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CONCERT LIFE AND THE MUSIC TRADE IN EDINBURGH c.1780-c.1830

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1991
TO MY FRIENDS
PETER and JOHN
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ABSTRACT

A brief introduction outlines the social and economic changes during the period with reference to Scotland and its capital city, and alludes to the increasing importance of music within contemporary society. This is followed by six chapters, each concerned with a particular area of musical activity.

CHAPTER I: A survey of concert life, beginning with the demise of the Edinburgh Musical Society. Subsequent attempts to promote concerts on a regular basis are examined. The impact of large-scale Musical Festivals and visits by celebrity performers is outlined. Reasons for the lack of consistent support for public concerts are suggested.

CHAPTER II: The growth in the market for music instruction is assessed through the three principal areas of demand: instruction for amateurs who performed in the home; instruction for those wishing to participate in public concerts; and choral instruction for performance either in church or the concert hall.

CHAPTER III: A study of Edinburgh's music shops: the growth in their number and their changing location; their proprietors and the roles they served; the number of employees and their function; and the prerequisites for establishing a business.

CHAPTER IV: An examination of instrumental sales, beginning with an outline of the various methods by which retailers selected their stock in London. The trade in imported pianos is examined in detail. Sales of other instruments and the second-hand market are briefly discussed.

CHAPTER V: A survey of the trade in printed music, beginning with trading links with London. Music publishing in Edinburgh is then discussed; a brief survey of the city's engravers is followed by an assessment of the various publications of vocal music and works for piano. The significance of local composers is examined.
CHAPTER VI: The development of piano making in the city is assessed in five phases: harpsichord and spinet makers; the first generation of piano makers; the activities of two large-scale manufacturers, notably Muir, Wood & Co.; the second generation of large-scale manufacturers and their decline; the revival of the industry. The question of the true provenance of Edinburgh-labelleed pianos is considered and comparisons with London firms are made.

In conclusion, the dramatic increase in demand for goods and services relating to domestic music-making in Edinburgh and the reasons for it are contrasted with the general pattern of decline in support for public concerts. The relationship between London and Edinburgh is highlighted, and the principal social function of music in the Scottish capital during the period is affirmed.
INTRODUCTION
The social and economic history of Scotland during the late 18th and early 19th century, and Edinburgh's significance within it, has been discussed in numerous recent studies, notably those of Smout, Lythe and Butt, Lenham, Campbell, Lynch, Devine and Mitchison, Houston and Whyte, and McCrowe, Kendrich and Straw. By way of an introduction to this assessment of concert life and the music trade in Edinburgh during the period, relevant extracts from two of these studies are presented below.

The second half of the 18th century saw a dramatic improvement in the economy of Scotland after centuries of near stagnation. This economic miracle was linked to another great change in Scottish society and the conditions of Scottish life: a rapid growth in towns and of the proportion of the population living in them. Clearly, the capital city was a focal point in these developments:

The importance of Edinburgh as a growth point in the third quarter of the 18th century was indeed considerable, and has been insufficiently emphasized in the standard accounts of Scottish economic history. Population in the metropolis grew by a quarter. The college was gaining rapidly in reputation, especially under the leadership of Principal William Robertson from 1762 and with teachers like Adam Ferguson and Joseph Black: it was accompanied by a growth in facilities for private education by private tutors and in schools and academies of many kinds, bringing wealthy families into the town for the education of their children. The "Proposals" for the construction of a New Town were published in 1752, and their author, Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, dwelt at length on the economic justification for expansion:

"The national advantages which a populous capital must necessarily produce are obvious. A great concourse of people brought within a small compass occasions a much greater consumption than the same number would do dispersed over a wide country. As the consumption is greater so it is quicker and more discernible. Hence follows a more rapid circulation of money and other commodities, the great spring which gives motion to general industry and improvement. The example set by the capital, the nation will soon follow. The certain consequence is general wealth and prosperity; the number of useful people will increase, the rents of land rise; the public revenue improve; and in the room of sloth and poverty will succeed industry and opulence." 1
By the early-1790s, the construction of the New Town following James Craig's plan was well advanced, and significant areas of the new development were well-populated. As well as being a product of, and further encouragement to, economic growth and success, the New Town, by its situation, design and character, was a monumental response to clear social demands:

It was the new type of home and the kinds of activity and relationships that the house allowed which both confirmed the distance between the upper-middle class and the rest of urban society, and provided a base of respectability and refinement, geographically close to the upper classes to whom they socially aspired. Private and self-contained, removed from the business or manufacturing district, the New Town house was a metaphor for social order and control, allowing the richer elements of the middle class to physically distance themselves from the lower strata of the urban population and to engage in consumerism. It gave more space for their families, for servants, and to accommodate possessions, and thus revolutionised patterns of domestic activity and recreation. Fundamental to this new domestic order was the place of the Woman within it. Whilst the Man pursued a successful business life away from the home the role of the wealthy, middle-class woman and her daughters, in emulation of those of the nobility and gentry, was to be seen not to work, but rather spend her time in the practice, exercise and display of socially-admired recreational pursuits.

Much of the ensuing study concerns the foremost of such "socially-admired recreational pursuits", an ability to perform tastefully pieces of instrumental or vocal music. The principal areas of demand are identified and examined through chapters on music teaching and music retailing in the Scottish capital. A further important aspect of the city's music trade, the manufacture of pianos is also examined. Preceding these studies, the development and success of public concerts is assessed.

In a chronological sense, parts of this study represent a continuation of Johnson's *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*. However, in a geographical, temporal and musical sense, the parameters of the present work are more restricted. The period covered extends from the final decades of the 18th century to the early decades of the 19th - a time of war in
Europe and of widespread upheaval at home. Despite the confines of the present work, it is neither possible nor desirable to include every piece of available information relating to the subject of each chapter. Instead, the significant trends, their exceptions, and the reasons which precipitated them are highlighted. The result is a study of how changes in the social and economic climate were manifested in local enthusiasm for music-making, as a form of both public spectacle and private entertainment, and the degree of success with which Edinburgh responded to the changes in demand.

Although the standard accounts of the history of music in Scotland touch upon events in the capital during this period, their coverage is invariably brief and sometimes inaccurate. These inaccuracies will be corrected in the course of this study. However, the present work does not aspire to be a comprehensive survey. As with most initial assessments, there remains much scope for further investigation. In addition, the restricted length of this work has necessitated the exclusion of numerous related topics, notably biographical accounts of the musicians who lived and worked in Edinburgh, the specific social make-up of the audiences at public concerts, the relationship between classical & folk idiom within the city's musical life, church music, the manufacture of musical instruments other than pianos, and the work of resident composers (although the latter is touched upon in the chapter on the sale of printed music).

Although similar developments to those which occurred in Edinburgh can be seen in the contemporary musical life of other British towns and cities, a comparison or linking of developments nation-wide lies beyond the scope of the present work. However, the musical and commercial relationship between Edinburgh and London is a recurring topic within each area of study. By the middle of the 19th century, with the advent of the railway and continuing improvements in the nation's transport infrastructure, the commercial and artistic relationship between the two capitals was fundamentally altered. A corresponding study of Edinburgh's concert life and music trade during this later period awaits the consideration of a modern author.
INTRODUCTION

This study of public concerts in Edinburgh during the five decades after about 1780 is divided into nine main sections, the first of which outlines the decline and dissolution of the city's Musical Society (c.1780-1799). The remainder are concerned with events during the early 19th century. As an introduction, the first assesses the city's concert venues, while the second presents a general survey of ticket prices and subscription terms. The various attempts to establish regular, concert series are then examined, beginning with the activities of locally-based impresarios between 1799-1830. This is followed by brief surveys of the city's Musical Festivals, with particular reference to the events of 1815 and 1819, and the Edinburgh Professional Society of Musicians. The reasons for the success or failure of the various schemes to promote regular concerts are then summarised. Two further sections examine specific categories of occasional concerts: firstly, benefit concerts, and secondly, concerts promoted by individual musicians. Finally, the format and content of concert programmes is briefly surveyed.

The scale of this study does not permit the presentation of all available information, which awaits further, specialised work. The principal purpose here is to outline the scale and nature of demand for public concerts in the Scottish capital, and to offer reasons for Edinburgh's failure to support such events on a sustained basis.

Throughout the period, the city's newspapers provide a plentiful supply of information: details of performers and programmes; subscription schemes and ticket prices; disputes between local musicians and occasional critical notices or editorial comments. Further information is contained in contemporary journals, such as or The Scots Magazine, The Edinburgh Theatrical Observer and Musical Review, and The Harmonicon. In addition, the Sederunt and Plan Books of the Edinburgh Musical Society are an obvious source for the period before about 1795, while various extant reports and accounts relating to other organisations, notably The Edinburgh...
Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music and The Edinburgh Professional Society of Musicians, contribute to our understanding of the situation during the second half of the period.

THE DECLINE AND DISSOLUTION OF THE EDINBURGH MUSICAL SOCIETY

....For variety of public amusements, Edinburgh is now the second city in Great Britain. We have a theatre, Amphitheatre, two Assembly Rooms, Concert Hall, Cockpit &c and they have in general, besides a great number of private balls, been well-attended this Winter. The Town has been very full of Company....1

Contrary to the enthusiasm expressed by the author of this extract, the 1790s was a decade of rapid decline and eventual dissolution for Edinburgh's once-thriving aristocratic Musical Society. The formation and history of the Society has been the subject of other modern studies, most recently that of Johnson 2. However, since these tend to concentrate on its heyday rather than its demise, this survey presents details of the final years, focussing on the dissolution of the Society and the sale of Saint Cecilia's Hall.

During the 1790s, the status of the weekly concerts at Saint Cecilia's Hall dramatically declined. The directors of the Musical Society sought to remedy the situation by both improving facilities at the hall and encouraging members to win the support of the most influential sections of the population (notably by asking members to "Endeavour to prevail on Ladies of fashion to honor the Concert as a place of fashionable amusement" 3). Despite the general decline, occasional visits by celebrated foreign performers were well supported. The last of these was by the violinist Giornovichi in May 1797:

Mr Giornovichi embraces the earliest opportunity of expressing his gratitude in the warmest manner to the brilliant company who did him the honour of attending his concert on Tuesday
last. It will be his study to exert his utmost abilities to please the public in this place, of whose generosity he will ever retain the deepest sense. Mr Giornovichi hopes he may be permitted to express his regret that the company on Tuesday were so much incommoded for want of room, and to make his acknowledgements also to the great number of Ladies and Gentlemen who were disappointed of admittance.

However, special occasions such as this excepted, after 1797 the Society was no longer able to support a full season of weekly concerts. Faced with an uncertain future and the prospect of ruinous unemployment, the Society's principal musicians responded with a plan for concerts under their own auspices. The chosen title of "Professional Concert" was in imitation of the prestigious London series of concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms, which had been similarly organised by local musicians following the decline of the Bach-Abel concerts during the early-1780s. However, a last-minute plan by members of the Musical Society to promote a short series of concerts in 1798 led to the cancellation of the players' scheme.

On December 18th 1797, a committee, formed to save the Musical Society, proposed a plan for a season of seven concerts - six between January and April and one in the Race Week. The venture would be financed by a subscription of two and a half guineas (a reduction of one guinea on the Society's current annual subscription). Although this series formed the principal element in Edinburgh's concert life during 1798, additional concerts were presented by musicians employed by the Society at other venues in the city; notably the Theatre Royal (for example, the annual benefit concerts of Johann Georg Schetky and Pietro Urbani in February) and the Assembly Rooms (for example, Natale Corri's benefit concert in January, the annual concert by the band of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, featuring all the principal resident musicians in March and a similar benefit in aid of the industrious blind of the city in July). In this respect, 1798 can be viewed as a year of transition in Edinburgh's concert life. Another departure from the former pattern of events at Saint Cecilia's Hall was Corri's presentation of a concert there during the Race Week: his first venture as an independent impresario in the city:
BLUE BEARD, BY WAY OF CONCERT / From the Uncommon approbation which the Opera of Blue Beard has received on the London Stage / Mr CORRI / Has been solicited by several Ladies and Gentlemen to have the music performed by way of / CONCERT / He therefore respectfully informs the Public, that on TUESDAY Evening, the 31st inst. he proposes to have it performed, when the Overture, Chorusses, Duets, Songs &c. of that celebrated Piece, will form Act One, and Mr Corri hopes on that occasion to obtain the same support from his Friends which he has so often formerly had the honour of experiencing.... 13

Corri's adventurous scheme involved the city's resident performers and the season's celebrity vocalists from the Theatre Royal: Mrs Bramwell and Mr Cooke ("by special permission of the manager, Mr Kemble" 14). The source and extent of Corri's financial backing is not clear. However, from the scale of his subsequent activities as an impresario, it appears that he met with some encouragement from the venture.

Although most public concerts in Edinburgh over the ensuing twenty years were organised as subscription series, the Musical Society's attempt to switch to the system in 1798 was unsuccessful and concerts at Saint Cecilia's Hall ceased in 1799. The players' Professional Concert scheme subsequently formed the basis of Edinburgh's concert life.

Reasons for the Demise of Edinburgh's Musical Society

The reasons for the failure of the Musical Society to continue with subscription concerts after 1798 are the same as those underlying its general decline throughout the decade, of which the first concerns the short-comings of its purpose-built concert room, Saint Cecilia's Hall.

Although some research has been carried out concerning the original design and dimensions of the hall, notably by Harris and during the period of the building's restoration in the 1960s, a number of late 18th century newspaper advertisements relating to the
first sale of the hall provide hitherto uncovered details concerning its dimensions, decoration and its organ. These aptly illustrate the original elegance of the building:

To be Let for one or more years, and entered to immediately. / Saint Cecilia's Hall, with the whole adjoining Apartments, situated in Niddry Street, and having also an entry from the Cowgate, Edinburgh. The Hall is 60 feet long by 36 feet wide, and of proportionate height. It is completely fitted up with seats, and is extremely well-calculated for a place of worship or other public meeting. On the ground floor is an apartment, 34 feet long, by 21 feet wide, neatly finished, besides an outer hall and several other conveniences....

ST. CECILIA'S HALL / Upset price reduced to Six Hundred Pounds / To be SOLD by Public Voluntary roup on Wednesday the third day of June 1801.... There is adjoining to the Hall an Area, to which the purchaser of the Hall will have right, extending along Niddry Street about thirty feet, and from the corner of Niddry Street along the Cowgate about forty feet, on which shops or houses may be built to great advantage. THERE IS ALSO TO BE SOLD / The ORGAN belonging to the MUSICAL SOCIETY / It was built by the famous SNETZLER in London, and contains the following stops, viz. - Open Diapason, Stopt Diapason, Dulciana, Principal, Fifteenth, Flute, Twelfth, Sesquialtra and Cornet. It has several Pedals, and is eminently calculated for a Chapel, being the most powerful and complete instrument of the kind in Scotland, next to the Organ of the English Episcopal Chapel in Edinburgh. 15

AN ORGAN, MIRRORS, LUSTRES &c. / TO BE SOLD by public voluntary roup, in Saint Cecilia's Hall in Niddry Street, on THURSDAY the 9th of July 1801 at 12 o'clock noon. / The ORGAN, belonging to the MUSICAL SOCIETY. The Dimensions of the Organ, exclusive of the pediment, which may be 18 inches or 2 feet, are as follows - Height - 156 inches / Breadth - 99 ditto / Depth from Front to back - 51 ditto..... The Compass from E in alt. to Double GG both these notes included. The Organ has 10 Pedals, one of these takes off the following stops, Principal, Twelfth, Cornet, Sesquialtra and Fifteenth - the other 9 pedals are for continuing the sound of the deeper key notes in the Bass, viz. G.A.Bb.B.C.D.Ed.E. and F. A Swell might be put on all the Stops except the Open Diapason which is in front of the instrument. The case is of mahogany, front and sides Gilded Pipes (Open Diapason) surrounded with elegant carving. The Bellows are very large, and hold wind remarkably well; the Blower stands at the side; the instrument has not been tuned for years, but is in perfect order, and is uncommonly elegant in external appearance - Made by Jones and Snetzler.
A PAINTING OF ST CECILIA / SIX MIRRORS / SEVEN CRYSTAL LUSTRES / Twenty-seven BENCHES covered with crimson cloth. Together with a variety of other Articles, such as lamps, Carron Gates, Carpets, Iron Rails, &c. belonging to the Musical Society....

By the standards of most 18th century public buildings in Scotland, the internal decoration of Saint Cecilia's Hall was lavish. The Society's directors fully appreciated the need to make the Hall as commodious as possible and, even in the 1790s, sought further to improve and modernise its facilities through the creation of an additional room "for the accommodation of the Company in the interval between the musical acts" 18.

At the time of its construction and opening in 1762, Robert Mylne's Saint Cecilia's Hall was justly considered among the city's most elegant buildings. Its location at the foot of the Niddry Wynd allowed easy access from all populous areas of the city. However, within 25 years the advantages and appeal of its position had been effectively reversed by Edinburgh's northwards expansion. The construction of the South Bridge (between 1785-1788) greatly detracted from the entrance area to the Hall; indeed, the Musical Society sought and obtained damages for the injury 19. The location of the Hall was probably the principal factor which dissuaded potential buyers at the time of its sale, even with the added enticement of additional land for building houses. The eventual acquisition of the property by the Freemasons reflected an interrelation between this organisation and the hierarchy of the Musical Society; another facet of Edinburgh's musical life which merits further investigation. The Society's organ was subsequently installed in the city's Assembly Rooms (see p.24).

It was not simply the spoiling of the Hall's environs which precipitated the Society's failure. More significant was its inconvenient distance from the New Town homes of its potential patrons. During the later decades of the 18th century and the early 19th, the buildings which housed Edinburgh's public entertainments were each re-located in the fashionable New Town. The Theatre was the first to move (to a site opposite Register House in 1769 20), after
which the New Town was similarly preferred for the location of the Assembly Rooms (George Street) and the Ampitheatre [sic] (at the head of Leith Walk), the latter was the home of the Edinburgh Circus during the 1790s (later Corri's Rooms)\textsuperscript{21}.

The inconvenient location of Saint Cecilia's Hall was not the only reason behind the demise of the Musical Society. A general decline in the fashionable status of public concerts was a factor of equal importance. This phenomenon reflected widespread social and economic developments, precipitated by both the growth and demands of the new urban middle classes, and the economic effects of the continental wars. The years around the turn of the 19th century were decidedly low-key in the concert life of the whole nation, as illustrated in the researches of other authors concerning, for example, London \textsuperscript{22} and Aberdeen \textsuperscript{23}.

In Edinburgh, competition from an increasing number of other entertainments during the 1780s and 1790s further diverted patronage and interest away from the concerts at Saint Cecilia's Hall. This is illustrated in advertisements concerning unsuccessful benefit concerts promoted by the Society for its principal performers, such as Joseph Reinagle's 1781 concert which failed "on account of the many different Public Entertainments which happened on that Night"\textsuperscript{24}. Chief among such rival attractions were dancing assemblies. The completion of the Assembly Rooms in January 1787 heralded an extended season of dancing assemblies and balls \textsuperscript{25}, some of which inevitably clashed with concerts. As a result, the starting time of concerts was occasionally altered or their duration shortened to allow patrons to attend an assembly. Such changes and their reason were announced in advertisements, for example John Mahon's concert in 1786 of which "the whole will be finished in due time for the company going to the Assembly" \textsuperscript{26} and Urbani's and Corri's in 1791, both of which were to finish early "in order that ladies can attend the Assembly" \textsuperscript{27}. The sustained popularity and success of Edinburgh's dancing assemblies during the period has been assessed in studies by Jamieson and by Flett \textsuperscript{28}. 

- 19 -
The theatre was another rival attraction to Edinburgh's concerts, due not only to the popular nature of its presentations, but also to the inclusion of low-brow musical items within its productions. A detailed study of the subject awaits the attention of a modern writer; the city's newspapers are a plentiful source of information. Another regular public spectacle were the equestrian entertainments at the Edinburgh Circus. Both theatre and circus were open throughout the winter season and generally attracted much interest, as related in occasional newspaper editorials\(^{29}\), although public support was not consistently forthcoming:

The Edinburgh Theatre at present has a company of players superior to any since the days of Foote and Woodwarde, and were they to perform in London, they would at least divide the applause with those of Drury-Lane and Covent Garden. But here, where everything is guided by "fashion", and where no one presumes to think for himself, they have been playing (except for a few nights) to almost empty benches - and why? - because it is not yet the "thing" to attend the Theatre this Winter. We hear, however, that the "fiat" will shortly be given; and the players may comfort themselves with the prospect, that when we do go, we go all together. / The Amphitheatre continues to draw crowded houses every evening. The variety and excellence of the performances gives general satisfaction.\(^{30}\)

The decline in the Musical Society's fortunes is reflected in the increasingly fragile state of its finances. Between 1776 and the early-1790s, the annual accounts, as recorded in the Sederunt Books, show that the cost of the concerts exceeded the money available:

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Losses (in £)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>11 - 12 - 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td>44 - 5 - 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>15 - 7 - 8(\frac{1}{2})</td>
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<td>1784</td>
<td>7 - 18 - 6(\frac{1}{2})</td>
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<td>1785</td>
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<td>1788</td>
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<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>7 - 19 - 9</td>
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Although in most seasons the size of the debit carried forward to the next was small (as shown in Table I.1), the situation became more serious in the 1790s; for example, in 1792 the annual shortfall was in excess of £70 and it approached £50 in 1795. In a belated response, the Directors twice raised the price of an annual subscription (see p.32).

The general atmosphere of decline permeated to the music-making itself. Entries in the Sederunt Books during the 1790s record numerous instances of malpractice among the musicians, including the unauthorised use of the Society's instruments, loss of its music books, failure to attend concerts and sloppy musicianship:

The Meeting taking into consideration the Situation of the Instruments belonging to the Society which are used by several of the performers upon all occasions, they order that in future the different instruments belonging to the Society shall remain in their Hall and shall not upon any account be taken out, without an order from three of the Directors and they appoint this order to be put up in the Orchestra, that none of the performers may pretend ignorance.

Having also taken into consideration the loss sustained by the Society, by books being mis-laid and destroyed and the inconveniences to which the Society are exposed by their Musick books being improperly lent, They resolve that no Musick book belonging to the Society shall be lent out by the person who has the charge of the same without an order signed by three of the Directors and a receipt by the person receiving the same with an obligation to return the books on demand.

The Directors having observed that for this year past Mr Clark has been extremely remiss in attending the Weekly Concerts frequently absenting himself, and when he does attend in refusing and shifting to play on the Organ when any piece for that Instrument was put in the plan, altho his Sallary which was only Ten pounds was raised to Twenty on Account of his playing an Organ piece once a fortnight, and which for many months past he has failed to do.

Therefore this day Mr Clark having been called upon and being told of his failure of duty as above and his reasons demanded for such misbehaviour, gave no satisfactory answer, only that he thought his Sallary ought further to be augmented.
The Directors acquainted him that his Sallary of twenty pounds should be still continued to him on his fulfilling his duty in the weekly concerts, and particularly on his performing an Organ Concerto once in a fortnight or three weeks when put in the plan. To this the Directors desired Mr. Clark to give a positive answer, against the first Friday in June next. Signifying to the above express condition as to the Organ Pieces, or not, and which answer should determine the Directors as to their measures regarding Mr. Clark.

To Messrs. Stabilini, Schetky and the other performers from the Directors.... As their is no Ladies Concert during the Month of May the Directors recommended to the Gentlemen of the Orchestra to attend the Weekly Concerts as usual and as they are sensible that the performances have of late much fallen off, particularly in the Musick of Handel, Geminiani and others of the old Composers, which is much complained of by the Society.

The Directors recommend to the Leader and the other masters and Expect that they shall consider the ensuing Concerts in May as Rehearsals so as they may practice the above and other Musick in order to do justice to it in their performance on the more Public Concerts in June next.

To the performers of the Ripieno Violins. The Gentlemen performers of the Ripienos are desired to attend the Forte and Piano passages and to play their parts plain as marked in the Musick without any Flourishes. In Accompanying the Songs the Ripienos are allways too Strong for the Voice, they are therefore desired to play Piano when the voice comes in.

**SUMMARY**

Although the concerts at Saint Cecilia's Hall had been the most fashionable and exclusive form of entertainment in Edinburgh during most of the 1760s and 1770s, by the late-1780s membership of the Musical Society was no longer considered to be as socially indispensable as it formerly had been. While patronage of the concerts remained buoyant, the small annual deficit, incurred by the Society since the mid-1770s, was evidently sustainable. However by the 1790s, as public enthusiasm for the concerts waned, the level of loss increased and its justification became more difficult.
The Society's declining fortunes were precipitated by both local and national developments. From the mid-1780s, following the construction of South Bridge and increasing population of the New Town, the location of Saint Cecilia's Hall became inconvenient and unattractive for many who traditionally had formed its audience. In addition, competition from an increasing number of popular and fashionably-situated rival entertainments served to amplify a feeling that the concerts at Saint Cecilia's Hall were rather dull. A similar decline in enthusiasm for concerts was felt throughout Britain, the causes of which related both to the economic effects of the war in Europe, and to changes in the balance and wealth of social classes within the country's urban populations.

Although popular entertainments in Edinburgh undoubtedly attracted the patronage of the upper classes, their success lay principally in the support received from the city's increasing middle class population. In this respect, ironically, the socially exclusive nature of the Musical Society, which had ensured its success over many decades became the chief reason for its downfall; it was unable to adapt to the new demands of the market. By the late-1790s, Edinburgh's Musical Society had outlived its time.

CONCERT HALLS AND VENUES c.1799-1830

Throughout the first half of the 19th century, although the Assembly Rooms in George Street remained the city's premiere venue for dancing assemblies, it regularly housed concerts too. Internal modifications were periodically made to render the building more conducive to the performance and commodious enjoyment of music, but it remained structurally unaltered until the early-1840s when a purpose-built Music Hall was added. The extent of the changes typically required to accommodate a small orchestra is indicated by Urbani's preparations for his 1803 concerts:
NEW SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT / ASSEMBLY ROOMS GEORGE STREET / Mr URBANI returns his warmest acknowledgements to the Public ...
The Rooms will be completely fitted up, with an elegant Orchestra erected, and the fine Organ of St. Cecilia's Hall will be placed in a niche made in the centre of the east wall of the Great Room. 37

The rival subscription series of Corri and Urbani in 1803 precipitated the opening of a new venue for concerts in the city. Corri's Rooms were located at the head of Leith Walk; the building formerly having been used by the Edinburgh Circus 38. The principal 19th century source of information relating to Corri's Rooms, Dibdin's Annals of the Edinburgh Stage is inaccurate in many details, but is the basis of most later comment on the subject, notably the accounts of Harris and Farmer 39. For present purposes, the character and development of Corri's Rooms will be outlined principally from information contained in contemporary sources.

Although Corri claimed to have built the rooms expressly for his concerts, the structure of the former Ampitheatre [sic] was in fact retained. However, Corri undertook substantial internal alterations to improve the building's acoustics and layout:

...trusting to the encouragement and protection of a liberal and discerning Public, he [Corri] has undertaken, and nearly completed, the erection of a SUITE of ROOMS in the CITY, upon the most approved plan for the proper conveyance of musical sound, proceeding upon accurate information as to the construction of the best music rooms in Britain; and he flatters himself that they will be found equal, both for elegance and convenience to any Music Room in the Kingdom, and in all respects worthy of the metropolis of Scotland. 40

In order to display the new hall and to dispel rumours concerning the state of its completion and potential health risk, Corri opened his rooms with a "Grand Ball....the Receipts to be divided between the Royal Infirmary and the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse" 41, during which the premises could be inspected by Edinburgh's fashionable society (conveniently, this event coincided with the opening night of Urbani's concerts at the Assembly Rooms):
To remove any apprehension with respect to the dryness of the Great Room, Mr CORRI thinks it right to mention that the plastering, which is all upon lath, has been finished for a considerable time, and from the number of stoves that have been kept burning night and day since the beginning of November all over the House, and which will be constantly continued, no doubt need be entertained that every part of the building will be as dry and comfortable as the Great Rooms in George Street....

Corri's Rooms underwent a number of changes and alterations during the early decades of the 19th century, reflecting the public's fluctuating taste for concerts. Following the financial failure of the 1809 subscription concerts (see pp.50-1), the building was leased to the theatre manager Henry Siddons, who undertook extensive refurbishments (at a reported, and probably exaggerated cost of £4000) and staged plays and other theatrical entertainments between November 1809 until 1811. Siddons, having abandoned the 1769 theatre in Shakespeare Square, re-named Corri's Rooms as the Theatre Royal. His alterations to Corri's building met with qualified enthusiasm:

A house which was formerly a Circus and subsequently Concert rooms has been fitted up with tolerable neatness, although somewhat in the gingerbread-work style.... the access is excessively bad, for you must make the complete circle of the house, and ascend one or two flights of steps before you arrive at the box lobby. The interior, however, is executed with considerable taste, is well lighted, the scenery, machinery very good, and the music, which was formerly excreable, very much improved.

For a three year period after July 1809, the Assembly Rooms were again the chief venue for performances of classical music. However, in July 1812, amid renewed enthusiasm in the city for concerts, Corri announced the return of his hall to its original purpose and name. Siddons reverted to old theatre building, and Corri's Rooms, newly "painted by Mr Nicol Somerville.... and brilliantly illuminated with transparencies" were, as in 1803, officially opened with a "Grand Promenade and Ball"

However, support for the concerts proved again to be short-lived - between 1813-1815 the rooms at the head of Leith Walk were
used principally for other forms of entertainment, including dancing assemblies and public debates (see p.67-8). In 1815, at short notice, the directors of the city's first Musical Festival, on the realisation that the Assembly Rooms were too small for the proposed evening concerts, switched the venue for these performances to Corri's Rooms. The scale of the festival events necessitated another series of alterations to Corri's premises, for reasons of public safety as well as comfort and increased capacity. At the end of the festival, the rooms were restored to their original condition (see Table I.4, p.80).

Corri's efforts to promote concerts after 1815 again proved largely unsuccessful. His failure to raise a sufficient subscription for concerts in 1816, in spite of the enthusiasm created by the festival led him again to adapt his concert rooms for theatrical productions and to select for them a new name:

The PANTHEON has been elegantly Painted and Decorated, and the Stage is now LIGHTED with GAS. The Ornaments and Decorations designed by Mr DEARLOVE, and executed by him, Mr FLOWER, and other Artists from London.

Structural alterations were made by the architect, William Burn and the Pantheon opened in January 1817. The appeal of the building was enhanced through the installation of gas lighting. It was among the first public buildings in the Scottish capital to be thus endowed: the Edinburgh Gas Light Company having been formed in 1817. In order to circumvent the legal restrictions concerning the presentation of plays in the city (the Royal Patent being held by the owner of the Theatre Royal, Mrs Henry Siddons), musical farces, burlesques and the like were produced at the Pantheon. Such works of non-serious theatre, were not, it was proposed "patent" property. A series of legal challenges by Siddons' proved indecisive, and, aided by what appears to have been Corri's faked bankruptcy, plays, with and without music, continued to be given. After Corri's death in 1822, the Pantheon was re-named the Caledonian Theatre and presented operas and plays over the ensuing decades. As the Adelphi Theatre, the building was destroyed by fire in 1853.
After 1798, the principal exception to the pattern of Edinburgh's concert venues being located in the New Town occurred as a result of the need for a large, opened-spaced venue for oratorio performances during the 1815 festival. After rejecting the city's existing halls, an agreement was made between the directors of the festival and the trustees for the city's public buildings for the use of the Outer Parliament House, off the High Street. Public entertainments had not before been held there and the required internal alterations to the building were extensive; these included the installation of "the large Organ used for the Oratorios in Covent Garden Theatre". To satisfy the curiosity and apprehensions of the public (and to make extra money in the process), the Parliament House was opened for public inspection during the final days before the first concert of the festival on payment of one shilling (see Table I.4, p.80). The same gesture was made in 1819.

Throughout the early 19th century, Edinburgh's Theatre Royal was frequently used for the presentation of operas (in adapted forms) and occasionally also for concerts, notably benefit performances for the principal members of its band (see p.100). Situated at the head of Shakespeare's Square, on the site now occupied by the General Post Office, the building was opened in December 1769 and was among the earliest completed projects in the New Town development. However, by the early 19th century the quality of the structure, both its external appearance and internal facilities, was often criticised:

...the present barn-like edifice produces the double effect of disgusting spectators by its own deformity and obstructing the view of one of the finest buildings in Edinburgh.

Despite such opinions, the theatre was used for evening performances during the city's musical festival in 1819 (the Pantheon then being unavailable). The directors had learnt from their experiences of 1815 concerning the accommodation of large audiences, and the internal layout of the theatre was altered accordingly. In order to allay public anxieties, full details of these changes were advertised:
Considerable alterations are to be made in the Theatre for the Festival, to render all parts of the house as agreeable and commodious as possible. There is to be a communication throughout the boxes, pit and gallery. A passage from the lower boxes will lead directly into the pit; and the partitions and railings, which now divide the gallery from the upper boxes, are to be entirely removed, in order to throw the whole middle circle of the house into one space, and to afford a full view of the stage to those who may chuse to be placed in the sides of the gallery. 59.

Some of the city's dancing halls were occasionally used as venues for musical entertainments. During the late-1790s and early-1800s small-scale concerts were presented at Bernard's Rooms in Thistle Street; for example in December 1802, a series of evening performances on the musical glasses by the instrument's celebrated English exponent, James Wilkinson 60. The rooms were conveniently and fashionable situated in the section of Thistle Street between Frederick Street and Hanover Street. In 1817, they were acquired, renamed and altered by a dancing master from London, Mr Smart, who had taught in Edinburgh since at least 1810 61:

MR SMART respectfully informs his Friends and employers, that he will commence TEACHING in his new rooms; 32 Thistle Street, on the 1st of October. The above Rooms being greatly improved and handsomely furnished, are to be let for private parties, balls or concerts. / Apply to Mr Smart at his residence, 32 Thistle Street (late Bernard's Rooms). 62

The improvements to the rooms, and significantly the announcement of their availability for concerts, coincided with the conversion of Edinburgh's co-principal concert hall, Corri's Rooms, into a theatre (see p.25). Smart's Rooms (known as the Thistle Street Rooms from the mid-1820s) subsequently became the chief alternative venue to the Assembly Rooms for concerts, assemblies and balls in the city. However, they sometimes proved inadequate for large-scale events, for example, the main room was filled to capacity by an audience of about 500 at the Professional Society's third concert of 1824 (see pp.89-90) and was considered too small following Kalkbrenner's first concert in the same year: in both cases subsequent performances were switched to the Assembly Rooms.
In addition to these indoor venues, attempts were made to create pleasure gardens in imitation of London's Vauxhall and Ranelagh Gardens. The most adventurous of these, the Edinburgh Vauxhall was situated near Charlotte Square and opened in March 1800. Music featured prominently among its entertainments, for example, Pietro Urbani conducted a concert of vocal and instrumental music at the grand opening, and a military band played during the interval 63. From its continuity over several seasons, the Vauxhall scheme evidently enjoyed some success. However, inclement weather, as well as an inevitable decline in its novelty appeal, probably did much to bring about the demise of the venture by about 1806.

The question of access to and from concert halls was foremost in the minds of promoters and audiences. The location of the Assembly Rooms and the Theatre Royal on the wide thoroughfares of George Street and Princes Street respectively, created few problems. However, this was not the case elsewhere. During the early-1800s and on subsequent occasions when a large audience was expected, Corri advertised careful instructions for those arriving and leaving his rooms:

It is requested that the Carriages, in coming to the Rooms, will drive by York Place, and drive off by Leith Walk; and, on leaving the Rooms, they will draw up by Leith Walk and drive off by York Place. The Carriages will be announced as they draw up. To prevent delay, the Ladies and Gentlemen are requested not to detain their carriages after they are announced. It is further requested, that no carriages will come by James Square, that road being reserved for the chairs. 64

Similar arrangements were advertised prior to the 1815 festival, along with instructions for those attending the performances at the Parliament House 65. However, despite the efforts of the constabulary, the system proved ineffectual; the determination of subscribers to secure for themselves the best seats took precedence over their consideration for traffic flow. As a result, poor access to concerts was among the chief criticisms levelled at the festival organisers, as recorded in a satirical account of events, referring to the opening concert at the Parliament House:
Now to the hall, crowds, anxious, onwards press,
Careless of shoes, or tearing caps or dress;
Squeeze'd in so close, so jamm'd, they move'd but slow,
But solid, as the squares at Waterloo,
Nor was the noise of shrieks and groans, they say,
Less dreadful than was heard that awful day.
A roaring voice, with Stentor lungs, bawls out:
(It was a fat Bailie, waddling with the gout,)
"Wha treads upon my muckle tae sae hard?
"Eh! I'm just thinking it is you, my Laird
"Your Lairdship dinna ken, I dare say,
"How awfu' tis to have a sair tae." 66

SUMMARY

Following the closure and sale of Saint Cecilia's Hall, concerts in Edinburgh were, with one notable exception, held in the New Town. The exception was the use of the Outer Parliament House for the oratorio performances during the 1815 and 1819 festivals; the city's regular concert venues being too small. As illustrated by the circumstances surrounding the demise of Saint Cecilia's Hall, in order to attract the support of distinguished and wealthy patrons, venues for public entertainments had to be comfortable, fashionably designed and fitted, and located within easy reach of the potential audience. During the early 19th century, given the brevity of the concert season, each of the city's concert venues staged a variety of other entertainments, ranging from dancing assemblies and balls to public meetings and philosophical debates. Substantial alterations were thus frequently required to make rooms, theatres or halls suitable for concert performances prior to the start of a new season. These were made at the expense of the impresario or organising body in addition to a hire fee for the venue.
TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION AND TICKET PRICES

This survey of admission charges for concerts in Edinburgh begins by examining the cost and availability of tickets for events promoted by the city's Musical Society during the later decades of the 18th century. The various subscription schemes offered to the public between 1798 and about 1830 are then assessed, and the prices and terms compared with those for admission to single concerts and to independently-promoted events, such as benefit evenings. The cost of tickets for various rival entertainments in the city is then surveyed. From this information, conclusions will be drawn concerning the extent to which concert audiences were "selected" through the price and terms on which tickets were sold.

The Musical Society

The success of Edinburgh's aristocratic Musical Society lay largely in its social exclusivity. Although a few individual concert tickets were made available to "strangers" (referring to visitors to the city who were either eminent figures or friends of members of the Society), the audience at Saint Cecilia's Hall was carefully selected through a rigorous membership system. Following the opening of the hall, membership of the Society was restricted to 200, with subsequent vacancies filled by persons proposed and seconded by members and selected by the directors of the Society. Since this system served also to give the directors an indication of the likely level of annual receipts, it assisted them in managing the Society's financial affairs. Tickets for two categories of concert organised by the Society were not included in the cost of annual membership; these were the benefit concerts awarded to leading performers (see p.99) and the oratorio concerts (see pp.192-3). However, tickets for these events were not always available to the general public: for the oratorios, tickets could be purchased only by members of the Society;
for benefit evenings, they were available either directly from the beneficiary or occasionally from a small number of shops.

Between the early-1770s and 1790, the cost of annual membership to the Society, as stated in the annual accounts from the Sederunt Books, was set at either one and half or two guineas. The higher rate became standard from about 1780. Generally, during the 1790s, as the financial problems of the Society increased, the subscription was raised, reaching three and a half guineas by 1797 (see p.15).

The price of tickets for oratorio performances and benefit evenings followed a similar pattern; remaining at three shillings until about 1790 (for example, tickets to Acis and Galatea in 1782 and 1789 67), and fluctuating between three and five shillings during the 1790s. The increase to five shillings met with considerable opposition. By this time the social status of public concerts was barely sufficient to support the increase and the public was unwilling to acquiesce lightly, despite the fact that the same charge was made for some other entertainments in the city. Sophia Corri was the first performer to introduce the higher rate for her benefit night in 1791 68. The extent of the opposition is indicated by her detailed explanation which subsequently appeared in the local press:

MRS CORRI returns her grateful thanks to the Ladies and Gentlemen who honoured her with their company last Thursday at her Concert. At the same time, as she understands some disapprobation has been expressed on account of the tickets being raised to 5 shillings, she takes this opportunity of explaining to the Public, that the produce of her and Mr Jarnovich's concert last year scarcely defrayed the expenses of the Concert and of their journey from London - She was therefore advised that, as the price of admission to the Assembly and some other places of amusement has lately been raised, the addition of 2 shillings on each ticket for her concert would not have been taken amiss by any part of the Public, who has so often honoured her and her family with their kindest patronage.... 69
Subscription Rates for Concert Series in Edinburgh 1798-1830

After 1798, the organisers of concerts in the Scottish capital were faced with the dual problem of establishing a semblance of social exclusivity around their events (to secure the support of the nobility and gentry), while attracting the largest possible audience in order to achieve financial success. The subscription system was, in part, a response to this dilemma, but also served as a method by which promoters could assess the level of public support before engaging performers for the forthcoming season, as stressed in impresarios' advertisements, for example, those of Corri in 1808:

Mr Corri would esteem it extremely kind, if they will signify their pleasure as to this just now; because the sooner he knows what support he can depend on, the sooner he can make arrangements to obtain performers from England, for which purpose he intends to go there himself at the proper time. 70

For the public, as well as guaranteeing a place in the hall, the principal incentive for subscribing was the discount offered in comparison with the cost of individual tickets. The rates and terms of subscription for various concert series in Edinburgh during the early 19th century are shown in Table I.2. Explanations of the ways in which tickets could be used are contained within the footnotes.

Table I.2 follows
Table I.2 Subscription Rates for Selected Concert Series in Edinburgh 1799-1826

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>date</th>
<th>no. of concerts</th>
<th>no. of tickets</th>
<th>cost of subscription</th>
<th>cost of each ticket</th>
<th>single tickets</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Professional Concert</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10 (a)</td>
<td>2 Guineas</td>
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<td>5s 71</td>
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<td>Corri's Concerts</td>
<td>1801</td>
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<td>18 (b)</td>
<td>2 Guineas</td>
<td>2s 4d</td>
<td>5s 72</td>
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<td>Urbani's Concerts</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8 (c)</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{2}) Guineas</td>
<td>3s 11d</td>
<td>4s</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corri's Concerts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1 Guinea</td>
<td>3s 5d</td>
<td>4s 73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corri's Concerts</td>
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<td>£1 6s</td>
<td>4s 4d</td>
<td>5s</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 (e)</td>
<td>2 Guineas</td>
<td>3s 5d</td>
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<td>1807</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 Guinea</td>
<td>10s 6d</td>
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<td>5s 3d</td>
<td>7s 76</td>
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<td>Corri's Concerts</td>
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<td>10 (f)</td>
<td>2 Guineas</td>
<td>4s 2d</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>15s</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>3 (g)</td>
<td>1(\frac{1}{2}) Guineas</td>
<td>10s 5d</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corri's Concerts</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>4 (h)</td>
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<td>5s 3d</td>
<td>7s</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>5 (i)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6 (m)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3 (n)</td>
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Table I.2 (contd.)

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<th>Series</th>
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<th>no. of tickets</th>
<th>cost of subscription</th>
<th>cost of each ticket</th>
<th>single tickets</th>
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<td>12 n</td>
<td>1 Guinea</td>
<td>1s 9d</td>
<td>5s</td>
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<td>Yaniewicz's Concert</td>
<td>1816</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>1 Guinea</td>
<td>3s 6d</td>
<td>7s</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>1 Guinea</td>
<td>2s 7d</td>
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<td>10s 6d</td>
<td>15s</td>
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<td>Yaniewicz's Concert</td>
<td>1820</td>
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<td>15s</td>
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<td>1823</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>2 Guineas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musical Festival</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1824</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1 ½ Guineas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professional Society</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 q</td>
<td>1 Guinea</td>
<td>5s 3d</td>
<td>7s</td>
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</table>

[footnotes follow]
Footnotes for Table I.2

a  2 guineas gave admission to each concert, and two additional tickets: in the case of gentleman subscribers, these were transferable to ladies only, but in the case of lady subscribers, one of the tickets was transferable to a gentleman, if required.

b  A subscription of 2 guineas gave admission to the concerts, and two transferable ladies' tickets.

c  Subscribers at 2 guineas were entitled to a gentleman's ticket and two transferable ladies' tickets: subscribers at 1½ guineas to both a gentleman's and a ladies' ticket, and subscribers at 1 guinea to a ticket for each concert.

d & e  A subscriber of 2 guineas was entitled to his own admission and to one ladies' ticket, transferable for each concert. A subscriber of 3 guineas was entitled to his own admission and to two ladies' tickets, transferable for each concert.

f  A subscriber received his own, and one transferable ticket for each concert, and two additional extra transferable tickets for any one concert.
Footnotes for Table I.2 (contd.)

**g** These half sets of tickets were for the morning concerts at the Parliament House.

**h** Corri's proposed 1816 winter series was abandoned due to an insufficient subscription (see pp. 64-5).

**j** A subscription of 1 guinea entitled the subscriber to four tickets, not transferable, using each ticket in succession for the first, second, third and fourth nights. A subscription of $1 \frac{1}{2}$ guineas entitled the subscriber to five tickets, transferable in any number or night.

**k & m** A subscriber of £2 5s was entitled to three tickets to each concert, transferable to ladies only. A subscriber of £1 15s was entitled to two tickets to each concert, similarly transferable. A subscriber of 18s was entitled to one ticket to each concert.

**n** A full subscription ticket admitted the subscriber and one of his family.

**p** No single tickets were available for this series.

**q** The four tickets in this subscription were fully transferable.
A comparison between the final two columns of Table I.2 shows the level of discount available through subscribing, and reflects the extent to which such schemes were used to "select" an audience. The wealthier classes would be able to purchase a moderately-priced series' subscription, whereas poorer elements of the population were less likely to afford relatively expensive single tickets. An example of the application of this principle of selection relates to the 1816 concerts of the Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music. Single tickets were not available for these concerts on account of the number of gentleman amateurs in the orchestra, who were presumably unwilling to perform for their social inferiors (see p.179).

The tradition of issuing transferable ladies' tickets for concerts in Edinburgh dates back to the Musical Society's concerts after 1762, and from 1798, ladies' tickets were available similarly at a discounted rate. However, the system was abandoned after Corri's 1807 series (although it was inexplicably revived in the terms for his abortive 1816 winter season). Since, by the early 19th century, concert attendance had become predominantly a gesture of social rather than artistic significance, and in this respect, a periodically fashionable pastime for female society, it was clearly in the interest of promoters not to offer a further discount to the most sizable section of their audience, in addition to that already gained through a subscription.

In general, the cost of a single concert ticket rose from five to seven shillings during the period, the increase occurred after about 1815, although the lower rate was maintained in some instances. The principal exceptions to this pattern were the substantially higher prices demanded by visiting groups of celebrities, notably Catalani and her various entourages, and by the organisers of the city's musical festivals. Clearly, in each instance, the promoters were confident that the status of the performers or appeal of the occasion was sufficient to support the increase. A further exception to the prevailing pattern of ticket costs was that of Urbani's 1803 series. His rates were designed to undercut those of his rival Corri.
Tickets for Concerts not included within Subscription Series

After about 1800, admission to the most common type of concert within this category, the benefit evenings for resident performers, was usually set at five shillings, as illustrated, for example by the concerts of George Schetky in 1805, Natale Corri in 1814, Felix Yaniewicz in 1823 and William Napier in 1830. Tickets for the annual concert of the Edinburgh Musical Fund (see p.103), such as that in 1815, were fixed at this level too.

That the market was generally unable to support a higher charge for benefit concerts, is reflected in the price of tickets for most concerts given for the benefit of visiting soloists, for example that of Mrs Ashe in October 1816. However, a small number of visiting celebrity singers commanded a higher rate, the most notable being the soprano, Angelica Catalani. The exceptionally high price of subscription tickets for her concerts, for example in 1807 and 1823, is shown in Table I.2 (above). Her ability to command a similar figure for single appearances was illustrated by her concert at the Assembly Rooms in December 1821, for which single tickets were sold at 10s 6d.

During the 1820s the market was more able to support an increase in ticket prices for the concerts of celebrities. Although admission to each of Ferdinand Kalkbrenner's performances of 1824 was fixed at just five shillings, tickets for the concerts given by Johann Baptist Cramer in 1826, and Ignaz Moscheles in 1828 were seven shillings each. From the mid-1820s, some visiting performers on other instruments were able to command this higher rate too, for example the London-based flautist, Charles Weiss, in 1826.
Tickets Prices of other Entertainments in the City

The principal entertainments which competed for public patronage with concerts in Edinburgh were the plays and operas of the Theatre Royal (later also at Corri's Pantheon or the Caledonian Theatre), the balls and dancing assemblies at the Assembly Rooms (also at Corri's Rooms, Smart's Rooms and elsewhere), the occasional, semi-resident circus-type shows, and outdoor entertainments, such as the Edinburgh Vauxhall. Although tickets prices for some of these entertainments corresponded to those of the city's concerts, a number were cheaper, and those which charged the same, notably the theatre, offered a range of lower-priced tickets, and thus appealed to a wider cross-section of the population.

Although newspaper advertisements for productions at the Theatre Royal rarely included details of the cost of tickets (frequently inserting the phrase "at the usual prices" instead), an indication of the range of prices is revealed through the concerts presented there by Catalani. In 1807 and 1808, for example, tickets were available at seven shillings and sixpence (boxes 10s 6d), seven shillings (pits, i.e. stalls) or five shillings (galleries)\textsuperscript{101}, although in 1808 the galleries were divided into two sections, with entrance to the second gallery fixed at three shillings\textsuperscript{102}. Clearly, these prices were exceptional (as were those for Catalani's other concerts in Edinburgh, see Table I.2, above). At a Theatre Royal charity concert in which she appeared in February 1810, tickets for the boxes were available at five shillings, with "the other places of the house at the usual prices"\textsuperscript{103}. This suggests that the usual price for a box seat was less than five shillings (the standard cost of a single concert ticket at this time).

More is known about ticket prices at Corri's Pantheon. These varied according to the quality of the production and the celebrity of the performers. For the farces, burlettas and other popular entertainments of October 1817, for example, tickets were priced at three shillings (boxes), two shillings (pits) and one shilling.
The prices were increased for more sophisticated (and expensive) presentations, such as the Italian operas of September 1818 (see p.70), when tickets were priced at seven shillings and sixpence (boxes), four shillings (pit and circle) and two shillings and sixpence (gallery).\footnote{104}

The range of prices at both theatres allowed poorer elements of the population to attend if they wished. In the mid-1820s, the cheapest tickets for the (upper) gallery at the Theatre Royal were still only one shilling, although complaints about the behaviour of this section of the audience, in particular on an occasion when more than verbal abuse was hurled by them into other parts of the house, led to the closure of this area in December 1826.\footnote{106}

Tickets to other forms of popular entertainment, notably those of an equestrian nature, were generally cheaper than those of more serious substance. During the 1790s, the appeal of these events among a wide cross-section of the population was reflected in the range of prices offered. In 1799, for example, entrance to the Edinburgh Circus was fixed at three shillings (boxes), two shillings (pit) or one shilling (gallery).\footnote{107} The same admission rates applied almost twenty years later for a similar entertainments given at the Olympic Circus in North College Street. Performances of the latter were presented "every lawful day" over a period of almost three months,\footnote{108} and the spectacular content and low admission price brought forward sustained support from the local population (see p.93).

Dancing assemblies and balls were the most popular form of public entertainment in Edinburgh throughout the period, and particularly after the opening of the new Assembly Rooms in 1787. Assemblies were held at the George Street Rooms every Thursday evening during an extended winter season which, by the early 19th century, began in late November and finished in May. In addition, numerous benefit events were held on other evenings during the second half of the period, such as that for Nathaniel Gow, whose band provided the music for dancing on most occasions until the early-1820s (see p.145). As well as the dancing, card assemblies were held...
on Monday evenings throughout the same duration. Assemblies, promenades and balls were held also at Corri's Rooms, and at other, smaller venues such as the Assembly Rooms in George Square and Smart's Rooms in Thistle Street.

The price of admission to these events increased little during the early decades of the 19th century: for example, a single ticket to the regular Thursday assemblies in George Street remained at five shillings 109. The same charge was made for tickets to the various benefit evenings, for example that held for Gow in February 1805 110. As with the city's concerts, a discount could be obtained by subscribing to a series of assemblies, for example a subscription ticket for the twelve assemblies of 1805 reduced the cost for each evening to three shillings and sixpence for gentlemen and about two shillings and sixpence for ladies 111.

The prices for similar events at Corri's Rooms were generally lower than those at the Assembly Rooms, particularly during the early-1800s when Corri sought to establish his premises as the city's premier place of fashionable entertainment. Thus, a single ticket for the Rooms' opening ball in January 1803 cost just four shillings 112; a price which matched that charged by Urbani for the opening concert of his series on the same evening (see Table I.2, pp.35-6). This rate was maintained until 1809, when it was raised by a shilling to equal that of the Assembly Rooms 113.

Ticket Prices for Events during the Race Week

During the annual Race Week (usually held in July or August) and particularly before about 1815, tickets for the city's entertainments were usually cheaper than in the more fashionable winter season: for example, Incledon's quasi-musical entertainment Hospitality, or the Harvest Home at Corri's Rooms in July 1806 could be enjoyed for three shillings 114, as could the vocal concert given by Mr Hill and Mrs Atkins "from the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden" in August of the previous year 115.
Tickets for Corri's Card and Dancing Assemblies during the 1806 Race Week were priced at three shillings (with a six-assembly subscription fixed at twelve shillings 116) and although admission to the Dancing Assemblies rose to four shillings in 1808, this was still cheaper than the standard winter season entrance.

SUMMARY

Following the demise of the Edinburgh Musical Society, concert promoters in the city were faced with the problem of surrounding their events with a semblance of social exclusivity, while attracting as large an audience as possible. Clearly, the upper classes, from which support for concerts in the city was traditionally drawn, would not wish to mix within an audience containing elements of the lower class population which it did not consider respectable. Similarly, the middle classes would be attracted to concerts supported by the nobility and gentry, to whom they socially aspired. The subscription system was, in part, an attempt to achieve a balance, and after 1798, the price of a season's subscription was the main factor in controlling the "quality" of the audience. Substantial discounts were offered to those who were able to pay and attend a series of concerts, while the cost of individual tickets was fixed at a rate which matched or slightly exceeded the highest price generally charged for other entertainments.

Within this system, elements of competition occasionally led to modest reductions in ticket prices. In 1803, for example, the price of tickets for Urbani's concerts undercut those of his rival Corri. However, in addition to maintaining the "select" character of their audiences, impresarios could financially ill afford to risk a reduction in their receipts through lower ticket prices. Although the price of single concert tickets (whether bought individually or as part of a subscription) remained fairly constant during the early decades of the 19th century, the market supported substantially higher charges in a number of exceptional instances, the most obvious
being the city's musical festivals, which drew their audiences also from the whole of Scotland and the parts of northern England. In addition, a few celebrity performers commanded higher charges, notably Angelica Catalani.

During the early 19th century, concerts were among the most expensive form of public entertainment in Edinburgh. The standard price of a single ticket (five shillings, rising to seven by about 1830) was greater than that generally charged by circuses and other equestrian entertainments, and equalled that of the most expensive seats at the theatre. Although the market was regularly able to support a comparable entrance charge for the fashionable weekly dancing assemblies, demand for concerts was considerably less reliable.

THE IMPRESARIOS: SUBSCRIPTION CONCERTS IN EDINBURGH c.1799-1830

Between 1799-1816, subscription concert series in the Scottish capital were organised by leading local musicians. Of these impresarios, Natale Corri was the most important, although Pietro Urbani and John Mather were active in the years 1803 and 1811-1812, respectively. After 1816, regular, large-scale concerts in the city were controlled by purposely-created organisations (see p.81), however, during many seasons between 1816 and the early-1830s, Felix Yaniewicz presented concert series too.

The professional lives of Edinburgh's early 19th-century impresarios shared three common features which were advantageous in concert promotion. Firstly, each was an accomplished musician and took responsibility for directing the performances: Corri and Mather from the piano, Yaniewicz from the violin and Urbani as a vocal soloist (although the method he used in directing his oratorio concerts is not known). Secondly, each was involved in music retailing and probably obtained at least some of the necessary
financial backing or security for loans to mount their concerts from this source. The business activities of Corri (principally in the firm of Corri & Co.), Urbani (in Urbani & Liston) and Mather are detailed within Chapter III. Yaniewicz's retailing interests were in the Liverpool-based firms of Yaniewicz & Green (c.1807-1811) and Yaniewicz and Weiss (c.1816-1824) 117. Thirdly, as a result of their performing and commercial activities (and, in the case of Corri, through members of his family), each established connections with celebrities of London's concert life and the important figures of the English capital's music trade. Such associations were necessary both in terms of raising additional money for each season and in persuading leading performers, who were often personal acquaintances, to travel to Edinburgh.

The following extended survey of the activities and achievements of Edinburgh's concert impresarios during the period is divided into two main sections. The first relates to the decade following the failure of the Musical Society, and principally concerns Corri's concerts, although Urbani's rival series of 1803 is also assessed. The second covers the period from 1811-1830, during which concert life in Edinburgh became more diversified.

**Corri's Subscription Concerts 1799-1810**

During the decade following the demise of the Musical Society, Edinburgh's regular concert series were promoted by Natale Corri. Although the 1799 season of subscription concerts was advertised under the title "Professional Concert" (see p.10), Corri was the leading figure in their organisation, and, from 1800, his winter concert series were advertised as "Corri's Subscription Concerts"118. As an impresario, the source of Corri's financial backing is not clear, although it seems likely that any funds raised through his retailing activities were used in the promotion of concerts. The Broadwood firm's records reveal also that Corri periodically borrowed money, for example in 1802:
at the same time while we are on the subject and as you introduce it by saying that if we choose you will borrow more money of us, we will observe that we ever have been liberal of our credit, indeed too much so as we believe all will agree, and you shall particularly believe that we are again willing to give you credit to any reasonable amount as far as we can do so with safety from your connection with other matters, that we shall expect you will for what ever you have, pay us at the end of a twelve month, as all others do, or should do who deal with us....[119] [1802]

A later letter from James Broadwood to Corri mentioned a Mr Coll as the Edinburgh impresario's guarantor and expresses Broadwood's reluctance to allow his northern customer more credit: "for we do not think it prudent, hearing of the number of irons you have in the fire, to credit you beyond what we should have done when that we have executed the present order" [120]. One suspects that, in addition to direct loans, the extended periods of credit which Corri enjoyed from Broadwood served also to finance his concerts (see p.282).

It is difficult to assess the degree of financial success achieved by Corri as an impresario, although a distinguished Edinburgh contemporary, Sir Walter Scott, referred to the subject in a celebrated passage:

....yet who can warrant the continuance of popularity? Old Nattali Corri, who entered into many projects and could never set the sails of a windmill to catch the aura popularis, used to say he believed that were he to turn baker, it would put bread out of fashion. I have had the better luck to dress my sails to every wind, and so blow on, good wind, and spin round whirligig. [121]

Anecdotal evidence from other sources, such as Kay's Edinburgh Portraits [122], suggests also that Corri was manifestly unsuccessful in his commercial affairs. However, although he undoubtedly suffered serious setbacks with alarming frequency, the continuity of his activities both as a retailer and concert impresario in Scotland indicates that his efforts did not culminate universally in failure.
This survey of subscription concerts in Edinburgh between 1799-1810 begins by outlining the length and scale of Corri's various annual seasons. The performers engaged are then identified, beginning with the celebrities (chiefly from London), followed by the locally-based instrumentalists. Within each section, relevant details relating to Urbani's rival series of 1803 are included.

The Subscription Concert Season 1799-1810

During this period, the number and frequency of concerts presented within winter subscription series varied considerably. Although this often reflected the success or otherwise of the preceding season's concerts, public interest sometimes shifted unpredictably from one year to the next, dictated chiefly by opinions as to which public entertainment was thought most fashionable to attend at the time. A vicious circle was created: without a substantial advance subscription, an impresario could not risk engaging star performers (and particularly vocalists) from London, and without these his programmes lacked sufficient celebrity and variety to encourage the public to subscribe.

On a similar plan to the concerts proposed but abandoned by Edinburgh's principal musicians in January 1798 (see p.9), the Professional Concert's 1799 subscription season consisted of eight fortnightly performances, beginning on January 23rd and finishing on May 1st 123. Three further concerts were presented in late-July during the Race Week, when the city's various public entertainments traditionally re-opened to coincide with the annual horse races held on Leith sands. The same number and frequency of concerts was repeated in 1800 124, but changes were made in subsequent years.

One suspects that, during these initial seasons, the concerts were presented over a long time span for reasons of tradition (i.e. in imitation of the system long-practised by the city's Musical Society). However, two significant disadvantages to this practice
were encountered in the early 19th century. Firstly, it was difficult to sustain public interest and support over the extended period of concerts and subsequent benefit evenings. Secondly, it made the engagement of star performers from London less commercially viable since few would be willing to undertake the arduous journey to Edinburgh and to reside there for a considerable time in order to make concert appearances at fortnightly intervals. The latter point is illustrated by the absence of celebrities from London in the winter concerts of 1799 and 1800 (see p.53).

After 1800, the length of the winter concert season decreased to about three months, beginning in early January. Although during the 1799 season, concerts took place on Tuesday evenings, after this date Friday became the usual day - avoiding a clash with other entertainments in the city, notably the theatre and the Assemblies in George Street. In general, from 1801, six concerts were presented within each series. This was the pattern for Corri's concerts in 1801-1803, 1805, and 1807-1808, and for Urbani's series of 1803. However, the uncertainties of concert promotion are well-illustrated by events during the intervening years.

Following his survival of Urbani's challenge (see pp.49-52), Corri proposed a series of eight concerts for 1804. The increase in the number of events was probably prompted as much by Corri's desire to make full use of his newly-opened concert rooms as it was by his confidence in the support of the public following Urbani's failure. However, judging from the return to a six-concert scheme in 1805, the experiment did not prove successful.

The unpredictability of public support for concerts is further illustrated by Corri's failure to secure a sufficient subscription for a series in 1806, despite the success of his 1805 concerts:

EDINBURGH CONCERTS / Mr CORRI, extremely sorry that, not being able to obtain such a subscription for the Concerts as to admit, in any degree, his running the risk of engaging any Performer from London this season; and having found, from past experience, that without the steady support of a respectable Subscription, it is impossible to afford the great expense of
London engagements. He therefore most respectfully acquaints the Public, That there will be no Regular Subscription Concerts at his Rooms this Season.

After having built a Suite of Rooms, superior to any in the Kingdom for Concerts, Mr CORRI feels the deepest regret at being under the necessity of giving up, even for a season, this truly elegant entertainment, which has for so long been the favourite amusement of the Scottish Metropolis. It has been his constant endeavour to provide as much novelty as to render the Concerts as perfect as possible. The distance from London renders it a matter of the utmost difficulty to bring any Performer from thence at an inclement season of the year, more especially, as it is well known that every performer of any celebrity is then generally engaged at very high terms in London, such as Mr Corri cannot venture to offer without a previous Subscription....

The failure was a serious blow not only to Corri and Edinburgh's musical public, but also to the local musicians regularly employed for the performances, as illustrated in Stabilini's announcement of a benefit evening that year (see p.101). Corri's disappointment was partly assuaged by a successful benefit concert which, in an attempt to shame the public into action, received an extended notice in the local press:

On Friday last, at Mr and Mrs Corri's Concert, the Rooms were perfectly crowded, a tribute to the approbation which the public willingly pays to the professional and private character of these performers. But it is with regret we observe, that a few Benefit Concerts are to perform the whole of that species of Entertainments for this season in Edinburgh. Music was the first of the fine arts which met with particular encouragement in this city, and formed a sort of charm which, nearly a century ago, bound together the elegant and opulent among our forefathers; we could then even boast of composers among our Nobility. But now, when wealth, and the enjoyments which attend it have increased tenfold, that delightful entertainment is the first to want patronage. A private individual, relying on the taste and the encouragement of the Public, has, at great expense, built a suite of Rooms for Concerts, which would do honour to the Metropolis of this Kingdom, but we are sorry to learn, that such a subscription as would enable him to engage, as usual, the first rate performers, cannot be obtained. A very few subscribers, at a guinea or two each, would be sufficient to rescue us from the reproach of degenerating from our Ancestors, of having lost our taste for Music, or our spirit for encouraging it.
Although, in reaction, the 1807 series was more extensive than most of those in earlier years, including the appearance of a choir trained by Corri for the performance of works by Handel and Haydn (see p.194), the later years of the decade witnessed a continuing decline in public support for concert series on the traditional pattern (i.e. performed by a band of local players with solo items from the principal resident musicians and a few imported soloists). In 1808, Corri's deteriorating financial circumstances led him to impose a reduction in his payments to musicians, which induced a predictable response from a senior and long-standing employee, and an unseemly public argument between them within the local press:

Mr CORRI is fully aware how little interest can in general be felt on the subject of a private dispute between Mr STABILINI and him; but the impropriety of bringing it before the public, rests entirely with Mr Stabilini....

When it is known, that Mr CORRI's Concerts for some years past, have hardly yielded more than was barely sufficient to repay their expenses, and were actually, during different seasons, kept up at a considerable loss to Mr Corri, the Public will be satisfied that the reduction in salaries (not exactly as stated by Mr Stabilini) and not to Mr Stabilini alone, but to the other resident Performers also, was a matter not of selfishness, but of absolute necessity. 133

The unwillingness of Edinburgh's public adequately to support Corri's initiatives led him again to threaten the abandonment of his concerts in 1809 134. Despite a positive, initial response, the lack of public support resulted in a last-minute reduction in the planned number of concerts from six to three 135.

Unfortunately, even this reduction failed to focus the support of the public and ensure that the concerts at least broke even. They suffered once again at the hands of less elevated entertainments:

The Concerts having suffered very considerably in consequence of the numerous private parties given on the same nights, Mr CORRI has been advised to alter the time of the beginning of his Concerts to Half-past-Seven o'Clock, instead of Eight and hopes that this alteration will meet the approbation of the Subscribers and the Public. 136
As the fortunes of his various subscription series declined (beginning with the failure of the 1806 season), Corri diversified his activities. In 1807, in addition to his winter season, Corri was involved in the two-concert subscription series given by the soprano Angelica Catalani with an entourage of musicians from London. For this party, Edinburgh was the most distant destination in a tour of British cities which had begun following the end of the London concert season in April. The group had met with considerable success (which was centred on the popularity of Catalani), and their arrival in the Scottish capital was delayed due to an additional concert demanded of them in Dublin 137. The celebrity of Catalani was reflected in, what was for Edinburgh, the unprecedented high price of tickets (see Table 1.2, p.34). The other principal performers included Felix Yaniewicz, who led the orchestra and played violin concertos, and two singers from the King's Theatre, London, Messrs. Rodevino and Morelli 138.

Aside from presiding at the piano, Corri's role in promoting these concerts, which were held in his concert rooms, is not clear. Since the delayed arrival of the party had been announced in the Edinburgh press by Yaniewicz, it appears that the leader had some involvement in the management of the scheme at this time. More is known concerning Corri's involvement within a subsequent venture.

In April 1808, after the close of his winter season of concerts in Edinburgh, and despite his extensive retailing commitments in the city, Corri joined Catalani's party as pianist for another nationwide tour 139. This again concluded with a visit to Edinburgh in the autumn. The programme was even more ambitious than that of 1807, presenting singers from the King's Theatre, London, in the season's most successful Italian operas. In Edinburgh, four performances of "Grand Serious and Comic Operas" took place at the Theatre Royal between 12th-19th November 140, including the first act of Rossini's Semiramide 141.

Although it is difficult to establish the nature and extent of Corri's financial involvement in Catalani's Edinburgh concerts of
1807 and 1808, the situation surrounding the four winter concerts of 1810, in which the singer again starred, is clearer. Since Corri's name appeared at the head of advertisements inviting subscriptions, and, after Catalani's benefit concert, one was given in his honour, he had undoubtedly acted as impresario. The performances were given at the Assembly Rooms, Corri's Rooms having been converted into a theatre.

Unlike Catalani's earlier appearances in the Scottish capital, those of 1810 took place during the traditional winter season and were not part of a wider, national tour, although she did briefly leave the city for three concerts on consecutive days in Glasgow. Following the pattern of earlier years, Corri's other principal soloists were also from London; the harpist Miss Dale and her pianist brother, Joseph (who were appearing in the city after an absence of some nine years, see p.110) and a vocal ensemble consisting of Miss Davenport and Messrs Jones, Kent and Bond which sang popular glees in each programme. A notable exception to this pattern was the appearance of the Edinburgh-based, blind organist James Alexander as soloist in a concerto by Handel during the fourth concert. However, it was the popularity of Catalani among Edinburgh audiences which ensured the success of the series, and encouraged Corri to increase the scale of his concerts the following season.

Performers at Edinburgh's Subscription Concerts 1799-1810

Information concerning the number of players in Corri's orchestras (or bands) and their identities was not generally included in concert advertisements. Instead phrases such as "the Band will be full and numerous" were commonly inserted following the names of the principal performers. Clearly, the size of the orchestra was dictated both by the amount of money available and the number of resident players of sufficient ability who were willing to participate. There is no evidence to suggest that gentlemen amateur musicians took part in Corri's concerts, although in view of the long-standing tradition
of their involvement in the orchestra at Saint Cecilia's Hall, it is possible that a few did so.

Occasionally, in appealing for subscriptions, advertisements presented details concerning the orchestra. This occurred only in circumstances when the size of the ensemble was of particular significance, as was the case with Corri's 1801 series. These concerts featured the first full-scale Edinburgh performances of the Haydn symphonies performed in chamber versions by Salomon during his visit to the city six months earlier (see p.109). Corri was thus clearly anxious to capitalise on the popularity of these works and to stress the grandeur and novelty of his forthcoming performances:

The Band will consist of 8 Violins, 2 Tenors, 2 Violoncellos and 2 Double Basses, 2 Oboes, 1 Flute, 2 Bassoons, 2 Horns, 2 Trumpets and Kettle Drums. The Public will thus have an opportunity (for the first time in this City) of hearing the full Pieces complete in all their parts, in a new and extended Orchestra built for the purpose. 148

Another season in which details relating to orchestral players were presented to the public was that of 1803. The rivalry between Corri and Urbani led each to stress the supremacy of his concerts in every detail, including the names of many of the orchestral players who were booked to appear, although neither issued a complete list. The unwelcome prospect of having to import players to fill their orchestras encouraged the impresarios to place pressures on the loyalties of key local musicians and precipitated a series of acrimonious public exchanges, relating both to which players they had engaged and to their relative abilities. These exchanges provide unique insights into the business of concert promotion during the period.

The impression gained from the series of events, as recorded in local press advertisements between November 1802 and January 1803, is that Urbani's tactics in attempting to gain the services of local players and break Corri's monopoly as a concert promoter were often less than scrupulous. Initially, he claimed that Corri was planning to dispense with the services of most local players for his
forthcoming series and use London musicians in their place, and that his (i.e. Urbani’s) decision to mount a rival series was prompted, in part, by a desire to protect the livelihoods of local performers. Corri denied the charge and publicly offered work to each of his players from the previous season:

Reports having been industriously propagated however, that Mr Corri was to bring all his performers from LONDON to the EXCLUSION of those in Edinburgh, he thinks it proper to mention, That such reports are entirely destitute of foundation. If any of these performers have entertained doubts of his intentions, while he was necessarily absent in London, he takes this opportunity of offering each of them, the very same engagements as last year; and should there be any who should not wish to continue, he requests that they should signify their intentions to him within a fortnight...  

In an unconvincing response, Urbani again attempted to alienate these musicians from their regular employer, and to win public support for his venture by appearing as a champion of the oppressed. In this pursuit, he used allusions to contemporary events in Europe, crudely equating Corri's methods with those of Napoleon Bonaparte:

Something in the stile of a Consular Edict having been inserted in the newspapers by Mr CORRI, demanding the Musicians residing in this City to come forward within a fortnight and declare whether they mean to accept his terms, they must take the liberty to tell him that his conduct has now rendered it impossible. From the handsome encouragement which the Public has afforded to previous musical performances, and the strenuous exertions on the part of the performers to aid Mr CORRI in the management, it was but natural to expect that they would have been treated with some degree of liberality, as well as respect - On the contrary, however, by his endeavours to squeeze their salaries more and more - neglecting to engage performers of real merit - threatening some with exclusion, and making proposals to others, at a time when they could only be considered in the light of an insult, they must certainly be excused for taking every laudable step to do justice to themselves and their families.

Once more, Urbani's claims were decisively dismissed, this time by an advertisement from the supposedly aggrieved musicians themselves, although one suspects that the cost of publishing such an extensive response had been met by their employer:
TO THE PUBLIC / In Mr URBANI's advertisement of his proposed Subscription Concerts, inserted in the newspapers of the 15th, we were not a little surprised to observe the following paragraph: "Something in the stile of...now rendered it impossible". / As Mr Urbani, in the above paragraph speaks not for himself alone, but for the Musicians of the City, and makes them declare that it is impossible for them, to accept Mr Corri's terms, we feel ourselves thus called upon respectfully to inform the Public, That we never, directly or indirectly, authorised Mr Urbani to speak for us, far less to make the above declaration. On the contrary, Mr Corri shall certainly have every assistance we can give to his concerts on the Friday evenings - And we owe it to him to declare, that we never have experienced any of the illiberal treatment so strongly imputed to him in the concluding paragraph of Mr URBANI's advertisement. We have reason to believe that such of the usual performers as are at present absent from Town will be ready to make a similar declaration. / G. SCHETKY / RICHd. BERNARD / JOHN BARNARD / G. MUSCHETT / J. THOMSON / ROBt. ROSS / NATHANIEL GOW / JOHN CLARKSON Jun. / WILLIAM NAPIER / ALEXr NAPIER / CHAS. STEWART / FRANCIS GARDINER / C.F. HARTMANN, Master, and the rest of Lord Dalkeith's Band. 151

The named musicians who signed this declaration were chiefly string players: Bernard, Barnard, Ross, Gow, Clarkson and Stewart were violinists; Schetky, the city's principal 'cellist and Thomson, the only resident double bass player. The services of the wind and brass players: George Muschett (clarinet and flute); Alexander Napier (clarinet); William Napier (Trumpet) and Francis Gardiner (flute) were supplemented by military bandsmen, as had formerly been the practice at Saint Cecilia's Hall.

Having failed in his attempt to secure the services of these players, Urbani sought to denigrate their abilities and stress the quality of the few local musicians whom he had engaged:

....from an advertisement which appeared in this paper on Thursday last, Mr Urbani regrets much to find that some offence has been taken at his passage by the term "principal musicians". Mr URBANI understands the solo instrumental performers as Messrs. Alday, Stabilini, Bird, the two Seybolds, Fraser, Barbieri, and others; with the exception of Mr Schetky, however, the appellation would certainly be improperly applied to the persons who subscribe that advertisement, however respectable they may be as individuals, and useful in the subordinate parts of an orchestra. As Mr Urbani has neither time to waste nor inclination to engage in ridiculous controversies, he must once and for all observe that from the
childish method which the Dictator of that advertisement has adopted, to gloss over the facts which were of real importance, that the duty he owes himself, and the respect he has for the Public and for the performers, with whom he is engaged, he will not in future condescend to pay the slightest attention to any insinuations that may hereafter proceed from that quarter... 152

Corri had not only won the public argument, but more significantly had retained the services of most local performers. A curious claim from Urbani that the leader of Corri's concerts, Stabilini, had agreed to appear in his series was quickly refuted by the publication of a denial from the city's principal violinist 153. By the end of November 1802, Urbani's problems in finding singers and instrumentalists for his concerts remained unresolved; his predicament was satirised in an advertisement by a musician from the Corri camp, the double bass player, John Thomson:

NEW MUSIC by J. THOMSON .... Soon will be Published / An ENTIRE NEW PIECE of MUSIC entitled / The MUSICAL DESPERADOES / Consisting of Recitative, Song and Chorus with accompaniments for the ORGAN, VIOLIN, VIOLONCELLO, HARP PIANO FORTE, OBOE, no DOUBLE BASS / As the above PIECE is intended to be brought forward in the course of JANUARY next, Mr THOMSON will give the most liberal encouragement to PRINCIPAL MUSICIANS / N.B. Those of "Edinburgh" will be preferred, particularly the CHORAL DEPARTMENT. 154

Ironically, in view of Urbani's initial claim that his concerts were intended to protect the livelihoods of local musicians, he was eventually forced to look elsewhere for many players. To this end, the leader of his orchestra, John Alday, was hurriedly dispatched to London in December 155. Details of some principal players and singers engaged for the Assembly Rooms concerts appeared subsequently in the press, although these did not include the names or details of the orchestral performers 156. The heavy losses which Urbani sustained from the 1803 venture were no doubt greatly exacerbated by his need to recruit so many performers from outside Edinburgh.

Throughout his period as an impresario, Corri was able to rely on the services of local professional instrumental musicians to form an orchestra of adequate abilities. However, for the performance of
choral works, it was necessary for him, as it had been for Urbani, to train a choir of his own: despite past attempts to raise the standards of choral performance (see pp.188-93), Edinburgh did not boast a suitable, ready-made ensemble. Corri first announced plans for performing oratorios following the public apathy shown to his 1806 subscription and its subsequent abandonment. It was probably hoped that the new venture might arouse public enthusiasm for concerts in the Scottish capital. However, little is known of the choir which performed in choruses in some of Corri's concerts of 1807\(^{157}\) and 1808\(^{158}\), or its subsequent fate.

**Resident Solo Performers in Edinburgh's Concert Series 1799-1810**

The locally-based musicians who regularly appeared as soloists in public subscription concerts (the "principal performers") during the early years of the 19th century had mostly been engaged in a similar capacity by the city's Musical Society during the 1780s and 1790s. Stabilini and Schetky had been invited to Edinburgh by the Musical Society to serve, respectively, as its leader and principal 'cellist\(^{159}\). The singers, Sophia Corri and Pietro Urbani had settled in the Scottish capital for similar reasons. With Natale Corri, these were the founding figures of the Professional Concert\(^{160}\). In addition, the oboist, Thomas Fraser, who had also appeared regularly at Saint Cecilia's Hall, as well as being principal oboist in the band of the Theatre Royal, featured as a soloist during the early years of subscription concerts in Edinburgh, for example in the 1801 series\(^{161}\).

Reflecting further the homespun nature of performances during Corri's early seasons, the opening concert of the 1800 Winter season featured a bassoonist, Preumayr, as the guest soloist. The novelty of the instrument was its chief attraction:

PUBLIC CONCERT / GEORGE STREET, ASSEMBLY ROOMS / The Subscribers and the Public are respectfully informed, that the first Concert will be on Friday the 24th curt....Among other
performers on the first night, a very eminent Performer on the Fagotto (MR BRIMAIRE) will perform a Solo Concerto. The instrument is not known in this Country as a solo instrument; but the Subscribers and the Public will find it an instrument well worth their attention when performed in that style... 162

Little is known of Preumayr, although it seems most likely that he was a locally-based military bandsman. He subsequently appeared with two of his brothers at Fraser's benefit concert in April 1801, performing a "Trio for three bassoons in which will be introduced a favourite Scotch Air - by Preumayr" 163. After this date, the novelty value of the solo bassoon in Edinburgh appears to have been exhausted.

The increased demand for solo performers created by Urbani's rival series of concerts, provided an opportunity for other local musicians to appear in this context. With the exception of Fraser, Corri secured the services of the principal resident soloists (Stabilini, Schetky and Mrs Corri 164), leaving Urbani to search for new talent 165. As a result, Urbani's list of soloists included many names unknown to Edinburgh's musical public, for example one of his own singing pupils, Miss Mary Ann Stewart Hogg, as well as a number of music teachers who had not long been in the city. The latter included father and son harpists, Philip Seybold (senior and junior), Thomas Bird ('cellist in the Theatre Royal band), Charles Barbieri (pianist) and James Alexander (a blind organist and pianist) 166. Although Bird and Alexander appeared as soloists in local concerts after 1803 (for example, Alexander performed in Catalani's fourth subscription concert of 1810, see p.52), none became established in this role on a regular basis. Barbieri quitted the capital city of Scotland for that of Imperial Russia in 1806 (see p.142), while within a year of the death of Seybold senior in 1803, Philip Seybold and his family had left Edinburgh and probably returned to London (see pp.168-9).

The role of Seybold senior within Urbani's venture is not clear, although according to at least one 19th century account, he was a prime mover in the scheme:
In 1802 he [Urbani] and the late Mr. Sybold, the composer and harp-player, engaged a numerous and respectable band of vocal and instrumental performers from various parts of the kingdom, that the inhabitants of Edinburgh and Glasgow might be gratified with hearing some of the best oratorios of Handel &c. This concern, though deserving of encouragement, did not succeed, and the affairs of both contractors were ruined. Sybold died that spring of a broken heart...167

The distressed circumstances of Seybold's widow and family, as described in the advertisement for their benefit concert at the Assembly Rooms in April 1803 (see p.169), suggests that the deceased musician had suffered a considerable and recent financial setback - providing circumstantial evidence that he was commercially involved in Urbani's scheme.

For Urbani, the animosity created with other professional musicians through his 1803 concerts resulted not only in financial ruin, but also in his exclusion from subsequent seasons of Corri's concerts and virtual isolation as a performer in the city. After 1803, even his annual benefit concerts were given without the assistance of the city's principal musicians who had sided with Corri. In response, he looked for success in other areas, notably the publication of two further volumes of arrangements of Scottish songs (see Table V.1, p.338). However, such projects were insufficient to provide a financial recovery. By 1806 the music retailing firm in which Urbani was a partner (Urbani & Liston) had ceased trading (see Table III.1, p.208); he subsequently moved to Dublin where, destitute, he died in 1816.168

Celebrity Performers from London who appeared in Edinburgh's Concerts 1799-1810

Edinburgh's failure either to produce, attract or retain resident performers of soloist calibre during the early 19th century increased further the practice of employing celebrities from London. Although the high fees demanded, particularly by singers, greatly
increased the cost of promoting concerts, without the attraction of a star performer, impresarios were unlikely to encourage sufficient public interest to raise an adequate level of subscription.

During the first decade of the 19th century, Edinburgh's concert seasons were distinguished by appearances from many of the finest London performers, both vocal and instrumental. However, the series of 1799 and 1800 did not feature such celebrities. During these years, the novelty of the concerts themselves was sufficient to maintain an adequate level of public patronage, in addition to which there probably were insufficient funds to finance the engagement of foreign stars.

The winter season of 1801 saw a departure from the low key character and presentation of concerts in the Scottish capital which had prevailed for almost a decade. In its place, a more lavish and adventurous approach was attempted. The impetus for change was created by the visit of the celebrated London impresario and violinist, Johann Peter Salomon and his protege, the violinist and pianist, George Frederick Pinto, in July 1801. Their concerts aroused great enthusiasm in the city, particularly the performances of Haydn's "London" symphonies, which were being heard in Scotland for the first time (albeit in a chamber version). Following an arrangement with Salomon, Corri's 1801 concerts featured the first Scottish performances of a number of these symphonies in their full scoring. The popularity of these works, particularly the "Surprise Symphony", led to their recurrent appearance in the city's concert programmes for over a decade (see p.119).

