winds’, the words of which were written by Ambrose Philips (1674-1749) and taken from *The Spectator* for 9 June 1712.³³ It was submitted to the Catch Club competition in 1777,³⁴ and despite not winning a medal, it did become immensely popular. It was reissued many times throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and remained a favourite with concert organisers.³⁵

The book of Catch Club submissions for 1778 is lost, but one may presume that other pieces by William were submitted in that year. In 1779 six pieces by him were submitted including three catches, two glees and a canon set to the words ‘O Lord in thee have a trusted’, for which he won a medal.³⁶ Stephen also won a medal in that year for his glee ‘How Sweet!’³⁷ In 1780 at least two pieces by William were submitted, including the glee ‘Soft God of Sleep’ and the canon ‘O Israel trust in the Lord’, for which he also won a prize.³⁸ Unfortunately most of the submissions for that year are not attributed to a composer and it is possible that others may be by him. There is, however, another manuscript canon by William that dates from 1778 and was once in the possession of Vincent Novello (1781-1861). This little piece may also have been submitted to the Catch Club in that year.³⁹

Although the references to William end in 1780, there was another Paxton referred to in the Catch Club records in the early nineteenth century; although it is

³³ *The Spectator* (London, 1714), VI. 23.

³⁴ GB-Lbl: E.1858.1, 132.

³⁵ e.g. *Hull Packet*, 14 February 1845; *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 17 June 1847; *Derby Mercury*, 25 December 1867; *Ipswich Journal*, 26 April 1884; *Bristol Mercury*, 10 February 1899.

³⁶ GB-Lbl: E.1858.m, The catches are ‘He that fights and runs away’ (25), ‘America must be subdued’ (84), ‘Come mirth enliv’ning Goddess’ (114), while the glees comprise ‘In friendship mask’ (117), ‘If not from Phaon’ (128-30), and the canon is set to the words ‘O Lord in thee’ (34-5).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 68-9. This glee was certainly known to the Durham musicians and was performed at a Newcastle concert in 1787. *Newcastle Courant*, 10 February 1787.

³⁸ GB-Lbl: E.1858.n, 52, 136-7.

³⁹ GB-Lbl: Ad.65488 f.23; Ad.65495 ff. 21-22.

uncertain whether this was the same person.⁴⁰ Furthermore, there are two published hymns, the music of which is attributed to a William Paxton that date from the second decade of the nineteenth century. One, ‘Thou Lamb of God’, was published in John Whitaker’s *The Seraph* in c.1818,⁴¹ while ‘O God my gracious God’ was included in Benjamin Jacob’s (1778-1829) *National Psalmody* in c.1819.⁴² Given their late date of publication, it seems unlikely that they are by either of the Durham-based William Paxtons. The bass part to a further psalm tune attributed to him and set to the words ‘In my instruction then confide’ survives in one of the Carlisle Cathedral part-books.⁴³

2.7.4 Songs and a Cantata by Jasper Clarke

Jasper Clarke published two sets of vocal music, the first of which, his *Twelve New English Songs*, predates his arrival in Durham in 1753.⁴⁴ Clarke’s only Durham set was published in 1760 under the title of *A Cantata and Five English Songs* and was dedicated to Cowper.⁴⁵ Most songs in the later set are unremarkable. The first song in this set, ‘Sappho’s Choice’, consists of two movements, typical of other ‘art songs’ of the period.⁴⁶ Also of particular interest is the final piece, a multi-sectional cantata entitled *The Despairing Shepherd* which, as the title suggests, may have been influenced by other pastoral works, examples of which includes Boyce’s much more substantial c.1751 ‘entertainment’, *The Shepherd’s Lottery*. This was not Clarke’s first cantata as his earlier set contains an example named *Bacchus and Ariadne* that

⁴⁰ GB-Lbl: H.2788.ss.

⁴¹ London, c.1818, 132-3.

⁴² London, c.1819, 16-17.

⁴³ GB-CL: Uncatalogued part-book.

⁴⁴ The British Library has mistakenly given them a date of c.1765, but is clearly much earlier as they dates from his time at Winchester. Likewise, the subscription list contains no subscribers from the Durham area.

⁴⁵ An advertisement for their publication appeared in the *Newcastle Journal* on 3 November 1759.

⁴⁶ An ‘art song’ generally consisted of two movements that were unified both tonally and in tempo, but contrasted in metre. Goodall (1989), 12-13, 246-50.

consists of two recitatives, each followed by an aria. His later cantata follows the same pattern, although the second recitative is particularly short and linked with the second aria. This recitative-aria-recitative-aria paradigm was the standard layout of the aforementioned 'English cantata', but had originated in the works of Alessandro Scarlatti and his Neapolitan contemporaries.⁴⁷ It became a popular vocal form, examples of which were composed by Festing, Greene, Pepusch and Stanley.⁴⁸ All of the movements in Clarke's cantata, unlike his earlier example, are in the same key and the only modulation is within the sections themselves.⁴⁹ They are also, in common with other examples, not strophic.⁵⁰

Cantatas were exceedingly rare among the output of Durham composers and Clarke's is the only known survivor. There was another work of this type, entitled *Spring a Pastoral*, which was written by the lay-clerk John Mathews. He received £10 in 1774/5 from the Chapter, presumably for its composition, and it may have been intended for the choir's concert series, but unfortunately this piece has not survived.⁵¹ A further composer of cantatas was the minor canon John Pixell (d.1784), who published collections of vocal music similar to those by Clarke. The first was published in 1759 and the second in 1775,⁵² but as such they both predate his appointment at Durham in November 1776.⁵³

⁴⁷ Goodall (1989), 12.

⁴⁸ See Festing, M.: *An English Cantata Call'd Sylvia* (London, 1744); Greene, M.: *A Canata and Four English Songs* (London, 1742); Pepusch, J.: *Six English Cantatas* (London, c.1710); Stanley, J.: *Six Cantatas for A Voice and Instruments* (London, 1742).

⁴⁹ In other cantatas, such as those by Pepusch, the recitatives were designed to convey the listener from one key to the next as swiftly as possible. Goodall (1989), 134,

⁵⁰ Goodall (1989), 92.

⁵¹ GB-DRca: L/AA/7.

⁵² Pixell, J.: *A Collection of Songs with their Recitatives and Symphonies* (Birmingham, 1759); *Odes, Cantatas, Songs &c, divine, moral, entertaining...Opera Seconda* (Birmingham, 1775).

⁵³ GB-DRca: B/AA/9: 12. The cantatas in his second set are similar to others of this period and *Alexis* has a four-movement plan. Unusually, in this particular cantata, the second recitative and aria are set to the same music as the first. A 'Duett and Chorus' by Pixell was performed at one of Camidge's benefit concerts at York in 1768. *York Courant*, 2 February 1768.

The only other vocal piece that Clarke composed of which we are aware is the simple binary song 'The Invitation' that was published in the *Universal Magazine* for 1754, but this also dates from his time at Winchester.⁵⁴

2.7.5 Other Secular Vocal Music

Aside from Durham composers who left us several examples of their work, there are a few whose secular vocal music is limited to a single item. One such figure, and source of regret, is Garth whose vocal output is limited to one catch, 'Care thou canker of our joys'. At the time it was one of the most popular vocal pieces produced in Durham and certainly reached a level of popularity that none of Ebdon's songs ever achieved. We do not know when it was composed but indications are that it was circulating the area quite early as Shield set the tune to the words 'When the rosy morn appearing' in his opera *Rosina* (1783).⁵⁵ However, Shield, who would normally indicate the composer in the published score, made no mention of Garth and was presumably unaware that he had composed it. However, several later collections of vocal music do reveal Garth's authorship.⁵⁶ 'Care thou canker of our joys' became exceedingly popular and survives in several published editions and manuscripts and, with altered words, was used as a Masonic song and a hymn.⁵⁷ In three parts, it is certainly pleasing, if not particularly ambitious:

⁵⁴ *Universal Magazine* (London, 1754), XV, 269-70.

⁵⁵ Napier:London (c.1785), 6-8.

⁵⁶ *The Flowers of Harmony* (London, c.1800), II, 59; *A Collection of Duets, Rotas, Canons, Catches & Glees* (London, 1795), 34.

⁵⁷ GB-Cu: MS.Add 9027; HL MS Mus 52; GB-Gu: MS Euing R.d.27; Poole (1928), 12; Brown (2002), 143.

Ex. 29: Garth, J.: 'Care thou canker'.⁵⁸

ROTA Garth

1 Care thou Can - ker of our joys now thy ty - rant reign is o'er
 2 Seize the Vil - lain plunge him in see the ha - ted mis - creant dies
 3 O'er our mer - ry mid - night Bowls Gods how hap - py we shall be

9
 1 fill the mys - tic Bowl my Boys join in Bac - cha - na - lian roar
 2 mirth and all thy train come in shut out Sor - row tears and Sighs
 3 day was made for vul - gar Souls nights my Boys for you and me

Another Durham musician to write collections of glees was James Radcliffe, but his only published set dates from the time when he was a member of Worcester Cathedral Choir. The only example that Radcliffe composed while at Durham was a patriotic song called 'When absent on the distant Seas' which has not survived.⁵⁹

John Friend wrote few songs, his only one surviving example of which is 'The Durham Hunt' which was published in c.1799. Written for strings, oboes, horns and bass voice, it was arranged to facilitate easy performance on the keyboard. The piece has a strophic structure, each verse of which is divided into two sections, an 'Allegro Moderato' and a 'Maestoso'.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *A Collection of Duets, Rotas, Canons, Catches & Glees* (London, 1795), 34.

⁵⁹ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 17 November 1798.

⁶⁰ There is also 'An occasional SONG, on the present Peace.' that was originally sung by Acton, but only the words, which were written by Friend, survive. It is unknown if the music was written locally or borrowed from another source. GB-GLr: D3549 13/5/26.

George Ashton was another cathedral lay-clerk who wrote a patriotic song. His sole surviving example is set to the words 'When danger encircles our land' and published in 1799.⁶¹ It was dedicated to Hugh Percy (1742-1817), the second Duke of Northumberland, and the 'Percy Tenantry', his own volunteer regiment. There are a further two patriotic songs in existence by Charles Stanley, both of which were written to commemorate British victories during the Napoleonic wars.⁶² Evance also wrote several vocal pieces, including his 'Grand Masonic Chorus' and a setting of the patriotic song 'King George and Old England', both of which are lost.⁶³

⁶¹ *Newcastle Courant*, 2 March 1799. The British Library gives a date of c.1815, but the notice of the publication appeared in 1799.

⁶² Stanley, C.: *A favourite song on Sir John Jervis's Victory* (Edinburgh, c.1797); *Arm Albion arm, a favorite song on the late glorious victories obtained by Earl Howe, Earl St. Vincents & Lord Duncan, over the French, Spanish, & Dutch fleets* (London, c.1797).

⁶³ *Newcastle Courant*, 31 July 1779, 13 October 1781.

Chapter 8: Secular Music II: Instrumental

2.8.1 The Concerto

The origins of the British predilection for the concerto grosso stem from a set of twelve by Corelli (Op. 6) that became a staple of concert programmes throughout the eighteenth century. Burney, in 1789, recorded that Corelli's music was still well known. He stated that 'The *Concertos* of Corelli seem to have withstood all the attacks of time and fashion with more firmness than any other of his works.'¹ The concerto became a popular genre in the north-east where Avison was its chief proponent. Music by both Corelli and his pupil Geminiani was performed regularly at the local concerts in the north-east and it is therefore no surprise that the works of these two composers should have exerted a powerful influence on Avison's own concertos and those composed at Durham.

Avison's first set of concertos, the Op. 2,² appeared in 1740 and his *Two Concertos*, the first of which is an organ concerto, in 1742.³ Two years later he issued his popular concerto grosso arrangements of Scarlatti's lessons. Avison's Op. 3, which Hayes viciously attacked, appeared in 1751,⁴ his Op. 4 in 1755,⁵ and his Op. 6 in 1758. In the same year he issued his four-volume *Twenty Six Concertos* which consisted of his Opp. 3, 4 and 6 in full score.⁶ Avison's last two sets of concertos were

¹ Burney (1776), III, 555-6.

² Barber: Newcastle. A second edition, revised as organ concertos, appeared in 1747 along with an extra two concertos (Walsh: London).

³ The first concerto in this set is an organ concerto, his only example.

⁴ Johnson: London.

⁵ Johnson: London. These were dedicated to a 'Lady Milbanke', presumably Elizabeth, the mother of Ralph Milbanke. Elwin (1967), 13.

⁶ In this endeavour Avison followed the lead of Geminiani who had issued a similar edition of his Opp. 2 and 3 concertos in c.1757 (Johnson: London). There were several other occasions when Avison followed Geminiani's example. This is particularly evident in his concerti grossi arrangements of Geminiani's Opp. 1 and 4 sonatas, as Geminiani had already produced similar adaptations of Corelli's sonatas. This reverie extended both ways, as when Geminiani visited Newcastle in December 1760 and heard Avison's son Edward play the harpsichord, he remarked 'My Friend, I love all your Productions.'

his Op. 9 which appeared between 1766 and 1767 and his Op. 10 in 1769.⁷ These latter concertos were old-fashioned at their time of publication since Avison fought valiantly against the new styles that were coming from Europe. In a letter written to the Newcastle *Literary Register* in 1769, Avison reflected on the current state of music:

WHILE Contending nations alarm the world abroad, and interior commotions at home, I peruse *thy* pacific page, and wonder where the powers of music are fled, not to harmonize the passions of men; yet still the dulcet strains will live in congenial souls, to smooth the path of life which providence has given to lovers of harmony.

Newcastle

C.A.⁸

Despite the increasingly dated style of Avison's concertos they happily existed alongside examples that were written in a more modern, early classical style, a striking example of which were the cello concertos of Garth which were composed in the midst of Avison's most fertile compositional period. Despite Avison's 1769 longing for the old style of music, the musicians at Durham, though partially influenced by Avison, readily drew their main inspiration from the newer, more fashionable styles that were coming northward from London and mainland Europe.

You are my Heir. This Boy will be yours. Take care of him. To raise up Geniuses like him, is the only Way to perpetuate Music'. *Newcastle Journal*, 27 December 1760.

⁷ Both Bremner: London.

⁸ *Literary Register* (Newcastle, 1769), 278.

2.8.2 Cello Concertos

Only one set of concertos composed at Durham adopt a similar format to the concerti grossi of Avison and that is the set of six cello concertos by Garth. They were first published by Johnston in 1760 and, at the time of their issue, were the only cello concertos to have been published in Great Britain.⁹ They clearly enjoyed enough popularity to warrant a reissue by Welcker in c.1771.