Encouraged by the interest created by Salomon's concerts, Corri engaged two London performers who had appeared in Edinburgh during the previous year, for his 1801 winter season: Pinto, and the harpist, Miss Dale (see p.110). Corri's original choice as harp soloist, his niece, Sophia Dussek, had withdrawn at short notice, and since Dale was unavailable for the entire series, the services of another London-based player, Mademoiselle du Parcq, were enlisted for the remaining concerts (see pp.166-7). The novelty of the harp had
created much local interest in the Scottish capital at this time, and Corri was aware of the need to pander to current fashions and novelties in order to maintain public interest in his concerts. Du Parcq appeared subsequently in all six concerts during the 1802 season. In addition to these instrumentalists, the Durham tenor, Mr Friend was engaged for the 1801 concerts. Although none of these soloists remained in Edinburgh for the entire season of six concerts, at least one of them appeared on each evening:

NEW SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT / ASSEMBLY ROOMS, GEORGE STREET / MR CORRI begs leave to return his warmest thanks to the Nobility and Gentry who have honoured him with their Subscription to his Concerts which will open on Friday the 23rd inst. Master Pinto will appear at the first 4 Concerts, Miss Dale at the first 2, and Mr Friend at the last 4....

Following the favourable reception given to his 1801 winter concerts, Corri engaged one of the nation's leading sopranos, Gertrude Mara, for his Race Week season in July, and the success of these concerts led to Mara's re-engagement for the ensuing winter concerts (1802).

The pattern established during 1801 was repeated throughout the decade. Corri engaged performers on three levels: firstly an orchestra of local musicians (the size of which remained fairly constant at between 20-25 players); secondly a few local solo performers, the instrumental performers of which also played in the band; thirdly, a small number of celebrity soloists from London - the "flagship" performers of each season. The quality and success of the performers in this third category was the single most important factor in determining the success of a concert series:

In short, no expense will be spared to render the Concerts superior to any which he has hitherto had the honour of conducting, and, he may add without vanity, that no Concert, even in London itself, can boast of greater or more unrivalled excellence in the Principal performers. Two or more of these will make their appearance at each Concert, and the Songs, Symphonies, Concerts &c will be different each night.
The London performers often included both a singer and an instrumentalist to add variety to programmes. They were usually engaged by Corri during his trips to London in August or September to select stock for his music shop (see p.254). Corri was fortunate in being able to call upon the musical services of members of his family: notably his wife, brother (Domenico) and niece (Sophia Dussek).

Table I.3 (see pp.63-4) lists the names of the celebrity performers who appeared in Edinburgh's subscription concerts during the first decade of the 19th century. Their instruments and years of engagement are also given (an asterisk indicates that the performances took place during the Race Week season). Unless stated, these performers were based in London and their Edinburgh concerts were part of winter series promoted by Corri.

Urbani's need for vocal soloists to perform in his 1803 oratorios and his failure to secure the services of many local principal instrumentalists resulted in the engagement of an unprecedented number of musicians, as shown in Table I.3. The quality of these performers was stressed chiefly through their associations with the concerts of other cities:

Mr Urbani now has the honour of laying a list of some of the Principal Performers before the Public. / Direction of the Oratorios and Concerts, Mr URBANI / PRINCIPAL VOCAL PERFORMERS / MISS WATERS - The public papers have so often complemented this young lady on her surprizing vocal abilities, that no eulogium from Mr Urbani is required - Her voice is a sweet Counter-Tenor, very like Madame Banti's, and of an amazing compass - She has been principal singer at Covent Garden Theatre for several years and performed with Madame Mara, Billington, Storace &c. with the greatest applause....Mr AITON and Mr BROUN, Contra-Tenors, Mr EVANCE, Principal Tenor and Mr RADCLIFFE, Principal Bass, from England (These Gentlemen have performed for many years past at the Principal Oratorios in England) / Mr MAXWELL SHAW from Aberdeen and Mr D. WILSON, Tenors....
Table I.3  Visiting Soloists who appeared in Edinburgh's Subscription Concerts 1801-1810

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soloists</th>
<th>Instrument(s)</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Master Pinto</td>
<td>violin &amp; piano</td>
<td>1801 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1803 176</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1805 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Dale</td>
<td>pedal harp</td>
<td>1801 178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1810 179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mlle du Parcq</td>
<td>pedal harp</td>
<td>1801 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1802 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Friend (Durham)</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1801 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mdm Mara</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1801* 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1802 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr J. Mahon</td>
<td>clarinet &amp; violin</td>
<td>1802 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1804 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Alday</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>1802 187</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1803 Urbani 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Second</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1803 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Yaniewicz</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>1803 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1804 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Waters</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1803 Urbani 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Aiton</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1803 Urbani 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Brown</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1803 Urbani 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Evans</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1803 Urbani 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Radcliffe</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1803 Urbani 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr M. Shaw (Aberdeen)</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1803 Urbani 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master Augustus</td>
<td>piano</td>
<td>1803 Urbani 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Pazensky (Germany)</td>
<td>horn</td>
<td>1803 Urbani 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Bichi Lolli</td>
<td>'cello</td>
<td>1803 Urbani 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Ashe</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1804 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1805 202</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1808 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1804 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Ashe</td>
<td>flute</td>
<td>1804 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Woodman</td>
<td>voice &amp; piano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table I.3 (contd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soloists</th>
<th>Instrument(s)</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Mountain</td>
<td>clarinet</td>
<td>1804 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1808* 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Woolf</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1805 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Leo (Glasgow)</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1805 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mdm Dussek</td>
<td>harp</td>
<td>1805* 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Attwood</td>
<td>'cello</td>
<td>1805* 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Dickons</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1807 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Nicholson</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1807 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master Nicholson</td>
<td>flute</td>
<td>1807 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Nicholson</td>
<td>flute</td>
<td>1807 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Harvey</td>
<td>oboe</td>
<td>1807 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Shepley</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1808 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1808* 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1809 219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Lees</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1808 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1809 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master Gattie</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>1808 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1809 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Salmon</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1808 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1809 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Panarma</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1808* 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Young Spaniard&quot;</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>1808* 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Mountain</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1808* 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr D. Corri</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1808* 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1809* 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mdm Catalani</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1810 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Dale</td>
<td>piano</td>
<td>1810 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Davenport</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1810 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Jones</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1810 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Kent</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1810 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Bond</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>1810 236</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An association with concerts in other cities was the most common method by which the quality or reputation of visiting performers was conveyed by the press to the Edinburgh public. Corri usually outlined such details within advertisements, for example those for his 1804 and 1808 seasons:

...the following capital performers are engaged for the approaching season. / Principal Vocal Performers / Mrs ASHE from the London and Bath Concerts / Mrs CORRI & Mr WOODMAN, Tenor Singer, from the London and Bath Concerts (who will occasionally play Concertos on the Grand Piano Forte) / The celebrated Mr YANIEWICZ, Violin / Mr MOUNTAIN (from the London Concerts), ditto Mr MAHON on the Clarionet and Mr ASHE (from the Hanover Square, Opera and Bath Concerts) on the German Flute). 239

Three or more of these Performers will appear at each Concert. The very great celebrity they have obtained in the different Oratorios and Concerts in London, Bath, Liverpool, Manchester, &c. is so generally known that any eulogy from Mr Corri is altogether unnecessary. 239

The distance between Edinburgh and the other important British musical centres created practical difficulties in securing the services of leading soloists, as well as financial ones. Apart from performers on the concert "circuit", for example Catalani, who took full advantage of successful engagements and were easily persuaded to present additional concerts prior to departing for their next venue (see p.51), the hazards of journeying northwards sometimes also got the better of celebrities and delayed their arrival:

SECOND GRAND CONCERT.... Mr Corri has the honour of informing the Subscribers and the Public.... of his Second Concert.... when he has every reason to expect the first performance of / MADAME MARA / Who, though she set out from Bath on the 7th instant and made every effort in her power to get to Edinburgh for the first Concert, has been unfortunately delayed by snow since Thursday last at Belford.... 240

Mr PINTO, owing to some accident, did not arrive in time for the Concert, and the disappointment was certainly much felt. Mr CORRI, however, deserves great credit, for endeavouring to compensate for it, by bringing forward a new Performer, Mr LEO, came from Glasgow, on a day's notice, for the purpose of performing in Mr PINTO's place. 241
Subscription Concert Series in Edinburgh 1811-1830

Between 1811 and 1830, annual concert series run on a subscription basis in Edinburgh were promoted by three impresarios: Natale Corri, John Mather and Felix Yaniewicz. The activities of each will now be assessed.

Corri's Subscription Concerts 1811-1817

During the second decade of the 19th century, Corri promoted concerts in Edinburgh principally on the same basis as those of his earlier years, featuring a band of local instrumentalists, with some resident soloists and a few, imported celebrities (usually singers). This was the system used during his winter seasons of 1810 (four concerts 242), 1811 (six concerts 243), and 1812 (four concerts 244), and the Race Week and autumn concerts of 1812 245. However, for his Italian opera seasons of autumn 1811 246 and 1818 247, an entire company of performers was engaged from London, in the manner of Catalani visits in 1807 and 1808. In 1811 and 1812, the number and scale of concerts presented in Edinburgh suggests that a revival of public interest had taken place following a succession of disappointing years.

Encouraged by the success of 1810, Corri's winter concerts of 1811 were on a more extensive scale and included a number of celebrity vocalists. The early concerts were promoted in conjunction with the celebrated tenor, John Braham, who probably shared some of the financial responsibility; the concerts were advertised in the names of both musicians 248. Braham had been engaged at the Edinburgh Theatre Royal prior to his concerts 249, thus a saving was made on his expenses. However, he remained in Edinburgh for only a short time, leaving for London in early February 250. Following his departure, another London singer was engaged; Miss Feron - "the English Catalani" 251). She appeared in the final two scheduled
evenings and, due to public acclaim, an extra concert following her benefit. Throughout the season, the celebrity instrumentalist was the violinist, Mr Cobham, who led the band and played solo concertos.

In addition to Corri's concerts, the usual series of benefits for visiting and resident principal performers, two "Juvenile Concerts" given by the child prodigy, Mary Ann Paton (see p.113), and appearances by a visiting vocal ensemble (see p.114), 1811 also saw a concert of sacred music under the direction of the organist and music retailer, John Mather. The success of this event encouraged Mather to promote a series of concerts on the same plan during the following season (see p.72). However, unlike Urbani's scheme of 1803, Mather's 1812 concerts were not presented as a challenge to those of Corri; instead, the two impresarios co-operated in the timing of their events, to mutual advantage.

Corri's first concert of 1812 took place on January 24th, after the close of Mather's series. Unusually, the two principal celebrity performers were female harpists: Corri's niece, Sophia Dussek and Miss Melville "from the London and Bath Concerts", who appeared also as a pianist. The lack of a guest soprano soloist was a notable absence, although one of Domenico Corri's pupils, Miss Davies, appeared in the final concert of the series. The leader of these concerts, as in recent series promoted by Corri, was Felix Yaniewicz.

Unfortunately, the revival of public interest in concerts was short-lived and was mis-judged by Corri. In summer 1812, he reconverted Corri's Rooms and engaged Catalani to perform in a short series of autumn concerts. The success of these performances is not clear, but Corri did not again present a winter season of concerts in the city and his activities as an impresario greatly diminished after 1812.

Between 1813-1815, Corri's Rooms were principally used for seasons of weekly assemblies, balls, promenades and other forms of social amusement, for example, a "Grand Fete to celebrate the
delivery of Europe" in April 1814 257, and a series of public debates on matters of pith or moment (the "Forum" 258). Concerts were most commonly presented during the Race Week seasons, although these were on a smaller scale than before and featured lesser-known soloists, for example the singer, Master Mowat, in 1813. His July concert was combined with a ball, featuring Gow's band, probably in an attempt to make the occasion more attractive to an increasingly indifferent public 259. Another lesser-known soloist was the violinist, Signora Gerbini, who appeared in 1815. On this occasion her talents were presented to the public chiefly in terms of their novelty:

The Celebrated SIGNORA GERBINI / from Italy / Distinguished for her most extraordinary talents on the VIOLIN / Signora Gerbini, Pupil to the well-known PUGNANI and VIOTTI; whose abilities are so uncommon on an instrument seldom attempted by female performers, Mr CORRI is happy to have been able to engage, for the gratification of the Public of Edinburgh, and she will make her appearance at his Rooms, for ONE NIGHT only....260

Gerbini's concert was also notable as probably being the last public appearance of the city's former principal violinist, Girolamo Stabilini. An advertisement for the concert named him as leader, although his name was replaced by that of Thomas Bird for Gerbini's benefit concert three weeks later 261. Stabilini died of dropsy on July 13th 1815 262. It is not clear why he was brought out of retirement to appear on May 19th; perhaps at this unusual time of the year for a concert there was nobody else available.

Following the high level of enthusiasm for music generated in Edinburgh as a result of the 1815 musical festival, Corri was encouraged to attempt a revival of his subscription concerts:

....The Concerts will be conducted on a liberal and extensive plan; a Committee of Amateurs will be requested to give advice on all matters respecting these Concerts. As soon as a moderate Subscription is obtained, engagements will be made with Performers both here and in England. The number of Concerts will be FOUR, and will be held on Fridays, beginning from the Second Friday of January 1816. 263
The idea of creating an advisory committee of amateur musicians was a new departure for Corri the impresario. The proposal was in imitation of the system by which the 1815 festival had been organised, and was designed to create a sense of greater democracy and involvement among Edinburgh's influential musical amateurs. However, the plan did not attract sufficient public support and was subsequently abandoned.

The reasons for the failure of this scheme are not clear. It may have been that the series was scheduled to begin too soon after the festival, or, following the grandeur of the festival performances, that the content of Corri's concerts appeared rather feeble. The deteriorating economic climate could also have been a factor in restricting a more liberal reaction: the Scottish economy underwent a period of severe depression between 1816-1818. However, other related contemporary events serve to reduce the validity of these explanations. Firstly, public performances by the Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music, which were on a considerably smaller scale than those of the festival, began in January 1816 and attracted widespread public support (see pp.195-200). Secondly, although the national economy was in recession, Corri was successful in raising a sufficient subscription for a short series of "Grand Concerts" in the Race Week of 1816, despite competition from rival entertainments.

For his Race Concerts of 1816, as with those before 1813, Corri engaged a number of London-based soloists. These included the Ashe family, whose musical talents reflected the most fashionable subjects studied by amateur performers: Mrs Ashe, soprano; Mr Ashe, flautist ("Principal Flute at the King's, Hanover Square and Nobility's Concerts, London"); and their two daughters, a pianist and harpist. In these terms alone, their combined appeal extended to a wide cross-section of the city's musical public. In the absence of an available or willing local musician of sufficient talent, the leader of the orchestra and violin soloist was also imported from London; Signor Spagnoletti, "Leader of the Band at the Opera-House, London". As was also the practice in Corri's earlier concerts, the leader was
"assisted by a numerous Vocal and Instrumental Band, comprised of the resident talent" 268. However, it appears that, in spite of the quality of the principal performers, the season was not a great financial success: it was Corri's last venture as a promoter of concerts in Edinburgh.

From 1816, Corri's former role as a concert impresario in the Scottish capital was by two other bodies: firstly, the Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music, and secondly the subscription series run by Felix Yaniewicz. The concerts promoted by both differed significantly from those typical of Corri. Those of the Institution featured its own choir and an orchestra of resident instrumentalists, both professional and amateur, whilst Yaniewicz's were essentially small-scale affairs, usually featuring a chamber ensemble. The financial difficulties encountered by Corri in securing the services of expensive celebrity performers from London were thus largely by-passed by the new promoters. After 1816, Corri's role as an impresario and his method of staging concerts in Edinburgh had become outdated.

Despite these changes, Corri continued occasionally to organise seasons of opera at his concert rooms, now again converted into a theatre, the Pantheon. His association with Catalani's Italian opera troupe in 1807 had been his first venture in this field; it was followed by a visit from the company of the King's Theatre in 1811 269, which included a version of Mozart's Cosi fan Tutte 270. As one would expect, this and subsequent visits occurred either shortly before or after the London winter season - typically in October/November or July/August. In 1818 and 1819, Corri promoted performances of Italian opera, again by performers from the King's Theatre, London (the "Italian Opera House"), but including members of his own family, namely his daughters, Frances ("Signora Corri, the pupil of Madame Catalani"), who appeared in 1818 271 and 1819, and Rosalie, who appeared in 1819 272:
The 1819 season was Corri's last as an impresario in Edinburgh. At its close, the usual round of benefit concerts included an evening for his daughter, Frances - her final appearance in the city:

Signora Corri being obliged immediately afterwards to leave Edinburgh to attend her professional engagement at the Italian Opera, London, will, with her sister, on this occasion, take leave of their native Country, and, as they have reason to believe, for a considerable period.... 273

Since Corri subsequently reverted to his occupation as a piano accompanist, it appears that the Italian opera venture had proved unprofitable. In 1821, he escorted his two daughters on a European tour, during which he died in Wiesbaden the following July (see p.104).

Mather's Concerts of Sacred Music

John Mather, a native of Sheffield, was organist at St. John's Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh, and a music retailer in the city after about 1810 (see Table III.1, p.209). The earliest references to his activities as a concert promoter relate to his benefit concert of March 1811, performed by an orchestra of local musicians and four soloists from the south, in the manner of Corri's concerts. The two principal soloists, the singers Miss Davenport and Mr Lees, had performed in Corri's concerts during that season, thus Mather did not have to meet the cost of their travelling expenses. However, there is no record of the other principals, Mather's brother, from Sheffield or the singer Mrs Nunn, appearing elsewhere in Edinburgh prior to this concert:

GRAND CONCERT OF SACRED MUSIC....the programme will include a new Symphony by Beethoven never before performed in this Country and two of the Grandest Symphonies of Haydn and Mozart....The Instrumental department will consist of 10 violins, 4 tenors, 4 violoncellos, 2 double basses, 4 bassoons, 2 oboes, 2 flutes, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, 2 clarionets, kettle drums &c &c...."274
Following the success of this occasion and sensing a degree of public enthusiasm for performances of sacred music, Mather embarked upon a three-concert series during the following season. Rather than compete with Corri, these concerts were timed to precede those of the city's principal impresario; they took place within a three week period, beginning on January 6th 1812. As with earlier schemes for presenting oratorios in the city, such as Urbani's in 1803 and Corri's in 1808, Mather himself undertook the training of a choir. In addition, numerous celebrity soloists, both vocal and instrumental were engaged and an ambitious programme of pieces announced:

The Music will consist chiefly of the MESSIAH of Handel, THE CREATION and THE SEASONS of Haydn, and a selection of the most admired works of Mozart, Beethoven and other great composers. Mr MATHER is devoting much time, and will spare no pains in training a band of chorus singers to perform in these celebrated Oratorios; and each part, vocal and instrumental will be led by distinguished performers from England.... The following capital Vocal & Instrumental performers from London, Lancashire &c. are engaged to come purposely for these Concerts. / SINGERS / Mrs SALMON - Soprano / Mr CORDWELL - Alto / Mr BRADBURY - Tenor / Mr NICHOLS - do. / Mr LEES - Bass / INSTRUMENTAL / Mr C. ASHLEY - Violoncello / Mr H. PLATT - Horn / Mr E. PLATT - Flute / Mr ELLIOTT - do. / Mr WHITE - Violin....

The source of Mather's financial backing for these concerts is not clear, but since the scheme was not repeated in subsequent seasons, one assumes that it did not prove a great commercial success. In this connection, it may be significant that Mather's music shop at Greenside Place ceased to appear in the city street directories after 1812, although the proprietor remained in Edinburgh after this date. In the years preceding the 1815 musical festival, Mather's concert activities were again restricted to the presentation of an annual benefit evening of sacred music. As a result of the acclaim he received as organist during the festival's oratorio performances, and on the recommendation of the the festival's conductor, Charles Ashley 276, Mather was appointed as the first musical director of the Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music, and directed its concerts between 1816-1818 (see pp.196-8).
Yaniewicz's Subscription Concerts 1815-c.1830

Felix Yaniewicz first appeared in an Edinburgh concert during Corri's series of 1803 (see Table I.3, p.63), after which he performed in the city on a fairly regular basis, notably as the leader of Catalani's orchestra in 1807 and in Corri's subscription series of 1812 (see pp.51 & 67, respectively). During this period, despite a busy schedule as a performer, he maintained his activities as a music retailer in Liverpool (see p.45). It is not clear why Yaniewicz (and his family) decided to settle in the Scottish capital, but he remained in the city following his engagement in the 1815 festival, and presented a number of concerts in the city during the ensuing winter season 277.

Following Corri's retirement as an impresario in 1816, Yaniewicz became the city's principal independent promoter of concerts. His series differed from those of Corri in two significant ways which distinguished them also from other concerts in the city. Firstly, from 1819, performances in Yaniewicz's weekly series of Monday concerts (called "Morning Concerts") began at two o'clock. Besides its (ever-important) novelty value, the early starting time both avoided a clash with other entertainments and assisted in selecting the "quality" of the audience, since those engaged in daily employment could not easily attend. Although concerts had been presented at this time before in the Edinburgh, notably during the festival, and occasional single concerts, such as the benefit concerts of Stabilini in 1810 (see p.178) and Mather in 1815 278, Yaniewicz was the first to establish regular "morning" performances in the city. Secondly, the programmes presented by Yaniewicz were principally of chamber works by great composers (see pp.125), played by Yaniewicz himself with a small number of leading resident performers. By adopting this scheme, Yaniewicz was able inexpensively to present high-quality music, which was new to most of his audience:

Mr Yaniewicz's first Morning Concert, on Monday last, was attended by a numerous and fashionable audience. Great praise is due to Mr Yaniewicz for introducing a species of programme
calculated alike to give pleasure and instruction. The concert consisted of quartetts, quintetts, solos &c by the greatest masters...

Occasionally, a visiting celebrity performer appeared in one of the morning concerts, although Yaniewicz appears not himself to have engaged such performers to visit Edinburgh for this purpose. Thus, such appearances invariably took place following the performer's other professional engagements in the city, for example, in the second concert of the 1819 series, the violinist Mr Lacy, his wife the soprano Mrs Bianchi Lacy and their pupil Miss Symonds appeared, having performed in a production at the Theatre Royal 280. Similarly, in 1823, the flautist Charles Nicholson appeared at Smart's Rooms:

MORNING CONCERT / MR YANIEWICZ has the honour respectfully to announce to the Nobility and Gentry, that his first MORNING CONCERT will take place TO-MORROW, SATURDAY, at Mr Smart's Rooms, Thistle Street. Mr NICOLSON has kindly consented to prolong his stay in EDINBURGH for this occasion and will play a Concerto, Air & Variations, &c. on the Flute, being the last time he can have the honour of performing in Edinburgh...The Concert will commence at two o'clock. 281

The experiment with morning concerts clearly met with sufficient initial approbation for Yaniewicz to extend the length of the 1819 season from four to eight performances 282; these were followed by the usual sequence of benefits, notably for Yaniewicz and for his pianist daughter (see p.142-3). Other members of the family also appeared in the concerts, namely Felix's sister and younger daughter, both of whom played the harp 283. Yaniewicz continued his annual concert series throughout much of the 1820s, usually presenting four weekly concerts each winter season on Saturday mornings: Monday was abandoned as a concert day after 1819, probably in an attempt to widen the potential audience. The predominant use of a small number of local players allowed a degree of flexibility in the timing of the performances, and thus some scope in averting clashes with other entertainments in the city.
EDINBURGH'S MUSICAL FESTIVALS

Source material relating to the musical festivals held in Edinburgh during the first half of the 19th century is plentiful: editorials and discussions can be found in contemporary newspapers; the Scots Magazine contains copious descriptions; and various individuals published their own versions of events, ranging from the "official" accounts of festival organisers, principally George Farquhar Graham's An Account of the First Edinburgh Musical Festival, to anonymous, satirical observations, notably in the 1816 pamphlet, All Alive at the Edinburgh Festival. The most detailed information concerns the first two festivals of 1815 and 1819, the scale and novelty of which excited enormous public interest throughout Scotland and led to the formation of organisations which sought both to raise musical standards and to promote concerts in the city. However, despite these longer-term effects, the participation of many of the leading performers of the day, and the availability of plentiful source material, Edinburgh's early festivals have been largely ignored by modern scholarship.

A comprehensive account and analysis of the series of seven musical festivals held in the Scottish capital between 1815 and 1843 lies beyond the scope of this study. For present purposes the festivals will be discussed principally in relation to the impact which they had on musical life in the city, and since the first two festivals had the greatest effect, they will form the principal part of this survey.

The Background to Edinburgh's First Musical Festival

From the mid 18th century, the popularity of the music of Handel prompted musical festivals in many British towns and cities:
In centres of industrial expansion such festivals were often coupled with middle-class concern about social conditions, and important events were organised in Leeds (1767), Birmingham (1768), Norwich (1770), Chester (1772), Newcastle (1778), Liverpool (1784), Manchester (1785), Sheffield (1786) and York (1791) with the primary aim of raising funds to establish or support new hospitals.

In 1784 the "centenary" commemoration of Handel in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon, with some 500 performers from all parts of England, accelerated the formation of choral societies and charitable foundations. It also implanted the idea that excellence was somehow related to size. This found expression in the early 19th-century Handel festivals held under the direction of George Smart.

Although the concerts of the Edinburgh Musical Society enjoyed much success for much of the second half of the 18th century, the Scottish capital did not host a musical festival until 1815. The reasons for this were various. Firstly, during the late 18th century, the Musical Society's regular performances of oratorios by Handel fulfilled a demand for such works from the wealthy section of the local population who would otherwise have been the prime movers in organising a festival. Secondly, in early 19th-century Edinburgh, the appeal of public concerts fluctuated widely, as reflected in the unpredictable fortunes of the city's concert promoters. It often took considerable efforts on the part of local connoisseurs simply to persuade impresarios to continue in their promotion of regular concerts (see p.50), and the prospect of successfully organising a large-scale musical festival must have seemed improbable. Thirdly, the remoteness of the Scottish capital from other musical centres in Britain, and especially London, greatly increased the expense of engaging large numbers of celebrity performers on which the success of festival ventures depended.

The idea of staging a music festival in Edinburgh was first proposed in 1814 by the soprano Angelica Catalani, a frequent and popular visitor to the Scottish capital:

EDINBURGH MUSICAL FESTIVALS / MADAME CATALANI begs leave most respectfully to inform the Nobility and Gentry of SCOTLAND, that she purposes visiting this Country next November, with a complete company of the best London Performers, both Vocal and
Instrumental, solo Concerto Players as well as Oratorio Choristers, and thus to produce Festivals on the same Grand and Liberal Plan with those lately given in Liverpool &c. which obtained the decided approbation of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry of England, and to allot ONE ENTIRE FIFTH PART of the TOTAL RECEIPTS for the Benefit of such Public Charities as shall be thought best by a Committee of the following Noblemen, Clergy and Gentlemen, who have honoured this undertaking with their Patronage, in becoming Stewards or Members of Management of the Committee, according to the practice in England.

Nothing more is known of Catalani's proposal, but it was quickly superseded by a plan along similar lines from local enthusiasts; according to George Farquhar Graham, a number of "gentlemen in Edinburgh" visited festivals in other British towns at the close of 1814 with a view to staging such an event in Edinburgh. Details for the organisation of a festival were subsequently drawn up. It was to be on a much larger scale than that proposed by Catalani, and unlike the earlier scheme, the entire profits were to be distributed among local charitable institutions.

The 1815 Musical Festival

Following the system used for similar events in other British cities, the organisation and management of Edinburgh's festival was controlled by a committee of "Ordinary Directors" consisting of 25 members of the clergy, gentry and distinguished patrons of the arts in the city. In addition, two secretaries (one of whom was George Farquhar Graham, the author of the "official" account) and a treasurer handled practical details arising. A further group of 30 "Extraordinary Directors" controlled the policy and principles on which the festival was organised. These directors included the Lord Provost, leading civic dignitaries, members of the judiciary, the principal University academics, high-ranking officers from the armed services, representatives of the nobility, and distinguished artistic figures (notably Scotland's leading poet and novelist, Walter Scott). To further enhance the kudos of the event, the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry was appointed President of the festival and six prominent
figures in the Scottish nobility named as Vice-Presidents: the Marquis of Lothian; the Earls of Morton, Moray, Wemyss and March, and Dalhousie; and Lord Napier. On each level of its organisation, the festival was thus associated with respected figures in society.

Edinburgh's first musical festival took place between Tuesday October 31st and Saturday November 4th 1815. Its timing, shortly before the winter season of entertainments in London, enabled performers from the South to appear in the Scottish capital. In addition to the scheduled three morning concerts at the Parliament House, three evening concerts at Corri's Rooms and Thursday evening dancing assembly at the George Street Assembly Rooms, a further morning concert was given "on account of many persons from the country having been disappointed of tickets for the other performances."

The central points in the advertised programme were performances of selections from *The Creation*, *Messiah*, various Handel choruses and anthems, choral works by Mozart, and Beethoven's *The Mount of Olives*. However, the latter was unceremoniously abandoned, as in the severely restricted rehearsal time, it was found too difficult - a second performance of *The Creation* was given in its place. The lack of sufficient time for musical preparation was reflected in the fact that the first full oratorio rehearsal took place on the day preceding the opening first concert. Since the Beethoven oratorio was unfamiliar even to London musicians (its first performance in the capital had been in the previous year), its abandonment in Edinburgh was hardly surprising. Given the limited amount of rehearsal, one suspects that the fulsome accounts of the quality of the performances in 1815 reflect much on the standards to which the Edinburgh public was generally used. The festival's evening performances consisted of selections of vocal and instrumental pieces along the lines of the city's subscription concerts, although largely devoid of music with a Scottish flavour - to the disappointment of elements of the audience (see p.122).
The vocal and instrumental performers included many of the finest musicians in Britain. The principal vocalists were Madame Marconi, Mrs Salmon and Messrs. Braham, Bellamy and Rolfe. The instrumentalists included Yaniewicz as leader and over 15 celebrity performers including the 'cellist, Lindley, double bass player, Dragonetti, and flautist, Nicholson. The conductor was also London-based, Charles Ashley. In addition, leading Edinburgh players were engaged, notably Mather (see pp.196-7).

The celebrity and scale of the performances attracted the attention of music-lovers throughout Scotland and northern England. Subscription papers were widely distributed, notably in Scotland to Glasgow, Perth, Aberdeen, Ayr, Dumfries, Stirling, Montrose and Inverness, but also to music shops in Carlisle and Newcastle. The influx of visitors to the city also produced benefits for local retailers including many otherwise unconnected with music, such as dress and hat makers. Local music retailers, such as Muir, Wood & Co., similarly sought to capitalise on the increased interest created at the time by holding special sales of music and instruments.

The festival was a great financial success. A total of over nine thousand tickets were sold for the seven concerts: for the three morning performances sales totalled 1229, 2141 and 1464, respectively; for the evening concerts the figures were 789, 1603 and 1550, and some 450 tickets were sold for the additional concert. A profit of £1549 -11 -3 was made, and the sum of £1500 was distributed among charitable institutions in the city. Although the festival was an atypical occasion within Edinburgh's concert life, the published balance sheet, provides a rare insight into the expenses and returns of concert promotion in the city and thus merits inclusion here in full:
### Table I.4 Accounts for the 1815 Musical Festival

#### Expenses:

1. Expenses of the performers, including the organ &c. for the 6 regular performances. Extra expenses for the concert on Friday
   - 2890 - 11 - 0
   - 243 - 1 - 0
   - 3133 - 12 - 0

2. Expenses of fitting up the Parliament House and Corri's Rooms and replacing them in their former condition
   - 681 - 0 - 5½

3. Attendance at the Doors and on the performers, and expense of distributing tickets
   - 106 - 4 - 0

4. Expense of the assembly in the Assembly Rooms, George Street
   - 49 - 18 - 0

5. Expense of printing tickets, bills and books of performance &c.
   - 132 - 5 - 10

6. Expense of advertisements
   - 52 - 17 - 11½

7. Incidents and disbursements by the Secretaries and Treasurers, including allowances to their clerks
   - 29 - 19 - 0

   **BALANCE**
   - 1549 - 11 - 3

#### Receipts:

1. Produce of Tickets for the six regular performances
   - 4846 - 13 - 6

2. Produce of extra morning concert, on Friday which was given on account of many persons from the country having been disappointed of tickets for the other performances
   - 276 - 13 - 0

3. Produce of assembly in the Assembly Rooms
   - 448 - 7 - 0

4. Sums received from persons viewing the Parliament House, at 1s each
   - 61 - 15 - 0

5. Sums received from sale of printed books of the performance
   - 85 - 11 - 0

6. Miscellaneous receipts, consisting of interest on Cash deposited with Sir William Forbes & Co. by the Treasurer &c.
   - 16 - 9 - 0

   **BALANCE**
   - 5735 - 8 - 6
The success of the 1815 festival depended upon the willingness of the public to pay an unprecedentedly high price for tickets to hear the largest group of celebrity musicians ever amassed in Scotland. The directors evidently achieved the correct balance in terms of the likely returns on their level of expenditure. It is notable, however, that the additional Friday morning concert met with only limited success and produced a profit of little over 30 pounds - thus highlighting the uncertainty of concert promotion in the city, even at a time of great public enthusiasm.

The longer-term effect of the festival on Edinburgh's musical life and on the perceptions of the public are more difficult to assess. The most significant development was the formation of an organisation for improving standards of choral music in the city: The Edinburgh Institution (see pp.195-200). However, the high level of public enthusiasm was not sufficient to support Corri's subsequent attempt to revive regular subscription concerts in the city (see pp.69-70). Similarly, in terms of raising the level of public understanding of and demand for quality music, the approbation afforded to festival performances did not generally translate into an increased appreciation of great music from the city's musical amateurs, as noted by a correspondent for The Scots Magazine in 1818:

Since the Festival, we have heard that all the Misses who possess piano-fortes, (and what Miss, from the village ale-house to the palace, has not her piano?) have been thrumming away at skeletons of Handel's overtures and choruses without understanding them in the least. Among ignorant pretenders to musical knowledge and taste, fashion possesses an irresistible sway; and their enjoyment of it does not proceed from the music itself, but from the self-gratulation of being able to play (as it is fondly believed) what is new or in vogue, without the possibility of deriving pleasure from the beauties of what is before them. 298

The 1819 Musical Festival

Although Edinburgh's second musical festival has received even less comment on the part of modern writers than the first, the 1819
event was generally better organised and more successful than its predecessor. As before, the performers were engaged by a committee of directors and the six scheduled concerts were divided into morning and evening events. With the experience gained from the first festival and a flood of suggestions and comments from the public in the local press, the directors made strenuous efforts to rectify past mistakes, particularly with regard to the comfort and convenience of the audiences. The sense of public expectancy created by the 1819 festival was frequently commented upon in contemporary accounts:

The great Musical Festival which is to take place next week appears, as might be expected, to excite very general attention and interest. The remembrance of the magnificent performances in 1815 and the rapturous feelings they produced in the minds of thousands who, till then, were ignorant even of the existence of such feelings; and the general belief that the Second festival is to be on a scale of still higher grandeur than the First, contribute to raise the public expectation to a degree which is not usually bestowed on such things on this side of the Tweed.

In this view, it is very amusing, and to the "fanatici per la musica" like us, very delightful to hear "the busy hum of expectation" sounding in every corner, and to observe our divines, lawyers, doctors and merchants, giving their most serious thoughts to the adjustment of their sets of tickets, and commenting on the propriety of the arrangements of the Directors.

That the highest expectation will be gratified, we see no reason to doubt. Though the last Festival, taken as a whole, was grand and splendid, yet it is well known that there was a good deal to find fault with in its details - that much money was unprofitably thrown away, and that there were many and great deficiencies both in the filling up of the orchestra and in the selection of the performances. It would be invidious to say anything of the causes of these defects; we mention them purely for the purpose of expressing our belief, that the character of the Gentlemen, by whom the approaching Festival is to be conducted, affords a satisfactory pledge, that they will not happen on this occasion....

The festival was again timed to enable celebrities to participate prior to the London season. The concerts took place during the third week in October, from Tuesday 19th until Saturday 23rd. This also allowed some performers, notably the soprano, Catherine Stephens, to complete their engagements at other festivals:
Such are the attractions of that delightful and captivating singer, Miss Stephens, that she is engaged to perform at five festivals, in various parts of England, between the beginning of September and the period of the Edinburgh meeting on the 19th of October. There is perhaps no individual performer whose talents rank higher at this moment nor one who sings the sublime compositions of HANDEL with more simple and pathetic effect. From the Derby meeting, we understand, she goes to the Northampton one, which ends on the 14th of October, and from thence is immediately to proceed, with all possible expedition, to Edinburgh. 300

As in 1815, the vocal soloists and most of the principal instrumentalists were from London, with additional players selected from Edinburgh's ranks. Besides Stephens, the singers were Miss Goodall, Miss Paton, Signora Corri, Messrs Bellamy, Jager, Swift, Braham, and Signor Ambrogetti. The orchestra was again led by Yaniewicz (now resident in the Scottish capital) and included many of the players previously engaged. The oratorios were directed by the most renowned British conductor of the day, Sir George Smith 301.

Reflecting the heightened degree of public enthusiasm, tickets were sold at great speed, and the subscription was full over a week in advance of the first concert 302. As before, many travelled great distances to attend the occasion, including several distinguished musical figures:

....we have heard of many people of rank and celebrity who intend coming from distant places to the Festival. Among other persons, Sir John Stevenson, the eminent musical composer and associate of Mr Moore in the publication of the Irish Melodies, we understand, has expressed his determination to visit Edinburgh, his birth place, on this occasion. 303

Criticisms of 1815, as voiced in the local press prior to the 1819 festival throw light on the earlier occasion, and provide a more balanced account than Graham's panegyric version. Besides comments on mundane subjects, some criticisms related to musical matters:

One of the grossest and unaccountable blunders committed at the last Festival, was the omission of BEETHOVEN's celebrated Oratorio "The Mount of Olives". All musical persons are aware, that during the whole period of preparations for that Festival, the performance of this Oratorio was considered indispensable,
and was expressly stipulated with the conductor, but that the idea was suddenly abandoned, no one knew why, and the public were put off with a most imperfect and slovenly performance of one (or two at most) of the choruses. This divine work being little known here, the great part of the community were not aware of the extent of their loss, and the matter past over without the heavy censure which it merited. To those, however, who know this glorious composition, it must be very pleasing to consider, that SIR GEORGE SMART is the person to whose taste and spirit we are wholly indebted for its introduction into Great Britain, and that, therefore, we can look to him for its performance with great confidence.

Although a taste for the music of Beethoven undoubtedly grew among Edinburgh's musical connoisseurs during the early decades of the 19th century (see pp.119-20), this was not sufficiently powerful to ensure that the 1819 performance of his much-heralded oratorio was given in its complete form. Once again, the lack of sufficient rehearsal time necessitated the performance of only part of the work; the third act. As before, the central points of the festival programme were Handel's Messiah and choral works by Haydn and Mozart.

The degree of public interest in the festival was reflected by the extensive critical notices in local newspapers. Generally, concerts in the Scottish capital received scant press coverage, although other entertainments, notably the theatre, were extensively and regularly reported - reflecting their more popular appeal. In 1819, the newspaper accounts of festival concerts were generally favourable, although they included some criticisms:

We did not much like any of the other songs which he [John Braham] introduced, though they were much applauded and certainly the applause, in so far as it was bestowed on his performance, was well deserved. The cantata of "Alexis" is one of the driest works of one of the driest composers that ever was.....His singing of "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled" was rewarded with an encore which, to say the truth, we did not think it particularly entitled to. The acting, intended, no doubt, to enhance its effects, seemed to us to render it all but ludicrous. The feeling was evidently pretty general.

Miss STEPHENS had little opportunity of appearing to her accustomed advantage; her lovely voice maintained its decided superiority, but her principal song, "Dove sono", in our humble apprehension, was not in the least suited to her powers.
Of Miss GOODALL we are not yet prepared to speak further than to say, that she has a sweet and clear voice, of no great power, and that she sang her duet with AMBROGETTI in a very spirited and excellent style. We have not learned to like the little we have heard of Rossini's music, and therefore can hardly take the song from Tancredi as a fair specimen of Miss GOODALL's talents.306

The 1819 festival was the most adventurous and successful event of its kind staged in the city during the 19th century. Subsequent festivals in 1821, 1823, 1824 and 1828 were on a lesser scale and met with a decreasing amount of public interest. The novelty value enjoyed by the earlier events had evidently worn off. The appeal of festival concerts rested in the appearances of numerous celebrity soloists, but, as the amount raised through subscriptions declined, the fees of solo performers increasingly eroded the profits. In 1824, for example, the total sum raised for charitable purposes in the city was just £542 - 5 - 11; although the total expenses incurred were little more than those in 1815 (£4397 - 18 - 11), the receipts totalled only £4949 - 4 - 10. The directors' explanation that the high fees charged by the principal singers were responsible for the festival's small profit 307 was thus, in fact, misleading.

After a break of 15 years, an attempt to revive musical festivals in the city in 1843 met with failure. Despite the opening of a new Music Hall extension to the Assembly Rooms in George Street, the expenses incurred by the directors were not matched by sufficient public enthusiasm for the occasion: the venture resulted in the loss of some £600 308.

THE EDINBURGH PROFESSIONAL SOCIETY OF MUSICIANS

The enthusiasm created by the 1815 festival had a longer-term impact on concert life in Edinburgh principally through the formation of The Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music in 1816. Although primarily devoted to giving instruction in vocal music, the Institution promoted subscription concerts over a period
of four years (see pp.195-200). The formation of The Edinburgh Professional Society of Musicians "For the Purpose of Improving the State of Vocal and Instrumental Music in the City" coincided with the dissolution of the Institution, although the idea had been suggested through an article in The Scots Magazine over a year earlier. The anonymous writer of this article lamented the state of music in the city, suggested reasons for it, and proposed a plan on which an organisation for rectifying the situation could be formed:

Besides the want of musical knowledge, other causes of the little patronage bestowed on musical performances have been alluded to. Among them, the most powerful opponent to the success of professors, and to the formation of a good orchestra, is the inclination for that species of warfare, which unfortunately pervades other professions as well as music. We know enough, in this good town, of medical and of spiritual warfare; and the demons of hatred, envy and contention, are well known to be no lovers of harmony. Could we establish a Philharmonic Society in Edinburgh, somewhat similar to the one in London, and convince our professors that their talents, in combination, could effect more towards their being esteemed, and their substantial benefit, than perpetual wrangling, we should have it in our power to produce concerts to please the most fastidious. But, while such jarring subsists among the professors, as I have heard of, it will be impossible to form a tolerable orchestra. Were the nobility and gentry resident, or occasionally resident, in Edinburgh, to promote the establishment of a Society both for the benefit of the professors, and for the entertainment of the Public, we might indulge some hope of extensive patronage being bestowed on regular concerts. In a communication of this kind, it is impossible to give an entire plan for such a society; an outline however, may be given.

I would propose, that the society should be formed by the professors in the first instance; and that the nobility and gentry should be invited to subscribe a certain sum annually, for a certain number of years, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the Concerts, in so far as regards the use of rooms, lighting and attendance. The president, vice-presidents, and the majority of directors, to be chosen from among the subscribers. Whatever sum may be collected for tickets of admission, together with what remains of the annual subscriptions, to be divided at the end of the season, among the professors, by a scale previously prepared, according to the abilities of each. This may be done in a way similar to the division of naval or military prize-money. The society might occasionally speculate on the exhibition of London performers.
This plan subsequently became the basis of the Professional Society's constitution, although the suggested method of financing the organisation was not pursued. Instead, members (all of whom were musicians) paid an initial fee for membership of the Society and a smaller annual amount over the ensuing seasons. In return, and if the balance of the Society's account for that year permitted, they were to be paid one guinea for each concert in which they appeared.

Details relating to the activities of the Society during its earliest years are scant. Between 1819-1824, three or four concerts were presented each season. However, it appears that these did not meet with great public interest or financial success, and the payments which the performers had hoped to receive were not forthcoming. A dispute over the latter threatened to damage the Society, and prompted the publication of full accounts, together with an explanation of the current situation by the Society's secretary, the violinist and erstwhile music retailer, William Penson. The article, which formed part of the programme booklet for the Society's fourth concert of 1825, provides useful information relating to the Society and merits inclusion here in full:

Erroneous conceptions of the nature of this Society's views and exertions, as well as the actual state of their funds, having gained extensive circulation and belief, the Committee of the Society have considered it incumbent on them to present to the Subscribers and the Public a brief statement of the same. / From the formation of this Society, in April 1819, up to 1824, it was entirely supported by the voluntary subscriptions and loans of its members. / The Concerts of last season enabled the Committee to carry on the business of the Society, and also to purchase a pair of kettle-drums, music &c. without any farther demands on its Members. Thus it appears, that at the expiration of five years, not any one of the members had received any pecuniary emolument whatever. / By Rules enacted, after a Fund has been reserved for carrying on the Society, then each Musician is entitled to receive One Guinea for each public performance that he has attended, and for which there has been never fewer than 6 rehearsals of 3 or 4 hours duration, for each Concert. / The annexed statement of their Treasurer will show, that after reserving the small sum of £23 Os 9½d, for the purpose of carrying on the Society, the entire sum received for the Concerts of this Season up to March 4th will be quite exhausted, and the very desirable object of awarding to each member One Guinea per night for his exertions must, the Committee regret to state, be once more delayed to a more
favourable opportunity. Had emolument been the sole object of this Society, no doubt many of the sums now expended might have been shared among the Members; but ever anxious to maintain the respectability they flatter themselves the Society has acquired, every effort was made to ensure to their Subscribers a series of 4 Concerts, that should be superior to any yet produced in this city, and only inferior to those given at a Festival. How far their wishes have been carried into effect, the manner in which some of the higher works of art have been performed, for the first time in this city, at these concerts, must, the Committee respectfully conceive evince the most unremitting zeal hitherto displayed by the Society, and exculpate them, they trust, from anything approximating to carelessness or inattention, and must also show the great improvement that has taken place in the knowledge and performance of instrumental music in this city, since the formation of this Society in 1819.

A set of rules for the Society, containing 44 articles covering all aspects of organisation and management (including a rigorous system of fines for non-attendance at concerts and other infringements) was published in June 1824. By this time the entrance fee had been raised to five guineas, with a subsequent annual subscription of two guineas. An extant copy of this publication (in the Edinburgh Public Library) contains the signatures of thirty-eight members, comprising many of the city's principal male teachers of music. This list provides a useful indication of the size of the musical forces at the Society's disposal. The published accounts for 1824 (Table I.5) shed light both on the expenses typically incurred by the Society and, through the number of subscriptions received, the level of public support enjoyed by its concerts:

Table I.5  The Edinburgh Professional Society's Accounts for 1824

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Cash Expended and Due</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hire of George Street Rooms</td>
<td>42 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fires, and cleaning ditto,</td>
<td>3 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hire of extra seating for ditto,</td>
<td>3 17 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees to attendants of ditto,</td>
<td>2 12 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wax lights</td>
<td>29 5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expense of new orchestra,</td>
<td>83 17 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid to Professional Gentlemen, not members,</td>
<td>26 9 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid to vocal performers,</td>
<td>98 14 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table I.5 (contd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the purchase of instruments and music,</td>
<td>45 6 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationery and postage,</td>
<td>3 12 8\frac{1}{2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doorkeepers,</td>
<td>4 15 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police men,</td>
<td>1 15 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For teaching the chorus singers,</td>
<td>11 18 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For managing the detail of the Concerts,</td>
<td>21 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copying music,</td>
<td>10 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing,</td>
<td>22 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisements,</td>
<td>49 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expense of 35 meetings for practice, at 9s</td>
<td>15 15 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto for 30 vocal ditto, at 3s</td>
<td>4 10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid the society's officer for collecting subscriptions, &amp;c &amp;c</td>
<td>10 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent of the Thistle St. Rooms, one year up to Whitsunday next,</td>
<td>25 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gow's account, hire of piano-forte &amp;c,</td>
<td>9 0 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundries,</td>
<td>10 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>£543 19 2\frac{1}{2}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amount of Cash received.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Subscriptions, previous to the First Concert,</td>
<td>£264 12 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of tickets sold, up to 4th March,</td>
<td>301 7 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donation by a nobleman</td>
<td>1 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>£567 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amount of cash expended and due,</td>
<td>£543 19 2\frac{1}{2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By cash in hand,</td>
<td>23 0 9\frac{1}{2}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>£567 0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By order of the committee, C.F. SMART, Treasurer. 312

Since full annual subscriptions to the concerts cost one guinea (see Table I.2, p.34), the accounts show that in 1824 the Society attracted the support of 252 subscribers. In addition, the sum raised from the sale of single tickets (at seven shillings each) for three concerts (the fourth concert took place after March 4th) represents a total of 861 tickets: an average of 287 for each concert. Although it is unlikely that single tickets were sold in equal numbers for each concert, the figures suggest that the 1824 concerts each attracted an average audience of about 540. This information provides some indication of the size of Smart's Rooms, which were used for at least
the third concert of the season. In order to accommodate such a number, in addition to an orchestra of at least 38 performers, and a choir, the hall must have been of considerable size. However, since the Society's concert series were subsequently held in the Assembly Rooms, it appears that the premises in Thistle Street were unable comfortably to accommodate such numbers.

As was usually the case in the promotion of concerts, the chief area of expense was the payment to vocal soloists. However, the singers chosen were often those appearing at the theatre in Edinburgh, such as Agnes Noel in 1825 and 1826 (see below), and since they did not feature in all of the Society's concerts during the season, the cost was kept relatively low. The same system was used by Yaniewicz for his subscription concerts (see p.74). The necessary engagement of a number of additional instrumentalists (or "Professional Gentlemen", as listed in Table 1.5, above) to complete the band was probably one of the sources of discontent among the Society's members. Instead of receiving remuneration themselves, their membership fees were contributing to the payment of non-member, resident players.

Since the regular performers were locally-based, the timing of the monthly concerts was more flexible than had been the case with other series. Thus, clashes with rival entertainments could easily be averted and the services of members who played in other ensembles could be secured by mutual arrangement. In 1824, for example, the Society's final concert was delayed until agreement was reached concerning the availability of Theatre Royal musicians:

The COMMITTEE of the SOCIETY, fully sensible that an Explanation is due to Subscribers...for their apparent neglect in not having announced this Concert sooner, respectfully submit the following / On Monday night, Mr MURRAY of the Theatre Royal, very kindly informed them, that, in order to meet their wishes, he could dispose with the attention of the Band at the Theatre on Tuesday the 17th. Anxious to meet the wishes expressed by many of the subscribers that the four Concerts should be completed with as little delay as possible, the Committee availed themselves of Mr MURRAY's very kind offer.
After 1824, the fortunes of the Society improved dramatically, although the organisation's finances continued to be run on a short-term basis and, as with earlier concerts schemes in the city, remained dependent on an adequate advance subscription:

It being the anxious wish of the Committee to render their Concerts deserving of public support, they earnestly entreat those Ladies and Gentlemen who will honour them with their patronage, to put down their names with as little delay as possible, in order that the Committee may see how far they will be justified in employing Singers, and making other arrangements requisite, to render their Concerts worthy of the attention and support of a musical nation. 315

The new-found confidence of the directors is reflected in their decision to change permanently the venue of the Society's concerts from Smart's Rooms to the more spacious Assembly Rooms. The move involved internal alterations to the main room at George Street 316, which were made at considerable expense to the Society (see Table I.5, p.88).

The Society's most successful years to date occurred during the mid-1820s. Four concerts in 1825 317 were followed by three in 1826318, by which time they were enjoying a high level of fashionable status and attracting audiences of a magnitude comparable only to those of the city's early musical festivals. An account of the first concert of the 1826 season reported an attendance "upwards of a thousand persons of the first rank and fashion in town" 319. Subsequent concerts during this year received a similar degree of public support and approbation; for example, the second, which was "generally equal and in many respects superior to the first", attracted an audience of nearly 900 persons" 320.

The enhanced status of the Society, reflected in the extensive press notices awarded to its concerts, is also evident from the confidence with which the directors engaged soloists. In 1826, in addition to three celebrity sopranos (Miss Travis, Miss Eliza Paton, and Miss Noel), each of whom were appearing at the Theatre Royal (and performed in the Society's concerts by permission of theatre manager,
William Murray) five male vocal soloists were engaged, a greater number than ever before. However, the Society was not being unduly extravagant: it should be noted that these latter musicians (Messrs. Thorne, Swift, Smith, Dun and G. Penson) were locally-based 321.

The reasons for the revival of interest in public concerts at this time is not clear. However, despite the enthusiastic reception given to the 1826 concerts by the local press, criticisms were offered following the series' completion. Contrary to the former expressions of pride in the home-grown nature of the Society, these comments centred on the need to engage more celebrity performers:

CONCERTS have at length become decidedly fashionable; and we no longer hear complaints among the lovers of music, that their favourite science languishes from the want of public support. All the concerts of the season, though more numerous than we ever remember, have been well attended, and the Professional Concert on Friday night presented by far the most crowded and fashionable assemblage that has been under one roof in this city since the Musical Festival. This praiseworthy Society may, therefore, be considered as firmly established in public favour. The popularity it has acquired, and the encouragement thus given, will act, we hope, as incitements to additional exertion on the part of our musical professors, and insure a greater variety of performers and performances than the present season has afforded. We do not mean to insinuate, that these exertions have not been great, or to quarrel particularly with the quality of music produced, which, though it has in some instances been exceedingly bald and poor, has been generally the genuine and staple commodity. Neither have we much to object as to the vocal department, which, so long as Misses Noel, Paton and Penson, Mr G. Penson and Mr Thorne form part of it, cannot be characterised as deficient. Yet we do think a "variety" might be useful, and some foreign assistance would certainly increase the attraction and heighten the gratification of the audience....322

The Society's three concerts of 1827 (led, for the first time, by Finlay Dun) met with a similar level of support to those of 1826323. A newspaper account of the first concert included an informative comment concerning past orchestral practices in the city:

....Mr Dun proved himself a most able and careful leader; it was gratifying to observe how well he gave the time by the motion of the bow, instead of the stamp of the foot, which, we trust, is for ever banished from our Concerts.324

- 92 -
However, as in the previous year, there were post-season press criticisms too. Unusually, the focus of these was the high quality of the music performed in each programme. The Society's programmes had regularly included first performances of pieces by leading European composers and works by local musicians (see p.120). An editorial in the Edinburgh Advertiser warned the directors against elitism:

In their selection of music for performing, the Society are, we apprehend, a little in advance of the taste and knowledge of the audience. The transcendent Symphonies of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, which are heard with such interest and delight by all whose musical taste is well cultivated, still elicit less applause at our Concerts, although finely performed by a large and complete Band, than a simple Ballad...since the continued success of the Society depends much on the favour of the unlearned many, than on the approbation of the learned few, we freely give up our taste, and recommend to the Society, as the object they should always keep in view, the greatest pleasure of the greatest number. 325

The impetus behind these comments and those of the previous season are not clear, particularly in view of the success currently enjoyed by the Society, for which it had worked over many years. Since Edinburgh's newspapers sought generally to encourage the arts in the city, one suspects that the criticisms voiced were shared by a sizable and influential section of the Society's audience. The failure of the directors to respond to such comments may have contributed to the abrupt reversal in the Society's fortunes. The 1828 concerts attracted fewer than 200 subscribers, instead of about 600 as in the previous season. This necessitated the engagement of only one singer instead of the proposed three and led to the abandonment of plans to train and feature a chorus 326. The decline in public interest was also related to the number of entertainments in the city during the winter of 1828; these included an Italian opera group from London 327, a popular glee ensemble, the visit of the celebrated pianist Ignaz Moscheles and, above all, equestrian entertainments at the Circus:

One of the greatest obstacles that opposed the success of the various musical undertakings of the season, was Mr Ducrow and his horses, against whose attractions scarcely any other amusements could enter at all into competition. 328
The prospect of the Society's collapse induced unqualified responses in support of the organisation from the local press. Faced with the practicalities of the situation, the former stances on the prestige of "foreign" performers and the promotion of high-brow music were contradicted in a direct appeal to the national loyalties of the public:

The Edinburgh Professional Society of Musicians....to them we are indebted for the improvement which has taken place in our musical taste - to them we are indebted for the introduction of the works of the great German and Italian Masters....Surely then the least thing we can do in return for these exertions is to patronize and give the Society our best support. That this has been done hitherto, in an uncommon degree, we are free to confess, but alas, for this year the subscription paper is not nearly up to its wanted height and we therefore anticipate little else but a failure on Friday evening. Without any invidious reference to the distinguished strangers who have honoured us with a visit, we beg to remind our musical friends, that our native artists ought to be the first considered and cared for, and that there is an old and pithy saying which tells us that "charity begins at home". 329

Although the concerts of February and March 1828 were better attended 330, the reduced level of public support dissuaded the Society from promoting concerts the following year 331. The worsening economic situation in the country (see p.464) may also have contributed to the decrease in public support for the Society's concerts, although from the number of entertainments staged in Edinburgh during 1828, promoters seem not to have considered this a reason to expect failure.

The Professional Society's activities recommenced in 1830 332, although they again met with limited success and were abandoned for a further four years. A revival in 1835 again failed to arouse public enthusiasm on a significant scale 333, although the perseverance of the directors was more generously rewarded in subsequent seasons. The problem of the organisation's uncertain finances was partially solved through the creation of the Edinburgh Musical Association in 1835, which placed the Society on a new financial footing 334. There is considerable scope for a detailed study of the Edinburgh Professional Society of Musicians after 1830.
The chief problem facing all who attempted to establish regular concert series in Edinburgh during the early decades of the 19th century was the highly unpredictable level of public support. The subscription system, on which series were based, offered two principal attractions to impresarios; firstly, an indication of the level of public support in advance of entering into contracts with performers, and secondly, a degree of control in selecting the "quality" of the audience. However, there were disadvantages too, the most significant of which was the lack of a secure, long-term financial base (such as that formerly enjoyed by the Musical Society through its annual membership fees) from which the future continuance of concerts could be assured. The success of an impresario and the livelihoods of many resident performers were controlled largely by the caprice of public "fashion". The situation was neatly summarised in a phrase from one of Corri's advertisements of 1802; all who organised concerts in the city relied on the unerring "encouragement and protection of a liberal and discerning Public...." 335.

Independent impresarios, working within a severely restricted budget, were thus unable to establish events on more than a one-year basis. Even following a successful year, such as that of 1805, or an evident upturn in enthusiasm, as prompted, for example by the 1815 festival, there was no guarantee that a sufficient advance subscription could be raised to enable a promoter confidently to engage solo performers for subsequent concerts.

This situation did little to encourage an improvement in musical standards. Between about 1750-1790, the Musical Society had been able to entice foreign players to Edinburgh through the offer of handsome salaries and lucrative teaching opportunities. However, in the early 19th century, with unreliable prospects of regular employment within a much shorter concert season, few non-native musicians of excellence were persuaded to follow suit. Although many foreign musicians settled in the Scottish capital during the three
decades after about 1800, these were principally instructors rather than performers (for example, see Table II.4, p.141). A notable exception to this pattern was Felix Yaniewicz, although his activities in Edinburgh were as an impresario and teacher, as well as a performer, in addition to which he retained a commercial interest in music retailing. Generally, with so little competition, there was little incentive to raise performing standards among local players. The problem was acknowledged by contemporary observers, such as a correspondent for The Scots Magazine in 1818.  

Impresarios between 1800-1815 were faced with a seemingly insoluble sequence of problems. As their expenses in all areas rose, making a profit became increasingly difficult, even if the concerts proved popular with the public. In order to attract and retain the patronage of fashionable society, each concert series required novel or modern elements within its programmes. This generally necessitated the engagement of leading celebrity performers from London, usually including the most expensive type of soloist, a female singer. In addition, an able orchestra was required. These were mostly composed of local musicians, but as the continuance of concerts became more uncertain, players of a suitable calibre were less likely to remain in the city, and became more difficult to find. Thus, promoters were occasionally forced to book additional instrumentalists from elsewhere.  

In addition, concerts had to compete with a growing number of popular entertainments in the city, notably the theatre and dancing assemblies, but also, at various times, circuses or "equestrian" entertainments. These generally ran over long periods of the year, for example, the theatre's winter season usually extended from November to May, with an "after season" commonly beginning in July (around Race Week) and extending into September. Unlike the Musical Society, which presented its weekly concerts over a number of months, subscription concert series from 1798 extended over much shorter periods (usually about 8 weeks, including benefit concerts). This brevity was principally determined by the expense involved in engaging celebrity performers from London over long periods.
After years of inconsistent successes and costly failures, the pattern of individual impresarios attempting to promote concert series on a yearly basis finally broke down after about 1812. It took an extraordinary event to resuscitate public enthusiasm for this form of entertainment and a different form of organisation to bring such an event to fruition. This occurred through the musical festival of 1815. The scale of the festival was unprecedented in Scottish musical life, as was the cost of attendance. However, with the assistance of the largest and most distinguished musical force ever gathered in the city, the venture proved to be a triumph and attracted support from all parts of Scotland and the north of England.

Having learned from the experiences of 1815, the organisation and musical standards of the 1819 festival were a considerable improvement on the earlier event. However, the success of the city's first two festivals lay also in their impact as novel and fashionable occasions, as well as in purely musical terms. During the early-1820s, as festivals occurred more frequently, their novelty appeal inevitably declined. In the face of falling revenue from tickets sales, festival directors were unable to present performances on the grand scale of 1815 and 1819; falling profits culminated in the disastrous losses of 1843.

Inspired by the success of the 1815 festival, the large-scale organisations which subsequently took principal control of regular concerts in the city were better able to overcome the problems which had dogged individual impresarios in earlier years. Expenses were kept to a minimum. The concerts presented by the Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music and the Edinburgh Professional Society of Musicians were predominantly given by locally-based performers. Unfortunately, in the case of the Institution, the situation did not prove sustainable. Like the Institution, the Professional Society was controlled by an elected committee of directors, although in this case it was comprised wholly of active members of the Society. The Society's constitution, as enforced by the committee, directed the organisation's financial management, musical policy and members' conduct. Membership was
restricted to professional musicians, who were expected to attend rehearsals and to perform in each concert. The Society did not undertake the expense of booking its soloists from London, and although numerous guest soloists appeared in its concerts, they had usually been brought to the city to fulfil other engagements.

After about five years of indifferent response, the concerts presented by the Society experienced a dramatic upturn in public support. However, as in the early-1800s, this was not sustained. The reasons for this related to a combination of factors, notably the Society's reluctance to book celebrity performers whom the public would not otherwise hear during the season, and the policy of predominantly presenting little-known music by the foremost European composers, rather than popular and familiar works.

Clearly, through the presentation of chamber music, Yaniewicz's concerts from 1816 were run at considerably less financial risk than were large-scale ventures. Yaniewicz was able to capitalise on public enthusiasm for music which was well-suited also to performance in the home and thus attractive to all musical amateurs. Faced only with the expense of small musical forces, he had little difficulty in offering new works to the public and thus surrounding his concerts with an atmosphere of novelty and modernity.

**BENEFIT CONCERTS**

The following survey examines the two principal types of benefit concert promoted in the city, categorised according to their beneficiaries: resident musicians, and locally-based charities.

**Benefit Concerts for Resident Musicians**

During the late 18th century, the directors of Edinburgh's Musical Society controlled the award of benefit nights to its
musicians at Saint Cecilia's Hall. The names of the performers who had been awarded concerts and the dates allocated to them were advertised in the local press during November or December, and benefits usually took place at, or towards the end of the season of weekly concerts (i.e. between February and April). Additional benefits were sometimes granted at the close of the Race Week season.

After 1798 it is not always clear who selected the musicians to be honoured in this way. The city's long-established resident performers probably took an annual benefit as a matter of course, although with the cooperation of the current leading impresario, usually Corri. In 1801, for example, the leading players of the Professional Concert each staged a benefit concert: Stabilini on February 27th, Mr and Mrs Corri on March 13th, Schetky on April 4th, Urbani on April 7th and Fraser on April 21st. These musicians advertised such concerts each season while resident in the city. In subsequent years other local instrumentalists also presented benefits, principally under the auspices of Corri, for example in March 1804: violinist John Alday; singer John Wilson; clarinetist and violinist, John Mahon; and 'cellist and violinist Thomas Bird. Following Corri's example, impresarios working later in the period presented their own annual benefits, for example Mather's "Grand Miscellaneous Concert" in January 1812 (see p.194) and Yaniewicz's "Morning Concert" in March 1818.

Annual benefits were also awarded by the management of the Theatre Royal to members of the theatre band. The leader was always given a benefit; for example, Edward Simpson, Alexander Murray, and James Dewar. Other important players were similarly honoured, for example, the principal 'cellist Richard Powell, while the remainder of the band jointly received the proceeds from a special "band" benefit, for example in May 1810.

An advertisement for Edward Simpson's benefit in 1811 provides useful information concerning the number and names of players employed at the theatre. The advertised size of the band, consisting of 22 players conflicts with Farmer's 1811 figure of 12.
VOCAL PERFORMERS / Mess. Shaw and Jones, Miss Sheen and Mrs Penson &c. / INSTRUMENTAL PERFORMERS / Leader, Mr W. Penson; Violins, Mess. Gow, Dun, Mason, Dewar and Clarkson; Tenors, Mess. Dewar, Stewart; Oboe, Mr Fraser; Flutes, Mess. Gardiner & Robertson; Horns, Mess. Napier; Bassoon, Mr Millar; Clarionet, Mr McLeod; Violoncellos, Mess. Simpson, Shepherd, Schetky and Bird; Contra-Bassi, Mess. Thomson & Hunter. Mr Mathew will preside at the Piano Porte. 354

The principal vocal performers at the theatre also received benefit performances, for example, Mrs Penson in 1811 355. The terms on which leading singers were engaged probably included the award of at least one benefit concert.

In order to maximise the appeal of their concerts, beneficiaries presented programmes containing music with which they had achieved particular success. Thus, Urbani's concerts predominantly featured Scottish music, indeed they were often advertised as "Caledonian" concerts, as for example in 1802 356. The benefits of Natale Corri and his wife were lavish occasions, as befitting an impresario, and usually consisted of items of sacred choral music interspersed with instrumental pieces. These concerts often included appearances by the season's visiting soloists from London (usually the only such appearance in another musician's benefit permitted by Corri, see p.102), for example, soprano, Gertrude Mara and harpist, Mlle. du Parcq, in 1802 357.

Generally, Stabilini's and Schetky's evenings were less adventurous affairs; their programmes reflecting the conservative nature of their musical tastes and abilities. Stabilini's benefits during the early-1800s are discussed below. Schetky frequently cited his long-standing association with the city in his advertised appeals for support, as for example in 1806:

Mr Schetky respectfully announces...that his 35th Annual Benefit Night is fixed for Wednesday March 11th at the Corri's Rooms...when he trusts that "Auld Lang Syne" will not be forgot. 358

-100-
Not surprisingly, in view of his associations with military bands, Thomas Fraser's benefit concerts usually featured martial music and included the band of a locally-based militia regiment, such as the Ayrshire Militia in 1804. Following the same pattern, benefit evenings for Nathaniel Gow took place in the form of dancing assemblies. During the early decades of the 19th century, Gow's band was the principal ensemble at the Edinburgh Assembly and although he also frequently participated as a violinist in the city's orchestras, it was as a provider of dance music that he was primarily known. Gow's ball, which usually took place in late-March or early-April, and during which a number of new compositions were introduced (see p.361), was among the most popular and fashionable assemblies of the season.

The importance of benefit evenings in supporting the city's leading resident performers is reflected in two incidents relating to Stabilini as recorded in the local press. The first concerns the distress arising from Corri's failure to raise an adequate subscription for concerts in 1806:

MR STABILINI... hopes he will be pardoned for stating that he feels himself this year, by a concurrence of circumstances, in a situation highly disadvantageous to him and his family, occasioned by the discontinuance of regular Concerts this Winter, and being without any other public employment as a performer. In this situation, he trusts that the Public will have the kindness to patronise his ANNUAL BENEFIT CONCERT...

The second relates to a public dispute with Corri in 1808 over the appearance in benefit concerts of celebrity vocalists engaged for that season's series. Corri had refused to allow his London soloists to participate in the benefit concerts of his principal local instrumentalists. In addition to providing useful information concerning arrangements for benefits, the exchanges reiterate the principal reason why benefits were staged only after the close of a subscription series - so not to divert public interest from the regular concerts. Anxious to protect his reputation, Corri responded swiftly to Stabilini's complaint. A series of exchanges between the fellow Italians and former close friends ensued:
MR CORRI / Finding that his silence has been considered as an admission of the justice of the complaint lately brought before the Public by Mr STABILINI, thinks it right to state explicitly, that he never gave Mr STABILINI the slightest reason to expect the assistance of any one of the Non-resident Performers at his Benefit. Nothing could be more absurd, than to complain of Mr CORRI's not granting him a favour which was never promised, but, on the contrary, refused every season, nor could any thing be more unreasonable than to expect it - Mr CORRI runs a very great risque when he engages Eminent Performers from England, and the only chance he has to reimburse himself, is their performance at his own Concerts, and those only. - Their assisting at Benefits is entirely out of the question; were such an indulgence given to Mr STABILINI, other Performers might expect the same, and the regular Concerts of Friday might be opposed, and deeply injured by a Benefit every Tuesday. Whatever attraction the Non-resident Performers may have from their novelty and their merit, Mr CORRI has the sole and exclusive right to it; and well does Mr STABILINI know, that he has not the shadow of title to complain. Of all the Performers, he should be the last so to do; for, it is a literal fact, that Mr CORRI has, from motives of regard for his countryman, engaged him, at Mr STABILINI's own terms every season to lead the Concerts, when Mr CORRI could have got that business done GRATIS, more to his satisfaction, by the distinguished VIOLIN PLAYERS, whom he has annually been obliged to bring from England to play Concertos. 362

The dispute culminated in Stabilini's public dismissal as leader of the concerts 363. However, although the orchestra for Corri's 1808 Race Week series was led by a visiting player "the Young Spaniard" 364, relations with Stabilini were restored by the following winter 365. Edinburgh did not boast another violinist of sufficient merit to lead an orchestra and occasionally play solo items; the expense of procuring a player from elsewhere may have had some bearing on Corri's willingness to settle his differences.

Benefit Concerts for Charitable Purposes

During each season a small number of concerts were presented for charitable purposes. The beneficiaries generally fell into one of three categories: firstly, the families of deceased local musicians or musical figures who had fallen on hard times; secondly, civic charitable institutions; thirdly, members of the military forces, or their families.
The annual concert of the Edinburgh Musical Fund belongs in the first category. Established in March 1790 as a successor to the Society of Musicians in Edinburgh, the Fund was intended to provide financial assistance to "decayed" musicians and their families who were among its members 366. A detailed survey of the rules, activities and development of the Fund lies beyond the scope of the present study, although there is a quantity of extant source material (see Bibliography). For present purposes it is sufficient to note that members were expected to participate in an annual concert for the benefit of the Fund, as stipulated in the regulations 367.

Some musicians who died in Edinburgh, and were not members of the Fund, left their families in sufficient difficulties to prompt benefit concerts on their behalf. These included a few non-residents, for example a member of a popular glee quartet, William Elliott, who died "in the prime of life", leaving a widow and seven children. A concert was given for their benefit in January 1818 368.

Of the local musicians whose families were assisted by benefit concerts following their bereavement, the most celebrated were Philip Seybold, James Hindmarsh, William Napier, Natale Corri and Robert Archibald Smith. Seybold was probably Edinburgh's first resident teacher and performer on the harp; he moved to the city with his family in November 1801, but died suddenly in 1803 (see p.59). Following this, his annual concert, scheduled for a few weeks later, was performed for the benefit of his widow and daughters (see p.169). Hindmarsh had worked in the city as a pianist and distinguished music teacher since 1803 (see p.142), and a benefit concert for his widow and daughters was given at the Assembly Rooms by the city's principal musicians on April 18th 1823 369. Napier, a member of a prolific family of Edinburgh musicians and for many years a member of the band at the Theatre Royal, died in tragic circumstances. The details of his unfortunate demise, "killed by a fall from his horse at Stirling, whilst on duty there as a Trumpeter to the Circuit Court of Justiciary", were included in advertisements for the concert, no doubt in the hope of attracting as much sympathy, and hence support, as possible 370.
Following the death of Natale Corri, the Edinburgh Professional Society of Musicians promoted a concert for the benefit of his family, whose troubled circumstances were described in the advertisements:

...The Friends of the late Mr Corri are respectfully reminded, that he having died suddenly, while on a professional tour with his daughters in Germany, it became necessary for Mrs Corri to join the young ladies there. In the mean time, the younger branches of the family in London, in consequence of their father's death, and the serious embarrassment occasioned to those on the Continent by this unfortunate event, have been involved in the greatest distress. 371

The death of Robert Archibald Smith in 1829 was lamented in the national press - a reflection of his recognised importance within Scottish Church music. A benefit concert for his family took the form of the many concerts presented by Smith in Edinburgh during the 1820s, as described in a letter to the editor of The Harmonicon:

A few evenings ago, a concert took place for the benefit of the family of the late Mr R.A. Smith, a man who was very generally known and liked here, and whose untimely death is much regretted. The concert was given in St. George's Church, of which Mr Smith was precentor; it was planned and managed by the clergyman of the parish (the Rev. D.A. Thomson), and... proved so successful as to clear between £200-£300 for the musician's family. As a Presbyterian church must not be profaned by the admission of instruments, the music was entirely vocal; yet it was wonderful with what accuracy and effect the performers (about 40) sung a number of difficult and complex pieces of sacred music, both of the English and German schools. Some of the best of Mr Smith's compositions were sung...372

Benefit performances were occasionally arranged to assist local musicians who had fallen on hard times. Of these, the violin maker Matthew Hardie, Nathaniel Gow, and pianist Thomas Butler were the most celebrated recipients. Again, in order to induce public sympathy, their circumstances were graphically outlined in press advertisements. Hardie and Gow were the victims of commercial pressures 373, while Butler's home and possessions had been destroyed by the great fire in the High Street of 1813 374.
Benefits Given for Locally-based Charities

The method by which specific locally-based charitable institutions were selected for the award of a benefit concert is not clear. Generally, each of the city's principal musicians participated in these events. The beneficiary bodies included the Public Kitchen in May 1800 375, the Industrious Blind in June 1801 376, the House of Industry in February 1811 377 and the Leith Dispensary in February 1828 378. In April 1804, a benefit concert for the Magdelene Asylum included the rival impresarios of the previous year's subscription concerts, Corri and Urbani. This was the only occasion at which they appeared together in public following the animosities of 1803 379.

A rare instance of a visiting celebrity performing in a benefit concert for local, charitable purposes was Angelica Catalani in 1810, who sang at a benefit evening at the Theatre Royal for the "labouring poor" of the city. The concert raised almost £200 380. However, Catalani was not always willing thus to contribute her services. In 1812, through her manager, DeVallabreque, she declined a request from the Edinburgh Musical Fund, to appear in a forthcoming concert. The refusal and its manner caused considerable indignation:

....That Mr DeVallabreque's answer is extremely impolite in so far as he refused to hear what the Deputation had to propose or might have requested of him, and very ungracious in as far as he refused by anticipation the assistance of Madame Catalani at the Concert for the charitable fund of a profession to which she has the honour to belong, of which she forms one of the highest ornaments. 381

In addition to charitable institutions for the sick or poor, throughout the period of the French/Napoleonic Wars, benefit entertainments in aid of the widows and families of men killed in the great military engagements were given in Edinburgh, as they were in most other British cities. An early example was a benefit concert for the "sufferers" of Lord Howe's fleet 382, at Saint Cecilia's Hall in July 1794. Admiral Lord Howe had commanded the victorious British fleet at the "Glorious Battle of the First of June" in 1794, the first decisive naval engagement of the French Revolutionary Wars.
In addition to these events, the leading local militia band in Edinburgh, that of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers (first battalion), performed an annual concert for their own benefit at the Assembly Rooms: "this being their only emolument" 383. These usually took place in late-March or April, so as not to clash with other concerts. As at other benefit concerts, the city's leading musicians gave their services free of charge.

SUMMARY

Following the final subscription concert or theatrical performance of each season, the promoters of these events awarded their principal celebrity performers and leading resident musicians a benefit concert. These events were given with the unremunerated assistance of fellow performers and, if well supported, raised substantial sums. The music played was invariably that in which the performer had induced the greatest response from audiences during the season; it was unusual for new works to be introduced. Benefit concerts were also presented in aid of locally-based charitable institutions, for musicians or their families who were beset by misfortune, and for those who had suffered as a result of the continental wars.

CONCERTS PROMOTED INDEPENDENTLY BY PERFORMERS

During the 18th century the Edinburgh Musical Society controlled the city's concert life: it was the city's principal employer of musicians and the owner of its only purpose-built concert hall. However, after 1798, the situation became more diverse. In addition to subscription series, associated benefit evenings, and performances during festivals or by large-scale societies, some individual musicians presented concerts too. Within this survey, concerts given by locally-based performers will be assessed first.
Concerts presented by Locally-based Musicians

Concert performances of Church music were given in Edinburgh following the revival of public interest during the early-1750s (see p.188). Over the ensuing decades, the frequency and success of performances of sacred music fluctuated according to the current level of public enthusiasm for the genre. The proponents of schemes for choir-training in the city each realised the value of public performances in order to exhibit their achievements and attract support. Performances of sacred music took various forms, ranging from the "Public Practices" of the Church Music Society, consisting entirely of music suitable for use within the Church service (see pp.201-2) to the concerts of the Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music, which included full-scale choral "art" works with orchestral accompaniment (see pp.197-200).

Reflecting a revival of interest in Church music in about 1810, a number of Edinburgh choirmasters and organists presented concerts of sacred music. These events can be categorised according to the intended recipients of the proceeds. Some professional musicians or teachers occasionally gave programmes of sacred music in the (legitimate) hope of making a profit. The March 1815 concerts of John Mather 384 and Robert Gale 385 in Charlotte Square, for example, belong in this category. In other cases, notably within the Presbyterian Church, occasional performances of unaccompanied sacred music were given free of charge, with a collection taken for Church funds. The role of music within the established Church remained a subject of dispute throughout the period; however, the concerts presented by Robert Archibald Smith at St George's, such as that of April 1824, achieved great approbation:

Some of our readers will be surprised to learn that this concert, although from its nature affording less variety than any of the numerous concerts which have taken place in the course of the Winter in Edinburgh, was so numerously attended as to prove more profitable than most of them. Mr Smith's success on this occasion will no doubt encourage him to make
still farther exertions to draw public attention to Sacred Music. 386

Within the home and the concert hall, the popularity of glee
and catches increased greatly in early 19th-century Edinburgh,
reflecting a trend throughout Britain. For amateur performers,
numerous collections of glee, catches and other unaccompanied vocal
pieces were published in the city (see pp.352-4), while local music
retailers stocked the latest arrangements from London. Within the
concert hall, unaccompanied vocal ensembles (usually quartets)
appeared with increasing frequency in programmes of songs, glee
and catches. After about 1805, such pieces were often included in
certains to provide additional variety within programmes, and public
enthusiasm for the genre was sufficient to encourage a number of
ensembles to present entire evenings of such works. Many of these
groups consisted of locally-based singers or music teachers, such as
the ensemble of Messrs Lees, Urquhart, Templeton and Thomson, who
often performed in Edinburgh after about 1810, for example at Corri's
Rooms in February 1813 387. The obvious commercial advantage of such
certains was that, with so few performers, they were cheap to stage.

As the number of resident musicians increased (most of whom
were principally teachers, see Chapter II), occasional concerts were
promoted by individual performers or by family groups. As with other
independently promoted concerts, in order to achieve fashionable
status, advertisements were frequently headed by the names of
distinguished patronesses from the ranks of the nobility, as
illustrated by the concert of the daughters of the harpist, Jean
Elouis, who for many years was the city's principal instructor in
that instrument (see pp.169-71):

ASSEMBLY ROOMS, GEORGE STREET / First Appearance of MISS ELOUIS
AND TWO OF HER SISTERS / Under the Patronage of / The Most
Noble the Marchioness of LOTHIAN / The Right Hon. the Countess
of MORTON / The Right Hon. the Countess of WEMYSS / The Right
Hon. Lady ELEANOR DUNDAS / The Right Hon. Lady ASHBURTON / The
Hon. Lady FERGUSON / The Hon. Lady SINCLAIR of Ulbster / Lady
CUMING GORDON / Lady STEWART of Grandtully / The Hon. Mrs DUFF
/ The Hon. Mrs MAITLAND MAKGILL of Rankellor / Mrs General
ANSTRUTHER / Mrs MACLEOD of MacLeod / Mrs STEWART of Castle-
Stewart / Mrs MACLEOD of Harris / Mrs STUART MENTEATH of

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Closeburn / Mrs WEDDERBURN of Wedderburn / A CONCERT and PERFORMANCE ON THE PIANO FORTE by Miss ELOUIS (Pupil of the Celebrated Ries) and on Erard's patent double-action Harp, by Miss G. ELOUIS and Miss Amelia ELOUIS... [1821]

Single concerts featuring fashionable instruments such as the harp usually attracted plentiful support from the upper classes; for example, in April 1828 the harpist, Mr Taylor, included an extensive list of local patronesses in advertisements for his forthcoming concert 389. The nature of any practical or financial assistance provided by such patrons is not clear, although it seems most likely that the advertised association by ladies of fashion with a concert was all that their "patronage" entailed.

Concerts presented by Visiting Celebrities

The distance between Edinburgh and other British musical centres dissuaded many celebrity performers from promoting their own concerts in the Scottish capital. However, a small number of distinguished soloists did appear in the city (sometimes as part of a wider national tour) and they generally met with success. Clearly, it was necessary to limit the level of financial risk, thus when additional players were required, their numbers were kept low. Reflecting this, although the concerts given by Salomon and Pinto in the Race Week of 1800 included performances of a number of Haydn's "London" symphonies, these were given in a chamber version for flute, string quartet and keyboard continuo, arranged and published in London by Salomon. The first performances of the symphonies in their full orchestration were given as part of Corri's 1801 series (see p.60). Salomon and Pinto's concerts were hailed as among the finest ever heard in Edinburgh 390, and they exerted a far-reaching influence on the city's concert life.

Other, less famous, visiting instrumentalists similarly gave concerts involving small numbers of musicians, for example the Dale family, who performed in Edinburgh shortly before the arrival of
Salomon (see p.166). The various talents of Joseph Dale and his family were combined in programmes of great variety and novelty, notably through the inclusion of music for harp (played by his daughter) and tambourine (played by his son)391.

The popularity of musical glasses in Edinburgh was sufficient to encourage a number of performers to present concerts. These were frequently given on a daily basis over a period of several weeks, for example, the concerts of Messrs Cartwright and Smith 392. In 1825, the Spaniard, Don Celestino de Brughuera became the first musician to give a solo guitar recital in the city. His "Serenade and Concert on the Spanish Guitar" at the Assembly Rooms on March 19th 1825 was given under the patronage of the Duchess of Hamilton and Brandon and an entourage of other fashionable patronesses 393. The performance was subsequently postponed until March 28th 394. However, the Spaniard remained long enough in the city to give instruction on the instrument, which prompted some resident musicians to follow suit (see pp.175-6).

Information concerning the visits of famous pianists to Edinburgh during the period has generally been overlooked by modern biographers. The 1820s saw concerts by three of Europe's greatest players: Ferdinand Kalkbrenner (1824), Johann Baptist Cramer (1826) and Ignaz Moscheles (1828). A precedent for such appearances had been set some 30 years earlier by the 12-year old Johann Nepomuk Hummel:

MASTER HUMMEL of VIENNA.... proposes to have another CONCERT before leaving Scotland, particulars in future advertisements. Meanwhile he offers to PRINT the following AIRS, with variations of his own composition, for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, viz, the PLOUGHBOY, with 6 variations, The DUKE of YORK'S MARCH, with 8 variations, an AIR by the AUTHOR with 8 variations - price 5s 6d. Subscriptions taken in by Mr Hummel, at Mr W. Smith's, Potterrow, and at the Music Shops. 395 [1790]

The three celebrated pianists who appeared in Edinburgh during the 1820s performed with the accompaniment of an orchestra of local players. Kalkbrenner and Cramer received considerable support from local professionals, although Moscheles was less fortunate:
MR KALKBRENNER'S CONCERT / THE PROFESSIONAL GENTLEMEN of EDINBURGH having expressed a great desire that MR KALKBRENNER should perform in public during his visit to this City, and having, with this view, in the most handsome manner, offered their assistance on the occasion, he has, consequently, the honour to announce, that a CONCERT will take place on FRIDAY the 15th inst....

The talents of this celebrated musician [Cramer] attracted a large and fashionable audience to the Assembly Rooms on Friday night, to whom they afforded a rich treat. The orchestra, which was tolerably good, was ably led by Mr Finlay Don, who, by the delicacy of his accompaniment, his discrimination of effect, and the minute attention which he paid to the individual members of the Band, proved himself to be eminently qualified to conduct the business of that department.

The success of this winter expedition, undertaken by Moscheles for professional purposes, was seriously imperilled by an Italian Opera Company which had forstalled him, and he was obliged to put up with a third-rate orchestra, got together anyhow from regimental bandsmen; the Highlanders, with their bare legs and kilts, being the poor substitutes for a well-trained orchestra.

The fame of Kalkbrenner and Cramer, notably as composers of popular piano pieces, ensured that their Edinburgh concerts were well attended. Initially Moscheles was less favoured, due to the unfortunate timing of his arrival, during a period of exceptional concert activity in Edinburgh, but he subsequently achieved great success:

....in point of attendance, Mr Moscheles' [first] Concert was all but a failure, there being no more than about a hundred, and several of these not paying! We looked in vain for any of the fashionables, who were wont to grace the Assembly Rooms on all such occasions....

MR MOSCHELES' [third] MORNING CONCERT / The appearance of the Assembly Rooms on Saturday was very gratifying, and shewed that Mr Moscheles only required to be known to become an attraction. His vast powers were almost unknown to us before he came here, which may perhaps account for the comparative failure of his other concerts. The fame of Cramer and Kalkbrenner had long preceded them through their works, which were almost the only text books used by Amateurs. Moscheles, on the contrary had, since his arrival in England, a few years ago, published but little music which could come within the grasp of young Ladie's fingers....
Local newspapers responded to the concerts with suitably laudatory accounts of the playing of each pianist - a source of biographical material for future writers - for example, the opening concerts of Kalkbrenner and Cramer:

MR KALKBRENNER'S CONCERT - This Gentleman's fame as an eminent piano-forte player had excited so lively an interest, that Smart's Rooms in Thistle Street proved quite inadequate to accommodate his concert on Friday night. Of Mr Kalkbrenner's extraordinary abilities as a performer on the piano forte, any remarks we have to offer must fall infinitely short of his merits. His execution is powerful, and his touch exquisitely delicate; but his extemporaneous variations excited the greatest admiration, particularly those to the favourite Scots Air of "Here awa, there awa" which were loudly encored. No performer on the piano forte ever excited greater admiration in this city. Most of the Amateurs were present, and appeared highly delighted. 401

....To panegyrisé too Mr Cramer's performance too highly would be difficult indeed....with him there is no parade, no petty artifices for effect, no unnecessary passages framed to excite astonishment and dazzle the fancy; all is pure and legitimate. His object is to affect our sensibility, to awaken those sublime, tender and pleasing emotions which the art of music is capable of producing and which afford so much more intense gratification than the mere sentiment of wonder or admiration. In these respects, in the pathos and purity of his style, we have no hesitation in saying that Cramer is infinitely superior to Kalkbrenner. In his playing we so often find "a grace beyond the rules of Art" that it is impossible not to consider him a man of first rate musical genius. His performance of Mozart's Concerto in Bb was a lesson to every musician present, and a source of infinite delight to every amateur. The Andante and last movement were indescribably beautiful. Mr Cramer, in countenance, bears a striking resemblance to Mr Young, the tragedian, and independent of his musical qualifications, we understand is a person of the most amiable and polished manners, and in every respect an honour to his profession. 402

Detailed descriptions concerning the Edinburgh visits of other international instrumentalists are contained in contemporary press accounts. These musicians included Paganini in 1831, the Distin family in 1835, Ole Bull in 1837, Liszt in 1840, and Chopin in 1848.

Few solo singers visited the city to give concerts at their own expense. The high fees paid to leading vocalists by theatre managers

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and other impresarios rendered self-promotion an unnecessary risk. The expense involved in meeting the fees of an orchestra and, for variety within a programme, instrumental soloists, provided a further disincentive. However, two leading sopranos who appeared in Edinburgh during the early 19th century provide exceptions to this pattern.

The Edinburgh-trained child prodigy Mary Ann Paton appeared in 1811 and 1812 in her own concert series in the city. Each series consisted of two "Juvenile Concerts" given at the Old Theatre Royal, Shakespeare Square (at this time Corri's Rooms were known as the Theatre Royal). In 1811, Paton was eight years old and the programme, given with the assistance of the theatre band and promoted by her teacher, James Hindmarsh, was designed to display the young performer's various talents:

**JUVENILE CONCERT...**

ACT I / Symphony - Haydn / Song, Mr Shaw / Air, with variations, composed by Miss Paton - Piano Forte Miss Paton / Quartetto / Song "O Dolce Concerto", accompanied on the Piano Forte, Miss Paton / ACT II / Recitation, by particular desire, "Alexander's Feast" or the Power of Music, Miss Paton, with introductory Solemn Music on the Organ, by Miss Paton and by the Band / Glee, 4 voices / Quintetto Concertante - Beethoven, Piano Forte, Miss Paton / Corelli's Concerto / Song, accompanied on the Harp, Miss Paton / Finale "King's Anthem", sung and accompanied on the Piano Forte and "Rule Britannia", Piano Forte with accompaniments, Miss Paton....

Following the 1812 season, Paton performed in London, where she remained for most of her career. However, further occasional appearances were made in Edinburgh, some of which were promoted independently, for example two concerts at the Assembly Rooms in April 1819 - Paton had not travelled to Edinburgh specifically for these; her principal engagements were at the Theatre Royal and later as a soloist in the city's musical festival (see p.83).

The touring concert series of Angelica Catalani, including appearances in Edinburgh after 1807, have been outlined above (see pp.51-2). Catalani evidently remained a favourite in the Scottish capital over many years, and presented numerous concerts during the 1820s, for example a series of four at the Assembly Rooms in December.
1821, followed by the usual benefit evenings. These concerts were
given in conjunction with the tenor, John Braham, who was currently
appearing at the Edinburgh Theatre Royal. The soprano's 1821
concerts differed from those of her earlier tours in that they were
given with the assistance of a small number of local players, led by
Yaniewicz, mostly drawn from the theatre band. Unlike some of
Catalani's previous visits, those of the 1820s were not generally
part of a wider tour of British cities. It was thus probably cheaper
to engage an ensemble in this manner. As was the usual practice in
Yaniewicz's own concerts, the instrumental works included in each
Catalani programme were given in chamber form, for example, a Septet
for two violins, two violas, flute, 'cello and double bass by
Rossini, and a Cherubini overture arranged for the same forces.

The success of Catalani's appearances is reflected in the
frequency of her visits. A further six subscription concerts were
given at the Assembly Rooms in December 1823, on the same plan as in
1821. Following various appearances at the theatre in Edinburgh,
she returned in January 1829 to give a series of three subscription
concerts. Despite the failure of many concert initiatives in
Edinburgh at this time she again achieved great popular success,
although her voice was evidently now past its prime:

Catalani gave three concerts last month, which, however, were
well attended - one of them an overflow. This great singer (who
has not, I think, appeared lately in London) is no longer what
she once was. Her voice has lost both compass and flexibility,
and her intonation has become rather uncertain; still, however,
she is a magnificent singer. Madame Stockhausen, who was of the
party, was very popular: and our young ladies are all working
away at her Swiss airs.

The increasing popularity of glees and catches during the early
19th century was reflected in the appearance of various small-scale
vocal ensembles, principally quartets. The most celebrated group to
visit Edinburgh consisted of the Elliott brothers, James and William,
Richard Evans, and variously Mr Novello or William Beale, from
London. From 1805, they appeared frequently in Edinburgh, often
as part of an extended tour of the principal towns and cities of
northern England and Scotland. In 1809, for example, concerts in the capital were followed by appearances at the Salutation Hall in Perth; while in 1818, following concerts in Edinburgh and Glasgow, the group performed in Cupar, St. Andrew's, Dundee, Montrose, Stonehaven, Aberdeen, Peterhead, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Inverness and Perth. In 1810 and 1811, four concerts were given at the Edinburgh Assembly Rooms, the latter series featuring the soprano, Miss Griglietti (who was appearing also at the Theatre Royal), instead of William Beale. The same number of concerts was given during 1816 and 1817, by the now standard quartet of "Messrs Elliotts, Evans and Beale".

During the 1820s, concert programmes in the Scottish capital usually contained performances of glees or catches, generally given by local musicians. The continuing popularity of the genre in Edinburgh was reflected by the 1828 visit the Britain's foremost quartet, that of Mr & Mrs Knyvett (late Miss Travis), Mr Vaughan and Mr Bellamy ("from the King's Concerts, London"). However, the draw of rival entertainments during one of the city's most active annual seasons resulted in the failure of their initial concert:

The room, we are sorry to say, was not crowded, or rather, not half filled. We trust however, that the next concert will turn out more favourably.

**SUMMARY**

Since it employed the city's finest musicians, the Musical Society effectively controlled all concerts in Edinburgh during the second half of the 18th century. However, after 1798 the situation became more diversified. In addition to subscription series, a number of individuals and small groups independently presented concerts in the city. Inevitably, these were essentially low-budget events. Those who gave such performances in the Scottish capital can be placed in three categories. The most significant group were local church musicians who organised concerts of sacred music using a choir drawn
from their church and, excepting the Presbyterians, an accompanying instrumental ensemble. These events became more frequent during the 1820s, following the collapse of the Edinburgh Institution. Secondly, the popularity of glees and catches within both the concert hall and home encouraged groups of locally-based singers to form vocal quartets and to present evenings featuring this popular genre. Thirdly, a few concerts featured members of the same family as their point of attraction.

Although a small number of visiting celebrity instrumentalists presented their own concerts in Edinburgh during the early-1800s, most notably Salomon in 1801, it was not until the 1820s that the cult of the travelling virtuoso performer had a significant impact on the city's concert life with the visits of the pianists Kalkbrenner, Cramer and Moscheles. Generally, singers did not promote their own concerts in the city; there was little reason for them to undertake a financial risk when large fees were available for performing in concerts or musical plays organised by others. The principal exceptions to this pattern were Mary Ann Paton, a native of Edinburgh who occasionally returned, and Angelica Catalani who enjoyed enthusiastic and prolonged popularity in the Scottish capital.

THE MUSIC PERFORMED IN EDINBURGH CONCERTS

A detailed study of the music performed in Edinburgh's public concerts during the period exceeds the confines of the present work. There is scope for further research in this field, with the necessary material contained in three extant Plan Books of the Edinburgh Musical Society (covering the period between 1768-1771 and 1778-1786), two library lists of the music owned by the Society, and the other sources used throughout this chapter. For present purposes, a pattern will be established relating to the types of music performed and the composers most favoured.
Although for much of their history, the concerts of the Musical Society were presented in three parts, or "Acts" (i.e. having two intervals), this unusual practice was abandoned during the 1790s in favour of the conventional two-part format. The precise date of change and the reasons for it are not clear, but it was certainly in place by the time of the violinist Giornovichi's concert at Saint Cecilia's Hall in 1797. 418.

The selection of music performed at the Society's concerts after about 1780 generally follows the same formula, with items for the full ensemble juxtaposed with solo pieces, vocal and instrumental. That presented for Stabilini's benefit in 1791 was typical of concerts at Saint Cecilia's Hall:

Act I / Favourite Overture - Kozeluch / Song - Mr N. Corri / Sonata on the piano forte - Master William Clarke / Favourite new Rondeau by Cimarosa - Mr Urbani / Pleyel's admired Concertante / Act II / New Symphony with a Grand Slow Movement - Haydn / Scots song "I'll never leave thee" - Mr Urbani / New Solo Concerto of Jarnovich - Mr Stabilini, in which he will introduce a favourite Scots Tune / Favourite Comic Duetto - Paesiello (by Mr Urbani and Mr Corri) / and to conclude with Haydn's favourite Overture of La Chasse.... 419

In addition to serious "art" works, novelty items were usually included for variation or to appeal to the popular sentiments of the audience. Of these, Scots songs were the most popular, notably, in the 1790s, Pietro Urbani's performances of national songs and Girolamo Stabilini's violin "concerti" incorporating Scottish airs (as illustrated by the above advertisement). The Society's practice of including works by local composers, in particular, those of the Earl of Kelly 420 declined rapidly in the 1790s, as the capital failed either to produce or attract composers of quality.

Following the Society's dissolution, the fate of its library of music is not clear. However, from the type of programme subsequently presented by the Professional Concert and Natale Corri, it appears that at least some of the material formerly owned by the Society was acquired by Corri. The concert seasons of 1799 and 1800 were, with regard to the music performed, little different from those given at Saint Cecilia's

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Hall during the earlier years of the decade, as illustrated by the programme of the first concert of 1800:

GEORGE STREET ASSEMBLY ROOMS.... Plan of the Concert / Act I / Grand Overture - PLEYEL / Italian Song, Mr URBANI / Concerto Violoncello, Mr SCHETKY / Song - HANDEL, Mrs CORRI / Concerto Fagotto, Mr PREUMAYR / ACT II / Scotch Song, Mr URBANI / Violin Concerto, Mr STABILINI / Bravura Song, Mrs CORRI / A Favourite Russian Duet, Mrs CORRI & Mr URBANI / Finale....

However, the situation changed rapidly in ensuing seasons. Within this survey, pieces typically performed within concerts of vocal and instrumental music will be assessed first, beginning with changes in works played by the full orchestra (which were usually placed at either end of an "Act"). Other types of music included in programmes for the sake of variety or novelty are then outlined, notably solo pieces, glees and catches, and music with a Scottish flavour. This is followed by a brief survey of the presentation of oratorios and chamber music.

Music for the Full "Band"

The visit of Salomon and Pinto to Edinburgh in July and August 1800, which had a profound effect on the city's concert life, has not adequately received the attention of modern scholars, although full details are available in contemporary press advertisements and editorials $^{422}$. The music included the first Edinburgh performances of "some of the much admired Manuscript Symphonies composed by Dr Haydn, from Mr Salomon's Concerts, and several Vocal pieces from the celebrated Oratorio, The Creation", in addition to concertos for the violin and the piano (played by Pinto, "a Youth of 14 years, pupil of Mr Salomon" $^{423}$), and various chamber works, notably string quartets by Haydn. However, since the involvement of a "band" was not mentioned in advertisements (as was the standard practice) and the number of named soloists for each concert did not exceed seven, the larger works were evidently given in chamber versions (with the symphonies, these were Salomon's own published arrangements for string quartet, flute and piano).
Following their enthusiastic reception, Corri secured from Salomon a full set of manuscript parts for a number of the symphonies, and directed their first Edinburgh performances in the full orchestration during his winter concerts of 1801. The popularity of these works, in particular the "Surprise" and "Military" symphonies was reflected in the frequency of their inclusion in Edinburgh concerts over the ensuing decade.

In the same way in which the music of Handel and Corelli often provided the most elevated elements within the Musical Society's concerts during the 1770s and 1780s, so pieces by Haydn enriched programmes in Edinburgh during the early seasons of the 19th century. The changing musical taste of the time was not wholly approved of, particularly by senior members of the old order some of whom disputed the merits of Haydn and Mozart in comparison with earlier masters. The terms of General Reid's bequest (1803), for example, which resulted in the creation of a chair in music at Edinburgh University, included a reference to the preservation of the art of music in the old style.

Although the latest orchestral music of Haydn quickly achieved widespread popularity in Edinburgh during the early-1800s, that of Beethoven was less readily accepted. John Mather was an early champion of the composer in Scotland, although it is difficult to identify the specific works which he introduced. The advertised programme of his concert of March 1811 included the first performance of a Beethoven symphony (probably that in C major). Symphonies of Beethoven were also given, by a sizable ensemble as part of his 1812 season, and, a few weeks later, by an even larger orchestra at the annual concert of the Edinburgh Musical Fund: "The Orchestra will be complete in all its parts and will consist of upwards of 70 performers." In addition, Mather's 1812 programmes included a Quintetto by Beethoven, although, again, the precise identity of this piece is not clear.

The most ambitious performance of a Beethoven work attempted during the period was that of the oratorio Christ on the Mount of Olives during the festivals of 1815 and 1819, although only a few choruses were given on the first occasion and just a single act on the second (see...
pp.83-4). 1819 also saw the first Edinburgh performance of the sixth symphony, first in a chamber version in Yaniewicz's fifth morning concert (the programme of which also included the first Scottish performance of the overture, The Creatures of Prometheus "for a Full Band" 430), and subsequently in its full orchestration:

MR YANIEWICZ has received from the committee of the Philharmonic Concert in London the parts of the celebrated characteristic Sinfonia Pastorale of BEETHOVEN which will be performed with a Full Band at Miss Yaniewicz's Concert on the 31st [March]. 431

In accordance with one of the Edinburgh Professional Society's founding aims, its programmes regularly introduced new works to the public, including major pieces by Beethoven. The first concert of 1824 included the first Edinburgh performance of the second symphony (repeated in the third concert 432). The 1825 season was particularly rich in Scottish premieres of Beethoven, notably, the overture to Fidelio and the chorus The Calm of the Sea and Ringing Breeze in the third concert 433, and the overture to Leonora in the fourth 434. Other pieces included the Egmont overture (first concert 435) and the Symphony in C 436.

A portion of the Society's funds was annually allocated for the purchase of new music (see Table I.5, p.88-9). Thus, the 1825 season saw the first Edinburgh performances of four overtures by other important European composers: Weigl's The Swiss Family and Weber's The Ruler of the Spirits 437, Mozart's La Clemenza di Tito 438 and Rossini's Cendrillon 439. In addition, three works by members of the Society were performed: overtures by Finlay Dun 440 and Alexander Murray 441, and a setting by James Dewar of the 150th Psalm 442. These pieces had been expressly composed for the Society.

The frequency with which new or unfamiliar orchestral works were brought before the public by the Professional Society may eventually have contributed to its downfall. However, every effort was made to make each programme as varied as possible, often including chamber music in addition to solo and ensemble vocal pieces and instrumental items, as shown in the programme presented in January 1825:
ACT I / Grand Symphony in Eb - Haydn / Glee and Chorus, by desire, "The Chough and Crow". The solo parts by Miss Noel, Mr Swift and Mr Thorne - Bishop / Song "Non piu Andrai", Mr Thorne - Mozart / Overture to "The Swiss Family" (first time in this city) - Weigl / Song, "Sweetest Idol", Miss Noel - Pucitta / Scena, from The Seasons, Miss Noel, Messrs. Swift and Thorne - Haydn / ACT II / Overture to "The Ruler of the Spirits" (first time in this city) - Weber / Duet "Rondel Persche", Miss Noel and Mr Thorne - Mozart / Quartette, 2 Violins, Tenor and Bass, Messrs. Yaniewicz, Murray, Stewart and Simpson - Mozart / Terzetto - Chorus from The Seasons (first time in this city) - Haydn / Overture to "Egmont" - Beethoven.

Variety and Novelty

In order to attract and maintain the support of an increasingly novelty-hungry audience, impresarios continually sought to introduce new or unusual elements into their programmes. Variety and novelty were the tenets of concert programming from the early years of the 19th century. In Edinburgh, excepting events such as the acquisition of Haydn's symphonies, the music performed by the celebrity and resident soloists was the chief provider of these essential elements. Thus, in press reviews, the performances given by these soloists were generally the focus of attention, while comments on the contributions or quality of the band were usually summarised with the utmost brevity:

Mr Corri's Subscription Concerts for this Season, commenced on Saturday last, and again introduced Mrs ASHE to the Public. She sung with exquisite sweetness, taste, and expression, and was warmly applauded and encored; in one of the songs, Mr WOOLF made his first appearance, and acquitted himself very skilfully on two Songs; he possesses a very fine tenor voice, of considerable power and compass, and in the Song of "Black ey'd Susan", reminded us strongly of INCLEDON. There is little doubt of his becoming a favourite. The Band was numerous, and the Symphonies were performed with very great effect. HAYDN's celebrated "Surprise", was never more admired than on this occasion. 444 [1805]

In order to compete with other forms of popular entertainment, concert impresarios endeavoured to balance serious art works and novel or popular items within their programmes. Glees and catches became a recurring feature within public concerts in the city after about 1805,
adding a lighter, popular dimension to proceedings. During the early years, the inclusion of works in this genre was often stressed in pre-season advertisements, as, for example, with Corri's 1807 series 445.

By about 1820, such works generally occupied positions of considerable prominence in concert programmes, as shown, for example, in that of the Professional Society in January 1825 (see above). However, throughout the period, the most characteristic, popular and indispensable element within Edinburgh's concert programmes was the inclusion of music with a Scots flavour.

There is much scope for further detailed study in this area, particularly concerning the early 19th century. However, for present purposes, the importance of this aspect of concert life in the Scottish capital will simply be noted. National music permeated all types of compositions presented in the city: ranging from simple arrangements of solo songs as performed, for example, at Saint Cecilia's Hall by Urbani (see the programme on p.117); instrumental solos, such as Pleyel's Sonatas with "Scotch Airs" (see pp.328-9) and innumerable solo concertos "incorporating" popular Scots melodies (as in the programme on p.116, for example); to works composed by visiting celebrities for performance during their Edinburgh concerts, such as Cramer's Fantasia "in which he introduced the airs of "Scots wha hae", "The Yellow haired Laddie" and "Kenmure" 446, and Moscheles's 1828 Anticipations of Scotland 447.

The absence of sufficient "Scots" items in programmes invariably brought criticism, such as that levelled at the "elitist" Professional Society in 1827, and at the organisers of the 1815 festival. During the latter, the evening concerts at Corri's Rooms, which consisted entirely of "foreign" music, were the focus for adverse comments, such as in the satirical pamphlet All Alive at the Edinburgh Festival:

"Oot man!" cries he, "gie's what we understand,
"What! gar's your lingo from a foreign land!
"Canna ye mind some ither in its stead,
"Such as, our Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled;
"If to my mind you'll play a tune, I'll thank ye,
"Gie's the Black Watch, or bonnie Killiecrankie." 448

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Significantly, the same "mistake" was not repeated during the 1819 festival; in the first evening concert, for example, the programme included "Scots wha hae", sung by John Braham (see p.84).

The extent to which the widespread taste for native airs, as manifested in public performances and musical publications, undermined demand for quality art music in Scotland and thus denied aspiring composers the necessary incentive to persevere in this field, was a subject debated by numerous contemporary writers, for example, the authors of an article in The Scots Magazine of 1818 449, and the 1849 pamphlet, Observations on the State of the Art of Music in Scotland.

The Performance of Oratorios

During the three decades following the dissolution of the Musical Society, which from the mid 18th century had promoted performances of Handel oratorios on a regular basis, large-scale choral works were only occasionally performed in the Scottish capital. These high-risk ventures met with varying degrees of financial and musical success.

Urbani's series of 1803 was not initially guided by a wish to revive oratorio in Edinburgh; the early advertisements proposed the inclusion of only a few choruses 450. However, plans to stage three oratorios in their entirety quickly became the venture's chief point of attraction and its most significant differentiating feature from the rival concerts of Corri (the performance of Samson was subsequently cancelled and replaced by a second performance of Messiah):

Trusting to the usual liberality and generous patronage of the Public, Mr Urbani has, at an inconceivable trouble and expense, engaged many of the first Vocal and Instrumental performers in Britain, and he is happy to acquaint the Public, that from the arrangements he has made, instead of a selection from the Chorusses of Handel as he first proposed, he will now have it in his power to exhibit the Sacred Oratorios of the Messiah, Samson and Judas Maccabeus, in the course of the season. 451

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The failure of these concerts, resulting in Urbani's ruin illustrates the level of risk faced by independent impresarios. Until 1815, subsequent performances of sacred choral works were kept on a modest scale, for example, Corri's presentation of the first part of The Creation in February 1808 (the work's first performance in Scotland 452), for which he had trained his own choir, and the selections from Handel and Haydn given in Mather's concerts of 1812 (see p.194).

The strong financial base of the city's early musical festivals supported oratorio performances on a scale which far exceeded anything previously heard in Edinburgh. It also encouraged a degree of experimentation, notably in the projected inclusion of Beethoven's The Mount of Olives. Excepting this, until the early-1830s, the oratorios heard in the city consisted of the standard, popular works by Handel (Messiah) and Haydn (The Creation and The Seasons). In the absence of extant printed plan-books, it is difficult to know, in each instance, whether works were given in a full or abridged form.

Chamber Music Concerts

Although many small-scale instrumental pieces were included in concerts in Edinburgh during the 18th century, works of chamber music, in the term's generally accepted modern definition, did not feature significantly in public performances until after 1815. This coincides with Felix Yaniewicz's period of residence in the city; he quickly became Edinburgh's first champion of the genre. The programmes of Yaniewicz's subscription concerts (see pp.73-4) consisted predominantly of chamber works or arrangements of large-scale pieces for chamber ensemble, interspersed with solo items given with the accompaniment of this ensemble, as illustrated in the opening concert of 1817:

ACT I / Overture to Anacreon, arranged as a quintette - Cherubini / Glee, three voices, Messrs. Swift, Templeton and Lees - Webbe / Quartetto, two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello - Haydn / Song, Mr Magrath / Concerto Piano Forte, Miss Yaniewicz - Kalkbrenner / Quintette, two Violins, Tenor, Bass and Piano Forte Accompaniment - Mozart / ACT II / Glee, four voices, Messrs. Magrath, Swift,

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Among Yaniewicz's most successful ventures was a complete performance of Beethoven's septet for strings and wind given during the opening concert of the 1819 festival. Generally, in the same way in which the Professional Society introduced to the public many new orchestral works by the great composers, Yaniewicz sought to present chamber music of the highest quality, which was largely unknown in the Scottish capital:

"...[the music] consisting of Quartets, Quintets, Sestetts, Violin and Piano Concertos, Solos, etc, selected from the works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and other eminent composers. From the very flattering encouragement given to performances on the same plan last season in this metropolis, Mr Yaniewicz is induced to hope that these concerts will meet with the approbation of the Amateurs of Music."

SUMMARY

Throughout the period, the programmes given at most of Edinburgh's public concerts contrasted ensemble works (usually involving an orchestra) with items featuring one or more solo performers. In addition, popular or novelty items were usually interspersed, most notably pieces with a Scottish flavour, which became virtually indispensable. During the late-1790s the three-part concert format previously favoured by the Musical Society, was abandoned in favour of the conventional two-part programme. This remained the norm henceforth. Although the programmes given during the seasons immediately following the closure of Saint Cecilia's Hall were similar to those of the preceding years, in terms both of content and character, significant changes occurred after about 1801.
Haydn's "London" symphonies, as performed by Salomon in a chamber version during the Edinburgh Race Week of 1801, were received with great enthusiasm and did much to revive local interest in concerts. Corri's acquisition of sets of orchestral parts from Salomon for a number of these symphonies was an astute move. Over the next decade, they retained a position of importance within the city's concerts comparable to that enjoyed by the music of Handel and Corelli during the Musical Society's heyday in the 1760s and 1770s. The music of Beethoven was less widely embraced, although, due to the efforts of local champions of the composer, notably John Mather, a few orchestral works achieved some popularity.

From the early years of the 19th century, pieces for small vocal ensemble, such as glees and catches, were frequently included in the city's concerts. These remained popular over the ensuing decades, as did items of instrumental chamber music. Felix Yaniewicz was largely responsible for creating general interest in the latter form, which, like the interest in glees and catches, to some extent reflected a general interest in music suitable for performance in the home. From 1816 the programmes of Yaniewicz's concert series consisted predominantly of chamber works by the great masters.

Following the success of the 1815 festival, and notably the impact of large-scale serious works, the various promoters of concerts in the city attempted to continue the re-education of the public in the value of quality music. Yaniewicz's concerts can be included in this category. However, in most cases this policy contributed to the failure of organising bodies to retain public patronage. The concerts of the Edinburgh Institution and particularly those of the Edinburgh Professional Society regularly sought to introduced "new" music to the Scottish capital, including pieces by Beethoven and Weber. One concludes from the manner in which, following an initial period of fashionable interest, support for these organisations rapidly declined, that the sustainable market in Edinburgh for concerts which principally featured "serious" works, was small.
CHAPTER II

MUSIC INSTRUCTION
INTRODUCTION

The market opportunities open to musicians as teachers in 18th- and early 19th-century Edinburgh, exceeded those of all other Scottish cities. The success of certain subjects and methods of instruction reflected the specific requirements of the market. One concludes, from information taken from contemporary newspaper advertisements, reviews and journal accounts and from the Sederunt Books of The Edinburgh Musical Society, that demand came from three sources: first, and most significantly, from the wealthier strata of the population for whom the attainment and amateur practice of proficient musical skills, particularly on the part of young ladies, was considered an essential constituent of refined education; secondly, as a response to a desire for participation in public concerts, either as a professional or amateur; thirdly, from periodic efforts to improve standards of public choral performance.

These were the sources of demand. The growth within each category will now be assessed. Generally speaking, in the second and third groups the various stimuli did not prove particularly sustained or sustainable (though notable advances and achievements were made). However, within the first it was the rapid increase in the size of the market and the response induced which made it a significant force in Edinburgh's musical life in the final decades of the 18th century, and a remarkable one during the first part of the 19th.

THE MARKET FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF FEMALE AMATEURS

Before a survey of the types of instruction commonly available to female amateur musicians the extent of the market will be assessed. Instruction in the principal area of demand, keyboard instruments, will then be examined, beginning with a survey of
teachers of harpsichord and spinet. The development of piano teaching, as reflected by the various categories of teachers will then be discussed, followed by an outline of the types of instruction offered. The latter focuses on the emergence of methods of class or mass instruction, notably the dispute surrounding the system devised by Johann Bernhard Logier, as adopted in Edinburgh by Alexander Robertson. Instruction in other musical subjects is then assessed. Following a brief outline of the availability of vocal instruction, demand for instruction in four selected instruments, each of which attracted the attention of different areas of the market, is examined.

The Extent of the Market

It is difficult to estimate the scale of demand for instruction in music from female amateurs in the city. Prior to the city's first census (1801), even a reliable population figure is hard to find, although after this date regular census returns provide information at ten-year intervals. Sir John Sinclair's "Statistical Account of Scotland" (1793) included a survey of earlier 18th-century attempts at population assessment. The 1801 census produced a population figure of 67,000 for Edinburgh. This had increased to 136,000 by 1831: a magnitude of growth typical of most large cities during this period in which the Scottish urban population rose from a seventh to a fifth of the national total. From the available information, and for present purposes, it can be concluded that Edinburgh's population from the beginning of the second part of the 18th century until its end rose from around 50,000 to around 70,000 (an increase of about 40%). Switching to the first thirty years of the 19th century, the total effectively doubled, showing an increase of almost 70,000.
The market for the instruction of amateurs wishing to perform music at home was located within that section of the population whose desire for it was matched by their willingness and ability to pay, thus encompassing the upper and middle classes in their multifarious levels. We must now find some indicator showing the increasing size of this section of the population during the period.

A street directory for Edinburgh was first compiled and published by Peter Williamson in 1773 and, thereafter, updated versions appeared annually. At a time of commercial and urban expansion, Williamson's entrepreneurial spirit realised the need for such a reference source; it served a social as well as a business function. The Directory aimed to provide "every householder's name, place of abode, trade and traffic within the city and suburbs, Leith, Canongate &c." 2. Gentlemen were asked to submit their names and addresses for inclusion, the whole forming:

An ALPHABETICAL LIST of the names and places of abode of all Members of the College of Justice, public and private Gentlemen, Merchants and other eminent Traders, Mechanics, and all persons in public business.... 3

Thus the publication had an inbuilt selectivity. Although a degree of public suspicion, not to say snobbery, kept the early volumes rather scanty, to appear in the Directory was soon regarded as socially, as well as commercially desirable.

A survey of the number of entries in the directories gives a useful indication of the increase in size of the wealthier and wealth-aspiring sections of the population. Beginning in 1780, the approximate number of entries from volumes a decade apart have been compared. By 1800 the number had risen by some 40% (from 4,800 to 6,700 entries), while after a further twenty years, this total effectively doubled, to stand at around 13,150 entries. By 1830, the rate of increase had decreased, with the total standing at about 14200. From this information, it is reasonable to conclude that, as the overall population of the city grew, then rapidly expanded during the decades around 1800, the number of people within the many upper
and middle class bands increased comparably. Towards 1830, the rate of increase slips back.

As the potential amount of money available for putting into artistic pursuits increased, is there evidence that Edinburgh became more willing or able to support a proportionate increase in its number of resident music teachers? A numerical assessment of those thus employed by profession or part-profession provides an indicator. Relevant information has been found in the city directories; from advertisements and accounts in contemporary newspapers, music journals, and on printed music; and, for the first part of the period, from details in the Sederunt Books of the Edinburgh Musical Society. That an overwhelming majority of these teachers gave instruction in the musical skills desired by the amateur market is outlined below. In order to establish an underlying pattern, the names of those known, or believed to have been involved in music teaching have been placed in lists according to the decades in which they worked. Table II.1 shows the number reached in each list.

Table II.1 The Number of Music Teachers in Edinburgh 1770-1830

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>No. of Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1770-1780</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1790</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790-1800</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1810</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810-1820</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820-1830</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clearly, various factors render these figures of little value in themselves; for example, some teachers remained in Edinburgh for just a season, often while engaged as performers, while others offered music tuition along with many other subjects and one suspects them of being less than expert in all. However, since the same
criteria were used throughout the assessment, the general pattern indicated by the results is useful. It correlates closely with the statistics relating to population increase and balance.

It appears that as the city's population grew, so did the number within it of those in the wealthier classes, and so too did the city's ability to attract and support teachers of music. In each case, the rate and pattern of increase is broadly comparable: gradual but sustained during the final decades of the 18th century, then startlingly rapid in those following it. In each case, by around 1830 the figures reached are effectively double those of thirty years before.

In general terms, this is the statistical background relating to Edinburgh's population and its class balance. A more detailed examination lies outside this study. The social, economic and musical stimuli, each closely related to the city's physical expansion, which supported the increasing scale of music teaching, have already been briefly outlined (see Introduction, pp.2-4). The manifestation of this demand, as reflected by the musical subjects offered for instruction, will now be assessed.

**INSTRUCTION IN KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS**

Music tuition was available in a wide range of subjects, both mainstream and novelty. Those most commonly advertised were the piano (which superseded the harpsichord and spinet during the 1790s) and voice. Similar patterns can be traced concerning the development of instruction in both fields, although of the two it was the piano which revolutionised music-making in the home during the period.

The importance of the piano within early 19th century domestic society was frequently stressed in contemporary literature and has been examined in the work of modern writers, such as Loesser. An overwhelming proportion of Edinburgh's music teachers during the
period 1800-1830 included the instrument among their subjects. Piano teachers active in the city can be placed in numerous categories and their methods of instruction varied from individual lessons or teaching in classes, to systems approaching simultaneous instruction somewhat in the mode of the modern Suzuki school. The different types of teacher and method reflected the demands and financial resources of the various strata of society which they served.

This survey examines the types of keyboard instruction available in Edinburgh between about 1780-1830. As outlined below, the earliest press advertisements for piano instruction appeared in the early-1780s, although lessons on the harpsichord and spinet (hereafter referred to simply as the harpsichord) continued to be offered until about 1800 albeit with a decreasing frequency. By way of introduction, the teachers of these instruments are identified and their activities briefly summarised. The different types of professional piano teacher are then assessed. These fall into four categories: professional pianists (both resident musicians and visiting virtuosi); resident "professors" or teachers of the piano; non-specialist professional musicians; and non-specialist preceptors of feminine accomplishments.

Teachers of the Harpsichord

During the final two decades of the 18th century fewer than ten teachers advertised harpsichord instruction in the Edinburgh press. However, the actual number of instructors was certainly larger, incorporating, for example, the "principal" musicians employed by the Musical Society who, by their status and high public profile in concerts, did not need thus to publicise their services or teaching rates. As Johnson has pointed out, during much of the late 18th century, all worthwhile music teaching in the city was arranged through the concerts and musicians at Saint Cecilia's Hall 4.
The extent of demand for harpsichord tuition (and the related discipline of thorough bass) was not sufficient to allow many teachers to specialise solely in it; most offered at least one other instrument. Table II.2 lists the names of the city's principal harpsichord teachers, their known periods of activity (according to the city street directories) and the alternative subjects which they offered in newspaper advertisements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Dates of Activity</th>
<th>Other Subjects offered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Hamilton</td>
<td>c.1770-1797</td>
<td>church music, songs, flute, guitar &amp; tuning of instruments 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Clark</td>
<td>c.1774-1797</td>
<td>thorough bass 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Cranmer</td>
<td>c.1774-1785</td>
<td>church music, songs, guitar &amp; flute 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Walton</td>
<td>c.1777</td>
<td>thorough bass 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Williamson</td>
<td>1781-1785</td>
<td>thorough bass, guitar &amp; flute 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Campbell</td>
<td>c.1786</td>
<td>thorough bass &amp; guitar 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Watlen</td>
<td>1788-1800</td>
<td>singing, organ &amp; violin 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Hamilton</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>thorough bass &amp; guitar 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since many of these instructors were also employed within the church or concert hall, it is not surprising to find that most received their training outside Scotland (see p.189): Stephen Clark (organist of the Episcopal Chapel 13) and John Walton at Durham (the latter "seven years under the celebrated Organist Dr Garth of Durham"14); William Williamson under John Camidge at York Minster 15;
William Cranmer at St. Paul's London; James Hamilton at the Collegiate Church, Ripon; and John Watlen at Salisbury Cathedral. For these, and for teachers such as the organist, Alexander Campbell, teaching fees were an important addition to their salaried incomes.

Rates and terms varied considerably, according to the status of the teacher, and the method of instruction selected. Most sought to offer many options to potential pupils. As well as private lessons for individuals (at the instructor's home or, more expensively, at the pupil's), most teachers offered an economy rate for instruction in "classes" of up to three scholars; a few extended their appeal through the inclusion of instruction in the principles of instrument tuning and maintenance. A particularly wide range of services was offered by James Hamilton:

J. HAMILTON continues to teach the Harpsichord &c. as formerly, on the most reasonable terms. He will wait on Ladies and Gentlemen at their own lodgings, if desired on the most early notice, and such as chuse to attend at his own house at the Head of Paterson's Court, Lawn-market, he purposes teaching 3 in one hour upon the same terms. And to render the Harpsichord and Spinet more extenuously useful, particularly to those Ladies who reside a distance from the Capital, J.H. purposes teaching them to tule these instruments after a very easy and expeditious method.

Like those of Hamilton, most teaching advertisements appeared in the local press during November or December (the beginning of the city's "winter" season of entertainments. A course of 12 or 16 lessons represented tuition for the duration of that season. With few precise indicators as to the various rates charged, it is not possible to establish a pattern in this area. As in all musical subjects, the city's principal musicians acquired pupils though their prestigious connection with the Musical Society and it was generally the less elevated musicians who advertised their rates. The higher cost of thorough bass instruction reflects the demands of the market on a small number of skilled instructors in the subject. For the sake of later comparisons, the available details of the fees charged for instruction in music are shown in Table II.3.
Table II.3 Harpsichord Teaching Rates in late 18th century Edinburgh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Lessons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Walton</td>
<td>1777</td>
<td>harpsichord</td>
<td>1 guinea</td>
<td>16 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Williamson</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>harpsichord</td>
<td>1 guinea*</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>all others</td>
<td>1 guinea*</td>
<td>16 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Campbell</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>thorough bass</td>
<td>2 guineas</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>all others</td>
<td>1½ guineas</td>
<td>12 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Watlen</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>all instruments</td>
<td>1 guinea</td>
<td>8 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1798</td>
<td>all instruments</td>
<td>£1 4s</td>
<td>12 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* denotes lessons at the pupil's house)

As well as practising musicians, two non-performing instructors offered harpsichord lessons during the period. Both were female, and both were probably from a family of professional musicians: Miss Christie and Mrs Hamilton. Their lack of celebrity as performers is reflected in lower teaching rates. In 1791 Mrs Hamilton gave 20 short lessons for a guinea, or 16 lessons if a full hour was required. As usual, thorough bass "according to Pasquali's rules" was more expensive: a guinea for 12 lessons. The encouragement offered to music teachers in the late 18th century probably induced Mrs Hamilton to give up her boarding house business in favour of it.

Miss Christie was an early, seemingly isolated example of an independent, locally-trained, female music teacher. From the early-1770s, her advertisements sought to compensate for inexperience and relative obscurity by stressing the variety and quality of her instruction, as well as its economic advantages. They thus provide unusually detailed information concerning her training and services:

MISS CHRISTIE teaches to play the Harpsichord after the true Italian manner, she being the only person to whom the celebrated Signor Doria communicated his excellent method of teaching and fingering, not only plain lessons, but likewise his most comprehensive Scales to every Tone on that instrument,
for playing a thorough bass; these scales being the most instructive and agreeable study of that ever was taught in any place of the World for the right understanding the real grounds of music, particularly for the Harpsichord. As Miss Christie is well known to come a good length in the World with a fair character, having been strictly bred up with a liberal education, besides that of Musick, it must naturally follow, that, she must be more agreeably intelligible to Scots, and English ladies than foreigners possibly can be. She teaches plain Scale, and twenty simple lessons for half a guinea to those who come to her lodgings ....and gives 12 lessons with proper scales for thorough bass at 15s and one hour's attendance at their lodgings. She likewise teaches Ladies to String, tune and quill their own instruments which is of great use for those in the country. 26

MISS CHRISTIE.....continues to teach the SPINNET as formerly....having begun to music at seven years of age, was after, for the most part, attending and attended by Mr Stuart of Kinnaird, has studied and practiced Pascualy's art of fingering; and takes more pleasure in teaching tractable young ladies than money can recompense - so that, if Miss Christie could live independently of her business, she would choose to spend the remainder of her time in that agreeable exercise, and (as it is) takes only a trifle in comparison with her labour - Half a Guinea for 20 tickets when Ladies come to her, and One guinea for twenty tickets, when she attends them....27

Such appeals on behalf of the "local product" echo those made in other areas of Edinburgh's musical life, for example, musical instrument making (see Chapter VI); the principal advantages being a lower price and some form of "nationalist" benefit (here taking the form of linguistic clarity). The theme of quality by association is also apparent; the association being with the locally-fashionable Italian schools of Pasquali and Doria. The offer of tuition in the tuning and basic maintenance of instruments was a much-needed, although unusual service: it was occasionally repeated by later teachers, but not widely so. Even in the face of practical necessity, one suspects that such tasks were considered not to be the premise of most young ladies. A later writer lamented the want of knowledge of most amateur keyboard players in this area, a general ignorance which created employment for an increasing number of professional tuners in the city during the period (see pp.230-4):
Any one who will take the trouble to inquire, will find, that not one lady in a hundred can tune her own piano-forte; and this, because she does not know the relative sounds of what is required in common tuning, of fifths and octaves. The consequence is that we are shocked every day by hearing pieces played on piano-fortes out of tune, and by observing that the players are unaware of the state of their instrument...

Categories of Piano Teachers

Although the number of harpsichord teachers in late 18th-century Edinburgh was small, they can be placed into two categories: professional musicians (usually organists) and independent female instructors. The period between about 1790-1830 saw a great increase in the number of keyboard teachers in the city, corresponding with a dramatic growth in interest in the piano (see Chapters IV and VI). Inevitably, many of the city's piano teachers can be placed in one of the two categories described with reference to the harpsichord, but the general pattern is broader and three new groupings can be made.

The first reflects the different musical roles of the harpsichord and piano. With the latter's wider concert appeal as a solo as well as an accompanying instrument, a small number of professional pianists became established in the city as performer/teachers. The city also enjoyed occasional visits from celebrated virtuosi who subsidised the cost of their trip north through teaching. Secondly, with demand for tuition rapidly increasing, a greater number of resident professional musicians included piano tuition along with that on their principal instrument. As before, this group included most of the city's organists. Although each of these categories is important within an assessment of the subject, the most significant departure from earlier practices forms a third general category: the appearance of professional teachers of music who were not also performers in the city. Amongst the male instructors here, the adoption of radical methods (in particular those of Logier) by some, created an impassioned debate amongst the
city's teaching musicians. Between 1817-1830, such methods guided the instruction of a large number of pupils in Edinburgh. However, a similarly radical development was the appearance of about 30 female instructors most of whom specialised in the piano. In addition to these, one suspects that most of the dozens of female "teachers of music" appearing in the city directories included this most popular of instruments amongst their subjects.

The following survey identifies the teachers within each of the above categories, outlines their methods of teaching, and assesses the contemporary debate concerning them. Within each section, the information contained in various tables concerning teachers' names, dates and instruments taught has been drawn from the city directories and from newspaper advertisements.

**Professional Pianists as Teachers**

With limited concert opportunities, the number of professional pianists resident (or semi-resident) in Edinburgh during the early 19th century remained low. Few relied on piano teaching as their only source of supplementary income, although a greater degree of specialisation became more practical towards the end of the 1820s. Table II.4 lists the musicians within this category, their known years of activity as teachers, and subjects offered for instruction.

Table II.4 follows
Table II.4  Professional Pianists who taught in Edinburgh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Period of Activity</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natale Corri</td>
<td>1782-1822</td>
<td>harpsichord / piano forte, singing &amp; thorough bass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hamly Butler</td>
<td>c.1785-1816</td>
<td>harpsichord / piano forte, &amp; thorough bass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Barbieri</td>
<td>1800-1806</td>
<td>piano forte, harp &amp; thorough bass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1812-1826</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Hindmarsh</td>
<td>c.1805-1822</td>
<td>piano forte, violin &amp; singing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Yaniewicz</td>
<td>c.1820</td>
<td>piano forte, harp &amp; singing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Müller</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>piano forte &amp; guitar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johann Martin Müller</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>piano forte &amp; guitar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Hargitt</td>
<td>c.1827</td>
<td>piano forte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Hargitt, jun.</td>
<td>c.1827</td>
<td>piano forte.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two principal players during the earlier part of the period each pursued diverse musical activities. From the late-1790s Corri ran a large music shop (see pp.223-5) and, after 1798, promoted successive seasons of subscription concerts, in which he "presided at the piano forte" (see Chapter I). Butler was resident in Edinburgh for most of the 1780s and 1790s. For some years around 1795 he lived and worked in Montrose 29, while after about 1800 he divided his time between Edinburgh and London, returning to Scotland to teach during the winter season (see below). He was fully resident in Edinburgh from about 1810 until his death in 1816. Butler appeared occasionally as a soloist at St. Cecilia's Hall from the late-1770s 30. His celebrity as a performer and teacher was enhanced by the publication of numerous compositions, chiefly popular, facile sonatas, sets of variations or rondos on Scotch airs (see pp.362-5).

CARD / Mr BUTLER, Composer and Teacher of the Piano Forte, begs leave to acquaint his Friends and the Public, That he is
returned from London, and has commenced Teaching the Piano Forte again in Edinburgh, and intends to continue to do so all Winter. Mr Butler also begs to acquaint the Gentlemen of Leith, that he will be happy to allot part of his time there. 31

Both performing pianists who established themselves in the city in the early-1800s similarly offered tuition on a variety of instruments. Charles Barbieri left Edinburgh for St. Petersburg in 1806, but returned six years later 32. He was active also as an organist and composer of light-weight piano pieces, much in the style of Butler. Unusually, given the association of such skills with the harpsichord, Barbieri advertised instruction in "the Art of Preluding, Modulation and Thorough Bass" as late as 1812 33. James Hindmarsh, an Englishman, came to Edinburgh with a good reputation as a teacher and player. As a performer, he first appeared in an Edinburgh concert in 1805. He remained resident in the city until his death in 1822 (see p.103). Hindmarsh's most celebrated pupil was the Scottish soprano Mary Ann Paton, whom he taught singing and the piano in her infancy (see p.113).

The market available to the subsequent generation of piano teacher/performers in Edinburgh (after about 1820) was sufficient to support a greater degree of specialisation. Charles Hargitt and his son Charles, junior, were able to sustain themselves solely through teaching and performing after about 1828. Charles junior (1804-1880) was a pupil of Crotch and Knyvett in London; his son Charles John Hargitt (1833-1918) became a well-known organist and composer of church music in London 34. Robert Muller (b.1804), of German origin via London, appeared frequently as pianist in both solo and chamber music. Although principally a pianist, he also held a position as organist in the city (at St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel) 35. His younger brother, Johann Martin (b.1808), was a lesser musician: his tuition was described in advertisements as being "elementary" 36.

Miss Yaniewicz was an exception to the general pattern, she was a pupil of Kalkbrenner and the daughter of Edinburgh's leading resident violinist, Felix Yaniewicz. Her concert appearances were largely within the subscription concerts organised by her father from
1816 (see pp.73-4), although after the mid-1820s her public performances became increasingly rare. It appears that she became principally a teacher of the piano.

Compared with the number of celebrated singers, few virtuoso pianists visited Edinburgh during the early 19th century. Of those to make the journey north, Kalkbrenner (1824), Cramer (1826), and Moscheles (1828) made the greatest impact and remained long enough to offer lessons during their visits. Among those to study with Kalkbrenner was John Muir Wood (see p.147), son of one of the city's most respected musical instrument makers and retailers, Andrew Wood (see pp.226-7). Moscheles' less than complimentary musical encounters with Edinburgh ladies were later recorded by his wife:

During the whole of his stay in Edinburgh, Moscheles was obliged to give lessons, in spite of the almost prohibitory fee of two guineas an hour. "Some ladies," he says, "are bent on galloping through my compositions with me at their side, no matter how difficult the music is, or how short the time." 37

Other Resident Musicians as Piano Teachers

As their predecessors had done with the harpsichord, most of Edinburgh's organists after about 1790 offered piano instruction. Table II.5 (overleaf) lists their years of activity and the subjects advertised.

James Alexander, organist of the chapel in Charlotte Square and later a resident of Leith, was an exceptional figure among these musicians on account of his blindness. He received much of his musical education from his sister (see Table II.8, p.148). The market for blind pupils must have been small, although by basing themselves in Leith, Alexander and his sister were able to take advantage of local demand for piano lessons away from the competitive market in Edinburgh.
Table II.5 Edinburgh Organists who taught the Piano

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Years of Activity</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Campbell</td>
<td>1790-1824</td>
<td>harpsichord / piano forte, singing, guitar &amp; thorough bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Alexander</td>
<td>1803-1831</td>
<td>piano forte &amp; blind pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Clark</td>
<td>1803-1821</td>
<td>piano forte &amp; theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Dewar</td>
<td>1803-1831</td>
<td>violin, 'cello &amp; piano forte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Mather</td>
<td>1809-1835</td>
<td>piano forte, sacred music &amp; organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Kenge</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>piano forte &amp; thorough bass, composition &amp; sacred music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Archibald Smith</td>
<td>1823-1827</td>
<td>piano forte &amp; singing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the city's non-keyboard instrumental performers, a relatively small number offered piano instruction. These musicians are listed in Table II.6, along with their years of known activity and subjects taught.

Table II.6 Other Edinburgh Musicians who taught the Piano

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Years of Activity</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Williamson</td>
<td>c.1781</td>
<td>harpsichord / piano forte, thorough bass, guitar &amp; flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McGlashen</td>
<td>1782-1816</td>
<td>violin &amp; harpsichord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Walton</td>
<td>1782-1831</td>
<td>harpsichord / piano forte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietro Urbani</td>
<td>c.1784-1805</td>
<td>harpsichord / piano forte, singing &amp; thorough bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Thomson</td>
<td>c.1786-1826</td>
<td>harpsichord / piano forte, singing &amp; thorough bass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table II.6 (contd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Years of Activity</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Gow</td>
<td>c.1786-1831</td>
<td>violin, piano forte and 'cello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Watlen</td>
<td>c.1788-1800</td>
<td>harpsichord / piano forte &amp; singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Bird</td>
<td>1803-1826</td>
<td>piano forte, violin &amp; 'cello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McPherson</td>
<td>c.1806-1831</td>
<td>piano forte, flute &amp; flageolet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hatton</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>piano forte (elementary), flute, violin &amp; oboe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Powell</td>
<td>1817-1824</td>
<td>piano forte &amp; harp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felix Yaniewicz</td>
<td>c.1815-1830</td>
<td>violin &amp; piano forte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Murray</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>piano forte accompaniment, singing, violin, thorough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bass &amp; composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Kennard</td>
<td>1828-1831</td>
<td>piano forte &amp; singing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these instructors, McGlashen is particularly worthy of note. Although he was principally a violinist, and appeared regularly in this capacity at Saint Cecilia's Hall 39, he was also the first Edinburgh-based musician to advertise himself as a "piano forte teacher" (in 1796 38). His most famous violin pupil was Nathaniel Gow40, who subsequently became one of Edinburgh's most successful performing and teaching musicians, and proprietor of one of the city's principal music shops (see Chapter III). By the early 19th century, Gow's income through teaching and performing at dancing assemblies had reached legendary proportions:

In Edinburgh he had an extensive connection as a teacher of the violin and piano forte, and commanded the highest fees in the profession. At one time he is said to have been worth upwards of £20,000, accumulated solely from the proceeds of his balls and teaching....41
Yaniewicz first appeared in the city during Corri's 1803 concerts, and subsequently became a regular visitor. From about 1815 he and his family became New Town residents (at no.3 Howe Street). Although for many seasons he remained the leading concert violinist in the Scottish capital, demand for violin lessons was insufficient to allow him to limit his instruction to this instrument.

Professional Instructors (male)

As the period progressed, a number of piano teachers who were not also public performers established themselves in the city. A minority of these were male - their names, period of activity and subjects taught are presented in Table II.7:

Table II.7 Professional Piano Teachers in Edinburgh (male)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Years of Activity</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Parsons</td>
<td>1789-1803</td>
<td>harpsichord / piano forte, singing &amp; thorough bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Napier</td>
<td>c.1800-1830</td>
<td>piano forte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gunn</td>
<td>c.1802-1810</td>
<td>piano forte &amp; flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Pollock MacLeod</td>
<td>1806-1831</td>
<td>piano forte, flute, clarinet &amp; flageolet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Galloway</td>
<td>1808-1831</td>
<td>piano forte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Robertson</td>
<td>1808-1831</td>
<td>piano forte (Logier system)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.C. Hewit</td>
<td>1817</td>
<td>piano forte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry P. Buchanan</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>piano forte (Logier system)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Fraser</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>piano forte (Logier system)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Muir Wood</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>piano forte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.M. Keith</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>piano forte (Logier system) &amp; violin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although many of those listed in Table II.7 were able to specialise in the piano, for some, teaching was not their only source of income. Alexander Robertson, for example, was a partner in one of the city's leading music shops (see p.230). Robertson championed the radical schooling methods of J.B. Logier in Edinburgh (see pp.154-5) and opened a "Logierian Academy" in Queen Street. A later teacher, John Muir Wood was involved also in the music retailing (see p.469).

The celebrity of many teachers rested with the source of their own instruction: quality by association. On their arrival in the city, teacher's usually stressed their pedigree in advertisements, for example in the cases of Parsons and Wood:

Mr Parsons, who was formerly a pupil of the late celebrated Doctor Arne in London, and since has had the honour of teaching ladies of the first distinction in Scotland, is now settled in Edinburgh, where he continues to teach the harpsichord or pianoforte, and singing if requested. 43

In addition to having had the benefit of Mr Kalkbrenner's Instructions while in this Country, Mr John Muir Wood has for the last three Years been studying the Theory and Practice of Music, first under the superintendance of Monsr. Pixis in Paris, and latterly of Monsr. Czerny in Vienna, besides occasionally attending other eminent Music Professors in both Capitals. 44

Parsons' prestige was further enhanced by his Tutor for the Piano Forte of 1793 45 - the first work of its kind for the instrument published in Edinburgh. Following the author's death (in 1803), the work was kept in circulation by his daughter, Mrs Clarkson (see p.149). John Gunn similarly published tutors, notably for the flute and the 'cello in 1802 46.

Professional Instructors (female)

From the early years of the 19th century, Edinburgh supported a growing number of female piano teachers. Their names, years of activity and, where applicable, the alternative instruments offered by them are listed in Table II.8:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Years of Activity</th>
<th>Additional Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss Parsons (Clarkson)*</td>
<td>1790-1831</td>
<td>theory of music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss A. Young (Gunn)</td>
<td>c.1790-1810</td>
<td>musical games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Cummingy</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misses Muschett*</td>
<td>c.1800</td>
<td>guitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss W. Sutherland*</td>
<td>1801-1836</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Butler*</td>
<td>1803-1831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Grieg</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Alexander*</td>
<td>1805-1820</td>
<td>(including blind pupils)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Schetky*</td>
<td>c.1805-1831</td>
<td>singing &amp; theory of music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Stevenson</td>
<td>c.1805-1813</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Arrigoni*</td>
<td>1806-1834</td>
<td>thorough bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Scott</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>harp &amp; singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Thomson*</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Ocheltrie</td>
<td>1810-1821</td>
<td>musical games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madame Martin</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mademoiselle Martin</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Falconer</td>
<td>1812-1821</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss H. Clark*</td>
<td>1813-1831</td>
<td>(Logier system)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Douglas</td>
<td>1813-1831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Walker</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>harp &amp; French language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Parnell</td>
<td>1819</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Horsburgh*</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss A. Elouis*</td>
<td>1824-1831</td>
<td>harp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Pogo</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Moodie</td>
<td>1825-1831</td>
<td>theory of music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Stewart</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Galbraith*</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Goold</td>
<td>1827-1831</td>
<td>guitar &amp; singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Orme</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Stark</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>guitar &amp; singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Orme</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>guitar &amp; singing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of these teachers, about one-third (indicated by an asterisk) were from resident families which included a professional performing musician, whilst many others were the daughters or former employees of school or boarding school mistresses, dancing masters or teachers of other feminine accomplishments. With two exceptions, each teacher advertised from a home address in the New Town, close to the most populous source of potential pupils: six moved from Old to New Town during the second decade of the 19th century. However, until about 1810 most of these addresses were to the east of the most fashionable (and expensive) areas of the urban development: Shakespeare Square and St. James's Square were particularly well populated by music teachers. After about 1810, as New Town building spread further westwards, so there was a general movement westward by many teachers. Addresses in George Street, Rose Street and Dundas Street became common. The same pattern of development is seen in the positioning of the city's music shops (see p.220).

A number of the above teachers from musical families are worthy of note. Following her marriage (in 1797) to a local dancing master and violinist, John Parsons' daughter continued to teach from the family address in Shakespeare Square. The strength of her father's reputation is reflected in her advertisements during the years following his death (in 1803); even in 1813, she refers to herself as "daughter of the late Mr Parsons." It is not clear for how long the daughters of the Theatre Royal clarinettist George Muschett continued to work as music teachers. During the early-1800s, their names invariably appeared at the foot of their father's advertisements. Following his death (c.1807), the family remained at the same address in Shakespeare Square for at least four years.

Wilhelmina Sutherland was probably the daughter of James, piano tuner at Corri's music shop (see p.232). The year of his death (1808) coincided with her move from Old to New Town, where she occupied a series of addresses in increasingly fashionable areas, reflecting her success as a teacher. In 1813, she studied for a time with Cramer in...
London and added this prestigious credential to subsequent advertisements 52.

From about 1803, Miss Butler worked from her father's house in the Old Town, at first "teaching a few beginners on the piano forte on moderate terms" 53. Over the ensuing years, this provided the family with additional income, particularly during Thomas Butler's periods of absence in London (see p.141). Miss Horsburgh was probably the daughter of Richard Horsburgh, one of the city's earliest piano makers (see Table VI.1, p.379).

Amelia Elouis was the youngest daughter of Philip Elouis, Edinburgh's principal harp player and teacher after about 1810 (see p.169-171). She studied with Beethoven's pupil, Ferdinand Ries, in Paris and invariably used this credential within her advertisements 54. Although she occasionally appeared as a pianist in Edinburgh during the early-1820s, notably within her father's annual benefit concerts at the Assembly Rooms 55, these activities diminished later in the decade.

Anne Young achieved celebrity throughout Britain for her invention of an elaborate musical board game, the manufacturing rights for which were sold to the Edinburgh firm of Muir, Wood & Co., apparently for the handsome sum of £300 56. The game brought considerable kudos to both inventor and manufacturer, particularly since it was used by a member of the Royal family, the young Princess Charlotte (an 1803 book of instructions was dedicated to the Princess "With the Most Profound Respect and with the Most Sincere Wishes for her Improvement in every Virtue and in every Useful and Ornamental Accomplishment" 57). This may have precipitated Muir, Wood & Co.'s subsequent appointment as "Musical Instrument Makers to his Majesty" (see p.412).

From the lavishness of its manufacture, reflected in its retail price, the game was clearly intended for the amusement of the wealthier classes:
The apparatus is very elegant, consisting of a box not unlike back gammon tables; it has also its pair of small boxes and dice for the antagonist player to shake and try their fortune, but very different from the number and inscriptions of these Musical Dice, there are also pins, counters &c. to the amount of about 200 pieces most of which are in ivory, finely engraved; and from their expensive manufacture, the price is £17 7s. 58

Through the correct conveyance of its pieces, the game was designed ("under the form of an amusement") to instruct the player in the rudiments of music, culminating in a knowledge of:

...all the scales, major and minor, with every possible occurrence of sharps and flats, single or double; all the concordant and discordant intervals, with the resolutions of the latter, cadences, preludes, the ascending and descending harmony of all the scales, major and minor, and modulation in its innumerable meanderings and varieties.... 59

Although early advertisements for the game carried a laudatory account by John Gunn, a respected London-based music teacher, his praise is perhaps best appreciated in the knowledge of his personal acquaintance with the game's inventor. In 1802, the two were married and Gunn moved to Edinburgh (see Table II.7, p.146). One is sceptical that his friendship with Anne Young blossomed only after his discovery of her Musical Game.

The success of the game extended beyond the first decade of the 19th century, although given its expense, one suspects that this was on a limited scale. The difficulties encountered in its execution were widely appreciated at the time, and led to the appearance of an additional, simplified set of rules, Anne Gunn's Introduction to Music of 1803. 60 However, even these copious instructions were apparently insufficient for some who attempted to master the Game; Anne Gunn also gave private instruction in the art during the early-1800s. Following her premature death in about 1810, demand for such lessons was sufficient to encourage one of her pupils, a Miss Ocheltrie, similarly to offer instruction 61.
In imitation of Young's idea, Thomas Butler produced an instructive musical game. His idea, announced in 1806, was based on a less elaborate plan. The game was considerably cheaper to buy, and was thus designed to appeal to a wider market. The success of the venture is not clear, but appears to have been limited since the game was rarely mentioned in subsequent advertisements. Like Young, Butler offered instruction in its use:

Mr BUTLER respectfully informs... that his entertaining and instructive MUSICAL GAMES may also be had, which no young Ladies should be without who wish to know correctly by heart and play with ease and judgement upon the piano forte, the difficult major and minor keys in Music, with their various sharps, flats and scales which these Games will soon enable them to do in a better and more agreeable and pleasant way than any other whatever. And, as a very great encouragement for all young Ladies to avail themselves of the help they offer, for their improvement in this most necessary branch of musical knowledge, Mr Butler begs further to add that the Game Table, 2 Totums and 16 Counters is all the apparatus used to play them, and they are only half a guinea the Set. In the middle of May, Mr Butler intends opening a class at his house for young Ladies to improve themselves in this and some other very necessary and useful branches of musical knowledge...

Instruction in the theory of music was neglected by most teachers during the period, perhaps reflecting the widespread public appreciation of musical skills as an ornamental rather than part-scientific accomplishment. Tables II.4-8 illustrate further how few teachers offered instruction in musical theory. An early 19th century attempt to rectify the situation is outlined below (see pp.155-8).

In addition to those who specified the piano as a subject of instruction, the early decades of the 19th century saw a similarly dramatic increase in the number of young, female "teachers of music". Some of these were truly non-specialist, offering other accomplishments also, such as French or drawing. Their names, known periods of activity and alternative subjects are listed in Table II.9. Although their musical skills were probably less focussed than those of other teachers, tuition towards some degree of proficiency at the keyboard was an indispensable part of their services, given the instrument's primary place within domestic music-making.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Years of Activity</th>
<th>Additional Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss Barclay</td>
<td>1785</td>
<td>French language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Gardner</td>
<td>1788-1790</td>
<td>French language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Anderson</td>
<td>1799-1826</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Burges</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Purdie</td>
<td>1803-1815</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss Stalker</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Hutton</td>
<td>1810-1826</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs McLean</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Sewing &amp; making artificial flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Newton</td>
<td>1811-1815</td>
<td>French language &amp; English</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss Cockburn</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs Falconer</td>
<td>1815-1821</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Clapperton</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>French language, drawing &amp; painting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss Hunter</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Mazzoni</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Philips</td>
<td>1820-1831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Biggar</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. Cameron</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Collins</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Dubouis</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>French language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Farquarson</td>
<td>1825-1829</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misses Hog</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Kinloch</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Steel</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Anderson</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Auld</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Caird</td>
<td>1830</td>
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<td>Miss Davidson</td>
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<td>Miss Davies</td>
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<td>Miss Lowe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Misses Dewar</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss Gow</td>
<td>1833</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Until about 1820 most of these teachers worked from home addresses in the Old Town; only after this date does a general preference for New Town residence become apparent. Although there were areas of fashionable residence to the south of the High Street (most notably, George Square), most teachers listed in Table II.9 had addresses within the wynds and closes around the High Street. One concludes from this and from the non-specialist nature of their advertised instruction, that they sought to attract pupils from a socially aspiring, but less wealthy section of the population than that of the more specialist instructors.

The Methods of Instruction Offered

The cost of instruction was not solely determined by the degree of celebrity and specialisation of a chosen teacher. With the exception of visiting virtuosi, most teachers advertised an alternative mode of teaching in addition to individual lessons. This commonly took the form of class instruction. Clearly, this offered financial advantage both for preceptor and pupil: the latter paid a lower fee whilst the former gained the combined payments of each class member, amounting to a higher hourly rate. Class instruction also offered social benefits, providing a forum in which the young ladies could become acquainted with their peers.

The teaching of music in private classes had long been practised, notably with singing and some non-keyboard instruments. With these subjects ensemble playing was musically practicable as well as desirable. The logistical problems facing piano teachers wishing to teach in this manner are obvious. Few teachers, if any, either had access to more than one piano in the same location, or purported a method for using them simultaneously for instruction; with only a single instrument at their disposal, the workable size of classes was necessarily limited. Only with the advent of John Bernard Logier's system, as practised at Alexander Robertson's Queen Street Academy from 1817, did a method of mass instruction on the piano
achieve lasting success in Edinburgh. The radical ideas on which this system was based prompted much opposition in the city (as they did elsewhere), principally from rival teachers. Although the critics' motives lay partially in their anxiety to retain their own pupils, Logier's chiroplast was justly considered a crude and potentially damaging method for shaping a correct hand-position for young pupils. Logier's system for class instruction, in relation to Robertson's "Academy", is briefly outlined below (see pp.157-9).

In Edinburgh, the most prestigious opponent of the new system was, not surprisingly, the city's most senior keyboard teacher, Natale Corri. Corri's advertised alternative, published as part of a lengthy series of claims and counter-claims in the local press, outlines his chief criticisms and his alternatives:

MUSICAL EDUCATION in CLASSES / Mr CORRI having received intimations from many of his Friends of their wishes that he should open classes for the Instruction of young ladies in the principles and practice of music, he very respectfully begs leave to inform the Public, that he will, on the 1st day of October next, open a CLASS for such YOUNG LADIES as may prefer that mode of teaching. The CLASSES will meet three times a week, the remainder of the week being reserved for private teaching, as usual.

The Plan which he intends to follow is essentially different from that lately adopted in Dublin, and some other places. He purposes to explain to his pupils the principles of harmony and composition according to the Instructions of the celebrated A.F.C. KOLLMANN and other modern theorists, following such a mode of selection, arrangement and illustration as he conceives to be best calculated to promote the early acquirement of sound and accurate musical knowledge. At the same time that the pupils are initiated in this, he not only purposes to give the scholars clear general ideas of harmony, but in part to instruct them in the knowledge of the practical use of different major and minor keys, as connected with modulation, and the playing of preludes extempore. Such of them as may wish it will be particularly instructed in the art of reading and playing from a figured or thorough bass. At the same time that the pupils are initiated generally in the theory of musical composition, they will be instructed in the best modes of fingering (without being fettered by any mechanical apparatus) and in the performance of selected beauties of classical composers according to proper rhythm, accents and expression.

The formation of an easy and proper position of the hand upon the instrument, and the best methods of fingering will be
taught according to the rules laid down in the elementary works of the most eminent masters, such as Clementi, Cramer, Dussek and others. Mr Corri does not profess to teach his pupils to rival or exceed any of the musical classes in composition - he does not pretend to perform impossibilities, but hopes that the Public will not, on that account, be disposed to hold their countenance from him. He pretends to nothing more than a mode of instruction as may enable pupils of capacity to enter intelligently into the beauties of musical composition, and to express these beauties in performance with neatness, propriety and feeling.

He begs leave to remark, that as he is quite convinced of the impropriety and disservice of teaching a number of young ladies to play at one time on piano fortes, that mode of teaching to play in concert forms no part of his plan. He thinks he goes as far as propriety warrants, in proposing to teach his pupils to play solos, duets or trios at most. The particular mode which he intends to follow will be afterwards more fully explained.

From an experience of 35 years devoted to the musical education of young persons in Scotland, and from the well known abilities of many of his pupils, Mr Corri flatters himself that he will be able to render his instructions as intelligible and as useful as may be necessary to the attainment of the objects which he contemplates and which he has touched upon in this prospectus. The terms, which will be lower than other musical classes in Edinburgh, and farther particulars may be learned by applying to Mr Corri, head of Leith Walk.

In addition to a flood of pamphlets supporting or attacking the scheme, the controversy prompted a visit from Logier himself. With Robertson's assistance, he gave a public lecture-demonstration of his method at the city's most spacious and fashionable public venue:

Mr LOGIER presents his compliments to the Musical Amateurs and Professors of Edinburgh, and begs to inform that, in consequence of private attacks and public censures against his system of musical education, he has thought it his duty to return to this city, for the purpose of delivering some GENERAL OBSERVATIONS on his MODE OF TUITION and the principles on which it is founded; and of publically [sic] answering any objections that may be made to his system / Mr Logier will commence delivery of his explanatory observations in the Assembly Rooms George Street this day at 1 o'clock / April 26th 1817.

In the eyes of the public, the argument was won by Logier, since for almost two decades his system enjoyed a sustained success in the city, principally through the exertions of Robertson.
Mr Robertson here is carrying all before him, he is making more money than any three Teachers in Edinburgh in his Logering [sic] System...

The facilities required to establish a "Logierian Academy" were readily available to Robertson. As a partner in a successful music shop, Penson, Robertson & Co., he could command a sufficient and ready supply of pianos, as well as the necessary financial resources to launch his own music school. The success of the Academy was clearly of great benefit to the shop, which not only provided its pupils with music, but probably often with instruments too. The location of the Academy at no. 4 Queen Street was well-considered; situated midway between the firm's shop on Princes Street and the most fashionable residential areas of the New Town where pupils were most likely to be found.

Given the required degree of initial investment, the scale of a Logierian venture was a principal factor in its financial success. Since the pedagogue himself had promoted and explained his system in the city, we can assume that Robertson's activities closely followed the plan as explained in Logier's Manual of 1828:

The pupils are divided into classes. Each class attends two days each week, and remains two hours each day. These two days are employed as follows: On the first day they receive private lessons on the piano-forte, and lectures in harmony and composition. On the second, they likewise receive private lessons on the piano-forte; but instead of being instructed in harmony, they play simultaneously those pieces in which they have previously received private instructions.

The pupils, on their arrival, are divided into two sets; one of which proceeds to the room appointed for giving private lessons on the piano-forte; the other remains in the concert room, to receive lectures on harmony. After the expiration of one hour, the parties interchange places.... Or the arrangement may be made thus: All the pupils receive their piano-forte lessons in the first hour, the principal and assistant dividing the pupils between them; the second hour is then dedicated exclusively to lectures on harmony, or simultaneous performance.

The author's academy contains six classes, each class containing eight pupils. Three classes attend Mondays and Thursdays, from ten to twelve, twelve to two, two to four. The other three classes assemble on Wednesdays and Saturdays at the
same hours. Tuesdays and Fridays are exclusively occupied in giving private lessons in harmony and composition. 67

Excepting that Robertson commenced his instruction one hour earlier 68, the few details known of the activities of his Academy tally with Logier's published scheme. Robertson's teaching "season" ran from the beginning of October until the end of June (given the intensive nature of Logier's system, Robertson's involvement in his music shop must have been extremely limited during this period). The season ended with a public concert and demonstration by pupils of the Academy. The esteem in which the establishment was held is reflected in the annual press coverage of this event. A detailed account of the various classes and pieces played along with a list of the three or four prize winners in each class usually occupied a full editorial column 69.

The published lists of prize winners, for example that of 1828, provide a reliable indication of the social class of Robertson's pupils. In addition to the daughters of members of the nobility and gentry, the 1828 list included those of senior army officers (a captain, two Lieutenant-Generals, a Major-General and a Lieutenant-Colonel), members of the foreign civil service (two from that in Bengal), a minister of the Church, a judge and four advocates. A significant contingent from local middle-class families was conspicuously absent, the daughter of a Leith wine merchant being the sole representative 70. Robertson appears not to have advertised his teaching rates. From this, and from the social status of his pupils' families, one assumes that his fees were relatively high. His school of mass-instruction does not, therefore, conform with the wider system of class instruction which was designed to offer the public a lower-cost option for tuition.

Although Robertson's establishment was the largest and most successful school of its type in the Scottish capital, other teachers attempted also to capitalise on the popularity of teaching on Logier's principles. No doubt prompted by the system's high publicity profile and the success of Robertson, a second, smaller Academy was
quickly announced (opening in 1818) by a Miss Walker. Nothing more is known of it; however, given its small scale, one doubts that the school could have entirely followed Logier's plan:

EDUCATION / Miss WALKER has returned from London, where she has been for a considerable time studying MR LOGIER'S NEW SYSTEM of MUSICAL EDUCATION under his immediate tuition - for the purpose of joining her sister in her Establishment for a limited number of young LADIES who are instructed in the various branches of POLITE EDUCATION....33 Dundas St. 71

Two of Robertson's assistants subsequently embarked upon independent teaching practices in the city: James Fraser and Henry Buchanan, who had worked at the Queen Street Academy between 1817-1823, and 1823-1828, respectively 72. That the popularity of the system extended into the 1830s is implied by the continuing appearance of its teachers, for example R.M. Keith, who advertised lessons according to Logier's principles between about 1829-1835 73.

Summary

That so many Edinburgh-based musicians were able to gain a significant income from teaching, particularly after 1800, reflected the extent of demand from female amateurs for music lessons and thus the importance of domestic musical performance as a social accomplishment. After about 1790, the most popular subjects for instruction were the piano and singing.

The increase in the number of piano teachers was a remarkable facet of musical life in Edinburgh between about 1790-1830. It was particularly rapid during the second and third decades of the 19th century, corresponding to a similar growth in the city's middle-class population. The growth in demand was both spectacular and sustained. About 35 different piano teachers of various sorts appeared in the city directories or advertised in the local press between 1800-1810. This figure rose in ensuing decades, to about 45, then to over 70.
The size of the market was not the only remarkable feature; its diversity was equally striking. Amongst the types of teacher offering the piano, the greatest area of increase occurred in the number of young, female instructors, some specialising in that instrument, others appearing as "teachers of music". During the first half of the period (until 1810) contemporary sources referred to fewer than 20 such instructors. However, between 1810-1820 about 25 worked in the city and the number almost doubled again over the subsequent decade. Such an increase was all the more notable in view of the success achieved at the same time by systems of mass and class instruction.

Increasingly, lessons became available to those who could pay relatively little as well as to those with greater resources. Fees varied according to the celebrity of the teacher, their degree of specialisation, and the type of instruction offered. Visiting virtuosi, who could command up to two guineas for a single lesson, served one extreme of the market, whilst non-specialist "teachers of music" offering instruction in small classes catered for the other. In between were the various ranks of resident professional musicians, professional teachers and, during the second part of the period, the "Logierian Academies" of Alexander Robertson and others.

INSTRUCTION FOR FEMALE AMATEURS IN OTHER INSTRUMENTS

Whereas the demand for piano tuition supported a hierarchy of teachers and methods from which pupils could choose according to their ability to pay, the limited market for tuition in other musical subjects (with one exception) meant that these were less comprehensively served.

The exception was instruction in singing: like the piano, a cornerstone of domestic music-making throughout the period and beyond. The pattern of instruction was similar, with the market supporting a broad range of teachers; from visiting opera stars
(often engaged by the Edinburgh Theatre Royal), to "teachers of
music", as listed in Table II.8 and II.9, who frequently offered
tuition in singing as well as the piano. Although the number of
singing teachers was smaller than those offering piano lessons, this
does not necessarily indicate that the market was smaller. Vocal
music afforded greater scope for teaching in classes or small
ensembles, and most preceptors advertised instruction in gleeS or
part-songs as well as solo performance. The number of pupils who
took singing lessons, particularly during the 1820s and 1830s, was
probably closer to the figure learning the piano than a simple
comparison of the number of instructors might suggest.

The period around the turn of the 19th century saw many new or
significantly improved musical instruments in which instruction
became fashionable among female amateur musicians. Some maintained
popularity for just a few years or less (such as the single and
double flageolet, the harp-lute, and the tambourine), while others
(such as the pedal harp and the Spanish guitar) achieved a more
lasting level of interest. In each case, before regular tuition
became available in the city, a similar series of difficulties had to
be overcome. Firstly, there was a need to stimulate public awareness
and interest in the instrument, thus creating an enthusiasm for
taking instruction. Secondly, the resultant demand required the
services of a performer-teacher to offer regular lessons. Thirdly, a
supplier of suitable instruments, accessories and music had to be
established, preferably locally. Finally, once interest had been
stimulated, more teachers would be required (preferably resident in
the city) to maintain and increase the momentum of enthusiasm.

Given the widely differing character, cost and capabilities of
the instruments which attained fashionable status during the period,
it is difficult to trace a pattern of development to encompass them
all. The following survey assesses the degree of success achieved by
four: the English guitar; the pedal harp; the double flageolet and
the Spanish guitar. Although the English guitar's period of greatest
popularity in Edinburgh pre-dates that generally covered within this study, the pattern relating to its instruction in the city was common to that of some later instruments about which a lesser amount of information is available.

**Teachers of the English Guitar**

The so-called English guitar was popular in Britain between about 1750 and 1815, after which it was superseded by the six-string Spanish guitar. At the time, the instrument was referred to simply as the guitar (guittar), cetra or citra. Its success rested on its affordability and relative simplicity to play; musically acceptable results could be obtained with relative ease and speed. Its small sound restricted usage to domestic settings, where it could be used either for solo pieces, to accompany the voice or as a continuo instrument within small-scale chamber music. As such it enjoyed a considerable price advantage over even the most modest spinet. The instrument's ease of mastery enabled professional musicians speedily to gain proficiency and offer instruction themselves.

It is not clear when the guitar was introduced into Edinburgh's musical life, but by 1760 it was enjoying considerable popularity. Since leading musicians from the Musical Society gave guitar instruction, it appears that the instrument was popular amongst the wealthier members of the population. Foreign musicians living in Edinburgh, such as Geminiani and Oliveri, could command the highest teaching fees; both taught and published works for the guitar. However, the inexpensive nature of the instrument (the cheapest new instruments were available at Stewart's Music Shop for a guinea) quickly created interest and demand across a broader band of society.

The musical limitations of the instrument probably did much to deter a high degree of specialisation on the part of instructors; the guitar was usually offered along with numerous other instruments, and frequently with singing (reflecting its common use in accompanying...
the voice). Although none specialised solely in the guitar, the initial demand for instruction was sufficient to support a range of teachers. As well as the city’s principal performers, other local musicians offered lessons:

FOR THE GUITAR / John Fyfe, teacher of vocal music, now likewise teaches Ladies and Gentlemen the GUITAR, either by itself, or to accompany it with the voice. As he studied that instrument under Signor Oliveri, those who please to employ him may depend on being taught in the best and easiest method, and due attendance will be given. 77

MRS GORDON / Who hath taught music for these several years past, continues to TEACH YOUNG LADIES Church and other VOCAL MUSIC, as also the GUITAR and VIOLOGAMBO. Such Ladies as are pleased to favour her, will be waited on, either at their own houses, or taught at her own house in Miln's Land, near the Potter row port. 78

In Fyfe’s notice, it is significant that the appeal is directed at both sexes; clearly, it was in the interest of preceptors to maximise their potential market. Although considered a predominantly feminine accomplishment by contemporary sources, the guitar was often promoted as a gentleman’s pastime too:

Its practice was a regular branch of female accomplishment; nor was it rejected by amateurs of the stronger sex. Several persons of sufficient taste have assured me, that the amusement which they derived from their own performance, was not inferior to that which instruments of more estimation and higher quality afforded. 79

The most important Scottish figure connected with the guitar was Robert Bremner; he studied the instrument with Geminiani in London, and subsequently gave lessons in Edinburgh. Visiting musicians also offered instruction, the most celebrated being the Irish violinist, Charles Claget. He was in Edinburgh with his brother during the winter season of 1760:

Mr CHARLES CLAGET / takes this method of informing those Ladies and Gentlemen, who are desirous of acquiring the accomplishments of dancing and musick, that he intends this winter to give both private and public instructions of the former in all its branches, and the latter on the following
instruments, viz. the VIOLIN, MANDOLIN, and GUITAR, which last he has a method of teaching, far more expeditious and just than is commonly known. Any single branch thereof will be taught at a certain sum, and no part of payment required until the whole is compleated. His brother, Mr WALTER CLAGET, desires also to inform the public, that he performs and gives instructions on all the instruments in use, except the harpsichord and french horn, on the most reasonable terms. They are to be found at their lodgings, at Mr Good's in the College Wynd, every day from 12 to 2.