Cello concertos had been performed in this country as early as 1722 when the Italian cellist Filippo Amadei (c.1665-c.1725) performed an example of his own composition at a concert held at London's Drury Lane Theatre, but this, as with all other known examples, has not survived.¹⁰ Although there was a lack of available cello concertos, cello sonatas had been frequently published, confirming that the use of the cello as a solo instrument was not a new concept when Garth premiered one of his concertos in 1753.¹¹ Garth was presumably well aware of Marcello's *Six Solos for the Violoncello* that had appeared in London in 1732,¹² as well as the 1747 Op. 5 VI *Sonate di Violoncello e Bass* by Geminiani.¹³ Garth's concertos followed in the wake of these published solos, where the cello takes the lead over the accompanying instruments. The concertos are therefore different from Avison's examples where the concertino consists of an *obbligato* of two violins and a cello.¹⁴

⁹ Earlier examples survive by foreign composers in manuscript but it is unlikely that Garth was aware of these. Among these are the notable examples by C. P. E. Bach (1714-88), which could be performed with a solo flute, cello or harpsichord. Vivaldi also wrote a significant number of cello concertos. We can be fairly certain that Garth would have been aware of Vivaldi's music through Avison. Avison (1967), 109.

¹⁰ Lindgren (2000), 131.

¹¹ *Newcastle Journal*, 16 June 1753.

¹² Walsh: London. These were published as his Op. 2.

¹³ Garth performed an unknown cello solo at a subscription concert in 1756. Burrows (2002), 320.

¹⁴ Stephen Paxton issued a set of cello solos in 1771 as his Op. 1.

Garth dedicated his set to Edward the Duke of York, also a talented cellist. In a letter dated 12 August 1761 Herschel recorded how he had accompanied Garth and Avison to Halnaby where he performed with the Duke:

I spent a week at Halnaby, the seat of Sir Ralph and Lady Milbank. I had been there often before and in November 1760 I had a long stay there to accompany Lady Milbank who was an excellent performer on the Harpsichord. I now had the honour of being of the musical party with M^r Avison and M^r Garth to entertain the Duke of York, the King's brother, who played the violoncello and accompanied me in several solos which I had the honour of playing before him.¹⁵

Rather than adopt the larger structures of Corelli, which were favoured by Avison, Garth opted to use the three-movement quick-slow-quick plan of Vivaldi.¹⁶ There is only one concerto where Garth deviates from the three-movement format and that is in Concerto V where the central slow movement is replaced with four shorter sections comprising two four-bar 'Adagios' for the orchestra each followed by a longer, thematically-linked, 'Affettuoso' for the cello.¹⁷

In the majority of his quick movements Garth used what was becoming the standard structural layout in which each movement features four statements of the theme, or 'ritornels' played by the whole orchestra. Sandwiched between each ritornel are episodes in which the cello is the chief protagonist.¹⁸ Examples of this form can be

¹⁵ Dreyer (1912), xviii.

¹⁶ The *Four Seasons* all have a three-movement structure, as do all of the cello concertos that I examined (Tomo 521-7).

¹⁷ Avison thematically linked the slow movements in several of his concertos, examples of which include his Op. 6 No. 1 and Op. 10 No. 3.

¹⁸ Rosen (1988), 71.

seen in the concertos of Johann Hasse (1699-1783),¹⁹ as well as those by Giovanni and Giuseppe Sammartini.²⁰ Some of Garth's movements, as is evident from the following table, use an almost identical layout to Hasse's form. For example, the first movement from Garth's fourth concerto is strikingly similar to the corresponding movement in the D major flute concerto from Hasse's Op. 3:²¹

Table 6: Comparison of the structure and tonality of the first movements of Hasse's Op. 3 D major concerto with Garth's cello concerto No. 4.

Hasse	Key	Garth	Key
Ritornel 1 Bars 1-20	D (I)	Ritornel 1 Bars 1-24	D (I)
Episode 1 Bars 21-39	D-A (I-V)	Episode 1 Bars 25-46	D-A (I-V)
Ritornel 2 Bars 40-49	A (V)	Ritornel 2 Bars 46-51	A-D (V-I)
Episode 2 Bars 50-64	A-Bm (V-vi)	Episode 2 Bars 52-71	D-Bm (I-vi)
Ritornel 3 Bars 65-77	Bm-G (vi-IV)	Ritornel 3 Bars 71-74	Dm-D (Vi-I)
Episode 3 Bars 78-98	D (I)	Episode 3 Bars 75-96	D (I)

¹⁹ Avison certainly knew Hasse's work as three of his sonatas survive in one of Avison's workbooks. Kroll (2005).

²⁰ Giuseppe's concertos were very popular in Britain and regularly appeared in programmes of the Concert of Ancient Music. Churgin: 'Sammartini, Giuseppe' (2009).

²¹ Nichols (2009) gives the date of publication as 1741.

Ritornel 4	D (I)	Ritornel 4	D (I)
Bars 98-116		Bars 96-113	

In other movements Garth plan differs from Hasse's model through the use of a repeat bar between the first episode and second ritornel, indicating binary thought patterns. The combination of a binary plan with a ritornello format appears to be rare but a similar example is located in the 1754 Op. 9 keyboard concertos of Giuseppe Sammartini.²² Garth's use of this binary plan can be seen in the first movement of Concerto I which also appears to be the oldest in the set as the final ritornel is an almost identical reprise of the first.²³ Here Garth begins with the first orchestral ritornel which concludes firmly in the tonic. The first episode begins with the primary theme before moving to the dominant three bars later, utilising material from the first ritornel as well as new secondary ideas. The cello-writing, given harmonic support by the orchestra, is unbroken in this section which ultimately concludes in the dominant. For ritornel two (after the repeat bar) the orchestra begins with a two-bar statement of the theme in the dominant before immediately returning to the tonic for a further thematic statement, a more common feature of the rounded-binary sonata movements from this period.²⁴ The second episode begins with an idea taken from the first section, but with elaboration, quickly moves to the relative minor where it remains until the beginning of the third ritornel in the tonic. The music remains in the tonic

²² Avison never used this form in his concertos as he preferred a more regular rounded-binary model. The form that has four ritornels between which are sandwiched three episodes originated from Italy, but was extensively cultivated in Germany where it became rigidly standardised. It is likely that Garth's hybrid form also originated from that country. Stevens (1974), 28.

²³ Rosen (1988), 72. Bars 3 and 4 of the first ritornel are omitted in the reprise.

²⁴ This can be seen in many of the Durham sonatas as well as in those by Avison. In the movements from the cello concertos where there is no repeat bar, Garth does not restate the theme at the tonic in the second ritornel.

throughout the remainder of the movement only touching the dominant *en passant*. The third solo contains more elaboration, but is interrupted by the orchestra part-way through, echoing other examples from this period.²⁵ The movement then concludes with the final ritornel. The overall layout of this movement is as follows:

Table 7: Plan of the first movement of Garth's cello concerto No. 1

Section	R1	E1	: :	R2	E2	R3	E3	R4
Key	I	I-V		V-I	I-vi	I	I	I
Bars	1-14	15-31		32-35	36-41	42-43	44-68	69-80

Other movements that use this binary layout include the opening movement of Concerto VI, while in the first movement of Concerto V Garth only repeats the first episode and *not* the first ritornel.²⁶ The fifth concerto appears to have been the last composed as it has structural features that had only recently appeared at the time of publication. This is most evident in the first movement where the full orchestra, rather than the solo cello, concludes the first episode.²⁷ This movement is particularly outstanding and reveals Garth's considerable ability at composition.

Thematically, this movement is distinctly Italian in its use and development of motifs. The melodic line at the start can be broken down into two main ideas, indicated as *x* and *y*:

²⁵ Rosen (1988), 96.

²⁶ Also, in the third movement of Concerto I, Garth only repeats the first episode.

²⁷ Although Rosen (1988), 83, thought that this was the more modern technique developed in the 1760s, Giuseppe Sammartini does something similar in his Op. 9. In the last movement of Concerto IV the orchestra concludes the first episode, similar to what Garth does. Sammartini's model differs in that the solo keyboard, rather than the orchestra, enters immediately after the repeat bar and articulates the expected return to the tonic.

Ex. 30: Garth, J.: Cello concerto No. 5 (1st movement), primary theme.



Motif *x* is the primary ritornello idea which recurs throughout the movement. This short idea with the trill and inverted mordant is much earlier than Garth and can be seen, for example, in Sonata V from Scarlatti's *Essercizi*.²⁸

Ex. 31: Scarlatti, D.: Keyboard sonata No. 5, primary theme.



The pattern that constitutes motif *y* is also important and keeps recurring, albeit frequently on different pitches. Within *y* there is a smaller pattern that I have referred to as *z* that again appears throughout the work, frequently in a varied form, and acts as a unification device. Again, the use and development of this motif has an earlier precedence as Garth's subsequent treatment of it is similar to what Geminiani does in the 'Allegro assai' from his cello sonata Op. 5 No. 6.

The phrasing of the first ritornel is rather unusual and consists of three main sections, the first of which is a six-bar phrase that uses motif *x* and *y*, with violins 1 and 2 playing imitatively, not too dissimilar to Avison's own concerto writing

²⁸ This motif was used by other British composers and appeared in the first movement of Boyce's Symphony 1 (Op. 2). Johann Galliard (c.1687-1747) also used it in the fourth sonata from his 1733 *Six Sonatas for the Bassoon or Violoncello*, as did Ebdon in his harpsichord sonata GB-DRc: MS.Mus.D6(ix).

practices (bars 4-5). This is followed by an irregular five-bar phrase, and it is here that motif z first appears in inversion (bars 7-8). The last eight bars can be subdivided into two almost identical sections that are based on y , with the inverted z appearing in the viola part (bars 14 and 18).

The first episode begins with the main theme played by the cello which cadences in the relative major after only seven bars (bar 26). On the upbeat to bar 27 Garth introduces a new idea that is similar to z , but has some important differences. Firstly it is in inversion, secondly the rhythms are the opposite way around, and thirdly that it begins on the off-beat. This idea has been given the label z' :

Ex. 32: Cello concerto No. 5 (1st movement), secondary theme.



After some use of subtle chromaticism in bars 31-2, the first part of the binary structure concludes with the full orchestra rather than the solo cello. This is not the second ritornel as it does not begin with motifs x and y , but instead Garth uses the z' idea taken from the solo cello part, creating a memorable secondary theme with the two violins playing in unison. This is not unprecedented as the first episode from the final movement of Sammartini's concerto Op. 9 No. 4 also concludes with the orchestra playing secondary material.

Ritornel 2 starts the second section in bar 40 at the dominant, but this is cut to five bars with the solo cello entering with the main theme at bar 45. The cello articulates the expected return to D minor four bars later (bar 48) which is followed by

a two-bar interjection by the orchestra that uses the secondary theme. The cello subsequently takes up this idea in bar 51, after which the harmonic speed increases, modulating through G minor, F major and A minor, in which key the third ritornel occurs in bar 57, unusually at the bars mid-point.²⁹ Four beats later, the second violin enters with the primary theme, imitating the first violin, but now back in D minor. The following circle of fifths takes the music through G minor, C major, F major, and back to D minor in bar 63. This time, for the start of the third episode in bar 63, Garth uses the y motif, imitating what the violin played in the previous bar. As expected the third episode has more injections from the orchestra with the first violin entering in bar 65 with the arpeggio idea from motif y which is again imitated in the following bar by the second violin, now in G minor. Garth immediately follows this by a ‘false reprise’ in bar 67 which is again treated imitatively.³⁰ The ideas Garth uses here are taken from the end of ritornel 1, including the series of suspensions in bars 72-3 that originate in bars 9-10, with the cello now playing the semi-quaver idea from the first violin part. The final episode then concludes with two four-bar phrases that recapitulate the end of the first ritornel, with the cello now having the melodic interest. After space for a cadenza in bar 84, the final ritornel does not end with the main ritornel theme, but instead concludes using the secondary theme from the end of the first episode. Once again it echoes what Sammartini did in his Op. 9.

Garth’s slow movements are generally shorter and more lyrical than the outlying movements, and mostly use a binary structure that tends to highlight the cello, with some gentle interplay between it and the orchestra. As such, they are not too dissimilar from the slow movements from the cello solos of the period.³¹

²⁹ In Hasse’s D major concerto, the final ritornel also begins at the bars mid-point.

³⁰ For more details on the use of the ‘false reprise’ see pages 345-6.

³¹ See, for example, those of Marcello’s *Six Solos*, as well as Galliard’s *Six Sonatas*.

Garth's cello concertos reveal a composer who was well aware of the latest developments in concerto-writing and he employed these contemporary ideas effectively with more than a touch of elegance and originality. The quality of his writing is consistently high, a particularly fine example of which is the first movement of the fifth concerto. However all of these concertos exemplify Garth as one of the most able composers to work in Durham during the eighteenth century. As such, they utterly dispel the notion that provincial music in England was always inevitably old-fashioned in relation to what was occurring in London and reveal that Durham, despite its provincial location, was *not* lagging far behind.

2.8.3 Harpsichord Concertos by Ebdon

Ebdon never composed any concerti grossi presumably because, by the time he had begun composing large-scale works, that genre had largely gone out of fashion. However, he did compose four keyboard concertos that survive in manuscript at the Dean and Chapter Library as part of a set of thirteen accompanied works for keyboard, the remainder of which are sonatas. There may have been other concertos that have been lost but the 'No 6' marking of the first concerto does not appear to refer to the sixth concerto in a set, as some of the sonatas are similarly numbered.³²

Like Garth's cello concertos, all of the Ebdon concertos are written in a three-movement format, the style of which is distinctly galant. They particularly reveal the influence of J. C. Bach, the musician responsible for introducing a more modern style into the keyboard concerto.³³ These concertos are outlined in the following table:

³² GB-DRc: MS D6.

³³ Lynan (1997), 118. Bach's Op. 1 concertos were first published in London in c.1763 and reissued by Bremner in c.1765.

Table 8: List of Ebdon's harpsichord concertos.

Cat. No.	Title/Date	Extant parts
MS D6(iv)	Concerto Harp. ^d No 6	Kbd, V1p, V2p, V1r, V2r, Vc, B
MS D6(vii)	Sonata Harpsichord, 'Concerto' on pg. 2	Kdb, V1p, V2p, V1r, V2r, Vla, Vc, B, Ob1, Ob2
MS D6(viii)	Concerto Harp. ^d Oct. 1774	Kdb, V1p, V2p, V1r,, V2r, Vla, Vc, B, Cl1, Ob1, Ob2, Horns [1+2]
MS D6(xiii) MS E42	Concerto Harpsichord, June 1781	Kbd, V1, V2, Vla, Vc, Ob2, Horns [1+2]

Although several of these works are pleasing in their use of balance and melodic lines, they are not particularly inventive. One of these, D6(iv), appears to have been written for string accompaniment alone, though this is perhaps the least interesting of the four. Its blandness is particularly evident in the following extract, where the accompaniments double the keyboard or reinforce the harmonies, but have little independent interest:

Ex. 33: Ebdon, T.: *Harpsichord Concerto D6(iv)* (1st movement).

Allegro Tutti

Violino Primo *For* *Pia* Solo

Violino Secondo *For* *Pia*

Ripeano Primo [*For*]

Ripeano Secondo [*For*]

Viola [reconstructed] *For* *Pia*

Violoncello *For* *Pia*

Basso [*For*]

Harpsichord [*For*] *Pia*

The other three concertos are all written for strings, wind and horn, but there are clearly parts missing from all of these works. The third concerto D6(viii) is the most complete, but is certainly missing a clarinet part which, in 1774, would have been a relatively new instrument in the north-east. The keyboard parts themselves only use the standard markings of ‘f’ and ‘p’ and, given the lack of crescendo markings, were clearly intended for the harpsichord rather than the piano.