Claget sought further to capitalise on public enthusiasm through the publication of his 52 Lessons for the Guitar or Citra in April 1760. Along with Bremner's Treatise on Playing the Guitar (1758) and Geminiani's Several Compositions for the Guitar / Accompanied with a Violin, Violoncello and Harpsichord (July 1760), these were the most significant works to appear in Edinburgh for the instrument. Each subsequently received a wide circulation in London.

A similar pattern of guitar teaching continued over the ensuing decades, with local musicians including the instrument within their lists of subjects, for example, the organists, Cranmer, Hamilton, Campbell and Williamson (see Table II.2, p.135) and the violinist William Skirving "who devoted much time and study to the instrument, and was even the author of some compositions for it" 81.

Towards the end of the century, some female instructors offered guitar tuition, following the pattern seen with other popular instruments. Since such practices often provided supplementary income to their families, rather than being a primary source of sustenance, they offered a high degree of specialisation. In addition to the guitar, the daughters of the clarinettist, George Muschett taught just the piano 82, while those of Mr Ryder offered foreign languages:

TO THE LADIES of EDINBURGH / The Misses RYDERS of the Theatre Royal, who have been instructed in the Guittar by the first Masters in Dublin and London, propose TEACHING LADIES to play upon that instrument by an easy and expeditious method.... Further particulars may be known by applying to Mr Ryder, no.4 Shakespeare Sq. / They also propose teaching FRENCH and ITALIAN LANGUAGES / The terms for the Guittar are 12 lessons for a Guinea. 83
Although little is known of the fees charged by the earliest instructors in the city, these undoubtedly varied according to the celebrity of the teacher. The cost of guitar lessons was commonly less than that of other musical subjects, reflecting both the number of teachers available and the generally inexpensive nature of the instrument. Something of the hierarchy of teachers is seen through the fees asked by the organist James Campbell in 1790. His price of a guinea and a half for 12 lessons, reflects his more elevated status as a professional performing musician compared to the inexperienced Ryder sisters.

Teachers of the Pedal Harp

Although fashionable amongst the aristocracy of France during the second half of the 18th century, the pedal harp was only belatedly introduced into British musical life with success. In 1788, the celebrated Madame Krumpholtz from Paris settled in London and enjoyed a decade of acclaimed concert appearances and associated teaching engagements away from the revolutionary upheavals at home. J.L. Dussek became a champion of the instrument, producing many new works, particularly for piano and harp. He frequently performed these in concerts with Krumpholtz, and later with his wife Sophia (née Corri).

Considerable difficulties faced amateurs who sought to play the pedal harp around this time in Britain. Aside from the often prohibitive expense of instruments, the market for instruction was further constrained on account of certain technical weaknesses in the harp itself. Prior to Erard's patent of 1810, the standard pedal harp was the single-action model. Its "hook system" pedal mechanism produced uncertain intonation and an uneven tone quality, whilst other weaknesses of construction caused frequent breaking of strings. Such potential (and inevitable) inconvenience greatly reduced the desirability of the instrument.
Despite the Dussek-Corri connection, the pedal harp was, publicly at least, little heard in the Scottish capital before the turn of the 19th century. The earliest opportunities for Edinburgh residents to take instruction came from a sequence of visiting performers.

The Dale family arrived in Edinburgh during July 1800 at the final stage of a concert tour of Northern England and Scotland. The timing was designed to take advantage of a ready audience gathered for the annual horse races on Leith Sands. Three members of the family performed, Miss Dale being the harpist. This was one of the earliest public appearances of the instrument in the city. Significantly, an advertisement issued at the beginning of the family's stay offering musical instruction, stressed the services of another member of the family, the tambourine instruction of Joseph Dale. One concludes that little demand for the harp was expected - within the advertisement, the harp received only a brief, final mention: "and also Miss Dale will attend to accompany on the Piano forte, and give lessons on the harp". Nevertheless, before the family departed, it was Miss Dale who received the patronage of the Countess of Dalhousie and Balcarres to present a benefit concert.

The Dales' venture had proved successful and the family returned north the following December, Miss Dale to appear in Corri's 1801 subscription concert season (see p.60). Again, members of the family offered instruction to the public, but on this occasion the pedal harp was presented foremost:

PEDAL HARP / Miss DALE. from London, begs leave to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry of Edinburgh that, during her stay for a few weeks, she will be happy to give LESSONS on the HARP. Her brother will also give lessons on the Tambourine./ Mr. Brown's lodgings, no.5 George Street, St. Andrew's Square.

The harp was now attracting a considerable degree of interest, and again Miss Dale presented her own benefit concert before leaving the city. Public enthusiasm for the instrument is reflected further through Corri's immediate engagement of another harpist for
his remaining two 1801 concerts. Again, it was a player from London, though of French origin, Mademoiselle Du Parcq (see pp.60-1). She offered instruction to the public during her stay from a fashionable New Town address, at Corri's house in St. Andrew's Square 91.

Following the instrument's successful introduction into its concert life, Edinburgh was quickly able to support a more regularly available teacher of the harp:

PEDAL HARP / Mr SEYBOLD, Professor of that Instrument, just arrived from London, being prevailed upon, and having strong recommendations from several ladies of Distinction in this Country to come to Edinburgh, and informed that a Proper master, who has the power of bringing his pupils forward expeditiously, is much wanted – he hopes that he will meet with a small share of patronage which the Nobility and Gentry of this Country so generously bestow on men of merit. His Son, who is also to be here in a short time, a performer on the same instrument, and a Concert Player, at his arrival will be given for a Concert, and the particulars made public…. N.B. Mr Seybold expects every Day one of Erard's famous Patent Harps.92

PEDAL HARP / Mr SEYBOLD, Professor of that Instrument, returns his most grateful thanks for the liberal encouragement he has received since his arrival in this country, where it is his intention to settle, and to pay the greatest attention and punctuality to the Nobility and Gentry who shall honour him with their commands, where he hopes to deserve that kind patronage. His terms for teaching the Harp are, 3 Guineas, 12 Lessons – If engaged by the year or half year, they will be more moderate…. N.B. Mr Seybold has selected for the Harp or Piano Forte, Two Choruses of Haydn's celebrated Oratorio, The Creation, 10s 6d, each copy; and also a Romance composed by him for Harp or Piano Forte, on the much regretted and lamented General Abercromby. 93

Whether Seybold became a full-time resident of Edinburgh is not clear. He certainly remained active during the musical seasons of 1802-1804, but since his name is absent from the directories, an all-year attachment to the city seems doubtful. In addition, his annual advertisements each give a new address for his lodgings; Barclay's lodgings, no.15 College Street (November 1801 94); Henderson's lodgings, Rose Street (January 1802 95); Caniver's lodgings, no.40 South Hanover Street (December 1802 96). It seems likely that Seybold
and his family left Edinburgh after each season (when teaching income would be minimal), then returned for the following one.

Seybold's advertisements highlight some of the problems which faced those who sought to teach instruments which were not in the mainstream of demand. Harps were expensive and relatively difficult to acquire. Although at least two Edinburgh firms, Muir, Wood & Co. (see p.413) and Townsend (see p.468) made their own harps, those of Erard were the most highly prized in Britain; their instruments included the most modern improvements and refinements. The expense involved in purchasing and maintaining them determined the social class from which potential pupils would come.

Since there was no amateur tradition of pedal harp playing in the city (although the clarsach had long been a widely-played instrument of folk music), and little impetus for large numbers to undertake instruction, a pioneering, resident teacher could expect only a limited number of pupils at the start, and hope that the availability of regular tuition would stimulate greater interest. Also significant is the inclusion of a rate for twelve lessons. Seybold arrived in Edinburgh for the beginning of the 1802 concerts, given that lessons would take place on a weekly basis; the three month span corresponds with the duration of the annual winter season.

Seybold's terms are high when compared to instruction on other instruments at the time. His potential market was small, exclusive, but wealthy. To encourage pupils to take advantage of a cheaper rate by making a commitment to a yearly or six monthly period of instruction was perhaps optimistic, although attractive for the teacher. However, that he continued in Edinburgh for consecutive seasons indicates that worthwhile financial encouragement was forthcoming.

Following the untimely death of Seybold senior in April 1803 (p.59), his son, Philip, retained the family's connection with the Scottish capital, supporting his mother and sisters through performing on the harp and continuing his father's teaching practice.
A benefit concert for Seybold senior, scheduled for April 1803, was converted into one for the benefit of his recently widowed mother and sisters. Philip Seybold continued to be active in Edinburgh during the 1804 season, although after this his name ceased to appear in concert or teaching advertisements. Rumours that he was to leave circulated in January 1804, threatened his status and appeal as a "resident" teacher, and, in response, a public denial was published in the local press:

HARP / Mr SEYBOLD takes this opportunity of contradicting a report which has industriously circulated, of his leaving Edinburgh; and begs leave to inform the Nobility and Gentry, that he still continues to give instruction on that Elegant and Fashionable Instrument. No attention on his part will be wanting to merit a continuance of those favours which he has already received. His Address, at Mrs Brown's, Sutherland's Green, Leith Walk.

Two more London-based harpists visited Edinburgh in 1805. Corri engaged his sister, Madame Dussek for a short series of concerts during the Race Week (see Table I.3, p.63), although it is unlikely that she had enough time in the city to take pupils. Of greater significance was the arrival of the Swiss-born Jean (Joseph) Elouis, whose concert performances enjoyed great success during the winter season. His credentials as a teacher were impeccable: "Mr Elouis, has had the honour of giving instructions on the Pedal Harp to several of THE ROYAL FAMILY, including Her Royal Highness The Princess of Wales, The Duke of Kent and Princess Sophia of Gloucester...." Elouis's benefit concert received the patronage of Edinburgh's leading ladies: the Duchess of Buccleuch, the Countess of Dalhousie, the Right Honourable Lady Ramsay, Lady Carmichael and the Honourable Lady Duff, and naturally he sought to exploit fully the market for teaching:

Mr ELOUIS avails himself of the opportunity of informing his pupils and the public in general, that having been requested to remain in Edinburgh, he is going to England on business, but will be back again in three weeks, when he will be happy to give lessons on the pedal harp to those ladies who have done him the honour of applying.
The following four years were lean ones for concert life in Edinburgh, and "novelty" instruments such as the pedal harp managed only occasional appearances; for example, at Corri's Benefit Concert on 5th February 1807, when the singer, Miss Giolivetti played a harp concerto by Dussek 102. During these years, Elouis maintained his links with the city, publishing his Selection of favourite Scots Songs (1807) and other music arranged for the harp. He also assisted John Gunn in his historical researches concerning "Queen Mary's Harp" as part of his Enquiry on the Harp. It seems likely that Elouis continued to teach in Edinburgh during the winter seasons of 1806-1809, although he did not place advertisements in the local press. Unusually, a Miss Scott offered harp among her subjects of instruction at this time (see Table II.8, p.148, and p.347).

After about 1810, as Edinburgh's concert life improved, the harp began to feature again. The city benefited from the teaching services of two celebrated performers (Dale and Elouis) and another resident instructor, Charles Barbieri 103. Miss Dale returned, as before with members of her family, to perform in Corri's 1810 subscription series and gave private lessons as required 104. However, of greater significance was the work of Elouis, who was at least semi-resident in the city. The street directories provide two New Town addresses for him, both in Hanover Street, at no.21 (1810-1815), and no.55 (1815-1821); while out-of-season, he resumed residence in London, at 48 Wigmore Street 105.

Clearly, from its very continuity, Elouis' teaching practice in Edinburgh flourished. In imitation of the enthusiasm for teaching the piano in classes (notably, Robertson's "Logierian Academy", and Corri's classes), Elouis proposed a similar method for the pedal harp, reflecting the increased demand for harp instruction:

CLASSES for the HARP / Mr ELOUIS, in compliance with the wishes of many families, whose young Ladies are to attend immediately, will open CLASSES for the HARP this week at his house, no.55 North Hanover Street. / Ladies unacquainted with that Instrument, after a very few lessons, will be enabled to perform in parts with pupils more advanced, according to their degree of proficiency; and as Mr Elouis will join example to precept; by accompanying the classes himself, he trusts that
the rapid improvement of his scholars, will soon demonstrate the superiority of this mode of teaching... 106

His terms are 4 guineas per quarter and 1½ guineas entrance, to be paid in advance / PRIVATE LESSONS as usual. 107

From a practical point of view, the necessity of residing close to potential pupils is clear (harpists would need to have their own instruments taken to the classes), and Elouis's address was centrally situated in the New Town. His terms for instruction in classes were more moderate than for individual lessons, although still high in comparison with other instruments, reflecting again the exclusive nature of the harp. These classes probably continued until Elouis' death in 1821. After this, at least one of his daughters, Miss Amelia Elouis ("a native of this city" 108), continued to teach the harp. Her name appeared occasionally in the directories into the 1830s (for example, at no.46 Great King Street between 1825-1826 and no.1 Stafford Street between 1830-1831).

The 1820s saw a significant increase in the number of pedal harp teachers in the city. Most offered tuition in other instruments or subjects too; the number of teachers serving to restrict the scope for specialisation. Miss Parnell, from London (but trained in Paris), gave lessons in the French language as well as harp 109, while the daughters of Felix Yaniewicz offered also the piano and singing 110. The 'cellist, Mr Powell, who visited the city in 1817 and became resident until 1824, advertised instruction on the piano and harp "to a select number of pupils" 111. Similarly, the singer, James Thorne, offered singing and harp instruction during his seasons at the Edinburgh Theatre Royal during the late-1820s 112.

The continuing demand for instruments, music and accessories was reflected in the opening of Pole's Princes Street music shop in 1825 (see p.309), which largely specialised in the pedal harp. Pole, a harpist from London, sold harps from Erard's London factory, imported pianos and sheet music, including much for the harp (some of Pole's own composition). Trading continued until Pole's "retirement" in May 1830. He continued as a teacher in the city until about 1835 113.
During the late-1820s Edinburgh's principal performer and teacher on the harp was William Taylor. After 1825, this pupil of the celebrated N.C. Bochsa made regular concert appearances as well as offering instruction. He had settled in the city by 1830: the directory for that year lists him as a "Teacher of the Harp" and a resident in the New Town (at no.78 Queen Street). A player of quality, Taylor's performances were highly praised in the local press:

...We now come to Mr Taylor's own share in the performance. Bochsa may be a bad man, but he is an excellent composer, as the Concerto of which Mr Taylor plays with a fire and energy strongly resembling those of his master, who is the only other performer besides Mr Taylor that reconciles us, we candidly confess, to the harp. 114

Teachers of the Double Flageolet

The English flageolet was patented by William Bainbridge of London in 1803. Bainbridge produced both single and double flageolets, the latter consisting of two tubes bored from a single block of wood played through a single mouthpiece, enabling the player to produce melodies in parallel 3rds (or parallel 6ths, if overblown). This type attained greater popularity than the less sophisticated model. Published repertoire most commonly consisted of arrangements of national melodies, frequently with an accompaniment on the harp, guitar or piano. The instrument's use was primarily envisaged within a domestic setting and to be played predominantly by ladies 115.

The earliest advertised appearance of the instrument in the Scottish capital occurred some four years after the patent registration:

BAINBRIDGE'S PATENT FLAGEOLETS... MUIR, WOOD and COMPANY, no.7 LEITH STREET, Agents for Mr Bainbridge, in Scotland, have just received an excellent assortment of BAINBRIDGE'S PATENT FLAGEOLETS, which for sweetness of tone, and the ease with
which they are learned, surpass every instrument of this kind, and have deservedly become the most fashionable. They are sold wholesale and retail at their warehouse, being appointed by the patentee his sole agents for Scotland. 116

Initial demand for the new instrument in Edinburgh was small; its unsuitability within the concert hall probably impeded a wider public interest. In turn, this created little encouragement for local musicians to acquire the necessary expertise to offer instruction. Following the first announcements, Bainbridge's flageolets did not again receive substantial attention within Muir, Wood & Co.'s advertisements for over a decade. However, after about 1810, the instrument occasionally featured in Edinburgh's musical life; for example, on commencing business in November 1810 (see p.293), Penson, Robertson & Co. included Bainbridge's flageolets within their advertisements, while the oboist, Thomas Fraser, performed pieces on the double flageolet as novelty items at his annual benefit concerts, for example, in 1815, an "Air and Petit Rondo" of his own composition and an accompaniment to R.A. Smith's song, "The Linnet" 117.

The first teacher to offer instruction on the flageolet in Edinburgh was Hugh Pollock Macleod in 1817:

Music / Mr H.P. MacLEOD respectfully informs his Friends and the Public, that he continues to teach the Piano Forte, flute, single and double flageolet and clarionet on the most approved methods / Orders left at his house, or Messrs. Muir, Wood and Co.'s Music Shop will be punctually attended to.,,118

MacLeod enjoyed a close relationship with Muir, Wood & Co., as shown by the references to the firm within his advertisements, and by his various addresses in Edinburgh, each of which was associated with the business (see p.227): 11 Leith terrace (1815-1824) and 14 Calton Hill (1825-1831) 119. Clearly, it was in the retailer's interests to encourage MacLeod. During the 1820s, he remained as the firm's recommended instructor and advisor; a letter from Andrew Wood in 1825 refers to an instrument sent back to Bainbridge: "We had sold it and it has been disapproved of by Mr Macleod the teacher." 120
With the growth of interest in the double flageolet, Thomas Fraser began also to offer instruction. A detailed advertisement provides useful information concerning contemporary attitudes to the instrument:

MUSIC TAUGHT / On the most approved and scientific principles / Mr FRASER (Principal Oboe, Theatre Royal) begs leave respectfully to inform his Friends and the Public that he has recommenced teaching the GERMAN FLUTE / PATENT DOUBLE FLAGEOLET and other wind instruments / From the great experience Mr Fraser has had in his professional character, as a teacher, he trusts that those who may be inclined to honour him, will find it their interest in becoming his pupil, as the science will be taught in an easy and comprehensive manner.

The complex appearance of that fashionable and beautiful instrument, the patent double flageolet, has prevented many from venturing to learn it, but Mr Fraser, from the very easy and simple method he has adopted in teaching it, pledges himself, that any Lady or Gentleman, taking 12 lessons from him (3 per week) shall perform with good taste and style, even although they should not have had any previous knowledge of music.... Terms - 2 guineas, 12 lessons, or 3 guineas a class of two / German Flutes, Flageolets &c chosen by himself and warranted....

Fraser's announcement, which appeared three weeks following one from Macleod, represented a direct attack on his rival. Fraser had been the principal exponent of the double flageolet in public performances in Edinburgh, and he was perhaps envious of Macleod's support from the city's leading retailer of the instrument. In his advertisement, the emphasis placed on long teaching experience and "professional character" was a thinly veiled reference to Macleod's youthfulness (he was 21 in 1818). That the complex appearance of the instrument was a reason for its hitherto lack of popularity further suggests that much of the musical public were still unfamiliar with it on anything other than a superficial level. Fraser sought to make his lessons as attractive as possible, both in terms of cost and promised attainment; by the standards of 1818, the price of two guineas for twelve private lessons was moderate.
The instrument's continuing popularity in the late-1820s is indicated by advertisements from John McPherson in which lessons were offered along with those on piano and flute.

Teachers of the Spanish Guitar

Although popular in Southern Europe during the final two decades of the 18th century, the six-string Spanish guitar was not introduced into Britain until around 1815. The appeal of the instrument amongst musical amateurs lay in its potential as an easily-mastered accompaniment to the voice, rather than in performing difficult solo pieces. The latter were largely considered the premise of the professional concert player.

Edinburgh's musical public was first given the opportunity to take lessons in the Spanish guitar in 1825, as a result of a visit from the Spanish player, Don Celestino de Bruguera:

SPANISH GUITAR / Assembly Rooms, George Street / Under the Distinguished Patronage of Her Grace the DUCHESS of HAMILTON & BRANDON / DON CELESTINO DE BRUGUERA has the honour to announce... his SERENADE & CONCERT ON THE SPANISH GUITAR .... Don C. de B. intends to devote Two Days in the course of next week, to give GRATIS, to those Ladies who have honoured his CONCERT by their presence, Public Instructions on the GUITAR, by a new and easy method, peculiar to himself - Tickets of admission to those lessons will be given by Don C. de B. on the evening of the Concert.

The generous manner in which instruction was offered suggests that the public was unacquainted with the instrument and its method of playing. Subsequent seasons saw the appearance of a small number of instructors in the Spanish guitar, although demand was not sufficient to allow specialisation in the instrument. The majority of teachers included singing or piano; for example, Johann Muller (guitar and elementary piano) 125, Signor Rodevino and Mrs Orme (singing and guitar) 126, Dr Llacyo (Spanish guitar and language) 127, and Miss Stark (piano, Spanish guitar and singing) 128.
There are few indicators as to the relative expertise of these teachers, although one resident musician was able to present impressive credentials. These exploited the kudos of connections with the principal musical centres of Europe:

SPANISH GUITAR, Mr HAGART.... instructions on the above very fashionable instrument / Having studied under the celebrated M. Schutz (of Vienna), and other eminent masters, and TAUGHT the Guitar in London and Paris, for the last seven years, Mr H. trusts that he may give satisfaction to those who may honour him with their patronage / Mr Hagart also gives instruction on the VIOLONCELLO.... 129

There is little surviving evidence as to the cost of guitar instruction. However, it appears that, as with the English guitar, terms were set below that of more popular instruments, in particular the piano:

THE GUITAR and SINGING taught by Mrs ORME, no.15, Melville Street. Terms: 3 Guineas - 12 lessons / The Piano Forte taught by Miss Orme. Terms: 4 Guineas - 12 lessons / Edinburgh Nov. 1828. 130

SUMMARY

In addition to the piano, a few other instruments achieved and sustained significant popularity among the city's female amateurs. English and Spanish guitars, which were relatively inexpensive to buy, supported a small number of instructors throughout the period (the Spanish guitar superseding its English counterpart in Edinburgh during the second decade of the 19th century), although few resident teachers were able to specialise solely in this field. Other, more exotic instruments required the appearance of celebrated concert performers to fuel public interest. The harp is the clearest example here; its expense and technical complexity did much to keep demand steady, although after 1810 an increasing number of resident musicians were able largely to specialise in the instrument. New or
novelty instruments occasionally achieved a following; Bainbridge's double flageolet is the most notable example. In this instance, through their sponsorship of a local instructor, one of the city's leading music retailers played an important role in stimulating public interest.

**INSTRUCTION FOR GENTLEMEN INSTRUMENTALISTS**

As Johnson has observed 131, the instruments played by gentlemen were essentially ensemble instruments, for use within orchestras, military bands or small groups. However, it should be stressed that those most commonly chosen by amateurs, the flute, violin and 'cello, were also suited for use within domestic music-making. The following study examines the demand for and availability of instruction, firstly for amateurs and then professional musicians. It begins by identifying the ensembles in which musicians could participate in Edinburgh, followed by an outline of the availability of instruction in the most popular instruments.

**Ensembles which included Gentlemen Amateur Musicians**

From its inception in 1728 132, the Edinburgh Musical Society maintained a tradition of involving gentlemen amateur musicians within its orchestra. At first, participation in the concerts was a requirement of Society membership, a small number of professionals being employed to lead the ensemble. However, by the 1750s the balance had shifted, with more professionals and higher standards demanded. Still, the tradition of incorporating amateurs continued through to the institution's demise, although in the final decades it seems unlikely that the numbers involved were very sizable. The Society's Sederunt Books from around 1780 suggest the number of performing amateurs within the orchestra to have been between eight
and ten. It seems unlikely that the indigenous teaching musicians benefited from this practice. The gentlemen performers were of the most respectable stock and would most likely have sought instruction, if at all, from the city's finest executants. In most cases, these were the foreign players, whose musicianship was considered all the more desirable because of their nationality.

With the Musical Society in terminal decline, there was a continuing demand from gifted amateurs for opportunities to play in orchestras. In 1793, John Mahon, frequently either clarinettist or violinist at St. Cecilia's Hall, began a series of subscription concerts "for the amusement and improvement of such Gentlemen as have been used to perform in Concert and others who wish to be hearers". The concerts began in January and continued fortnightly throughout the winter. To ensure some level of social selectivity, subscription for the season was set at a guinea. As an additional incentive, and at little cost to the organiser, a celebrity soloist also participated:

 Besides the full pieces, Quartettos &c., in which the Gentlemen perform, Mr Mahon will, at each concert, play a solo concerto upon the Violin, the Clarionet or Voce Claria. Mrs Mahon also will sing at the Concerts, chiefly the favourite Scottish Songs and those of Handel....

During the first decade of the 19th century, an ensemble called the Amateur Concert met during the winter seasons to perform privately; in 1810, for example, six meetings took place between January and March. Little is known about the ensemble, although it appears that the city's erstwhile principal violinist, Stabilini was involved in its organisation or training; his 1810 benefit concert was performed "Under the Patronage of the gentlemen of the Amateur Concert". The fate of the ensemble in subsequent years is not known.

In 1813, Thomas Bird, principal 'cellist at Edinburgh's Theatre Royal, proposed an "Academy" to give "Gentlemen as have already acquired some proficiency in Music, regular opportunities of
playing in Concert" 137. Performances were to be held in a room at Bird's address in the New Town, North St. James' Street (a respectable but not over-fashionable locality close to the Theatre and Assembly Rooms, and thus attractive for many musicians). Performances were to commence as soon as 12 subscribers could be found. The Terms were again set quite high to dissuade socially undesirable participants: a guinea for eight "concerts". Presumably, within this domestic setting, performances were given without an audience.

Given the low budgets available to most who organised concerts in Edinburgh throughout the early 19th century, it seems unlikely that they should not have used willing amateur players as required. In some instances, these musicians formed the back-bone of ensembles. The concerts of The Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music, particularly after the "mutiny" of 1817 (see p.198), relied heavily on amateur players, as reflected in the emphasis placed on them within the following accounts from 1817 and 1819:

The instrumental band [of not fewer that 60 performers] included all the professional talent of Edinburgh, and was rendered interesting by the appearance of the principal amateurs. It was led in a most spirited manner by Mr Penson. / Subsequently to this period, the Directors resolved, for the improvement of the amateurs, that there should be regular meetings for instrumental practice. These accordingly have since taken place at stated intervals, under the conduct of Mr Simpson, and are likely to prove equally beneficial to the Institution and agreeable to the parties. Indeed, the Directors cannot help regarding the assistance given at their concerts by the private amateurs as among the most pleasing features of their establishment, and not the least likely to give it permanence. 138

...and as the Directors have been in use hitherto to give single tickets on payment of 5s at the doors, it ought to be attended to by the public on this occasion that the practice is to be stopped, and no person will receive admission who does not procure a subscriber's ticket. / The Institution may lose some money by thus refusing admission to non-subscribers, but on the whole it appears the right thing, particularly where the orchestra is filled by private Gentlemen. 139
Throughout the early 19th century, although demand was never large, the prospect of performing in concerts provided an incentive for gentlemen to gain proficiency on certain instruments. From the number of instructors to offer lessons, these were, most commonly, the violin, 'cello and flute. Again, it should be stressed that each of these instruments was also suited to music-making in the home. Within this study, the availability of instruction on the violin and flute is assessed - establishing a pattern which can be applied to other instruments which enjoyed favour among Gentlemen amateurs.

Teachers of the Violin

Each of the city's leading violinists offered his services as teacher, although none was able to restrict his teaching exclusively to the instrument. In the late 18th century, even the leading (foreign) violinists employed by the Musical Society included other, though related, disciplines among their subjects of instruction. Since the prestige attached to a leading appointment at St. Cecilia's Hall was sufficient to attract pupils, only in exceptional circumstances did contemporary newspapers carry teaching advertisements from these musicians. However, such notices, usually prompted by a change in circumstances or a personal misfortune, often provide information on the variety of subjects taught, the way in which lessons were organised and their cost. A typical example is that of Guiseppe Puppo, who was appointed leader of the Society's orchestra in 1774:

MUSIC / Mr PUPPO, having been much indisposed for a considerable time past, was obliged to give over his teaching as he could never, while indisposed, be certain of attending punctually, or of giving the proper attention to his scholars. As he is now perfectly recovered, he proposes to attend any Ladies who incline to be taught singing, or to have him accompany them in songs or harpsichord music, in the same way he did the first winter he was in Edinburgh. The hours of teaching are from 12 to 3 o'clock afternoon: and Mr Puppo's terms are Two Guineas the first month and a Guinea and a half the following....
It is significant that the master violinist Puppo stressed his services as an accompanist to lady amateurs, rather than as an instructor for gentlemen. That this was a lucrative source of income is apparent also through a later advertisement from another eminent performer, Stabilini:

CARD / Mr STABILINI, no.4 St. James's Street, begs leave to inform the Public, that he continues to teach the Violin and likewise to accompany on that instrument Ladies who play the piano forte / As Mr Stabilini has no public engagements, those who prefer it may be accommodated with an hour in the evening. The most punctual attendance may be depended on. 

The practice of violinists advertising their services as accompanists was common throughout the early 19th century, for example, Messrs Barbieri, Bird, Dun, Hindmarsh and Yaniewicz. In addition, most instructors included tuition on at least one other instrument, for example: Puppo (singing, see above), Skirving (guitar, see p.164), Barbieri (piano and harp, see p.142), Thomson (piano and thorough bass, see Table II.6, p.144), Watlen (piano, harpsichord, organ and singing, see Table II.6, p.145), Bird (piano and 'cello, see Table II.6, p.145), Dun (singing and solfeggio), Hindmarsh (piano and singing, see p.142), Yaniewicz (piano, see Table II.6, 145) and Keith (piano, see Table II.7, p.146).

That the market opportunities for those offering violin instruction were limited can be gauged also from the methods of tuition proposed. Whilst tuition in singing and in keyboard instruments was frequently offered in classes (as well as privately), such arrangements seem not to have been available to aspiring violinists. The system proposed by Robert Mackintosh, in 1780, was an exception:

A PUBLIC MUSIC CLASS / MUSIC, though justly ranked among the Polite Arts, and allowed to be of considerable utility in public or private life, is, however, perhaps more neglected in this country than in any other part of Europe.

The Violin, in particular, which is the most perfect of all musical instruments, is often totally neglected, or its use postponed to a period when little proficiency can be expected. To give young gentlemen an opportunity of commencing this
elegant study as soon as the other parts of their education, Mr MACKINTOSH has opened a PUBLIC CLASS for the VIOLIN, where any boy of ordinary genius, by devoting to this agreeable exercise some portion of the time destined to amusement, may soon acquire taste in music, and become able to perform with ease and propriety. It is needless here to expatiate on the advantages of this plan; they are too obvious to be mentioned; and Mr Mackintosh flatters himself it will meet the approbation of the public.

Admittance to the public Class, one guinea per quarter only. Any gentleman may have a private hour either at his own lodgings or Mr Mackintosh's house in Barringer's close, at one guinea per month. 149

Teachers of the Flute

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the flute was considered an unsuitable instrument for ladies:

Indeed it can hardly be recommended or expected that the professors of fair faces and soft swelling lips should consent to puff out the one or conceal the other by the use of the flute, while such a display of all the charms of grace and beauty wait upon the use of the harp. Minerva herself is related after Hyginus to have abandoned the flute in disgust, from finding herself ridiculed by Juno and Venus, and by examining herself to discover the cause in a fountain, which showed the distortion of her face. 150

Unlike other woodwind instruments, the popularity of the flute was enhanced by certain aristocratic associations. Its mastery remained both desirable and fashionable throughout the period and well beyond. Within the domestic setting, the genre of the accompanied keyboard sonata came to represent a socially acceptable rendezvous between female and male performer; typically with the gentleman flautist (or violinist) adding an interacting accompaniment to the lady's piano forte. In the 19th century, complex fantasias and variations on popular airs became the staple diet of both the amateur and professional repertoire.
As with the violin, the flute's exclusively male tenure ensured that instruction remained the premise of male musicians. In general (and again like the violin), the popularity of the instrument was insufficient to support a high degree of specialisation on the part of most preceptors. The exceptions to this were a small number of visiting virtuosi who were able both to offer lessons solely on the flute, and to command the highest fees for doing so:

FLUTE TAUGHT / MR NICHOLSON respectfully informs the AMATEURS of the FLUTE, that during his short residence in Edinburgh, he instructs at his apartment no.9, St. James's Square / Terms, Eight lessons for two Guineas.  

THE FLUTE / Mr CART (from the Nobility's Concerts, London), Professor of the FLUTE, respectfully informs Amateurs of this instrument that, during his stay in Edinburgh this Winter he will be giving INSTRUCTIONS....Ladies who are advanced on the Piano Forte may be accompanied by him.  

TO THE AMATEURS OF THE FLUTE / Mr JAMES, from London and Paris, pupil of Mr Nicholson and Mons. Berbiguier, begs most respectfully to inform the Amateurs of this fine Instrument, that he is now giving LESSONS, on the Principles of his celebrated Masters / His terms may be had at Mr ROBERTSON'S Music Saloon, Prince's Street; Messrs. WOOD, SMALL & Co., Regent Bridge; and of Mr JAMES, (personally or by letter) at Martin's lodgings, 15 Catherine Street, Edinburgh.  

The visit of William Nelson James (c.1801-1854) to Edinburgh was a colourful affair. In addition to his teaching and performing during the 1825-1826 season, he published his popular book concerning the history and contemporary state of flute-playing; A Word or Two on the flute. However, his subsequent departure for Paris was necessarily swift, and George Small, of Wood, Small & Co. was one of many who sought to pursue him:

There is a fellow of the name of N. James a Flute Player and Teacher, he ran off from this city and swindled a good many people and us among the rest, see if you can hear of him.  

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Throughout the period, resident musicians who taught the flute can be placed in two categories; firstly, those who included it with keyboard instruments, guitar and/or vocal music, and secondly, those who offered other wind instruments, most frequently the clarinet and oboe. Although the potential markets clearly overlapped, the first group primarily sought to meet the demand of gentlemen who desired to perform within a domestic setting, whilst the second were more concerned with the training of those wishing to participate in military bands or other such ensembles. Within the first category can typically be placed William Cranmer, William Williamson (see Table II.2, p.135), Hugh MacLeod (see p.173) and John McPherson (see p.175), whilst the second included George Muschett (see p.186) and, to a lesser degree, Thomas Fraser (see p.174).

The terms for lessons quoted by Charles Nicholson (above) are put into perspective when compared with those of two resident teachers: Williamson (1781) 155 and McPherson (1806) 156 each charged a guinea for sixteen lessons. Williamson's higher rate for the harpsichord, at a guinea for twelve lessons 157, further suggests that the market for flute instruction was not particularly lively. Demand was insufficient to encourage a system of group or class tuition.

**Instruction towards Musical Careers**

The demand to acquire instrumental skills in order to become a professional musician in Edinburgh was small. Financial constraints kept modest the number of professionals which the city could support within its various "bands", and there was little incentive for musicians to train for jobs which did not exist. By the early 19th century, the lack of a local tradition of excellence, or other such stimulus to provide advanced musical education, also did much to restrict numbers. As with other occupations, that of musician was frequently continued within given families: for example, those of Schetky, Napier, Gow, Reinagle, Clarke and Dewar.
During the 18th century, the only significant employer of musicians in Edinburgh, the city's Musical Society, was largely unconcerned with providing instruction. It sought simply to find the best available players for its concerts, and only when it made financial sense to support teaching did the directors provide funds. Thus, in 1788, the Society paid William Skirving just two guineas for teaching the violin to Maxwell Shaw, whilst lavishing £10 on Pietro Urbani for the boy's vocal instruction. Shaw subsequently appeared as soloist in the Society's oratorio performances. Generally, professional musical life in Edinburgh had little need to focus attention on providing a framework for training in professional musicianship.

Demand for Instruction in Instruments for Military Bands

An exception to this pattern occurred during the period of the French Wars, from the early-1790s until 1815. Most of the new army corps formed their own military band for use on ceremonial occasions, and thus created a great demand for tuition in military instruments. Significant professional opportunities were available to players with a knowledge of bands and their instruments. Among those who were able to take advantage of the new market in Edinburgh was the 'cellist and composer, Johann Schetky, who became bandmaster to the 1st Battalion, Royal Edinburgh Volunteers in about 1794, in which year he wrote about the band in a Christmas day letter to his son in Philadelphia:

I know not whether I told that there is here a Corps of 700 Gentlemen, respectable merchants and tradesmen, called the Edinburgh Volunteers, they all furnish their cloath and accoutrements from top to toe, wich is rather expensive, but make a very fine appearance. I am the Master of the Band, wich consists of 6 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons, 2 Horns, and Trompet, all volunteers.

Since fashionable society considered it irregular for gentlemen amateurs to play most of the standard wind and brass instruments (and the market for "acceptable" instruments such as the flute was small,
there was normally little prospect of significant income from private
teaching for professional wind players. Thus, a number benefited
greatly from employment as directors or instructors of military
bands. In the Scottish capital, these included Francis Gardiner,
flautist at the Theatre Royal, who from about 1800 was master of the
band of the 2nd battalion, Royal Edinburgh Volunteers (160), Charles
Vogel, a refugee from the French Revolution (161) and Alexander Napier:

MILITARY BANDS TAUGHT / ALEXANDER NAPIER, jun., Master of the
Band in the Second Battalion of the Second Regiment of the
Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, who has the honour of teaching
several bands in Scotland, particularly his GRACE the DUKE of
HAMILTON'S, which was fit for duty in ten weeks, takes the
freedom of informing the officers of those Regiments which are
intended to be raised, that he will undertake to INSTRUCT and
BAND or BANDS that may be intrusted to his care; when every
exertion shall be used on his part to perfect them for duty in
a few weeks. And, if required he will (on a handsome bounty
being given) provide proper persons for a Band....Instruments
furnished if required. (162)

Other local wind players who benefited similarly, included
George Muschett and Thomas Fraser. Muschett had been employed by the
Musical Society in 1776 to teach one Alexander Stewart the clarinet,
an example of the Society's willingness to sponsor teaching directly
beneficial to itself; since the instrument was still relatively new
to Britain, clarinettists were in short supply. Muschett frequently
appeared as an additional player at St. Cecilia's Hall, and played
the clarinet in the Theatre Royal band during the 1780s. Despite
these associations, there are few indications that he enjoyed a
significant income from instructing amateurs. Advertisements offering
his services as a teacher began to appear only around the turn of the
century, following the re-commencement of hostilities in Europe. In
an 1802 advertisement, Muschett included tuition on the clarinet,
along with the German and English flute (163). Fraser similarly began
to advertise wind instrument instruction during the early-1800s (164).

Professional opportunities for wind players lay not only in
performing in bands and arranging music for them, but also in
teaching the skills of arranging. As late as 1818, Montague Corri,
son of Domenico, and "Composer and Arranger to his Grace the DUKE of

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MARLBOROUGH", offered tuition in "A most complete and expeditious method of arranging music for an Orchestra or Military Band" by which any person with "a tolerable knowledge of music" could learn to arrange scores for a band in 12 lessons 165.

SUMMARY

The instruments favoured by gentlemen amateur performers were suited both to domestic music-making and for participation in public ensembles. Instruction in the flute, violin or 'cello was available throughout the period from a number of teachers, although only visiting performers were able to specialise exclusively in one of these instruments.

The opportunities for amateurs to perform publicly in ensembles varied during the period. The Musical Society, whose membership was originally exclusively of players, continued to encourage proficient member-amateurs to participate in the band at Saint Cecilia's Hall into its final years, although the numbers involved were small. In the early decades of the 19th century, amateurs were required for the orchestras of some musical organisations, notably the Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music, as well as for concerts promoted by individuals. Within this context they represented a cheap alternative to the hiring of professionals. In addition, gentlemen could participate in a small number of private, amateur orchestras, organised and trained by professional musicians.

Edinburgh's limited concert life gave little incentive for many to enter the profession. Aspiring professional instrumentalists usually received their training from members of their own family or close family associates. Although relatively short-lived, the need for military bandsmen during the period of the French Wars provided a degree of support for some Edinburgh musicians as players, directors, instructors, and musical arrangers.
INSTRUCTION IN CHORAL MUSIC

Encouragement for raising the standard of serious choral performance in Edinburgh came from two sources. Firstly, from periodic movements within the church which sought to establish new musical elements in the sacred service and to see the standard of performance improve. Secondly, from a demand, perhaps founded more on cultural/artistic sentiments than pious ones, for competent large-scale performances of oratorios and sacred works in concert. The demand for instruction was sufficient to provide employment for a small number of teachers at various times during the period.

This study examines the demand for instruction in each area from about 1770 until 1815, the year of Edinburgh's first Musical Festival. The aims and success of The Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music will then be outlined, followed by a brief survey of choral instruction during the 1820s.

Instruction in Church Music

Despite the rapid success of the Edinburgh Town Council's choir-training scheme in the 1750s and early-1760s, civic encouragement for church music instruction did not extend beyond these years. A principal reason for this, although not of direct relevance here, related to a general decline in church attendance:

In 1763 - It was fashionable to go to church, and people were interested in religion. Sunday was strictly observed by all ranks as a day of devotion; and it was disgraceful to be seen on the streets during the time of public worship. Families attended church, with their children and servants; and family worship was frequent. The collections at the church doors, for the poor, amounted yearly to L.1500, and upwards.

In 1783 - Attendance on church was greatly neglected, and particularly by men; Sunday was by many made a day of relaxation; and young people were allowed to stroll about at all hours. Families thought it ungenteeel to take their
domestics to church with them: The streets were far from being void of people in the time of public worship; and, in the evenings were frequently loose and riotous; particularly owing to bands of apprentice boys, and young lads. Family worship was almost disused. The collections at the church doors for the poor had fallen to £1.1000.

In 1791 - The Collections at the Church doors had risen to £1.1200. 167

As a result of the earlier revival in interest in church music, choir-trainers were employed in many of Edinburgh's principal churches. The interest in choir singing was similarly manifested within the city's masonic chapels, some of which employed musicians as teachers. Given the absence of a strong choral tradition in Scotland, the capital understandably looked to the great English cathedrals for suitably trained instructors, for example, James Hamilton and William Cranmer (see p.136). The posts held by such musicians varied; for example, Hamilton was arch-precentor, and later precentor of the High Church of Edinburgh, where Stephen Clarke (from Durham) became organist in 1771, while Cranmer was organist at St. Andrew's (masonic) Chapel, Carrubber's Close.

From the early-1770s, with the civic authorities unwilling further to organise and subsidise instruction, private teaching became the primary source for those seeking to learn and able to pay. Hamilton and Cranmer were among those who regularly advertised private tuition in church music, both in the form of individual lessons and, more significantly, in classes ranging in size from four to eight persons. Such classes had the advantage of being relatively cheap scholars (in 1773 Cranmer's class was available at 5s 3d a month 168) and lucrative for the Master; and by their very nature provided an opportunity for ensemble practice and social gathering. Pupils would receive instruction in the basic rudiments of music notation and be taught their parts throughout the newly expanded repertoire of harmonised psalm tunes. However, the demand for church music was not sufficient for teachers to specialise exclusively in the subject, and advertisements offering instruction usually included it within a wide range of musical subjects (see Table II.2, p.135).
Numerous accounts lamented the decline in church music standards during the late 18th century. The advances of the 1750s and 1760s had evidently been lost, as illustrated, for example, in the advertisements of John Aitken, a resident musician and teacher:

He observes with regret, that while other rapid improvements have been made in every other Department of Music, that of Sacred Music still continues in an unimproved state. 169

During the final years of the century, as a reaction to this perceived decline, fresh initiatives were proposed both from public and private sources. The civic and church establishment moved to re-introduce classes for instruction in church music along the old lines, for example, in December 1785:

CHURCH MUSIC &c. / The Magistrates, the Rev. Ministers and Managers of the Church Funds of the Canongate, appointed JOHN CAMPBELL their Precentor and Music Master to open a School on the 25th November 1785, in the Mason Lodge, Flesh Market Close, head of Canongate, to afford the inhabitants an opportunity of having their children taught at the most reasonable rate - J. Campbell will attend in said place every Monday, Wednesday and Friday afternoon at five o'clock.... 170

However, as before, this scheme appears not to have enjoyed long-term support. In 1795, the Town Council made a similar attempt through the establishment of an "Evening Gratis School". This was taught by Aitken who also announced a more exclusive and private class (at five shillings a quarter) for "others who would rather chuse a different hour and a more private mode of instruction" 171.

An alternative method of sustaining a public school for the general teaching of sacred music, based on voluntary public subscription, was proposed by a Hungarian musician resident in Edinburgh, Hurka de Monti. In 1791, he made an appeal to "the religious, the patriotic and the generous part of society" to support the formation of a "Public Academy for Sacred Music" 172. Instruction was to be given to "Youths of both sexes" as recommended by the Subscribers, "provided they be of decent parents, of good behaviour, have a good ear and voice, and a clean appearance". Pupils would be
taught "Sacred Music of various stiles in classes, and that in the evenings, so not to interfere with the business of the day". In return for their support, subscribers would be invited to attend monthly performances or "academical exercises" to show the progress of the school. It was hoped too that the Academy would develop into a school for the training of professional musicians:

As soon as the amount of the Subscription shall allow of it, there shall be daily instructions for those of the eleves that wish to give themselves entirely to the musical profession, so that this Academy, if well supported, may be a Seminary to all Scotland of good performers and teachers. 173

However, there is no evidence to suggest that this adventurous idea was ever realised in practice. De Monti's business-like plan and rhetoric reflects again the most fundamental problem which faced all schemes which sought to promote this essentially non-commercial genre of music-making: the lack of sustainable financial backing.

For extra-musical reasons, the established church in Edinburgh proved ultimately to be unreliable as an encourager and sustainer of widespread choral instruction, during the second half of the 18th century and first decade of the 19th. However, the formation of two organisations to promote the subject during the second decade of the 19th century met with more success.

Significantly, the most ambitious and successful (albeit short-lived) attempt to establish a school for instruction in choral music occurred through the unifying of the idiom's principal forums: the church and concert hall. Therefore, before discussing The Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music, the development of choir-training for concert performances will be traced.
Choral Music outside the Church Service

In 18th-century Edinburgh the Musical Society was the only body able or willing to fund and organise regular concert performances of large-scale choral works. From the mid-century, oratorios by Handel were given two or three times annually. These occasions were justly considered high-points in the musical calendar and, by their nature, became a focus of substantial expenditure. The choirs consisted of gentlemen amateurs, boys chosen from George Heriot's Hospital School, and any professional singers then in the Society's employ.

The city's principal choral instructors each enjoyed an association with these oratorio performances, either as paid participants or choir-trainers, and frequently both. The contracts offered to professional singers often included a clause obliging them to teach at least a section of the chorus for the oratorio performances, for example, in the terms offered to Mr Gilson and to Mr Gaudry in the late-1750s:

The Directors appoint Mr Gelson [sic] to Teach the Heriot Hospital Boys the Chorus's and what other pieces of musick they shall Direct also to attend and Teach the Gentlemen performers the Chorus's of any Oratorio they are to perform and to continue to Sing and play himself in the Concerts. For which they have agreed to augment his Sallary to £15 yearly.... 174

We have also generally three Oratorios in the year at which youl [sic] bear your part and also instruct the gentlemen singers in their parts and a few hospital boys whom we take in for counter-tenors and cantos. 175

In most cases the fee offered to singers for teaching represented a substantial proportion of their salary from the Society; with Gilson and Gaudry, it accounted for one-third of their wage. In addition, for the musicians, the association was worth much in terms of potential private teaching fees. Until the mid-1770s, when the Society ran into serious financial problems, this arrangement concerning choir-training flourished. The system suited employer and employee well.
As a result of the financial difficulties which faced the Society after 1776 (due largely to over-spending \(^{176}\)), economies had to be made. Financial problems inevitably led to a marked decrease in expenditure over the following two decades, not least reflected in the declining number of annual oratorio performances.

The degree of encouragement given by the Society to choral training was determined by its own limited requirements: to prepare a largely amateur choir for individual oratorio performances. The constraints placed upon the nature of such events were financial rather than artistic. There was never an ambition to establish a "choral tradition" or even to found and maintain a regular choir (as with the Society's orchestra); this would have been an unnecessary expense. The voices and training facilities most readily and economically available for each occasion were used.

There is no evidence to suggest that these regular yet increasingly infrequent Handel performances stimulated enthusiasm for the formation of other choirs. The audience at Saint Cecilia's Hall was relatively small and highly exclusive. Opportunities to take part in the music-making were strictly limited to members, or others by special invitation. The wider (middle-class) public in Edinburgh had little chance of hearing the musical effect of a trained choir. In addition, there were barriers of social respectability. Within the context of the fashionable Musical Society, the participation of a gentleman amateur in the choir merited a considerable degree of social admiration. However, away from Saint Cecilia's Hall, the tavern-tainted image of The Catch Club and other such bibulous gatherings of singing gentlemen did much to fuel a disdain within polite society towards participation in vocal ensembles. Clearly, the rewards for the choir-trainer in 18th-century Edinburgh were limited and precarious.
Choir Training for Edinburgh Concerts in the early 19th Century

During the decade following the collapse of the Musical Society in 1798, Edinburgh proved unable adequately to support performances involving choirs within its concert halls. There were thus very few professional opportunities for instruction in choir training.

Corry's failure to raise an adequate subscription to proceed with his concerts in 1806 aroused a determination amongst "several distinguished persons" that, in future, such events should be made more attractive in order to compete with rival entertainments. The creation of a choir in order to present choruses from oratorios and anthems, became a central part of Corry's subsequent proposals:

In the month of May, Mr Corry will open classes for 10 boys, 10 girls and 20 young men to be regularly and thoroughly taught, gratis, the singing of CHORUSES, to enable him, at all times to produce a complete Choral Concert from the works of Handel &c. equal, if possible, to that of any other city in the kingdom. 177

However, the resultant ensemble seems only to have made a single appearance during the ensuing seasons (see p.124).

More successful were John Mather's three concerts of sacred music in 1812. These featured excerpts (including choruses) from Messiah, The Creation and The Seasons along with an ambitious programme of orchestral works. Although local musicians and gentlemen were employed both in the chorus and orchestra, Mather was forced to look south for other musicians of quality; "each part, vocal and instrumental will be led by a distinguished performer from England" 178. The concerts were reasonably well-supported and enthusiastically received, but the level of encouragement was insufficient for Mather to repeat the venture the following season.

In order to present oratorio performances of high quality and with sufficient prestige to attract a numerous yet select audience,
it was necessary to employ musicians from England, in particular from London. Edinburgh did not boast a sufficient pool of quality musicians. The high fees thus payable, in addition to travelling expenses, placed a severe strain on the finances of Edinburgh's impresarios. The promotion of regular oratorio performances with a sizable, well-trained, mainly amateur choir demanded a larger body of organisation (such as that formerly provided by the Musical Society) and greater funds. However, before such an organisation could flourish, an unequivocal expression of interest was required; an expression of public enthusiasm for choral music and for participation in its concert performance. An extraordinary stimulus was needed. This came in the form of Edinburgh's first Musical Festival of 1815, which resulted in the formation of The Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music.

The Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music

The Institution was formed at a meeting in the City Chambers on December 28th 1815. Its principal aim encompassed the needs both of church and concert hall:

The leading object of this Institution shall be to instruct Singers in the performance of Church Music and Oratorios....to diffuse a general taste for Sacred Music, and....in particular to promote a disposition among Congregations to join in the Psalmody of the Churches. 179

Reflecting the two areas of musical interest, the organisation was controlled by a balanced committee of ten clergymen and ten lay subscribers. Of the latter, six had been involved in organising the 1815 Festival. The Institution was invested with the highest social respectability, not only through the involvement of the church, but also through the close association of members of the upper classes: twelve leading representatives of the nobility were named as vice-presidents, and the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry was elected president 180.
A leading local musician, with an unspecified number of assistants, was to give instruction in classes, and train a choir to perform oratorios and Church music. In the case of the latter, care was taken to appeal across denominational divides:

....with reference to the cultivation of Church Music, the Meeting, while it disclaims all wish or design to interfere with the arrangements judged most advisable by particular Congregations, entertains a confident hope, that the Singers thus taught, being diffused throughout the various places of worship which they are accustomed to attend, and becoming serviceable as Precentors & Teachers, will improve the Psalmody, by leading all classes to engage in it more generally and with greater skill. 181

The scheme was to be funded by public subscription, in return for which subscribers would receive tickets for the Institution's concerts. These events would include performances by the chorus, given with the assistance of local musicians, both amateur and professional. In January 1816, the directors invited all interested male persons ("whether men or boys") to attend free classes of instruction. The response was overwhelming:

The effect of the notice which had been issued was extremely gratifying. On the night appointed for receiving applications, the place of meeting was surrounded by a crowd of young people, so great, that it was with difficulty they got admission. The mere recording of their names and addresses occupied several successive nights, till 780 names had been taken down, and intimation was made, that no further applications could be received. 182

John Mather, who had been the guiding spirit behind the Institution's formation "and whose eminent professional skill and ability had marked him out to the Directors for the office of Teacher", was duly appointed as musical director 183. Following a rigorous selection, 380 scholars were enrolled: 150 Trebles; 58 Counter-tenors; 111 Tenors; 61 Basses. Teaching commenced in mid-January 1816 184. The Directors naturally expressed confidence in the venture, feeling; "assured that it will prove of important benefit to the country, by that improvement in the knowledge and execution of Church Music, to which, in various ways, it will lead, while it will
furnish a rational and high entertainment to those who choose to enjoy the privilege of attending its concerts" 185.

The scheme met with great initial success. Within a month of its launch, six subscription concerts "of Church Music and Oratorios" were announced. These were on an ambitious plan, involving a vocal and instrumental band of "not less than two hundred performers" 186. By the end of January "above three hundred" persons were receiving vocal tuition 187, and within six months, this number had risen to almost four hundred 188. By the end of 1816 the Institution boasted some 385 subscribers 189.

However, by the close of 1817 the organisers were encountering serious problems on all fronts. The Institution had become a victim of its own success; too many scholars had been allowed to enrol, and amongst the directors, dissatisfaction with results polarised a conflict of interests. The clergy, eager to give as extensive a benefit as possible to the churches, resisted any moves towards greater selectivity of scholars. The resultant numbers led to an inability to establish a sufficiently high standard of expertise either in church or concert hall. In 1818, the deteriorating situation forced a more selective policy for admissions. Numbers were restricted to 120, and a more streamlined system of tuition introduced:

By means of monitors from each of the four classes, a system of education has been adopted, leading to a much more precise knowledge of the science than formerly was practicable. 190

By this time, public support for the concerts had waned. Contemporary accounts and reviews suggest that the standard of performance, particularly compared with that during the 1815 Festival, was not sufficiently high 191. The public seemed impatient with the local product and unwilling to subsidize its gradual learning process. It was a decline in the number of subscribers rather than the exhortations of the clergy, which forced a reduction in the number of concerts given. Only three were proposed in 1819,
one less than in the previous two seasons and half the number given in 1816 192.

The promotion of fewer concerts was an acceptable development for the clergy, who accused the public performances of the Institution of "diverting the teachers from elementary matters, to preparation for the music most attractive on such occasions" 193. Such concerns had been expressed from the outset of the organisation, but the financial benefits of public concerts took precedence over the more narrow interests of the clergy:

It may be right to mention, that though the immediate object of the institution was to establish a school of music, not to give concerts, it was yet resolved, from the beginning, that there should be public exhibitions of the progress of the pupils, partly for the satisfaction of the subscribers, and partly for the sake of extending the subscription. 194

Other "political" problems further damaged the Institution. The 1817 season saw:

....a mutiny in the school, which rendered it necessary to dismiss many of the most advanced pupils. The evil, however, thus occasioned, was more than repaired by the zeal of those who were left. 195

The dispute probably arose from a demand for payment by leading musicians contributing to the Institution. Initially, the organisation received the assistance of "almost all the professional talent of Edinburgh" 196. The professionals took part on the liberal understanding that any profit made by the Institution would be divided amongst them for their services. Unfortunately, the scale of the enterprise meant that no financial profit was made either in 1816 or 1817 197. Following the exodus, the Institution became increasingly reliant on amateurs to populate its orchestra (see p.179). Mather's resignation in July 1818 was probably related to the dispute. He was succeeded by his former assistant, the singer, Nicholas Swift 198.
By 1818, the position was precarious indeed. Funds were in decline, as was the Institution's social prestige and musical reputation. In response, the directors both rationalised the organisation's methods, and sought to advertise its achievements more widely. They prided themselves on the choir's ability to perform each of the choruses in Haydn's *The Creation*; "among which there are some that have scarcely ever been exceeded in difficulty" 199. The following season saw a further attempt to raise the number of subscribers, now with an increased air of desperation. The Institution's notable achievements were again stressed:

The subscription, One Guinea for six admissions, is a mere trifle....[The Institution] has educated nearly 100 persons to a very good knowledge of music, and initiated a much greater number, and it has done more than any other establishment of the same kind that ever existed here, with means no doubt sufficiently limited, to promote a taste for this Art, not among private individuals alone, but in our Churches and places of Worship. Some idea may be formed of its influence in introducing music not previously known in this quarter, from the circumstance that during the year 1818 it expended upwards of £120 in the engraving and purchase of such music. / It now rests with the public to give it that encouragement which is necessary for enabling it to continue and extend its usefulness. 200

The appeal proved to be of little avail. In 1819, with the attention of the musical public enthusiastically focussed on the city's second Musical Festival, Edinburgh's most ambitious scheme for improving standards of sacred music-making collapsed for want of support.

Undoubtedly, the Institution produced some advances in choral performance in the Scottish capital. In doing so, it provided a small number of professional musicians with employment as instructors. Faced with large numbers of pupils, the slim financial base of the organisation necessitated methods of mass-instruction:

Of Mr Mather's plan of teaching, experience has now amply proved the excellence. Without going into the technical intricacies of the old school, it embraces, from the very commencement, all the particulars which are essential to a knowledge of music, and to the power of singing at sight;
explaining the different cliffs, the time, and the rests; and
rendering the pupils, in the practice of solfeggio, familiar
with all the different intervals above and below the key note.
Meetings were at first appointed for instructing the several
classes of voices, viz. the trebles, the tenors, and the basses
separately; and some time elapsed before they were brought
together for general practice. At this period of the teaching
(which began about the middle of January 1816), it was greatly
facilitated, for the numbers who were of course to be taught at
the same time, by the adoption of a method practised in
Germany, and similar to what is commonly used by teachers of
mathematics. A large board painted black, with the staves drawn
in white lines, was suspended before the pupils; on this the
lesson was written in chalk, and by the use of the sponge could
be varied at pleasure.

By these means, under the assiduous tuition of their able
master, the pupils of the institution soon obtained a
proficiency highly gratifying to the Directors... 201

Within the concert hall, the Institution's association with the
Church and the nobility did something to challenge ingrained
prejudices concerning the moral suitability of public choir-singing
as a pastime for gentlemen. During the 1820s, the most recurrent
stimulus for large-scale, oratorio-type performance involving local
performers came from the series of Musical Festivals (see pp.84-5).
However, the number of local singers used within the choirs of each
Festival, the system of selection and training, and thus the
achievements of the Institution in establishing a pool of trained
performers for such occasions, are not clear.

Within the Church, the impact of the Institution is similarly
difficult to assess. From the outset, the organisation stated its
unwillingness to "interfere" directly in the specific musical
requirements of each church, but rather sought to provide scholars
with a wider understanding of music which, it was hoped, would in
turn lead to a general raising of standards. Given the clergy's
continual objections to the imbalance of energies within the
Institution, one must be sceptical of the level of practical
achievements in this field.

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The Edinburgh Church Music Society

The demise of the Institution coincided with an increase in activity by The Edinburgh Church Music Society. The Society had been formed in 1810 by "a few young men of this city, stimulated by a love of Sacred Music" 202. At this time public interest in sacred music was increasing in the Scottish capital: Mather was promoting concerts of sacred music (see pp.72-3) and there were numerous local publications of Church music (see p.355). However, from its low profile, one concludes that the impact of the Society during its first decade was small. Like the Institution, the Society sought to effect a general improvement in standards rather than affiliate itself to a particular religious denomination.

The object of the Society was to promote an improvement in the principles and practice of vocal church music, and membership was open to "persons of respectable character, who are desirous to promote its interest and intentions. Following payment of a small entrance fee and quarterly subscriptions of 2s 6d (or 1s 6d for those under 16 years), members attended two hourly practices each week. After a period of three years of regular payment (four years for juveniles), members received an honorary ticket. Officer bearers (a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and steward), chosen from the membership, were elected annually by a vote of the Society. These persons oversaw a committee which managed musical affairs, consisting of a musical director, deputy-director, and leaders and assistants of the four classes of instruction (treble, counter, tenor and bass), each of which received a small salary. The "Musical Committee" selected and arranged the music to be performed at the Society's meeting, and was responsible for the selection and transcription of music to be engraved for the Society. In addition to the music to be performed, the society's teachers gave classes in the theory of music for those members who chose to attend 203.
Public practices, usually held at St. Andrew's Church, George Street, were an integral part of the society's activities from its earliest years.

...by which means its nature was seen and approven, its funds were increased, its mite was contributed to some benevolent purposes, its name and branches reached various parts of Scotland; and, by the blessing of Providence, Church-Music of Scotland found eminent, unforeseen, and unexpected encouragement. 200

Unlike the concerts of the Institution, the music performed at the Society's practices was principally that of the sacred service. These events, which were held two or three times a year, did not evolve into large-scale fashionable concerts. That presented in October 1812 was typical:

EDINBURGH CHURCH MUSIC SOCIETY / St. Andrew's Church / PUBLIC PRACTICE / and / A COLLECTION FOR THE EDINBURGH CHARITY WORK-HOUSE / The Directors of the Edinburgh Church Music Society are happy to inform the lovers of Sacred Music, that being favoured with the use of St. Andrew's Church for their next PUBLIC PRACTICE, it will accordingly be held there, on the evening of WEDNESDAY 7th of October 1812. / The Performance will, as usual be arranged and conducted in the same manner as an ORATORIO, and will consist of a selection of favorite and approved old and new PSALM and HYMN TUNES, interspersed with a variety of full ANTHEMS and grand CHORUSSES, composed by the most eminent masters of the art. .....and as there is no price set on the tickets, the directors have thought it prudent to suggest that a / PUBLIC COLLECTION / Be made at the Church doors, the whole profits of which will be given for the use of the EDINBURGH CHARITY WORK-HOUSE.... 201

It is difficult to assess the impact of the Society on the standard of Church music in Edinburgh, although its very continuity and the musical status of many of its members suggests that it was of some significance. The list of honorary members appended to the 1837 edition of the regulations included such distinguished visitors to the city as Sir George Smart, Ferdinand Kalkbrenner and Johann Baptist Cramer.
Between 1770-1830, notwithstanding many diverse sources of material support and encouragement for choir-training, Edinburgh failed to nourish a significant and continuing choral tradition in either the sacred or secular fields.

The reasons seem not to concern the quality or type of tuition available; the city did not suffer from a lack of suitable teachers. The basic problem was the variability of public enthusiasm and the resultant unwillingness adequately to encourage choir-training on a regular basis. This factor repeatedly undermined the sources of financial support, whether these came from the Church establishment, Town Council, Musical Society, individual entrepreneurs, musical festivals or the Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music. Throughout the period, the opportunities for instructors in this field of music were thus limited and unreliable.

Demand for choral instruction was largely controlled by non-musical factors: for example, fashions of church attendance, volatile discussions concerning the place of music within the Presbyterian Church, or the financial ability of concert promoting bodies, such as the Musical Society, to present oratorio performances. Despite many significant achievements, there is little evidence to suggest that a widespread or lasting improvement in choral standards was achieved in the Scottish capital.
CHAPTER III

MUSIC SHOPS
This survey of Edinburgh's music shops between about 1780-1830, identifies the various firms and discusses their changing character. The four principal areas relating to the establishment and success of a business are examined: land, labour, capital and enterprise. In the first, the four phases of change in the preferred location for music shops in the city are identified, and the reasons for such shifts are discussed. Secondly, the proprietors of shops and the various partnerships on which businesses were based are assessed. Thirdly, the number and type of employees required by various firms is examined, and the activities of those employees who subsequently formed businesses of their own are surveyed. Finally, the source and level of financial backing required by the city's music shops is considered and the two principal areas of trading are identified. These areas are examined in detail within Chapters IV and V. Through this study, the changing demands of Edinburgh's musical public are revealed, retailers' notions of a "standard" stock are traced, and the way in which shops sought to distinguish their stock from that of rival firms outlined.

THE SHOPS AND THEIR LOCATIONS

As the period progressed, Edinburgh supported a growing number of music shops. The scale and timing of this increase mirrors that in other areas of the city's musical life, notably teaching and pianomaking. Table III.1 lists in the firms which traded in Edinburgh during the period, their addresses and periods of trading. For ease of reference, the names are listed in alphabetical order - the chronological sequence of shops is outlined within the ensuing study. The information was gathered from the city directories and newspaper advertisements. The dates of closure for firms which trading continued into the 1840s and beyond are generally omitted.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firm</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Period of Trading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Blake</td>
<td>3 Waterloo Place &amp; 14 South St. Andrew Street</td>
<td>1827-1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Bremner</td>
<td>Old Assembly Close</td>
<td>1770-1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Brysson</td>
<td>Old Assembly Close</td>
<td>1790-1809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Brysson</td>
<td>Bank Street</td>
<td>1809-1821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Corri</td>
<td>13 North Bridge Street (W.)</td>
<td>1779-1783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corri &amp; Sutherland</td>
<td>13 North Bridge Street (W.)</td>
<td>1783-1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corri, Dussek &amp; Co.</td>
<td>13 North Bridge Street</td>
<td>1791-1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or John Corri &amp; Co.)</td>
<td>37 North Bridge Street</td>
<td>1794-1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; 8 South St. Andrew Street</td>
<td>1796-1802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natale Corri</td>
<td>8 South St. Andrew's Street</td>
<td>1800-1802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or N. Corri &amp; Co.)</td>
<td>South St. David's Street</td>
<td>1802-1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concert Rooms, Leith Walk</td>
<td>1805-1813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Curtis</td>
<td>Head of Leith Walk</td>
<td>1801-1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Street</td>
<td>1806-1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Dale</td>
<td>40 Princes Street</td>
<td>1815-1822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisher &amp; Brown</td>
<td>58 North Bridge</td>
<td>1819-1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galbraith &amp; Co.</td>
<td>57 Princes Street</td>
<td>1827-1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gow &amp; Shepherd</td>
<td>41 North Bridge Street</td>
<td>1796-1801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 Princes Street</td>
<td>1801-1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40 Princes Street</td>
<td>1808-1813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gow &amp; Son</td>
<td>60 Princes Street</td>
<td>1818-1823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 South Hanover Street</td>
<td>1823-1824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60 Princes Street</td>
<td>1824-1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gow &amp; Galbraith</td>
<td>60 Princes Street</td>
<td>1826-1827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firm</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Period of Trading</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hamilton</td>
<td>24 North Bridge</td>
<td>1796-1811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Johnson</td>
<td>Bell's Wynd</td>
<td>1787-1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Lady Stair's Close</td>
<td>1792-1811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Lindsay</td>
<td>North Bridge</td>
<td>1819-1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Mather</td>
<td>9 Greenside Place</td>
<td>1810-1812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortimer, Anderson &amp; Co.</td>
<td>43 Hanover Street</td>
<td>1826-1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Muir</td>
<td>16 George Street</td>
<td>1796-1798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muir, Wood &amp; Co.</td>
<td>16 George Street</td>
<td>1798-1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 Leith Street</td>
<td>1801-1812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 Leith Street</td>
<td>1812-1818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paterson, Mortimer &amp; Co.</td>
<td>18 North Bridge</td>
<td>1819-1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51 North Bridge</td>
<td>1820-1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43 Hanover Street</td>
<td>1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paterson &amp; Roy</td>
<td>27 George Street</td>
<td>1827-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penson &amp; Robertson</td>
<td>47 Princes Street</td>
<td>1810-1821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; 13 George Street</td>
<td>1819-1825</td>
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<tr>
<td>J.F. Pole</td>
<td>95 Princes Street</td>
<td>1826-1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Purdie</td>
<td>35 Princes Street</td>
<td>1810-1813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70 Princes Street</td>
<td>1813-1821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>83 Princes Street</td>
<td>1821-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firm</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Period of Trading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Robertson</td>
<td>47 Princes Street &amp; 13 George Street &amp; 4 Queen Street &amp; 39 Princes Street</td>
<td>1821-1832, 1822-1825, 1825-, 1832-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Robertson</td>
<td>Liddel's Close, Lawnmarket 9 South Frederick Street 11 College Street 21 College Street</td>
<td>1806-1810, 1810-1812, 1812-1816, 1816-1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochead &amp; Son</td>
<td>4 Greenside Place 14 Princes Street</td>
<td>1804-1813, 1813-1818</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Ross</td>
<td>High Street Carrubber's Close</td>
<td>1770-1786, 1786-1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. W. Roy</td>
<td>3 Waterloo Place</td>
<td>1821-1824, 1824-1827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy &amp; Blake</td>
<td>3 Waterloo Place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small, Bruce &amp; Co.</td>
<td>54 Princes Street 101 George Street</td>
<td>1831-1834, 1834-1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Smith</td>
<td>2 Carrubber's Close</td>
<td>1814-1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niel Stewart</td>
<td>In the Exchange opposite the head of Blackfriar's Wvnd</td>
<td>1759-1762, 1762-1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Stewart (junior)</td>
<td>Miln's Square opposite the Tron Church Parliament Square</td>
<td>1770-1773, 1773-1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Stewart &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Parliament Square &amp; 40 South Bridge</td>
<td>1773-1790, 1788-1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firm</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Period of Trading</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Stewart &amp; Co. (contd)</td>
<td>37 South Bridge</td>
<td>1792-1802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39 South Bridge</td>
<td>1802-1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69 Adam Square</td>
<td>1804-1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcolm Stewart</td>
<td>69 Adam Square</td>
<td>1805-1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Sutherland</td>
<td>27 Leith Street</td>
<td>1809-1811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 Calton Street</td>
<td>1811-1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Thomson</td>
<td>5 South Bridge</td>
<td>1793-1794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townsend &amp; Co.</td>
<td>3 South St. Andrew Street</td>
<td>1828-1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elder Street Hall</td>
<td>1830-1833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 Greenside Place</td>
<td>1833-1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbani &amp; Liston</td>
<td>10 Princes Street</td>
<td>1796-1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.&amp; A. Watson</td>
<td>7 Terrace, Leith Street</td>
<td>1793-1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; 5 South Bridge</td>
<td>1794-1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; 20 South Bridge</td>
<td>1803-1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Watlen</td>
<td>34 North Bridge</td>
<td>1792-1798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; 24 North Bridge</td>
<td>1796-1798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Whyte</td>
<td>1 South St. Andrew's Street</td>
<td>1799-1810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 South St. Andrew's Street</td>
<td>1810-1811</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 South St. Andrew's Street</td>
<td>1811-1825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Whyte &amp; Co.</td>
<td>12 South St. Andrew's Street</td>
<td>1825-1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; 13 George Street</td>
<td>1825-1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Small &amp; Co.</td>
<td>13 Leith Street</td>
<td>1818-1822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 Waterloo Place</td>
<td>1822-1829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood &amp; Co.</td>
<td>12 Waterloo Place</td>
<td>1829-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the mid-1780s, following the completion of a sizable portion of Craig's New Town plan, the market conditions for trading in luxury items in Edinburgh became increasingly favourable. Urban expansion, combined with the social and economic factors which had induced it, created commercial conditions in which such businesses could be successfully established and sustained. The city's ability to support an increasing number of music retailers is illustrated in Table III.2, which shows the number of music shops trading in Edinburgh at five-year intervals throughout the period.

Table III.2 The Number of Music Shops in Edinburgh 1780-1835

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Shops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1780</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
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<td>1795</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>1805</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>1820</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clearly however, a simple chronological assessment of retailers does not fully reflect the extent or nature of the growth in trade. Changes in the position and size of shops, the range of goods available, and the variety of associated services offered, further reveal the increasing demands of a growing market. These features will be considered within the following survey.
Changes in the Location, Size and Character of Edinburgh's Music Shops

The decades around the turn of the 19th century saw radical changes in the location, size and character of Edinburgh's music shops. These reflected both developments in the nature of music retailing and more general shifts in attitudes towards shopping and shop-keeping in the city, particularly concerning luxury items. In the music trade, from about 1780, there were four phases of change.

Music Shops in Edinburgh before c.1780

Until the second half of the 18th century, Edinburgh's principal shops and markets were located in the High Street or the upper sections of the ancient closes and wynds leading to it. The lower levels of the thoroughfare's precarious tenements were occupied by shops of all descriptions, with the medieval pattern of traders in the same line being located in the same area surviving largely intact. In most cases, a shopkeeper's work-place and home were one and the same. The relatively few purveyors of luxury items tended to occupy sites in the more desirable areas of the High Street, such as they were.

After the completion of the new Exchange building (c.1760), the surrounding area quickly became a favoured location for merchants dealing in luxury goods; the commercial viability of the Exchange project had significantly rested on the sale of adjoining retailing premises. The area was relatively spacious and undoubtedly modern. By the early-1770s, each of Edinburgh's three music firms (those of Bremner, Stewart and Ross) were to be found nearby (see Map III.1). The premises occupied by Robert Bremner (senior), the city's longest-established music trader, were part of the Exchange development itself. The position and character of his shop are described in the advertisement of its sale following the death of Bremner's son and successor, Robert:
SALE OF A HOUSE, MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS .... That DWELLING HOUSE, consisting of three rooms, a kitchen, garrets and cellar, lying at the head of the Old Assembly Close, south side of the cross of Edinburgh, being the first storey above the shops, the property of the late Mr Robert Bremner, and for many years occupied by him as a Music Shop, entering by the first fore stair, above the Old Assembly Close. The house is substantially built, and in good repair, being only about 30 years old. Its situation being in a public part of town, renders it a most desirable purchase; and the two front rooms may, at a very small expense, be thrown into an elegant and capital wareroom. 2

One assumes that Bremner's "front rooms" had previously been used for his own "elegant and capital wareroom", run by his local manager, John Brysson. After Bremner became resident in London, running a second, highly successful music shop and publishing business, Brysson probably lived in the Edinburgh house with his family. Although far from commodious by the later standards of shops serving the New Town, the firm's premises were more extensive and fashionably situated than those of most other merchants and traders. A sign of the Bremner family's commercial success is the fact that they owned rather than rented their premises.

Although Bremner (junior) advertised musical instruments, his Edinburgh business was concerned primarily with the publication and sale of music and supplying musical accessories. This contrasted with that of his principal rival, Niel Stewart, who also offered a wide range of instruments, including harpsichords and spinets (see p.244). Stewart thus probably required larger premises than Bremner, ideally located at street level. Although Stewart moved from his original site, one of the new shops in front of the Exchange, within a few years of commencing business, his son, Niel, subsequently re-established a shop in the same area (at Parliament Square). The reasons for the move are not clear, but were probably economic. Rents were lower further down the High Street, and Stewart's new business, with an extensive stock, may have met with early financial difficulties.
The First Phase: Shops on the Bridges

As construction of the New Town advanced and areas became residually desirable and populated, retailers naturally sought to establish shops nearer to the new homes of their customers. This was particularly important for purveyors of luxury items, demand for which came from the more fashion-conscious elements of society. Beginning in the mid-1780s, the location of the city's music businesses shows a drift towards the New Town.

The first phase of this movement was to the new shopping thoroughfares on the North and South Bridges. This area of smart buildings afforded easy access to the Old Town, the fashionable residential areas to the south, and (via the North Bridge) to the growing (although still small) New Town. During the decade after 1785, seven of the eight music shops which opened in the city were in
the area of the bridges (see Map III.2). The exception was James Johnston's shop in the Lawnmarket, selling sheet music and offering an instrument repair and tuning service. Johnson was principally an engraver and publisher of music rather than a retailer, hence the location of his shop in the Old Town (see pp.335-6).

Map III.2 The Location of Edinburgh's Music Shops in the early-1790s

1. John Brysson
2. Niel Stewart
3. Robert Ross
5. Johnson & Co.
6. John Watlen
7. John Thomson
8. J. & A. Watson

The Second Phase: The First Shops in the New Town

By the mid-1790s, many parts of the New Town were well-populated. Building had progressed as far west as Castle Street (begun in 1792) and north to Queen Street (but excluding Rose Street and Thistle Street). In about 1795, work was finished in Hanover Street, Frederick Street and the corresponding extensions of Princes Street and George Street 3. Although conceived as a residential area,
by the end of the century retailers began inevitably to open New Town shops. As one would expect, these were situated in the eastern section of the development - the most populous quarter and removed from construction work. The first phase of music businesses opened in quick succession from the middle of 1796. The first firm, Urbani & Liston, occupied a site at no.10 Princes Street, next to Register House (nos.1-9 being on the south side of the street); Corri, Dussek & Co. and William Whyte each chose the north eastern corner of South St. Andrew Street, whilst Gow & Shepherd soon moved from the Bridges to a site at no.16 Princes Street, a little further west than Urbani & Liston (see Map III.3).

An exception to this pattern was the shop of James Muir (also established in 1796) at no.16 George Street, part of the block between Hanover Street and Frederick Street. This property, was situated further west than any other New Town music shop was to be for over a decade. Its position and subsequently limited immediate market probably contributed to the firm's commercial difficulties (see p.227). The character as well as the position of Muir's shop followed the most modern trends, notably by the inclusion of an area in which customers could play new instruments and music:

[MMr Muir] requests the honour of the Nobility and Gentry who wish to please their taste, amidst the variety that is every day published, to visit his NEW MUSIC ROOM, adjoining to the Warehouse, in which is placed some of the finest instruments, that they may entertain themselves by trying the New Music. 4

Although it is not clear which Edinburgh shop was first to include such a facility, Urbani & Liston 5 and John Watlen each established an equivalent to Muir's "Music Room" at about the same time. The expansion of Watlen's business into an additional shop at no.24 North Bridge Street early in 1796 was probably necessitated by the opening his "LOUNGE for AMATEURS in MUSIC" at no.34 (in November 1795) 6. From this time, the inclusion of a comfortable area for such purposes became an almost standard requirement, particularly for those dealing in musical instruments. Inevitably, this further increased the amount of space required for retailing premises.
The Third Phase: Shops to the East of the New Town

During the early years of the 19th century, a third phase of movement saw the opening of a few music shops at the eastern extremity of the New Town (see Map III.4). The Watson brothers' Leith Street address probably served as their piano workshop for much of the 1790s (see p.383), but once acquired by Muir, Wood & Co., the premises were converted into one of the city's largest music "warerooms" 7. Although more distant from the main body of New Town houses than other music businesses, the area was equally accessible from the Old Town and conveniently situated for residents of the fashionable James Square (completed in 1790). A further advantage lay in the close proximity to the firm's pianos workshops (Calton Hill), offering easy transportation of finished instruments to the showroom.
After a short period of trading from two premises, Muir, Wood & Co. relinquished their George Street site in 1801 (see p.413); the business remained in the Leith Street area for over half a century.

At about the same time, another piano-maker turned retailer, Andrew Rochead, opened a shop in the same area, although further north than Leith Street. Unlike that of Muir, Wood & Co., Rochead's shop was small; it provided a more commodious showroom for instruments than did the firm's piano workshops in the Old Town. Its position on Leith Walk afforded easy access to and from Leith docks, and was thus particularly convenient for receiving stocks of imported instruments and music from London. The choice of position may have been influenced by the area's lower land rents. Despite the south-easterly extension of the New Town after about 1805 and the growing local market this brought to the Greenside Place shop, Rochead & Son did not long maintain their showroom in this area, it was moved to a more fashionable location on Princes Street in 1813 (see p.408).

The Fourth Phase: Further Expansion Westwards

As the New Town extended westwards and, particularly to the north, much of Princes Street and George Street became transformed into shopping parades (see Map III.5), to the chagrin of many observers 8. The westward progress of shops is reflected in the changing location of the city's music firms. The re-numbering of premises on Princes Street in about 1808 confuses the issue somewhat (for example, Gow & Shepherd's shop number was changed from 16 to 409), however Robert Purdie was the first to become established in the section between Hanover Street and Frederick Street (at no.70 in 1813). Andrew Rochead, Penson & Robertson and Joseph Dale established shops nearby after 1810. By about 1820, the entire length of the street had been infiltrated by traders. Purdie remained the most westerly in the musical line, now at no.83, between Castle Street and Charlotte Street. George Street was similarly overrun, although it had fewer music shops. In the early 1830s, Small, Bruce & Co. traded from no.101, an address at the western end, near to Charlotte Square.
Map III.4 The Location of Edinburgh's Principal Music Shops
   c.1810-1835

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SUMMARY

From the early-1780s, Edinburgh was able to support an increasing number of music shops, the preferred location for which changed in four phases, the first three occurring within a period of about twenty years. As the wealthier classes moved to newly completed parts of the New Town, so retailers sought to establish their businesses close to the source of demand. Thus, new shops were opened on North and South Bridge, away from the heart of the High Street—the city's traditional shopping thoroughfare. This location afforded easy access to and from both New and Old Towns. By the mid-1790s, the first music businesses were established in the New Town proper, at the eastern end of Princes Street.

By the close of the 18th century, music shops in the city differed from their predecessors also in the way that goods were presented. Like those of most trades, music shops in the Old Town had invariably been located within the lower storeys of tenement buildings. As the number of firms, and thus competition, increased, the attractive presentation of goods became an important consideration for traders. Additionally, in order to accommodate a full and varied stock of music and instruments (particularly pianos), shops generally became larger. The showroom was born; in which customers could commodiously examine and play instruments and new music.

The establishment of shops by the city's two leading piano-makers at the eastern extremity of the New Town represented, in part, an exception to the prevailing pattern. However, the location of Muir, Wood & Co.'s premises in Leith Street was close both to Princes Street and the firm's instrument-making factory at the foot of Calton Hill, while Rochead & Son subsequently moved its shop from Greenside Place to Princes Street. By the early-1820s, Edinburgh's principal music retailers were located in, or near Princes Street, which, although conceived as a residential district, had developed into the city's most fashionable shopping district.
The proprietors of Edinburgh's music shops can be placed into four categories according to their background and professional activities. Many who commenced retailing were leading professional musicians in the city, these include Robert Bremner (junior), Robert Ross, Domenico and Natale Corri, John Watlen, John Thomson, Pietro Urbani, William Pensón, Alexander Robertson, Nathaniel Gow, William Shepherd, and John Mather. Given the limited opportunities for performing and teaching out of the winter season, the prospect of additional and steady income from a music shop was clearly inviting. In addition to the above named, a number of accomplished music teachers applied their musical skills to retailing, such as Joseph Dale, J.F. Pole and John Muir Wood.

A second group can be described as professional merchants or dealers, these include Neil Stewart (Senior), James Sutherland, Edward Liston, John Hamilton, James and John Muir, William Whyte, John Brysson (Senior and Junior), John Sutherland, John Rochead, Daniel Robertson, George Smith, George Small, Robert Paterson, David Lindsay, Andrew Fisher, John Blake and George Wood. Most of the city's music retailers can be placed in one of these categories. The remainder fall into two further groupings which relate to their specific technical skills: instrument makers and piano tuners. The former includes James Johnstone, John and Archibald Watson, Andrew Wood, Andrew Rochead, Richard Curtis, George Mortimer, James Bruce, William Townsend and Robert Wood, whilst P.W. Roy, Robert Purdie, Robert Anderson and James Galbraith belong in the latter.

These four categories reflect the skills required to establish and sustain a successful music business: a knowledge of contemporary musical taste and fashions, shrewd commercial acumen and a degree of relevant technical expertise (such as piano-tuning or instrument maintenance). Since few individuals could boast all such attributes, it is not surprising that the city's principal music firms, particularly after about 1790, were based on partnerships between
suitably skilled individuals. An equally pertinent reason for entering the music business within a partnership related to finance: specifically, the need to raise the required capital to establish and maintain a sufficiently large and varied stock. Within Edinburgh's music trade, the forces which led to the formation of such partnerships varied, although certain patterns can be traced. However, aside from attaining a balance of complementary skills, or accumulating sufficient capital, family ties were a leading factor in the establishment of many business partnerships.

As was the common practice among retailing merchants, a number of the city's most prominent music dealers involved their sons in the business; formal partnerships were subsequently made once a son had come of age. This was the case with Robert Bremner (junior), Niel (junior) and Malcolm Stewart, John (junior) and George Brysson, Niel Gow (junior), and Robert, George and John Muir Wood. Similarly, business arrangements between family members occurred between John and James Muir, Domenico, John and Natale Corri, and John and Archibald Watson.

The Role of each Partner

The success of Edinburgh music firms during the period was frequently based on the contrasting but complementary skills of the partners. Most of the possible combinations of skills appeared within retailing partnerships, including those of performing musician and tuner (for example, the firm of Gow & Galbraith), instrument maker and tuner (Mortimer, Anderson & Co.), merchant and tuner (Roy & Blake and Paterson & Roy), instrument maker and merchant (Muir, Wood & Co., and Paterson, Mortimer & Co.), performing musician and merchant (Corri & Sutherland, and Urbani & Liston), and two musicians (Gow & Shepherd and Penson & Robertson).
The combination of skills within a partnership was reflected in the particular speciality of each business. This can be illustrated through the example of three of the city's music firms. Corri & Sutherland (and Corri & Co.), Gow & Shepherd (and Gow & Son) and Muir, Wood & Co. (and Wood, Small & Co.) each successfully captured a sizable portion of the market. Corri & Sutherland were distinguished by their wide stock of keyboard instruments and especially close links with the music trade in London (see pp.224-5). Nathaniel Gow's commercial activities were centred on the publication of Scottish dance music, particularly that of his father, Niel (see pp.358-61), as well as selling Broadwood pianos (see pp.281-2). While Muir, Wood & Co. were Edinburgh's principal makers of musical instruments, notably pianos (see p.411 ff.).

Within Corri & Sutherland, James Sutherland was responsible for the daily running of the shop: the press announcement following his death in 1790 described him as "the acting partner" 10. Prior to the Corri partnership, Sutherland had considerable experience in shop-keeping in Edinburgh, since from about 1775 he had worked for the prolific publisher and bookseller, Charles Elliot 11.

Three members of the Corri family were involved in the business at various stages during the 1780s, although it is not always clear on what level. Domenico Corri probably provided some of the financial backing for the firm, but in view of his extensive commitments as a teacher, performer and erstwhile impresario, it seems unlikely that he involved himself in retailing. He also made many of the firm's annual selections of stock in London (see p.255), while his widespread celebrity in musical circles doubtless did much to enhance the success of the business. Following his departure for London in 1788, Corri & Sutherland's activities, as reflected in their press advertisements, show little sign of change besides the occasional phrase relating to the selection of their stock made by "one of the partners resident in London".

Domenico's eldest son, John, and brother, Natale, were closely involved in the firm's daily activities, although both also taught
music and appeared as performers in the city. In an advertisement of 1817, Natale claimed 35 years experience as a teacher in Edinburgh (i.e. since 1782) 12, while John is listed as a "Music Master" or "Music Teacher" in the city directories between 1786-1794. During the decade following his father's departure, John Corri assumed the role of senior partner in the family's Edinburgh firms. From about 1779 he ran a music-publishing business in the city, financed by his father whose works were its chief output 13. However, since this firm was not listed in the city directories, it was probably a small-scale concern. In about 1783 the business was assumed into Corri & Sutherland 14. John Corri's precedence over Natale in the family's business is indicated by entries in the city directories during the 1790s which refer to the successor to Corri & Sutherland as "John Corrie & Co." (for example, between 1794-1798). John died in Bristol in 1798, as recorded by an entry in The Gentleman's Magazine for that year: "1798 - Death at Bristol, after severe illness, Mr John Corri". Following this, Natale managed the firm's affairs in Edinburgh, although the extent of his own financial involvement is not clear.

Throughout the 1790s, the commercial relationship between Edinburgh's Corri & Co. and London's Corri, Dussek & Co. is difficult to establish, although it appears that there was some degree of commercial independence. The prestigious name of Corri, Dussek & Co. was invariably used in advertisements and publications by the Edinburgh shop, but did not appear in the city directories until after 1799 15, the year of John Corri's death. There is little reliable evidence to clarify the situation; annual editions of the Edinburgh directories during the late 18th century were often little more than direct re-prints from the previous year with an altered title-page. However, it seems strangely coincidental in this case that the entry remained "incorrect" for five years and was only altered in the year following the death of John Corri.

Whatever the legal position, the Edinburgh branch of Corri, Dussek & Co. (managed by Natale Corri) continued trading in the city after the dissolution of the London business (1800). Corri, Dussek & Co.'s stock in Edinburgh was eventually offered for sale by Domenico
Corri in 1802 at which time the premises at 37 North Bridge Street were presumably sold too. Within a month, Natale Corri announced the forthcoming opening of his new premises in the New Town (South St. David's Street), and from 1804, the city directories describe him as a music seller rather than a music teacher, as formerly. Although Domenico continued to assist in his brother's business, for example by selecting goods in London and abroad, this date marks the end of his direct commercial involvement in Edinburgh's music trade.

On the death of William Shepherd (1813), and the dissolution of Gow & Shepherd, Nathaniel Gow spent a four-year period away from retailing. During this time he continued his activities as a successful music teacher and as a performer on the violin at Edinburgh's dancing assemblies and balls (see p.101), while his numerous publications were sold through other shops, notably those of Robert Purdie and Penson, Robertson & Co. (see pp.359-60). From this apparent unwillingness to assume control of the daily running of the business, one suspects that Shepherd, a cellist in the Theatre Royal band, had been responsible for the daily running of the firm's shop, a suggestion supported by the few known details of Gow's subsequent retailing activities.

On resuming trading in July 1818, Gow continued to teach and play, leaving business affairs largely in the control of his 23-year old son and partner, Niel:

[Nathaniel Gow....] As his own extensive teaching and other professional duties employ his time, so as to render it impossible for him to give much of his attention to the shop, the active management will be taken by his son, whom he has assumed as a partner, and who is returned from London, after having made a selection of the best Piano-Fortes, and everything connected with the business, in which he was assisted by musical friends of the first eminence.

When the firm was dissolved following the untimely death of Niel on November 7th 1823, Gow's commercial interests were
temporarily handled by his brother in London, John and John H. Gow. Allowing for Nathaniel's publicly expressed reluctance to continue trading after this date for reasons of personal distress, this development again indicated his largely passive role within the firms bearing his name. Only on assuming another practical partner, James Galbraith, did Gow re-involve himself in Edinburgh's music trade.

From 1773, John Muir served as apprentice, then partner in the ironmongery house of Cargill and Millar. On the retirement of his uncle, James Cargill, Muir continued the business under his own name, opening a shop at a prestigious site on the High Street in front of the new Exchange building ("at the Gilded Padlock, directly opposite the Cross"). Trading in hardware goods continued from these premises until 1801. As was often the case, business and matrimonial affairs became closely interconnected: in 1793 Muir married his cousin, Catherine Cargill (daughter of James). Following the union, they took an address in the New Town, at no.8 Leith Street (opposite the Terrace). With a successful retailing business and a New Town home, as well as various other properties and investments, Muir was one of Edinburgh's most prosperous merchants.

Less is known concerning the background of Andrew Wood. He was born in Berwickshire in 1765. As a sixth (and youngest) son, it was inevitable that he would need to leave home to find employment: he served an apprenticeship in Edinburgh with the musical instrument maker, James Logan. In 1786 he married Jacobina Ferrier of Carrubber's Close. Following her death in 1810, he re-married, to Jean Mason. Wood's sons James, Robert, John Muir, Andrew, and George, each became involved in their father's business. Wood's professional activities during the decade following his first marriage are not clear, but possibly he remained employed in Logan's workshop until the latter's death in the mid-1790's.

Following the failure of James Muir's music and musical instrument business in 1797, his brother, John, advertised for partners to continue retailing in the same line. James' shop, at
no.16 George Street (south side), had been opened in May 1796 (see p.216). Its failure (by November of the following year) probably occurred as the result of having insufficient capital to maintain a large and diverse stock of expensive goods which had a relatively slow rate of turn-over. Additionally, the location of the shop in an area currently rather unpopulated (see Map III.3, p.217), must have contributed to the firm's demise.

To secure the success of a music business, John Muir was able to supply the necessary financial backing and commercial acumen, but lacked expertise in the matters musical, particularly concerning instruments, of which keyboard instruments were the principal source of demand. A partnership with Andrew Wood thus made good business sense. Wood's humble background precluded his manufacturing on such a large scale without the extensive financial backing as offered by Muir. The partnership was thus mutually beneficial. The new firm commenced trading in July 1798.

By the early 19th century, the increasingly passive nature of Muir's involvement in the daily running of the business is reflected by the dissolution of the old firm in 1804 and appointment of George Small within a new partnership, although the name of the firm was unchanged. In the same year Muir moved to a new address at no.18 St. James's Square; still close to his two shops in Leith Street, where he had previously also lived. He also maintained an address away from the city, close to Leith Walk at Cargillfield (probably a family property), where he had also periodically resided for some years. The move was indicative of Muir's enhanced social status: a successful merchant moving away from the site of his business and from its day to day activities. Wood assumed residence next to the shop, probably in Muir's former home. He was only able to achieve something akin to his partner's settlement some twenty years hence (see below).

Small was responsible for the retailing side of the business. Following Muir's death (in 1818), the new partnership of Wood, Small & Co. was presumably based on the same balance of skills as the
former firm, with Wood in control of manufacturing, and Small managing the shop. However, without the financial security as provided by Muir, the activities of the new business often became severely restricted. Hence, during times of economic difficulties in the mid-1820s, the ageing Wood was obliged to extend his activities as an itinerant tuner (see pp.236-7).

Living Above the shop

Until the later years of the 18th century the proprietors of Edinburgh's music shops (or, in the case of Robert Bremner, his appointed manager) lived on site. However, during the 1790s this general pattern changed. With the advent of fashionable showrooms for luxury items, retailers increasingly resided away from their place of work, leaving maximum space to display goods. At first most remained conveniently nearby, for example, John Watlen and John and Archibald Watson in Ann's Street, Pietro Urbani at Calton Hill, William Shepherd in South Bridge Street, Andrew Wood and family in Leith Street, George Small in Dundas Street, Nathaniel Gow in Queen Street and Hanover Street, and Robert Purdie in Rose Street and George Street 40.

As the period progressed and many of the city's larger firms became increasingly successful, proprietors were more able to realise the socially-desirable goal of living at a distance from their place of work. John Muir provides an obvious early example. Although his wealth makes him something of an exceptional figure within the general pattern, other proprietors were eventually able to follow suit; Andrew Wood moved to Stockbridge (1822), Robert Paterson bought a house in Bellevue Crescent (1824), Robert Purdie lived Heriot Row (from about 1825), George Mortimer in Annandale Street (from 1827) and Scotland Street (c.1830), George Small in Mansfield Place, and Robert Anderson in Cumberland Street (from 1828) 41.
SUMMARY

Most of those who established music businesses in Edinburgh during the period were professional musicians who sought to capitalise on the strongest element in the city's musical life, the demand for instruments and music for use within the home. Music retailing offered the prospect of a more sustained and reliable income than could the lot of a player or singer in the Scottish capital. In addition to these figures, various merchants, musical instrument makers and piano tuners also entered the business. In general, the city's larger music firms were based on partnerships between individuals with complementary skills. The specialities of the proprietors determined the character of the resultant business.

Generally, before about 1790, Edinburgh's music shop proprietors lived on site. However, as demand increased and maximum space was required to create showrooms to display instruments, retailers increasingly lived away from the shop. At first many remained near at hand, but as businesses grew and prospered, particularly after 1810, their owners sought the socially desirable situation of living some distance from their place of work, most commonly in the residential as opposed to the retailing district of the New Town.

EMPLOYEES

Generally, the number of persons employed within Edinburgh's music shops was modest. In small businesses, run by individuals and principally based on sheet music selling, there is little evidence that other persons were actively involved or required. This was probably the case with the shops of John Thomson, John Hamilton, Daniel Robertson, John Brysson (Junior), John Sutherland, George Smith, and Joseph Dale.
However, as has been outlined above, many of Edinburgh's larger music firms were established by professional musicians, most of whom maintained sizable teaching practices, while other firms were extensively involved in manufacturing as well as retailing. Clearly, in such cases the burden of running a shop would have proved impracticable without the assistance of staff.

Of the proprietors who gave instruction in music, the most successful was Alexander Robertson. Although he had been employed as a flautist in the Theatre Royal Band, Robertson later gained great celebrity in Edinburgh as a teacher of the piano. From 1817, his Logierian Academy, open on a daily basis from November to June, attracted large numbers of pupils (see p.157-8); allowing its founder little if any time for direct participation in retailing. Of Robertson's two business partners, the senior, William Penson was also an active teacher, as well as a performer on the violin; he was leader of the Theatre Royal Band over a number of years. It thus appears that Penson & Robertson's shop was run principally by the third partner. His identity is not known. In August 1819 the firm was re-organised following the retirement of this partner, and a further change was necessitated by the retirement of Penson in 1824. Clearly, from this time at least, although trading continued under Robertson's name, the daily management of his shop was intrusted to others. This must also have been the case within the shops established by other practical musicians, whether performers or teachers.

In addition to their professional musical activities which restricted the time available for the daily running of a shop, most proprietors made at least one annual journey to London to select stock (see pp.252-4). Although this usually occurred during the commercially slack period in the autumn, there is no evidence to suggest that shops were closed at this time. Within a large firm, even if one partner remained to oversee trading, this could not realistically be done without assistance.
As well as selecting stock, some of Edinburgh's music shop proprietors pursued other tasks when in the south. These inevitably necessitated a longer period of absence. Natale Corri, for example, spent time choosing and negotiating with celebrity performers for his subscription concerts. In addition, he spent periods away from the Scottish capital as a performing musician, notably between April and October 1808 as a member of Angelica Catalani's concert party (see pp.51-2).

One concludes that as the city's principal music firms increased in size, particularly from the early 19th century, proprietors, while retaining control over the business in all areas, employed a small number of suitable staff to run their shops on a daily basis. The number of staff and the range of abilities required varied according to the size and scope of the firm. The sales manager of any shop selling luxury items needed to be presentable, dependable, knowledgeable and articulate. In the larger music businesses, an assistant may have been necessary, and at least one porter, the latter to collect and transport imported stock from the port of Leith and deliver larger purchases to the homes of customers.

Piano Tuners

From the mid-1780s, as sales of pianos increased, local demand for tuners inevitably rose. Prior to this, tuning had been a lucrative, although limited side-line enjoyed predominantly by the city's harpsichord and spinet makers such as Johnston and Logan. This tradition was to some extent continued by the first generation of piano makers in Edinburgh, such as Horsburgh and the Watson brothers (see pp.382-3). However, as larger manufacturers gained control of the market, tuners were needed in greater numbers.

After about 1790, most of Edinburgh's larger music firms employed their own tuner and offered his services to their customers. The appearance of specialist tuners is an obvious indication of the
increasing size of market. Although the tuning of harpsichords, spinets, harps and guitars was sometimes included in advertisements until the early years of the 19th century, the piano was overwhelmingly the principal source of demand.

Since the British piano trade was centred on London, it is not surprising that most of the tuners who worked in Edinburgh had received their training within one of the larger southern firms. The prestige attached to such an association, a distinguishing mark of quality, was naturally exploited in the Scottish capital. In 1795, Stewart & Co. announced the arrival in the city of their new tuner "from the house of Broadwood" \(^{47}\), and in the following year John Watlen, himself a tuner, engaged "Mr Moon from London" for the same purpose \(^{48}\). Similarly, Muir, Wood & Co. stressed the background of their specialist, Mr Montgomery "Late from the Piano Forte Manufactory of BROADWOOD & SONS, and CLEMENTI & Co., London" \(^{49}\). Montgomery worked for the Edinburgh firm from at least 1805, as did another Englishman, John Cooke (see p.238). Later in the period (February 1826), Nathaniel Gow formed a partnership with a tuner from London, John M. Galbraith:

...a very superior tuner, as well as having a thorough knowledge of the business in all its branches, he having been thoroughly initiated and brought up in the eminent and old-established firm of John Broadwood and Sons

J.M.G. begs to intimate that he is the only person in Scotland who has been regularly initiated in Messrs. Broadwood's manufactory \(^{50}\)

At about the same time, John Pole also employed a tuner who was associated with Broadwood:

MUSIC & MUSICAL REPOSITORY..... THE TUNING DEPARTMENT / In order to render this Establishment as complete and deserving of a share of public favour as possible, Mr Pole has concluded an engagement with a TUNER, who has received his education in that art in Messrs. Broadwoods and Sons Manufactory; and as he has been recommended to him in the warmest terms of their approbation, he can confidently recommend him both as a Tuner and Regulator &c of the Piano Forte. \(^{51}\)
Piano Tuners not trained in London

There were some notable exceptions to the pattern of hiring London-trained tuners, for example, successive tuners who worked for Corri & Sutherland. John Watlen was employed in this capacity between 1785-1792, although since he also pursued performing and teaching activities he cannot be regarded as the city's first specialist tuner. Watlen's background is not clear; he had served in the King's navy, although in what capacity is unknown and had apparently received his musical training at Salisbury Cathedral. Following Watlen's departure to begin business under his own name, he was speedily replaced by James Sutherland. The source of his training is unclear also, although he was the son of Corri's former (deceased) partner, James Sutherland, and may well have been trained within the earlier firm by Watlen.

Another locally trained tuner was Robert Anderson, subsequently a partner in Mortimer, Anderson & Co. Following a brief period as a tuner for Wood, Small & Co., he left Scotland in about 1825 to continue in the same line at Stodart & Son in London. He was still a young man at this time - since his former employer, Andrew Wood, in one of his letters, referred to Anderson as "a lad." The local boy returned to Edinburgh in 1827 with impressive credentials, which obviously helped in securing his financial success in the city:

Mr Anderson has had the honour of Tuning for his Majesty, their Royal Highnesses the Princess Augusta, the Duchess of Gloucester and the Princess Sophia Matilda, at the concerts of the most distinguished Nobility, for Signor Rossini and J.B. Cramer, and to Sir George Smart, and Moscheles at the Philharmonic Society.

As more pianos came into circulation during the early decades of the 19th century, the number of tuners employed by Edinburgh's larger music firms increased. Most retailers offered their customers a full after-sales service of tuning and maintenance. Exceptionally this was included (for a limited period) in the price of an instrument. The employment of "house" tuners suited retailer and tuner alike. The former benefited from regular income available
through offering a tuning service, which also added a further dimension to his business, while tuners were attracted by the prospect of regular and secure employment offered by the shops.

There were at least two possible exceptions to this pattern, James Wilson and Moses Graham. Wilson appeared in the city directories as a "tuner of musical instruments" over a period of more than 25 years from 1810. He was thus clearly a respected tradesman. However, his directory entries did not include the name of a firm to which he was attached (as was the standard practice with partners or senior figures in business), which suggests that he may have worked on a freelance basis. It is difficult to be sure. However, since Wilson did not advertise his services in the local press, and remained a resident in the Old Town (in Buccleuch Street (1810-1819) and Nicolson Street (1819-1836) 57, away from the area of greatest demand for tuners in the New Town, one suspects that he enjoyed an association with one of the city's music firms. Perhaps he was the "Wilson", mentioned in Andrew Wood's letters: an employee of Wood, Small & Co. (see p.465).

Less is known of Moses Graham. He arrived in the city during 1813 and advertised his services:

MOSES GRAHAM begs to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry that he TUNES, REGULATES and REPAIRS PIANO FORTES and other Musical Instrument. / From his intimate acquaintance with every department of the business (having been for many years an assistant to Messrs. Broadwood & Sons, London) his moderate charges and unremitting attention, he hopes to merit the approbation of those who please to honour him with their commands. Mr G. attends both in Town and Country...... N.B. Ladies instructed in the Art of tuning. 58

The scope of Graham's services as a tuner, repairer, and instructor probably reflected his belief that the market could support an individual in this specialised field. Whether he was mistaken in this is not clear. Since his name was neither listed in subsequent street directories, nor appeared again in advertisements, one assumes either that he speedily left the city or became an employee within a larger local firm.
Piano Tuners' "Circuits"

For customers living away from Edinburgh, the difficulty and expense of securing the services of a tuner had been appreciated by a few of Edinburgh's music teachers in the later 18th century. James Hamilton and Miss Christie were among those who offered instruction in the art to their pupils (see pp.136 and 138, respectively). By about 1800, the potential rewards of the tuning market away from Edinburgh induced many of the city's piano tuners to make regular extended journeys (or "circuits") throughout Scotland to tune the pianos of country-based customers. During his early years in business, Robert Purdie made such journeys and stressed the advantages to customers within newspaper advertisements:

Robert Purdie continues to go regularly, twice a year, through every county, within 60 miles of Edinburgh, To Tune Piano Fortes &c. by subscription. Those families who have not yet employed him, by giving timely notice, may have their Piano Fortes tuned at less than a sixth part of the expence he would otherwise charge for going when sent for on purpose, more especially if the distance from Edinburgh is considerable. 59

For a few years after his arrival in Edinburgh (c.1802), Purdie worked exclusively as a tuner of pianos and harps. Although largely self-employed, he also worked as a sub-contracted employee for some of the city's music firms who did not employ a full-time specialist at the time (for example, Gow & Shepherd, William Whyte and John Hamilton 60). He was Edinburgh's first fully independent piano tuner, and met with considerable initial success, although some misfortune too:

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT TUNING / ROBERT PURDIE returns his grateful thanks to the Nobility and gentry who have hitherto employed him to tune their Piano Fortes &c and begs leave to acquaint them that he is now so far recovered of his late misfortunate accident as to be able to walk, and will be happy to attend on those who please to favour him with their commands. 61

It may have been Purdie's realisation of the dangers of over-specialisation which prompted the broadening of his activities into music retailing, with particular emphasis on the piano. His shop
became one of the city's most successful and lasting music establishments. Clearly, through retailing, Purdie greatly enhanced his potential source of income from tuning, and, conversely, could use his tuning skills to promote sales:

Robert Purdie has received a complete assortment of grand and square Piano Fortes (Broadwood and Sons makers), all chosen by himself while in London. He sells them exactly at the same price at which they can be had from the makers, with this advantage, that all instruments sold by him are kept in tune one year, either in town or country, free of expense to the purchaser. The instruments will be shown at R. Purdie's house, no.3 South James's Street, till he get possession of his warehouse.

Although Purdie's circuit (within 60 miles of Edinburgh) could include most principal towns in lowland Scotland, this was not the only region generally served by tuners. By the second decade of the 19th century Purdie employed another tuner, Peter Roy, to travel further afield. A similar system was operated by other Edinburgh firms. Muir, Wood & Co., for example, sent their tuners on long "country circuits" during the fine weather periods of late spring and summer, the period when Scotland's notoriously poor roads were at their most passable:

[Mr Montgomery]...Having finished his third Annual Journey round the West of Scotland, where he has invariably met with the kindest encouragement from the Nobility and Gentry, to whom, though he cannot sufficiently express his gratitude, yet his future exertions in this line of business - will shew how thankful he is to his benefactors. / Due notice will be given of his coming next summer.

Such journeys were not only to the north. Throughout the 1820s Andrew Wood made numerous trips southwards, for example:

Mr Wood from the house of Wood, Small & Co., Musical Instrument Makers, Edinburgh, most respectfully begs leave to announce to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Dumfriesshire, That he intends visiting the above in the course of a few days, when he will be glad to resume his former services annually repairing and tuning ORGANS, PIANOFORTE, &c. Orders left with Mr Hannah, Nith Place. / Edinburgh 22d September 1821.
Since Wood mentioned "his former services annually repairing and tuning" one suspects that his duties within Muir, Wood & Co. had also included work in this line. During the economic slump of the mid-1820s, income from such activities was much-needed by Wood, Small & Co.. Between 1826 and 1828, Wood visited towns in the north of England, including Hull, York, Wakefield, Newcastle and Berwick, and repeated journeys to various parts of the Scottish borders: Lanarkshire, Dumfriesshire, Selkirkshire, Roxburghshire, including the towns of Jedburgh, Kelso, Hawick, Canonbie, Annan and Dumfries. Although at times his activities included the sale of square pianos (for example, in Hull), and the maintenance or inspection of church organs, piano tuning was predominantly the impetus behind his journeying. The commercial desirability of such excursions and the resultant physical strain placed on Andrew Wood, then over 60 years old, are revealed in his correspondence:

At my advanced period of life it cannot be expected that I will be able to stand this fatigue much longer, but Small thinks nothing of it. In his last letter to me he says that I must go by Lanarkshire and tune pianos on my way home from this, but I will not.

Wood's exertions were exceptional amongst Edinburgh's senior music dealers. The proprietors of rival firms continued to employ others, indeed Wood, Small & Co. undoubtedly had other tuners in its service undertaking the usual circuits northwards.

By the mid-1820s demand for piano tuners was sufficient for Edinburgh's principal music businesses (Wood, Small & Co., Alexander Robertson, Paterson, Roy & Co., Mortimer, Anderson & Co., and Robert Purdie) each to employ a number of tuners, and "Country circuits" were advertised regularly in the local press. A number of such journeys were made each year, for example, in August 1835, Alexander Robertson announced that his "tuners are going on their last circuit for the season."
Occasionally, the system of "house" tuners broke down and Edinburgh shops found themselves victims of fraudulent employees or imposters. Even firms, such as Muir, Wood & Co., who issued identity certificates to their tuners were not entirely secure:

CAUTION TO THE PUBLIC / WHEREAS, JOHN COOKE, a Tuner of Musical Instruments, lately in the service of Messrs. MUIR, WOOD & Company, did, in October last, commit several frauds and impositions on some of their customers in town, and then clandestinely left Edinburgh, and went to Dunfermline, Perth, Dundee, &c &c, where, for three weeks past, he has been guilty of many fraudulent practices. Measures were taken to apprehend him, but on Sunday the 12th current, he came to Edinburgh, and in the evening found means to abscond, with his wife and child. He took a post-chaise from the Black Bull Inn, Pleasance, & went to Dalkeith, from whence, it is supposed, he set out for Newcastle or Carlisle.

Intimation, therefore, is hereby given, that so the Public may be aware of him, particularly the Friends of Muir, Wood and Company, whose name he frequently makes use of, and sometimes passes under the name of Mr WOOD, by which he has obtained money, and indeed under various other pretences. He is of very little stature, speaks English, and pretends to a vast deal of knowledge, in all kinds of musical instruments; he wore, when he went away, a drab coloured coat, striped cotton vest, and brown cloth breeches. It will be esteemed a favour, if information, by letter be given to Muir, Wood and Co. 7 Leith Street, wherever he makes his appearance.

There is no evidence that the culprit was apprehended. Little could realistically be done in such circumstances, an occupational hazard when employing staff for itinerant duties in any age.

Apprentices

There were few incentives for retailers to train apprentices, and contemporary apprentice records contain only a handful of references to the city's music shops. This was due in part to the modest size of workforce required even within larger establishments and also to the fact that proprietors frequently involved their sons in the business. In addition, if specific skills were required from an employee, such as book-keeping, it obviously made better sense to
use a trained worker than go to the expense and trouble of supporting an apprentice. A variation on this pattern occurred in the case of Andrew Wood's youngest son, George. With his two elder brothers already involved in the family's music business, George Wood was entered for training in a different field:

...he was placed, at a comparatively early age, in the establishment of William Blackwood, the eminent publisher of the Magazine. Whilst there he saw the literary lights of the Scottish Capital - Walter Scott, John Wilson, James Hogg (the "Ettrick Shepherd"), Captain Hamilton (author of "Cyril Thornton"), John Calt (the Scottish novelist), Lockhart, and others. When Mr Wood was about seventeen years of age, his father died, and the exigencies of things (fortunately as it turned out) compelled him to undertake the management of the music business, in conjunction with his elder brother. In this new sphere he had everything to learn, and, as may be supposed, many difficulties to contend with....71

The "exigencies" mentioned probably concerned the dissolution of the Wood family partnership with George Small (see p.466).

As one might expect, the few press advertisements which offered apprenticeships in the music trade appeared during periods of rapid expansion in the trade. In the mid-1790s, Stewart & Co. 72 and Urbani & Liston 73 each advertised for an apprentice, as did Penson & Robertson 74, Gow & Son 75 and Robert Purdie 76 during the second decade of the 19th century. The intended duties of such employees is not known.

Employees who Established their Own Firms

Following work within a large firm, some employees used their experience to establish businesses of their own. This was the case, for example, with John Bryson (senior), John Watlen, William Whyte and John Hamilton.
From the early-1760s, Robert Bremner (junior) lived and worked in London (at his shop opposite Somerset House, in the Strand), leaving the management of his Edinburgh shop to John Brysson. Following Bremner's death (1789), Brysson acquired the shop in the High Street from the Bremner estate and commenced trading under his own name as "Successor to Robert Bremner." It seems likely that Brysson's sons John and George worked with their father; following his death (1809) each established a music business of their own (see Table III.1, p.207 for John, and pp.403-7 for George).

From about 1786, John Watlen was employed as the house tuner within the firm of Corri & Sutherland and its successor, Corri & Co. In 1792 he left to open his own shop at no.34 North Bridge Street, a few doors away from his former employer. By establishing himself so close, Watlen probably hoped to maintain a public association with the larger firm and thus to poach their custom. The move ruffled Corri & Co. who quickly engaged James Sutherland as tuner, and advertised the fact along with an announcement of the severance of relations with their former employee. Watlen responded through his advertisements by stressing that customers, when addressing orders to his shop, should include the phrase "with the organ above the door" to "avoid any confusion.

William Whyte also worked for Corri; he described himself as having been a clerk. On the dissolution of Corri, Dussek & Co. (c.1799), he opened his own shop in Edinburgh. Like Watlen (and probably for similar reasons), the site chosen was a few doors away from that of his former employer (at no.1 South St. Andrew's Street) and probably in imitation of Watlen whose business had recently been dissolved, Whyte used "the sign of the Organ" above his door. Although non-music books and stationery were sold, a strong bias towards music was maintained. The reluctance to specialise exclusively in music was probably a safeguard against the intensely competitive market in the city and in part a reflection of the proprietor's training as a clerk rather than a musician. In 1825, for example, Whyte's shop sold "Stationery, Drawing Materials, Music and Musical Instruments, Globes, &c.... The musical instruments
consisting chiefly of Piano Fortes, Violins, Flutes &c...."86. As with most of the city's larger retailers, Whyte published various musical works; notably a collection of Scots songs arranged by Haydn (see p.340-1).

In 1796, the management of John Watlen's second music shop on North Bridge Street (no.24) was entrusted to John Hamilton 87. It seems likely that Hamilton had also previously managed the business from no.34 since, from commencing business, Watlen continued his tuning and teaching activities. Following the failure of the firm, Hamilton rented the property at no.24, and opened his own shop 88. Watlen was displeased; in imitation of his former employee, Corri & Co., he publicly denied any commercial association with Hamilton 89.

SUMMARY

Since most of Edinburgh's music retailers continued to practice other music pursuits, they probably employed others to manage the daily running of their shops. However, there are few indicators as to the numbers involved. After about 1790, most large firms employed at least one piano tuner, who was available for work in the city and surrounding areas. Most of these tuners were trained in London and had served with one of the English capital's leading piano firms. From the early 19th century, some tuners were dispatched on "circuits" of various parts of Scotland. This usually took place during the summer months when business was slack in the capital, and the country's roads were at their most passable.

There is little evidence that retailer's were involved in the training of apprentices to work in their shops, the city's register records only a handful of instances. Generally, if a specialist skill was required, it was usually more economical to employ an experienced, trained man, although, sometimes proprietors took the opportunity to introduce members of their family into the business.
CAPITAL AND ENTERPRISE

Capital

In addition to the expense of leasing or buying suitable premises, those entering the music trade obviously needed sufficient capital to fit and stock their shops. Before about 1780, the amount required was considerably less than that for later traders. Three reasons account for this. Firstly, property in the Old Town was cheaper to buy or rent than that in the New. Secondly, demand for large, expensive items (particularly keyboard instruments) was modest (see pp.261-2). Thirdly, the range of musical items required was generally much smaller, thus a relatively small stock could be kept (see pp.244-8). As the size of the market rapidly increased, so did the demands on the services of music retailers. Although the profusion of music shops in the city after about 1790 reflected the increasing size of the market, the potential financial rewards to retailers were matched by an increased element of risk.

Since there are no extant business records relating to Edinburgh's music shops during the period, the size of their initial capital outlay is unknown. Although expensive items of stock, notably pianos, could be bought on credit from larger London manufacturers (see pp.281-2), the increasing variety and scale of a "standard" stock still necessitated a sizable sum of money. In some cases, the source of this money was a mystery even to contemporary observers, such as George Small in 1826:

...The New Firms, Paterson, Roy & Co. & Mortimer & Anderson are making strong exertions, the former firm are to deal almost exclusively in London Pianos of which they have now a very handsome assortment of Broadwoods, Clementis and Gouldings....Mortimer & Anderson have only Stodarts Pianos and are appointed his Agents. The general opinion is that this latter house will soon be in a tottering state, Mortimer is not liked and they have no capital. No one seems to know where Paterson has got the cash, but he has certainly laid out a great deal in London from which he is lately returned.
The extent to which Edinburgh's retailers in turn offered credit facilities to customers buying expensive instruments such as pianos is not clear. Since their advertisements did not mention such schemes one suspects that generally payment was expected at the time of purchase. Clearly this was in the interests of the retailer, who wished to avoid large amounts of capital becoming tied-up over long periods. For customers, a form of delayed payment could sometimes be had if instruments were initially hired, the hire fee being abated if the instrument was bought within six months. Offers of this sort were particularly common during the first part of the period, for example, at the shops of Niel Stewart 91 and Corri & Sutherland 92.

In most instances the source of a firm's financial base is suggested by the background and activities of its proprietor or partners. In partnerships which involved a merchant or experienced retailer, this figure was frequently the financial provider (for example, John Muir and Robert Paterson). A family connection within the trade was the financial source for others (for example, the Stewart, Corri, Brysson, Wood, Gow and Dale families). In addition, the founders of at least two successful firms commenced retailing following specialised and lucrative work in other musical fields: Andrew Rochead after more than a decade of piano making (see pp.381-2), and Robert Purdie in tuning (see pp.235-6). The piano makers John and Archibald Watson also belong in this category, although unlike Rochead, their independent manufacturing activities eventually gave way to their retailing interests (see pp.402-3).

The buoyant conditions for music trading in the city from the last decade of the 18th century gave rise to great competition between the various shops. Although with sufficient backing it was relatively easy to establish a business, the problem facing new firms, with capital tied-up in expensive stock (or required to pay for instruments bought on credit), was to stay afloat long enough to establish their own niche in the market and to placate the demands of their creditors.

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Enterprise: The Changing Demands of the Market

Aside from prevailing economic conditions, the success of a firm depended largely on two factors: firstly, its ability to perceive and capitalise upon the demands of the market, and to respond quickly to mainstream changes; secondly, to distinguish itself from rival traders by promoting a speciality attraction in addition to a full-range of standard music goods and services. As competition increased in Edinburgh, both areas became more acutely contested.

For much of the period, the growth in the market and its changing demands required music shops to offer an ever wider range of goods and services. The most radical developments coincided with the general movement of music retailers towards the New Town in the 1790s. The reasons relate both to shifts in trading practices and to new requirements from customers. The two are interrelated, although the former particularly reflects the need for shops to compete with a growing number of rivals and the emergence of the large, fashionable showroom; while the latter principally concerns the spiralling demand for pianos and, to a lesser extent, the market for military wind instruments. The changing conception of goods stocked and services offered as "standard" by Edinburgh's music retailers can be seen from their newspaper advertisements. The following representative notices appeared in 1770, 1786, 1789, 1798, 1826 and 1828, respectively.

Neil Stewart, junior, at his MUSIC SHOP, Miln's Square, facing the Tron Church, Edinburgh begs leave to acquaint the PUBLIC, That he has, just arrived from London, a large assortment of NEW MUSIC & MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS of all kinds, viz. Harpsichords, Spinets, Piano Fortes, Violins of all sorts and prices, Kitts, Tenor Violins, and Violoncellos, Psalters, French Horns, Trumpets, Bassoons, Hautboys, Clarinets, Fifes, German Flutes of all sorts and prices, English Flutes, Guitars of all sorts and prices, Violin bows pillar'd or plain, ruled books or ruled paper, Pitch pipes, Steel forks, Spinet Desks and Hammers, Crow Quills, Wire String, Rosin Boxes, Mutes, Bridges, Pins for Violins &c. The best Italian Strings, fine pocket-books and letter cases, variety of Indian canes and snuff boxes, Table knives and Forks &c. ....Instruments repaired and let out for month and quarter.
NEW MUSIC & MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS / Arrived this Day, by the Diana, from London / and sold by CORRI & SUTHERLAND, Music-Sellers, Bridge Street, consisting of a large assortment of all the new musical publications in London at this date, either for voice, harpsichord, violin, flute, &c &c. Organs, different sizes, double and single Harpsichords, many with stops and patent swells, Upright ditto, single ornamented and plain ditto. Piano Fortes of various constructions and prices, Grand portable ditto, portable ditto for carrying in a post chaise; ditto elegantly fitted in an ornamented sideboard with various conveniences; Piano Forte and common Guitars, Violins, German Flutes, Fifes &c at different prices, brass wire for all instruments, Violin, Tenor and Bass strings, covered and plain Guitart strings, best clarified rosin in balls or boxes, and ever other article in the Musical business. 94

SALE OF MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, at that well-frequented Music Shop, first fore stair above the Old Assembly Close..... there will begin to be SOLD, the whole stock of SALE OF MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS in the above shop, lately the property of the deceased Robert Bremner, music-seller in Edinburgh, consisting of Italian, English and Scots Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC / Piano Fortes, Spinets, Violins, German and Common Flutes, Guitars &c &c ....95

BY AUCTION / MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS / The Whole of that Beautiful STOCK of MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS in the Warehouse, no.16 George Street are to be SOLD....The Instruments consist of two Grand Chamber Organs, worth double the sum they are expected to sell for; two hand organs; three Tambourines; a Dulcimer; a Bell Harp; a number of Fine and Common German Flutes; Military and Common Fifes; Clarionets; Patent and Plain Guitars; a Violoncello; upwards of two dozen new and old Violins, some of them very fine toned and from 12 shillings to 25 Guineas; Nine Square Piano Fortes by Broadwood and others; these are well worthy the attention of those who have it in view to teach their children this agreeable instrument as they will no doubt sell for 5 - 10 Guineas lower than the usual shop prices. Also an assortment of brass and steel wire, Music Paper, Tuning Forks and Hammers, Violin Bows, Rosin Boxes, best Roman Strings &c &c &c / THE MUSIC / This stock having been purchased all within the past 12 months, may be said to be wholly new; it contains the works of the most celebrated composers.... There is also a small assortment of fine-plated, Japanned, and cutlery goods, Umbrellas, Dutch quills, Wax, Wafers &c to be sold at the same time....96

with an extensive selection of the most fashionable MUSIC.... the whole having been selected by Mr PATERSON during his residence in London / Violins, Violoncellos and Bows, by the most celebrated makers in Italy, Roman and English Strings in great variety, and every other article in the line / Instruments exchanged, lent on hire, tuned and repaired, in town and country / New Music, Just published....

Robert Purdie has lately received a very large addition to his stocks of HORIZONTAL, GRAND, CABINET, COTTAGE CABINET and SQUARE PIANO FORTES, from the Manufactory of Messrs. Broadwood and Sons, who, in consequence of his extensive dealings with them, always secure to him the very best instruments they make, which he sells at precisely the same price the makers charge in London; therefore, those purchasing at his Warehouse here, not only save the expense of packing case, freight and the risk, but have the advantage of choosing from a far more extensive stock of instruments than is to be seen anywhere else out of London / ERARD'S BEST DOUBLE ACTION HARPS, with a large choice of musical instruments of every description, too numerous for the limitations of an advertisement - the stock of music, by all the eminent composers, is very complete, and is constantly added to by a regular supply of the new publications as soon as they appear in London / Piano Fortes, harps &c lent on hire, tuned and repaired in town and country, as usual....

These advertisements reflect three stages of development in the trade in musical instruments in Edinburgh: firstly, before the mid-1780s, the co-existence of a small number of shops which to some extent specialised in different areas of the market; secondly, a dramatic increase in demand for instruments, in particular pianos and wind instruments; thirdly, after about 1820, the emergence of numerous shops dealing principally in pianos and piano music. These three areas will now be outlined further.

Music Retailing in Edinburgh c.1770-1785

Of the city's three music shops which flourished before about 1785, Niel Stewart's was the most extensively involved in the sale of musical instruments, both imported and locally-made (see pp.283, and 377-8). The corresponding assortments mentioned in the above advertisement from Bremner are smaller in both scope and size, and it is significant that his list of stock mentioned printed music before
instruments, reflecting the firm's bias. In many respects the long-established, rival businesses of Bremner and Stewart offered complementary services to the public. Stewart principally promoted the sale of instruments, while Bremner offered a stream of musical publications. The advertisements of the city's third music shop, that of Robert Ross, indicated that this business operated on a more modest scale than its rivals.

The diversity of Stewart's stock, extending beyond strictly musical wares, was also a feature of James Muir's shop. Muir similarly offered a number of non-musical luxury items, although the origin of these was probably his brother John's ironmongery business in the High Street — James's shop in George Street serving as a useful New Town trading outlet. With this exception, music shops did not find it necessary to offer non-musical goods after about 1780; the strength of public demand for musical goods was thereafter able to support a high degree of specialisation.

The late 18th Century: The Growth in Instrumental Sales

James Muir's stock illustrates the two most significant developments in music retailing which occurred during the final years of the 18th century. Both related to the sale of instruments. Firstly, the increasing market for domestic keyboard instruments, in particular pianos, and the need to present the public with a choice of fashionable models at various prices. This feature is already evident from the earlier advertisement placed by Corri & Sutherland, although at this time it represented something of an exception to the prevailing pattern of music retailing in the city. Secondly, the demand for instruments for military bands, a market which had flourished since the commencement of hostilities with France in 1793.
The early 19th century: The Dominance of the Piano Trade

The final development in retailing practices during the period was a response to the further intensification in demand for pianos. While it should be stressed that interest had increased steadily from the mid-1780s, for retailers, the importance of the piano was further increased as that for other instruments declined. The cessation of hostilities in Europe inevitably precipitated a rapid decline in the sale of military band instruments.

By 1820, pianos dominated the instrumental trade of the city's music shops. Although local makers continued to flourish (see p.454 ff.), London-made instruments gained an increasing share of the growing market (see Table IV.2, pp.296-7). The third decade of the century saw the establishment in Edinburgh of shops specialising in London-made pianos, such as Roy & Blake's "London Piano Forte Warehouse" (1824). By the end of the decade, leading London firms such as Broadwood and Stodart had formed close commercial relations with shops in Edinburgh. In 1826, for example, Broadwood agreed to supply the new partnership of Paterson, Roy & Co. only on condition that the Edinburgh firm ceased manufacturing under their own name (see p.463). In the same year Mortimer, Anderson & Co. were created sole Scottish agents for Stodart & Son, and subsequently specialised in pianos by this firm (see p.463).

SUMMARY

In the absence of contemporary business records, the source of the financial backing for Edinburgh's music shops is not clear, although in some instances, capital was readily available from the existing business interests of one of the partners. Although expensive items of stock could be bought on credit from their manufacturer, a substantial amount of money was required in order to
rent suitable premises, fit them out accordingly, and amass a varied and modern stock of music and instruments.

For the city's larger shops, the principal area of demand was for pianos. As the period progressed, the market was able to support a number of shops specialising predominantly in the sale of London-made pianos, music and accessories. In order successfully to compete with a growing number of rivals, each Edinburgh firm sought both to maintain its stock of the latest goods and to distinguish its business by specialising in a particular area. This field of specialisation usually reflected one of the proprietors' particular talents, such as musical-instrument making or the composition and publication of original music.
CHAPTER IV

THE TRADE IN IMPORTED MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
INTRODUCTION

This study begins by outlining the various methods by which Edinburgh's music retailers selected their stock of instruments in London. The most significant area of sales is then examined: the trade in imported pianos (the sale of locally-made pianos is discussed in Chapter VI). Following this, sales of other instruments, notably military wind instruments, are assessed. Finally, the second-hand market is briefly discussed.

CHOOSING STOCK IN LONDON

Throughout the period, most goods sold by music retailers in Edinburgh were imported from London. The acquisition of London instruments and music of the most fashionable type, of the highest quality, and at the most advantageous wholesale prices, was of the greatest importance to Edinburgh's music retailers. The selection of stock could neither be left to chance nor to the unfettered whim of distant English manufacturers. After all, southern suppliers might be tempted to dispose of outdated or sub-standard items to unsuspecting Scottish shopkeepers. Edinburgh's retailers sought to guarantee the quality of their wholesale purchases in one of three ways: firstly, by selecting goods in person from the factories of leading English firms; secondly, by appointing an agent in London to make the choice on their behalf; thirdly, by channelling goods through a shop of their own in the English capital.

Retailers who selected their own Stock in London

From the mid-1790s the proprietors of most music shops in Edinburgh took a personal role in the selection of their stock from London. Prior to this it is difficult to identify a clear pattern:
Bremner supplied his Edinburgh business from his London base, while Stewart & Co. occasionally commissioned agents to make purchases on their behalf (see p.255), although the task was more often fulfilled by one of the partners:

One of the Partners of the Company having lately been in London, made it his study to select the best and newest of every article in the MUSIC and MUSICAL INSTRUMENT LINE. 1

This was also the case with Robert Ross 2 and with Corri & Sutherland, who frequently enlisted the assistance of Domenico Corri in London (see p.255).

By the end of the 18th century, with greater competition between an increasing number of businesses, the principal shops used all possible means to establish a reputation for holding the most fashionable and varied stock. The personal involvement of the proprietor in its selection represented both a guarantee of the excellence of the items chosen, and a distinguishing mark of prestige for the proprietor through his personal association with the finest London firms. The name of the person making the selection was thus invariably included in advertisements, for example:

Mr Wood has been for some time in London and intends to continue there a few days longer to choose the best instruments the Metropolis can afford, and to select with care, everything in the Musical Way that has Novelty or Merit to recommend it. 3

Robert Purdie has received a complete assortment of grand and square Piano Fortes (Broadwood and Sons makers), all chosen by himself while in London. 4

PATERSON, ROY & CO. respectfully intimate the arrival of a select assortment of Broadwood's & Clementi's Grand, Cabinet, Cottage and Square Piano Fortes, Erard's Patent Harps, Flutes by Rudall & Rose, Nicholson &c, Patent Spanish Guitars, Harper's Patent Keyed Bugles, French and English Flageolets, with an extensive selection of the most fashionable MUSIC.... the whole having been selected by Mr PATERSON during his residence in London. 5
Natale Corri 6, Andrew Wood, John Muir 7, John Rohead, Robert Purdie, Alexander Robertson, William Penson, Niel Gow (junior) 8, James Galbraith 9, and Robert Paterson each made repeated journeys to the major London manufacturers of instruments and music publishers.

Partners sometimes undertook the task in alternate years, this being the case with Muir and Wood during the early-1800s, and particularly with Penson and Robertson. The latter maintained a largely alternating sequence during the decade after 1810: one partner journeyed southwards during late August or early September and returned in time to begin teaching during the first week in October. The arrival of the new instruments typically followed shortly after 10. Before about 1815, most Edinburgh music shops selected their main body of stock at this time of year, although during the 1820s, as the market for music goods expanded further, the frequency of these journeys to London also increased and their timing became less standardised, as illustrated by the dates of the advertisements cited above.

Occasionally, after about 1810, proprietors travelled further afield; for example, Natale Corri visited Paris in 1814 and used the opportunity to purchase a selection of the latest music to sell in Edinburgh, while in October 1813, Penson & Robertson announced the arrival of a consignment of Irish musical publications "selected by Mr Robertson during a Tour through Ireland" (see p.330).

**Musical Relations or Celebrities making the Selection**

Only a few Edinburgh firms entrusted the selection of their stock to independent, eminent musical figures in London. The reasons for using this method were not economic, since such celebrities could command a considerable fee for their services; the advantage to be gained lay in the firm's resultant prestigious association with the figure involved and his personal recommendation of the goods selected.
The most famous musician to act in this capacity was Muzio Clementi. In 1792 Neil and Malcolm Stewart announced that Clementi had selected some Broadwood pianos on their behalf "to which he has prefixed his name" 11. Clementi continued to act in this capacity for the firm until about 1798, when he entered the piano trade himself as a manufacturer and retailer - this presumably prompted his disinclination to act as an agent selling the products of his rivals. Although Clementi's name appeared again as an assistant in the 1811 selection by Penson & Robertson, it was clearly in a minor capacity since Robertson not only made a trip to London himself, but acknowledged also the help of the Messrs. Neale and Bontempo 12.

Many celebrities who assisted other Edinburgh firms had links with the Scottish capital. In 1797 (and for at least six years subsequently), Gow & Shepherd's selection was "chosen by that excellent master Sir William Parsons, Doctor of Music and Master and Conductor of His Majesty's band at St. James's" 13. Other members of the same family were active as piano teachers in Edinburgh, notably John Parsons and his daughter (see pp.147 and 149). In view of the close links between Penson & Robertson and J.B. Logier (see p.154 ff.), it is not surprising to find that the pedagogue assisted the firm before his departure for the Continent through making selections of pianos on their behalf in April 1817 and December 1818 14.

Family connections were also utilised, notably within the Corri and Gow dynasties. The London-based Domenico Corri continued to assist his brother Natale after the collapse of the London-based firm of Corri, Dussek & Co. in 1800; he made numerous selections of instruments for Corri & Co. between 1803-1810, 15 in addition to supplying occasional consignments of the latest music from Paris, for example in 1809 16.

To combat accusations from rival firms that Nathaniel Gow's son, Niel, was too inexperienced to gauge the quality of musical stock, the early advertisements of his trips to London stressed the assistance provided by "musical friends of the first eminence" 17. These friends were probably Nathaniel's brother, John, and nephew

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Firms with Shops in London

Two retailing firms with premises in both English and Scottish capitals supplied their Edinburgh shop directly from their London premises: Robert Bremner and Corri, Dussek & Co.. Bremner (senior) moved to London on opening his shop in the Strand, from where he also acted as an agent for the Edinburgh Musical Society, securing the services of celebrated performers:

Mr Bremner begs leave to acquaint the public that he has now opened a music shop in London, where such of his friends, whose occasions call them there, may depend upon being served with every article in his business in the neatest manner, and on the most reasonable terms.

His encouragement in Scotland always has been, and at present is such, as to lay him under very great obligations to the Nobility and Gentry of that kingdom; and a sensibility of their favours has been one cause of his removal as by his being now at the fountain-head he has the opportunity of supplying his shop at Edinburgh with such choice of instruments and new music, as he hopes may deserve the notice of the public.

Bremner's son and successor, Robert, traded from the same London premises; his activities were principally concerned with the publication and supply of music rather than selling instruments on an extensive scale (see pp.245-7).

Although the precise commercial arrangements within Corri, Dussek & Co. are not clear, the Edinburgh branch of the firm was probably managed by John Corri until 1798 and Natale Corri subsequently (see pp.223-5). Between about 1794-1798 trading was highly successful, particularly in London; by June 1796 additional shops to that at 67 Dean Street were opened at 28 Haymarket and 68 Dean Street. The Edinburgh firm was supplied with monthly
shipments of the latest music 21, and in turn provided some locally published works for the southern capital (see p.328), while its stock of instruments was frequently selected by the London partners:

C.D. & Co. have just received a very large assortment of GRAND and SMALL PIANO FORTES, with or without additional keys, from all the most esteemed manufactories in London - also an assortment of PEDAL HARPS, CAVALRY and CONCERT TRUMPETS, large and small BARREL ORGANS, VIOLINS, GUITARS (patent and plain), CLARINETs, FLUTES, FIPES and every other article in the Musical Line, as part of their Winter stock for both warehouses - the whole of which were selected by Mr Dussek and Mr Domenico Corri. 22

The function of the London shops of other Edinburgh-based retailers is less clear; they appear to have served both as outlets for goods of Edinburgh manufacturers and as a means to keep pace with trends in London in order to gather stock for sale in the north. However, since they were infrequently mentioned in Edinburgh advertisements, one suspects that the London establishments of John Watlen, Muir, Wood & Co. (Wood, Small & Co.) and Paterson, Mortimer & Co. were modest concerns, selling mainly sheet music of their own publication and, in the latter two instances, a small number of "house" instruments.

Watlen's London outlets during the 1790s were run in conjunction with one Francis Linley at 42 Penton Street and subsequently no.1 Charlotte-row, Long Lane, Southwark, the latter opening at some point between 1792-1796 23.

The address of Muir, Wood & Co.'s London shop (no.27 Little Britain) was included on the title page of their 1806 pamphlet describing "Helical Tuning Springs" (see pp.437-42). Since the address did not appear on the firm's most important publication prior to this, Gunn's An Introduction to Music of 1803, it had probably been opened between these two dates. Although the London trade directories do not mention the firm after 1807, the address was maintained after this date, since it appeared in the nameboard inscription of the firm's later instruments (see p.424).
Muir, Wood & Co.'s London shop was probably run by members of the May family, old acquaintances of Andrew Wood. The Mays were certainly in residence at the address during the 1820s, since prior to his departure for Europe, John Muir Wood stayed as their guest, as confirmed by three extant letters sent to him from Edinburgh. The area around Little Britain was home to a number of music firms, most notably Clementi & Co. at 26 Cheapside, thus the Scottish firm was well placed within an area noted for music retailers.

The formation of a music retailing and publishing company by Henry May's son, Harry, and John Monro in 1823 (trading as Monro & May in the same area at no.11 Holborn Bars) may have contributed to temporary doubts from Wood, Small & Co. concerning their future arrangements in London. Harry May had probably gained experience in the music trade through working at the Scottish firm's London shop, and, without his help, smaller premises may have seemed desirable. Although the Edinburgh firm retained their Little Britain address, correspondence between John Muir Wood in London and George Small in Edinburgh during 1825 provides evidence of this uncertainty: Wood's son was instructed to send back details concerning alternative locations in London:

I shall take it kind if you would pay a visit to the Bazaar in Soho Square & see if you could give me some idea how it is fitted up & the space occupied by each seller, what rent they pay or what way it is conducted - all the information you can send as soon as possible.

The location of Paterson, Mortimer & Co.'s London shop (at "Falcon Square") is not clear. As with Muir, Wood & Co., the London address was included as part of the nameboard legend on some of the firm's square pianos (for example no.1011 (c.1825) is inscribed "Musical Instrument Makers, Edinburgh and Falcon Square London"). However, since neither of the firm's direct successors after 1826 (Paterson, Roy & Co. and Mortimer, Anderson & Co.) mention the London shop, one suspects that it may have been a temporary location, perhaps similar to the aforementioned Soho "Bazaar".

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Throughout the period, Edinburgh's music retailers re-stocked their shops prior to the city's winter season of entertainments. In most instances, the greater part of a firm's stock was imported from London, and to ensure that the goods sent were of the highest quality and most modern design, many proprietors selected their goods in person. Following such visits, retailers' advertisements could boast of a personal association with leading London manufacturers. In other cases, Edinburgh firms appointed agents to make the selection on their behalf. These agents were frequently figures of some celebrity, who subsequently appended their personal recommendation to each instrument. Through an association of this sort with musicians such as Clementi, the reputation both of the selection and of the shop in question was clearly enhanced. Occasionally the agent used was a family relation of the Edinburgh proprietor, for example, Domenico Corri and John Gow. In a small number of cases, Scottish firms with shops in London may have used those employed in there to oversee the selection of goods.

THE SALE OF IMPORTED PIANOS

The development of musical instrument retailing in Edinburgh, and throughout Britain during the period was inextricably linked with the emergence of the piano as the principal instrument fashionably required for music-making in the home. In this survey, general trading practices and specific links with piano manufacturers in London (excluding John Broadwood & Sons) are outlined. Trading arrangements with Broadwood are then examined. The size of stock typically held by dealers in the Scottish capital is surveyed. A concluding section illustrates the importance attached to keeping stocks both modern and novel.
The earliest account of a piano in an Edinburgh concert dates from 1774, played by a Miss Marshall performed in St Mary's Chapel. The instrument first appeared at Saint Cecilia's Hall two years later, when Domenico Corri played a concerto on a "great piano forte...the only one of the kind in the country" 27. However, a later account from a biography of the Edinburgh-based musician, Joseph Reinagle, suggests 1769 as the date of the instrument's first appearance in the city:

Joseph had the honour of being the first person to import a piano into Scotland. It was bought by him in London for the Caledonian Society, to be used in their concerts in the Cowgate and was shipped to Leith in 1769. Its arrival in Edinburgh was remembered as a great musical event by the members of the society. It was personally tuned by Joseph, who would not allow any other hand to touch it, and when it was publically announced that he was to play on the new instrument, St Cecilia's Hall was filled to overflowing. After this, all the spinets and harpsichords of Edinburgh fell into disfavour and all who could afford the expense wrote to London or to Paris for Pianofortes. 28

Although this account remains uncorroborated by extant material relating to the Edinburgh Musical Society or from local newspapers advertisements, it seems likely that, if Reinagle did import a piano, it was a square rather than grand. Thus, Corri's "great pianoforte" (a grand) would indeed have been new to the city in 1776.

Whatever the date of the piano's first concert appearance, it was not until the early-1780s that the instrument regularly featured in the advertisements of Edinburgh's music shops. However, the earliest extant newspaper advertisement to offer pianos to the public, albeit an isolated one, appeared in 1770. The occasion was the opening of a new music shop by Niel Stewart (junior):

Neil Stewart, junior, at his MUSIC SHOP, Miln's Square, facing the Tron Church, Edinburgh, begs leave to acquaint the PUBLIC, That he has, just arrived from London, a large assortment of NEW MUSIC & MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS of all kinds, viz. Harpsichords, Spinets, Piano Fortes....29
The type of instrument included here was probably a square piano, perhaps of the type played by Reinagle during the previous concert season. That it was not given greater prominence within Stewart's advertisement reflected the understandably uncertain nature of the potential market for pianos in Scotland at the time, and perhaps also the limited impact which the instrument had made in concert. The size of Stewart's stock is not clear, but realistically he could only have afforded the risk of importing a few pianos, and maybe only one. The appearance of the instrument in the new shop helped to distinguish the business from that of its principal rival, Robert Bremner, and enhanced Stewart's reputation for having the latest musical goods from London. In the English capital, pianos by makers such as Johannes Zumpe and Johannes Pohllmann were in great demand from the novelty-seeking musical public and fetched high prices.

The absence of pianos in subsequent advertisements from Stewart or his Edinburgh rivals over the ensuing decade, suggests further that the impact made by the instrument in the city was small. It was insufficient to encourage retailers to commit their capital and shop space. Anyone wishing for a piano in Scotland could either commission an Edinburgh retailer to select and obtain an instrument, or order direct from the manufacturer in London. The former method was preferable since it protected the unwary customer against receiving a sub-standard instrument, otherwise unsellable in London.

Until the mid-1780s, harpsichords and particularly spinets (either locally-made or imported) remained the standard keyboard instruments available from the city's three music shops. The principal reason for the pianos's lack of discernible public popularity in Edinburgh compared to its growing success in London throughout the 1770s probably related to the fact that a grand was not heard in public north of the border until 1776.

Interest in pianos among Edinburgh's public grew only after appearances of a grand in local concerts. Pianos featured again in local music shops from the early-1780s, and, as before, it was Niel
Stewart's shop which led the way, as illustrated, for example in the following advertisement from 1784. Since these pianos are not described as grands, they were probably squares:

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS / Just arrived at N. STEWART'S Music Shop, Parliament Square, A large assortment of PIANO FORTES of the new construction, and by the best makers in London; being the greatest and finest variety ever exhibited in Scotland. . . .

By this time the design and musical effectiveness of square and grand pianos had increased greatly in comparison with, for example, the early Zumpe-type models. This improvement, combined with the public's greater familiarity with the instrument, prompted an immediate growth in interest. Within a few years Edinburgh retailers not only included pianos in their stock as a matter of primary necessity, but offered a selection of instruments of various designs and over a range of prices.

Although from this time the growth in the music trade and particularly in keyboard music was inspired and fuelled by the piano, harpsichord makers also benefited. In Edinburgh during the 1780s, shops offered a greater variety of harpsichords and spinets than ever before, in addition to pianos. In 1787, for example, Corri and Sutherland offered a new selection of "double and single Harpsichords, many with stops and patent swells, Upright ditto, single ornamented and plain ditto" 32, while in the following year, Stewart's shop advertised newly imported "Double and Single Harpsichords, with or without patent swells, and different stops" 33. However, it was a short-lived revival for plucked-stringed keyboard instruments. In London, the mid-1780s saw production of pianos from the principal manufacturer, John Broadwood, overtake that of harpsichords, and, in 1793 the firm ceased production of the latter altogether. By about 1790, the advertisements from Edinburgh music retailers reflect the supremacy of the piano. Over the coming decade, transactions which involved harpsichords were increasingly confined to the second-hand or part-exchange market (see pp.312-3).

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Reflecting the London phenomenon, demand for pianos in Edinburgh spiralled during the final 15 years of the century. From the mid-1740s piano teachers began regularly to advertise in the local press (see p.139 ff.), and the market was soon able to support a first generation of local manufacturers (see p.280 ff.).

Changes in Piano Trading Practices

The period between 1780-1830 saw two fundamental shifts in the trading practices of Edinburgh's piano retailers. These corresponded to similar shifts throughout the music trade in Britain, although the size and demand of local markets governed their speed and intensity.

In the Scottish capital, before about 1785, the market for large, expensive keyboard instruments remained small. Local retailers sought to minimise the financial risk involved in importing such items, while the relatively small size of their shops meant that space for displaying or storing instruments was similarly at a premium. Under these circumstances, keyboard instruments were generally imported on a commission basis. The following arrangement offered by Robert Bremner in 1762 was typical:

Such as may have occasion for any of the more costly instruments, as organ, harpsichord &c., and please to favour him with the commission. may depend on being served well, to the best of his judgement, and that as cheap as if they themselves had made the purchase; the difference between the maker's fixed price to Gentlemen and to one in the trade, being sufficient for his trouble. 34

By the mid-1780s the new demand for pianos, gradually made this system obsolete and transformed the trading practices of music businesses in the city. The increasing demand was reflected in the growing number of shops which advertised selections of pianos by various makers. The importance of displaying and maintaining a diverse stock of pianos in a showroom was quickly established as a standard requirement for musical instrument sellers, and the
advantages to the customer were stressed by local retailers, for example Niel Stewart (1795) and Robert Purdie (1826):

Messrs. STEWARTS, in the most respectful manner, take the liberty of asserting, that the quality of their Instruments is not to be exceeded in Europe. They are supplied from the most esteemed makers in London, and pay an advance price, that they may insure the very Prime Instruments, and with this special agreement, that any Instruments not approved of, are to be returned at the maker's expense. The advantages to intending purchasers, are forcibly striking; at London they have an opportunity of viewing only the productions of the particular maker they apply to; at Messrs. Stewarts, they view the most capital and picked Instruments of every maker of eminence in London, and are thereby enabled to decide, by what cannot but be universally acknowledged to be the only mode of ascertaining the real merits of any Musical Instrument, a Close comparison in the same room, of the different qualities and beauties of each. 35

[Robert Purdie]....those purchasing at his Warehouse here, not only save the expense of packing case, freight and the risk, but have the advantage of choosing from a far more extensive stock of instruments than is to be seen anywhere else out of London. 36

The general shift in the location of music shops from the Old Town to the New (see p.212 ff.) was a response to these changes in the market. Within an increasingly competitive field, retailers realised the need to display their selection of luxury items in commodious premises close to their potential market. In order to maintain a diverse stock of pianos, these premises had to be larger and more accessible than those of the city's earlier music shops. Similarly, a ground floor site became a necessity.

Clearly however, the change involved more than a switching of location and increase in the size of premises. The financial basis on which firms operated was drastically altered. In order to support an adequate stock of expensive items with a relatively slow rate of turn-over, retailers either required more capital to establish and maintain a business or they sought suitable credit arrangements with piano manufacturers in London (see pp.281-2).
Although sales of printed music (both locally-published and imported) increased dramatically during the early 19th century (see Chapter V), the trade in pianos was clearly the single most lucrative line for many music shops. After about 1810, the market for military instruments declined significantly (see pp.301-6), while demand for other instruments remained steady but small. The increasing market for pianos meant that from the early-1820s the city was able to support a growing number of shops specialising in the sale of pianos. This marks the second major change within the music business in Edinburgh during the period.

The first music firm in the city to present their business as one overwhelmingly concerned with pianos and to advertise this within their trading legend was P.W. Roy's "Piano Forte and Music Warehouse" which opened in 1821 37. A subsequent partnership (1824) with John Blake saw the title modified to "London Piano Forte and Music Warehouse" 38. Roy was familiar both with the local music trade and with London-made instruments. He had previously been employed by Purdie as a tuner and repairer of pianos and harps (1813-1816), after which he worked as freelance tuner, travelling widely throughout Scotland 39. On his travels, he sold music and took orders for London-made pianos, the latter probably ordered through the Edinburgh shop of William Whyte 40. The background and activities of John Blake are not clear. Reflecting the most significant area of interest among Edinburgh's musical public, most of the city's major firms subsequently adopted a similar "London Piano Forte Sellers" motto. These included Mortimer, Anderson & Co. and Robert Purdie (from 1826 41), James Galbraith (1827 42), and Paterson & Roy (1828 43.)

SUMMARY

Although pianos were offered for sale by at least one Edinburgh retailer in 1770, it was not until the early-1780s that the instrument appeared regularly in the advertisements of the city's music shops. The initial lack of public enthusiasm probably reflected
the instrument's low level of exposure in local concerts until 1776. However, by about 1790 the piano had usurped the harpsichord and spinet within retailers' advertisements. The spiralling demand precipitated changes in the trading practices of local shops. Before about 1780, the limited size of the city's music shops and the relatively modest level of demand, encouraged the practice of buying keyboard instruments on a commission basis (i.e. placing an order on behalf of the customer). By the end of the 18th century, the market for pianos and the intense competition between retailers had necessitated a new system, with most shops maintaining a varied stock of instruments from which customers could choose according to their taste or pocket. By the mid-1820s, some of London's leading piano makers were able to exert a high degree of control over specific Edinburgh shops and sought to transform these firms into agents for their instruments.

LINKS WITH LONDON'S PIANO MANUFACTURERS

Throughout the 1780s, despite the increasing interest in the piano in Edinburgh, local retailers did not include the name of the makers of pianos within their advertisements. Instead, the diversity of their stock was expressed through the various models or types of piano currently available, as illustrated, for example, in the 1786 advertisement from Corri & Sutherland (see p.245).

The reason for the omission of makers' names is not clear. The celebrity of makers such as Broadwood, Longman & Broderip and Stodart was familiar to Edinburgh's musical public, and it seems unlikely that the instruments on offer were all products of obscure makers (either Edinburgh- or London-based). Manufacturers' anonymity was perhaps a result of convention, since, apart from the locally-made spinets of Niel Stewart, the makers of earlier types of keyboard instruments offered for sale in Edinburgh were similarly unadvertised.
After about 1790 this practice was discarded. As competition intensified between a growing number of shops dealing with an increasingly prolific output from London manufacturers, makers' names were invariably included within Edinburgh retailers' advertisements. The desired effect was both to stress the choice of instruments available, and to enhance the prestige of the shop through a publicised association with the most respected establishments of the London music trade. Although Broadwood pianos were generally considered pre-eminent throughout the period, those of other large firms formed part of the regular stock of many Edinburgh shops.

The proportion of the market held by pianos of different makers within the total stock of each Edinburgh shop is difficult to assess. However, the emphasis placed on instruments by specified firms within retailers' advertisements probably indicated something of their relative significance within the local market. From this evidence, in addition to Broadwood, five firms featured strongly. Prior to their dissolution in 1798, Longman & Broderip enjoyed a substantial level of sales in the Scottish capital, as did two of their successor firms, Broderip and Wilkinson and Clementi & Co. Pianos by Stodart (or Stodart & Son) were particularly popular, while during the latter part of the period, instruments by Thomas Tomkison (or Tomkinson) similarly featured prominently.

In addition to these manufacturers, the names of numerous smaller makers occasionally appeared in dealer's lists, although as the period progressed their number decreased. By the third decade of the 19th century, the production and marketing skills of the larger houses (particularly those of Broadwood, Stodart, Clementi and Tomkinson) dominated the market. The arrangements established between Broadwood and firms in Edinburgh are well-documented for part of the period and will be discussed in detail below. The trading activities of other major London piano makers (listed above) in the Scottish capital will be briefly assessed first.
Trading with Longman & Broderip

Longman & Broderip were probably London's most prolific producers of instruments and publishers of music during the late 18th century. The firm was not directly involved in manufacture, but instead sub-contracted orders to a number of small workshops most of which worked exclusively for them. During the early-1790s Longman & Broderip advertised extensively in the Edinburgh press, publishing notices more extended and detailed than those of local retailers. Since they were dealers, it is not surprising that the firm sought to by-pass Edinburgh's own retailers and appeal directly to customers for orders of instruments and music. Backed by over 20 years of experience and commercial success, they offered a range of instruments, music and services which far exceeded that even of the combined resources of local establishments.

However, the London business enjoyed only limited success in the Scottish capital. Despite its infinitely more varied and extensive selection of instruments and accessories, the disadvantages to the customer of buying direct from London, as frequently stressed in advertisements from local retailers (see p.264), outweighed the attractiveness of the southern firm's stock. As more music shops opened in Edinburgh from the early-1790s, the direct market opportunities realistically available to businesses in London diminished further. Although Longman & Broderip continued to advertise in the Edinburgh press until their dissolution, it is significant that these notices showed an increasing bias towards printed music rather than musical instruments.

Although direct marketing of their instruments appears not to have brought Longman & Broderip success north of the border, their pianos became increasingly available through local retailers during the 1790s. The various Corri family firms and Stewart & Co. were particularly active importers, indeed within their advertisements, details of their stock of Longman & Broderip instruments occasionally took precedence over that of Broadwood models.
Among the new stock of INSTRUMENTS are the following, viz. LONGMAN AND BRODERIP'S Patent Piano Fortes on a quite new construction, which for delicacy of touch, and beauty of tone, are thought to excel any hitherto invented. Also Grand Piano Fortes of different kinds, with patent Movements, by the same makers. 47

Stewart & Co. ... have just received from LONDON a large and elegant assortment of BROADWOOD'S PATENT PIANO FORTES, and also LONGMAN AND BRODERIP'S SMALL and GRAND PATENT PIANO FORTES, as well as an assortment of instruments of every other kind, by the best makers 48

For many music shops, pianos by Longman & Broderip provided more than a superficial source of variation to the more common Broadwood models. Longman & Broderip's squares enjoyed certain technical advantages over their contemporaries, particularly with regard to their action and extended compass (see p.391).

Successors to Longman & Broderip

Judging by their continual appearance in the advertisements of Edinburgh's music shops, the instruments and music of the successor firms to Longman & Broderip achieved something of the same popularity in the city as had those of their predecessor. Although Broderip & Wilkinson occasionally placed advertisements in Edinburgh's newspapers describing their instruments and music, unlike the earlier firm, which had requested that orders be sent direct to London, goods were now obtainable through named local music shops:

The above may be had at the following shops in Edinburgh; Messrs. Stewart & Co., Mr Corri's, Gow and Shepherd's, Muir, Wood & Co.'s, Hamilton's, Urbani and Liston's and White's Library; also at Mr McGoun's and McPeyden's Music Shops, Glasgow - where may be seen B. & W.'s PATENT PIANO FORTES, with additional keys and general catalogues of all their publications. 49

From its early years, the pianos of Clementi & Co. (successors to Longman & Clementi) enjoyed consistent sales through many of
Edinburgh's music shops, notably those of Gow & Shepherd, Natale Corri and Penson & Robertson. Since Corri announced the arrival of Scotland's "first Grand Piano Forte by Clementi & Co." in 1810, it appears that the trade was overwhelmingly in square pianos during the first decade of the century (perhaps with occasional upright grands).

**Stodart (Stodart & Son)**

Like that of Broadwood, the Stodart (or Stoddart) family of piano makers were of Scottish origin and retained close ties with their native land. During the 1770s in London, Robert Stodart had assisted John Broadwood and Americus Backers in the development of the "English" grand piano action. On his retirement from business in 1789, he settled north of the border, purchasing a country estate at Kailzie Castle, Peeblesshire, for which he paid the princely sum of £11,095, and aroused considerable comment:

As Mr Stoddart was a pianoforte manufacturer in London, his acquisition of Kailzie caused considerable surprise throughout the country, which as yet was not accustomed to see men of mechanical profession becoming landed proprietors.

Piano-making was continued in London by other family members, notably Matthew and William Stodart. James Stodart, who appeared as a maker in the Edinburgh directories between 1822-1825, was probably part of the same family (see p.467). From the early-1790s, the firm's instruments were increasingly available through shops in Edinburgh. Although the bulk the Stodart firm's workshop output was of square pianos, the celebrity of the business was enhanced through its more innovative instruments: the upright grand (first shown in Edinburgh by Muir, Wood & Co. in 1798, see p.289) and the compensation frame grand.

The popularity and reputation of Stodart's instruments in Edinburgh was reflected in their wide availability. Most of the
larger Scottish dealers sold them, notably Urbani & Liston, Gow & Shepherd, Corri & Co. (after about 1805), Rohead & Son, Penson & Robertson and Robert Purdie. By the early 19th century, the esteem in which the London firm was held often ensured that its name was placed second only to Broadwood in local retailers' advertisements, for example:

GOW & SHEPHERD.... have just got to hand from London, a very Superior Assortment of Mr. Broadwood & Son's GRAND and SMALL PIANO FORTES; as also a great variety from the Manufactories of the other Makers most in repute. In particular, they have received from Messrs. Stodart, one Grand Upright Piano Forte, which for tone, touch and elegance can not be surpassed. As also, from the same reputed Makers, a New Grand Piano Forte, and two Second-hand Grand ones, very fine.

The ability of larger London manufacturers more successfully to weather the effects of the severe economic depression during the mid-1820s, enabled two of them to increase their interests within provincial markets at the expense of local piano makers. In Edinburgh, both Broadwood and Stodart capitalised on the demise of Paterson, Mortimer & Co. and the difficulties encountered by Wood, Small & Co. The activities of Broadwood in exerting influence over Paterson, Roy & Co. are discussed below (see p.463). In 1826, Stodart & Son effectively took control of the new firm of Mortimer, Anderson & Co., making them sole agents for Stodart pianos in Scotland. Robert Anderson, a former employee of Stodart (see p.432), was probably an influential figure in fixing this arrangement:

PIANO FORTE & MUSIC WAREHOUSE / 43 South Hanover Street / MORTIMER, ANDERSON & CO. (Agents for Stodart and Son, Golden Square London)...The present stock of splendid Grand, Cabinet and Square Piano Fortes will be found well worthy the inspection of their Friends. The Patent Grand Piano-Forte with the metallic tubes and Brass Plate, having obtained the approbation of the Royal Family, and of the most eminent professors, Messrs. M.A. & Co. can with confidence recommend it.
Tomkison

The firm of Thomas Tomkison (or Tomkinson) was established as a successor to that of J.H. Houston in about 1799. The quality of their instruments received much contemporary praise, particularly with regard to their soundboards. The firm naturally stressed this reputation in marketing their instruments: tradition has it that, for special orders, Broadwood & Sons commissioned Tomkison to supply soundboards for their instruments. From the early-1800s, instruments by Tomkison (both squares and, later, grands) were regularly available from at least two large music shops in Edinburgh: Corri & Co. (from 1799), and Penson & Robertson (from at least 1819). The last-named remained the principal outlet in the city throughout the 1820s, their piano stock effectively being divided between Broadwood, Clementi and Tomkison.

Other London Firms

From details included in advertisements, the number of smaller London piano firms whose instruments appeared in Edinburgh's music shops was at its greatest between about 1795-1810. During this period, square pianos by at least 13 such firms were advertised. These makers were Adlam, Astor, Bland & Weller, Culliford, Ganer, Garcka, Houston, Kirkman, Lawson, Moore, Rolfe, Schoene & Vinson and Wilkinson & Wornum.

Despite this large number, even at its peak the combined volume of trade was probably very modest in relation to that of either the larger London or emerging Edinburgh piano makers. Rarely did any of the names listed above achieve a prominent position within advertisements - most simply appeared in a concluding list of makers. The exceptions are discussed below (see pp.287-8, and p.290). Moreover, since the proliferation of piano makers in London was primarily in response to enormous local demand (as was also the case
in Edinburgh), one suspects that smaller workshops did not need to look to distant markets for customers. Clearly however, these London pianos had some appeal to dealers in Edinburgh, the root of which, in most instances, was unconnected with specific characteristics of the instruments, such as price or design.

Although the cost of new instruments was rarely mentioned in advertisements (aside from the general phrase "at the London prices"), it does not appear that Edinburgh dealers saw the appeal of pianos from smaller London firms in terms of them being a cut-price alternative for their customers. There are no examples of advertisements which inferred that the cost of such an instrument was less than that of a larger manufacturer.

In terms of their technical design, the standard square pianos of most smaller firms imitated the instruments of their larger counterparts, although the latter could offer a wider range of extras and alternatives over a broader price range. Only in a few exceptional instances did retailers claim instruments from a smaller workshop to be mechanically superior or different from, for example, the standard Broadwood.

Of these exceptions, the cottage upright pianos of Wilkinson and Wornum were the best example; these distinguished the stock of Penson & Robertson at the opening of their shop in 1811. An earlier firm to stress the unique musical qualities of instruments by one of London's smaller makers, and indeed for a time to specialise in their instruments was Urbani & Liston. As with Penson & Robertson, the following advertisement appeared shortly after the firm commenced business. Through emphasising pianos by a smaller firm (in this instance Schoene & Vinson, successors to Johannes Zumpe), an impression of novelty was created:

....the celebrated STODDART's Grand and SCHOENE [& VINSON]'s Small PIANO FORTES, which have always been acknowledged by the best judges to be superior to any ever invented for strength and sweetness of tone; they are known all over Britain, although they never before have been procured for sale in Scotland, deserve notice.
Generally, given competent workmanship and an elegant appearance, the appeal of pianos by smaller London makers lay simply in that, unlike the majority of instruments on offer, they were not produced by one of the large manufacturers. In the quest to present the widest choice of instruments to the musical public, some retailers sought further to enhance the variety of their stock through offering a range of makers' names. The various Corri family businesses provide a particularly good example here; their advertised selection of instruments invariably included pianos from many workshops. One suspects that the firms' particularly close links with many elements of the London music trade (see pp.224-5) enabled them regularly to secure instruments from smaller firms.

An early 19th Century Exception to the Prevailing Pattern of Piano Retailing in Edinburgh

By the early 19th century the leading London manufacturers realised the advantages enjoyed by dealers in Edinburgh, and supplied the market for their instruments through them. However, one London establishment was apparently successful in supplying pianos directly to individual customers in the Scottish capital.

During the years following his bankruptcy in 1798 (see p.241), the commercial activities of John Watlen become less clear. He moved to London in about 1800 and embarked upon various new music businesses, notably as a partner in Cobb & Watlen (c.1800-1805) at 19 Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, before establishing a firm on his own. From 1807, his advertisements again appear in the Edinburgh press:

LONDON, no.5 Leicester Place, Leicester Square, GRAND HORIZONTAL, UPRIGHT AND SQUARE PIANO FORTES, HARPS, MILITARY INSTRUMENTS &c / Of any Maker, Fifteen per Cent. under the Shop Price. / MR WATLEN, who lived many years in Scotland, and having received considerable favours from the Nobility, Gentry, and Public, has now an opportunity (in some degree) of shewing his gratitude. From his extensive dealings with the Manufacturers of the above Instruments, he is enabled to serve
his Friends and the Public, with the very best, at the discount mentioned, and, if not approved of, may be exchanged. Mr W. has chosen, and sent to various parts of the United Kingdom, upwards of A THOUSAND Instruments, which have given satisfaction.

Given his specialist knowledge of the Scottish piano market and a wide circle of musical acquaintances, Watlen enjoyed advantages over other instrument dealers in London in undertaking such a scheme. The methods by which he was able to offer such substantial discounts remain unclear, although, given a high turnover of instruments, Watlen may well have been able to undercut the standard retail price of pianos. That the scheme enjoyed some success is evident from its continuation, as well as from Watlen's inevitably glowing testimonial:

To the NOBILITY, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN IN SCOTLAND ... A VERY Great Saving in the Purchase of GRAND and SMALL PIANO FORTES, HARPS, ORGANS &c. at MR WATLEN's, Leicester Square, London, where the very best instruments, by all the Celebrated Masters, are Sold for Ready Money only - Grand Piano Fortes which sell in the shops at Edinburgh, Glasgow &c at 85 Guineas, are shipped by him, Packing Case &c for 65 Guineas - Square Piano Fortes, with Additional Keys &c sells for 35 Guineas, shipped, Packing Case, &c for 25 Guineas.