There was, at this time, a motion towards the amalgamation of the concerto and the accompanied sonata, perhaps best exemplified locally by Hawdon’s published set of two concertos from c.1775 which have accompaniments for two violins and a cello.³⁴ Although this type of concerto had originated from the continent, the two

³⁴ Hawdon, M. : *Two Concertos for the Harpsichord... with accompaniments for two Violins & a Violoncello*, (London, c.1775).

forms did merge. Other composers of this hybrid genre included Stanley, William Smethergell (1750/1-1836), Thomas Chilcot (1700-66), and James Hook. Even for Ebdon, there may have been some confusion, as D6(vii) has been ascribed as a sonata on the title page, but correctly marked as a concerto above the music.

Ebdon, like Garth, made use of the ritornello format in his first movements, but, again, there are differences in how each concerto is structurally articulated. The B-flat first movement of D6(viii) bears the closest similarity to what Garth's model. It begins with a ritornello theme in the orchestra that is subsequently taken up by the solo keyboard, the orchestra concluding the first episode with secondary material at the dominant. The second ritornel (after the repeat bar) articulates the return to the tonic four bars later and the third ritornel is placed in the relative minor before a swift return to the tonic. Unusually for Ebdon, but in line with the practices of the time, there is a greater amount of modulation in the third episode passing through a variety of keys including E-flat, F, D minor, even touching A major at one point. As expected, there are also conspicuously more interruptions from the orchestra. Another unusual feature of this concerto is that the final statement of the theme occurs in the solo keyboard part, the orchestra joining in only nine bars before the end. This has a parallel with the third movement of Garth's Concerto IV in which the solo cello begins both the first and final ritornels.

Ebdon's final movements use a variety of forms, with D6(vii) ending with a theme and three variations, while D6(viii) ends with a rondo. Concluding a keyboard concerto with a rondo was increasingly common after 1770 and was first used in this genre by Chilcot in his 1765 Op. 2.³⁵

³⁵ Lyman (1997), 73, 132.

Ebdon's concertos were written to be performed at the Durham concerts and they may have enjoyed some success but not enough to make publication worthwhile. They were generally written to be light enjoyable pieces and to cater for a public who would have found such music pleasing. These concertos, however, were, for the most part, never intended to be innovative. The most interesting movement of the four concertos is the first movement of concerto D6(viii) which is more ambitious for Ebdon and clearly indicates that he could compose at a high standard if he so desired. Given Ebdon's talents, which in rare contexts rivalled those of Garth, it is disappointing to find him writing such bland music as in D6(iv).

2.8.4 William Evance *A Favorite Concerto*

Evance's *A favorite Concerto* first appeared in c.1785 in an edition published by Longman & Broderip. Even though the title of the work appears to indicate that it had received considerable approbation at the local concerts, Lynan (1997) thought that 'few of the works so designated achieved outstanding success'.³⁶ However, it was successful enough in print for a second edition was issued by Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine in c.1802 and it was also published on the continent by Hummel.³⁷ The first edition had an impressive list of subscribers which included notable musicians such as Arnold as well as Evance's organist brother James.³⁸ It was performed at a Durham concert held in February 1786, presumably played by Evance himself,³⁹ and, despite the title page suggesting that it was also suitable for piano, with its limited use

³⁶ Lynan (1997), 72.

³⁷ Evance, W.: *Concert pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte* (Amsterdam, c.1785).

³⁸ He subscribed to twenty copies.

³⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 11 February 1786.

of dynamics it appears to have been written with the harpsichord in mind. It received at least two further performances, one in 1791,⁴⁰ and another in 1797.⁴¹

This concerto adopts the standard three-movement structure in which the accompaniment of four-part strings mainly reinforces the keyboard, particularly at cadences, and has no independent writing. The first movement of this concerto follows a layout that has strong parallels with the earlier concertos of Garth, Hasse and others, using another variant of the concerto ritornello form. The first orchestral section, which ultimately articulates the expected move to the dominant, consists of two smaller sections for full orchestra that use similar material. Both of these begin in the same way with a full chord followed by octaves which develops into a galant quaver pedal in the bass, as seen in Ex. 34:

Ex. 34: Evance, W.: *A Favorite Concerto* (1st movement).

The musical score for Ex. 34 is for the first movement of 'A Favorite Concerto' by W. Evance. It is in the key of B-flat major (two flats) and 4/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The score is for five parts: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Harpsichord. The first measure shows a full chord in the bass, followed by octaves in the bass, which develops into a galant quaver pedal in the bass. The dynamics are marked *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The score shows a full chord followed by octaves in the bass, which develops into a galant quaver pedal in the bass.

⁴⁰ *Newcastle Advertiser*, 5 March 1791.

⁴¹ GB-DRu: 'Elephant case' L792.

The image displays a musical score for five instruments: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Harpsichord. The score is in E-flat major and 3/4 time. It shows a passage starting at measure 6, marked with dynamics *p* and *f*. The harpsichord part features a prominent octave passage in the first two measures.

As in the standard ritornello format of Hasse, Evance does not have a repeat bar after the cadence in the dominant. Instead, it is here that the first episode occurs, utilising new material. Evance's model appears to have been J. C. Bach and there is a strong similarity to the opening movement from Bach's concerto Op. 13 No. 5.⁴² Bach, like Evance, begins with a passage in octaves that remains firmly in the tonic. His first orchestral part can also be divided into two sections, the second of which is also a varied version of the first, and this articulates the move to the dominant. There is no repeat bar in Bach's concerto either and following the cadence in F, the first episode begins with a new theme for the solo keyboard before the music moves away at an increased harmonic speed. For his first episode Evance initially return to E-flat, but, as expected, the harmonic speed increases as it returns to B-flat before cadencing in F. It next reaches C minor where there is a short tutti statement of an idea that is very similar to the second and third bars of the first section. This central tutti is also evident in the Bach concerto movement, Evance's move to the relative minor having

⁴² Bach, J. C.: *A Third Sett of Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte...Opera XIII* (London, 1777) This concerto also follows a three-movement structure, Allegro-Andante-Andante con moto.

strong parallels with the third ritornel of the earlier concerto form. Evance, in his second episode, moves to F minor, and back to B-flat as the music builds up. Here he uses a dominant pedal, a predominant feature of classical music and another trait of Bach who utilised a sixteen-bar pedal at this point in his concerto. Evance then immediately returns to E-flat for a recapitulation of the first theme that is, for the most part, an identical restatement of the first twenty bars. The overall plan of this movement is:

Table 9: Plan of Evance's *A Favorite Concerto* (1st movement).

Section	Theme	Tonality	Bars
Tutti 1a	A	I	1-24
Tutti 1b	A'	I-V	25-44
Solo 1	B	V-I-V-vi	45-75
Tutti 2	A''	vi	76-80
Solo 2	C	vi-V	81-98
Tutti 3	A	I	99-118

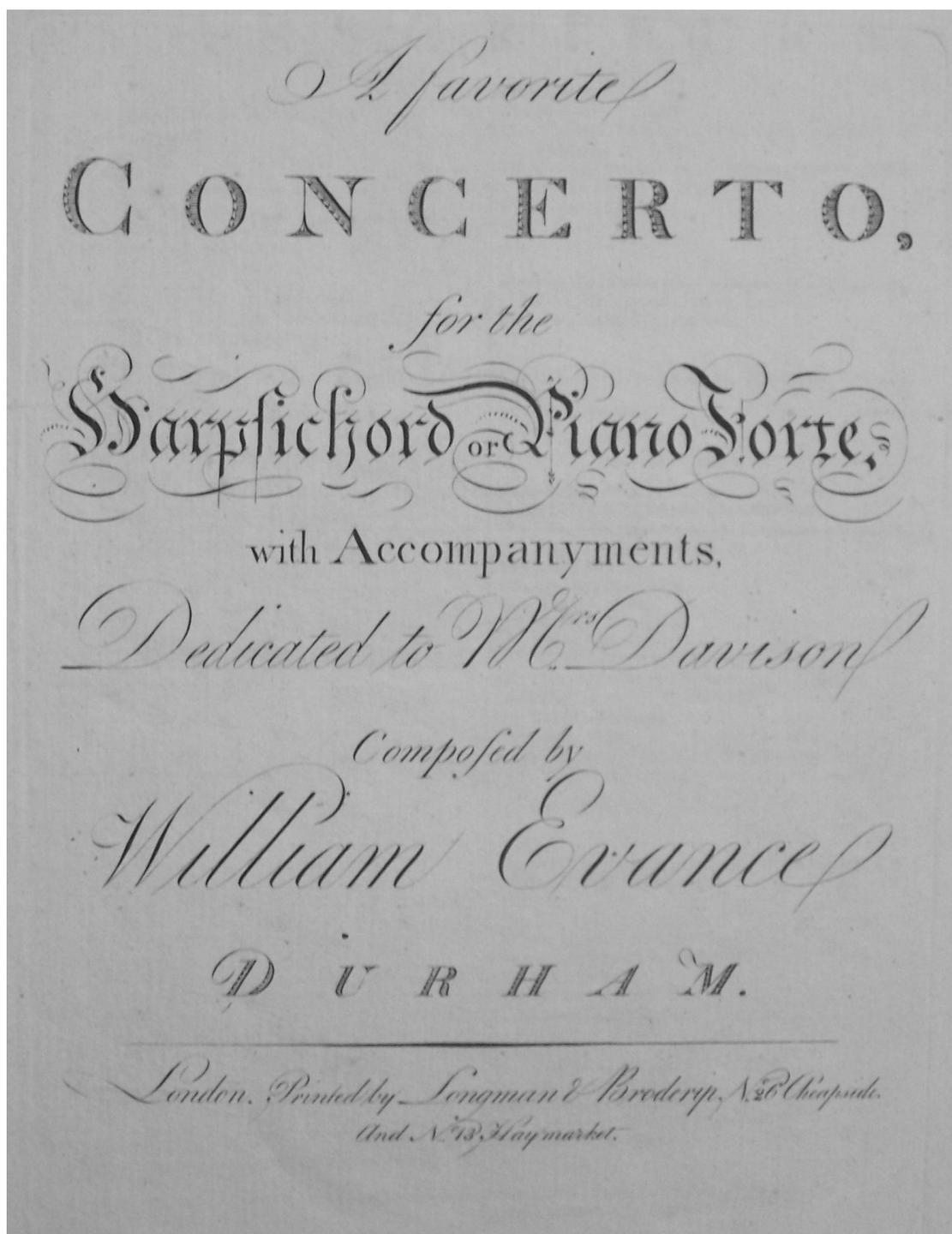


Fig. 10: Title-page of Evance's *A Favorite Concerto*.⁴³

⁴³ From the author's private collection.

The central movement in the Evance is a gentle minuet that uses rounded-binary form with a recapitulation of the main theme at the tonic towards the end. The first section is initially played with the ripieno, who are omitted on the repeat, and there occurs no modulation until the after the repeat bar where there is a rather rapid, but awkward modulation to F before moving chromatically to C minor. The first recapitulation of the theme is for keyboard alone, the ripieno only entering on the repeat. Unlike the climatic end of the first section, this movement fades away to nothing.

The last movement is a vibrant 2/4 'Allegro con Brio' in rondo format that begins quietly with the theme on the solo keyboard; this section is then repeated at forte with the ripieno, similar to what J. C. Bach does in the last movement of his Op. 13 concerto.

Evance's concerto is a vibrant, lyrical piece that utilises many of the latest musical developments that compare favourably with the keyboard concertos of J.C. Bach. Evance's use of this variant of the concerto ritornello form is unique in the Durham compositions, clearly indicating that, twenty-five years after the publication of Garth's cello concertos, Durham musicians continued to make use of the latest developments in compositional technique.

2.8.5 The Accompanied Sonata

Even though the accompanied keyboard sonata was a popular genre throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, the type that has a ripieno comprised of two violins and a cello was, for the most part, peculiar to the north-east. Avison was responsible for its establishment having written and published three sets, his first, Op.

5, was issued in 1756. This was followed by his Opp. 7 and 8 published respectively in 1760 and 1764. As such they all predate the Durham sonatas, the earliest of which is Ebdon's c.1765 set.

Avison, in the 'Advertisement' to his Op. 8 sonatas, recorded his primary influences in their composition writing that:

Among the various Productions of foreign Composers for the Harpsichord, the Sonatas of SCARLATTI, RAMEAU, and CARLO-BACH, have their *peculiar* Beauties. The *fine Fancy* of the Italian --- the *spirited Science* of the Frenchman --- and the German's *diffusive Expression* are the distinguishing Signatures of their Music. But if we examine the Lessons of GEMINIANI we shall find them fraught with *every* Beauty, and, therefore, worthy of the Attention of Those who would improve a true Taste, and acquire a graceful and fluent Execution.⁴⁴

Avison was profoundly influenced by Scarlatti, most evident in the concerti grossi arrangements of Scarlatti's lessons. C.P.E. Bach was never mentioned in his *Essay* and one must assume that Avison did not become aware of his music until after 1752. However, we do know that Avison's primary inspiration was the French composer Jean-Philippe Rameau, whom he greatly admired.⁴⁵ Burney was also aware of Rameau's influence on Avison and wrote that 'Rameau was likewise his likewise his model in harpsichord Music'.⁴⁶ In a 1751 advertisement for the Newcastle subscription series, Avison mentioned that he had made particular effort to procure

⁴⁴ 'Advertisement' to Avison, C.: *Six Sonatas* Op. 8 (London, 1764).

⁴⁵ Avison (1967), 52-3.

⁴⁶ Burney (1776), IV, 670.

‘all the Works of the Author’ and that ‘select Pieces from the Works of M. RAMEAU’ would ‘be performed at every Concert, during this Season’.⁴⁷ It is likely that amongst this collection of music was Rameau’s 1741 *Pièces de Clavecin en concert avec un violon ou une flûte*. These are the only ensemble pieces that he composed and are important as they have a fully realised harpsichord part rather than the figured bass as employed by other works of that time.⁴⁸

Although one would imagine that these sonatas were written for performance in the local concerts, Avison had not intended his for such a purpose, although some would have received an airing in this context. He noted that:

This kind of Music is not, indeed, calculated so much for public Entertainment, as for private Amusement. It is rather like a Conversation among Friends, where the Few are of one Mind, and propose their mutual Sentiments, only to give Variety, and enliven the select Company.⁴⁹

Be this as it may, Avison’s sonatas would have been well known to Durham musicians. Ebdon presumably heard them performed following the amalgamation of the two concert groups in the early 1760s.

Avison’s first published set of sonatas were his Op. 1 trio sonatas from c.1737, but these, as in the old model, do not have a realised harpsichord part. With the later sonatas Avison raised the profile of the harpsichord, making it the primary instrument

⁴⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 21 September 1751.