SUMMARY

Before about 1790, Edinburgh retailers' advertisements offering pianos for sale generally did not include the makers' name. Instead, the variety of stock was usually stressed simply in terms of the different models available. The reason for this omission is not clear; the practice was inherited from the city's earlier purveyors of harpsichords and spinets. However, during the final decade of the 18th century, as competition between the city's music firms increased, the inclusion of makers' names, as the principal indicator of quality, became an indispensable feature of advertisements.
In addition to that of Broadwood, five London piano firms featured strongly in the advertisements of retailers in Edinburgh: Longman & Broderip, Broderip & Wilkinson, Clementi & Co., Stodart & Son and Tomkison. Attempts by the first of these, London's largest music business during the late 18th century, to sell their instruments directly to the Scottish public were unsuccessful. The chief advantage held by local dealers was their ability to offer customers the chance to select from a number of instruments which could be inspected prior to purchase. From the late-1790s, although some London makers placed occasional advertisements in the Edinburgh press describing their latest pianos, these instruments were available from named local dealers, rather than exclusively from the manufacturer. John Watlen appears to provide an exception to this pattern of trading, however, lacking objective information one remains sceptical of his claims and practices. As well as the above-named makers, instruments by smaller firms were sometimes included in dealers' lists. These served principally to enhance the impression of variety within a retailers' stock. However, after about 1810, as the large London firms competed ever more intensely for a share of the Scottish market, new pianos by smaller firms rarely appeared north of the border.

TRADING ARRANGEMENTS WITH BROADWOOD

Throughout the period, pianos by Broadwood were the instruments most commonly imported into Edinburgh. In order to enhance its share of the northern market, the firm established specific trading arrangements with selected retailers in the Scottish capital. The system benefited both parties. Although full details were not recorded, one of the London firm's letter books provides some useful information. The tenets of the system can be categorised under two headings: discounts and credit, and exclusivity. Before these categories are assessed, the advantages gained by Broadwood through their dealings with firms in Edinburgh will be outlined.
The Benefits to Broadwood of Selling through Edinburgh's Dealers

The advantages enjoyed by provincial retailers over manufacturers in London in selling musical instruments have been outlined above (see p.264). Given this position, it was clearly in Broadwood's interest to encourage the sale of their instruments through outlets in Edinburgh. In addition to solving the problem of competing with local dealers, this also alleviated another recurring difficulty encountered by the firm (and one probably common to all manufacturers who supplied individual customers living at a distance): the reluctance of some members of the nobility and gentry to pay for their purchases.

Although by the early 19th century Broadwood had effectively ceased supplying instruments to individual, private customers in Edinburgh, an entry from 1802 in the firm's letter book referred to an unresolved, earlier problem of non-payment. In this instance the customer was the family of one of the city's principal patronesses of music, Lady Charlotte Campbell, which, from the amount due (£76-10s), had been supplied with a grand piano:

Madam. We are particularly sorry to trouble your Ladyship again on the subject of the payment of our account. We beg to remind Colonel Campbell that when he bargained about the Piano Forte in May 1798 he stipulated for two years credit after which he promised we should be promptly paid. Our account however is upwards of three years and a half standing, a length of credit which goes far towards eating up the profit we as tradesmen expected. We now beg the favour of your ladyship's interference, and flattering ourselves we should soon be obliged with an answer, we remain....

Although similar problems, and on a larger scale, were subsequently encountered with some of Edinburgh's retailers, in such cases Broadwood could more assertively apply pressure for repayment; further supplies could be suspended or abandoned, or, in extreme cases, litigation threatened or enacted. At the time, the latter option was probably out of the question when dealing with individuals from the wealthier classes.
The firm's ability better to handle problems of payment from tradesmen rather than from socially elevated individuals was illustrated by subsequent events in the Scottish capital. During the early 19th century, the extent of practices of reluctant repayment on the part of Edinburgh's music dealers became so great that Broadwood appointed one of the city's lawyers to oversee its affairs with local traders. In this capacity, John McFarquhar pursued recalcitrant retailers:

McFarquhar, W.S., New Town, Edinburgh / On the other side we send you a statement of account betwixt us and Mr Hamilton, Music Seller of your Town to whom we request the favour of your applying for the settlement - to which we are impelled by his dishonouring a Bill he gave us which, with the Protest, we now enclose desiring for to take what steps you judge best for our interests.... Balance due from Mr Hamilton £100-5-6.

Despite such difficulties, it was in the London firm's interests to maintain close and cooperative links with their buyers in the provinces. The benefits extended beyond obvious, purely financial considerations. The esteem enjoyed by Broadwood's instruments occasionally tempted local craftsmen into producing and selling their own, inferior imitations bearing the London firm's legend. In this event, Broadwood could enlist the assistance of local retailers in exposing the culprit. An instance of this occurred in Edinburgh following a complaint from local dealers concerning the alleged supply of pianos to individuals in the city (see p.284):

.... we cannot but therefore suppose that the several music teachers you allude to must have been supplied by some Piano Forte maker in Edinborough who we have been given to understand are in the habit of affixing our name to their instruments, which deception we hope you will assist us in exposing by communicating what you may gather on the subject to our Friend John Macffarquhan Esq. in the New Town, who shall have our instructions on the subject.

Further to this, the manufacturers placed an advertisement in the Edinburgh press which warned the public against fake instruments and confirmed their policy of allowing sales only through selected retailers:
Discounts

The scale and success of Broadwood's manufacturing business enabled the firm to offer generous discounts and credit facilities to provincial retailers on the purchase of instruments. The terms available to Edinburgh dealers were common to all such music merchants. The London firm's ledgers reveal that the level of wholesale discount on pianos generally ranged between about 20-25% of the retail price (although it was sometimes less for grands). To illustrate the level of discount available to retailers, the wholesale and retail prices for selected Broadwood instruments in 1794 are compared in Table IV.1:

Table IV.1 Wholesale and Retail Prices for Broadwood Pianos (1794)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instruments</th>
<th>Wholesale Price</th>
<th>Retail Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Square pianos</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on common frame</td>
<td>15 guineas</td>
<td>£21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on french frame</td>
<td>17 guineas</td>
<td>£23-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &amp; add. keys</td>
<td>19 guineas</td>
<td>£26-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &amp; ornamented</td>
<td>£24-3</td>
<td>£29-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand pianos</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with additional keys</td>
<td>£55-7</td>
<td>£68-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &amp; ornamented</td>
<td>£62-13</td>
<td>£75-15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A further discount of five per cent was allowed if payment was received within a fortnight of delivery (see below). However, during times of high inflation there was clearly little incentive for buyers to take this course, and the various economic effects of the French / Napoleonic Wars made high inflation a feature of the British economy throughout much of the period. In addition, some shops attempted to abuse the system by claiming the prompt payment reduction anyway. In the case of Muir, Wood & Co., Broadwood reacted with a mixture of indignation and resignation:

Gentlemen / We are sorry it is not convenient for you to settle your account at this time, particularly since as from what Mr Muir said when he was in London we expected to have, and depended on it being settled by Christmas / In respect to the account betwixt us, that delivered by Mr Muir when in London appears to us to be incorrect in referring to our entry of your draft received Dec. 1 1800 in our Cash Book, it was also stated to be cash on account. If we on acknowledging the receipt said to you it was in full, it must even be so, altho’ we cannot see that you could lay claim to being credited with discount for prompt payment for a remittance by a Bill at 60 days for Goods had from July 2d to Oct. 31st, that is after a credit of 7 months on the first article, or an average credit of 5 months on the four instruments for which you remit the bill - on the first two instruments mentioned in that account 1799 Oct. 1st, 1800 Jan. 8th you took still longer credit, paying us by a bill on April 28th two guineas short of the amount - If you insist on being allowed the discount you claim, we are not disposed to resist it, but beg you to understand that in future we shall expect to be paid for any Piano Forte you may please to order at the expiration of a twelve month from delivery by a bill at 40 days, or if you should prefer prompt payment, we are prepared to allow 5 Pct discount on receiving from you, within a fortnight of the delivery of the Goods, a Bill at 40 days. 73

One assumes that the relatively small amounts involved did not merit a more assertive attempt by the London firm to recover its dues. However, repeated problems over payment and alleged malpractice on the part of Muir, Wood & Co. contributed to the cessation of business between the two establishments a few months later in November 1802 (see pp.412-3).
Credit

The terms included in the above letter were the standard arrangement offered by Broadwood to provincial music shops: instruments were bought on interest free credit over a period of one year, after which full payment was due. Despite this level of generosity, many Edinburgh businesses consistently failed to meet their payments. An extant Broadwood Letter Book abounds with complaints sent to Edinburgh retailers relating to non-payment.

During the first decade of the 19th century, Broadwood's two largest Scottish customers proved, inevitably perhaps, to be the most extensive abusers of the system. The firms of Corri & Co. and Gow & Shepherd amassed substantial debts. By the close of 1804, for example, the latter firm owed in excess of £1160, and three years later the figure was £1444.74. The close personal relations between the Broadwood family and those of Edinburgh musicians such as Nathaniel Gow and Natale Corri undoubtedly enhanced the London firm's willingness to tolerate such excesses. Letters to these firms frequently included references to family members and concerns. In the winter of 1803, for example, a physical injury suffered by Corri drew a sympathetic, although not wholly unbusiness-like, response from James Broadwood:

I am sorry to hear that you have again broken your knee pan. I trust however that it will not affect your interests in Edinburgh and not be as serious a confinement as your last. With best compliments to Mrs Corri....

However, the bonds of friendship soon became unable to compensate for excessively slow payment of debts. During the early 19th century the London firm's letters on such matters became increasingly severe, as shown in the following extracts from correspondence with Gow & Shepherd:

From the number of instruments you sell we would wish to serve you always in the best manner, nay to give you a preference, but we cannot but doubt the propriety of sending you
instruments at an uncertain credit when we can get ready money for them here at a time when for want of instruments we are daily losing good customers. 76

We were on Saturday favoured with your letter of the 11th inst. enclosing a Bill for £100 for which we have given you credit in your account, we thank you for the large order contained in it indeed we feel very thankfull for the large share of business which you are in the habit of doing with us, but we are afraid you have an idea that money is a thing we have so much more of that there is no crime in your giving the preference of payments to any other of your correspondents, we presume to complain of this and to you in our claim to your just and best attentions, which we are sure we should have, did you consider the liberal credit and to what large amounts we have been in the custom of favouring your orders, indeed we shall be happy to continue to give you the preference in choice and expedition to all our other customers out of consideration to the preference we believe you give to our manufacture, for which we feel truly obliged to you, but we put it to you what are we to do when an order comes from you who take such long and huge credit and orders from those who are ready to pay or who we know to be punctual, which in such a case would you give the preference for supplying first? We think we know your answer, but it grieves us to thus act with old friends. We hope you will see this in its true light, and be not offended at our frankness but use your endeavours to reduce the credit you take, giving us with your orders adequate remittances. 77

Attempts were made to secure payment from heavy debtors by a number of means. In extreme instances Broadwood simply refused to supply instruments until adequate remittances were received, this course was adopted with Gow & Shepherd at the close of 1809 78. With Corri & Co., they sought assurances from one of the Edinburgh firm's financial backers, Mr Coll, before sending instruments:

...we will send your latest order which we understand to be 2 PFs and a GPF, but if you wish for a larger assortment, we would wish your friend Mr Coll (if he is a man of property) to bind himself to be answerable to the amount of the goods you may want, for we do not think it prudent hearing of the number of irons you have in the fire to credit you beyond what we should have done when that we have executed the present order....

The appointment of the lawyer, MacFarquhar, to oversee their interests in the Scottish capital (see p.278) was a more effective and far-sighted and successful solution to their problems.
Exclusivity

The first Edinburgh firm to include the name of Broadwood within their advertisements was Stewart & Co. in 1790. Prior to this date manufacturers' names were not generally included in advertisements (see p.266). Since there are no surviving Broadwood ledgers relating to the years before 1794, the length of the association between the two businesses is not clear. During the 1790s, the Edinburgh firm followed the increasingly common practice of internally stamping its name onto pianos sold through its shop (a surviving Broadwood square piano dating from 1795 (no.3115), bears an internal inscription: Sold by N. Stewart & Co. EDIN.). Through this practice, continued during the 19th century, the name of a local dealer became permanently associated with that of a respected manufacturer; an obvious enhancement of the dealer's prestige and an easy form of advertisement.

Broadwood's were careful in their choice of the retailers to whom they supplied instruments. The scope for dishonest dealing in this lucrative market was considerable; over-charging, unfair practices and faking of instruments on the part of retailers could ultimately impair a manufacturer's reputation. By the end of the 18th century, the London firm had established trading arrangements with a small number of Edinburgh shops, which, in return for their loyal conduct, were exclusively supplied with instruments. In addition, Broadwood agreed to protect its dealer's monopoly in the north by refusing to supply pianos directly to individual customers.

Although the level of sales of Broadwood pianos in Edinburgh increased dramatically during the period, the number of firms supplied with instruments varied. During the early-1790s, according to the firm's ledgers, just two businesses received pianos: Stewart & Co. and Corri & Co.. By 1800 this had increased to six, with the addition of the shops of William Whyte, Gow & Shepherd, Urbani & Liston, and Muir, Wood & Co.. Although trading with the last-named ceased in 1802, and some firms were dissolved, by 1811 the Edinburgh
establishments in receipt of shipments from Broadwood numbered nine; with the inclusion of John Hamilton, Rochead & Son, Penson & Robertson, Robert Purdie, John Bryson and George Thomson. However, despite an enormous increase in overall sales, by the end of the decade the number of shops had fallen to just six, with the overwhelming proportion of sales handled by Robert Purdie. This remained the general pattern throughout the 1820s and 1830s as the city's established music shops increased in size and specialisation.

At all times Edinburgh's dealers diligently guarded the privileges offered by Broadwood and challenged apparent violations. A protest sent to London from the city's principal Broadwood retailers in 1809, drew a defensive although compliant response:

In reply to the letter dated 29th Nov. signed by yourself Mess. Rochead, Whyte, Hamilton, Purdie and Corri we beg to state that we have no direct application from any music teacher in Edinburgh except from Mr Clark who had one Grand Piano Forte and a Lady who dealt with us when in the profession in London, we cannot but therefore suppose that the several music teachers you allude to must have been supplied by some piano forte maker in Edinborough who we have been given to understand are in the habit of fixing our name to their instruments.... In return for your assistance [in exposing this maker] we will assert to follow what you offer in regard to price to be asked on any application from future would-be correspondents, not Music Sellers.... you must be aware that it is in the power of any one to procure from us goods at any time through the medium of their professional/music teacher friends here. 81

In 1798, one suspects that it was a rival Edinburgh trader who informed Broadwood of John Watlen's unauthorised attempts to sell cut-price pianos bearing their name:

BROADWOOD's Piano Fortes, which are in general sold at Twenty-two Guineas, only Nineteen Guineas and every other article proportionally low.... Mr Watlen is aware of the Public saying, How is he able to sell lower than his contemporaries? - the reason is obvious - as he is a Teacher himself, he has no other Teachers to pay for recommending his instruments. 82
The response from London was speedy and direct. The damage done to Watlen's reputation may have contributed to the subsequent dissolution of his music business (see p.241):

MESSRS. BROADWOOD & SON / GRAND AND SMALL PIANO FORTE MAKERS / Of Great Pulteney Street, London, / Having seen an advertisement of Mr WATLEN, Music Seller, Edinburgh, stating that he had instruments of their making, J.B. & Son think it necessary to acquaint their Friends, that they have not the least connection with him / London, Jan. 20 1798 83

Following this, an indignant reply from Watlen contained details relating to Broadwood's trading practices with Edinburgh dealers which tally with the system outlined above. In addition, he announced the commencement of legal proceedings against the London firm 84. The occurrence or outcome of this litigation is not known.

During the early 19th century the commercial power of Broadwood was similarly brought to bear on Edinburgh traders who met with their displeasure. In 1826, for example, the new partnership of Paterson & Roy was obliged not to enter into piano-making if it wished also for supplies of instruments from Broadwood (see p.463).

Since London's principal manufacturer was frequently at the forefront of the latest technological changes which characterised the development of the piano throughout the period, a further advantage enjoyed by those retailers who dealt with the firm was their receipt of pianos incorporating many of the most modern and fashionable features, both in terms of technology and furniture appearance.

SUMMARY

The trading arrangements established between Broadwood and music retailers outside London benefited both parties. The scale of the firm's output necessitated such arrangements - there is little evidence to suggest that similarly rigorous systems were operated by smaller London piano makers.
The number of provincial firms supplied with instruments was tightly controlled; it varied between two and nine in Edinburgh between the late 18th and early 19th century. In return for their custom, the manufacturer undertook not to supply instruments directly to individuals or to other firms in the Scottish capital. Edinburgh's approved dealers jealously guarded this privilege. Clearly, it was vital for large retailers to deal in the pianos of the nation's most prolific and prestigious maker, and highly advantageous to have a degree of protection for their share of the Broadwood sales' market. In addition to generous credit terms, the London firm offered a dealers' discount of about 25% on most models, with an additional 5% for prompt payment. Local retailers (most of whom employed tuners/technicians who were able to "finish" and tune instruments as required) were thus able to meet the cost of importing pianos, sell them at "the London prices" and still secure a worthwhile profit.

Through this system the manufacturer was able to meet the demand for pianos from a distant market without incurring the expense of a retailing operation of its own. It also removed the potential embarrassment and inconvenience of having to pursue customers in Scotland who were reluctant to pay for their instruments. In addition to these benefits, the London firm used its close business relationships with music shops in Edinburgh to protect the reputation of its instruments against copies from provincial workshops. In order to secure payment from retailers in Edinburgh who had accumulated large debts (notably the firms of Gow & Shepherd and Corri & Co), a local advocate was appointed to oversee the London firm's interests and to apply pressure for re-payment.

MAINTAINING A MODERN AND NOVEL STOCK

During the decades around the turn of the 19th century, the design and construction of pianos was subject to a continual process of experiment and development. The leading manufacturers competed in a market, a large part of which was more responsive to features of superficial novelty than to those of genuine musical improvement. As
competition between music shops in Edinburgh intensified, retailers became increasingly sensitive to the need for their stock to be not only extensive but also modern and fashionable. Thus, as soon as innovative designs and devices appeared in London, Edinburgh's traders vied to be first or foremost to feature these in their shops.

Stephen Moore's patent spring frame (see pp.397-8) was announced to Scotland's musical public through advertisements in the Edinburgh press in December 1795. This coincided with its launch in London: a reflection of the inventor's close association with the northern capital. In Edinburgh, frames were first available from Stewart & Co.:

NEW MUSICAL INVENTION / The Patent Spring Frame / Messrs. STEWARTS have the honour of presenting to the Amateurs of Music a most astonishing improvement on the Grand Piano Forte, viz. the Patent Spring Frame: the instrument is suspended on four Tempered Steel Springs, the wonderful effects of which on the tone, and the finished elegance and lightness of its appearance, are at once striking and beautiful....

During the ensuing months the city's retailers competed to attract orders for the device through numerous press advertisements. The shops of Stewart, Watlen, Urbani & Liston and James Muir particularly stressed the invention. Since the number of grand pianos then in Edinburgh (or indeed throughout Scotland) was small, a version for square pianos was soon announced and promoted. Although the four shops above each stated a special arrangement with the patentee when offering the modified frame, the nature of Moore's involvement in this subsidiary invention remains uncertain. He later dismissed the frame for squares on "scientific" grounds (see p.398). Perhaps such frames may have been produced in Edinburgh for the Scottish market, following some financial arrangement with Moore. Unlike the frame for grands, that for squares was of a simple design and could be easily and cheaply fitted:

J. WATLEN / Would be wanting in gratitude were he, from any motive whatever, to withhold from a liberal and generous Public any Improvement in the Musical line it may be in his power to produce, and especially / THE PATENT SPRING FRAME for GRAND and SQUARE PIANO FORTES, HARPSTICHORDS. &c.; and he has the honour
of informing the Nobility and Gentry, that his House is specially appointed by the patentee for the sale of, and orders for, this simple but great improvement.... Patent Spring Frames complete may be sent to any part of the country, by sending the length and breadth of the bottom of the instrument to which they are to be applied, and those intended for Square Piano Fortes and Harpsichords may be affixed by a common carpenter with written directions in ten minutes; but those for the Grand Piano Forte must be affixed by the Patentee, as the pedals must be altered. 86

In Edinburgh, spring frames for grands or squares were offered until about 1797. With squares they were the most expensive of three types of stand generally advertised - a selection usually described by the phrase, "Common, French or Spring Frames".

Unlike Moore's invention, available from a number of music shops in Edinburgh, the rights for other innovative or novelty features on pianos were held by individual establishments. Muir, Wood & Co.'s adoption of "Helical Tuning Springs" was probably the most important example of this. An agreement with the patentee gave the Edinburgh firm sole manufacturing rights for the device in Scotland (see pp.437-43) and thus further distinguished their instruments from those of local rivals.

On a less sophisticated level, Urbani & Liston offered customers a simple and seemingly useful accessory:

Urbani and Liston seeing the great inconvenience of having shelves for Music under instruments, have affixed one so as to stand without injuring the instrument, so constructed as to be let down or taken away at pleasure; Ladies or Gentlemen wishing such, can be served with them for any instrument, by applying as above, where they will have an opportunity of seeing them, either with or without an accompanying desk. 87

However, since the device was not mentioned in other advertisements, its success was apparently limited. Urbani & Liston's notice coincided with the opening of a further two new music business in the city, those of James Muir and Gow & Shepherd. The music shelves were probably announced in an attempt to retain public interest in the firm's shop.
New businesses frequently sought to distinguish their stock and make a greater impact by advertising a new type of instrument. Shortly after commencing trading in 1798, Muir, Wood & Co. announced the arrival of the first upright grand piano to be seen in Scotland. This instrument was presumably of the design patented by William Stodart and built in London from 1795. On the perhaps unexpectedly rapid sale of this expensive instrument, a second was hurriedly ordered from London. Its arrival was announced with similar exaltation:

NEW MUSICAL INVENTION / ROYAL PATENT UPRIGHT GRAND PIANO FORTE /
MUIR, WOOD & CO. have the honour of presenting to the Amateurs of Music, the SECOND ROYAL PATENT UPRIGHT GRAND PIANO FORTE that has appeared in Scotland....They request their Friends who wish to see this instrument, to call soon, the first having sold in EIGHT DAYS. 

Although the physical dimensions, and more significantly the price of such models ensured that their market remained limited, upright grands retained public interest during the early decades of the 19th century. According to standard sources, Broadwood obtained their upright grands through "James Black of Percy Street", a former Broadwood workman from about 1805. However, the arrival of a Broadwood upright grand at the Edinburgh shop of Niel Stewart & Co. pre-dates this by some two years. This was probably the first such instrument by Broadwood to reach Edinburgh:

JUST ARRIVED / N. STEWART & CO.... a beautiful Upright Grand Piano Forte by BROADWOOD & SON, which, besides the superiority of this instrument on every other respect is a very elegant piece of drawing room furniture, and well worth the public attention. 

As with the launching of Muir, Wood & Co., the opening of Penson & Robertson's shop saw the first appearance in the city of another new type of piano. In that year the London firm of Wilkinson & Wornum patented an "improved" piano - an elegant instrument with the standard five and a half octave compass, diagonal stringing, two pedals, and standing at just 1070 mm. Although advertised as a
"cabinet" piano, it was in fact a miniature upright. The Edinburgh retailer stressed the model's principal advantage, its price:

....their elegant stock of musical instruments includes....the newly-invented CABINET PIANO FORTES by Wilkinson and Wornum, universally allowed to be the cheapest instruments ever offered to the attention of the Public and which Messrs. Penson and Co. can with the utmost confidence recommend.

The arrival of the first actual cabinet piano in the Scottish capital was announced by Natale Corri in August 1812. Although this type of instrument had been produced by Southwell in London from about 1804 it did not meet with immediate success. Broadwood began production of cabinets in January 1812 from about which time the instrument achieved increasing popularity. Although the extant Broadwood Ledgers are incomplete here, Corri's advertisements confirm one of his instruments to be an early Broadwood model:

CABINET PIANO-FORTES / Intended for small drawing rooms &c. / Messrs. BROADWOOD & SONS and Mr THOMAS TOMKINSON'S new invented CABINET PIANO-FORTES (the first in this Country) are just arrived at N.CORRI'S Music Warehouse, head of Leith Walk. Where may also be had elegant CABINET PIANO FORTES by Wilkinson and Wornum, with a very large assortment of Grand and Small Piano Fortes, of every description, from 28 to 110 Guineas.

After this date cabinet pianos appeared in lists from each of Edinburgh's principal shops, although given the expensive nature of the instrument the numbers imported were small (see p.298).

So-called cottage upright pianos appeared from various London makers from the early years of the 19th century. Broadwood began production of their six-octave cottage uprights relatively late, the first left the factory in August 1819. It is not clear when the first cottage upright piano appeared in Edinburgh. The perfunctory nature of an early advertisement from Penson & Robertson (autumn 1820) suggests that the model was already familiar to the public:

The musical instruments, consisting chiefly of Horizontal, Grand, Cabinet, Cottage and Square Piano Fortes, flutes and flageolets, have been carefully selected by Mr Robertson from the first manufactories in London.
The Broadwood ledgers confirm that it was they who supplied Alexander Robertson. An entry for August 19th 1820 shows the cost of a single cottage upright (excluding packaging and transportation) to be £39-18, almost half as much again as the contemporary price for a "best" square piano. In 1826 the design and construction of the cottage instruments was modified. "Improved" models were then offered at a significantly reduced cost. These instruments appeared quickly in the Scottish capital, and firstly at the new shop of Gow & Galbraith:

J.M. Galbraith ... has recently returned from London, where he has been for the express purpose of selecting their stock of MUSIC and MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS of every description. He has personally selected from his late employer, Messrs. Broadwood a most extensive assortment of Piano Fortes consisting of Grand, Cabinet, Square and their newly invented improved Cottage, which latter instrument he particularly recommends to the Public, as being highly worthy of their attention - it is exceedingly elegant in the external appearance, and having the advantage of a soft and loud pedal, combined with a brilliant tone and grand piano forte touch, produces an effect which is in every respect superior to the patent square piano, and 5 guineas less in price.

As with new types of instrument, improved versions of the popular square piano were keenly sought by Edinburgh's music dealers. Indeed, given the extensive market for this type of piano, competition to present the most modern and varied stock was perhaps more intense than that concerning new grand, cabinet or cottage pianos. The period saw rapid developments in the design and construction of squares, ranging from changes in compass and action-type to modifications in the internal layout, the introduction of iron hitch-pin plates, and continual changes in furniture design.

By the end of the 18th century the standard compass for square pianos in Britain was five and a half octaves (FF–c⁴), although during the late-1790s and slightly beyond a number of firms continued to produce five-octave models (for example, the Watson brothers in Edinburgh, see pp.386-91). Most of the standard piano literature attributes the introduction of the additional notes (f♯⁴–c⁴) to William Southwell in 1794. However, they were included on some
Broadwood squares from late-1793, which, in turn, followed their appearance on instruments by their true inventor, the London manufacturer, Bates & Co.. Realising the significance of the modification, the firm announced details in the Edinburgh as well as London press:

The AMATEURS OF MUSIC are respectfully informed that BATES & CO. (late GAWKY'S) Piano Forte Manufacturers, corner of Edward Street, Wardour Street, Soho, have recently finished and perfected their SMALL SQUARE PIANO FORTES with additional notes, - up to C in Alt, being seven semitones above the usual scale. BATES & CO. beg leave to state that they are the first and only makers who have hitherto succeeded in making Square Piano Fortes in the plan, it having been till now, deemed impracticable; they have exactly the same number of additional keys as those Grand Piano Fortes, lately exhibited in Public by Messrs. Clementi, Dusseck, Cramer and other eminent professors, and have been pronounced by the first makers and judges, to be Superior to any thing of the kind, both as to brilliancy and expression of tone 99.

Within a month of this announcement Bates' "Newly-invented Grand Square Piano Fortes, with the additional keys" were on sale at the Edinburgh shop of Corri & Co. 100. Similarly, Broadwood instruments on the modified plan were quickly available through the firm's then principal Scottish outlet:

NEW PATENT PIANO FORTES / N. STEWART & CO., no.37 South Bridge Street, beg leave to inform their Friends and the Public, That they have just now received from London an Elegant assortment of Broadwood's and Longman and Broderip's PATENT PIANO FORTES, some of each of which kind they have a few with Additional keys. 101

Generally, by about 1825 most London makers were producing square pianos with a six-octave compass, although instruments of this size (and even larger) had previously been made on special request from about 1810. Some Edinburgh shops were thus able occasionally to offer squares with large compasses during the second decade of the 19th century. Advertisements placed by Penson & Robertson and John Mather show this. Following the pattern outlined above, concerning the announcement of new models of piano, both of these advertisements appeared shortly after the opening of the respective firms' shops:
Penson & Robertson's selection of musical instruments from the first manufactories in London... including Grand Horizontal Piano Fortes, six octaves, by Broadwood / do. do. do. by Clementi / do. do. do. by Stodarts / Grand Upright Piano Forte do. by Stodarts / do. do. elegant Clementi / Elegant Square Piano Forte with drawers &c, 6 octave, Broadwood / do. do. 6½ octaves, being the first ever seen in this country, by Clementi & Co. / Half elegant Square Piano Fortes by Broadwood, Clementi, Stodarts, Lawson & Co. / Elegant and half Elegant Cabinet Piano Fortes, by Wilkinson and Wornum / Pedal Harps, Bainbridge's Patent Flageolets, Flutes of all varieties and by the finest makers....

CAPITAL PIANO FORTES / To be sold, cheap / An excellent and elegant Square Piano Forte with the greatest compass of keys ever made. To be seen at J. Mather's no.9 Greenside Place, who has on sale a number of LONDON-MADE INSTRUMENTS, from 7 guineas upwards.

Although the earliest Broadwood square with an iron hitch-pin plate dated from 1821, this construction did not become standard until the middle of the decade. As was to be expected, Edinburgh firms were quick to present the modified instrument to the musical public in Scotland, Robertson was the first to do so (in 1826):

BROADWOOD & SONS NEW PATENT SQUARE, AND CLEMENTI & COMPANY'S SELF-ACTING CABINET PIANO FORTES / ALEXANDER ROBERTSON respectfully intimates, that he has this day received an additional supply of Messrs. Broadwood's New Patent Square Piano Fortes, with Metallic Bar and Plate, Check-Action and Grand Piano Forte touch....

The patent referred to was no.5261 registered by James Shudi Broadwood in 1825. Within two years he had taken-out another (no.5485), relating to modifications in the design, arrangement and application of metal hitch-pin plates. These changes were incorporated into the firm's pianos, which were speedily available in the Scottish capital:
As competition increased between piano retailers in Edinburgh, each attempted to distinguish their stock by securing the latest designs or models from London. It was particularly important for new businesses to create a favourable impression of the modernity of their stock, and retailers' initial advertisements frequently stressed a new type of instrument or a novel modification. In exceptional cases, Scottish traders entered into agreements with patentees to gain preferential retailing rights for such developments north of the border. Generally therefore, the delay between the appearance of a new design or type of instrument in London and Edinburgh was minimal.

THE EXTENT OF THE MARKET

Without the assistance of contemporary account books, the extent of the market for pianos in the Scottish capital and the size of the stock held by each shop is difficult to estimate. However, three sources provide some indication, the most extensive of which are, firstly, the extant Broadwood wholesale ledgers, and secondly, lists of sequestrated stock offered for sale following the demise of various music businesses in the city.
In addition to these general sources, a single, specific, but uncorroborated figure of the annual value of the trade in imported pianos featured in an advertisement from the piano maker and retailer, Stephen Moore (see p.400). In announcing the opening of his new Edinburgh business in 1797, Moore stated that pianos to the value of £5000-£8000 were annually imported into the Scottish capital at that time 107. At the current retail prices charged by Broadwood, Moore's upper figure represented some 250 squares and 30 grands. However, some caution should be exercised here; Moore does not specify the source of his information, and since his purpose in stating the figure was to encourage the public to support local manufacture, it was clearly in his interest to exaggerate the value of imported instruments.

Information from Broadwood's Ledgers

Five of Broadwood's wholesale sales ledgers relating to the period are extant. These cover the years 1794-1797, 1800-1801, 1808-1810, 1815-1820 and 1820-1825. Each ledger records the number and type of instruments and accessories supplied to music shops throughout Britain during the stated period, and the amount charged. Although such details are central to an assessment of the level of piano sales in Edinburgh, without knowledge of the share of the market held by London's principal manufacturer, their usefulness is limited - most shops emphasised the variety of their selection of pianos by including instruments from a number of manufacturers. The few importers who dealt exclusively or predominantly in Broadwood pianos, such as Gow & Shepherd and Robert Purdie, were thus essentially atypical, in terms both of their size and specialisation.

However, information from the Broadwood ledgers can be used to provide an indication of the general level of sales (i.e. whether the figure amounted to tens, hundreds or thousands), and further to establish trading patterns in the city. Since the overwhelming majority of pianos sent from London were squares, these instruments
will be assessed first. Table IV.2 shows the number of square pianos sent by Broadwood to music shops in Edinburgh during the years covered by the London firm’s surviving ledgers. A total annual number is also given. A gap indicates the total absence of information, and an asterisk denotes an incomplete entry for that year.

Table IV.2 The Number of Broadwood Square Pianos sent to Music Retailers in Edinburgh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Corri, Dussek &amp; Co.</th>
<th>N. &amp; M. Stewart</th>
<th>Gow &amp; Shepherd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>6*</td>
<td>14*</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Muir, Wood &amp; Co.</th>
<th>N. &amp; M. Stewart</th>
<th>Gow &amp; Shepherd</th>
<th>Urbani &amp; Liston</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>7*</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Natale Corri</th>
<th>Gow &amp; Shepherd</th>
<th>William Whyte</th>
<th>George Thomson</th>
<th>Robert Purdie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1808</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table IV.2 (contd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1808</th>
<th>1809</th>
<th>1810</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rohead &amp; Son</td>
<td>3*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Brysson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penson, Robertson &amp; Co.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL:**

|      | 74  | 38  | 68  |

### 1815-1820

**Square pianos sent to:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1815</th>
<th>1816</th>
<th>1817</th>
<th>1818</th>
<th>1819</th>
<th>1820</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natale Corri</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisher &amp; Brown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Gow</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Thomson</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Whyte</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Purdie</td>
<td>14*</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penson &amp; Robertson</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL:**

|      | 27  | 55  | 69  | 87  | 93  | 53  |

### 1820-1825

**Square pianos sent to:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1821</th>
<th>1822</th>
<th>1823</th>
<th>1824</th>
<th>1825</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Gow</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paterson, Mortimer &amp; Co.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Robertson</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Purdie</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL:**

|      | 63  | 82  | 62  | 104 | 112 |

During much of the period, a large proportion of the squares imported from Broadwood can be attributed to one or two shops, notably those of Gow & Shepherd (until about 1810) Penson & Robertson (from about 1820) and, Robert Purdie (from about 1815).
By 1817 Purdie was Broadwood's single most important customer; dealings with his firm occupied more pages within the London firm's ledgers than those of any other music business in Britain. Indeed, Purdie claimed to have the most extensive assortment of Broadwood pianos of any retailer in the country. Since his advertisements suggested that he dealt predominantly in Broadwood instruments, the figures relating to his shop provide a more reliable indication of his sales of new pianos than they do for other shops.

From these figures it appears that Purdie sold few pianos during his early years in business. However, once established, he achieved and maintained a fast turn-over of instruments. In addition to a larger consignment sent during the autumn months (the "annual selection"), small numbers of Broadwood instruments were sent throughout the year. The continual dispatch of single instruments from London indicates that Purdie requested a new piano on the sale of one in stock or receipt of a special order. Although this system increased retailers' transport costs, it removed the potentially more damaging risk of a sudden slump in the market leaving the Edinburgh dealer with a large unsellable stock. It was necessitated also by the general lack of suitable storage space for large instruments (see below). The practice also suited the manufacturer, who was frequently hard-pressed to meet wholesale orders anyway. The same system of ordering instruments was adopted by most provincial dealers.

In addition to squares, Purdie imported more grand and cabinet pianos than other Edinburgh firms. In 1817, he requested 16 grands and 7 cabinet pianos from Broadwood, while the combined totals for the remaining shops in Edinburgh were 2 grands and no cabinets.

The Sale of Bankrupted Stock

Another indicator of the number of pianos typically stocked by an Edinburgh music shop are occasional newspaper notices which advertised the sale of assets belonging to a bankrupted firm. As with
that provided by the Broadwood ledgers, the usefulness of this information is limited. Advertisements rarely gave full details of numbers, or whether the level of stock held by the firm at the time of its bankruptcy was typical. For present purposes, the most helpful notices of this sort appeared on the demise of the businesses of James Muir (December 1796) and Nathaniel Gow (March 1828). In the former, the entire stock at the time of bankruptcy was apparently offered (see p.245), while the latter makes available only a portion (the remainder was probably the property Gow's former partner, James Galbraith who had since established a separate business):

SALE of PIANO FORTES, FLUTES, MUSIC &c. ....Part of the Stock belonging to the sequestrated Estates of N. GOW and SONS and FRANCIS MELVILLE, Musicsellers, consisting of 3 new Cottage, 2d hand Grand, Cabinet and Square piano fortes, by Broadwood, a new Cabinet and Grand ditto by Wilkinson; a new Patent Square ditto, by Clementi & Co., an ornamented square ditto by Tomkinson....

The Lack of Display or Storage Space

In addition to purely financial considerations, the size of a firm's stock of pianos was to some extent determined by the availability of storage space. Most Edinburgh firms did not have sufficient or suitable space either to display or safely store large numbers of pianos. The businesses of Corri & Co. and Rochead & Son illustrate the difficulties commonly faced; each resorted to sales of their instruments:

SALE of PIANO FORTES, by AUCTION / Wm THOMSON & Co. beg leave to inform the public, that upon Wednesday next, the 19th current at 11 o'clock forenoon, will be exposed to SALE, by Auction, at the Agency Office. 56 South Bridge, a great number of exceeding fine toned London and Edinburgh-made Piano Fortes, in excellent order, with and without additional keys. / The above are the property of Mr CORRI, who having been obliged to take them in exchange for Grand Piano Fortes (at his late sale) is determined to dispose of them for whatever they will bring in order to make room for his new assortment from London. ....A few lots of music will be sold at the same time....
AN EXTENSIVE SALE of GRAND, SMALL PIANO FORTES, MUSIC &c. / ROCHEAD & SON, Piano Forte Makers to his Royal Highness the PRINCE REGENT, respectfully announce to their Friends and the Public, that previous to the arrival of a very elegant assortment of GRAND and SMALL PIANO FORTES &c from LONDON, they will, on Tuesday next, 12th current, commence a Sale of their present STOCK consisting of Upright and Horizontal Grand and Small Piano Fortes, by Stodart, Broadwood &c, a variety of fine-toned Piano Fortes of their own manufacture.... and every other article in the musical line, at 20% under the usual prices....

From about 1810, as demand continued to grow and a greater number of instruments of various types, ages and prices came onto the market (including second-hand pianos), retailer's sought to dispose quickly of old stock by holding sales. These usually took place prior to the arrival of a new selection of instruments from London.

An alternative and exceptional solution to the problem was attempted by Corri in November 1811 with the opening of a second warehouse to accommodate and display his newly-arrived London instruments. Corri's shop in front of his concert rooms could not have been over-spacious and, by the second decade of the 19th century its location was distant from the city's fashionable shopping area on Princes Street (see Map III.4, p.219). Significantly, the temporary shop was located in Princes Street, at no.41 115. However, since Corri did not repeat the venture in subsequent seasons, it appears not to have been entirely successful. The problem of insufficient space returned with a vengeance when his Princes Street shop was relinquished at the end of the 1812 season, necessitating a further sale of the entire stock 116.

**SUMMARY**

It is not possible to establish reliable figures concerning the size of the trade in imported pianos in Edinburgh from the available information. However, one can conclude that shops generally kept a relatively small number of pianos as stock, a dozen was perhaps
typical. This number may have been greater for the larger piano specialists (for example, Gow & Shepherd, Robert Purdie and Penson & Robertson), although such firms also avoided becoming incumbered with large numbers of instruments at any one time. Thus, in addition to their main annual selection (usually made in the autumn), small orders for pianos were placed for pianos throughout the year to replace stock as it was sold. Aside from financial considerations, the problems of storing and displaying large numbers of pianos was clearly an important factor restricting the size of stock.

THE SALE OF NON-KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS

Military Band Instruments

Britain entered the French Revolutionary Wars in 1793 as a leading partner of the First Coalition. Hostilities with France continued until Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo (June 1815), with only brief respites created by The Peace of Amiens (1801 - May 1803) and the period of the Emperor's exile on Elba (March 1814 - February 1815). Throughout, Britain was the provider of much of the financial backing for the Allies' war effort. Inevitably, this placed a considerable and sustained strain on the domestic economy. Reflecting this, artistic life suffered a period of decline, particularly in the quality and quantity of public concerts from the late-1790s, compared with the previous thirty years. Although most apparent in London, this decline was a nationwide phenomenon.

Although the amount of money which the wealthier classes were prepared to spend on concerts decreased, the war produced some new commercial opportunities for musicians and music traders in Britain, notably, for the latter group, a demand for military wind instruments to equip the bands of militia regiments. Edinburgh's music shops competed keenly for a share in this market in Scotland.
From the outset of hostilities, Edinburgh's music retailers displayed an awareness of the potential market for military instruments. Although small numbers of clarinets, oboes, bassoons, horns and trumpets were formerly stocked, only after about 1793 was a wide choice offered, and the availability of such instruments stressed within advertisements. John Watlen was among the earliest to state the use for which his new stock was intended (August 1793): "He serves the Fensible Regiments with the very best Wind Instruments, Music, Reeds &c." 117.

Within a year, most of the city's retailers offered a large selection of military instruments as a standard feature of their stock. Larger firms, such as Gow & Shepherd, were particularly active in this field:

TO THE COMMANDERS OF MILITARY CORPS. / NATH. GOW and Wm. SHEPHERD..beg to acquaint the Gentlemen of the Army, Militia, Volunteer Infantry and Cavalry, &c &c that they have just got to hand from London, in addition to their former stock, a MOST COMPLETE ASSORTMENT of the very best MILITARY INSTRUMENTS of every kind, consisting of Clarionets, Hautboys, Bassoons, B and C Octave Flutes and Clarionets, Concert and Bugle Horns, Cavalry and Concert Trumpets, Serpents, Cymbals, Triangles and Tambourines, Turkish (or Bass), Kettle and Regimental Drums, Bell tops for Bassoons, all of which may be had singly and in sets. 118

The size of bands varied according to the financial resources available to each corps, for example, the band of the Perth Volunteers consisted of nine players: 4 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 french horn and a bass drum 119, while that of the First Battalion of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers numbered at least eleven (see p.185). Whatever the size of the band, retailers sought to maximise business and offered generous discounts for orders of full sets of instruments (for example, as did Muir, Wood & Co. in 1798 120).

Until the late-1790s all military instruments sold in Edinburgh were imported from London. The prestige of southern makers was well-established and since these firms were able to meet the increasing demand of the market while maintaining competitive prices, there was
little incentive for Scottish enterprise in this field of manufacture. During the early 19th century this remained the case with woodwinds; however, with brass and percussion instruments, supply proved less well able to meet demand. From the final years of the 18th century Edinburgh (as the focal point of supply for Scotland) supported a degree of manufacture in these areas.

The Market for Edinburgh-made Brass and Percussion Instruments c.1798-1815

Demand in the Scottish capital was sufficient to support at least one maker of brass instruments for much of the period of the Napoleonic Wars. Richard Curtis probably settled in Edinburgh during 1798, announcing his arrival in the advertisement below. His name appeared in city directories between 1801-1814 at various Old Town addresses:

RICHARD CURTIS / HORN and TRUMPET MAKER from LONDON, at the Foot of the West Port, EDINBURGH / Begs leave to inform all CAVALRY and FOOT REGIMENTS, and those who deal in the Musical Line, that he makes and sells the following instruments, wholesale and retail, viz. SLIDING HORNS and SLIDING CROOKS for tuning; Concert and Common HORNS; CONCERT and CAVALRY TRUMPETS of all kinds; BUGLE HORNS ditto; Serpent and Bell BASSOONS; Steel and Composition CYMBALS; Steel TRIANGLES, &c. He will warrant them, on proof, to be equal to any made in London, and considerably lower than the London prices. / N.B. The above instruments neatly repaired on the most reasonable terms. Orders taken in as above, and at Mr Watlen's Music-shop, no.24, North Bridge.... 121

Since John Watlen's business was dissolved within a month of this advertisement, and no other Edinburgh shop subsequently purported to sell Curtis's instruments, it appears that by the middle of 1798 he had established an independent retailing base in the city. This is indicated also by entries in the city directories between 1801-1808, which described Curtis as a "Musical Instrument Maker and Music Seller". After 1814 his movements and activities become less clear. From surviving instruments, at least two other makers of the
same name (Richard and J. Curtis) subsequently worked in Scotland 122.

A possible second maker of military brass instruments, James Fraser, worked in Edinburgh at about the same time as Curtis, during the years 1805-1815 123. Advertisements described Fraser as a "Coppersmith, Brazier and Wholesale Manufacturer of Iron Plate" working "opposite the Archer's Hall, Edinburgh...after ten years practice in the first manufactories in London" 124. Fraser offered a wide range of goods, and although he did not directly claim to manufacture musical instruments, the inference was that he did so:

The Trade.... may rely on having every article of IRON PLATE, KITCHEN FURNITURE, from a TEA KETTLE to the LARGEST BOILER, finished with the utmost strength and neatness; as also Coal Scuttles, Buckets, Hods, Ovens, Shovels &c, as cheap as in the English market.... BUGLE HUMS, TRUMPETS &c. wholesale and retail, at reduced prices, well worth the attention of Regiments, and Vendors of Musical Instruments. 125

From the firm's earliest years, Muir, Wood & Co., as reflected in their advertisements, manufactured percussion instruments (and particularly those for military bands) on a substantial scale:

MILITARY MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS / MUIR, WOOD & CO..... inform the Gentlemen of the Army, Volunteer Corps, &c., that they manufacture Military Side Drums, Bass and Kettle do. - Tamboureens, Serpents, Triangles &c. - and have on hand a good Assortment of MILITARY MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS of all kinds, by the best makers in London. 126

The "improved plan" of their tambourines may refer to that of Joseph Dale for which a patent was registered in 1799 127. During the 1790s interest in the instrument came from two sources: as a percussion in military bands and subsequently as a fashionable novelty in the drawing-room.

Following the visit of the Dale family to Edinburgh (see p.166), local interest in the instrument encouraged one Edward Haywood to settle in the city as a "Maker and Teacher of the
Tambourine" 128. As his name did not appear in the city directories, Haywood may have left the city after a brief stay, having perhaps not met with sufficient or sustained encouragement. Alternatively, he took employment with a local music firm; Muir, Wood & Co. would have been the most likely business to use his services.

In 1803, on the formation of the Third Coalition and resumption of hostilities in Europe, demand for military instruments was again re-kindled. In some areas, notably drums, demand out-stripped supply, and thus offered some provincial manufacturers the opportunity to enter previously restricted markets:

.....as the demands on the King's Stores have been so heavy and rapid, that many Corps are not yet supplied, Muir, Wood & Co. beg leave to mention, That the Government makes an allowance to those who furnish their own drums, therefore, by purchasing at their warehouse, it will be highly advantageous to the respective Corps and the difference in price will be very trifling. 129

Within a year, Muir Wood and Co. had been appointed "Drum makers to the Hon. Board of Ordnance for Scotland" 130. In addition to offering drums of the standard sizes and types, the Edinburgh firm were typically innovative in this area, for example:

The GRAND TURKISH DRUM, which, with the assistance of a Bugle Horn and Fife, supercede the use of a Band of Music, at a very moderate expense affords all the entertainment and real use of such Bands. 131

Inevitably, as the war continued, demand for military instruments tailed off. Once equipped, there was little reason for bands to change their instruments. By about 1810 a much-reduced emphasis was generally placed on the sale and manufacture of military instruments within the advertisements of Edinburgh's music firms. Muir, Wood & Co. sought to maintain their activities in the field by extending their services into repairs and the making of military-music accessories:
BASS DRUMS, BRASS & WOOD MILITARY SIDE DRUMS &c.... MUIR, WOOD & CO., Drummakers to the Hon. Board of Ordnance for Scotland, respectfully inform the Gentlemen of the Army and army contractors, that, at their warehouse, no.7 Leith Street, Edinburgh, all kinds of DRUMS, of the first quality, will be got ready on the shortest notice, old drums repaired or exchanged. They also furnish Stands of Colours and Drum-major's staff, of elegant workmanship and mounted in a superior manner. Military Fifes, tambourines, cymbals, bassoons, clarionets, bugle horns, and every kind of military instrument. 132

After the cessation of hostilities in 1815, the demand for military instruments inevitably declined further, although it did not disappear altogether. During the 1820s, keyed (or Kent) bugles occasionally appeared in retailers' advertisements, for example those of Alexander Robertson 133 and Paterson & Roy 134, who offered the latest patented model by the leading London maker, Harper. In the late-1820s and well beyond, at least one Edinburgh firm, Thomas Glen, established a successful business based partly on manufacturing and retailing wind instruments 135.

The Market for Instruments other than Pianos and those used in Military Bands

Throughout the period the demand for most instruments other than pianos or those for military bands was generally small. However, from their emphasis within retailers' advertisements, some instruments achieved a consistent level of popularity. This was reflected also by the number of teachers who offered instruction in these subjects (see pp.185-6). Sales of two popular instruments serve to illustrate the point, and will be outlined below: firstly, the flute, an example of a mainstream, gentleman's instrument widely available in Edinburgh; and secondly, the harp, an exclusive instrument for ladies. An assessment of sales of patent flageolets, illustrating how a single retailer occasionally gained sole rights for a novelty instrument, is contained in Chapter II (see pp.172-4). This section concludes with a brief general survey of sales of other instruments.

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The Flute

The continuing popularity of the flute was reflected in a steady level of sales in the Scottish capital. The instrument's status as a fashionable instrument for gentlemen ensured that retailers kept abreast of the latest technical advances and other innovations which characterised the flute's development, particularly during the early 19th century. The relatively inexpensive nature of the instrument, and its small size, enabled retailers easily to keep a large and varied stock.

Aspects of the sale of flutes in Edinburgh's music shops mirrored those relating to the piano. During the late 18th century, retailers stressed the variety of flutes in their stock in terms of technical character rather than by makers' names; phrases such as "German flutes of all sorts and prices" commonly featured in their advertisements. By the end of the century, the names of makers were frequently given, for example, by Urbani & Liston in 1797, who included "German flutes, Octave, Plain, Tipt with and without additional keys or spare middles... by Milhouse, Astor, Cahusac &c". The flutes of Potter and Preston & Co. were also commonly available in Edinburgh, the former, for example, at the shop of William Whyte, the latter from Muir, Wood & Co. and others.

During the early decades of the 19th century Edinburgh's shops continued to stock the most modern flutes by the foremost makers. Demand clearly remained high, as reflected by George Small's (of Wood, Small & Co.) comments in a letter to John Muir Wood in London, "The Flutes we want very much, both Rose's and Clementi's..." Other Edinburgh firms enjoyed a close association with the maker Rose, a former resident of Edinburgh. As with the sale of pianos, retailers' advertisements sought to create an impression of the general quality of their stock by an association with the leading London names. One of the greatest players of the age, Charles Nicholson (an occasional performer in Edinburgh, see Table I.3, p.63 and p.183) thus often featured amid the claims of local shops, for example that of Penson & Robertson.
The FLUTES manufactured by the houses of Monzani, Potter and Clementi, those of Clementi are constructed under the immediate inspection of the Celebrated Charles Nicholson. 142

The Harp

Despite the aristocratic associations enjoyed by the harp and its appearance in London from about 1780, its prohibitive cost, the difficulties involved in learning it and the lack of a resident instructor combined to ensure that sales remained at a low level in the Scottish capital before about 1810. Since Sophia Dussek (née Corri) was probably the leading exponent of the instrument in Britain during the 1790s, it is not surprising to find pedal harps listed within the stock of Corri, Dussek & Co.'s Edinburgh shop as early as 1795 143. Less expected is the appearance of "French pedal harps" among the instruments at Muir, Wood & Co.'s shop, as announced at its opening in 1798 144. This reflected the firm's desire to impress the public with the widest and most novel stock available. From the early 19th century, Muir, Wood & Co. produced single-action harps at their Calton hill factory (see p.413), although the numbers were probably small. However, these two examples provide exceptions to the prevailing pattern; most retailers did not stock pedal harps until about 1810.

During the second decade of the 19th century the situation changed. The musical improvements achieved through Erard's patent double-action system contributed greatly to a general growth of interest in the harp. In Edinburgh this is reflected in the appearance of a number of resident teachers (see pp. 170-2) and the increasingly regular inclusion of the pedal harp within retailers' advertisements. As early as 1808 Robert Purdie's announcement of his commencement in retailing emphasised the harp as well as the piano:

He has lately been in London, attending all the principal Piano Forte and Harp Manufactories, for improvements in his profession. 145

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By the mid-1820s, demand was sufficient to support a shop which specialised largely in the instrument and its music. The performer and teacher J.F. Pole opened his Musical Repository on Princes Street in February 1826 selling harps, piano fortés, associated accessories and music 146. Similarly, in 1828 Robert Purdie announced his new premises at no.83 Princes Street as a "London Piano Forte and Harp Warehouse". Like the pianos of Broadwood, the harps of Erard dominated the market; Purdie, Penson & Robertson, Pole, and Paterson, Roy & Co. mentioned only this maker in their advertisements, although harps by the London maker Dods were occasionally stocked by Alexander Robertson 147.

The popularity of the instrument reached its peak in Edinburgh during the late-1820s, after which one perceives a steady decline. This was probably due to a change in fashion after a period of novelty, combined with the relentless advance of the piano. Pole's "retirement" from retailing in 1830 (see p.171) and the decreasing emphasis generally placed on the harp within the advertisements of other shops reflect the slackening of public interest.

The Market for Other Instruments

The patterns outlined in relation to the sale of flutes, harps and flageolets can be applied to most other types of musical instrument sold in Edinburgh during the period. As with the flute, violins and 'cellos were commonly included within retailers' lists, although less so after about 1815. This perhaps reflected a decline in the fashionable status of these instruments within amateur music-making. In art music, as the 19th century progressed, they increasingly became instruments of professional musicians. However, the violin's obvious and continuing popularity within traditional Scottish music is reflected in Edinburgh's ability to support numerous local violin makers and at least one dealer during the early decades of the 19th century: for example, the makers, Hardie, Ballantyne and Grant 148 and the dealer & string maker Kohler 149. Until about 1810 music retailers invariably stocked a full range of
bows, strings and accessories, as illustrated, for example in advertisements from Niel Stewart and Corri & Sutherland (see pp.244-5). Such items provided a lucrative side-line for all instrument sellers.

Although demand was not sufficient to support a high degree of specialisation, Spanish guitars featured with increasing regularity in the advertisements of Edinburgh's larger retailers from the mid-1820s — the early stages of the instrument's 19th century heyday. Paterson & Roy 150, Pole 151, Purdie 152 and Robertson 153 were among those to stock a selection of guitars, and the two last-named firms included instruments by the celebrated maker Panormo, as did Wood, Small & Co.:

We are in great want of some common Spanish Guitars with pins not pass movement, I wish you could get 2 or 3, either from Panormo or Harley, who resides in Wych St Strand No 48 - I called upon him when in London, his father and yours were well acquainted & we used to find him very serviceable - the mother and sons live together now & are very poor. You would need to pay them & we shall remit you any thing you may require to disburse in this way before you leave for Paris. 154

The promotion of Bainbridge's double flageolet by Muir, Wood & Co. helped to ensure that this unusual "novelty" eventually attained a degree of success (see pp.172-3). Instruments within the same category, but denied such energetic marketing on the part of retailers, generally enjoyed lesser degrees of popularity. Although musical glasses appeared occasionally in local music shops between about 1790-1820, public interest did not merit them a place within the standard instrumental stock of these establishments. Instruments were thus more readily available from players who stayed in the city as teachers and players. The most successful of these was James Wilkinson who performed and taught in Edinburgh in successive seasons between about 1802-1805; he frequently offered instruments for sale through the local press, for example two sets of musical glasses in September 1804 155 which followed the sale of an earlier consignment.156

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Less is known concerning the "Grand British Lyre", advertised by Muir, Wood & Co. in 1809, or the success in Edinburgh of Edward Light's harp-lute, advertised in the city by the patentee in 1813, and which appeared occasionally in local shops (for example, that of Gow & Galbraith in 1828). One concludes from the failure of these and other similarly unusual instruments to re-appear consistently in local retailers' advertisements, that their market in the Scottish capital was, at best, short-lived.

SUMMARY

From the early-1790s the war in Europe created a substantial market for military band instruments to furnish the bands of army regiments and volunteer corps. Edinburgh's retailers were swift to capitalise, and maintained extensive stocks of London-made instruments and accessories. By about 1800, demand for some instruments, notably drums, had outstripped supply and some local firms were able successfully to manufacture and sell suitable models. However, the size of the market was finite and, once equipped, bands had little reason to make further substantial purchases, for example to update their instruments. Thus, by about 1810, demand for military band instruments in the Scottish capital had decreased greatly from its former level.

In addition to the piano, there was a sizable market for a few other instruments favoured in domestic music-making. Music shops stocked flutes in great variety and large numbers, ranging from the simplest one-keyed amateur instrument to the latest eight-keyed professional models, while after the second decade of the 19th century, demand for harps was sufficient to support a number of specialist shops in the city, although none dealt exclusively in this instrument. Demand for violins, 'cellos, guitars, flageolets, musical glasses and other instruments was less significant, although some of these instrument featured in the standard stock of local retailers.
THE TRADE IN SECOND-HAND INSTRUMENTS

This survey of the trade in second-hand instruments in Edinburgh, begins by identifying the most significant dealers in the principal area of activity: keyboard instruments. The sources from which dealers most commonly acquired pianos for second-hand sale are then outlined, and an exceptional aspect of the trade is described. Finally, the availability of second-hand non-keyboard instruments is assessed.

Edinburgh's Principal Dealers in Second-hand Keyboard Instruments

Although most of the city's larger music shops included some second-hand keyboard instruments within their stock, certain firms were more involved than others. From the early-1790s, the various Corri family businesses in Edinburgh were particularly active in this field. It is significant that their involvement in second-hand sales increased following the demise of the Edinburgh-based firm of Corri & Sutherland and the establishment of Corri, Dussek & Co. in London and Edinburgh. One suspects that out-moded instruments acquired in part-exchange deals in the south were shipped to Scotland, where their sale might more successfully be achieved through the firm's Edinburgh outlet.

Advertisements from John and Natale Corri's shop in South St. Andrew's Street regularly included details of one or more second-hand instruments. Sometimes a particularly unusual instrument was announced in a separate advertisement, for example in 1796, a chamber organ by Hollman, with details of specification and condition. In line with the general pattern, the second-hand instruments offered by Corri were invariably large, and expensive to purchase when new, for example, in 1796 a grand piano and barrel organ, and in 1801 a grand piano by Stodart and harpsichord by Harrison. London-made harpsichords and spinets commonly featured, for example, in 1802 a
double manual harpsichord by Shudi and Broadwood, and a single by Baker Harris. If these and other such instruments had indeed been shipped from London, the firm trusted in a belief that the musical public in Edinburgh were more conservative in their tastes than their fashion-conscious London counterparts. Such a belief was not entirely without foundation.

Towards the end of the period, the market for second-hand pianos in the Scottish capital was sufficient to support a dealer largely specialising in this field, albeit on a modest scale. George Hamilton commenced business as a stationer and music seller at no.34 Nicolson [sic] Street in 1825. It is not clear whether he belonged to the same family as the successful, Edinburgh-based organ and piano manufacturers, David Hamilton & Co. The unfashionable location of George Hamilton's shop reflected the section of the market for which he catered. As was generally the case, Hamilton included the price of individual second-hand instruments within his advertisements - along with the price of a corresponding, new model to stress the bargain. Thus, in 1828 he announced a "Cabinet Piano with additional keys, original cost £73 10s, to be sold for £58, the property of a Lady deceased". During the late-1820s, judging from the frequency of his advertisements, Hamilton was able to capitalise on the same continuing and significant public demand for second-hand pianos which benefited many of the city's dealers, and had done so for almost four decades.

The rapid changes to the design, mechanism and appearance of the piano meant that, for those wishing to keep apace with the most modern fashions in this fashionable field, it was necessary to change an instrument within a few years of its purchase. Musically, the most critical area of change was the keyboard compass; on square pianos this extended in stages from five to six or six and a half octaves between about 1790-1830. The furniture appearance of squares similarly altered, particularly with regard to the method by which the body of the instrument was supported. The earlier, smaller models generally stood either on common (i.e. trestle-like) or so-called French frames (with four square-tapered legs). By about 1810 the
London fashion was for independent, slender legs - usually six. By the late-1820s, the weight of the enlarged instruments necessitated thicker legs, of which generally there were four. The shape and decoration of cases altered too; for example, rounded corners were introduced (briefly, and perhaps exclusively in Edinburgh in about 1809, see p.418), and more generally in London during the mid-1820s (166), while by about 1830 a preference for instruments veneered in rosewood rather than mahogany became prevalent 167.

The Sources of Second-hand Pianos

Edinburgh's retailers generally acquired instruments for second-hand sale from one of three sources. Firstly, through part-exchange deals with customers buying new instruments, secondly, by purchasing them directly from firms in London, or thirdly, from local sales and auctions.

Throughout the period, Edinburgh's principal music retailers offered part-exchange deals to customers buying new pianos. The phrase "instruments tuned, repaired and taken in exchange" concluded most of their newspaper advertisements. The part-exchange system practised by the principal music shops mirrored that of many manufacturers and retailers in London. Indeed, some London firms sought to dispose of second-hand instruments, particularly larger models, through retailers in provincial centres such as Edinburgh. As outlined above with Corri, Dussek & Co., one suspects that many such instruments were either out-dated models (for example harpsichords after about 1790) or pianos with short compasses.

The extant Broadwood wholesale ledgers and Letter Book show that the firm frequently sold second-hand pianos to retailers in Edinburgh. In 1806, for example, Gow & Shepherd were offered a varied selection:
If you think you should find a sale for any of the following instruments at Edinr. we shall be happy to have your order for all or any of them. They are all tolerably in tone [tune??] & condition and the price so low that you might afford them at a price tempting to many.

- A GPF add. keys by Buttery £26.5
- A do. do. by Ganer 26.5
- A do. do. by Ball 26.5
- 2 GPFs by Stodart *com.com.* @20Gs each 42.
- A do. do. 18.
- A do. do. by Longman & Broderip from 10 to 11 guineas each 168

At best, the Longman & Broderip grand was eight years old (the firm was dissolved in 1798), but the low prices attached to these pianos further indicate that each was an old or out-moded model (typically in 1806, new Broadwood grands were offered at £67-4 wholesale 169). In addition, the compass of each instrument was smaller than that of the standard grand of 1806. The abbreviation "com.com." attached to the cheaper models related to the late 18th-century "common compass" of five octaves (FF-f3), while the "add. keys" of the others indicated a keyboard range of five and a half octaves (extending in the treble to c4). Although Broadwood produced some grands of this latter size as late as 1805 170, a full six octaves (extending to CC in the bass) had been standard from the late-1790s.

It is not known whether Gow & Shepherd chose to accept any of the pianos from the above list. However, the Broadwood ledgers reveal that Edinburgh firms frequently ordered second-hand instruments, for example, Purdie's 1817 orders included 13 such instruments, both squares and grands. There seems little reason to suppose that London's other larger piano manufacturers did not indulge in a similar trade with their provincial wholesale customers.

The third method by which retailers could acquire second-hand instruments, from local auctions of household furniture and sales of sequestrated stock, was a less regular, but potentially cheaper source than the other two. As the period progressed, the increasing popularity of the piano in the home was reflected in its appearance.
in sales of household effects. Typically, such sales took place in the house itself, although local auctioneers occasionally held larger sales of furniture at their showrooms. The latter were more interesting to local music retailers since they frequently included numerous musical instruments, as was often the case with sales at William Bruce's rooms throughout the early 19th century, for example in May 1821:

....A Cabinet Piano Forte; Edinburgh made, three very superior London-made piano forties, selected by one of the first music-sellers, and sold under particular circumstances....171

When sales in private homes included a piano, the instrument usually featured in a prominent position within advertisements, often at the head and in upper case script. As one would expect, before about 1800 the instruments offered were mostly London-made harpsichords or spinets, for example, "a fine harpsichord, made by the famous Kirkman, and a Spinnet by Keen" in a household sale at Covenant Close in 1787 172, and "a good harpsichord with pedals by Shudi, a guitar and chamber organ" in a sale for creditors at no.27 South Bridge Street in 1794 173.

An early appearance of a piano within this context occurred in 1785; perhaps its unusual description indicated a continuing lack of familiarity with grand pianos in Edinburgh:

TO BE SOLD / A CAPITAL PIANO FORTE HARPSCHORD by Bekers; cost Seventy Guineas / The only reason for parting with it is, that the proprietor has no farther present use of it....174

Given the date and nature of the advertisement, this instrument (by the London maker, Americus Backers) probably ranked among the earliest grands pianos in Scotland, and may have been the instrument played by Corri in 1776 (see p.260).

Throughout the early decades of the 19th century, the piano featured with increasing regularity within sale lists of household effects. Given the domestic context, it is not surprising that the
overwhelming majority of these were squares. These were usually listed simply as "piano fortés". The wording of advertisements for square pianos followed a standard pattern, typically "a well-toned London Piano Forte" 175, or "an excellent toned piano-forte with additional keys" 176. When grand or cabinet pianos were offered, more information was usually provided, such as the maker's name, for example in 1816, "an Upright Grand Pianoforte, by Stoddart, remarkably well-toned, with additional keys" 177, and in 1827, "An elegant grand Piano Forte, maker's name: "William Stodart, Maker to his Majesty and the Royal Family, Golden Square, London" 178.

Although the extent to which Edinburgh's music retailers acquired instruments through household sales is not clear, the auctions of the stock of bankrupted or deceased rivals provided an attractive source for such purchases, particularly since the incentive of a dealer's discount was generally offered; for example, in 1794, John Thomson's shop, presumably along with his stock, was bought by John & Archibald Watson (see pp.383-4):

An Exceptional Aspect of the Sale of Second-hand Pianos

Throughout the early decades of the 19th century, the changing design of square pianos, provided an incentive for wealthier musical amateurs to trade-in their out-moded instruments for modern models, and thus provided dealers with a source of used instruments. However, retailers generally encountered difficulty in disposing of particularly old pianos within the second-hand market for anything more than a meagre sum. In order to secure the best possible price
for such models, there is evidence that at least one Edinburgh dealer "modernised" the appearance of square pianos by changing their legs.

The evidence comes from two sources. Firstly, the Broadwood ledgers contain a number of orders from Edinburgh dealers for sets of square piano legs; in 1817, for example, Purdie was sent 20. Secondly, a few extant instruments bear witness to early 19th-century alteration. Among these is a square by John & Archibald Watson (falsely numbered no.2756). Its original French stand has been replaced by six turned legs, subsequently reduced to four. Similarly, a Broadwood square of the same period (no.8646, c.1804) was subjected to a similar process, probably during the late-1820s. In each case the skill with which changes were made indicates the hand of an experienced 19th-century piano craftsman. Although such practices undoubtedly occurred in Edinburgh, their extent is not clear.

The Availability of Second-hand Instruments, excluding Pianos

Generally, only instruments which were expensive to acquire, either through their manufacture or their maker's celebrity were available second-hand through Edinburgh's music shops. Clearly there was little profit to be made from the sale of relatively cheap and plentiful used instruments. Thus individual wind instruments were rarely advertised (although flutes occasionally appeared in household sales). However, full sets of military band instruments did, predictably, become available during periods of peace in Europe, for example, between 1803-1804:

There will be SOLD by Auction... A COMPLETE COLLECTION of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, (second-hand) made by Cramer, for a Military Band, consisting of Six B Clarionets / Six C ditto / Two Bassoons, full mounted / Two Horns, full mounted / Six Flutes / One Trumpet / With a collection of MUSIC, printed and manuscript, for a Full Band. 183
A MILITARY BAND / The Clarionets, Bassoons, Trumpets, French Horns, Flutes &c. of a Fencible Regiment of Foot, disembodied at the Peace, will be sold to the highest bidder.... 184

Second-hand harps were occasionally offered, although, not surprisingly in view of their price and rarity, advertisements invariably mentioned just a single instrument. These were most commonly by Erard, 185, although instruments by other makers sometimes featured, for example one by Muir, Wood & Co. in 1820 186.

With few exceptions, the old violins and 'cellos sold through local shops or private advertisements claimed to be from the finest workshops or, in the case of the former, from the most renowned districts of Italy:

Gow & Shepherd....at the above shop / A genuine and excellent VIOLIN of AMATIS, in the finest preservation, with a very fine TENOR, to be sold. Price, with the case, 45 Guineas. 187

TO BE SOLD / By Public Auction on Monday the 27th April 1807 / A VERY CAPITAL VIOLIN, warrented a real Stradivarius, the property of the late celebrated George Frederick Pinto. For Particulars apply to Messrs. Gow and Sheppard, Music Shop, Princes Street. Such an opportunity for an amateur or Professional, to supply himself with a first rate instrument seldom, or ever occurs in Edinburgh. At the same time, some other Violins, Tenors and Violoncellos will be disposed of. 188

'Cellos appeared rarely within the Edinburgh second-hand market, and, as with the violin, only superior examples were featured. In the following 1807 notice from Muir, Wood & Co., the bassoon and lute similarly merited special attention through their maker and history, respectively:

A Remarkable fine toned Violoncello, made by Barat Norman, one of the best makers known / A Lute, of exquisite workmanship, which, from the family in whose possession it long was, and other circumstances regarding its history, there is every reason to believe has been touched by the fingers of Queen Mary. / Likewise a Bassoon, lately obtained at considerable expence from the famous maker Grenzer, at Dresden; and a singular instrument, of the Violoncello kind, the soft and melodious tone of which is not drawn from wood, but from a glass globe which supports the strings. 189
As the period progressed and retailing in new musical instruments flourished, the importance of the second-hand market increased accordingly. There were obvious attractions both to retailers and buyers. For music shops, the inclusion of a few second-hand instruments added to the general variety of their stock, and widened their range of potential customers. Thus with a selection consisting of new and used instruments, Natale Corri could offer "Piano Fortes from 7 to 100 guineas". For socially-aspiring, musical families of moderate means who wished to possess a fashionable but inexpensive musical instrument, a second-hand model was clearly the most realistic option. It was a cumulative phenomenon. The durability of pianos ensured that, as new designs and models became available, the second-hand market was supplied with an increasing number of functional, but outmoded instruments.

The pattern during the latter 18th century was slightly more complex. Although after about 1790, trading was increasingly centred on the piano, the general demise in the popularity of the harpsichord resulted in large numbers becoming available second-hand. By 1800, the tone of retailers' advertisements and the low prices asked, illustrated the increasing difficulty encountered in disposing of these out-moded instruments. Predictably, from the early decades of the 19th century, pianos dominated retailers' advertised lists of second-hand instruments. Squares were most commonly offered. Generally, although other types of instrument could be purchased second-hand, advertisements offering, violins, 'cellos and woodwinds were infrequent.
CHAPTER V

THE SALE AND PUBLICATION OF PRINTED MUSIC
INTRODUCTION

Throughout the period, all music shops in Edinburgh sold printed music. Although the degree of importance attached to this area of trading varied, as reflected by its emphasis within press advertisements, it was never insignificant. Additionally, the city's larger firms (and many smaller ones) often stressed items of their own publication within their advertised selections of music.

Given the quantity of material made available to Edinburgh's musical public during the decades around 1800, a full-scale examination of the subject would exceed the confines of the present study. There is scope for further, detailed work here. However, an assessment of prevailing trends is useful in providing an outline of the activities of retailers, both as importers and producers of music, and hence establishing a pattern of the changing demands and taste of the public.

Within this survey, the trade in imported music is discussed first. Following an introductory section on the availability of music from London, three aspects of the trade in imported music are assessed. Firstly, changes in the popularity of various musical genres during the period, as reflected in the advertisements placed by London firms in the Edinburgh press. Secondly, specific links or trading arrangements between Edinburgh firms and composers in London, and thirdly, the trade in foreign music.

THE SALE OF IMPORTED MUSIC

As with their stock of instruments, Edinburgh's music retailers keenly sought to keep pace with the latest and most fashionable musical publications from London. The quantity of music produced and the speed at which new works appeared (and disappeared) made it
necessary for Scottish firms either to establish trading arrangements directly with London's principal publishers, or to rely on agents to supply them regularly (as was sometimes the case with musical instruments, see pp.254-5). With such arrangements in place and the availability of relatively speedy transport by sea, most Edinburgh dealers boasted of new music being available "as soon as is it published in London", or of regular and frequent shipments. Thus, from the late 18th century, the shops of Corri, Dussek & Co. (Edinburgh) 1 and James Muir 2, for example, advertised regular monthly shipments of the latest music from London.

As the period progressed and competition between Edinburgh's music shops intensified, the latest London music was demanded with ever greater speed. Failure to secure popular items of the moment was considered a bad reflection on a firm, and merited obtaining the missing music from local rival businesses, despite the expense and loss of profit usually gained through a publisher's discount. This extract from a letter to John Muir Wood in London from George Small (of Wood, Small & Co.) during the mid-1820s provides a relevant illustration:

We only this day got to hand the large package sent by Goulding & Co. & inclosing several other parcels invoiced 20th and 25th Novr. - The Package had been detained at the wharf & not shipped till the 3d Vessel which cleared out after the 26th Nov. Tell Goulding & Co. always to send the Parcels to the Glasgow Wharf - This came by the Old Sheppy Co. smack the Walter Scott - now the Lord Wellington & the Lord Melville both sailed from London (belonging to the same Company) after the 26 Nov. & the Pilot with the parcels shipped by Mr Munro on the 5 Inst delivered here before we got Gouldings' which is invoiced per the Lord Wellington the 25 Nov - This has been very vexatious as we had to get many of the Songs &c from the other Shops & what is most provoking, after all "Cherry Ripe" is not in either package & it is in great demand. Get 25 copies from Mr Willis & send them & "I dolci" for the flute & P.F. by Berbiguier from Cocks or Monzani, wanted by Mr James - by Coach immediately. 3

Given the lack of extant account books, it is difficult to assess the scale of Edinburgh's trade in imported London music. However, from the emphasis placed on such material within retailers'
advertisements and from the known number of consignments of music to pass through the port of Leith during part of the period, one can conclude that the scale of business was very substantial.

Some details of imports are contained within The Leith Commercial Lists. These twice-weekly pamphlets provided the name, details of cargo, and the place of origin or destination of all ships to dock at Leith: the port serving Edinburgh. During the early years of publication, even smaller items of cargo, including "cases of music" were listed, although neither their size, content nor importer's name appeared. However, the number of such consignments from London is striking; for example, a total of over 130 cases were included during the year beginning April 1813 (the first year of the Lists' publication).

Changing Fashions in London's Printed Music

Although most modern writers on the period conclude that the later years of the 18th century saw a general decline in the quality of music published in London, its causes require further detailed study. An obvious indication of the trend can be seen in publishers' advertisements, in particular the emphasis placed increasingly on simplistic drawing-room ditties and novelties at the expense of the works of more serious composers. However, the trend was not confined to the English capital, nor can its manifestation in provincial cities be attributed simply to their imitative tendencies. The same economic, social and musical conditions which precipitated and sustained demand for such music in London were similarly prevalent throughout the nation.

For present purposes, advertised lists of newly published music provide a useful indication of some of the composers and genres popular in London during the 1790s. Many lists from London businesses appeared in the Edinburgh press, particularly from firms with direct trading links in the north, such as Corri, Dussek & Co.
NEW MUSIC / This Day is Published / by CORRI, DUSSEK & CO.....

Haydn's 2d Set of Quartettes, for 2 Violins, tenor and violoncello, price 10s 6d / Ditto adapted for the Piano Forte, 3s each / Ditto 2d set of Canzonets 7s 6d / Ditto 1st 2d Overtures composed for and performed at Mr Salomon's Concert, this season, adapted for the Piano Forte, 4s each / Giornovichi's 2 favourite Concertos (in which is introduced the much-admired Russian Air) arr, as Sonatas for the Piano Forte, 4s each / Ditto 3rd Concerto for the Violin, 6s / Viotti's 2d and 3d Grand Concertos, arr. for the Piano Forte, with or without additional keys, by Dussek, 7s 6d / Cramer's Sonatas Op.11, 8s / Dussek's Sonatas Op.31 (being the continuation of Op.25), 8s / Ditto Progressive Lessons, Op.32, 2 books, 5s each / Madame Dussek's 2d set of Sonatas for the harp, with Scottish Airs, &c, 6s / Devinie's Duets for 2 flutes, with four airs, 5s / Mozart's Canzonets, with English words, 5s / Ferrari's 6 Articles, with an accompaniment for the Piano Forte, 7s 6d / Asiolt's 6 Duets, for 2 voices, ditto 7s 6d / Cimador's 5 Airs, with Recitatives and a Duet, selected from the Opera of Pygmalione, 7s 6d / Mio dole Tesoro (a favourite Polacca) sung by Signior Viganni, 3s / Besides a great variety of new Single pieces, both vocal and instrumental, by different composers, too tedious to mention - all the latest Opera songs, and English Operas.

By the close of the 18th century, the long-prevailing vogue for string quartets and keyboard arrangements of overtures, sonatas or concertos (and to some extent for accompanied sonatas) was rapidly passing, although, since such works had been popular over many years, they continued occasionally to appear during the early decades of the 19th century. In their place, the relentless production of popular songs from the theatre, opera house or in various "national" styles, or sets of variations or rondos on popular themes for the piano, quickly came to dominate the activities of London music publishers.

The above notice from Corri, Dussek & Co. thus represented a transitional stage; details of music of the greatest celebrity or quality (and expense) followed by works perhaps best categorised as "Single pieces....too tedious to mention". Although it should be stressed that the market for the latter items had long represented a lucrative area for publishers, the growth in demand was the remarkable and decisive feature which dominated music-publishing in Britain from the late 18th century and throughout the 19th. That this type of music was popular in early 19th-century Edinburgh is
illustrated by orders placed with various London publishers by Wood, Small & Co., for example in December 1825:

We have got to hand "Cauld Kail" by Kaillmark & Griffin's Divertimento, ded. to Miss Ripley & to Lady E. Campbell which we ordered by you - You may get 6 Cherry Ripe by Valentine from Willis.

6 Say Farewell, but whenever you please the hour, Power 6 Forget me not, Braham, "Can wealth or friends", Goulding 4 Ricciardo. Latour Book 1st Chappell & Poor Pauline from W. Collyer - 4 Battle of Vittoria 3 Crivelli's Singing Treatise, Cramer, Addison & Beale see if the exercises are published singly 6 Isabel Variations by Valentine, printed for the Author by Falkner, 3 Old Bond Street 4 Duo da Camera Harp & P.F. by Steil, Chappell Overture L'Italiano in Algiae by Watts, duett 6 Ranz des Vaches, song - also as a Waltz - 4 Caro Padre Vine 6 Niccolais op.ll - Walker 6 Had I a Cave, with accompt. for a Voice & P.F. 3 There's na Luck, vars. for Flute & P.F. by Weidner Willis or Cocks 3 Blue Bell, vars. for Flute & P.F. do. do. 6

Celebrated Composers with Links in Edinburgh

For music shops in the Scottish capital, the significance of links with a major composer lay both in the prestige gained through association with a celebrity, and in the exclusive acquisition of works which distinguished their stock of music from that of rival traders. During the period, the two most significant connections of this sort, which resulted in the appearance of numerous new publications in the city, were enjoyed by the Edinburgh publisher George Thomson and the dual-based firm of Corri, Dussek & Co..

The activities of Thomson have attracted the attention of numerous musicologists and other writers. His association with Robert Burns and the composers Pleyel, Kozeluch, Haydn, Beethoven, Weber and Hummel, resulting in the publication of eight volumes of A Select
Collection of Original Scotish Airs between 1793-1841 (published in conjunction with Preston & Co. of London) has been extensively discussed in other studies, notably by Hopkinson & Oldham 7 and more recently, by Fiske 8.

Corri, Dussek & Co.'s links with eminent composers have been less carefully examined, although they undoubtedly enriched Edinburgh's musical life during the 1790s. The music and arrangements of Jan Ladislav Dussek were predictably a mainstay within the firm's output of new publications, as illustrated by the advertisement of May 1796 (see p.326). Each of the composer's works published in London was quickly available in Edinburgh, and enthusiastically promoted by the firm's two shops in the Scottish capital.

Commercial links between Ignace Pleyel and Edinburgh date from mid-1792 when a "private gentleman" (George Thomson 9) opened a subscription in order to commission "12 sonatas with Scots Airs"10. A first instalment of this work appeared in September 1793, together with the publication of "Three Grand Sonatas for the Piano Forte, with accompaniments", at which time the subscription was opened for the first set of 50 Scottish songs, to be arranged by Pleyel - the first volume of Thomson's magnum opus 11.

Following the establishment of Corri, Dussek & Co., works by Pleyel appeared frequently in the firm's advertisements, for example in 1795, his "Favourite Trio, adapted for the piano forte" and "New Sonatas with favourite Airs &c." 12. In this case, both named works had been published in Edinburgh; the latter was the second instalment of Thomson's 1792 commission, and the former had been "lately performed at Saint Cecilia's Hall". However, within a year, the celebrity of the composer had prompted Corri, Dussek & Co. in London to establish a more exclusive arrangement, purchasing a number of manuscripts and securing sole publication rights. Pleyel's subsequent announcements not only attested to the existence of the agreement, but also highlighted the problem of plagiarism which bedevilled most successful composers during the period, and beyond:
From the London Gazette of 12th July inst. / PLEYEL'S NEW MUSIC
/ Panton Square, London, July 4th 1796 / IGNACE PLEYEL, begs
leave most respectfully to appraise the Nobility, Gentry and
Public in general of his having brought from abroad a large
collection of MANUSCRIPT MUSIC of his OWN COMPOSITION, the
labours of upwards of four years absence from England, as well
as a great number of manuscripts of other Composers of Eminence
and abilities, purchased on the Continent at a great expense;
all of which he having sold to Messrs. CORRI & DUSSEK, Ignace
Pleyel feels it a duty incumbent on him to inform the Public,
That the Works which hereafter will be published by Messrs.
CORRI & DUSSEK, as well as what have been already published by
them, purporting to be Pleyel's composition, may be depended
upon to genuine productions, faithfully engraved from the
original manuscripts.

At the same time, it is his duty to mention, that the above
collection, now sold to Messrs. CORRI & DUSSEK, is exclusive of
the remaining Six Sonatas with Scotch Airs and Songs, composed
for Mr G. Thomson of Edinburgh, and which will be finished and
delivered to him as soon as possible...13

To Thomson's chagrin, his remaining sonatas were never written,
instead Pleyel became involved in other projects with his new
publisher, including a "Musical Journal of Vocal, Harp and Piano
Forte Music" (see p.373), and a new series of sonatas 14. As with the
works of Dussek, the arrangement between Pleyel and Corri, Dussek &
Co. (along with the composer's earlier involvement with Thomson)
ensured that each of his works were speedily available to Edinburgh's
musical public.

The Sale of Music from Abroad

Generally, music published outside Britain was not available
through Edinburgh's music shops until the early years of the 19th
century. After this time, foreign publications served to diversify
the stock of some local shops and thus to distinguish them from their
rivals with an aurora of exotic exclusivity. However, the scale of
activities in this area was never extensive. Two problems faced
retailers in the Scottish capital who wished to involve their
business in this area: the difficulties in obtaining such music and
the uncertain level of its popularity at home.

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None of Edinburgh's music retailers boasted direct or close trading links with publishers in Europe's principal centres. In addition to the geographical distance between the city and mainland Europe, for almost half of the period, the war severely hindered commercial links on most levels. Thus, in order to obtain works from abroad, it was generally necessary for traders either themselves to visit foreign publishers and collect music or to appoint trusted agents to do so on their behalf.

The first method was adopted by Alexander Robertson's, as illustrated by his visit to Ireland in 1813 (a resultant acquaintance with J.B. Logier eventually led Robertson to celebrity and financial success as a piano teacher in Edinburgh, see pp.154-8):

IRISH MUSIC / Penson, Robertson & Co. are happy to announce the arrival of a most extensive assortment of IRISH MUSIC, selected by Mr Robertson in a Tour through Ireland. In this selection are contained all the musical compositions of merit, lately published in that Country, so celebrated for the number, originality and beauty of its Airs / P. R. & Co. beg leave in particular to recommend this assortment to their Military Correspondents, as it includes all the Military pieces of the celebrated Logier of Dublin, and having been appointed his agents for Scotland, they can assure their musical friends of a regular supply of every new publication from the pen of that eminent composer. 15

The second method was occasionally used by Corri & Co. to secure stocks of French music, for example in 1809. As with many of the firm's selections from London, the agent in this case was Natale Corri's brother Domenico, who presumably had performing engagements in Paris at the time:

MUSIC OF EVERY DESCRIPTION / Just arrived from PARIS / MR CORRI.... begs to inform the lovers of music that he has just received a quantity of French printed music for the piano forte, violin, violoncello, flute &c., with above 200 New French songs, by all the most eminent authors, all entitled to the attention of the cognoscenti, and selected by Mr Domenico Corri. 16
Similarly, John Muir Wood acted as an agent for his father's Edinburgh firm during his studies in Paris between 1826-1827. The following extract from one of his letters provides useful information relating to the purchase of music from foreign publishers: in particular, dealer's discounts, the level of import duties, and the works currently popular, as well as an outline of the benefits to Wood, Small & Co.:

When you write let me know whether you wish any Music sent over, I believe the terms are 60 pr cent discount, of course there is duty to pay on it, in entering England, I think about 6d or 8d a lb weight - An Opera called "La Dame Blanche" was brought out here 4 or 5 months ago, the music was composed by Boieldieu, and has had an amazing run here, there is a set of Quadrilles arranged from the Opera which perhaps might sell - You really ought to do something to induce people to come to your shop, or you won't have any chance with your rivals in Trade who are puffing away at a great rate, I think it would be a very good plan to have a supply of Foreign Music now & then. 17

Wood continued to relay musical intelligence to Edinburgh and to collect music following his arrival in Vienna in 1827:

I have received about a dozen Polish Dances called Krakowiaks, & a few real Polonaises, from another: the former are quick and bear some resemblance to our Scottish Reels, several of them are quite in the Highland strain, with a continual drone upon one note for a bass & the same discordancy of accidental sharps & flats; I have been promised several more with their words and a translation. 18

In some instances the advertisements of Edinburgh's retailers gave little information as to the source of their stocks of foreign music, particularly works from distant or exotic lands, for example in the case of Penson & Robertson's music from Russia in 1812:

NEW RUSSIAN MUSIC / PENSON, ROBERTSON & Co., with other novelties, are happy in announcing to the Public, their having been fortunate enough to obtain direct from St. Petersburg, a variety of NEW RUSSIAN MUSIC, including MARCHES, WALTZES &C &C, a part of which they have republished, viz. THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA'S GRAND MARCH and GENERAL PLATOFF'S COSSACK QUICK MARCH, composed expressly by Steibelt, now residing in Petersburg. 19
In this instance, since no further Russian selections were advertised by the firm, one suspects that, rather than having established an agent in St. Petersburg, this consignment was supplied by a British dealer specialising in foreign music. By the latter part of the period, such firms were increasingly common in London. The most notable was Boosey & Co., who advertised regularly in the Edinburgh press.

An alternative source of such music was from foreign performers and (more rarely) music retailers who occasionally brought copies of their own compositions or publications to the Scottish capital. An unusual example of the latter was one Mons. de Garaude, a singer, composer and publisher from Paris whose visit to the shop of Wood, Small & Co. in 1826 was recorded in one of George Small's letters to John Muir Wood. From Paris, Wood was subsequently able to inform the firm of the Frenchman's true standing and abilities:

[M. de Garaude]... This Frenchman called in passing thro Edinburgh & has been trying to sell Music.... We said you would perhaps call at his bureau chez M. Vaillant, Rue de Cleri No.27, before leaving Paris & look at his Music, & besides we were not acquainted with the Names of the greater part of the Authors - I told him that any person might have the music from the Publisher in Paris at ¼ price - & a discount off that to the trade - he seems to be a great composer from the number of his works in the catalogue; the work we have bought is Op.40.

In addition to supply, the second problem relating to the sale of foreign music in Edinburgh was its uncertain level of popularity. Reflecting this, and despite John Muir Wood's enthusiasm for sending Parisian music, George Small was reluctant to send orders - and his requested consignments consisted largely of the latest sets of quadrilles. Small's caution was based on his knowledge of Scottish liking for French music:

We announced in an advertisement lately the prospect of having to hand an assortment of the most popular Music from Paris. Your parcel we shall look for soon, but fear unless you select from other catalogues than M. Garaude you will have little suitable music to send, try to make yourself acquainted with the best. Camille Pleyel is a favourite composer, anything new from him would sell well.
I think you should be very sparing in the Purchase of Music in Paris - Camille Pleyel is the only one almost whose compositions sell - you may be more successful in Germany.

SUMMARY

As competition between music shops in Edinburgh increased, each sought to secure the latest publications from London as quickly as possible. Scottish firms either established direct arrangements with publishers, or used their own agents in the English capital to secure copies of the most fashionable new music. By 1800 a significant shift had occurred in the market for printed music in favour of short, light-weight pieces; principally dance music and arrangements from popular operas or musical plays. The limited shelf-life of such works made their speedy acquisition by dealers in Edinburgh essential.

By the early years of the 19th century, a full, current stock of London music was maintained as standard by most retailers. In order to distinguish their business from those of their rivals, some dealer's made commercial agreements with popular composers for the publishing rights of new pieces. For Edinburgh firms, such arrangements served both to secure a novel element within their stock, and to enhance the reputation of the shop through its association with the composer. The occasional appearance of foreign music similarly provided retailers with an element of variation, however, the problems of supply and uncertainties over the fashionableness of such works generally rendered this aspect of music-selling to be of peripheral importance.
Throughout the period, most of the music printed in Edinburgh was published by the city's music retailers. The sale of such music was both a potentially lucrative source of income, and a method by which shops distinguished their stock from that of rival firms. However, the market for Edinburgh-published music extended beyond Scotland's capital city and national boundaries. By the second decade of the 19th century, Edinburgh's trade in imported music from London was at least equalled by that in exported music to the English capital. The number of consignments or "cases of music" dispatched southwards during 1814, for example, exceeded 150, and the figure rose to 260 in 1816 and 360 in 1826. Along with various (and often unnamed) musical instruments, quantities of music were sent also to more distant destinations, including ports in North and South America. There was a similarly thriving trade with numerous cities in northern England and Ireland (see p.415).

In addition to the emphasis placed on "house" publications in retailer's advertisements, the commercial significance of publishing is indicated through the sale of music plates. These were often presented as significant assets as, for example, in the published list of stock for sale following the dissolution of Corri & Sutherland (1790), which included "a great number of plates for Printing Music, among which are Corri's Works, Gow's Reels, and a number of other pieces, which have had a very extensive sale" and similarly that of John Rochead (1819) which prominently offered "over 1000 music plates". The acquisition of plates was obviously a less expensive method by which music retailers could produce works bearing the name of their firm.

This survey of music publishing in Edinburgh begins by identifying the city's specialist music engravers. For present purposes it is sufficient simply to establish the number and location of such firms, with particular reference to the most important. A detailed examination of their work and methods awaits the attention...
of a separate study. The two principal categories of musical publication produced in the city are then assessed: vocal music and piano music. Finally, music published for other instruments and the publication of musical magazines in instalments are briefly surveyed. Although detailed musical analyses are not included, the changing character, format and quality of the various types of publication are outlined.

The purpose of this study is three-fold. Firstly, to identify the musical demands of the market by outlining the most popular types of music and formats of publication. Secondly, to assess the response of Edinburgh's retailers to these demands and the degree of importance each placed on publishing. Thirdly, to highlight the involvement of performers, teachers and retailers (either residents or visitors) in the composition or arrangement of music for local publication.

Edinburgh's Specialist Engravers of Music

The market for locally-produced music in Edinburgh was sufficient to support at least four major firms specialising in music engraving, although only after about 1815 were any two working in competition. For much of the period James Johnson dominated the trade. He was probably trained as apprentice to James Reed 28, one of the city's earliest music engravers. Johnson's importance rests not only in the quality and quantity of his work, but also in his training of a subsequent generation of craftsmen. In the years following the demise of Johnson & Co. (1815) the names of six specialist music engravers or printers appeared in the city directories: John Anderson, William Hutton, George Walker, Alexander Walker, William Balbirnie and James Bryce. One suspects that most were former employees of Johnson's firm. Although other, non-specialist engravers also produced musical publications in the Scottish capital, the extent of the market was sufficient to support a significant degree of specialisation in this field.
Edinburgh had long been a centre of publishing, and its printers were responsible for important technological advances. However, the validity of some such attributions is questionable, for example the statement in Johnson's obituary in *The Scots Magazine* of 1811, which claimed that he had devised the method for engraving on pewter (rather than copper as formerly, which was more expensive) \(^{29}\). Using this source, the claim was repeated by subsequent writers on the subject, such as John Reid \(^{30}\). In fact, the practice of engraving on pewter had been adopted by numerous London publishers, such as John Walsh, considerably before Johnson commenced work in Scotland (c.1772 \(^{31}\)). Johnson may have been the first to use the method north of the border.

From the early-1770s, Johnson was the most important engraver of music in the city. As one would expect from what remained primarily a manufacturing business, he worked from addresses in the Old Town rather than the New: Bell's Wynd 1787-c.1790 (as an "engraver"), and, as Johnson & Co. at the head of Lady Stair's Close, Lawnmarket (listed variously as "music sellers" \(^{32}\) or "engravers and music printers" \(^{33}\)). The expansion of his interests into music selling in about 1790, and the possible employment of local instrument makers as repairers and tuners (notably James Logan, see p.378) followed the same trading pattern as the city's principal musical instrument makers (for example, see pp.383-4). However, unlike the Watson brothers, Andrew Rochead and others, for Johnson, retailing remained a subsidiary activity in relation to printing.

Johnson's output was enormous, particularly within the expanding music market after about 1790. He both engraved music for publication by the city's leading retailers, and produced important works under his own name, the most significant being the six-volume *Scots Musical Museum* (published between 1787-1803). Following his death, his widow and John Anderson (a former apprentice and employee) continued the business (as Johnson & Anderson). Unostentatious addresses in the Old Town were again favoured: at 475 High Street 1811-1812, and North Gray's Close 1812-1815 \(^{34}\).
After 1815, presumably on the death of Mrs Johnson, Anderson joined with Alexander Walker and traded as Walker & Anderson until 1826. Throughout this period they competed with William Hutton, who formed brief partnerships with George Walker (c.1815-1819) and William Balbirnie (c.1819-1823), before trading as Hutton & Co. (c.1823-c.1826). Activity continued to be centred in the Old Town; for example, Hutton & Balbirnie at 105 High Street, Hutton & Co. at 105 High Street, Walker & Anderson at 42 High Street (1815-1826), and Anderson & Bryce at South Fowlis Close (from 1829) 35.

THE PUBLICATION OF VOCAL MUSIC

Collected Editions of Scots Songs

In late 18th-century Edinburgh the vogue for collected editions of Scottish songs was particularly strong; most of the large-scale collections of music published in the city at this time were of this type. Clearly, the genre lent itself well to this form of publication; individual songs were short and easily placed in groups. Most collections of this type which appeared in Britain between about 1780-1810 were arranged, compiled or edited by leading figures in Edinburgh's musical life, and published in the city (although a notable exception was William Napier's collection, published in London 36). These works, particularly those associated with the poetry of Robert Burns, have been the subject of other studies; musical and literary. The purpose of the following brief assessment is to establish the function which they served and the benefits gained by their local retailer-publishers.

The ambitiousness and expense of George Thomson's project, as reflected in the celebrity of the composers employed and the high retail price of each volume (see Table V.1, below), set it apart from most others during the period, however, the impact of the work on
Edinburgh's musical public was not widespread, as was later noted by John Muir Wood:

...The songs which Burns afterwards wrote for George Thomson's celebrated work are more highly finished, but they often want the ease, the abandon, which form a great part of the charm of Scottish song. They had to pass through the ordeal of fastidious criticism, for the large, handsome volumes in which they appeared, were intended for the highly educated and the wealthy of the land. The musical arrangements were by German musicians of the highest standing, whose scientific knowledge however scarcely made up for their want of acquaintance with the style of the music. The work is now only known through the correspondence which passed between the poet and the editor. 37

For the public, some of the expense of collected editions could be defrayed by subscribing to the publication prior to issue. Obviously, this system benefited the publisher also; both in raising capital to fund the project and reducing the risk of the venture by guaranteeing a level of sales prior to issue. The discount offered to subscribers varied, but was commonly between 15-25%. Table V.1 shows the prices to subscribers and non-subscribers of single volumes of some collected editions issued during the period:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication &amp; Editor</th>
<th>Price to subscribers</th>
<th>Price to non-subscribers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Scots Musical Museum (Johnson)</td>
<td>5s</td>
<td>6s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Select Collection... (Thomson)</td>
<td>18s 6d</td>
<td>21s 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch Songs (Butler)</td>
<td>6s</td>
<td>8s 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Songs, chiefly in the Scottish Style (Ross)</td>
<td>10s</td>
<td>12s 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Collection of Scottish Airs (Whyte)</td>
<td>18s 6d</td>
<td>21s 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Volumes of Scottish Songs (Urbani)</td>
<td>21s</td>
<td>32s 6d 42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Although Thomson's initial terms were less advantageous to subscribers than those of other publishers, a more generous system was introduced in 1799, probably in order to shift old stock. The first four volumes of his collection were offered at 10s 6d each, while those purchasing all four received "two elegant Engravings for embellishing the work". To emphasise their value, the same engravings were offered to non-subscribers at a costly 8s 43.

However, even allowing for the level of discount outlined above, the cost of the full set of volumes for most collections was considerable, and served to restrict their appeal to the wealthier elements of the musical public. An exceptional attempt to attract a wider market was made by John Watlen who initially published numbers from his Collection of Ancient & Modern Scots Songs (1794) in instalments as A Choice Collection of Old Scots Songs at 2s each 44. Clearly, this format was also to the advantage of the publisher, recently turned independent retailer (see p.240), who was reluctant to risk money on a large-scale work before testing the state of the market.

Most of the large-scale collections of Scottish songs published in Edinburgh could be purchased in the city only directly from their publisher. Since, in most cases, this person was also the arranger, composer or editor and a local music retailer, the advantages in maintaining sole retailing rights were clear. Firstly, to profit fully from each copy sold (i.e. without having to give discounts to other retailers), and secondly, to preserve the work as a "flagship" publication, distinguishing the selection of music of that shop. The exclusive availability was often stressed in advertisements, for example those of Johnson:

TO THE LOVERS OF THE ANCIENT SONG AND MUSIC OF SCOTIA / Next week will be published (price six shillings), volume FIFTH of the SCOTS MUSICAL MUSEUM ....As there can be but a few copies struck off at one time, the Subscribers and others who favour this WORK, can ONLY be supplied with copies at the shop of JAMES JOHNSON, Music-Seller, Lawnmarket, Edinburgh - The Proprietor.... 45
Although it was in the publisher's interests thus to limit the number of retailing outlets in Edinburgh, large-scale collections such as Johnson's, and those of Urbani and Thomson, could be purchased at music shops in other cities, notably London. Given the relatively small market in the Scottish capital for expensive works, their publication was clearly intended for a wider public. To enhance the appeal of his work, Thomson included English translations of the Scots verse set in his collection. Publisher's advertisements commonly concluded with a list of shops in other cities from which the work could be obtained. In London, for example, Thomson's co-publisher Preston & Co. advertised and sold A Select Collection as did Goulding & Co. 47, while Whyte's Collection was available from Clementi & Co. (who had been responsible for engraving the music plates 48).

In view of the number of collections of Scots songs on the market, particularly during the 1790s, it is not surprising to find an element of rivalry between their publishers. Through press advertisements, attempts were made to assert each work as being the definitive collection, both by stressing its qualities and/or decrying the failings of its rivals. The areas of criticism levelled at other publications were various, but the quality or suitability of the arrangements was frequently questioned. Watlen's claim that his versions of Scots songs appeared "without being italicised in the least" 49, was typical. In late 18th century musical matters the term "italicised" was used in reference to foreign influence or distortion from any provenance. In response to such criticisms, publishers whose collections involved foreign composers, such as Thomson, stressed the international esteem of such figures:

The Subscribers are respectfully informed, That Mr Pleyell having failed to fulfil the engagements he came under, to furnish Symphonies and Accompaniments for the remaining Scottish Airs, Mr Thomson prevailed upon the celebrated Mr KOZELUCH of Vienna to compose these; a task which he has executed with such inimitable skill and taste, as to have exceeded the most sanguine expectation of the Publisher.... 50
The tastefulness of arrangements was similarly stressed, as illustrated, for example, in Urbani's assertion that his collection featured melodies "Harmonized and Improved with Simple and adapted Graces" 51, as well as in his general justification for harmonising Scotland's traditional melodies:

The Countries of Europe, where music is cultivated, have in general made considerable progress in understanding and relishing the effects of harmony. It is surely an object of moment to clothe the melodies of this country in such a manner, as to render them generally acceptable, and to make them address with effect, the most refined musical ear...52

A corresponding argument was forwarded by Thomson in an expression of his work's guiding philosophy:

Whatever has been insidiously said about the airs being altered or "Italianised", the Publisher declares to be totally void of foundation; one of the leading objects of the publication being on the contrary, to fix and reserve those beautiful melodies in their pure and simple form, and to prevent the alterations which chance, ignorance or caprice might introduce. 53

A different form of criticism against foreign composers was voiced by William Whyte, who stressed the general inferiority of their abilities and status in comparison with his own arranger, Haydn. Whyte sought to distinguish his work by emphasising its association with the Austrian master, notably in the latter's declaration concerning the arrangements: "having but a few days to live, the present shall be my last labour connected with Scottish music". Haydn's involvement in earlier Scottish projects (Thomson's and Napier's) was candidly dismissed in Whyte's advertisements:

Among the various Collections of Scottish Airs which have been offered to the Public, it has been regretted that the talents of the inimitable Haydn have never been employed until the best Airs had been harmonized by composers of inferior merit. His name no doubt is sometimes to be found amongst those of the other composers employed in furnishing symphonies and accompaniments, but, in the very few instances in which it appears, it is towards the conclusion of the Work and affixed to Airs in general unworthy of genius. 54

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Ironically, modern scholarship has established that many of the arrangements Haydn supplied to Whyte were in fact the work of lesser composers in Vienna (such as Sigismund Neukomm), the ageing master being either unwilling or unable through ill health to spend time on his third Scottish song project. However, regardless of their actual source, the significant factor in the early 19th century was that Whyte's arrangements bore Haydn's name.

Throughout the period, performers in Edinburgh produced arrangements of pieces in which they had enjoyed particular public success. In the field of Scots song, a valuable and unique selling-point used by Urbani in advertisements for his collection was his own reputation as a performer:

SCOTS MUSIC / To be published by SUBSCRIPTION....A SELECTION of SCOTS SONGS / As performed in Public by MR URBANI.... The very flattering applause bestowed on his manner of singing them, and the frequent solicitations he has had for sets of particular Songs, both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, have encouraged him to publish them in the present form; and the novelty of the attempt will, it is hoped, procure from the Public a favourable reception to the first Work in which the admired music of Scotland has been adopted to full Harmony....

The Preference for Scots Songs Published Individually

Although collected editions of Scots songs continued to appear throughout the 19th century, their heyday was during the later decades of the 18th. At no other time had so many extensive collections appeared within such a brief period. After the early-1800s the number of new publications in this form declined sharply, as did inclusions of earlier collections within retailers press advertisements. However, this highlights a change in the preferred printed format rather than a general slackening in demand for Scottish songs. Although the publication of single pieces had long been standard practice among Edinburgh's music publishers, the early decades of the 19th century saw the popularity of national songs published singly supersede that of collected editions. The reasons
for this relate to the changing character and resources of the market.

For publishers, the lesser expense and risk incurred through producing single items was an obviously attractive prospect, while, for customers, the cost of purchasing a full set of volumes of any one collection was clearly an important factor in favour of single songs. As the size of the market for printed music increased over a broader economic range of society, it was in the interest of publishers to produce works of the widest possible appeal. Although the retail price of single songs varied according to their arranger, association, celebrity or quality of presentation, they generally sold for between 6d and 1s during the later 18th century, rising to 1s or 1s 6d in the early decades of the 19th, and about 1s 6d or 2s by 1830. This pattern of pricing is illustrated within advertisements quoted within this study. Throughout the period, the ready supply of new material maintained keen competition in the market and ensured that prices did not rise unduly.

The shift in emphasis away from collected editions to single songs reflected also the musical demands of the new market. In the prefaces to many collections of Scottish songs, arrangers or publishers stated that their principal objective was the creation of a definite edition of the nation's traditional melodies which should endure for generations. Thomson provides an unequivocal expression of this philosophy:

These Works... will put the Public in possession of all that appeared to the Editor the most valuable and worthy of preservation in the national music of Scotland, Ireland and Wales. And the Editor, having had the peculiar happiness of obtaining the most cordial cooperation of ROBERT BURNS, and of the most distinguished lyric Poets, in writing Songs for the Melodies; and of obtaining Symphonies and Accompaniments to them of the most original, beautiful and expressive character, from the two greatest Composers in Europe; and having spared neither pains, nor time, nor expense, in rendering every part of these Works as perfect as possible, he trusts that they will do lasting honour to the musical and poetical character of the three countries....
However, from the early years of the 19th century the popular appeal of such ideals sharply decreased. Demand became motivated less by an aesthetic for enduring works and more by one which demanded the latest, fashionable popular song or piano piece, however light-weight in content or short-lived in appeal. The result was a rapid rise in the quantity of music published matched by a corresponding fall in its general quality. The market demanded modernity and novelty. Whereas such requirements were neither new, nor unimportant in earlier times, after about 1800 they were indicative of a new vogue in amateur music-making felt throughout Britain and clearly illustrated in Edinburgh.

Within this climate, the advantages of producing printed music in the form of single items were obvious: pieces could be quickly and easily produced and sold at an attractively low price. In all musical genres, although collected editions continued to appear after 1800 and single items were copiously published before, the early years of the 19th century saw a decisive shift in favour of the latter.

The factors which determined or enhanced popular appeal also rapidly changed. With traditional Scottish songs, the importance formerly placed on sophisticated "scientific" arrangements gave way to a simpler and more direct style. Generally, accompaniments for songs published singly were less complex and the vogue for numerous optional instruments in addition to the keyboard gradually disappeared and a simple part for the piano (or harp) became the standard form of accompaniment. Occasionally, a part for the flute was inserted at the foot of the final page of a song. However, since this part was invariably identical to the vocal line, it was probably included so that the song could be performed also as an instrumental piece, thus widening the appeal of the work.

The change to a generally simpler keyboard style coincided with the final phase in the demise of the harpsichord and its figured-bass form of accompaniment in favour of fully written-out parts for the piano. This is reflected in the title-page of many collections, for example, the title-page of the third volume of Urbani's changes the
named keyboard instrument from harpsichord (as in the first two volumes) to "Forte Piano" 58, and accompaniments in the a so-called second edition of Johnson's Musical Museum were advertised as having been "adapted with proper basses for the piano forte" - although they were in fact unaltered from the original version's basses for harpsichord 59.

Generally, the theme of simplicity in line with traditional "authenticity" affected the style of arrangements of Scottish songs from the early 19th century onwards. One suspects, particularly during the early decades, that this arose as much from a desire to make the music technically simple and thus appealing to the widest possible market. Thomas Butler stressed the simplicity of the accompaniments in his subscription proposals of 1800, while similar qualities were attributed to John Ross's Collection two years later:

[Butler....] The superior manner in which this Collection will be executed, the near alliance which the new symphonies and accompaniments will have to the native simplicity of the beautiful Airs, with the neat and accurate arrangement of the words, must render this selection acceptable to every person of genuine taste, and infinitely preferable to any Collection of the kind hitherto appeared. 60

A Collection of Scottish Songs, with introductory and concluding Symphonies and Accompaniments for the Piano Forte by John Ross, Organist, Aberdeen, the whole arranged in such a manner as will form a supplement Volume to Pleyel's, T.H. Butler's and Urbani's Scottish Songs, as none of the Songs in those volumes are in this volume. The Harmony is light, easy and pleasing, the poetry and melody suit each other exactly....61

As reflected in Butler's and Ross's works, the practice of employing celebrated or worthy foreign composers as arrangers of Scottish folk tunes was generally discarded during the early 19th century (with the notable exceptions of Whyte in 1805 and the indefatigable Thomson). The criticisms levelled against the foreigners and their lack of empathy or understanding of the musical idiom or the Scots tongue, were widely voiced at the time (for example, see p.338). In their place, many musicians in Scotland took
the opportunity to enter the market as arrangers of national airs. Although, during the late 18th century, resident musicians in the capital had been involved in such work, most were not native Scots, for example, Watlen, Urbani, and Stephen Clarke (the latter arranged the music for Johnson's Museum). After about 1800, the name of a locally-based or -respected British (if not Scottish) musician as arranger was increasingly regarded as a valuable selling-point in a work's favour.

The extent to which this development was also a result of feelings relating to Scottish nationalism is difficult to assess. Although in the area of musical-instrument making (as in other types of manufacturing) the theme of national pride was frequently used to entice the patronage of the local market (see p.400), contemporary sources did not directly stress this point in relation to publications of national music. Instead, it appears that dissatisfaction with the work of foreign composers as arrangers, rather than a primary desire to promote the skills of indigenous musicians largely precipitated a change in this area. A reason for this surprisingly lacklustre attitude on the part of contemporary nationalists probably lay in the generally-appreciated absence of musicians of Scottish birth who could match the eminence of the foreign composers.

The musicians in Scotland who achieved popular success as arrangers of national songs came from three areas of the profession: performers (including organists), retailers and teachers. The potential benefits to be gained in terms of kudos, if not always in money from sales, were clearly significant. A detailed examination of these musicians and their published work awaits a further study; for present purposes a few illustrative examples will suffice.

Arrangements of Scots songs by the Aberdeen-based organist John Ross achieved great popularity throughout Britain. Many of these were published by music retailers in Edinburgh, such as John Hamilton. From the late-1790s, his shop on North Bridge published,stocked and advertised an extensive selection of Ross's work. Hamilton was the
publisher of Ross's *A Collection of Scottish Songs*, in addition to numerous single arrangements of native airs. Since his business was largely based on the sale of printed music, the presentation of new works by a respected and indigenous composer was a particularly important area in which his stock differed from that of competitor firms. Later, Muir, Wood & Co. similarly secured popular arrangements from the same musician.

Since many of Edinburgh's music retailers were also teachers and/or practising musicians, they were well able to produce arrangements for publication and sale through their own shops. The chances of making a profit were thus enhanced through the avoidance of an arranger's or composer's fee. In the field of Scottish song, Alexander Robertson was notably active; his arrangements regularly appeared within his various firms' advertisements.

Although the most prolific locally-based arrangers of national airs fell into the category either of performer or retailer, arrangements by a few of the city's music teachers who were unconnected with these other occupations occasionally appeared. Among such figures was a Miss Scott, a teacher of the piano, harp and singing (see Table II.8, p.148), who combined her three areas of expertise in print:

Johnny Cope / A favourite Scottish Ballad / Arranged with Symphonies and Accompaniments for the Piano Forte or Harp / by MISS SCOTT / price 1s 6d / EDINBURGH, Printed and Sold by ROBERT PURDIE at his Music Shop, no.70 Prince's Street.

Such arrangements by local music teachers appeared throughout the period, published by retailers in the city. From the late-1820s onwards a notable figure here was Finlay Dun with, for example, his "Come, Sing to Me" (published by Paterson & Roy) and *The Musical Scrap Book* (songs published in instalments by Wood & Co. 67).
Other Publications of Vocal Music in Edinburgh

In addition to national songs, other types of vocal music were published and sold in Edinburgh. The pattern outlined above relating to changes in the preferred format (from collected editions to single items) and the increasing involvement of locally-known musicians as arrangers, applied also to non-Scottish songs.

Until his departure for London in 1788, Domenico Corri was the most prolific composer and arranger of vocal music in Edinburgh. His works were published by the firm of John Corri & Co. (subsequently Corri & Sutherland, see pp.223-4). During the 1780s several large-scale collections of songs gathered, composed or edited by Domenico Corri were published in the Scottish capital. He was similarly responsible for many individual vocal pieces of various types and origins, national and theatrical. Of the collected editions, his Select Collection of 1782 was the most extensive and ambitious, as reflected in its lengthy and detailed advertisements 68.

Although the work's expense (£2 12s), royal dedication ("to Her Majesty the Queen, by permission"), scale ("The Largest Musical Work ever printed in Great Britain") and attention to the finer points of musical interpretation (including the marking of phrases and explanation of ornaments) makes it an atypical example, these features reflected both the quality of Corri's abilities and the esteem in which he was widely held. After all, such an ambitious project would hardly have been attempted had the author's reputation been insufficient to merit widespread respect and thus attract sales. In Edinburgh, the work served as a "flagship" publication for Corri's North Bridge shop, with its availability through one alternative, non-specialist bookseller (Elliott's of Parliament Square) designed for the convenience of customers in the Old Town. The limited appeal of the work (on account of its price) necessitated that it was speedily made available in other musical centres, notably London, Bath, York and Dublin 69.
The validity of William Cummings' later claim that Corri's *Select Collection* was the first published work in Britain to feature fully-realised keyboard accompaniments in place of a figured bass is difficult to verify. One suspects that had this been the case, the author would have made the point within his copious advertisements. Even if it did not set a precedent, the work was certainly among the earliest and most important to abandon the earlier keyboard practice and thus further widen its appeal to those not expert in realising accompaniments from figures.

Of Domenico Corri's later large-scale vocal publications, *The Singer's Preceptor*, published in London in 1810, achieved the greatest success: according to advertisements, it attracted a list of subscribers "amounting to one thousand." During its early years, this work was available in Edinburgh only through Natale Corri's shop. Domenico was held in high esteem in Scotland, both as a performer and teacher, and a continuing association with his name and works was of great value to his brother's business.

Pietro Urbani also produced a few collections of songs (in addition to his collection of Scottish songs). Some of which, written in a deliberately simple style, served as teaching pieces:

TO THE LOVERS OF MUSIC ....Signor URBANI has now published six Songs (the words Italian and English) with an accompaniment for a Piano Forte and Violin, which are adapted for Young Ladies, who have made some progress in playing the Harpsichord or Piano Forte....

Like those of Corri, Urbani's arrangements and compositions were subsequently published and sold through his own music shop (run in partnership with Edward Liston), and served similarly to differentiate the firm's stock of music from that of its rivals:

NEW MUSIC WAREHOUSE / no.10 Princes Street / URBANI & LISTON.... Just published / Thou'rt Gone Away from me Mary, and I'll never Leave Thee, arranged as Duets, with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord / And, in a few days will be published / All the MUSIC performed at Madame ROSIGNOLI's BALL and PUBLIC, arranged for the Harpsichord - by Peter Urbani. /4
As was the case with Urbani's publications of vocal music, a performer's success in the city often served as an encouragement to publish songs. It was relatively easy and inexpensive for an arrangement of a popular piece to be made, engraved and published within, for example, the period of residence in Edinburgh of a famous performer. Among such musicians, although instrumentalists were usually keen to undertake such work (for example, see p.111, and p.112), singers generally did not make their own arrangements for publication; their generous fees probably rendered such labours undesirable and unnecessary. Local music firms thus often took the opportunity speedily to produce versions of pieces which had achieved public success. The appeal of the resulting work was then further enhanced by the inclusion of the performer's name on the title page.

Penson & Robertson (and later Alexander Robertson & Co.) were particularly active in this field, with many arrangements being made by one of the partners, usually Robertson. In imitation of the long-standing practice of London publishers, their lists of new music usually included a popular song or ballad from the latest theatrical production in the city, along with the name of the successful performer. Songs associated with the celebrated Scottish singer John Sinclair frequently appeared in the firm's advertisements with suitable exaltations, for example:

Pray Goodie, Love among the Roses and Auld Lang Syne, with the additions, as sung at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh with unbounded applause by Mr Sinclair 75

This Day is Published and Sold by Penson, Robertson & Co../ The favourite song of "Dearest Maid, I adore Thee" as sung with enthusiastic applause at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, by Mr Sinclair 76

Gin ye will come, Daintie and sit on my plaid – a favourite Scotch song, as sung by Mr Sinclair at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh with unbounded applause and arranged by him for the voice and piano forte, price 1s 6d /...Peggy is my Darling, an admired Scottish Air as sung by Mr Sinclair at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, price 1s 6d at Penson & Robertson's Music Saloon. 77
Other singers who received similar attention included Alexander Murray, Eliza Paton, Agnes Noel, Madame Vetris and Catherine Stephens.

The publication of songs by respected local musical figures was a further way by which Edinburgh's retailers appealed to local sentiment. In the area of non-national vocal music the compositions of only a few locally-based musicians appeared in print during the period, contrasting with the number who produced arrangements of Scottish songs. The reasons for this are various, but principally reflected the fact that it was easier to compose arrangements than original works, and that a well-known national song was more likely to find general favour and thus the widest market. Some settings by J.F. Pole and a few songs by Schetky provide exceptions to this general pattern. During the early-1790s Stewart & Co. published a number of Schetky's songs:

The BIRTH-DAY of THOMSON, Author of the Seasons, an Occasional Poem, written by Mr. WOODS, set to Music by Mr. SCHETKY, price 5s.

HELENA's BIER, a Song in Memory of a Young Lady lately deceased, the words by Mr. WOODS, set to music by Mr. SCHETKY, price 1s.

Occasionally, local musicians undertook the publication of their own songs which were subsequently available from local retailers, for example, Alexander Campbell's "Twelve Songs, set to Original Music" of 1791, available "at the Music Shops of N. & M. Stewart & Co., Corri & Co., Ross, Bryson, late Bremner, Johnston & Co. music-sellers, Lawnmarket, and Lawrie, Symington & Co., late Sibbald, Edinburgh Circulating Library, also Mcgowan, Glasgow". However, with the notable exception of Thomas Butler (see pp.362-5), few followed Campbell's example. Generally, local composers were unwilling to risk publishing their own works, preferring instead to settle for a publisher's fee. In the case of Campbell's songs, Johnson's suggestion that the "seriousness" of the work, combined with the unfamiliarity of the public with the composer's music, dissuaded local publishers from producing the collection seems to
be contradicted by the large number of shops in Edinburgh and Glasgow which sold the publication.

In the early 19th century, Penson & Robertson were active notably in the field of publishing original vocal compositions by local composers, as were (later) Paterson & Roy. The favoured musicians included Robert Archibald Smith, George Farquhar Graham and John Thomson, for example:

Just Published by Penson & Robertson.... Two favourite NEW SONGS, the one set to Music by R.A. Smith, author of the much-admired song "Jessie the Flower o' Dunblane" called "The Mountain Flower" the other, "Absence", composed and inscribed to Signor G. Naldi, by G.F. Graham.

Just Published by Paterson & Roy.... Ciel piétose, Aria by J. Thomson esq. / Oh! Ask not, Canzonet, by do..

Just Published by PATERSON & ROY... the following Songs / THE MERRY MOONLIGHT HOUR, by JOHN THOMSON esq. / POOR CAMILLE by do. do. / ZARA, ART THOU SLEEPING? by Do. Do.

The importance of an element of local interest or association is similarly reflected in two other areas of vocal publications: light pieces for unaccompanied ensembles and Church music.

The Publication of Catches and Glees

Despite the genre's earlier, tavern-tainted image, the formation of The Edinburgh Catch Club in 1771 encouraged a vogue within domestic music-making in the city for light-weight vocal ensemble pieces. The celebrity of this organisation was reflected by its seemingly obligatory use as dedicatee not only for most local publications of related music, such as Stewart's Collection (see below), but also for other important works, such as the first edition of Johnson's Museum, although the dedication of this work's 1804 edition was altered to the more distinguished Societies of
Antiquities of Scotland 90. Enthusiasm for the genre was not peculiar to the Scottish capital; London boasted numerous such societies and a correspondingly thriving demand for its music for domestic performance. The first large-scale Edinburgh publication of glees and catches was announced by Niel Stewart in 1780:

MUSIC / To-morrow will be published by N. Stewart, at his Music-shop, Parliament Close (price 1s) / NUMBER 1 of / A COLLECTION OF CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES, DUETTOS &c. Selected from the works of the most eminent composers, ancient and modern - Dedicated to THE CATCH CLUB, instituted at Edinburgh, June 1771./ The publisher has spared no pains to render this collection as complete as possible; it being his intention to present to the public the most valuable pieces of Vocal Harmony which are to be found in the different collections hitherto published, as well as several compositions which have not yet been printed. He hopes this undertaking, which is the first of the kind in this country, will meet with encouragement from all Lovers of Music. He proposes to publish no.II on Monday the 6th of July, and a number will thereafter be regularly published once a month. / No.I contains 13 different pieces of music, among which are the celebrated Glee by Dr Arne. "Punch an Emblem of the Medium of Life" and the duetto by Purcell "Were I to chuse". 91

As illustrated by Stewart's advertisement, the amateur appeal of the genre demanded that collections of glees and catches should consist mostly of familiar items. Since much suitable material of this type could be obtained from existing sources rather than by commissioning new arrangements or compositions, the publication of these collections attracted the attention of non-specialist music publishers. In Edinburgh, important publications in this field were produced by local booksellers and general publishers, such as James Sibbald's seven-part Collection of Catches, Canons, Glees and Duettos, published in 1781 (dedicated, again, to "The Gentlemen of the Edinburgh Catch Club") 92.

Within a year, the success of this work had prompted the appearance of a second collection 93, and subsequently two others. The work enjoyed a lasting degree of popularity, although the terms of its re-publication in 1788, by Sibbald in conjunction with Corri & Sutherland, suggest that the publishers were keen to dispose of old stock. The four-volume set was to be sold at the old price of £1 8s,
with single volumes (still at 7s) available for a further period of a few months. After this, the collection could be purchased only in its complete form at a price increased by two shillings. In addition to stressing the work's quality, the 1788 advertisement reassured polite society concerning its content:

The Publishers beg leave to recommend this Work to the public. It contains a most complete collection of vocal harmony, selected from the works of the most eminent composers, ancient and modern, at a very moderate price; and they have been particularly cautious not to admit a single piece which might give offence to the most delicate. The last volume, in particular, contains some of the most celebrated Glees which have lately been published.

The popularity of the work is reflected in the appearance of a further edition, again, available only as a four-volume set, announced by the Lawrie, Symington & Co. (successors to Sibbald & Co.) in 1791.

By the late-1790s the market encouraged a new, extensive work in the field. Gow & Shepherd's *A Collection of Catches, Canons, Glees, Duets &c.* appeared in two volumes (at 8s 6d each) and contained 174 numbers "Selected from the Works of the most Eminent Composers ANTIENT & MODERN." However, since this work failed to feature in the firm's advertised lists of publications after 1800, one is doubtful of its success. During the early decades of the 19th century (following the general trend away from large-scale collected editions of works), new collections of glees and catches appeared predominantly within musical magazines or in other low-cost publications sold in instalments (see pp.372-3).

**The Publication of Church Music**

As one would expect, the appearance of publications of Church music in Edinburgh coincided with periods in which attempts were made to increase public involvement in the genre (see p.188 ff.), for
example, although an attempt by the Edinburgh Town Council and a few individuals to revive interest in the field during the early-1790s (see pp.190-l) did not meet with sustained success, it prompted a small number of publications of Church music in the city; including Alexander Walker's *A Collection of the Most Approved Church Tunes now used in the Church of Scotland* (c.1790) and Laurence Ding's *The Beauties of Psalmody* (1792).

A similar, although more sustained revival of interest in about 1810, led also to the publication of collections of Church music. In most cases, these were prepared by musicians associated with local churches, for example, William Penson at St. George's Chapel:

DEVOTIONAL HARMONY (This Day is Published) The PSALMS, HYMNS, &c. used in St. George's Chapel, Edinburgh / The words selected by Rev. C. VINCENT / The music selected from the most popular composers and arranged for 3 & 4 voices; with the organ part written in full, instead of figures, by W. PENSON, Organist.

Although The Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music promoted a number of Church music publications (see pp.195-200), its collapse in 1819 reflected public apathy, and during the 1820s, publishing in this area reverted to the efforts of a few local church musicians. Of these, Robert Archibald Smith was the most renowned, prolific and successful, as reflected by the appearance of a series of collections of Church, such as his *Sacred Harmony* of 1822, published by Robert Purdie.

**SUMMARY**

Throughout the period, arrangements of Scottish songs were the most popular type of vocal music published in Edinburgh. During the final decades of the 18th century, they appeared principally in the form of collected editions, usually consisting of more than a single volume. Although a discount could often be obtained by subscribing in
advance of publication, the price of most collections was high and, in the case of Thomson's work, prohibitive to all but the wealthiest section of the population. The publishers were frequently local music retailers, for whom such projects represented a "flagship" work, which served to differentiate their stock (and hence their business) from that of other firms. Although the expense of many publications necessitated a national distribution network, in Edinburgh, retailer-publishers often initially restricted the availability of their collections to their own shop, thus maximising profits from local sales.

The arrangers of many late 18th century collections of Scottish songs were respected foreign composers. It was hoped that the combination of traditional Scots verse with the skills of Europe's leading composers would result in the creation of an art work of the highest and most enduring quality. However, recurring criticisms were voiced against this practise. A sense of incongruity between the poetry and music was expressed in relation to some collections, such as Thomson's. Such claims were often well-founded, since many foreign composers clearly had not understood the text, while others were not even supplied with it. Some arrangements were criticised also for being too learned or complex, and thus unsuited to the simple immediacy of the poetry.

A general dissatisfaction with the principle of using foreign composers to set the national music roughly coincided with a widespread change in the preferred format of folk song arrangements. From the early-1800s, the number of collected editions produced in the Scottish capital decreased sharply from that of the previous decade. The new vogue was for simpler arrangements published singly. The reasons for the change were aesthetic as well as financial. The creation of an enduring or definitive collected edition ran contrary to public demand for music of the moment. The publication of single, uncomplicated arrangements made by locally-based musicians (and designed to appeal to musical amateurs of widely ranging abilities) became the principal form in which Scots songs appeared during the early decades of the 19th century. The change coincided also with the
final stages of the abandonment of figured-bass style accompaniments, which were generally replaced by written-out parts for the piano. The practice of including addition instrumental accompaniments for each song similarly declined. Although these developments were widespread, they represented shifts in popular preference rather than absolute changes in publishing practices, throughout the period some publishers, notably Thomson, continued to produce collected editions as before.

The local musicians whose arrangements of Scots songs were widely appreciated in Edinburgh included performers, teachers and music retailers, some of whom composed or arranged original songs too. Many of these works were published by local retailers, with the firms of Penson & Robertson, Robert Purdie and Paterson & Roy particularly active in the field. A general shift of preference in favour of singly published works is distinguishable also in this area of publishing. In exception circumstances, local musicians who were not connected with retailing, published their own vocal compositions, the most notable being Alexander Campbell.

The market for publications of glees and catches, and for Church music was less sustained than that for accompanied songs. However, during their respective periods of popularity, significant works were published in the city, mostly in the form of collected editions, to which form both genres were particularly conducive.

THE PUBLICATION OF KEYBOARD MUSIC

The following survey of keyboard music printed in Edinburgh between about 1780-1830 assesses the four principal types of publication. Firstly, arrangements of dance music; secondly, arrangements of traditional Scots vocal melodies; thirdly, more abstract works, such as sonatas, rondos and variations; and finally, pieces depicting or commemorating events in the continental wars.
The Publication of Dance Music and Music from other Local Entertainments

Unlike the city's concerts, Edinburgh's dancing assemblies enjoyed great popularity and fashionable patronage throughout the period, particularly after completion of the new Assembly Rooms in George Street in 1787 (see pp.41-2). A lucrative additional benefit for those professionally involved with dance music was the sale of arrangements of dance tunes by, or associated with them. In this field, the publication of works by Niel Gow and members of his family (principally his son, Nathaniel) remained the cornerstones of the market. The history and music of the Gow family has been the subject of various modern studies. For present purposes, some additional observations concerning the format, function and importance of the various Gow publications to Nathaniel Gow's retailing businesses in Edinburgh are relevant.

Although the nature of Niel Gow's involvement in the publication of his music is not clear, until his death in 1807, his music was published by the firm of Niel Gow & Sons. Within this company, Nathaniel Gow was probably responsible for publishing. Although technically a separate concern from Nathaniel's music shop (Gow & Shepherd) the affairs of the two businesses were clearly linked. Following the establishment of Gow & Shepherd in 1796, the firm's lists of new music were predictably dominated by the works of Niel Gow. Clearly, the kudos attached to his father's name was of enormous benefit to his son's business, and, after 1807 it continued to assist Nathaniel in the introduction of his own works to the public:

5th Book of NEW STRATHSPEYS, REELS &c. By Niel Gow & Sons; Dedicated to The Right Hon. the COUNTESS of DALHOUSSIE / This Book will contain all the TUNES composed by NIEL GOW during the last seven years of his life, as well as those lately composed by his Sons JOHN and NATHANIEL, which have never before been in print.
For much of the period, the music of the Gow family was available only through the shops of Nathaniel in Edinburgh and his brother, John in London. As illustrated with reference to other publisher-retailers (see p.339), the exclusive sale of music through the publisher's shop served both to distinguish its stock from that of rivals and to maximise income from sales. However, in the case of highly popular works, such as these, it also served to combat pirated editions and sales. Such problems were encountered particularly when revised or corrected editions of works were produced, for example, that of *The Complete Repository of Original Scots Tunes, Strathspeys, Jigs and Dances* and *Niel Gow's Book of Reels*, both issued shortly after Niel Gow's death:

N. GOW & SONS.... are sorry to observe that, notwithstanding of their causing the plates of the 1st edition to be broke down, with a view that the Public might not be troubled with more productions from them, copies, with all the errors have been taken and lately published both at Edinburgh and London by persons totally unconnected with the family. None therefore are declared to be genuine but that as bear the written signature of NATHANIEL GOW. Both of which books are printed at Edinburgh and sold by Gow & Shepherd..., and at JOHN GOW no.31 Carnaby Street, Golden Square, London. 103

Similar difficulties were encountered by Pleyel and Butler, both of whom responded by producing new "corrected" editions of their works and limiting the number of retailing outlets from which they were available (see pp.328-9, and p.364, respectively).

The popularity of Gow's works was further reflected in the acquisition of publishing rights by the Edinburgh firms of Robert Purdie and Penson & Robertson following the dissolution of Gow & Shepherd in 1814 (see p.225). The subsequent advertisements of both firms placed great emphasis on their new speciality (as was the case, for example, with a new Gow edition by Purdie, see below). A spate of revised or new editions produced by Nathaniel Gow following his resumption in retailing assisted in his regaining a degree of exclusivity in the field.

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Two trends relating to the publication of songs cannot be
applied to arrangements of dance music after about 1800; the waning
popularity of collected editions, and the use of accompanying
instruments in addition to the piano.

Although the vogue for large-scale collected editions of vocal
music in Edinburgh declined during the first decade of the 19th
century, arrangements of dance music (and particularly that of the
Gow family) enjoyed a continuing popularity in this form. Although,
the price per volume tended to be less than that of vocal
collections, for example Gow's Repository was priced at 7s 6d (see
above), this was not always the case. Robert Purdie was sufficiently
confident to publish an eight-book edition of Niel Gow and Sons Reels
in 1818 "handsomely bound in one volume", which sold at £2 12s 6d;
more than twice the price of two volumes of George Thomson's vocal
collection. The reason for the continuing success of collected
editions of dance music was principally the music itself. It was
familiar, modern, popular and the arrangements were easy to play,
commonly consisting of a melody and bass line. It could be easily and
attractively adapted to appear in a collected format. In order to
establish a sense of continuity between the short dances, they were
sometimes presented in a logical key sequence and alternated
according to type:

To be had of Gow & Shepherd, Just Published, price 7s 6d / NIEL
GOW & SONS Complete Repository of Original SCOTS STRATHSPEYS
and DANCES.... The arrangement of the tunes in this Book are in
a new style. Besides the Public having the sets played by Niel
Gow and Sons (which is the first time the sets have been made
in print, in any manner whatever) they are arranged as Medleys,
a Strathspey and Reel following alternately in their respective
keys, as the frequent changing of the key has been found to
offend the ear. Besides the Dancing tunes, there are a good
many most beautiful Slow Strathspeys, which does not interfere
with the Medleys. 104

The inclusion of numerous optional accompanimental instruments
in some Gow publications throughout the period also contrasts with
contemporary trends in published vocal music. The firm's Vocal
Melodies of Scotland was typical in this respect (see p.362). In
addition to widening the appeal of the collections to include non-keyboard players, such accompaniments featured the two instruments commonly used to provide public dance music, the violin and 'cello - these parts were thus entirely suitable to the arrangement.

The appeal of musical publications with a specific and recent local association was particularly strong in the field of dance music. The shelf-life of many sets of dances was very limited, it was therefore important for new and popular works to be made available speedily to the public. Nathaniel Gow's annual benefit ball was the occasion at which many new dances of his own composition were first heard; advance notices for this popular event often included an announcement that new music would be published immediately afterwards, for example in 1812:

Nathaniel Gow begs leave to acquaint the Nobility, Gentry and the Public, That his Annual Ball is fixed for Tuesday the 3rd of March to commence at 8 o'clock, on which occasion some new Airs and Dances will be performed. The DANCES will be published immediately after that Evening. 105

The popularity of these annual publications is reflected in their appearance over a number of years, particularly during the second decade of the 19th century 106.

Although the Gow family dominated the publication of dance music in Edinburgh throughout much of the period, other retailers also enjoyed some success in this area, particularly from about 1820. At this time, quadrilles became increasingly fashionable in Edinburgh (following the Paris and London fashions) at the expense of reels and strathspeys. This coincided with a decline in Gow's activities following the death of his son (and partner) and eventual dissolution of his business (see pp.225-6). The popularity of other bands correspondingly increased, particularly that of Alexander Murray and his musicians from the Theatre Royal, whose music also featured in locally-published arrangements, notably by Alexander Robertson 107 and William Penson 108.
The music heard at various public entertainments other than dancing assemblies appeared frequently in piano arrangements by leading local retailer-publishers. During the 1790s, for example, the popularity of the equestrian entertainments at the Edinburgh Circus (see p. 41) created a demand for its music from the amateur music market. During the Circus's early seasons, two local firms produced rival publications: Stewart & Co. 109 and John Watlen 110, the latter selected and arranged by the publisher. Watlen continued to produce arrangements of circus music until the dissolution of his firm in 1798 111.

A further area in which keyboard arrangements of national music achieved popular success was that of vocal melodies adapted for the piano. A trend for such arrangements prevailed during the early-1820s, producing two significant publications. Predictably, given the Gow family's synonymity with Scottish dance music, Nathaniel Gow's Vocal Melodies of Scotland (1819) was the most extensive of these, while another locally-based musician, Robert Archibald Smith, made a similar set of arrangements for Robert Purdie in his six-volume Scottish Melodies 112. The appeal of such works was the same as for other areas of national music:

VOCAL MELODIES OF SCOTLAND / In a Few Days will be published / by NATHANIEL GOW & SON, price 8s.... THE VOCAL MELODIES of SCOTLAND, Consisting of all our beautiful and popular native Airs, carefully selected from the oldest and most genuine collections. and arranged for the Piano-Porte, Harp, Violin or Violoncello by NATH. GOW / The approbation with which Niel Gow and Sons' Repositories of Reels &c. were honoured, was the inducement for undertaking the publication of these simple and original Airs on the same plan, and which is now for the first time offered to the public 113

The Publication of Keyboard Sonatas, Rondos and Variations by Composers in Edinburgh

The most prolific Edinburgh-based composer of sonatas, rondos and sets of variations for the piano during the period was Thomas
Hamly Butler. Excepting (from about 1800) short annual periods of teaching in London, and a few years in Montrose during the mid-1790s, where he served as the town's organist and teacher of music, Butler was resident in the Scottish capital from the early-1780s until his death in 1816. Although he was occasionally engaged as a keyboard soloist by the Edinburgh Musical Society during the 1780s, his name rarely appeared in concert programmes after 1800. From this time, Natale Corri generally presided at the keyboard in his subscription concerts and engaged visiting performers when a keyboard soloist was required. During the early 19th century, Butler's activities in Edinburgh were centred on piano-teaching and composing. A catalogue and analysis of Butler's music awaits a specialised study, but for present purposes, some general points concerning his works and their publication are relevant.

Although Butler published numerous keyboard sonatas, as with the remainder of the composer's output, these were popular, light-weight works; their title pages usually described the music as being "pleasing" or "favourite". The sonatas were relatively easy to play, superficially attractive, and often incorporated a rondo or set of variations on a Scots melody (each feature being characteristic of most of the composer's works), for example:

A New and pleasing SONATA for the Piano Forte in which is introduced the favourite RONDO of LENIE GORDON with alterations and additions by the Author, T.H. BUTLER, price 2s / Publish'd by the Author himself - and Entered in Stationer's Hall. N.B. This Sonata and the Rondo of Lewie Gordon, as now alter'd and improved, are both Mr Butler's property - therefore, it will be very unfair, and contrary to Law, if any other person offers to print or publish them ....

[T.H. Butler]....author of Lewie Gordon - Corn Riggs are Bonny - and other well-known pieces for the Piano Forte &c &c. humbly acquaints his Old Scholars and well-wishers in Edinburgh; that very soon he will publish a quite New and Brilliant Sonata for the Piano Forte, in which he will introduce, the favourite Scqts Air of "Green Grow the Rashes" - worked up as a Rondo.
Following the standard late 18th-century tradition, Butler occasionally published his sonatas in groups of three or six; for example the three sonatas dedicated to Miss Dundas of Arniston and a similar set entitled "Farewell to Edinburgh", to mark the composer's planned departure for the United States in 1810, a trip subsequently abandoned.

The popularity of Butler's piano pieces was reflected in the composer's recurring problems with pirated versions. Although a few of his works were published by local music retailers, such as A beautiful New Rondo and other pieces, produced by Stewart & Co. in 1793, Butler published most of his music himself. New works were commonly available only from the composer's house in the Old Town and a single named shop in the New Town - the bookseller, Mr Ogg of South St. Andrew's Street. In this way Butler attempted to secure maximum financial benefit from his compositions, both by gaining the full price from sold copies, and by restricting the scope for those producing pirated copies. The public were informed of the arrangement through Butler's advertisements, for example, his eight Rondos "dedicated to Lady Charlotte Campbell (1806) were "the sole property of Mr Butler and cannot be had anywhere else in Edinburgh, but at his house" and similarly, his Six New Rondos (1807) were "To be had no where in Edinburgh, but at Mr Butler's House, Bishop's Land, High Street". In addition, some works were published in numerous "improved" editions, signed by the composer; for example some nine versions of his most successful piece, a rondo on the air Lewie Gordon, were published between 1782-1800.

Generally, with collections or groups of pieces, Butler sought to reduce the expense and risk involved through publishing by subscription, as for example, with the three "Farewell" sonatas of 1810 and the six rondos of 1805:

NEW MUSIC / For Publishing by Subscription / Price six shillings to subscribers, nine shillings to non-subscribers / SIX NEW RONDOs for The PIANO FORTE / To be Dedicated to the Right Hon. LADY CHARLOTTE CAMPBELL / Composed from the following favourite Themes, by T.H. BUTLER / If tis Joy to wound a Lover, Cauld Kail in Aberdeen, Roy's Wife o'
Aldivalloch, Say little foolish flat't'ring Thing, Bush aboon Traquair, My ain kind Deary. 125

Numerous other Edinburgh musicians produced keyboard works which were published in the city. As with the works of Butler, these were invariably light-weight pieces; variations, rondos or sonatas, often incorporating Scots tunes. During the late 18th century, such musicians included the city's leading performers such as Stabilini (for example, his New Minuet and Rondo, with the variations 126) and Schetky (for example, the rondo Jack's Return from Dover 127). The latter was published by Stewart & Co., whose role as principal publisher of Schetky's works was assumed by Muir, Wood & Co. after about 1800. In 1802, for example, Muir, Wood & Co. published Schetky's New Sonata for the Piano Forte and a rondo on "My Mither's ay Glowrin o'er" 128.

John Watlen was prolific in this area. Again, his works consisted principally of rondos and sets of variations on Scots tunes, for example, The Princess Royal, a Country Dance "composed as a Rondo for the Piano Forte" 129 and Lady Charlotte Campbell, with New Variations 130.

Other Edinburgh musicians who composed pieces for the piano included the organist William Clarke:

Just Published, price 8s / Three Sonatas for the PIANO FORTE - Op.1 / With an Accompaniment for the Violin / Composed by WILLIAM CLARKE / Organist of the New Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh / Printed for the Author, and to be had at his House, James's Street, behind the Panorama; and at Preston's Music Warehouse, no.97 Strand, London 131

The degree of success achieved by this work is not clear, although Johnson suggests that it was limited 132. Local retailers were reluctant to risk publishing such "serious" works, hence the composer's decision to publish them himself. Since Clarke subsequently announced further "elevated" works for solo keyboard, notably his Duett for Two Performers on one Piano Forte in which are introduced Scottish Airs of 1804 133, and Twelve Voluntaries for the

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Organ or Piano Forte of 1808, the initial venture was probably not entirely unsuccessful. However after the early years, Clarke's published compositions became predominantly aimed at the commercial sector of the market, as shown, for example in his 1808 advertisement announcing the organ voluntaries which listed popular songs and airs by the same author:

....composed by Wm. Clarke, and lately published, "LOVELY ROSABELLE" the poetry by WALTER SCOTT esq.; "OWEN" (a Welsh Air) with Variations, and "MUIRLAND WILLIE" a Rondo / In a few days will be published "WHERE SHALL THE LOVER REST", the poetry from Marmion.

Clarke's lighter pieces were published in Edinburgh by the firms of John Hamilton and Penson, Robertson & Co.

John Thomson was another young, local musician and teacher who composed and published keyboard works. During the early-1800s a few of these appeared in the more serious form of the accompanied sonata:

NEW MUSIC by J.THOSON / Just Published and to be had at the Author's house, no.9 Drummond Street. / THE TINKER'S OCCUPATION, a New Rondo, which has hitherto met with general approbation, price 1s. / Three SONATAS, with an accompanyment for the Violin, 6s / A NEW STRATHSPEY with Variations, 1s / 2 NEW SONATINAS, 1s each....

A market for music associated with local events, prompted Thomson to announce the publication of such a work on at least one occasion. Whether his The Musical Desperadoes was ever issued is not clear; an advertised description represents little more than a satirical attack on the shortcomings of Urbani's 1803 subscription concerts (see pp.56-7). As with Clarke, Thomson's output quickly came to consist principally of arrangements of national airs, either in versions for solo keyboard or voice. These achieved a degree of popularity since, from the mid-1820s, many were published in Edinburgh by Paterson & Roy, such as The Pirate's Serenade in 1826.
As with their publication of vocal works, many of the piano arrangements produced by Penson, Robertson & Co. were by Alexander Robertson. His success and reputation as a teacher of the instrument undoubtedly helped to popularise his publications. Most of these pieces fall into the standard categories already outlined, for example in this selection from 1816 (which included works by another Edinburgh musician, John Mather):

Just Published / A Highland Medley Overture - in which are introduced Seven Celebrated National Airs.... composed, selected and dedicated to the Marquis of Huntly and Officers of the 42d Royal Highlanders, By Alexander Robertson, price 2s 6d.... The Auld Wife ayont the Fire - a popular Scottish melody arranged with variations, in which is introduced the favourite Air of "O Let me in this ae Night" by John Mather.... The Gallant Troubadour, a popular French song varied from the original melody, and adapted to the English words by Alexander Robertson. This Song is universally known, sung and admired over all France, Switzerland and Germany, and is now sung at the Edinburgh concerts with unbounded applause by Mr Swift.... Young Dunois the Brave - a romantic Ballad, the air varied from the original to the English words by Alexander Robertson....

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The quest for local novelty in this field was similarly illustrated by the appearance of Mary Ann Paton's "First Essays in Musical Composition, consisting of Airs and Gavots for the Piano Forte", published by Muir, Wood & Co. (in conjunction with Corri) in 1803 141. Paton, who at the time was five years old, was to enjoy a highly successful career as a singer in London (see p.113).

Keyboard Works Associated with the Continental Wars.

In addition to the sale of military band instruments and the availability of instruction, the music trade in Edinburgh responded to public interest in the war by the publication of pieces depicting major events. Works by Edinburgh's musicians varied from battle pieces and marches, to simple musical expressions of patriotism. As with much other music produced in the city, the appeal of such pieces lay in their modernity, novelty and their local associations.
The latter point is illustrated by the numerous marches composed for Scottish regiments, particularly those based in the capital. A leading composer here was the city's foremost 'cellist, and band master of The Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, Schetky (see p.185). In addition to the Collection of Scottish Music of c.1800 for military band, a number of marches by Schetky dedicated to local regiments were published by Edinburgh retailers in arrangements for piano, for example, The Edinburgh Volunteers March and The Leith Volunteers March of 1794, published by Stewart & Co. 142, and the Grand New March and Quick Step "dedicated to the Officers of the 1st Batallion 2d Regt. of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers" of 1798, published by Muir, Wood & Co. 143. In the 1790s, Stewart & Co. similarly published marches by Nathaniel Gow, as well as songs on military texts:

STEWART & CO. newly published: A New Song "Send him Hame" by a Lady, on the Death of a Field Officer / "Old England O" a favourite loyal song / The Edinburgh and Leith Volunteers Marches, and Quick Steps / The Argyleshire Fencibles March /The Strathspey Fencibles March / The Hon. Mr Ramsay Maule's March / And next week will be published "The Edinburgh Volunteers" - A New Song, the words by a Gentleman of the Corps. 144

In addition to arrangements of marches, some "military" works, including programmatic pieces depicting decisive events in the conflict, were composed specifically for the domestic music market. These were much in imitation of works by composers in London, notably Dussek in such pieces as The Battle of Spilsberg and The Lamentations of the Queen of France. Natale Corri, John Watlen and Pietro Urbani produced successful pieces of this type, the first-named depicted a land battle in The Siege and Surrender of Valenciennes (1793) 145, while the latter two honoured naval victories: Urbani in Britain's Triumph or The Dutch well-dressed (1797) 146 and Watlen with a graphic musical account of the surrender of Toulon. In his advertisements, Watlen attempted to increase the disposition of the public toward his business through reminders of his own period of military service, typically through the inclusion of the phrase "Composed by John Watlen, late of His Majesty's Navy" 147.
Other piano works with a military flavour but less-specified associations were also presented to the public. These included Count Borowiński’s The Volunteer and T.H. Butler’s The Marching and Embarkation of the Brave 42d Regiment, "a Grand Military Divertimento, for the Piano Forte".

SUMMARY

Many of the changes and developments which affected the publication of vocal music in Edinburgh during the period also applied to keyboard music. There was a preponderance of pieces which either incorporated a Scots traditional melody or else arose from a local event or association, while the arrangers or composers of many works were local retailers who were also performers and teachers. The scale and frequency at which new pieces appeared reflected the inexorable increase in demand for keyboard works suitable for performance in the home. However, given the size and variety of demand for keyboard music in Edinburgh, additional features characterised its publication.

The first concerned the emergence of the piano as the standard domestic keyboard instrument in place of the spinet and harpsichord, a development inextricably linked with the growth in the amateur music market during the period. By the late-1790s, piano music dominated retailers' lists of publications, as pianos did their selections of instruments. Although the title page of some pieces from the early years of the 19th century named the harpsichord as an alternative instrument to the piano, by 1810 this practice had generally fallen into disuse.

Secondly, it is more difficult to discern a decisive shift in the preferred format of keyboard publications similar to that outlined for vocal music. As well as single pieces, collections of diverse works for harpsichord appeared during the early part of the
period. These ranged from small-scale groupings of anonymous short pieces to more extensive collections of similar works by local composers and a typically thorough publication from Domenico Corri. Although arrangements for keyboard of some shorter pieces, particularly the dance music of the Gow family, achieved a high level of popularity in the form of collected editions throughout the early 19th century, longer works, such as rondos or sets of variations were generally less conducive to being grouped together in collections. Their publication as single items was also more profitable and was the most common form in which they appeared.

The standard 18th century practice of publishing sonatas in collected groups of three or six occasionally provides an exception to this pattern, although the number of sonatas composed and published in Edinburgh during the period was relatively small compared with, for example, sets of variations. The most popular local composer of keyboard sonatas in the city during the period, Thomas Butler, published a number of sonatas in groups.

Many more Edinburgh musicians published works for the piano than arranged or composed songs. This reflected both the size of the market for keyboard music as well as the number of piano teachers and players in the city able to produce such works. The retail price of keyboard works varied to a greater extent than did that of songs. The range of works was clearly much wider: from a handful of dances to a set of sonatas. Generally, prices were slightly higher than for vocal publications, commonly by about 6d. This perhaps related to the additional expense incurred in having longer works engraved, but also indicated that the market for keyboard works was sufficiently strong to support higher prices.
Music Published for other Instruments

Although piano pieces were overwhelmingly the most popular type of instrumental music published in Edinburgh, works for other instruments also appeared. Of these, pieces for the flute, or flute duet were the most common. Predictably, many such works were arrangements of national airs in collected editions, for example, Urbani & Liston's *Most Favourite Scotch Airs* of 1797 (arranged by Urbani 150), Penson & Robertson's *Melodies of Scotland* (arranged by Robertson 151) and Gow's *Vocal Melodies of Scotland* 152.

Other selections of flute music included works for two flutes by the city's principal resident instructors, such as Muschett's *Six Duettts for Two German Flutes or Violins* of 1786 153, Pringles's *A Selection of Duets for Two German Flutes* (1792) 154, Fraser's *Duetts for Two German Flutes* of 1802 155 and Macleod's *Collection of Airs, Waltzes, Marches and Rondos for Two Flutes* of 1818 156. Generally, although imported music for the flute commonly appeared in retailers' lists throughout the period, there was relatively little demand for locally-composed solo music apart from collections of national airs.

A similar pattern can be traced with the publication of music for harp. The city's leading instructors during the early 19th century, Philip Seybold and Jean Elouis each published collections of pieces including Scots tunes and music with a local association, as reflected, for example in Elouis' publications of 1818. Much of Elouis' published music was associated with his activities as a teacher:

*Non je ne veux pas chanter* - the celebrated air and bravura song, by Madame Fodor / Papa, sung by Madame Catalani and Signora Corri / Batti, Batti, in the Opera of Don Giovanni ....Hope told a flattering Tale &c. / The whole of the above music and a variety of other pieces, arranged for the HARP or PIANO FORTE by Mr Elouis, and each performed simultaneously by
the Ladies of the Harp Classes, to be had of Mr Elouis, no. 55
North Hanover Street, and from all the Music Shops / N.B. Also
his Selection of 100 Scots Airs, harmonized for the Harp or
Piano Forte. 157

As interest in the Spanish guitar increased during the latter
part of the period, works for the instrument by locally-based
teachers appeared in retailers' advertisements, such as William
Hagart's two books of *Airs for the Guitar*, published by Paterson &
Roy in 1828 158, and works by one Castro de Gistau:

New Music - Just Published by ROBERT PURDIE.... INSTRUCTIONS ON
THE SPANISH GUITAR with an explanation of Music adapted to that
instrument. Dedicated to her Grace the Duchess of Hamilton and
Brandon, by M. Castro de Gistau. Price 10s 6d. Also, the first
of a selection of AIRS for the Guitar by the same Author, 2s
6d....159

In addition to the flute, harp and Spanish guitar, locally-
composed music for other types of instrument sold or taught in the
city occasionally appeared in advertisements from retailers or
composers. However, reflecting the level of public demand and
interest, works for the three named instruments appeared most
frequently. Generally, the format and content of such publications
followed the pattern outlined in relation to keyboard music.

The Publication of Musical Magazines

So-called musical magazines achieved considerable popularity in
Edinburgh during the late 18th century, as reflected in the number
published by local music retailers and general book-sellers. The
appeal of these works lay chiefly in their price, but also in their
novelty - the regular appearance of new pieces over a number of
months. Magazines could be little more than repositories for old or
third-rate music occasionally stiffened by the inclusion of pieces of
higher quality. The format thus proved particularly attractive to
non-specialist publishers in music, since much, if not all, of an
instalment could be printed from existing plates.
Most of the musical magazines published in Edinburgh during the period were produced by firms which did not specialise in music. The content of these works was dominated by vocal music, not surprisingly given the level of its popular following as well as the ease in which short songs could be presented in a collected format. Predictably, in view of prevailing public taste, Scots songs featured prominently, for example, Oliver & Co.'s The Caledonian Musical Repository of 1806, "...Being a Selection of the most esteemed Scottish Songs, Ancient and Modern, set to Music, and adapted for the Voice, Violin and German Flute" 160 and David Sime's The Edinburgh Musical Miscellany 161.

The most successful Edinburgh-produced publication in this form was The Vocal Magazine which appeared in two series during the later-1790s (published by Charles Stewart 162) and early-1800s (published by James Sibbald 163). Its success was based on its modest price (1s 6d for each monthly instalment) and the quality and choice of its content: national songs and ensemble pieces neatly presented in attractive arrangements 164.

Magazines containing instrumental pieces were generally less common, being more expensive and difficult to produce. It is significant that the two most ambitious works in this category originated respectively from a firm and an individual with business links in other cities. Corri, Dussek & Co., in conjunction with Ignace Pleyel, announced their Journal Of Vocal, Harp and Piano Forte Music in December 1796 165; the first number appeared simultaneously in London and Edinburgh early in the new year 166. However, since the journal is not mentioned within the Scottish firm's subsequent advertisements, its fate is not clear.

Whether Yaniewicz's The Monthly Rose, which consisted principally of his own arrangements of dance music, was published in Edinburgh is also uncertain. The magazine's success was reflected in its extended period of publication, although instalments were not maintained on a monthly basis; for example, no.6 was announced in December 1820 and no.14 in December 1824 167.

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CHAPTER VI

PIANO-MAKING
INTRODUCTION

The earliest piano makers in Britain were of German extraction: craftsmen refugees from the Seven Years' War, who established businesses in London during the 1760s and produced harpsichords, spinets and square pianos. The first generation of native piano builders received their training in these workshops. Within a few years, demand for instruments came from towns and cities throughout the kingdom. Although London, the centre of industry and dictator of fashion, was pre-eminent in manufacture, towards the end of the century, a number of provincial piano-making firms successfully competed for local markets. Edinburgh, with its rapidly increasing middle- and upper-class population, was clearly a place where success might be found, and by the late-1790s the city was established as a centre of piano manufacturing in Britain second only to London.

Despite the substantial scale on which piano-making was practised in Edinburgh between the late-1780s and mid-1830s, the subject has remained neglected by modern scholarship. Since a detailed examination of all aspects of the piano trade in the city during the period is beyond the scope of the present study, the intention here is to present an outline from which further studies may proceed.

Following an assessment of the city's harpsichord and spinet makers during the second part of the 18th century, the names and known periods of activity of piano makers working in Edinburgh are listed. A survey of the development of piano making in the Scottish capital is divided into four periods, corresponding roughly with changes in the nature of manufacturing activities: the late 18th century, c.1800-1818, c.1819-1829, and c.1830-c.1840. Within each period, the scale and nature of production will be outlined and the instruments described and assessed. The relationship between Edinburgh pianos and those of London makers is a recurring theme throughout the study. The extent to which Scottish instruments were imitative of their southern counterparts will be assessed, specific
trading links between firms revealed, and the question of the true provenance of Edinburgh pianos will, to a substantial degree, be settled. Unless otherwise stated, the extant instruments referred to within the text are currently in private ownership. All measurements are given in millimetres.

**Harpsichord and Spinnet makers in Edinburgh after about 1750**

During the second half of the 18th century, Edinburgh supported just five makers of harpsichords and spinets: Christian Shean, Richard Livingstone, John Johnstone, James Logan, and Richard Horsburgh. Of these, the first three worked from their homes / workshops in the manufacturing district of the Old Town. Shean, previously from London, was based in the Canongate from at least February 1772, until his death on September 14th 1794. Johnstone and Livingstone, whose places of origin and training are not known, worked from Carrubber's Close: Johnstone during the 1760s and 1770s, Livingstone between about 1782-1803. The few surviving Edinburgh keyboard instruments of this period are spinets, which reflects the principal area of demand. Each maker worked as a tuner and repairer, and some also advertised as dealers in other keyboard instruments, or as teachers of music. The market for new, Edinburgh-made instruments was not sufficient to support a high degree of specialisation, as illustrated by Shean's various activities:

CHRISTIAN SHEAN - Harpsichord and Spinnet Maker from London, having moved from Upper Playhouse Close to the New Street, north side of the Canongate, continues as usual to MAKE and SELL all sorts of Harpsichords and Spinnets. Also Tunes, in Town or Country, and repairs Harpsichords and Spinnets in the best and carefulllest manner. He likewise hires out per quarter, month or year, Harpsichords and Spinnets, at the very lowest prices, in Town or Country, and teaches young Ladies to Tune them according to the easiest method. He also buys and exchanges second-hand Harpsichords and Spinnets for new ones. / Christian Shean returns his grateful acknowledgements to his customers and hopes for the continuance of their favours, as they may depend on being well and exactly served.
Logan's activities differed somewhat from those of other makers. He produced organs, harpsichords and spinets, the latter in significant numbers for the Edinburgh dealer, Niel Stewart. A number of extant spinets bearing the legend "Niel Stewart, Edinburgh" carry Logan's inscription concealed internally on the baseboards, for example: "James Logan Edinburgh fecit no.104, for Niel Stewart No.12 - 1774" and "Jas. Logan Edinr. fecit No.115 - 1775. - for Niel Stewart 22". Clearly, from the number sequence, most of Logan's spinets at this time were being made under contract to Niel Stewart. The arrangement probably continued over an extended period. It benefited both craftsman and retailer: the former was relieved of the uncertainties and expense of marketing, while the latter received instruments at a considerably lower price than those imported from London.

Unusually, Logan employed apprentices within his workshop. He had gained the right to do so from becoming a burgess of the city in January 1781 (on account of his marriage to the daughter of a local skinner, Henry Goldie). His most notable protege was Andrew Wood, who subsequently became a successful piano maker in the city (see p.226, and p.411ff.). However, there is no evidence that Logan himself made pianos, and this may be why his activities as an independent instrument maker lessened towards the end of his career, as demand for spinets and harpsichords rapidly decreased. By 1790 he was associated with Johnson's music shop in the Lawn-market as an itinerant instrument repairer and tuner. His name was omitted from the city directories after 1794.

The dwindling demand for harpsichords and spinets forced their makers to adapt. During the 1780s, the city supported just two builders in addition to Logan: Richard Livingstone and Richard Horsburgh. Livingstone, who had also made chamber and barrel organs, proceeded to specialise in organ building and remained active in the city until at least 1804. Of greater significance to this study is Horsburgh; from the mid-1780s his advertisements included pianos along with other instruments of his manufacture.
The Edinburgh Piano Firms

Between about 1785-1840 pianos were produced by over 25 different firms or makers in the Scottish capital. Table VI.1 lists their names and known dates of activity. These details have been drawn principally from the city's street directories, advertisements placed in contemporary local newspapers and from evidence discovered through the examination of surviving instruments. The divisions within the table relate to the four phases of development in the city's piano trade into which this study is divided.

Table VI.1 Piano Makers in Edinburgh c.1780-c.1840

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<thead>
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<th>Firms or Individuals</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard Horsburgh</td>
<td>1784-1813</td>
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<tr>
<td>Niel and Malcolm Stewart</td>
<td>1786-1800</td>
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<tr>
<td>John and Archibald Watson</td>
<td>1786-1808</td>
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<td>Andrew Rochead</td>
<td>1793-1804</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Nisbet</td>
<td>1799-1808</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muir, Wood and Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rochead and Son</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wood, Small and Company</td>
<td>1818-1829</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paterson, Mortimer and Company</td>
<td>1819-1826</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Hamilton and Company</td>
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<td>James Stodart</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mortimer, Anderson and Company</td>
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Table VI.1 (contd.)

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<td>Andrew Reid</td>
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<td>Wood and Company</td>
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<td>Small, Bruce and Company</td>
<td>1829-1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Ramsey</td>
<td>1830-1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Poole</td>
<td>1830-1835</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE FIRST GENERATION OF EDINBURGH PIANO MAKERS c.1780-1800

The first phase of piano building in Edinburgh involved six makers or firms: Richard Horsburgh, John and Archibald Watson, Niel and Malcolm Stewart, Andrew Rochead, Robert Marr, and Stephen Moore. With the exception of the Stewarts (who remained dealers rather than makers) and possibly Andrew Rochead, each was trained in London. Rochead may have been active as a spinet maker for Niel Stewart in Edinburgh during the 1780s, perhaps within Logan’s workshop; the 1784 Niel Stewart spinet in the Russell Collection, Edinburgh, is internally signed "A.R. for N.S. 2l", which may indicate that it was made by Rochead. Generally, the other Edinburgh makers revealed their London links through advertisements, although the Watson brothers often included the phrase "Makers from London" as part of their nameboard inscription (see p.388). The earliest newspaper advertisements for locally-made pianos were placed by Horsburgh from about 1786; the following from 1789 is typical:
Richard Horsburgh, musical instrument maker makes HARPSICHORDS, double and single, PIANO FORTEs, with and without brass dampers, SPINETS, GUITARS &c. All these instruments are warranted as good as any from London, though sold at much lower prices. 13

Horsburgh did mention the source of his training in press advertisements, but since there were no piano-making activities in Edinburgh prior to his own, or any record of an apprenticeship with a local craftsman, one suspects that he had learned his craft in London. Of the city's first generation of makers, only Stephen Moore specified for whom he had worked in the English capital:

STEPHEN MOORE takes the opportunity of gratefully informing his Friends, That, under their auspices, he has been enabled to establish an extensive Manufactory of FORTE PIANOS in Edinburgh - that he hopes the prejudice generally entertained of London instruments having the pre-eminence will be done away, when they are informed that STEPHEN MOORE served an apprenticeship to the first house in London (Longman and Broderip's) in that line, and that nine out of ten of the journeymen Piano Forte makers in London are cabinet makers from North Britain. 14

Moore's association with Longman & Broderip probably ended some time before his departure for Scotland. During the mid-1790s, he produced pianos in London bearing his own name. An extant square is inscribed: "Stephen Moore and Co., Panton Square, Haymarket, London. Patent 1796" 15. Its use of brass under-dampers, rather than wooden over-dampers (as generally found on Longman & Broderip squares of the period), suggests further that Moore was working independently of the city's principal music retailer at this time.

Although a degree of quality by association was gained through a stated link with London, most Edinburgh makers were careful not to overstate the connection - a balance had to be struck. After all, one of the chief attractions of instruments made in Scotland was a nationalistic association with their place of manufacture.
Workshops

Although, by the early-1790s, construction of the New Town following James Craig's plan was at an advanced stage and large areas were well-populated, most piano makers worked from the Old Town. The city's traditional manufacturing district, centred on the wynds and closes leading from the Canongate, retained many advantages: relatively low rents, close proximity to the populous High Street and the developing shopping district of the North and South Bridges, and easy access to and from the New Town. The latter particularly encouraged piano trading and manufacturing to be centred around the crossroads of the High Street and Canongate with the Bridges.

For much of the period, Edinburgh's piano makers worked from home, in the tradition of the earlier generation of harpsichord and spinet makers. Instruments were either ordered and purchased directly from the workshop, or displayed and sold through one of the city's music retailers. Only during the mid-1790s, with the growth of fashionable shopping districts in the city and an increasing demand for instruments, are there signs of a general move on the part of piano makers towards establishing their own shops or showrooms.

Horsburgh, after brief periods at Robertson's Close (1784-1788) and Byer's Close (1788-1790), spent most of his working life in the Canongate "at the head of Todrick's Wynd" (1789-1813). Similarly, Marr worked nearby; his addresses at "first stair below the head of North bridge, High Street" (1794-1799) and "head of Halkerston's Wynd" (1799-1805) may refer to the same place. Although Rochead's workshop/house was at the other end of the High Street, "back of the weigh house, Castlehill" 19, its position shared some of the advantages of other firms. Its relative remoteness from the New Town was resolved in the early 19th century by the opening of a second shop (see p.408).

With an address at "no.2 St Anne's [sic] Street, New Town" between 1786-1792 20, John and Archibald Watson appear to be an
exception to the general pattern. However, their premises were not as fashionable as the New Town label suggests; the brothers enjoyed low rents combined with easy access to both New and Old Towns as did the other makers. St. Ann Street was located on the south side of Princes Street near the North Bridge:

[Its buildings] were reared and finished in the meanest and most irregular manner, presenting to the view over the parapet wall of the North Bridge a range of dirty and deformed chimney tops and of heavy roofs, in which the most curious eye could scarcely discover any feature of the sublime or beautiful. They were occupied, too, exclusively by keepers of ale houses and small shops, or by chairmen, porters or common mechanics...21

Although the Watsons' premises in St. Ann Street complied in most respects with the pattern of musical instrument workshops in the city, the brothers' change of address and commercial expansion in 1793 were indicative of a shift in the traditional system of trading, which mirrored changes in music retailing in the city (see p.214). In order to broaden business and promote sales within more genteel surroundings in both the Old and New Towns, two new "Warerooms" were opened; at no.5 South Bridge (1790-1800) and no.7 Leith Street (1793-1802) 22. Since the premises on South Bridge had previously served as a music shop (that of John Thomson) it was probably continued as a retailing outlet. In addition, as Thomson's entire stock was also offered for sale (see p.317), one suspects that at least part it was acquired by the Watsons too. From the new shop, the brothers offered a wider range of goods and services than before, as illustrated by their advertised activities from a few years apart:

**JOHN & ARCHIBALD WATSONS / PIANO-FORTE MAKERS FROM LONDON / No.2 St Anne's Street, New Town / EDINBURGH / MAKE, TUNE, AND REPAIR INSTRUMENTS. / They also let out / MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS / By the Year, Half-year, or Quarter / Orders from the Country duly attended to. 23**

**GRAND and SMALL PIANO FORTES & CO. / JOHN and ARCHIBALD WATSONS / Piano Forte Makers, have on hand, at their Warerooms, no.5 South Bridge (West side), a Great Variety of GRAND and SMALL PIANO FORTES, both of London and Scotch make; Likewise, some excellent VIOLINS, FLUTES and a large assortment of MUSIC, by the most esteemed composers / Instruments lent out, repaired, tuned and taken in part exchange. 24**
The acquisition of a shop in a fashionable area reflected the transformation of craftsman into merchant. Indicative of this, in 1797, although Stephen Moore established his manufacturing business in the Old Town, it was not amongst the ancient wynds and closes, but on the fashionable shopping parade of South Bridge.