⁴⁸ Stephens (1968), 137.

⁴⁹ ‘Advertisement’ to Avison, C.: *Six Sonatas* Op. 7 (London, 1760).

and reduced the importance of the strings.⁵⁰ The keyboard part follows conventional practice in that it is complete in itself and could be played on its own by amateur musicians. The style of his keyboard writing, when compared with his 1742 organ concerto and the keyboard editions of his Opp. 2 and 9 concertos, reveals a different side of the composer. Avison's sonatas are copiously florid works with large amounts of arpeggio writing and ornamentation. He also preferred this genre to the more popular keyboard concerto stating that:

The accompanied Sonata for the Harpsichord is so far preferable to the Concerto with Symphonies, that the Airs are less tedious --- their Designs are more compact --- and the principal Instrument is better heard.⁵¹

In terms of layout, Avison used a variety of different templates. His Op. 1 set of trio sonatas was heavily influenced by Corelli with each sonata having four movements, but, in later sets of published sonatas, there was a marked overall reduction in the number of movements in each work. In his Op. 5 keyboard sonatas there are three that have four movements, one that has three and two that have two movements,⁵² while of the six keyboard sonatas in Op. 7, five have two movements and one has three.⁵³ In his Op. 8 keyboard sonatas, four have two movements, one

⁵⁰ In the 'Advertisement' to his Op. 5 sonatas, Avison wrote that 'THE Violin Parts...ought no where to overpower the Harpsichord. This opinion differs slightly from Rameau, who thought that the instruments should 'blend...and especially that the violin and viol may adapt themselves to the clavecin, distinguishing what is accompaniment from what is part of the subject' Girdlestone (1969), 41.

⁵¹ 'Advertisement' to Avison, C.: *Six Sonatas* Op. 8 (London, 1764).

⁵² In Op. 5 sonatas I, III, V have four movements, VI has 3 movements and sonatas II and IV each have two movements.

⁵³ Sonata V has three movements.

three, while the final sonata is comprised of a theme and variations.⁵⁴ However, Durham was to prove to be an even more fertile ground for the development of this genre, the flexibility in the number of movements leading to the development of two distinct types, Garth's which follow the two-movement format, while Ebdon's have three. It was also Garth, not Avison, who achieved the highest amount of acclaim in this genre.

Many of these keyboard sonatas make use of a format that was the forerunner of the later, more important, established sonata form of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the mid-eighteenth century there was no format that could be defined as 'sonata form'. In fact the term did not even exist. Most musicians chose to compose in a binary pattern that had some form of recapitulation at the end, but not necessarily the 'double-return' that is associated with later species of sonata form. The number of variants possible is evident in the Durham keyboard sonatas from this period, but the key features of many of the movements is an exposition that consists of a primary theme in the tonic, usually a secondary theme that moves to the dominant, a theme either repeated or new in the dominant at the start of the transition, and a recapitulation that is either in, or moves back to, the tonic. Most of the formal variants were reserved for the main body of the transition and how the recapitulation was articulated, with an appreciable number having a double-return but by no means all.

The main force behind the development and dissemination of this structural device was C. P. E Bach, whose published sonatas were widely circulated and had clearly reached the north-east.⁵⁵ Bach's first set, the *Prussian Sonatas*, were published in Nuremberg in 1742, and contain several movements that follow a rounded-binary

⁵⁴ Sonata II has three movements.

⁵⁵ Wolff (2009).

plan that has a strong similarity with the later standardised sonata paradigm of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, as such, has striking parallels with Garth's practices. Avison rarely used this form in his keyboard sonatas, with only a few of the movements in his Op. 5 having a return of the main theme in the tonic towards the end. For example, the 'Con Giubilo' of Sonata II has such a return, although the primary subject is substantially varied on its recapitulation, while the 'Aria Spiritoso' of Sonata IV ends with an identical restatement of the exposition, although this movement lacks a second subject. Avison first uses a full double-return in his Op. 7 sonatas, with the 'Presto' of Sonata V having an exposition that consists of a primary section in the tonic that moves to the relative major, in which key occurs the secondary material. The transition, which uses material from both sections of the exposition, begins with a statement of the theme in C and ends in E minor before a jump back to A minor for the recapitulation of both sections of the exposition in the tonic, giving this movement the following plan:

Table 10: Plan of Avison's sonata Op. 7, No. 5 (3rd movement).

Section	Key	Theme	Bars
Exposition 1 st subject	a-C (i-III)	A	1-24
Exposition 2 nd subject	C (III)	B	25-48
Transition	C-e (III-v)	A' + B'	49-92
Recapitulation 1 st subject	a (i)	A	93-108
Recapitulation 2 nd subject	a (i)	B	109-132

This is the only time Avison uses this form in his Op. 7 and in his Op. 8 he uses it twice in the ‘Aria Allegretto’ from Sonata III and the ‘Presto’ from Sonata IV, but this form was to prove to be even more common in the Durham sonatas.

2.8.6 Published Keyboard Sonatas by Ebdon

Ebdon’s only set of published sonatas appeared in a single edition from c.1765 by Welcker that were dedicated to Cowper. They were eagerly anticipated as Ebdon received 204 subscribers for 238 copies, quite a substantial amount for a first published work. The subscription list includes many distinguished people including Alcock, Avison, Camidge and Burney.⁵⁶

Ebdon was clearly influenced by Avison in the outline of his sonatas and utilised the same instrumentation. The accompaniments double the harpsichord or provide harmonic support; and, unlike his concertos, there are no substantial passages for solo keyboard (although there are passages that sound clumsy when the harpsichord part is played alone). Ebdon favoured a three-movement concerto-like pattern, with two fast movements surrounding a central slow movement, a structural layout that is uncommon in Avison’s sonatas.⁵⁷

The first sonata is a rounded-binary ‘Allegro’ that has a recapitulation of the primary theme at the tonic. The first section, as one might expect, moves to the dominant before the second section continues with a restatement of the theme in G. However, unlike the examples in Garth’s earlier cello concerto movements, there is no further restatement of the theme in the tonic near the start of the transition, although Ebdon does soon pass through the home key. Towards the end of the second

⁵⁶ Burney’s name was added by hand to a recently discovered copy now in the author’s possession.

⁵⁷ Only three of Avison’s eighteen keyboard sonatas adopt this format, two of which are in his Op. 8 (sonatas III and IV).

section, the primary subject is repeated along with the last five bars of the second, omitting most of the secondary material. Although generally a euphonious (if uninspired) movement, there are some abrupt changes in keyboard texture that seem excessively disruptive and have the effect of unsettling the listener. One such instance can be found at the start of the movement where, after a tripartite texture, it immediately drops to a bar with almost a monophonic texture. This passage does sound slightly better when played with the rather bland accompaniments, but, as can be seen in the following extract, when played on solo keyboard it sounds distinctly odd:

Ex. 35: Ebdon, T.: Keyboard Sonata No. 1 (1st movement).

Allegro

The image shows a musical score for four instruments: Violin I, Violin II, Cello, and Harpsichord. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The score is in 2/4 time. The first two measures show a tripartite texture with all instruments playing. From the third measure onwards, the texture becomes monophonic, with only the Harpsichord playing. The Harpsichord part is marked 'Pia.' (Piano) from the third measure. The Violin I, Violin II, and Cello parts are also marked 'Pia.' from the third measure. The Harpsichord part consists of a single melodic line, while the other instruments play a simple accompaniment.

Despite this, such changes in texture do appear in Avison, albeit more highly integrated, and it appears that Ebdon was attempting to imitate his practices.⁵⁸

Ebdon's keyboard writing is by no means as florid as Avison's. In Ebdon's the emphasis is placed on a rather simple melodic line which is more similar to the practices of his concertos. Moreover, the keyboard accompaniments are much more galant in mannerism than Avison's and make conspicuous use of an Alberti bass. Avison's left hand, on the other hand, tends to have a slower rhythmic pace than his right and is frequently written in the form of simple block chords.

The first movements of all Ebdon's sonatas use a very similar format to that of Sonata I, but with slight variations. Sonata II differs in that the transition does not begin with a recapitulation of the main theme in the dominant, but with new material, a feature that came from concerto-composing practices.⁵⁹ An example can be found in Sonata I from Giovanni Rutini's (1723-97) Op. 3.⁶⁰ Sonata IV is different again in that it has a recapitulation that is longer than the exposition, but does have a full double-return.

⁵⁸ See Op. 8, No. 1.

⁵⁹ Rosen (1988), 147.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 143-7.



Fig. 11: Title-page to Ebdon's *Six Sonatas*, designed by Christopher Ebdon.⁶¹

⁶¹ From the author's private collection.

The slow central movements are in a variety of different forms. The ‘Siciliano’ of Sonata I is a gentle and rather pleasing pastoral piece that follows a rondo format, with some effective use of imitation between the first violin and the keyboard as seen in Ex. 36:

Ex. 36: Ebdon, T.: Keyboard Sonata No. 1 (2nd movement).

Siciliano

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system includes Violin I, Violin II, Cello, and Harpsichord (Viol.). The second system includes Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Harpsichord (Cembalo). The tempo is marked 'Siciliano' and the dynamics include 'For.' and 'Pia.'. The score features various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and trills.

The uninspired ‘Larghetto’ of Sonata II has more antiphonal work between the harpsichord and the ripieno, while Sonata III has the shortest central movement,

lasting a mere five bars. The final movements adopt a variety of formats. Sonata I ends with a dramatic rounded binary movement that again shows the signs of ‘proto-sonata thinking’. Unusually, in this instance, the restatement of the themes in the recapitulation occurs in reverse order and, as such, imitates the ‘mirror’ form as used at Mannheim.⁶² Sonata II ends with a minuet with four variations, sonatas IV and VI with a rondo, and Sonata V concludes with a minuet and trio.

The sonatas of Ebdon reveal a composer who was well aware of the latest developments in music and was certainly innovative in the use of different structural formats, as may be seen in the variety of ways in which he utilises rounded-binary form. Some of his themes in his sonatas are highly lyrical, notably those in minor keys, but his compositions are often undermined by inconsistencies of texture, especially for the keyboard. These sonatas were Ebdon’s first published compositions and they reveal a composer with some appreciable talent, yet nevertheless one that found its match in the composition of larger, more involuted structures such as is revealed by the limited nature of the musical material in the keyboard sonatas. Indeed, this feature is thrown into relief when a comparison is made with the sonatas of Garth published in 1768.

2.8.7 Garth’s Op. 2 Keyboard Sonatas

The most prolific Durham-based composer of sonatas was Garth who published five sets of six between 1768 and c.1782. His first set, the Op. 2, was printed for himself and sold by, among others, Bremner. It was even more wildly anticipated than Ebdon’s and received 260 subscribers, among which were many notable musicians

⁶² Webster (2006).

including Alcock, Burney, Camidge, Giardini, Hayes, Herschel, Jackson, Linley, Nares, Noferi, Stanley, and five members of the Avison family.⁶³ The first set proved to be incredibly popular and was reissued by Welcker (c.1770), Blundell (c.1780), Thompson (1785), Bland (c.1786), and even a spurious issue under the name of Markordt of Amsterdam (c.1783).⁶⁴ The first sonata in this set was particularly admired and was issued individually several times.⁶⁵

Garth chose the two-movement format for his sonatas. Both movements are always in the same key (most of which are major) and he never goes beyond four sharps or three flats in the key signatures. In his first movements Garth frequently uses the rounded binary design that features a double-return and most of the finales are in the form of a rondo. As already discussed, the most popular was the first sonata which consists of two Allegros, the second a lively 2/4 French 'Rondeau'.

In the first movement of Sonata I, Garth instantly surprises us as, despite the home key of G major, all the F sharps in the first six bars are cancelled producing a seventh chord on the tonic played over a galant bass pattern (Ex. 37). The key soon modulates to the dominant, featuring some elegant chromatic twists.

⁶³ They include Avison's nephew William (d.1821) who was resident in Narva. Narva is now in modern Estonia, but, at the time, was part of Russia.

⁶⁴ The success of the Op. 2 sonatas led Garth's collaboration with the attorney Charles Rennett to regain the copyright of these popular works after their initial fourteen-year period in law had expired, when ownership should have reverted to the composer. In 1769 Garth had sold the rights to these sonatas to the publisher Welcker but they were auctioned off after Welcker's death. Eventually they passed into the possession of Peter Thompson who had assumed possession until 1797. However, at this time, spurious copies issued by Longman and Broderip with a Dutch title page were being sold in London (Holland was exempt from British copyright law), so Thompson contacted Garth in an attempt to retain the reversionary rights. Garth requested half of what the work sold for on its first publication, which Thompson refused. As a result, Garth sold the reversionary rights to Rennett in 1784. Rennett contested Thompson's ownership in court using the 1710 copyright law but was ruled against. See Mace (2004).

⁶⁵ It was included as part of the first volume of *Bland's Collection of Sonatas, Lessons, Overtures, Capricios, Divertimentos &c, &c* (London, c.1790). See also Garth, J.: *Garth's Sonata & Rondo* (Walker: London, c.1800) and others in Appendix A.

Ex. 37: Garth, J.: Keyboard Sonata Op. 2, No. 1 (1st movement).

The image displays two systems of a musical score for Garth's Keyboard Sonata Op. 2, No. 1, first movement. The first system is marked 'Allegro' and 'Pia.' (piano). It features four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Cello, and Harpsichord. The Violin I and II parts play a melodic line in G major, while the Cello and Harpsichord provide a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The second system is marked 'For.' (forte) and begins with a measure number '5' above the Violin I staff. It features four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Cello, and Harpsichord. The Violin I and II parts play a new melodic line, while the Cello and Harpsichord continue with the rhythmic accompaniment.

The transitional section begins in the dominant with a new melodic line that follows the same rhythmic pattern as the primary subject. After six bars, it returns to the tonic before quickly moving to E minor where it cadences at the end of the transition. It instantly jumps back to G for the recapitulation which is again varied. The second movement in Sonata I follows the standard rondo tonal scheme of I-V-I-vi-I and features a memorable folk-like melodic line formed from eight-bar antecedent and

consequent phrases (Ex. 38). It is accompanied by an Alberti bass that permeates the whole movement:

Ex. 38: Garth, J.: Keyboard Sonata Op. 2, No. 1 (2nd movement).

Rondeau
Allegro

Violin I

Violin II

Cello

Harpsichord

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Hpschd.

Pia.

For.

5

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a string quartet and harpsichord. The first system includes parts for Violin I, Violin II, Cello, and Harpsichord. The second system includes parts for Violin I, Violin II, Cello, and Harpsichord. The harpsichord part features a prominent Alberti bass pattern. Dynamics markings 'Pia.' and 'For.' are present in the second system. A fermata is indicated above the first measure of the Violin I part in the second system.

Modulation is limited during the first half of the rondo, moving from G to D in the first episode, and then jumping straight to E minor for the second. The second episode is the longest in the piece, contains much more modulation and moves through the keys a-G-D-e and back to G for the final recapitulation. This increase in tonal

movement during the second episode is a regular feature of rondos from this period, including those of Garth. Of the remaining five sonatas in this set, four have the same overall plan as Sonata I. The first movement of Sonata II also has a double-return and, like Sonata I, has a distinctly classical sound that echoes the compositional style of J. C. Bach. Indeed the modern, contemporary sound of Garth's sonatas belie the three years that divide his works from those of Ebdon. Sonatas II to IV all use a similar tonal structure that moves to the dominant at the end of the exposition and, in the case of Sonata III, to the relative major. Sonatas II and III begin the transition with a statement of the theme, but with Sonata IV the transition begins with a new idea. Sonatas I, III and IV all end with a double-return that is generally linked smoothly with the previous episode. An exception is Sonata II, where the transition ends with a cadence in D minor and on which there is space for a cadenza.

In several movements Garth varies his thematic material for the beginning of the transition and recapitulation, an example of which is the first movement of Sonata VI where the theme at the start of the transition is partially inverted. Similarly, when the recapitulation occurs, the main theme is not restated, although the melody follows a similar semi-quaver pattern to the first theme. These themes are as follows:

Ex. 39: Garth, J.: Sonata Op. 2, No. 6 (1st movement) a) Primary theme.



which are also two-movement works. Garth's harmonies are well thought out, the different textures in the keyboard part revealing a high-level of showmanship, particularly the rapid arpeggiation and crossing of hands. They were, however, composed at a suitable level of difficulty for amateur female musicians. The string parts primarily reinforce the harpsichord and the two violins are frequently in thirds or sixths. Although there are generally more gaps for keyboard solo in the second movements, Garth's sonatas do not have real any interplay between the ripieno and the keyboard, as was observed in Ebdon's sonatas, and one cannot help but feel that Garth's set was composed primarily with the performance of a solo keyboard in mind, while Ebdon's were more devised to be played with the accompaniments. Conceived more homogeneously, Garth's sonatas avoided the awkward changes in texture that blemish Ebdon's keyboard parts.⁶⁶ Garth's sonatas are unquestionably of far higher quality than Ebdon's in almost every aspect and, when directly compared, Ebdon's appear, in their more amateurish garb, to lack invention and professional polish.

2.8.8 Garth's other Keyboard Sonatas

After the phenomenal success of his Op. 2, Garth attempted to capitalise on the popularity of his sonatas by issuing a further four sets, namely his Op. 4 (Welcker, c.1772) Op. 5 (Welcker, c.1775), Op. 6 (Welcker, c.1779) and Op. 7 (Robson, c.1782). Two of these have dedications to ladies who may have been pupils. His Op. 5 was dedicated to a Lady Melbourne whose married name was Elizabeth Lamb (1751-1818). She was younger sister of Ralph Milbanke and mother of William Lamb (1779-1848), the second Viscount Melbourne and prime minister between 1834 and

⁶⁶ When Sonata I was later issued separately, no string parts were included.

1841.⁶⁷ His Op. 7 was dedicated to a Miss Stowe who was from Ryton, a town near Blaydon, Newcastle.⁶⁸

Superficially all of the later sonatas are in a similar vein to those of his first set. The ripieno continues to reinforce the harpsichord part and there is no real interplay between the two forces in all but his last set. A few contain crescendo markings which indicate that these were intended for the piano rather than the harpsichord, although, unusually, his Op. 6 sonatas have none.⁶⁹ Such markings are rare in these sonatas and they only occur twice in his Op. 4. However, given that Ebdon's later manuscript sonatas and concertos were clearly intended for harpsichord, it seems likely that when Garth's were performed at the local concerts, such markings would have been limited to the strings alone. One crescendo marking occurs in the first movement of Sonata V (Ex. 40) where a repeated semiquaver idea occurs featuring a sequence of suspensions. This is a common device that can be seen in the opening of Giovanni Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* but, with the use of the crescendo, Garth's version reveals a striking similarity to the opening of the cantata *The Morning* by Thomas Arne (Ex. 41):

⁶⁷ Mandler (2009)

⁶⁸ See the list of Subscribers to Wright, T.: *Six Songs* (Newcastle c.1785).

⁶⁹ Garth also used crescendo markings in his Op. 2, sonatas II and V.

Ex. 40: Garth, J.: Keyboard Sonata Op. 4 No. 5 (1st movement).

[Allegro]

Vln. I
P.

Vln. II
P.

Vc.
P.

Hpd.
P.

This system shows the first two measures of the piece. The tempo is marked [Allegro]. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The Vln. I part begins with a half note G4, followed by a half note A4, and a half note B4. The Vln. II part begins with a half note G4, followed by a half note A4, and a half note B4. The Vc. part begins with a half note G3, followed by a half note A3, and a half note B3. The Hpd. part features a continuous eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a simple eighth-note bass line in the left hand. All parts are marked with a piano (P) dynamic.

⁵

Vln. I
cres. il F.

Vln. II
cres. il F.

Vc.
cres. il F.

Hpd.
cres. il F.

This system shows measures 3 to 5. The Vln. I part has a crescendo leading to a forte (F) dynamic. The Vln. II part has a crescendo leading to a forte (F) dynamic. The Vc. part has a crescendo leading to a forte (F) dynamic. The Hpd. part has a crescendo leading to a forte (F) dynamic. The Hpd. right hand part features a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The left hand part continues with the simple eighth-note bass line. A fermata is placed over the final note of the Vln. I part in measure 5.

Ex. 41: Arne, T.: *The Morning* (introduction).

Andante

Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Basso

pianissimo piano

6 7 6# 4 3

3
poco forte forte

Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
B.

9 5 9 6 9 5 6 5

Garth's structural plans continue to be largely the same as those demonstrated in his Op. 2, featuring the regular usage of the rounded binary form with a double-return and rondo finales. A typical example of Garth's compositional style for this genre is the first movement of his Op. 4, No. 2. This is a more dramatic movement in a minor key which employs a large amount of Scarlattian arpeggiation in the keyboard part.⁷⁰ The first section can be divided into three main parts, the first of which, the primary subject, can be divided into two 8-bar antecedent-consequent phrases. The central section (bars 17-36) act as a bridge and again has a regular phrase structure,

⁷⁰ See, for example, sonata K50.

this time of 6-6-4-4. The bridge is markedly different from the first subject. It begins with a lyrical melodic line over an Alberti bass while the first violin doubles the right-hand of the keyboard and the second violin fills out the chords. The other phrases in this section all differ in style, such as the second six-bar phrase (bar 23) which is more scalar. This is followed by a four-bar chromatically-descending sequence that articulates the move to the relative key. The second subject begins in bar 37 with another antecedent-consequent pair, although, unusually, the antecedent is a bar shorter than its answering phrase.

The transition begins in bar 52 with the primary subject played in the relative major. As expected there is an increase in the tonal speed of the music, reaching C in bar 54, A in bar 56, and B minor in bar 60. In bar 65 there begins a dominant pedal of B minor that occurs in the left-hand of the keyboard for five bars, immediately followed by a six-bar B pedal in the second violin part. There then occurs an imperfect cadence in B minor before what appears to be a false reprise of the second subject in B minor, with hints of B major through a sharpened third. After 4 bars on a B minor chord, the following four bars are in E minor with hints of E major. Despite having already returned to the tonic key, Garth moves away through a short two-bar circle of fifths. In consequence, the primary theme, as recapitulated in bar 88, occurs in G major, only returning to the tonic two bars later. Most other composers, when they chose to recapitulate the primary theme, placed it in the tonic. There are, however, exceptions, but these are usually in the form of a 'false reprise' which is not what Garth does here, the G major statement clearly being part of the 8-bar antecedent phrase.⁷¹ The consequent is altered; the first five bars of the original are omitted and

⁷¹ An example of a 'false reprise' occurs in the first of Johann Schobert's (c.1735-1767) *IV Sonatas*, Op. 17 (Welcker, 1777), where he appears to begin the recapitulation in the tonic minor, but quickly returns to the major for a subsequent statement of the primary theme. Likewise, Arne begins the recapitulation with a false reprise in the final movement of Sonata IV in his *VIII Sonatas or Lessons for*

the remaining three bars are extended to four. At bar 100 the recapitulated bridge begins, although substantially truncated. It initially consists of a two-bar phrase before the descending chromatic idea occurs, now extended to eight bars. The second subject is recapitulated in bar 114, in the tonic, and again consists of two phrases of seven and eight bars respectively, which conclude the movement.

Of the four later sets his Op. 6 is perhaps the most retrospective. Here Garth clearly attempted to recapture the popularity of the rondo from Op. 2, No. 1. The first movement of Sonata V uses an almost identical Alberti bass, while the rondo of Sonata III (Ex. 42) has a remarkably similar accompaniment and melodic line:

Ex. 42: Garth, J.: Keyboard Sonata Op. 6 No. 3 (2nd movement).

Allegro
Rondeau

The musical score consists of four staves. The top two staves are for Violin I and Violin II, both in treble clef. The third staff is for Violoncello (Vc.) in bass clef. The bottom two staves are for Harpsichord (Hpd), with the right hand in treble clef and the left hand in bass clef. The music is in 2/4 time and one flat. The first measure shows the beginning of the piece. The second and fourth measures include trills (tr) above the notes. The Harpsichord part features a rhythmic Alberti bass pattern in both hands.

the Harpsichord (Walsh, 1756). Haydn also made use of the ‘false reprise’, for example in his quartet in E-flat major, Op. 50, No. 3 (1784). Here he initially recapitulates the second phrase of the main theme in A-flat before it is restated in the tonic. Rosen (1988), 158-60.

The image shows a musical score for four instruments: Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Violoncello (Vc.), and Harp (Hpds.). The score is in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. It consists of four measures. Vln. I and Hpds. have identical melodic lines, starting with a fermata over the first measure. Vln. II and Vc. play a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The Hpds. part includes a complex rhythmic pattern in the bass line.

Despite Garth's efforts, these later sets were never as successful and did not run beyond a single edition.

Given the backward-looking nature of his Op. 6 sonatas, one would have expected Garth's Op. 7 to be composed in a similar fashion, but this is not the case. This last set is of particularly high quality for Garth yet again reveals his exceptional fertile talent as a composer. Most of the movements in his last set are more substantial than what had gone before and this is reflected in the manner of the printed keyboard parts of individual movements which are generally spread over four pages rather than the two of the earlier sets. A higher level of technical proficiency is also required to play these sonatas. Indeed, one of the most unusual techniques is the repeated glissandos of both movements of Sonata IV, a highly unusual device amongst British keyboard sonatas of the period:

Ex. 43: Garth, J.: Keyboard Sonata Op. 7 No. 4 (1st movement).

The musical score is for the first movement of Garth's Keyboard Sonata Op. 7 No. 4. It is in 2/4 time and marked 'Allegro'. The score is arranged for Violin I (Vln I), Violin II (Vln II), Violoncello (Vc.), and Harpsichord (Hpd). The Hpd part includes a section marked 'Sdruciolato' with a dense arpeggiated texture. The Vln I and Vln II parts feature melodic lines with trills. The Vc. part provides a bass line. The Hpd part has a complex texture with many notes in the left hand and a more melodic line in the right hand.

Another movement of interest is the second of Sonata II which, rather like the two movements from Op. 6, has an overarching ternary structure. The first section is in D major and is in rounded binary form with a recapitulation in the tonic. There then occurs a section in the tonic minor, after which the D major section is repeated. This D minor section is particularly unusual for Garth as the keyboard has an uninteresting arpeggio pattern that runs throughout the entire passage. However, what has happened is that the melody has been transferred to the violino primo, with the keyboard playing an accompanying role. This is a new development in Garth's sonatas for, until this point, all the movements were self-sufficient when played on keyboard alone, but this particular movement, as seen in the following example, cannot be adequately played on solo keyboard without substantial loss:

Ex. 44: Garth, J.: Keyboard Sonata Op. 7 No. 2 (2nd movement).

Perhaps Garth's most imaginative use of the rounded binary 'double-return' form occurs in the first movement of Sonata II. After the D major of the exposition, the music reaches A major for the start of the transition. However, there is, halfway through this section, a change of key to D minor. As Garth reaches the end of the transition he utilises a ten-bar pedal on C that concludes with a chord of C major, the dominant of F. The resulting recapitulation then begins in the flattened mediant of D and there is only a return to the tonic for the secondary theme. Although this does echo what Garth did in his Op. 4 No. 2 sonata, this is a more radical variant, but is not entirely unprecedented as Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805) does something similar in his Op. 5 sonatas.⁷² The second movement of his fourth sonata is also in D major, where, after a short transition, the recapitulation begins in F major.⁷³ Rosen does not provide any examples where the recapitulation begins in the flattened mediant, but insists that

⁷² Although these sonatas were first published in 1769, the first British edition dates from c.1775. Boccherini, L.: *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte....Opera 3* [actually Op. 5] (London, c.1775).

⁷³ There are other examples where Boccherini begins the recapitulation in a key other than the tonic, such as the first movement of the G minor sonata Op. 5 No. 5 where he begins the recapitulation in the relative major.

there was a great deal of freedom in the use of this format, and draws our attention to the fact that occasionally the recapitulation can begin in the subdominant. However, he also makes it clear that this practice was uncommon, but can be found in the works of Schubert and Beethoven.⁷⁴ In Garth's sonata, the recapitulation of the primary material is altered, in a transitional manner, to enable a return to the tonic for the second subject, again echoing what Boccherini does.

The style of writing in these late sonatas is also noticeably different from what has gone before, the crescendo and 'fp' markings making it obvious that they were written for the piano, even if the title-page does give the harpsichord first. Such markings, with the occasional full chord, had first appeared in his Sonata Op. 2 No. 3, although, in this instance, there is a rest between the individual chords which would have given the harpsichordist time to switch manuals. However, this is not the case with his Op. 7 No. 3, where such markings happen repeatedly in a short space of time, making it impossible to create the desired effect on a harpsichord.

By the time of Garth's Op. 7 there was a new arena for the composition of keyboard music in London,⁷⁵ two of the key instigators of which were Muzio Clementi (1752-1832) and J. C. Bach. Clementi's Op. 2 sonatas were published in 1779 but Garth does not appear to have been influenced by him.⁷⁶ However, Bach seems to have exerted a much stronger influence. Many of Garth's sonata movements from this final set are brimming with copious amounts of rapid semiquaver writing in a similar vein to Bach's Op. 16 sonatas (c.1779). Another possible influence may have been Haydn and Garth may have possessed copies of the sonatas that were published on the continent by Hummel in the late 1770s.

⁷⁴ Rosen (1988), 153.

⁷⁵ This movement is now known as the 'London Piano School'.

⁷⁶ Clementi's style of writing is generally thicker and ornate than Garth's.

2.8.9 Manuscript Keyboard Sonatas by Ebdon

As well as the c.1765 published edition of keyboard sonatas, there are a further nine sonatas by Ebdon that survive (together with the manuscript concertos) in the Dean and Chapter Library, all of which appear to postdate the published set. The earliest is sonata D6(v) which is dated 1769, while D6(xii), dated March 1781, was the last composed. The majority of these are written for an accompaniment of two violins and a cello, while D6(xii) has an added viola part. Seven of these sonatas use the three-movement format of quick-slow-quick and the central movement in a closely related key. In the remaining two examples, Ebdon uses the two-movement format, no doubt emulating Garth. Also, like Garth's sonatas, the second, or sometimes third movements, are frequently in a rondo format and, in common with those that have two movements, both are in the same key.

Table 11: List of manuscript sonatas by Ebdon.

Catalogue No.	Title and date	Extant parts
MS D6(i)	Sonata Harpsichord No 2	Kbd, V1, V2, Vc
MS D6(ii)	N: ^o 3 Harpsichord Sonata	Kbd, V1, V2, Vc
MS D6(iii)	Sonata Harpsichord No 5	Kbd, V1, V2, Vc
MS D6(v)	Sonata Harpsichord No. 8, 1769	Kbd, V1, V2, Vc
MS D6(vi)	Sonata Harpsichord No. 13	Kbd, V1, V2, Vc
MS D6(ix)	Sonata Harpsichord, July 30 1776	Kbd, V1, Vc
MS D6(x)	Sonata Harpsichord Dec. ^r 1778	Kbd, V1, Vc

MS D6(xi)	Sonata Harpsichord Dec. ^r 1778	Kbd, V1
MS D6(xii)	Sonata Harpsichord March 1781	Kbd, V1, V2, Vla, Vc

Many of these sonata movements, like his other essays in the form, adopt a variety of rounded binary forms. Sonata D6(i) lacks any recapitulation of the primary themes at the end, while in others he recapitulates the secondary material but not the primary. Examples include the first movements of D6(iii) and D6(v), while D6(vi) has a double-return

Even in these later sonatas Ebdon does not employ crescendo markings. This indicates that not only did he intend these for performance on the old-fashioned harpsichord rather than the piano, but also that this instrument was still in use at Durham concerts as late as 1781. The harpsichord writing is very similar to that of his published set, although not as inelegant. Generally Ebdon prefers a left hand that moves at a slower rate to the right, but there are sections, including D6(i), where the first movement utilises an Alberti bass.

Generally the violin primo part duplicates or reinforces the harpsichord part with no real interplay it and the harpsichord, of which D6(i) and D6(x) are two such examples, although in the final movement of D6(i), the violin has a slightly more independent role. There are also examples, as in his published set, where the first violin takes the melodic line from the harpsichord. This can be observed, for example, in the final movement of D6(ix) (Ex. 45) where the violin begins with the melodic line (while the harpsichord adopts a continuo role):

Ex. 45: Ebdon, T.: Harpsichord Sonata D6(ix) 3rd movement.

Rondo Allegro
Solo

Vln. I
Vln. II [reconstructed]
Vc.
Hpschd.

70
71
72

Pia.
Pia.

6 64

Ebdon's later manuscript sonatas do show a clear sense of style and reveal how his level of musicianship had increased since his c.1765 set. One wonders why he never published any of these manuscript works as there are certainly enough sonatas for another set. Perhaps it was due to the poor reception of his earlier set that prevented him from publishing them, or perhaps he was reluctant to enter into further competition with Garth. Notwithstanding these conjectures, and the limitations of some of the works, one cannot help but feel that these manuscript examples are, for the most part, more refined and some are certainly worth a modern performance.

2.8.10 Keyboard Sonatas by Evance

Evance's set of six, although accompanied keyboard sonatas, are substantially different in their basic design from what was written in Durham at the time and one must assume that they were little influenced by what was happening locally. His solitary set was published by Welcker in c.1774, and, unlike the other Durham sets by Ebdon and Garth, is more similar to Rameau's, having accompaniments for one violin

and a cello. Early proponents of this type of sonata include Franz Richter whose set was published by Walsh in c.1759, and Carl Abel (1723-87), whose Op. 2 set dates from c.1760. Thomas Beilby, the Scarborough organist, also published a similar set in c.1771, as did Robert Barber in 1775.⁷⁷

Unlike Garth's sonatas, where the harpsichord is named first on the title page, Evance's set mentions the pianoforte first, clearly indicating that these pieces were written with that instrument in mind. The first violin largely doubles the keyboard or fills in the harmonies, sometimes doing so at a higher pitch; it generally plays throughout, although there are several short gaps for keyboard solo.⁷⁸ The keyboard part is complete in itself and, unlike Ebdon's, never occupies a continuo role, but it is impossible to play this part on its own without loss as the violin is frequently treated with equal importance to the keyboard with the musical line passing freely between the two instruments as in the following passage from the beginning of Sonata II:

Ex. 46: Evance, W.: Keyboard Sonata No. 2 (1st movement).

The image displays a musical score for 'Ex. 46: Evance, W.: Keyboard Sonata No. 2 (1st movement)'. The score is in 2/4 time, G major, and marked 'Allegro'. It features two systems of staves. The first system shows Violin and Piano parts. The Violin part starts with a quarter note G, followed by eighth notes A, B, C, D, E, F, G. The Piano part starts with a quarter note G, followed by eighth notes A, B, C, D, E, F, G. The second system shows Violin and Piano parts. The Violin part starts with a quarter note G, followed by eighth notes A, B, C, D, E, F, G. The Piano part starts with a quarter note G, followed by eighth notes A, B, C, D, E, F, G.

⁷⁷ A proposal to publish Beilby's sonatas appeared in the *York Courant* on 9 July 1771.

⁷⁸ There is no surviving part for the cello.

Evance utilised the two-movement format in all his sonatas. Although he linked the two movements through the use of the same key, he was able to achieve contrast through the use of different metres. Of the twelve movements, eight use a rounded binary structure, but none has a double-return. Three movements, all second, are ‘Rondeaus’, while Sonata I ends with a theme and variations.

The first major structural difference between these and other domestic sonatas is that, although Evance’s have primary and secondary themes, the move to the dominant happens much sooner than expected. For example, in Sonata VI, the first movement reaches the dominant in bar six, in which it largely remains for the remainder of the forty-bar first section. This is not entirely without precedents, as Hawdon does this in his *Six Conversation Sonatas*,⁷⁹ but the most startling dissimilarity is reserved for the transitional section. Garth’s and Ebdon’s sonatas, as already has been observed, usually begin this section with a statement of the theme in the dominant, after which there is a swift return to the tonic, usually with a further restatement of the theme. In Evance’s sonatas there is in most *no* return to the tonic. Instead, the music moves further away from the home key.⁸⁰ The avoidance of the tonic at the start of the transition was a much more archaic practice and evidence for this can be seen, for example, in the Op. 1 keyboard sonatas of Domenico Alberti

⁷⁹ Hawdon, M.: *Six Conversation Sonatas* (London, 1775). See the first movements of sonatas I and IV.

⁸⁰ An exception is the first movement of Sonata I where, after the appearance of the theme in the dominant, the music moves back through B-flat to E-flat before it reaches G and C minors.

(c.1710-1746).⁸¹ There is also a notable delay in returning to the tonic at the end of most movements, for example, the first movement of Sonata II only reaches the tonic nine bars before the end. This again is an older practice. The concluding material almost always secondary, an exception of which is the 'Minuetto Grazioso' from Sonata II which recapitulates bars 2-4 of the primary theme but concludes with new material. The two 'Rondeaus' of sonatas V and VI are unusual among the Durham compositions as they both have 'ad lib' markings.

Given the late date of the sonatas' publication, one would have expected Evance's works to demonstrate more current ideas, but instead he chose to employ older forms. The sonatas of Barber, Hawdon and Beilby, all of which were written in the north-east, are contemporary with those of Evance, yet their sets have more in common with the modern sonatas of Garth.

2.8.11 Military Music

Composition of music for marching bands was certainly uncommon throughout most of the century, but there was a surge in the production of this type of music following the outbreak of war with France. Most examples were written for the composer's local regiment, a notable example of which is William Shield's *South Shields Loyal Volunteers*.

One of the earliest examples written at Durham dates from before the onset of war and was composed by Ebdon for the inauguration of the Grand Provincial Lodge. It was published in score, presumably to make it available to other lodges, and has an added keyboard part to enable a performance by the organist. Ebdon did write other

⁸¹ Alberti, D.: *VIII Sonate per Cembalo Opera Prima* (London, 1748).

pieces for use at important Masonic events including a now lost example for the laying of the foundation stone of the new theatre in Saddler Street in 1791. There is another extant march by Ebdon that dates from the Napoleonic wars which was written for the second Regiment of Royal Glasgow Volunteer's and dated August 1797. According to the inscription, it was written at the request of Cunningham Corbett (d.1829), who was a merchant, importer of rum and organiser of the Glasgow Armed Association.⁸² It only survives in a keyboard reduction.

There is one other surviving piece of military music by a local musician and this is John Friend's march and quick step *The Durham City Loyal Volunteers* which appeared in score. It was dedicated to their commandant Hawdon Phillipson Rowe.⁸³ Like Ebdon's, it was arranged to enable performance on a keyboard.

2.8.11 Music for Tuition

There is very little surviving music that was used by local musicians to teach their pupils and there is certainly nothing surviving by either Hesletine or Garth. Only a small fragment of musical exercises, in what is believed to be Hesletine's hand, survives.⁸⁴ Garth's voluntaries, although not intended for tuition, were evidently used for this purpose as Marsh noted:

On Sunday the 3d. [May] I went to St. Martin's [in Salisbury] &

heard Mr Smiths daughter (the blind girl) make her 1st. attempt at a

⁸² Stewart (1881).

⁸³ London, c.1810.

⁸⁴ The fragment features a series of ascending and descending fourths, as well as a succession of sequences on the reverse. It is currently in the possession of the Cathedral Archaeologist, Norman Emery and was discovered rolled up in a small hole in what had been the song school. Crosby (1999), 32.

voluntary before the 1st. lesson upon the Stopt Diapasons only (not chusing to venture a louder stop) w'ch she got thro' very well, it being only a slow movem't of Garth's.⁸⁵

All of the surviving examples that were specifically composed for tuition are by Ebdon. A book of lessons that he used to teach keyboard to a Miss Hubback survives at Manchester.⁸⁶ The volume contains several pieces, some original, as well as information on pitch, duration, ornamentation, and several pages of exercises.⁸⁷ Understandably, all of the pieces in this book are simple and in an uncomplicated binary format, several of which appear to have been composed specifically to develop his pupil's abilities. For example, the 'Minuetto' on page 8 has a semiquaver pattern that passes from one hand to the other, while another on page 2, shown below, uses imitation between the hands:

Ex. 47: Ebdon, T.: 'Minuetto' from book of lessons.⁸⁸

Minuetto

The image shows two systems of musical notation for a harpsichord piece. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The first system (measures 1-8) shows a semiquaver pattern in the treble staff and a similar pattern in the bass staff. The second system (measures 9-16) continues the piece with similar patterns and ornaments. Fingerings and ornaments are indicated throughout.

⁸⁵ Robins (1998), 179.

⁸⁶ GB-Mp: B.Rm.740 Eb31.

⁸⁷ There are also many short pieces in his personal manuscript keyboard book that may have been used for tuition. GB-DRc: MS D3.

⁸⁸ GB-Mp: B.Rm.740 Eb31, 2.

Other musicians such as Nares, Arnold, and John Camidge (1734-1803) published sets of ‘lessons’ for pedagogical purposes,⁸⁹ but there were never any published sets under this title by any musicians who worked in Durham. Garth’s Op. 2 sonatas were referred to as ‘Lessons with Accomp^{nts}’ in Welcker’s catalogue, but were certainly not composed with that agenda in mind.⁹⁰ The only other item for musical education from the period that has a Durham connection is Granville Sharp’s *A Short Introduction to Vocal Musick*. First published in 1767, it primarily deals with the basic theory of music and singing,⁹¹ and was successful enough to warrant a reprint the following year.

2.8.13 Other Miscellaneous Keyboard Pieces

There are numerous pieces for solo keyboard written by Durham musicians that survive both in manuscript and in printed form. Of the two examples by Evance, the earliest appears to be his variations on the Welsh melody ‘Of noble Race was Shenkin’.⁹² Sets of keyboard variations were popular during the eighteenth century and most were based on folk melodies that were frequently, although not necessarily, Scottish. Charles Avison jnr appears to have composed two sets, both of which were published. One ‘Sae merry as we twa ha’ been’ (c.1787) has long been attributed to his father,⁹³ while the other, ‘Ailen, a Roon’ (c.1776), was published anonymously.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Nares, J.: *Eight setts of lessons for the harpsichord* (London, 1747); Arnold, S.: *A set of progressive lessons for the harpsichord* (London, c.1775); Camidge, J.: *Six Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord* (York, 1764).

⁹⁰ See Beilby, T.: *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (London, c.1772). Many books attributed as ‘lessons’ were made up of sonatas, sometimes by several composers; for example, *A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (London, 1762); *Six Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord* (London, c.1765).

⁹¹ Sharp, G.: *A Short Introduction to Vocal Music* (London, 1767), 2.

⁹² This was published by Longman and Broderip sometime after 1794.

⁹³ Avison’s source may have been Robert Bremner’s (c.1720-89). *A Second Set of Thirty Scots Songs for a Voice & Harpsichord* (Edinburgh, c.1759).

⁹⁴ London, c.1776. This also survives in his manuscript organ book.

Stephen Paxton also followed this trend with his Op. 2 which included his variations for violin and cello on 'The Highland Laddie'.⁹⁵ The source of Evance's theme was the second edition of Edward Jones' *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Wesh Bards* which was published in 1794.⁹⁶ Evance dedicated them to a Lady Shaftesbury, who appears to be Barbara Ashley-Cooper (c.1762-1819), the wife of Anthony (1761-1811) the fifth earl of Shaftesbury.⁹⁷ She was a subscriber to Ebdon's *Sacred Music*, but was not local, her husband's family seat being located in Dorset.⁹⁸ There is a further keyboard piece by Evance in the form of a rondo which was dedicated in the published edition to a Miss C. Andrews.⁹⁹

There are several other short keyboard pieces of interest, among which are the three pieces by Mary Ebdon that survive in her father's manuscript keyboard book. These consist of a march, a minuet and a rondo. Also, an 'Allegretto' by Boruwlaski survives in the same volume.¹⁰⁰ There is only one other surviving piece by Boruwlaski and this is also in the form of a sonata for keyboard published in c.1800.¹⁰¹ All other surviving keyboard pieces are written by Ebdon and are contained in the same manuscript book as the pieces by Mary Ebdon and Boruwlaski. Most of these are short and simple, and although some may have been composed for personal use, others may have been used for tuition or perhaps ideas for works that were

⁹⁵ London, c.1780.

⁹⁶ Although the British Library gives Evance's variations a publication date of c.1790, the source of the melody was the second edition. In the first edition the source is simply referred to as 'Shenkin', and it is only in the second where the full title is given. First edition (London, 1784), 75; Second edition (London, 1794) 168.

⁹⁷ Lundy, D.: *The Peerage.com* <http://thepeerage.com/p2718.htm> (Accessed 07 03 2009).

⁹⁸ Avison also appears to have known the Shaftesbury family and Judith Milbanke may have been personally acquainted with Barbara Ashley-Cooper. Avison (1967), 105; Elwin (1967), 293.

⁹⁹ Evance, W.: *A Favorite Rondo for the piano forte* (London, c.1800)

¹⁰⁰ GB-DRc: MS D3.

¹⁰¹ Boruwlaski, J.: *The Volunteer* (Edinburgh, c.1800).

subsequently rejected. There are a few more substantial pieces including Ebdon's two military marches and the following 'Gavot', unusual for its 2/4 metre.¹⁰²

Ex. 48: Ebdon, T.: 'Gavot' for keyboard.

Gavot

Hpd

2.8.14 Two Pieces for Bass Viol by Philip Falle

There are two pieces by Falle in MS A27 that survive as part of the collection given by him to Durham Cathedral in 1738. They are part of a volume of music that was

¹⁰² Gavottes were usually written in alla breve time, but examples do exist 2/4. A famous example is the 'Andante Allegro' from the third concerto of William Felton's Op. 1, which became known as 'Felton's Gavot'. In this, as in Ebdon's example, the main theme is divided into two 8-bar sections. Gifford (2009).

composed for bass viol duet, the selection having been assembled by Falle for personal use, most of which originated from published editions.¹⁰³ Urquhart believed that the manuscript book dated from the period around his appointment at Durham. If this is the case, it is possible that these pieces were either composed or performed at Durham during the early part of the eighteenth century and may in fact predate the appointment of Hesletine in 1711.¹⁰⁴ Falle's catalogue contains seventeen published items for viol, suggesting that he did have some ability on that instrument.¹⁰⁵

By the time of their composition, music for viols had largely gone out of fashion, although the bass viol remained in use until the second half of the eighteenth-century (the last important player in England was Carl Abel (1723-87)).¹⁰⁶ Even before the birth of Purcell in c.1659 viols were becoming obsolete. Purcell's well-known fantasias, which would have been unknown to Falle, were already old-fashioned at the time of their composition in c.1680. Other examples of fantasias for viol consort include those by Locke and Gibbons.¹⁰⁷

The two pieces by Falle comprise a rather pleasant 22-bar 'Fantasie' that features copious amounts of sequences, as illustrated in the following extract, while the second is a much more substantial 'Passacaille' that consists of 24 four-bar sections. The lower part in both pieces moves at a slower rhythmic pace to the primo when not duplicating the rhythmic patterns of the primary instrument.

¹⁰³ Urquhart (1973-4), 7.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰⁵ GB-DRc: Add. MS 154

¹⁰⁶ Lindgren (2000), 125.

¹⁰⁷ Holman (1996), 74-5.

Ex. 49: Falle, P. *Fantasia*.

Fantasia D molle. In genere Harmonica.

Bass Viol 1

Bass Viol 2

BV 1

BV 2

BV 1

BV 2

6 5 6 7 6 # 6 5 6 5

5 7 5 6 4 2 #6 6 4 # b 6 b 5

9 6 5 # 7

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Durham City was without doubt an important provincial centre of musical life in the north-east and in Britain as a whole. As the capital of the Palatinate, Durham enjoyed a high level of prosperity that resulted in a flourishing of the arts. Most of the inhabitants participated in a variety of musical activities. They attended services at the cathedral sung by a competent choir of professional singers; they attended a wide range of concerts; they danced at balls and assemblies and supported local composers by subscribing to their published works. Durham's array of professional musicians also taught local people who aspired to develop their own musical skills by learning an instrument. Even the lower classes, excluded from the more expensive public concerts, enjoyed their own forms of music-making and would nevertheless have witnessed public occasions that involved music (such as bands and civic occasions that included ceremonial music). Boys with talent had the option of attending the cathedral's own school and, if they had vocal capabilities, may have been accepted into the choir, while the better-off could afford private tuition, whether on an instrument or for dancing. Several private organisations, most notably the freemasons, used music in order to enhance their rituals.

Given the importance placed on music by the city's inhabitants, there were ample opportunities for a musician to profit from his endeavours. A large number of musicians earned a respectable income through their association with the cathedral. Especially high salaries afforded by the cathedral Chapter had the desired effect of attracting good quality singers from the south, and their professionalism consequently elevated the prevailing standard of music in the city. Other musicians, in particular Hesletine, Ebdon and Garth, were involved with highly profitable local concert

organisation. In addition there was a large number of visiting entrepreneurs who came to the city for a few days for the purposes of setting up their own productions at either the theatre or another public venue. Such entrepreneurs were particularly drawn to Durham by the financially auspicious occasions of assize and race weeks.

Of the two primary types of music, the sacred and the secular, it is fair to say that both involved newly-composed works. In the cathedral, service music and (more predominantly) anthems were written figures such as Hesletine, Ebdon, Garth, Friend and Falle in well established forms which blended well with a traditional repertoire of works by Purcell, Croft, Tallis, Byrd and, later in the century, music disseminated by Boyce's *Cathedral Music*. Anthems by Garth and Friend displayed a modicum of flair though, in truth, their contribution made little effort to advance the current 'church style'. Instrumental composition for sacred purposes largely took the form of the organ voluntary which gave the composer considerable freedom, notably in allowing figures such as Garth to use his predilection for secular music within a more traditionally conservative sacred environment. The popularity of hymns and psalm tunes during the latter part of the century did not pass Durham by and many of the latest examples were sung at St Mary le Bow. In the case of secular music the emphasis was markedly different. In general programmes were dominated by contemporary works which not only included works by continental figures such as Corelli, Geminiani, Handel and Rameau but also more 'domestically' produced works by Avison, Garth, Ebdon, Evance and Friend. And, of course, the nation's growing love of Handelian oratorio was felt in Durham both during the eighteenth century and long afterwards.

In terms of style, Durham composers and their audiences seemed eagerly receptive to the latest devices and techniques in secular instrumental and vocal

composition. Garth's Op. 2 sonatas, for example, were the most widely circulated Durham-composed secular compositions at the time (as evidenced by the number of editions that were published), and by the time his Op. 7 set of keyboard sonatas was published, he was experimenting with innovative ideas that were in considerable advance of the more traditional stylistic and technical demeanour of many other British contemporaries. His cello concertos were, likewise, inventive for their time and employed some of the latest ideas in compositional technique. In fact these works confirm that Garth was, by far, not only the most able composer to work in Durham during that century but was one of the most significant national figures of his generation. By contrast, Ebdon, who revealed a fair ability in composition and could, at his best, achieve a high standard (as is evident from his harpsichord concertos and his glees), but most of his prolific output remained within unambitious parameters. Friend, although a capable composer, left only a slim musical legacy, and Hesletine destroyed almost all that he wrote (in a fit of rage) though what survives suggests that his musical voice was unoriginal, echoing the style of earlier Restoration composers.

With the presence of Garth, Ebdon, Friend, Evance and others, not to mention Avison who regularly visited from Newcastle, Durham became without question one of the most important centres for the composition and performance of music in the eighteenth century. It may not have been so significant a centre as, for example, Bath (which, as a spa town, attracted a large number of wealthy visitors from London as well as composers such as Linley and Herschel), but it outstripped many other notable provincial cities such as York. Although others such as Southey have suggested that the north-east was a significant hub of musical life during the eighteenth century, it is only through a more detailed and thorough examination of the music itself that the contemporary awareness of Durham composers is fully revealed. Durham, by its very

location, was (and still is) a provincial city, but the music of its eighteenth-century composers firmly contradicts this image.

Postscript

In recent years there has been a massive growth of interest in the musical activities of eighteenth-century Britain, one that has subsequently revealed that the country was not the desert formerly asserted by earlier commentators. It was common for many eighteenth-century composers in Britain, after their deaths, to be quickly forgotten, but in the case of Durham composers, their works lingered on in the repertoire for many years. In the nineteenth century, sacred music written for the previous century continued to be performed at the cathedral. A glance at the 1848 wordbook shows that all three anthems by Garth, two numbers from his version of the *Marcello Psalms*, Hesletine's *Praise the Lord* and seventeen anthems by Ebdon were still part of the choir's repertoire.¹ Only in the later nineteenth century did the music begin to fall out of common usage. By 1871 (as is evident from the surviving wordbook), only four anthems by Ebdon were still in use and only one from the *Marcello Psalms*.² The decline in this music continued but was never completely extinguished. Ebdon's service, which was part of the national cathedral repertoire, was sung as late as the 1861 Feast for the Sons of the Clergy service at St Paul's Cathedral, London,³ and Bumpus, writing in 1908, recorded that Ebdon's evening canticles were still popular, though they were 'by no means specimens of the highest form of art.'⁴ Currently, the only piece by a Durham musician from the eighteenth-century that is frequently performed by the Durham choir are Ebdon's 'Preces and Responses' which exist in an 1985 edition by John Kelsall (1947-86).

¹ *Anthems performed in the Cathedral Church of Durham* (Durham, 1848).

² *Anthems used in the Cathedral Church of Durham* (Durham, 1871).

³ I am grateful to Jeremy Dibble for providing this information.

⁴ Bumpus (1908), 360.

Since the foundation of the Avison Ensemble in 1985 to promote the composer's music, an awareness of Avison's music has increased exponentially. The Avison Ensemble set itself the ambitious task of recording all of the large sets of the composer's music in time for the tercentenary of his birth in 2009.⁵ Currently available are recordings of his Opp. 3, 4, 6, 9 and 10 concertos, his concertos based on Scarlatti's lessons, all his trio and keyboard sonatas, as well as his concerto grosso adaptations of Geminiani's Op. 1 sonatas.⁶ There are also several other recordings by other artists in circulation of his Scarlatti concertos.⁷ Eighteenth-century Durham composers have fared less well. There have been several recordings of individual concertos from Garth's set of cello concertos,⁸ and an edition of Garth's second cello concerto was published by Gerald Finzi (1901-56) in 1954.⁹ The Avison Ensemble included Garth's cello concertos in their 'Live from the eighteenth century' series broadcast on BBC Radio 3 in 2003, but the whole set was finally recorded and issued on CD in October 2007.¹⁰ The CD was enthusiastically received and was selected as 'CD of the week' on Classic FM's Drivetime for the week commencing 1 October 2007, raising the public's awareness of Garth and the Avison Ensemble to an unprecedented level. Furthermore, his Fifth Concerto was performed at the Three

⁵ They have chosen not to record the Op. 2, as these concertos are included, in a revised version, in his Op. 6.

⁶ His Opp 5 and 7 sonatas are aimed for released in 2009.

⁷ The most notable of these are the recordings by the Brandenburg Consort under Roy Goodman (London: Hyperion, CDA66891/2, 1994), and that by the Academy of St Martin in the Fields under Neville Marriner (New York: Philips 438-806-2, 1993).

⁸ Garth's second concerto appeared on the album *The Concerto in Europe*, (London: Helios, CDH55035, 1988) and the sixth concerto was included on the Avison Ensemble's CD *Concertos from the North* (private pressing, 2002).

⁹ Hinrichsen Edition: London. It should be noted that Finzi championed the eighteenth-century English concerto grosso in the 1940s and 1950s when this music was considered inconsequential. His admiration of Garth is evident from editions he collected and which now form part of his large eighteenth-century collection of English music in the library of St Andrew's University.

¹⁰ Garth, J.: *Six Concertos for Violoncello* (Northallerton: Divine Art, dda25059, 2007). Several of the concertos were performed at a concert held in the dining room of Hatfield College on 7 October 2006.

Choirs Festival held at Worcester in 2008.¹¹ There are also plans to record all of Garth's keyboard sonatas in the near future and the Opp. 2 and 4 are due for release in 2009.

The omens for Garth's rehabilitation are now highly favourable, but a good deal of music from Durham still remains unperformed since it was first heard in the eighteenth century. Hesletine's anthem *Praise the Lord* was performed for the first time (since it was last sung in the nineteenth century) at a concert at Newcastle University on 18 March 2006, but Garth's anthems still remain unsung in modern times, as do those by Ebdon, and much of the remaining music composed at this time similarly lies in dormant state awaiting revival.

¹¹ <http://www.3choirs.org/2008-worcester/programme/sunday-3-august/baroque-splendour.html> accessed 09/09/2008.

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Appendix A: List of published editions by Durham based musicians, issued while residing in the city (with select holdings)

Composer	Title	Date	Publisher/Location	Holdings
ASHTON, George	<i>When danger Encircles our Land</i>	1799	Preston, London	GB-Lbl
CLARKE, Jasper	<i>A Cantata and Five English Songs</i>	c.1760	Thompson & Son, London	GB-Lbl GB-Mp
EBDON, Thomas	<i>A favourite March, performed at the Installation of W.H.Lambton</i>	1792	Dale, London	GB-Lbl GB-Cu
EBDON, Thomas	<i>Britannia's Boast</i>	c.1794	Preston & Son, London	GB-Lbl GB-Ob
EBDON, Thomas	<i>Mimosa, the Sensitive Plant.</i>	c.1794	Birchall, London	US-CAh
EBDON, Thomas	[Mimosa, the Sensitive Plant] in Bland, J.: <i>The Ladies Collection... Vol.V.</i>	c.1795	Birchall, London	GB-Lbl
EBDON, Thomas	<i>Nay, Nay, Nay, you must.</i>	c.1794	Birchall, London	US-CAh
EBDON, Thomas	<i>Nay, Nay, Nay, you must' in Bland, J.: The Ladies Collection... Vol.V.</i>	c.1795	Birchall, London	GB-Lbl
EBDON, Thomas	<i>Rothsay & Caithness Fencibles</i>	c.1795	Watlen, Edinburgh	GB-Lbl
EBDON, Thomas	<i>Sacred Music</i>	1790	Preston & Son, London	GB-Lbl GB-DRc

EBDON, Thomas	<i>A Second Volume, of Sacred Music</i>	c.1810	Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co., London	GB-Lbl GB-DRc
EBDON, Thomas	<i>Six Favorite Songs....Op.4</i>	c.1797	Goulding, London	GB-DRc
EBDON, Thomas	<i>Six Glees, for Three Voices....Op.III</i>	1795	Longman & Broderip, London	GB-Lbl
EBDON, Thomas	<i>Six Sonata's for the Harpsichord</i>	c.1765	Welcker, London	GB-Lbl
EBDON, Thomas	<i>Sunday Morning Hymn</i>	c.1796	London	GB-Cu
EBDON, Thomas	<i>The Naval First of August 1798</i>	1798	Dale, London	GB-Lbl GB-Ob
EBDON, Thomas	<i>The Scotch Shepherd</i>	c.1790	Dale, London	GB-Lbl
EBDON, Thomas	'The Scotch Shepherd' in Dale's 4 th Collection of <i>Sixty Scots Songs.</i>	c.1798	Dale, London	GB-Lbl
EVANCE, William	<i>A Favorite Concerto</i>	c.1785	Longman & Broderip, London	GB-Lbl GB-DRc
EVANCE, William	<i>A Favorite Concerto</i>	c.1802	Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine, London	BG-Lbl
EVANCE, William	<i>Concert pour le Clavecin ou Pianoforte</i>	c.1785	Hummel, Berlin, Amsterdam	GB-Lbl
EVANCE, William	<i>A Favorite Rondo for the Piano Forte</i>	c.1800	Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine, London	US-PRu
EVANCE, William	<i>Of noble race was Shenkin</i>	c.1794	Longman & Broderip, London	GB-Lbl

EVANCE, William	<i>Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord</i>	c.1774	Welcker, London	GB-Lbl
FRIEND, John	<i>Hymn for Sunday Morning</i>	c.1805	Corri, Edinburgh	GB-Lbl
FRIEND, John	<i>Parochial Harmony</i>	c.1795	Lewis, Houston & Hyde, London	GB-Lbl GB-CL
FRIEND, John	<i>The Durham City Loyal Volunteers</i>	c.1810	Preston, London	GB-Lbl
FRIEND, John	<i>The Durham Hunt</i>	c.1799	Preston, London	GB-Ob
GARTH, John	<i>A Fifth Set of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord... Op. vii</i>	c.1782	Robson, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>A Fourth Set of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord... Opera VI</i>	c.1779	Welcker, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>A Second Set of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord... Opera IV</i>	c.1772	Welcker, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>A Third Set of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord... Op. V</i>	c.1775	Welcker, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	'Care thou canker' in <i>A Collection of Duets, Rotas, Canons, Catches & Gleees</i>	1795	Bristol	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	'Care thou canker' in <i>Shield, W.: Rosina</i>	c.1785	Napier, London	GB-Lbl

GARTH, John	'Care thou canker' in Walker, George: <i>The Flowers of Harmony</i>	c.1800	Walker, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>Garth's favorite Sonata</i>	c.1810	Preston, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>Garth's favorite Sonata</i>	c.1800	Whatley, Cirencester	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>Garth's favorite Sonata and Rondo</i>	c.1790	Bland, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>Garth's Rondo</i>	c.1797	McFadyen, Glasgow	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	'Garth's Sonata' in Bland, John: <i>Bland's Collection of Sonatas, Lessons, Overtures...[No.1]</i>	c.1790	Bland, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>Garth's Sonata & Rondo</i>	c.1800	Walker, London	GB-Mp
GARTH, John	'Sedgefield', 'Durham' and 'Bishop Auckland' in Howgill, William: <i>An Original Anthem & Two Voluntaries for the Organ</i>	c.1800	Preston, London	GB-Lbl GB-CL
GARTH, John	<i>Sei sonate per il cembalo obligato...Opera 2.</i>	c.1790	Markordt, Amsterdam	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>Six Concertos for the Violoncello</i>	1760	Johnson, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>Six Concertos for the Violoncello</i>	c.1771	Welcker, London	GB-Mp
GARTH, John	<i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord...Opera Seconda</i>	1768	Bremner, London	GB-Lbl GB-NTP
GARTH, John	<i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord...Opera Seconda</i>	c.1770	Welcker, London	GB-Lbl

GARTH, John	<i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord...Opera Seconda</i>	c.1780	Blundell, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord...Opera Seconda</i>	1785	Thompson, London	US-BEm
GARTH, John	<i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord...Opera Seconda</i>	c.1786	Bland, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>Six Voluntaries for the Organ</i>	c.1771	Welcker, London	GB-Lbl GB-DRc
GARTH, John (ed)	<i>The First Fifty Psalms Set to Musick by Benedetto Marcello</i>	1757	Johnson, London	GB-Lbl
GARTH, John	<i>Thirty Collects</i>	1794	Birchall, London	GB-Lbl GB-DRc
GREGORY, Edward	<i>Chant in Fifty Double Chants, being the most Favorite as Performed at S' Paul's Westminster</i>	c.1765	Thompson, London	GB-Lbl GB-DRc
PAXTON, William	<i>Breathe Soft ye Winds</i>	c.1824	Birchall, London	GB-Ob
PAXTON, William	<i>Breathe Soft ye Winds</i>	c.1820	Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine, London	GB-Ob
PAXTON, William	<i>Breathe Soft ye Winds</i>	c.1820	Hughes, London	Author's Copy
PAXTON, William	<i>Breathe Soft ye Winds</i>	c.1822	Walker, London	GB-Lbl
PAXTON, William	<i>Breathe Soft ye Winds</i>	c.1825	Wybrow, London	GB-Ob

PAXTON, William	'Breathe soft ye winds', 'Grant me powers', 'In friendship's mark', 'Soft God of sleep' and 'He that fights' in Paxton, Stephen: A <i>Collection of Gleees Catches...Opera V</i>	c.1782	London	GB-Lbl GB-Ob
PAXTON, William	'O God my gracious God' in Jacob, B.: <i>National Psalmody</i>	c.1819	Jacob, London	GB-Lbl
PAXTON, William	'Thou Lamb of God' in Whitaker, J.: <i>The Seraph</i>	c.1818	Button, Whitaker and Compy, London	GB-Lbl
RADCLIFFE, James	<i>Church Music</i>	1801	Riley, London	GB-DRc
SHARP, Thomas	Chant in <i>Fifty Double Chants, being the most Favorite as Performed at S^t Paul's Westminster</i>	c.1765	Thompson, London	GB-Lbl GB-DRc
STANLEY, Charles	<i>A Favorite Song on Sir John Jervis's Victory</i>	c.1797	Watlen, Edinburgh.	US-PRu
STANLEY, Charles	<i>Arm Albion arm</i>	c.1797	Preston, London	GB-Ob

Appendix B: Chronological list of publications (first editions only) by Durham based musicians

Date	Composer	Title	Instrumentation	Notes
1757	GARTH, John (ed)	<i>The First Fifty Psalms Set to Musick by Benedetto Marcello</i>	SATB, 2vc, org	8 vols. Vol.8 issued in 1764
1760	GARTH, John	<i>Six Concertos for the Violoncello</i>	4vn, va, vc, basso rip.	Concerto I possibly performed on 7 June 1753
c.1760	CLARKE, Jasper	<i>A Cantata and Five English Songs</i>	S, 2vn, va, basso rip.	
c.1765	EBDON, Thomas	<i>Six Sonata's for the Harpsichord</i>	2vn, vc, kbd	
c.1765	GREGORY, Edward	<i>Chant in Fifty Double Chants, being the most Favorite as Performed at S' Paul's Westminster</i>	S or T, org	
c.1765	SHARP, Thomas	<i>Chant in Fifty Double Chants, being the most Favorite as Performed at S' Paul's Westminster</i>	S or T, org	
1768	GARTH, John	<i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord...Opera Seconda</i>	2vn, vc, kbd	
c.1771	GARTH, John	<i>Six Voluntaries for the Organ</i>	org	
c.1772	GARTH, John	<i>A Second Sett of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord...Opera IV</i>	2vn, vc, kbd	

c.1774	EVANCE, William	<i>Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord</i>	vn, vc, kbd
c.1775	GARTH, John	<i>A Third Set of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord... Op. V</i>	2vn, vc, kbd
c.1779	GARTH, John	<i>A Fourth Set of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord... Opera VI</i>	2vn, vc, kbd
c.1782	GARTH, John	<i>A Fifth Set of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord... Op. vii</i>	2vn, vc, kbd
c.1782	PAXTON, William	'Breathe soft ye winds', 'Grant me powers', 'In friendship's mark', 'Soft God of sleep' and 'He that fights' in Paxton, Stephen: A <i>Collection of Glees Catches...Opera V</i>	SSB or SSSS
c.1785	EVANCE, William	<i>A Favorite Concerto</i>	2vn, va, vc, kbd
c.1785	GARTH, John	'Care thou canker' in Shield, W.: <i>Rosina</i>	S or T, orch.
1790	EBDON, Thomas	<i>Sacred Music</i>	SATB, org
c.1790	EBDON, Thomas	<i>The Scotch Shepherd</i>	S or T, kbd
1792	EBDON, Thomas	<i>A favourite March, performed at the Installation of W.H.Lambton</i>	2hnn, 2ob, bn kbd, 2timp
1794	GARTH, John	<i>Thirty Collects</i>	S, SS, SB or SSB, org

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c.1794	EBDON, Thomas	<i>Britannia's Boast</i>	S or T, kbd
c.1794	EBDON, Thomas	<i>Mimosa, the Sensitive Plant.</i>	SSB
c.1794	EBDON, Thomas	<i>Nay, Nay, Nay, you must.</i>	SSB, kbd
c.1794	EVANCE, William	<i>Of noble race was Shenkin</i>	kbd
c.1795	EBDON, Thomas	<i>Rothsay & Caithness Fencibles</i>	S or T, kbd
c.1795	FRIEND, John	<i>Parochial Harmony</i>	S, T or SATB, org.
c.1796	EBDON, Thomas	<i>Sunday Morning Hymn</i>	S or T, org.
c.1797	EBDON, Thomas	<i>Six Favorite Songs....Op.4</i>	S or T, fl, 2vn, 2 hn, kbd
c.1797	STANLEY, Charles	<i>A Favorite Song on Sir John Jervis's Victory</i>	SATB, kbd
c.1797	STANLEY, Charles	<i>Arm Albion arm</i>	SATB, kbd
1798	EBDON, Thomas	<i>The Naval First of August 1798</i>	S or T, 2vn, basso rip
1799	ASHTON, George	<i>When danger Encircles our Land</i>	S or T, kbd
c.1799	FRIEND, John	<i>The Durham Hunt</i>	S or T, 2vn va 2ob, 2hn, basso rip
c.1800	EVANCE, William	<i>A Favorite Rondo for the Piano Forte</i>	kbd

c.1800	GARTH, John	‘Sedgefield’, ‘Durham’ and ‘Bishop Auckland’ in Howgill, William: <i>An Original Anthem & Two Voluntaries for the Organ</i>	S or T, org
1801	RADCLIFFE, James	<i>Church Music</i>	SATB, org
c.1805	FRIEND, John	<i>Hymn for Sunday Morning</i>	SATB, org Premiered 22 March 1801
c.1810	EBDON, Thomas	<i>A Second Volume, of Sacred Music</i>	SATB, org
c.1810	FRIEND, John	<i>The Durham City Loyal Volunteers</i>	fl., 2cl., tpt., 2hn, bn, serpent, kbd
c.1818	PAXTON, William	‘Thou Lamb of God’ in Whitaker, J.: <i>The Seraph</i>	S or T, org
c.1819	PAXTON, William	‘O God my gracious God’ in Jacob, B.: <i>National Psalmody</i>	S or T, org

Appendix C: Known eighteenth-century concert societies based in Durham

Before 1740-1794	Cathedral Choir’s Series	From c.1760 this merged with Garth’s series.
1752-1760	John Garth’s Series	It was renamed the ‘Gentlemen’s Subscription Concert’ in 1754.
1796-1797	Cathedral Choir’s Series	Organised by a committee.

Appendix D: Earliest recorded performances at Durham of large-scale musical and theatrical works

Composer/ Arranger	Work	Date of Performance
Arne, T.	<i>Love in a Village</i>	15 July 1764
Arne, T.	<i>Tom Jones</i>	19 July 1770
Arnold, S.	<i>A Summer's Tale</i>	27 July 1767
Arnold, S.	<i>Maid of the Mill</i>	17 July 1766
Boyce, W.	<i>Solomon</i>	19 July 1764
Boyce, W.	<i>The Chaplet</i>	16 July 1764
Cibber, C.	<i>Damon and Phillida</i>	18 July 1763
Dibdin, C.	<i>Lionel and Clarissa</i>	13 April 1796
Dibdin, C.	<i>Sans Souci</i>	30 May 1799
Handel, G.	<i>Acis and Galatea</i>	6 August 1755
Handel, G.	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	22 November 1749
Handel, G.	<i>Funeral Music for Queen Caroline</i>	21 November 1765
Handel, G.	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>	17 August 1770
Handel, G.	<i>L'Allegro</i>	4 October 1757
Handel, G.	<i>Messiah</i>	25 September 1751
Handel, G.	<i>Samson</i>	29 November 1750
Haydn, J.	<i>The Creation</i>	19 November 1800
Mazzinghi, J.	<i>Paul and Virginia</i>	28 March 1808
Mazzinghi, J.	<i>Turnpike Gate</i>	22 May 1807
Nares, J.	<i>Royal Pastoral and Dramatic Ode</i>	19 July 1771
Pepusch, J.	<i>The Beggar's Opera</i>	19 July 1742
Pitt, I.	<i>The Song-Smith</i>	5 June 1809

Pitt, T.	<i>Two faces under a hood</i>	4 April 1808
Ramsey, A.	<i>The Gentle Shepherd</i>	25 July 1760
Shield, W.	<i>The Poor Soldier</i>	31 March 1796
Shield, W.	<i>Rosina</i>	30 March 1796

Appendix E: First movement of Garth's cello concerto Op. 1 No. 5

Allegro

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Basso Ripieno

3# 3# 6 6 6 6

5

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

6 7 3# 6 7 6 3# 6 3^b 3^b-6 3[#]-6 6 5 3[#] 6

9

Vln. I *tr* *Pia.* *For.*

Vln. II *tr* *Pia.* *For.*

Vla. *Pia.*

Vc.

B.R. 9 6 9 6 9 5 \sharp 6 9 6 6 5 3 \sharp 5 *Pia.*

13

Vln. I *tr*

Vln. II

Vla. *For.*

Vc.

B.R. 5 5 6 6 5 4 3 \sharp 5 5 *For.*

18

Vln. I *tr*

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc. *tr*

B.R. 5 6 6 5 4 3 \sharp 3 \sharp 6 3 \sharp

23

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

Pia.

5 4 6 6 5
2 6 5 4 3

28

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

6 6 7 6 5
6 5 4 3 7 6 4 3 6

32

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

For.

7 6 4 3 6 7 6 6 6 6 5
4 3 5 6 6 6 4 3

37

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

For.

6 6 6 6 5 4 3

tr

42

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

tr

6 6 5 3 6 4 5 3 6 5

47

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

PocoForte

Pia.

PocoForte

Pia.

PocoForte

PocoForte

Pia.

6 6 5 6 6# 6 3b 6 6#

52

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

56

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

60

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

65

Vln. I *Pia.* *tr*

Vln. II *Pia.* *tr*

Vla.

Vc.

B.R. *Pia.*

70

Vln. I *Pia.*

Vln. II *Pia.*

Vla.

Vc.

B.R. *Pia.*

74

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

79

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

5 6 6 5 4 3# 5 5 5 6

84

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

6 4 5 7 3# 3# 7 6 6# 3# 6 6# 3# 6

For. For. For.

89

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

B.R.

3^b 3^b-6 3[#]-6 6 6# 4# 3^b 6 6# 6 6# 6 6 6 5 4 3[#]

Appendix F: First movement of Garth's keyboard sonata Op. 4 No. 2

Allegro

Violin I

Violin II

Cello

Keyboard

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

11

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

16

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

21

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

26

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

31

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

36

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

41

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

P.

P.

P.

P.

46

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

F.

F.

F.

F.

51

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

51

56

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

61

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

66

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

71

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

76

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

81

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

86

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

91

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

96

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

101

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

106

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

111

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

116

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

121

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

P.

125

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Kbd.

F.

tr