The Scale of Production

A survey of advertisements and extant instruments confirms that square pianos dominated manufacture during this period, although other types were made in small numbers. Since there are no surviving business records, it is difficult to estimate the overall scale of production. Horsburgh, the Stewart brothers and Rochead gave their instruments serial numbers, which provide some assistance, but without knowledge of the starting number of each sequence or its subsequent numerical integrity, their usefulness is limited.

On Horsburgh's pianos, as well as the serial number (handwritten at the upper end of the wrest-plank), the year of manufacture was recorded (stamped on the upper face of the top note key-lever); for example, square no. 265 is dated 1802. Since Horsburgh had first advertised his pianos in the mid-1780s, it seems that during the 1790s his annual production rate averaged about 20 instruments, and that the serial sequence had reached about 200 by 1800.

There is some evidence that Horsburgh also made grand pianos. On December 1st 1792 the directors of the Edinburgh Musical Society "Resolved to engage Horsburgh's Piano Forte...." for their concerts. This enabled the society to sell its harpsichord, which realised £25, although it took three years to sell. A piano was hired annually from Horsburgh, at a monthly fee of one guinea, for the duration of the concert season, as shown, for example, in the Society's 1795 Account. The size of the fee suggests that it was a grand. The current retail price of a square by Broadwood varied from just 15 to 19 guineas - a price undercut by Edinburgh makers (see
It thus seems unlikely that the Musical Society would have hired a square over successive years at such expense, in preference to buying it outright.

Horsburgh was principally a maker and retailer of his own instruments. If the piano used by the Society was from London, the decision to hire from Horsburgh seems strange, since the Society had dealings with the city's larger music retailers, such as Niel Stewart and Corri & Sutherland, each of whom stocked London-made pianos. In addition, the wording of the directors' resolution (above) suggested that the instrument was of Horsburgh's manufacture.

Stewart & Co. also dated their squares: no.66 (written in ink at the top of the soundboard) is dated 1791 (stamped on the top key-lever). The firm advertised their own pianos between 1786 and the early-1790s. It thus seems unlikely that the serial sequence exceeded 100. A surviving Rochead square (no.368) has the inscription "Andrew Rochead and Son", which places it after 1804 (see p.407). Its furniture appearance, compass and action suggest a date before about 1809 (see p.418). Assuming a mean date of 1806, the number of squares made between 1793 and 1800 can be estimated at about 200, or 25 per annum. Moore worked on a more limited scale and over a shorter period than other Edinburgh makers (see p.398), while Marr's output, which included grands, was essentially small-scale (see p.393-6). Their combined total production probably did not exceed 100 instruments.

The principal makers during the period were the Watson brothers. There are at least eight surviving square pianos, of which two are signed and dated (in pencil on the baseboards beneath the treble end of the key-frame): "20 Aprile 1797 Archd. Watson" and "Edinburgh 11 Octr. 1799". Given also that the firm's manufacturing activities were based on the work of two expert craftsmen rather than one (as was the case with the other firms), an estimated figure of about 400 square pianos between 1786-1800, or 30 per annum, does not seem unreasonable.

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Based on these figures, before about 1800 the six Edinburgh firms produced about 900 squares. This is probably a generous estimate. During the same period, Broadwood alone made some 4500 squares, as well as over 1200 grands. One might thus describe activities in the Scottish capital as modest. However, they assume a greater significance in view of the number of Broadwood pianos sent to Edinburgh's music retailers during this period (see Table VI.14, p.475). The market opportunities were reflected also in the proliferation of makers in Edinburgh during the 1790s. One concludes that, during these early years, a sizable proportion, and perhaps even the majority, of local demand for pianos was met by local firms.

All extant Edinburgh squares dating from before about 1800 are based on the same design, with the same keyboard compass (five octaves: FF–f³, 61 notes), action type (English single), internal layout (with the tuning pins placed to the right), and most have the same damping system (brass under-dampers). The cases are veneered in mahogany and supported on a French frame. In these, and other characteristics, they are imitative of London-made counterparts. Since only single examples by other firms have been located, the extant square pianos by the Watson brothers have been chosen for detailed discussion, forming a case study of piano manufacture in Edinburgh during the late 18th century.

The Pianos of John and Archibald Watson

Although the eight extant square pianos by the Watson brothers located by the author share many features of design and some common dimensions, there are also minor differences between them. These principally concern five areas: case dimensions; string scaling and materials; the shape of the dampers; the design of the key front mouldings; and, the preferred type of label and inscription. Of these, the first two provide evidence relating to the firm's approach to manufacturing, while the remaining three assist in establishing a likely sequence of production.
The Manufacturing Process

The two dated instruments have the same case dimensions: c.1590 x 535 x 220. Of these measurements, the width is the most commonly shared by other extant squares by the firm, while in terms of length, each differs either by up to 10 mm more or up to 100 mm less. The position of the key-well within the case alters accordingly, as do the string scales.

On shorter instruments the string length for c² is fixed at about 310 and that for FF at about 1345. The modified bridge contour on the dated pianos reduces the former (c.304) and increases the latter (c.1410), which results in a general improvement in the string lengths (based on the principle that string lengths should double for notes one octave apart). To permit the maximum possible bass string length within each instrument, the lower strings cross the nut at the closest practicable point to the case side; the effect of the string's resultant sharp angle on the pins is reduced firstly by double-pinning on the nut and, secondly, by the pins being driven in at a greater angle than usual. This is a feature found on each of the firm's surviving instruments, although the number of double-pinned bass strings varies between eight and ten. There are differences also in the size of the string bands: the number of over-spun strings varies between 14 and 24; and plain brass, between 14 and 22. Even the close-matching, dated pianos differ slightly here.

The Sequence of Production

Although the Watson brothers did not use serial numbers on their instruments, differences between extant pianos in three areas, when considered in conjunction with the dates found on two squares, suggest a likely sequence of production.
With a single, questionable exception (see below), brass under-dampers are used on all extant examples. This system of damping was originally part of Broadwood's 1783 patent and was adopted by a number of small, mostly provincial firms during the 1790s, presumably by arrangement with the patentee (although the modified internal layout for squares, with tuning pins placed to the back, which also forms part of the 1783 patent, does not appear on non-Broadwood pianos). In about 1794 the shape of the damper head on Broadwood pianos was modified, being curved to damp the string more effectively. Since this modified type of damper was used on the two dated Watson instruments, the remaining examples (which have straight dampers) date from prior to the first of these, i.e. April 1797. Once the improved design had been adopted, there seems no reason why the firm should have reverted to the former. The actual dampers used by the Watson brothers differ from those found on contemporary Broadwood pianos: the Watson dampers' brass stems and arms are thicker and less finely crafted. It is not clear whether the Edinburgh firm produced its own dampers or obtained them from a sub-contractor.

One Watson piano is fitted with wooden over-dampers, of the type found on the earliest English square pianos and abandoned by most London makers by the mid-1790s. These are crudely made and may not be original to the piano, although the instrument's nameboard inscription also suggests a relatively early date of manufacture.

Three forms of legend appear on the firm's various nameboards. The piano with over-dampers uses an archaic formula: "John and Arch Watson Edinburgh fecerunt / both from London". During the 1790s, most London firms exchanged Latin for English on their labels (for example, Broadwood switched in 1795). The Watson brothers' use of "Edinburgh" rather than "Edinburgi", perhaps reflects a less than complete grounding in the Classics. The inscription is written in ink on a sycamore inset with rounded ends. A similarly shaped inset appears on the nameboard of another instrument (the basic dimensions of this inset match the first). Again the wording is slightly archaic: "John and Arch Watson, Edinburgh". The remaining pianos have their inscriptions set within an oval-shaped sycamore inset,
which are of the same size (with a maximum length of 133 and height of 60). The same legend appears on all three: "John and Archd Watsons / Edinburgh / Makers from London". Since these examples include the two dated instruments, the third probably dates from a time close to the first of these (i.e. April 1797). The inscription on the remaining Watson instruments uses a similar wording, but does not include the brothers' name in the plural (the practice of including the family name of brothers within a partnership in the plural was common in 18th-century Scotland).

From their damping systems and nameboard inscriptions, the extant Watson square pianos can be grouped in three categories. The earliest have either wooden over-dampers or plain brass under-dampers, and an "archaic" form of inscription. Slightly later instruments are fitted with straight under-dampers, and have nameboard inscriptions set in an oval-shaped inset, with the name Watson given in the singular. Finally, later instruments, two of which are internally dated, have the modified, crooked under-dampers; their nameboard inscriptions match that used for pianos in the previous category, except for the makers' family name, which is given in the plural.

The changing pattern used for boxwood key-lever mouldings, as shown in Diagram VI.1, confirms this grouping of the extant instruments. Those with the "archaic" inscriptions share the same design here (figure A). One of these pianos (the one with brass under-dampers) carries a "St Anne's Street" trade label. This indicates a production date before 1793, when the firm's address was changed (see pp.382-3). The three pianos in the third category also share a common moulding design (figure C). Of these, the example with straight dampers precedes the two with the modified version, and was thus probably made in 1796 or early 1797. The pianos in the second category, again with matching mouldings (figure B), were therefore produced between 1793-1796.
Summary

The extant square pianos of John and Archibald Watson span a production period of about ten years: the final decade of the 18th century. Press advertisements and the city directories suggest also that this was the firm's principal period of activity. The instruments, characterised by workmanship of high quality, do not match each other in all details, which probably suggests that manufacturing was continued on a relatively small-scale basis.

Although well-made and attractively finished, squares by the Watson brothers do not incorporate the most advanced technical improvements or innovations of larger, contemporary makers; such as Broadwood's internal layout (with tuning pins along the back of the case), Geib's double action (1786), or Southwell's extended compass and stringing design (1794). However, one suspects that the expense
of acquiring manufacturing rights from the London-based patentee (Longman and Broderip in the case of the latter two) was not the only obstacle here. In order to compete, it was clearly in the interests of the Edinburgh firm to keep production costs as low as possible, even at the expense of disregarding some technological improvements.

The surviving instruments provide few clues as to their makers' training and past activities. Although an agreement with Broadwood was probably made prior to the Edinburgh firm's adoption of brass under-dampers, there is no evidence to suggest that the brothers' frequently-advertised London connection had been with this house. Moreover, since specific details of these activities were not announced, one suspects that, prior to departure for the growing markets of the North, the Watson brothers had operated within one of the English capital's myriad small workshops.

**Exceptional Edinburgh-made Pianos c.1785-1800**

Although most makers advertised and produced only square pianos, there are two extant instruments not of this type: a miniature upright by Richard Horsburgh, and a grand by Robert Marr.

**Horsburgh's Upright Pianos**

Although the majority of Horsburgh's pianos were squares and he may have produced a few grands (see pp.384-5), during the mid-1780s he made a number of small uprights. An extant example has the nameboard inscription "Richardus Horsburgh, Edini Fecit 1786", and an internal label "D. Corri Inventor". The intended function of this type of instrument is revealed through an advertisement from the Edinburgh music firm of Corri & Sutherland in 1786, which included "a portable piano forte for travelling in a post chaise, invented by
Dam. Corri" among a list of available instruments. Evidently, these pianos did not meet with commercial success, since within two years they ceased to appear in the firm's advertisements.

The musical capabilities of the Corri-Horsburgh uprights were limited. The compass was restricted to three and a half octaves, G-c\(^3\) (42 notes). By 1786, the standard compass of square pianos was five octaves, FF-f\(^3\) (61 notes). Throughout the compass, and particularly in the bass, the available string lengths were extremely short. Table VI.2 compares these measurements with those from a near-contemporary Broadwood square (no.1931); the bracketed figure represents a percentage based on the length of c\(^2\). Throughout, the Broadwood piano achieves a more satisfactory scaling:

Table VI.2 A Comparison of String Lengths from a Horsburgh Upright and a Broadwood Square of 1792

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>String Lengths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Horsburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c(^3)</td>
<td>103 (72%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c(^2)</td>
<td>283 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c(^1)</td>
<td>473 (84%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>600 (53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>640 (51%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The compact, but simple design of the Horsburgh action, in which all strings were struck at the same point in their length, contributed much to a general lack of resonance. The mechanism was based on an ingenious inverted mopstick principle with the hammers and dampers combined in the same unit. Although the stringing was bichord throughout, a una corda effect was available through the use of a row of buffs which damped one string of each note. The device was operated by a hand-lever.
The usefulness of Horsburgh's instruments whilst in transit must have been minimal, particularly in view of the notoriously poor state of 18th century Scottish roads, and with the pneumatic tyre awaiting invention. They were probably more useful during stopovers on long journeys. Even so, their necessarily light-weight construction, the exposure to extreme changes in atmospheric conditions and relentless jolting, probably rendered them in need of a tuner and technician at each inn.

Clearly, the chief attraction of the invention lay in its novelty. The extant example is attractively veneered in mahogany with rosewood cross-banding and fruitwood inlay. The nameboard veneer is of a striking burr walnut (following the preference of early London-based piano makers such as Adam Beyer). Not surprisingly, the case sides are adorned with sturdy brass carrying handles.

**Marr's Grand Piano**

Little is known of Robert Marr's background or activities, although his family name suggests a Scottish association. An early newspaper advertisement provides most of the available information:

ROBT. MARR, PIANO FORTE MAKER / from LONDON / Takes this opportunity of returning his grateful acknowledgements to his Friends, and the Public, for the many favours already received, hopes for a continuation of employment in the line of GRAND and SQUARE PIANO FORTE making, both of which branches he continues to carry on, first stair below the Head of NORTH BRIDGE, HIGH STREET, Edinburgh. / Instruments let out, tuned and repaired / Commissions from the Country punctually answered. 38[1796]

The only extant Edinburgh-made grand piano located by the author is by Marr, and dates from his first year of residence in the Scottish capital. The nameboard inscription is in Latin, following the practice still then in use on some London pianos: "Robertus Marr Edinburgi, FECIT 1794". Given Marr's recent arrival in Edinburgh, one must consider the possibility that this instrument
was, in fact, a re-labelled London-made grand, perhaps imported by Marr to add prestige to his new business. This theory is strengthened by a number of similarities between the piano and those of Broadwood.

Generally, the Edinburgh piano's veneers and style of decoration resemble those of London's principal maker, for example the way in which an effect of three "panels" is achieved by the division of the outer lid surface using strips of mahogany inlay. As with many Broadwood grands, the straight side of Marr's case is veneered in mahogany, and also incorporates a three "panel" effect, while the figured sycamore veneer with mahogany cross-banding on Marr's nameboard and key-well cheeks resembles that typically used by the London firm.

In some technical details there are close resemblances also, for example, the dimensions of the keyboard. Table VI.3 (overleaf) compares some keyboard dimensions from the Marr piano, with those from a contemporary Broadwood grand (no.600, dated 1794). Within the table, the measurements of individual white and black keys is an average figure taken from a random sample of five notes. The different width measurements for g1 and d1 reflect the standard practice of making the upper section of the ivory on the note d wider than that of other notes (which were of a standard width).

However, despite the similarities, other features, both technical and superficial, prove that the Marr piano did not emanate from Broadwood's factory. Of these, the instrument's compass and its stringing pattern are the most conclusive. After about 1792, Broadwood grands were made with a standard compass of five and a half octaves (ff-c5). The five octave compass of the Marr was thus outdated by 1794. Similarly, after about 1788, Broadwood grands were constructed with a double or divided bridge: a short, separate bridge for the bass strings which both afforded them a greater area of vibrating soundboard and generally brought the strings closer to their optimum lengths. The Marr piano has a single bridge. Although one may conclude from this that the Marr instrument may have been a
re-labelled early Broadwood (particularly in view of its old-fashioned nameboard inscription), further inspection refutes this.

Table VI.3 A Comparison of some Keyboard Dimensions of Grand Pianos of 1794 by Marr and Broadwood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Marr</th>
<th>Broadwood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>length of whites</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>width of whites: ( d^1 )</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( g^1 )</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>length of touch-plates</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>width of touch-plates</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>length of black: top</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>78.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>width of black: top</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>height of black</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 octave measure</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table VI.3, the dimensions of Marr's accidentals are generally greater than those of Broadwood. The materials used are also different. While Broadwood invariably used ebony for grands, Marr exercised an economy here, using stained mahogany capped with an ebony slip. The large wooden (and rather crude) knobs which secure the nameboard to Marr's piano differ from those typically used by Broadwood, which are small and made of brass. The key-levers on the Marr are not numbered as were those on a Broadwood (which were usually stamped), and the design of the key-lever mouldings do not match, as shown in Diagram VI.2 (below).

One can add to this list of differences the crude manner in which the case of the Marr instrument has been inlaid (the strips being thick and uneven), and the poor quality mahogany used for its
lid. Similarly, the veneers used for decorating the nameboard and key-well cheeks (described above) were economical versions of the satinwood with tulipwood or rosewood cross-banding typically used by Broadwood. The Edinburgh piano's stand, although copying the design of that commonly used by the London firm, is heavier in construction. In addition to these differences between instruments, evidence that Marr made his own grand pianos is contained in an advertisement of the sale of the contents of his workshop in 1810:

TO MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKERS / CABINET MAKERS, &c. / To be Sold by public roup, on Tuesday next, the 29th May / The Whole STOCK in TRADE of the late Mr ROBERT MARR, Piano Forte Maker, High Street, Edinburgh, consisting of his whole Stock of Wood (of the best quality), Materials of all sorts for finishing instruments, with Work Benches, Cramps, &c. and a Grand Piano Forte, not quite finished. And, on Thursday next, the 31st May, will be sold, all the finished Instruments...42

Although the pianos of at least one Scottish firm during the early 19th century were re-labelled London imports (the Broadwood pianos sold by Knowles and Allen of Aberdeen 43), the extant grand by Marr does not belong in this category. Its similarities to contemporary Broadwood grands do not extend beyond superficial features and economies are apparent in many areas.

Diagram VI.2  A Comparison of the Key-lever Mouldings used by 
Marr and Broadwood

[Scale 2:1]
There is no evidence that Edinburgh makers were particularly concerned with the introduction or development of serious technical innovations on their instruments during this period. However, the attraction of a fashionable novelty was clearly difficult to resist. Horsburgh's upright piano belongs in this category, as does Stephen Moore's patent spring frame for grand pianos. The peculiar notion of placing a piano on springs was first patented by George Buttery in 1792:

Prejudice to the tone of instruments used in rooms that are carpeted and having other furniture tending to drown or deaden sound is removed by placing the instrument on springs, one of which is fixed to each foot of the frame. By thus placing the instrument, the tone will be brisker, the strings will have greater vibration, the instrument will receive a tremulous motion and the above defect will be entirely defeated.

For a few years during the later-1790s, an independent frame incorporating springs became fashionable; London-made square and grand pianos with this contraption were sold through Edinburgh dealers (see pp.287-8). Moore probably hoped to distinguish his new Edinburgh piano-making business through the presentation of his device. Its supposed benefits were more comprehensive than Buttery's, as described in Moore's extensive initial advertisement:

By Royal Patent,
THE GRAND INSULATED FORTE PIANO,
No.27, South Bridge Street
STEPHEN MOORE,

Who had the honour of inventing and introducing into this country the PATENT SPRING FRAME, is penetrated with the warmest gratitude to the Nobility and Gentry, for the unbounded support he has experienced; and, while he is so kindly upheld in the rugged path of envy and opposition, he nourishes the hope of a continuance of their patronage, and assures them, that it shall be his sure motive to obtain their esteem, and his highest ambition to deserve it.
The effects of the Spring Frame on the Grand Piano Forte, and the finished elegance and lightness of its appearance, are at once striking and beautiful. The great bearing and density of the Grand Piano Forte on its common frame has a tendency, similar to a mute on a violin. On the Spring Frame, the tone produced is clear and brilliant; and, while it rivals the power of the Organ, it possesses the delightful and enchanting tones of the sweetest flute. The beautiful TOUT ENSEMBLE can only be conceived by being heard.

A most striking advantage of the Spring Frame is the length of time which the instrument so suspended will stand in tune.

A Forte Piano, belonging to an officer on board one of her late Imperial Majesty's ships, when lying at the Nore, was put most completely out of tune by firing the guns; - by way of an experiment, it was affixed to a Spring Frame, and although one gun, which ran in within three feet of the instrument, was repeatedly fired, yet not a note of the forte piano was the least altered. The reason is obvious, the shock was lost in the springs; and, when it is admitted that the least jar has the tendency to put a piano forte out of tune, the advantage of the Spring Frame must be striking indeed.

STEPHEN MOORE having the sole right of manufacturing the Spring Frame, humbly trusts, that a combination against it will have no other effect with a generous and enlightened Public than to induce them to examine its merits.

It is certainly proper to add, that the Spring Frame makes no difference in the tone of the Small Piano Forte, as the bottom of that instrument is a solid block of common deal, full three inches thick, which nothing could make vibrate.

The bottom of a Grand Piano Forte is only half an inch thick - In respect to the standing in tune, the advantage is alike in both instruments.

The only objection which has ever been urged against the Spring Frame, by its most inveterate, interested enemies, that the distance between the Springs is so great in the front of the Grand Piano Forte as to endanger its bending, is entirely done away by the addition of a fifth Spring in the middle. [1797]

Unfortunately, the present author has been unable to locate a surviving example of the frame. Its popularity, and the success of Moore's enterprise, were short-lived - advertisements for the device ceased after about 1798, in which year Moore closed his Edinburgh shop after little more than twelve months in business.
Competing with London

From their continuance in business, it is clear that small-scale, independent piano makers in Edinburgh were successfully able to compete with larger, well-established London firms during the late 18th century. The success of their instruments lay in their price and provenance.

Although makers did not include their prices in press advertisements (perhaps reflecting uncertainties over fluctuations in the cost of imported timber), they frequently boasted a substantial advantage in this area over London-made counterparts. As Ehrlich has pointed out, it was in the interest of the large London firms to keep the retail price of their product high:

In fashionable trades the saleroom is commonly more important that the factory, and price-cutting less desirable than, and possibly inimical to, a reputation for quality and exclusiveness: "An article is likely to be dropped from the list of those used to express social standing when it has been once firmly seized upon by machine industry." In piano manufacture, without machinery and a far more rational division of labour, productivity remained low and prices therefore high. 47

By keeping production costs low, Edinburgh makers could consistently undercut the London prices. In this, the distance from the English capital worked to their advantage; the retail price of local instruments was not affected by the packaging, shipping and insurance charges paid by importers of London pianos:

N. STEWART and CO. make all kinds of Harpsichords, Piano Fortes, Spinets, Guitars, &c. &c. which they sell 25 per cent. cheaper than any imported. - If, on trial they are found inferior to the best imported, they may be returned in six months, on paying the usual hire. 48 [1787]

In addition, the skilled workforce were paid considerably less than their London counterparts:
Stephen Moore begs leave likewise to state, that, from the comparatively low wages given to workmen in this country, when contrasted with London, he is enabled to sell his FORTE PIANOS 25 per cent cheaper than the London instruments. [1797]

In addition to these savings, pianos made in the Scottish capital often reflected the cheapest possible options in terms of unseen features; all use the English single action, have the "common compass" (i.e. of five octaves, without the "additional notes") and few have a damper-lift pedal mechanism. In technical terms, they were quite basic instruments when compared with contemporary London models, and were, by the end of the century, rather old-fashioned.

The price advantage over London had traditionally been enjoyed and advertised by the city's keyboard makers, for example Shean emphasised it during the 1770s. However, by the later decades of the century, a nationalist element also featured in the promotion of local instruments. This typically sought both to stress the quality of the product, and to prick the conscience of the consumer through presenting its purchase as an expression of national pride:

STEPHEN MOORE has made it his particular study to select and employ the choicest cabinet-makers in Edinburgh; and it will be no small pleasure to his numerous Friends to assure them, that his instruments are in the highest estimation in London; and it will be the pride of his life to reflect, that he has had the opportunity of reversing the scene, for instead of London supplying Edinburgh with Piano Fortes (which it has done for some years past to the amount of from Five to Eight Thousand Pounds a years) the Piano Fortes made under the direction of S.M. find at this time the readiest sale in London.

He will not presume to pay so ill a compliment to the Nobility and Gentry of this country, as to suppose it is necessary for him to add, that those who most encourage the manufactures of their country, are its best friends. [1797]

SUMMARY

Edinburgh-made pianos were first advertised during the mid-1780s. Six piano makers worked in the city during the late 18th
century, at least two of whom, Richard Horsburgh and Andrew Rochead, had previously produced harpsichords or spinets. The remaining craftsmen, John and Archibald Watson, Robert Marr and Stephen Moore each received their training in London. Although Stewart & Co. (N. & M. Stewart after 1790) advertised pianos of their own manufacture, the firm was a dealer in instruments rather than a maker, and the source of their pianos is not clear.

Generally, Edinburgh's late 18th-century piano makers worked from the traditional manufacturing district of the Old Town and predominantly produced square pianos. These instruments imitated the appearance and characteristics of standard London models. By 1800, the total number of squares produced in the Scottish capital had reached about 900. Although this figure was small in comparison with the output of large London firms, such as Broadwood, demand for locally-made instruments was substantial and perhaps equal to that for imported pianos (see Table VI.14, p.475). Although a few makers advertised and produced grands, demand for such large and expensive instruments was modest. Edinburgh pianos feature few, if any, technical innovations, although the design of Horsburgh's uprights and the widespread but short-lived adoption of Moore's spring frames represent temporary exceptions to this pattern.

Edinburgh makers enjoyed advantages of price and provenance over their London counterparts. Since, in order to retain a semblance of exclusivity, the retail price of pianos was maintained at an artificially high level by most London makers, provincial firms, through paying their workforce lower wages, using cheaper materials and not having to meet the cost of insuring and transporting pianos prior to their sale, were able to undercut their larger southern rivals. By the close of the 18th century, Edinburgh makers' advertisements stressed also the nationalistic virtues of buying Scottish.
EDINBURGH'S PIANO MANUFACTURERS c.1800-1818

During the first two decades of the 19th century, piano-making in Edinburgh was dominated by two large firms: Muir, Wood & Co. (1798-1818) and Rochead & Son (1804-1818). Although most makers working in the 1790s continued in business for a few years into the new century, the scale of their operations was dwarfed by these two manufacturers, aside from which only one new maker appeared in the city directories, George Brysson 52. Within this survey, the fate of the smaller makers and the work of Brysson and Rochead are briefly assessed first. This is followed by a detailed study of the firm of Muir, Wood & Co. and its pianos.

The Earlier, Small-scale Businesses

Four of Edinburgh's piano builders from the 1790s continued in business after 1800: Andrew Rochead, Richard Horsburgh, Robert Marr and the Watson brothers. In 1804, Rochead formed a partnership with his son and transformed his business, trading on a greatly extended scale. The other makers remained as small-scale concerns.

Following a move from Leith Street in 1802 (the premises being extensively re-fitted and occupied by Muir, Wood & Co., see p.412), the piano-making activities of the Watson brothers become less clear, but seem to decrease. In the city directories, the brothers appeared as "piano forte makers" from new addresses on South Bridge: at no.105, 1803-1805; and no.20, 1805-1808. Their home addresses also changed, although they remained in less affluent areas of the city. In 1800, John Watson moved to Carrubber's Close, the heart of the old manufacturing district, where he remained until his death in December 1813 53. Archibald also remained in the Old Town although further south, at Potter-row. After his brother's death, and perhaps on the receipt of part of his estate, he moved to the New Town; no.9 Moray Street, Leith Walk (c.1813-1820).
Based on the dating system outlined above (see pp.387-91), the extant Watson pianos date from before 1800. The firm ceased to place advertisements in the local press from about this time. Since John Watson's Will 54 did not mention a business partnership with his brother (and sole executor), it seems likely that at some point between 1799 and 1808 (when the South bridge shop was sold), their independent manufacturing activities ceased. If the brothers subsequently worked within one of the city's new, large-scale piano workshops there are no indications as to which one.

Marr (see p.396) and Horsburgh continued independent activities for longer. An extant square (no.307) confirms that Horsburgh was still producing pianos in 1804 (see p.384). His name was listed in the city directories until 1813, with the title "musical instrument maker" retained until 1805, after which he appeared as a "piano forte maker" (by this time the other instruments formerly made by Horsburgh, harpsichords, spinets and English guitars, were musically and commercially obsolete). The 1811 directory contained a New Town address for Horsburgh, at no.10 St. Andrew Street. This was probably a small showroom, since he continued to reside in and work from the High Street, as he had done since 1805 55.

George Brysson

The Brysson family had long been involved in Edinburgh's music trade. George's father, John, became manager of Robert Bremner's music shop after Bremner moved to London in 1761. On the latter's death in 1789, Brysson continued the Edinburgh business under his own name from the same shop on the High Street: "opposite the cross well"56. His sons, John and George, probably assisted. Brysson senior died in 1807 or 1808 57, after which, his sons began trading under their own names, the former as a music retailer, the latter as a piano maker.
Like his brother, George Brysson worked from the Old Town. His name first appeared in the city directory for 1807-1808, listed as a "Piano forte maker, Castlehill". An advertisement from 1807 confirms the newness of his independent business:

NEW PIANO-FORTE WARE-ROOM, CASTLE-HILL [sic], EDINBURGH / GEORGE BRYSSON, Piano Forte Maker / Grateful for the many favours received, returns his most sincere thanks to those who have honoured him with their employment: Solicitous ever to recommend the Instruments of his Manufacture worth the attention of a discerning Public, he has removed to the above situation, chiefly on account of having the work conducted under his more immediate inspection, as he has for some years past been engaged in overseeing it, all which makes him somewhat confident in claiming a share of the Public Patronage. The quality of Tone shall be the first consideration, and built upon such principles as will enable him to recommend the PIANO FORTES of his manufacture to keep in Tune.

Ladies wishing to purchase Piano Fortes, of whatever Maker's manufacture they shall chuse to name, from his knowledge of work, may rely with confidence, that none shall be sent, but such only as he can promise to uphold as sufficient.

Orders addressed to GEORGE BRYSSON, Piano Forte Ware-room, Castle-hill, or to J. Brysson's Music Ware-room, High Street, will be carefully attended to.

Although his father's firm did not advertise pianos of its own make in the local press, the above notice implies that George Brysson had been involved in their production within the earlier business. His failure to mention the name of the firm for which he had been "overseeing" the making of pianos may lend credence to this suggestion.

It is difficult to specify the nature of George Brysson's involvement in his own business. If he was a craftsman, there are no indications as to where he had acquired the necessary skills; his name does not appear in The Register of Edinburgh Apprentices. Given his father's close association with Bremner, it is possible that George was sent to London to learn the craft. However, this seems unlikely, since such a potentially advantageous credential did not feature in the Edinburgh firm's advertisements.
The suggestion that Brysson simply placed his own label on instruments by other makers is refuted both by the above advertisement announcing the location of his workshop, and, more conclusively, by an extant square piano bearing his name. The design and appearance of this unnumbered and undated instrument, inscribed "George Brysson / CASTLE HILL / Edinburgh" (and thus dating from between 1807-1811, see below) is typical of its period: five and a half octave compass, single action, brass under-dampers, damper-lift pedal mechanism, mahogany case with six turned legs with brass collars. However, a number of features differentiate this square from those of other makers either from London or Edinburgh. Chief among these is its "double" soundboard: the left-hand (over-hanging) section of the soundboard has a second layer of pine secured to its under-side moulding, forming a resonant box. Although this idea was used by at least one other maker (William Edwards of Bridge Road, Lambeth, London), Brysson's instrument does not have the sturdy iron baseboard cross-bracing found on Edwards' squares. Other differentiating features between this Edinburgh instrument and its typical contemporaries include the shaping of its tuning pins, its additional wooden bracing on top of the baseboard (under the key-frame), an unusually shaped, high bridge, and an unorthodox stringing system (with plain brass strings in the bass rather than the conventional over-spun strings). One concludes that the instrument was a product of a small, innovative and independent workshop.

The unsuitability of Castlehill as a location for the sale of luxury items induced Brysson to move premises. In 1811 a new shop was opened opposite the Tron Church, at no.173 High Street. This had formerly been the traditional area for those making and selling luxury goods, at the point where the Bridges cross the Royal Mile (see pp.382-3), and some of the advantages which the location had enjoyed in the past clearly remained. Like those at Castlehill, the new premises combined workshop with showroom. Brysson's reluctance to move to the New Town probably reflected the modest scale of his activities, and perhaps a certain conservative streak born of his family's long association with the Old Town. He continued trading in the High Street until 1819, after which he probably transferred to
London: a piano maker of the same name worked from no.18 Bridgehouse Place, Newington, between 1824-1830 62.

Although Brysson did offer his customers pianos by any maker (see his advertisement on p.404), his principal activity was as a maker, not a dealer. The Broadwood Ledgers do not mention him as one of their customers; the buyer of three square pianos sent to "Mr Brysson, corner of Bank Street" in 1809-1810 63, was George's brother, John (see Table IV.2, p.297).

Occasionally, Brysson offered second-hand instruments for sale, these having been received mostly in part-exchange for new pianos. Their inclusion broadened the overall price range of instruments, and thus increased the potential range of customers attracted to the shop. An exception to this method of obtaining second-hand pianos was Brysson's acquisition of "the stock in trade of a piano forte maker from London, deceased" 64. It seems likely that the maker in question was John Watson, who had died in the previous year.

In advertisements, Brysson offered potential customers incentives in terms both of price and after-sales service:

ANNUAL SALE OF PIANO-FORTES.... In the present ELEGANT ASSORTMENT of PIANO FORTES, there will be found a variety of very SUPERIOR TONED INSTRUMENTS. From the many recent developments made on Piano Fortes, G.B. can with more confidence recommend the present Instruments as such as can be Warranted, and for a small expense, will engage to have them kept in tune for years. The lowest price is demanded for each Instrument, being almost one-half the common London retail prices - Also, a number of SECOND-HAND PIANO FORTES, by a variety of Makers (not warranted), at very reduced prices. Packing Boxes, if required, at half price - or if returned, no charge made. 65 [1815]

These "annual sales", staged also by a number of the city's music retailers (see pp.299-300), lasted for about three weeks and sometimes recurred within the same year (for example, sales in January/February and November/December 1813 66). To encourage trade still further, generous credit arrangements were offered, sometimes covering half the total sum, with the balance repayable over an
extended period 67. The low prices made Brysson's instruments attractive for export too: during April and May 1816 (a particularly intensive period), pianos were shipped to Hull (2), and across the Atlantic to Halifax (4) and Pictou (2) 68.

Rochead & Son

The announcement of Andrew Rochead's partnership with his son John in November 1804 coincided with the opening of a "New Music and Musical Instrument Warehouse" at no.4 Greenside Place 69. In addition to the firm's own pianos, the shop sold grands and squares by Broadwood and Stodart, an assortment of other London-made instruments of all types, sheet music (including that of their own publication) and a wide range of musical accessories 70. The activities of Rochead, senior, were thus transformed from those of a small-scale piano-maker into a broadly-based music merchant. Like Andrew Wood, who lived above his firm's shop and close to the factory (see p.227), Andrew Rochead's home remained at his Castlehill workshop after 180471. The new business conformed to a widespread pattern of trading in Edinburgh: manufacturing in the Old Town and retailing in the New.

Although Rochead & Son sold imported pianos, their activities in this area were, like those of George Brysson, on a small scale. On the firm's commencement in business 72, they became one of Broadwood's approved retailers in Edinburgh (see p.284). However, following an initial period of brisk sales, the number of Broadwood pianos sent to Greenside Place declined sharply; six squares were requested in the six months from December 1804 73, while only eight were ordered during the four years after December 1808 74. Although Rochead & Son probably sold instruments by other London makers, the Broadwood figures suggest that, as the firm's manufacturing confidence and capacity increased, and the number of shops which sold pianos in the Scottish capital grew, their trade in new, imported instruments decreased.

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As with their larger rivals, Muir, Wood & Co. (see p.412), the prestige of Rochead & Son was greatly enhanced through the award of a Royal warrant; by 1808 the firm had been appointed "Musical Instrument Makers and Music Sellers to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales" 75. The success of the partnership's first decade is also reflected in the broadening of its manufacturing base; in addition to square pianos, other instruments were produced, notably chamber organs, although activities here were probably on a small scale:

They have always on sale at their Warehouse, an elegant assortment of PIANO FORTES, CHAMBER ORGANS &c. of their own manufacture, finished on the most approved principle, and which they can with confidence recommend, as, in the different departments of their manufactory, the most skilful workmen are employed, and particular attention is paid in selecting the various materials. 76 [1808]

By 1813, the firm was advertising its own grand pianos, some of which were of the latest design, and finished in the most fashionable (and expensive) materials: "several in black rosewood, and with 6 octaves" 77. Clearly, the company was sufficiently confident to attempt expansion into the more exclusive section of the piano market. At this time, similar instruments from Broadwood's factory retailed at £71 78, and although this price was probably substantially undercut by Rochead, as was generally the case with Edinburgh instruments, in proportional terms, a Rochead grand must still have cost about three times as much as a square.

The firm's success as makers extended to foreign markets, for example a consignment of three pianos was sent to St. Petersburg in 1813 79. The same year also saw the removal of their shop to a more central and fashionable position at no.14 Princes Street 80. However, following the move, problems arose in the retailing line. A widespread economic depression made Edinburgh's dozen or so specialist music shops too numerous for the market to support: in March 1815, Rochead & Son announced their intention of "retiring" from the retail trade and confining themselves to the manufacture and sale of pianos from their Castlehill premises 81. This commercial contraction met with only short-term success. Within three years, the
firm was bankrupt - a victim of the continuing economic slump. In April 1818, Rochead & Son's sequestrated estate was offered for sale by auction. The extent of the firm's former manufacturing activities is reflected in the size of the workshop premises, as shown through details of the sale:

...the WHOLE STOCK...consisting of Piano-Fortes, Violins, Bugles, Trumpets, Music, Music-stands, Music-plates and a variety of Hardware Goods. Fancy Brass and Wood Stringing; Mahogany and other timber fit for the trade...That DWELLING-HOUSE on the south side of the CASTLE-HILL, presently possessed by Messrs. Rochead & Son, and consisting of seven rooms, with kitchen, closets, cellars, water-pipe, and other conveniences; together with the wareroom, two flats of work-shops, range of cellarage, small-wood yard and green plot immediately adjoining; all situated within a stone-paved court, which belongs exclusively to the property. 82

Although Rochead & Son were listed in the city directory as "musical instrument makers" until 1823, this was probably the result of the directory publisher's oversight. After 1818, nothing more is known of Andrew Rochead. In June 1819, John Rochead, who had resumed a more modest retailing business from no.370 Castlehill, announced that he was "giving up the music selling and going into another line of business" 83, the nature of which is not known.

The extant instruments by Rochead & Son are square pianos. Although a detailed assessment lies outwith the present study, developments in the design and characteristics of these instruments match those of squares by Muir, Wood & Co., and occasional reference is made to Rochead pianos within the study of these instruments.

The Scale of Production of Pianos in Edinburgh c.1800-1818

Given the scarcity of extant pianos and little information on trading patterns, an assessment of the number of instruments produced by Edinburgh's smaller piano firms during the period remains highly conjectural. Three extant Horsburgh squares date from consecutive
years: 1802 (no.265, see p.384), 1803 (no.297) and 1804 (no.307). From this, it appears that Horsburgh's annual rate of production did not exceed 40 instruments and was probably considerably less. A realistic estimate of his square piano output between 1800-1813, therefore, seems to be about 300. From the low-key nature of their activities, reflected in the lack of press advertisements, Marr and the Watson brothers produced many fewer than this, while from the impression gained of Brysson's activities, his annual output seems unlikely to have exceeded about 20 (or a maximum total of about 250 between 1809-1819). From this, 600 seems to be a reasonable estimate of the combined number of square pianos produced by smaller makers during the period.

Since both larger Edinburgh firms used serial numbers, the scale of their output is easier to assess, although one must again exercise a degree of caution (see p.384). Unfortunately, the latest-looking extant square by Rochead does not have a serial number, but another slightly earlier example (its furniture appearance suggesting a date of about 1815) is no.1089. Given that no.368 dates from about 1806 (see p.385) and bearing in mind that the firm suffered severe financial difficulties during its final years, it seems likely that the series reached about 1200 by 1818.

More information is available concerning the square pianos of Muir, Wood & Co.. As with Rochead instruments, serial numbers were written in ink at the right-hand extreme of the wrest-plank. The earliest number located by the author is no.368; there seems little reason why the partnership should not have maintained the integrity of the series from this point at least. Within a large-scale operation in which different workmen were probably responsible for various aspects of production, a logical numbering sequence helped insure that the relevant parts found their way to their intended instrument. While it is also possible that the same sequence referred to all types of instrument produced by the firm, this seems unlikely, since their few extant organs and a harp seem not to carry serial numbers.
The highest number found on a Muir, Wood & Co. square is 2163. This piano is identical in all standard details and measurements with the earliest known square by the successor firm of Wood, Small & Co.: no.2201 84, which continued its predecessor's serial sequence. Given the close proximity of the numbers, these instruments were probably produced near to the closing and starting points respectively of the two partnerships. One concludes that the Muir, Wood & Co. sequence reached about 2200 by the time of the firm’s demise and that this approximately reflects the number of square pianos made (excepting some early, unnumbered instruments, see pp.444-6). Over a 20 year period, this gives an annual production rate of just over 100, or two each week, about one-tenth of the corresponding production by Broadwood (see Table VI.14, p.475).

On the basis of these figures, about 4000 square pianos were made in Edinburgh between 1800-1818. Thus, as the new, larger firms responded to the demands of a growing market, the rate of production in Edinburgh increased more than three-fold from that achieved between c.1785-1800 (see p.386). A similar phenomenon characterised the trade in London at this time, although the scale of production was much larger, for example during the first two decades of the 19th century, Broadwood produced some 20,000 squares, in addition to about 6000 grand and 1300 cabinet pianos 85. However, London excepted, no other British city approached the production level of the Edinburgh piano trade.

THE PIANO-MAKING ACTIVITIES OF MUIR, WOOD & CO.

Following the formation of Muir, Wood & Co. in 1798, trading on an extensive scale was continued from James Muir’s former shop in George Street (see pp.227-8). Manufacturing of pianos began at once ("they have for sale a great variety of PIANO FORTES made by themselves, and by several of the first makers in London" 86), although the location of the workshop at this time is not clear. In
April 1799, the prestige of the firm was enhanced by the award of a royal warrant as "Musical Instrument Makers to his Majesty" 87. Contrary to this wording, the appointment appears to have been unconnected with their production of musical instruments. It probably related to a musical board game for which the firm had acquired the manufacturing rights, and which they had supplied to a young member of the Royal family, Princesses Charlotte. (see p.150).

In February 1801, a new "Music and Musical Instrument Warehouse" was opened at no.7 Leith Street 88, an address formerly occupied by the Watson brothers (see p.383). These premises may have been sufficiently extensive to be used as both workshop and showroom. At the same time, John Muir removed his hardware business to no.8, possibly through the conversion of his former home 89. The bringing together of the two concerns was undoubtedly of great advantage both in terms of convenience and commercial interaction.

In these early years, the firm continued to sell imported pianos, particularly those of Broadwood. However, commercial dealings with London's principal manufacturer were soon abruptly halted. Although the precise reasons for the rift are not clear, one can identify a number of causes for complaint against Muir, Wood & Co.. Firstly, they had proved particularly slow in paying for their goods from London, seeking both to delay payment beyond credit agreements (see p.280) and to negotiate more favourable discounts after purchase90. Secondly, they had been in the habit of ordering square pianos without stands (i.e. French frames), thus paying proportionally less and, presumably, making suitable stands themselves. Between July and December 1800, Muir, Wood & Co. ordered six Broadwood squares, each without a stand, for which they paid £19-6-6 each instead of the current full price of £21 9 1. It is also possible that Broadwood objected to the undercutting of their prices by the provincial maker's imitative, home-made instruments, as was later the case with the firm of Paterson, Roy & Co. (see p.463). Whatever the cause, in November 1802, Broadwood declined to supply Muir, Wood & Co. with further instruments:
Mess. Muir and Wood, Edinborough / Gentlemen / As we are given to understand that our instruments are not fairly dealt with at your House, we think it a Duty we owe ourselves to decline supplying you any longer with them. We therefore have not entered the order you have sent us in our Books. 92

The high reputation of Broadwood instruments made such action a potentially fatal blow to any independent, provincial dealer. To compensate, Muir, Wood & Co. promoted and increased production of their own pianos. Muir again reorganised his business affairs: in 1803, the George Street shop was sold, leaving no.7 Leith Street as the firm's sole retailing outlet 93. In 1805, the sale of his ironmongery business 94 probably coincided with the establishment of a new manufactory for musical instruments nearby in Amphion Place, North Back of the Canongate (at the foot of Calton Hill). This was a largely undeveloped, non-residential part of town, no doubt reflected in low land costs. The Leith Street showrooms could now be expanded and the scale of manufacture increased. As before, a wide-range of operations was pursued, but now on an expanded scale. In addition to square pianos, organs (church, chamber and barrel varieties), harps, violins, 'cellos, tambourines, triangles, drums (military, bass and kettle) and serpents were made, and an instrument repairing and tuning service was offered 95.

It was principally the scale of the firm's activities which distinguished it from local makers in the 18th century. With regard to the quality of their workforce and instruments, Muir, Wood & Co. stressed the same advantages as had earlier firms:

MUIR, WOOD, AND CO..... Respectfully inform the Ladies and Gentlemen, That they have commenced the MAKING of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS on an EXTENSIVE SCALE, and employed the First-rate Workmen that could be procured here or in London. They therefore flatter themselves the PIANO FORTES made by them are full equal to any made in London; and, being considerably lower in price, they humbly hope the Ladies of this Country will, like true patriots, give encouragement to the Manufacture of Scotland. 96 [1799]
From the enthusiastic response, the market was clearly able to support a significant increase in local piano manufacture, and at times during these early years demand outstripped supply:

M.W. & Co., regret much having unavoidably disappointed many of their friends and Country Correspondences of Piano Fortes of their own manufacture; they hope in a few weeks to be able to complete their orders, having engaged some additional hands of first-rate abilities in the Piano Forte line, from whose exertions they expect in future not only to answer their orders in time, but also to add celebrity to their already much admired instruments. 97 [1801]

Expansion and Developments

In December 1804, the business was dissolved and a new partnership formed to include George Small. The new partner's skills were in retailing rather than manufacturing and the appointment allowed Muir to decrease his active participation in the firm (see p.227). The firm remained in Leith Street until its dissolution following Muir's death on April 5th 1818 98, although the street number was re-designated as no.13 in 1811 (Wood's address became no.14) 99.

The number of craftsmen employed at the Calton Hill factory is not known. Some extant Muir, Wood & Co. pianos are internally signed with workman's initials, although it is usually difficult to identify the signatories. Others bear a full name, often concealed, on a small paper label. These marks undoubtedly related to men who worked on the instruments, although it is not clear precisely what they did. Some of those employed were probably journeymen wrights: their names did not appear in the city directories or burgess records. The initials "A.R." and the names of Edward Neal, McMillan, Nisbet, and Hamilton have been discovered on extant instruments. The last-named (found on square piano no.1765) may have been James Hamilton, who established a workshop in Liberton's Wynd in 1819, following the dissolution of Muir, Wood & Co. 100. "Nisbet" referred probably to William Nisbet, a
journeyman wright who worked in Edinburgh from the mid-1790s. He
was listed in the city directories between 1799 and 1808 as: "Piano
forte maker, head of Dickson's Close", which suggests that he ran his
own workshop, although there is no further evidence of this. Nisbet's
signature appears on Muir, Wood & Co, square no.1985 built in about
1816. The initials "A.R.", which appear on piano no.1040, refer to
Andrew Reid (see p.470).

In both dealing and manufacturing, Muir, Wood & Co. were
anxious to keep abreast of developments and trends in London and to
exploit new business opportunities. They sold the first upright grand
pianos in Scotland (see p.289), produced and marketed an elegant
musical board game (see p.150-1), were appointed drum makers to the
Honourable Board of Ordnance during the French wars (see pp.304-6),
became sole Scottish agents for fashionable new instruments, such as
Bainbridge's patent flageolets (see pp.172-3), and acquired the
patent in Scotland for a novel technical "improvement" for helping to
keep instruments in tune (see pp.437-44).

Markets Abroad

In addition to the retailing activities of their shops in
Edinburgh and London (see pp.257-8), Muir, Wood & Co. established
trading links outside Britain. The firm's interests abroad were
handled by shipping agents, or by individuals otherwise connected
with the business. Between 1815 and 1818, for example, consignments
of musical instruments (pianos, organs or both) were sent to cities
in North America (Montreal, Quebec, Halifax and New York), South
America (Rio de Janeiro), and to Copenhagen and Hamburg. Although
the volume of trade was small when compared with the firm's total
output (the largest orders did not exceed four instruments), it
reflects something of the scope enjoyed by the business. In January
1815, it was probably whilst acting as an agent that one of Wood's
sons, James, died in Rio (aged 25).
The Pianos of Muir, Wood & Co.

Muir, Wood & Co. produced over 50% of the total number of pianos made in Edinburgh during the first two decades of the 19th century. This study of the firm's piano-making activities, based on the evidence of more than 20 extant instruments, is in five parts: firstly, an outline of a system for dating instruments according to their serial number; secondly, an assessment of their changing furniture style and decoration; thirdly, a corresponding study concerning technical developments; fourthly, an account of the firm's adoption of "Helical Tuning Springs"; and finally a comparison between squares by Muir, Wood & Co., and those by contemporary makers in London. The purpose of this study is firstly to outline the development of the firm's pianos and to draw conclusions concerning its manufacturing process, and, secondly, to establish the true provenance of pianos bearing the company's name.

Dating Instruments according to their Serial Numbers

With one apparent exception, years of manufacture were not recorded on square pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. The exception is piano no.413, which has a concealed inscription beneath its key-frame: "Edw. Neal 1803" 104. With the assistance of other details relating to the firm's pianos, a date can confidently be ascribed to at least one other instrument.

A booklet issued to promote the newly-acquired manufacturing rights for "Helical Tuning Springs" (see pp.438-9) stated that the device was first used by the firm nine months prior to the pamphlet's publication (in May 1806). Two pianos with the springs have been found: nos. 532 and 617, and these carry the additional numbers 4 and 30 respectively, written in ink directly beneath the main serial number. From this, one concludes that no.532 was made in about autumn 1805. Despite the otherwise general absence of dates, it is possible.
to estimate the year of production of most extant instruments from other information, in particular the serial number. Accepting the conclusion that instrument no. 2163 was completed at a time close to the dissolution of Muir, Wood & Co. (see p. 411), Graph VI.1 can be used to estimate the year of manufacture for other surviving instruments. Although the true production pattern probably did not show such uniformity, there is corroborating evidence from an 1809 press advertisement that this correlation between serial numbers and years of manufacture is reasonable (see p. 418). The serial numbers of all extant square pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. located by the author are listed in Table VI.5 (see p. 427).

Graph VI.1 Estimated Years of Manufacture for Square Pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. 1798-1818
Case Style and Decoration

As one might expect, given a production period of twenty years, the furniture style of Muir, Wood & Co.'s pianos varied considerably. This reflected general shifts in fashion and, to a lesser extent, the degree of choice available to customers. In this survey, the cases of Muir, Wood & Co. squares are examined in three areas: design, dimensions and decoration.

Case design

Square pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. can be divided into three categories according to the shape of their case and how it is supported. Instruments from the firm's first decade have square-fronted cases which are placed on a French frame (see p.313). After about 1809, the firm abandoned these frames in favour of four detachable legs each of which screwed directly into an instrument's baseboards. This development allowed scope for variation in the general shape of cases, in particular leading to the introduction of rounded front corners. This was most probably the "improvement" alluded to in an advertisement from the firm:

MUIR, WOOD & CO. having of late made great improvements on the construction of Piano Fortes both in elegance of appearance and quality of tone, they beg leave to solicit the attention of ladies to this branch of their manufacture. [1809]

Since the year of this advertisement coincides with the earliest appearance of independent legs on an extant Muir, Wood & Co. piano (no.1040), it also supports the validity of the dating pattern outlined in Graph VI.1. The stated improvements in "quality of tone" will be discussed below (see p.428).

Most of the firm's extant squares dating from between about 1809-1814 have rounded front corners and are supported by four turned legs with decorative brass collars; for example, pianos nos.1040,
1137, 1145, 1765 and 1952. The lower case moulding on these instruments differs from that on square-fronted models in that it is flush with the level of the case side. This distinctive touch (found also on instruments by Rohead & Son also with rounded front corners, for example no.1089) has not been noted by the author on pianos by contemporary London makers; it was apparently a feature peculiar to Edinburgh.

Although common, this modified case-shape was not the firm's sole design after 1809; square-fronted cases continued to be produced as before. Probably for reasons of economy (but perhaps due also to their declining novelty value), round-cornered models ceased to appear after about 1814, leaving the square-fronted design once again as the standard instrument. Unlike the earlier (i.e. pre-1809) models, these now stood on six reeded legs with drawers for music placed between each front pair, below the baseboards. This remained the standard design of squares from the Muir, Wood & Co./Wood Small & Co. workshop for over a decade (see pp.459-62).

Case Dimensions

Table VI.4 compares the basic case dimensions of the various models of square piano produced by Muir, Wood & Co. The first two columns relate to square-fronted instruments: column I being those with French frames, column II those with six reeded legs. The remaining three give measurements for other, round-cornered pianos, as indicated. It should be noted that in addition to these individual instruments, there are two models which provide exceptions to the pattern: firstly, instruments fitted with "Helical Tuning Springs", and secondly, pianos without serial numbers (see pp.444-6).

Within columns I and II, the figures represent a mean measurement, calculated from surviving instruments within the category. It was found that, for measurements over about 500mm, the margin of variation did not exceed plus or minus 5mm; for smaller dimensions this margin was reduced to about 1mm.
Table VI.4  Comparison of Case Measurements of Square Pianos by Muir, Wood & Co.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>no.1040</th>
<th>no.1312</th>
<th>no.1765</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>overall case length</td>
<td>1625</td>
<td>1670</td>
<td>1663</td>
<td>1613</td>
<td>1667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.h.s. to key-well</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r.h.s. to key-well</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>key-well (excl. cheeks)</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overall case width</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>depth of case</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standing height</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of case sides</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of cheeks</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of spine</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As one might expect, pianos with French frames altered little in terms of size throughout their period of production. Standardisation increased productivity, and, excepting the two special types noted above, squares made before about 1809 adhered to a common set of case measurements. Similarly, the dimensions of square-fronted models produced after 1809 were of a basically uniform size, although they were generally slightly larger than pre-1809 instruments, due to a modified stringing pattern (see pp.429-33).

Although resembling each other and their square-fronted counterparts in various respects, the dimensions of round-cornered instruments were less conclusively uniform. This is particularly noticeable with regard to the positioning and size of the key-well. The variation in the pianos' size and proportions indicates a stronger degree of individual character in their construction than is the case with square-fronted instruments - the high degree of uniformity typical of large-scale production is absent from these instruments. This suggests that they were produced neither in great numbers, nor as a standard model, an opinion supported by the highly individual character of their decoration.

-420-
Case Decoration

The cases of surviving Muir, Wood & Co. squares are veneered in mahogany. The decoration found on earlier instruments (i.e. pre-c.1809), although elegant, tends to be rather plain, most having a single line of inlaid ebony stringing. Later instruments are generally more richly decorated. Square-fronted models each feature rosewood cross-banding and elaborate brass mouldings and fittings, while those with rounded corners boast even more opulent features, perhaps reflecting the particular requirements of a wealthy customer. Instruments such as nos.1040 and 1145 carry intricate brass inlay as a baseboard moulding and have attractively-crafted leg finials. The baseboard decoration visually compensates for the lack of a raised strip of moulding (see p.419).

With the exception of one extant instrument, the backs of cases are not veneered; the exception is square no.1145, a round-cornered and highly decorated instrument (again, this may reflect a request from the customer). The internal veneer of each instrument is plain mahogany.

Nameboards are of pine with a strip of mahogany placed on top; the height of this capping varies from 9-11mm - sufficient to make it appear, to the casual observer, as a continuation of the internal case veneer. With the exception of the later instruments (after about 1816) which use mahogany or rosewood, nameboards are veneered in light-coloured wood: either satinwood or, more commonly, figured sycamore, which was less expensive. A darker band of veneer (of between 10-20mm) is placed at the top and bottom of the nameboard surface. Until about 1809 this was usually mahogany, but occasionally rosewood. Only in exceptional circumstances is this cross-banded (on piano no.532, for example): a single strip was cheaper and easier to make. With later instruments this area of decoration is usually more varied and exotic, featuring tulip, walnut or rosewood cross-banding. When veneered in dark wood, nameboards do not have these bands.
In addition to this feature, most nameboards are decorated with ebony or mahogany stringing. On earlier examples this is usually in a single line close and running parallel to the banding strips. On later instruments (with light-coloured veneer), the inlay can be more elaborate: for example, ebony stringing and tulip inlay were used on no.1765. With mahogany- or rosewood-veneered nameboards, brass was frequently used as the inlay material, the background both highlighted its effect and was enlivened by it.

Excepting the two unnumbered instruments, the nameboards of all known pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. have decorative fretwork either side of the firm's inscription. Before about 1815, the same pattern was used for all such grilles, this sometimes being referred to as the "Muzio Clementi" pattern, since its design was said to have been based on that composer's initials. On some earlier models, the frets are rather inexpertly cut, appearing asymmetrical and unmatching (for example, piano no.400). However, after about 1805 they were of a more consistent quality, indicating either an improvement in cutting techniques, or that a new sub-contracted supplier had been found. After 1815, one of two new fret designs was used: a diagonal lattice-like pattern (piano no.1765, for example) or a more florid cross-like motif (piano no.1985).

Muir, Wood & Co. adopted at least four formats in presenting their inscription. These do not fit neatly within a chronological sequence, although certain styles were favoured at different times. The nameboards of most early pianos by the firm carry the inscription on an oval enamel plaque bordered by a moulded brass frame (see pp.444-5) with the lettering in an angular script. Between about 1805-1809, a more informal style is common, either with details written free-hand across the nameboard, or within a characteristically-shaped sycamore inset, its shape being basically rectangular but with semi-circular end-pieces. Within the latter, the lettering is more stylised and florid. From about 1814, printed labels were used (an early example being piano no.1757). These appear in two shapes: either mirroring that of the described inset, or, with later instruments, simply rectangular. On printed labels, the
inscription is usually presented in a mixture of decorative letter styles.

The type of legend favoured varies according to the nature and size of available space. Generally, when an inscription appears on a separate background which has been attached to the nameboard, the wording is more detailed, for example, that given on the enamel plaques reads: "MUIR WOOD & CO. / No. 7 Leith Street / EDINBURGH", while "Muir, Wood & Co. Edinburgh" is more typical of those inscriptions written directly onto the veneered surface. Writing directly onto the nameboard in a legible and even hand was a specialised skill, and one not consistently displayed with distinction by the firm's craftsmen. The hand-written inscriptions vary both in detail and quality, particularly those written across the nameboard veneer. The words "Edinburgh" and "Co.", for example, appear in various forms.

Although the inscriptions on most extant earlier instruments are brief, those used on pianos fitted with tuning springs are more detailed. It was clearly desirable to advertise the modification, thus on piano no.532 the semi-circular ended sycamore inset is subdivided (unequally), allowing the words "Tuned with Patent HELICAL Springs" to appear between the firm's name and city. However, the result appears squashed and untidy, and as the sequence continued, this feature was improved. Piano no.617 uses the same type of inset, but it bears only the firm's standard inscription. The modification is announced through two further oval-shaped sycamore insets placed either side of the main one. The effect is tidier, although, in conjunction with the decorative fretwork, it still gives the nameboard a rather crowded appearance.

Although the firm's printed labels were of the same size as the previously used insets (i.e. a maximum length of c.270 mm. and height of c.30 mm.), the printed labels give more information. Despite receiving the royal warrant in 1799, this accolade did not feature within the firm's nameboard inscriptions until some fifteen years later - significantly at the time when printed paper labels were
first adopted. From this time, the standard inscription is: "MUIR, WOOD & CO. / Musical Instrument MAKERS to his Majesty / EDINBURGH". In addition, some later instruments (for example, no.1985) carry the address of the firm's London shop (see pp.257-8). The printed format, which ensured neatness and legibility, gave greater freedom to present the additional details. Although they carry the same wording, these labels vary significantly in style and lettering, suggesting that they were ordered in small batches; being cheap to produce, the design could be changed at will.

The style of legs found on surviving instruments shows a high degree of consistency. Typically they have a central reeded portion with a number of ebonised rings above and below (usually two or three); beyond these is a brass castor and, at the top, a decorative brass finial. With more weight to support, the legs used within a set of four are generally thicker than those used in sixes. The reeded portion on the latter extends further over the leg, covering about a half of the total length; on the thicker legs it takes about a third. Few original pedal legs have survived, but extant examples imitate the design of the other legs, although they are generally less detailed, particularly towards the top (where they would remain unseen by the casual observer).

Four further features of decoration typical to pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. merit description. Two concern minor details of the materials used, and two relate to the design of decorative features.

Although ebony was generally used for keyboard accidentals, the firm sometimes resorted to alternative, cheaper woods; for example, stained mahogany was used for instruments produced between about 1809-1811 (the opulent no.1145 also incorporating capping slips of ebony). Most squares were fitted with the same type of brass lock (probably procured from Muir's ironmongery business, along with other fittings such as lid hinges and leg castors), secured to the lid by two screws. A more unusual aspect was the use of an ivory surround for the key-hole (on a few early models, this was fashioned from sycamore or, more rarely, brass). It was usually oval-shaped,
although often rather inexpertly cut. Sometimes its design was more angular, and thus easier to produce. As well as serving a decorative function, this feature helped to preserve the shape of the key-hole.

With the exception of no.532, the firm's extant pianos have a decorative triangular fretwork piece fixed into the back right-hand corner of the case (the exception has a piece of green silk supported within a triangle-shaped frame). The same florid pattern recurs on many instruments, although it is noticeably different after about 1812 when the standard case dimensions were increased (see Table VI.4, p.420), necessitating a larger fretted piece.

Diagram VI.3 shows the two designs of boxwood key-lever mouldings used on square pianos by Muir, Wood & Co.. With the exception of the unnumbered instruments, the same design of moulding (figure A) was found on all surviving Muir, Wood & Co. pianos. This design has not been found by the author on instruments by other makers. Although the pattern remained constant, the dimensions of the mouldings altered. The maximum thickness varied between 4-5 mm on pianos dating from before about 1800, and 7-8 mm on later instruments (no.1312 provides an exception, with mouldings of a thickness of 5.5 mm). A reason for this variation is suggested below (see p.436). The moulding used on the unnumbered instruments (figure B) matches that formerly used by a London firm (see p.445).

Diagram VI.3 The Design of Key-lever Mouldings on Square Pianos by Muir, Wood & Co.

A (standard design)  B (unnumbered pianos)
Technical and Mechanical Characteristics

All extant instruments by Muir, Wood & Co. share the same keyboard compass of 68 notes (five and a half octaves), FF-c⁴. The hammers for the top portion of the compass, from d♭⁴ to c⁴ strike through a gap cut at the back of the soundboard. Although the keyframe is made in a single piece, these additional hammers are held within a separate, detachable box section (the "top" box). Within this survey, the most significant technical changes made to pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. over the firm's twenty years of production are divided into two groups: firstly, those which represented a wholesale adoption of a different layout or mechanical system; and, secondly, those which were modifications of earlier features.

The technical features which form the first group relate to four areas: the position of the tuning pins, the type of action, the method of string damping, and the pedal system. Table VI.5 contains details relating to these features as found on extant pianos. The first two columns give each instrument's serial number and estimated year of production, while the others relate to the following features:

Tuning pins refers to the position of the tuning pins: whether placed to the right-hand side of the soundboard ("to r.h.s.") or to the rear of the case ("along back").

Action describes that of each piano either as English single (S), English double (D), or a mixture of the two (D + S) where the "additional" notes are single action, and the remainder double.

Damping lists the type of dampers used and the portion of the compass to which they are fitted (indicated by note numbers). The three systems found are listed as: "Irish" - wooden, "clothes-peg" shaped over-dampers directly attached to the key-lever, as patented by William Southwell in 1794; "B.U." - brass under-dampers, as patented by Broadwood in 1783, and subsequently modified by re-shaping the
ends (see p.388); and "C.P." - wooden "clothes-peg" shaped over-dampers attached to a lever, hinged to the back of the case.

**Pedal** indicates the presence or otherwise of a mechanism for simultaneously raising the dampers.

Table VI.5 The Standard Technical Characteristics of Extant Square Pianos by Muir, Wood & Co.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Tuning Pins</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Damping</th>
<th>Pedal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>pre-1804</td>
<td>to r.h.s.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>pre-1804</td>
<td>to r.h.s.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368</td>
<td>c.1804</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>c.1804</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401</td>
<td>c.1804</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>413</td>
<td>c.1804</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>497</td>
<td>c.1805</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>532*</td>
<td>c.1805</td>
<td>to r.h.s.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>572</td>
<td>c.1805</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>581</td>
<td>c.1805</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>617*</td>
<td>c.1806</td>
<td>to r.h.s.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1017</td>
<td>c.1809</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1040</td>
<td>c.1809</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>D + S</td>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>1-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1137</td>
<td>c.1810</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145</td>
<td>c.1810</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1312</td>
<td>c.1813</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1330</td>
<td>c.1813</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1757</td>
<td>c.1814</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B.U.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1765</td>
<td>c.1814</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>D + S</td>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>c.1816</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>D + S</td>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>c.1816</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>D + S</td>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>c.1816</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>D + S</td>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2089</td>
<td>c.1817</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2165</td>
<td>c.1818</td>
<td>along back</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>1-57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* fitted with "Helical Tuning Springs"
The only instruments not to use the standard "Broadwood" internal layout (i.e. with tuning pins placed to the back of the case) are those fitted with tuning springs (see p.440) and those lacking a serial number. On the latter, the hitch-pins for the "additional" notes are placed within a section cut into the spine. The design of these pianos is frequently at variance with the other French frame models (see pp.444-6).

The majority of surviving instruments have the so-called English single action, which was relatively cheap and easy to make, and was favoured by the firm until about 1815. It is significant that the sole exception to this pattern is piano no.1040, built in about 1809. This instrument differs from its near contemporaries in many technical features, as well as in its general appearance. It seems likely that these technical difference represented the "great improvements...in quality of tone" referred to in the firm's 1809 advertisement (see p.418).

The double action (which was more complicated and thus expensive to produce) is used on all extant instruments after about 1814, although on most examples the "additional" notes (from d♯3 to c4) retain the single action mechanism. The reasons for this are two-fold: firstly, the faster repetition afforded by the more advanced system was rarely required in the upper extreme of the keyboard; and secondly, since the mechanism was concealed under the soundboard, the customer would be unaware of the maker's economy. Only the firm's late instruments have the double action mechanism for their entire compass.

The jack rods used for the single action mechanism are generally of brass, although those of the unnumbered instruments are made of iron. On pianos made before about 1809, the jacks are threaded throughout their length. After this date, only the top and bottom sections are threaded. The threading facilitates screwing the rod into the key-lever and wooden jack-head. The reason for this change is difficult to imagine: the jacks are effectively out of sight to the casual observer, and could most economically be made by
cutting a continuously threaded brass rod into appropriate lengths. Excepting piano no.1040, the upper, front portion of all double action hoppers is made of mahogany (the remaining parts are of lime or beech). The exception curiously features a mahogany front on the lower section of its hoppers - another feature which suggests that this instrument was not part of the firm's standard sequence of instruments.

A similar pattern to that relating to action types emerges through a survey of the damping systems. Although wooden over-dampers first appear on piano no.1040, subsequent round-cornered instruments revert to the old type. Only with the post-1814, square-fronted model does the new system become standard. The unnumbered pianos' "Irish" system is another of their major differentiating factors.

Excepting one of the first pianos to be fitted with tuning springs, all extant instruments after about 1803 include a pedal mechanism as standard. The type of mechanism varies according to the type of dampers: a "pull-down" system for brass under-dampers, operated by a cord attached to a hinged lever; and a "push-up" system for over-dampers, operated via a rod concealed in the pedal leg.

Technical Modifications on Muir, Wood & Co. Square Pianos

Over a 20-year period of production, Muir, Wood & Co. made technical modifications to its square pianos in two significant areas: stringing; and the dimensions of the key-levers and keyboard. The timing of these changes coincides with that of other developments in the design of the firm's pianos described above.

Stringing: the Bridge

With one exception, surviving Muir, Wood & Co. squares have a single soundboard bridge. The exception is no.1040, fitted with three
bridges (see p.432). The standard bridge can be described as S-shaped since, at its extremes, it curves back against the prevailing contour. The treble section curves back sharply, to accommodate the strings of the "additional" notes, while in the bass section, a more gentle deviation allows the covered-string band to cross the bridge without fouling other strings. The angle of this curve was altered along with other features in about 1809.

On most early Muir, Wood & Co. instruments, the bass end of the bridge is undercut, mostly by between one and three strings. This was standard practice among many makers and was intended to increase the area of vibrating soundboard in the bass register. Later Muir, Wood & Co. pianos, which have larger soundboard areas, generally do not have an undercut bridge. A few instruments do not adhere to this pattern: the bridges of some squares with rounded case corners have more strings undercut (for example, between five and six on piano nos.1040 and 1145); the loss of soundboard area at the bass end of the bridge caused by rounded corners probably accounts for the extra undercutting on these instruments. A few late instruments, for example no.1969, revert to the practice of undercutting at a time when it seemed to have lost favour (c.1815). The reason for this is not clear. As one might expect, given their generally smaller area of vibrating soundboard, pianos fitted with "Helical Tuning Springs" also have more strings undercut than was standard (between five and six).

Scaling

Most pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. have a common string scale, although a change occurred as part of the 1809 modifications. Table VI.6 shows the lengths for all notes f and c before and after this alteration. The figures for d³ and d♯³ are also given: this is the point at which the bridge is sharply curved back (see above). For the purposes of comparison, the sounding length of each note is expressed as a percentage of its c² equivalent - this being the equivalent string length for any other note corrected for its actual pitch; for example, to find the c² equivalent for c³ its length is multiplied by two, while for c¹ it is divided by two, and for f² it is multiplied by 4/3. The pianos chosen have a scaling which matches that of most
models within each period group. To allow for the possible effects of case distortion, a variation of up to plus or minus 5 mm. was permitted for measurements greater than 500 mm and similarly of 3 mm for those smaller.

Table VI.6  A Comparison of the String Scales of two Square Pianos
by Muir, Wood & Co.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c₄</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f₃</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d♯₃</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d₃</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₃</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f₂</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₂</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f₁</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₁</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1092</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1149</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1221</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1285</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>1405</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1449</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The altered curve of the bridge (after c.1809) was made possible by a general increase in case dimensions (see Table VI.4, p.420), while the use of longer strings in the tenor register corresponds with a decrease in the brass string band (see Table VI.8, p.434). The modified pattern brought the string lengths for most notes closer to their correct c² equivalent lengths.
Three exceptions to this scaling pattern have been found: instruments fitted with tuning springs (see Table VI.11, p.443); and two individual pianos, nos.1312 and 1040. As is apparent throughout this survey, these two instruments differ in other significant details: no.1312 is smaller than its contemporaries and retains many features common to the earlier, French frame model; and no.1040 seems to be an experimental instrument since, in addition to numerous atypical features, internal and external, it has three soundboard bridges. In this detail, it appears unique amongst square pianos by all makers. It is therefore appropriate briefly to examine this aspect of the instrument.

Each bridge on piano no.1040 serves a different string band: brass over-spun with copper (FF-C, notes 1-8); plain brass (C#-c#, notes 9-21); iron (d-c⁴, notes 22-68). The iron strings pass over a separate nut from that used by the brass and covered strings: at its lower end, the contour of the pins on this nut moves away from the hammer gap, thus further increasing the length of the lower iron strings. The brass string nut reverts to a more forward position. As shown in Table VI.7 (overleaf), the overall effect of these changes, aided by a slight reduction in the length of c², is significantly to lessen the amount of foreshortening in the lower part of the scale.

As shown in Table VI.8 (p.434), the modifications made to instruments after about 1809 include an alteration in the position of the brass string band, which starts and finishes at a lower point in the compass than was previously possible. This process is further extended on piano no.1040, with brass being introduced at a point between six and eight strings lower than before. Similarly, iron wire is used from a point as much as six strings lower than before. The lower part of the iron scale shows a significant improvement towards the correct c² equivalent lengths. Despite these benefits, the three-bridge experiment was not pursued. Although an interesting attempt to remedy the problem of bass fore-shortening, one suspects that the additional manufacturing costs proved prohibitive.
Table VI.7 The String Scale of Muir, Wood & Co. Square Piano no.1040

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c⁴</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f³</td>
<td>111.5</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d#³</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d³</td>
<td>128.5</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c³</td>
<td>144.5</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f²</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c²</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f¹</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c¹</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c#</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1194</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C#</td>
<td>1332</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1326</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>1456</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wire and Gauges

Since few surviving pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. have retained substantial numbers of original strings, it is difficult confidently to reach conclusions as to their intended type of wire and gauges. However, some general patterns do recur. Each extant piano is strung (bichord) with wire of three types: iron, plain brass and brass overspun with copper. With the exception of the two special cases (piano nos.1040 and 1312), these are used for similar areas of the compass, as shown in Table VI.8 (overleaf):
Table VI.8  The String Bands on Muir, Wood & Co. Square Pianos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type of Wire</th>
<th>Compass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>over-spun</td>
<td>FF - Eb/F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-1809</td>
<td>plain brass</td>
<td>Eb/F - c#/e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iron</td>
<td>c#/e - c⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-1809</td>
<td>plain brass</td>
<td>Eb/F - B/c#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iron</td>
<td>B/c# - c⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The post-1809 pattern, which produced an improved string scale in the centre and lower part of the compass (see Table VI.6, p.431), precipitated a decrease in the number of notes strung in brass.

From the few instruments which carry string gauge marks and from those which retain a sufficient amount of original wire, some conclusions relating to the system of stringing used by the firm can be drawn (see Table VI.9, overleaf). Two standard stringing systems can be identified. The first is based on the gauge numbers written on the key levers of the unnumbered pianos, which tally with the gauges of original wire found on most French frame models, while the second follows the gauge numbers on the wrest plank of piano no.1757, as found on most post-1809 instruments. As one would expect, the stringing system used on piano no.1040 does not closely relate to the general patterns.

The differences already described between instruments before and after about 1809 are reflected in their comparative columns in Table VI.9. Iron wire of gauge 11 is introduced at a lower point, whilst more sympathetically graded and lighter gauges are used in the upper part of the compass. Similarly, the scale found in the lower register of piano no.1040 is atypical, as one might expect in view of the improved string length which allows a thick plain brass
gauge to replace covered strings. Given this modified scale, the brass wire appears heavier than one might expect, while, in the treble, the iron remains three gauges heavier than the contemporary norm (as shown in the first column). It is difficult to explain this deviation, except to view it as another of the instrument's experimental features.

Table VI.9  String Gauges used on Square Pianos by Muir, Wood & Co.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unnumbered</th>
<th>no.1757</th>
<th>no.1040</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FF - E</td>
<td>FF - F</td>
<td>FF - C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over-spun</td>
<td>over-spun</td>
<td>over-spun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F - G#</td>
<td>F# - G</td>
<td>C# - D#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 brass</td>
<td>13 brass</td>
<td>15 brass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A - B</td>
<td>G#</td>
<td>E - A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 brass</td>
<td>12 brass</td>
<td>14 brass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c - d</td>
<td>A - B</td>
<td>A# - c#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 brass</td>
<td>11 brass</td>
<td>13 brass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d# - e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 brass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f - b</td>
<td>c - b</td>
<td>d - f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 iron</td>
<td>11 iron</td>
<td>13 iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₁ - g₁</td>
<td>c₁ - g#₁</td>
<td>f# - f₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 iron</td>
<td>10 iron</td>
<td>12 iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g#₁ - d₃</td>
<td>a₁ - d#²</td>
<td>f#₁ - f#²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 iron</td>
<td>8 iron</td>
<td>11½ iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d#₁ - c₄</td>
<td>e² - d³</td>
<td>g² - c⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 iron</td>
<td>7 iron</td>
<td>11 iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d#₁ - c₄</td>
<td>6 iron</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key-lever and Keyboard Dimensions

Throughout their period of production the length and shaping of the key-levers of Muir, Wood Co. pianos changed very little. As one would expect, alterations were in response to changes in case dimensions and layout. Table VI.10 shows the length of seven corresponding key-levers on instruments from the first and second decade of the firm's manufacture, the latter group is divided according to the shape of the front case corners: "after 1809" indicating rounded corners, and "after 1814", square corners. The measurements exclude the thickness of the front moulding. The
bracketed figures give the distance of the balance pin from the front of the lever.

Table VI.10  A Comparison of Key-lever Lengths from Square Pianos by Muir, Wood & Co.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>until c.1809</th>
<th>after c.1809</th>
<th>after c.1814</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td>493 (180)</td>
<td>491 (178)</td>
<td>500 (205)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>472 (173)</td>
<td>477 (172)</td>
<td>477 (193)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>448 (166)</td>
<td>454 (165)</td>
<td>454 (183)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>422 (159)</td>
<td>436 (157)</td>
<td>427 (171)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>396 (151)</td>
<td>415 (150)</td>
<td>401 (159)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>370 (145)</td>
<td>396 (144)</td>
<td>375 (149)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>355 (139)</td>
<td>385 (140)</td>
<td>360 (142)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After 1809, the key-levers were lengthened to facilitate the new damping system, which required the raising of a lever hinged to the back of the case (to which the damper wire was attached). Although the length of many levers was increased to reach this lever, their points of balance remained the same as before. The increased size of the key-lever mouldings from this time (see p.425) may have been intended to help balance the extended levers, although this would have little effect in the lower register. Here, a marked reduction in the amount of lead weight placed in the lever ends was a more significant aid to better balance.

Instruments not sharing the standard case dimensions within the three listed categories show a similar deviation from the norm in the length of their key-levers. Obvious examples are pianos fitted with helical springs, although there are others too, for example no.1014 is a slightly larger piano than the other French frame models, and no.1757 slightly smaller than other late square-fronted models; their lever measurements reflect these differences accordingly. At times of changing case design and dimension, the firm clearly had the capacity
to produce and fit non-standard sets of key-levers. This evidence would seem to refute any notion that the firm's keyboards were the work of an independent sub-contractor, possibly from London (unless, of course, they were imported already fitted in instruments).

Excepting the unnumbered pianos and those fitted with tuning springs, the keyboard dimensions of all extant instruments are virtually identical (a typical set of measurements is contained in Table no. VI.11, p. 442). The reduced case size of instruments fitted with tuning springs necessitated changes in the dimensions of the keyboard; for example piano no. 532 has a three-octave measure of just 474 mm (c.15 mm less than the norm) and, in order for the keyboard to retain its standard appearance, the length and height of each note are proportionally reduced also (see Table VI.11, p. 442).

**Helical Tuning Springs.**

In 1818, a correspondent for The Scots Magazine visited Muir, Wood & Co.'s Amphion Place factory. His published account, part of a survey of the state of music in the Scottish capital, was generally complimentary of the firm, but mentioned obliquely a problem relating to its pianos:

There is nothing more worthy of the attention of the curious, than this manufactory. The extent of the operations carried on, and the spirit with which the whole is conducted, do infinite credit to the projectors, and to our city; and there can be no doubt that the instruments made here will soon rival those manufactured in London. In piano-forte making Muir and Wood nearly equal the London makers already; and a little more attention to the seasoning of materials, on which depends very much the length of time which an instrument will keep in tune, will probably render us independent of the English metropolis.
The instability of the tuning of square pianos was a recurring complaint throughout their period of manufacture. The early 19th century patent archives abound with novel ideas to resolve the problem: for example, devices patented by Smith & Todd, Woods, and Thunder 107. The adequate seasoning of wood was a problem for any piano workshops operating on a substantial scale, both in terms of storing wood in dry conditions for a sufficient period, and having capital tied up in large quantities of "static" raw materials. The extremes of the Scottish climate made the problem more acute for native builders.

In 1805, Muir, Wood & Co. acquired the sole Scottish manufacturing rights for a device designed to alleviate the problem of unstable tuning, "Helical Tuning Springs". Although intended primarily for pianos, the invention could also be applied to "harpsichords, violins, harps, violoncellos, guitars, mandolines and other stringed musical instruments" 108.

The idea was originally devised and patented (no.2594) in March 1802 by Peter Litherland, a Liverpool-based scientific instrument maker 109, and fitted to a number of pianos by the local musical instrument-making firm of N. & S. Southwell. Litherland's patent was subsequently acquired by another Liverpool craftsman, Egerton Smith. Its initial registration in Scottish patent records coincided with Muir, Wood & Co.'s purchase of manufacturing rights. Seemingly as a result of their experimentation with the device, Smith included a number of modifications from the original plan in a subsequent explanation in the Scottish Register of Patent Specifications, dated 27th November 1806 (no.60).

After incorporating the device into some of their pianos for a trial period of nine months, the Edinburgh firm published an explanatory pamphlet, which was, in fact, a reprint of one by Egerton and William Smith, now graced with a new title page. Some Observations on the PATENT SPRINGS for Keeping in Tune Piano Fortes, Harpsichords, Violins, Harps, Violoncellos, Guitars and Other Stringed Instruments, and Preserving the Strings concluded with a
series of accounts by leading musical figures in Liverpool, attesting to the effect of the invention, as witnessed by them on instruments of Southwell. Of these accounts, John Casson's exhortation was typical:

Having long experienced the utility of your patent helical springs, it gives me pleasure to inform you, that I believe them to be of the greatest advantage in keeping piano fortes &c in tune.

It is my opinion that an instrument with the springs will be found better in tune at the end of seven or eight months, than, without them, it would be a week or fortnight after being tuned. With regard to guitars, &c. I have likewise found that the springs answer extremely well, and they will doubtless meet with public patronage.

Although tuning springs were not invented by Muir, Wood & Co., the author does not know of extant instruments by the Southwell brothers, or other makers, which use them. It therefore seems appropriate to describe their stated principle and method of application. Unlike many patent specifications of the time, that relating to the springs was thorough and lucid; it is thus the obvious source for a scientific explanation of the invention. In the following extracts, the patentee (Egerton Smith, quoting largely from Litherland's specification) described the theory behind the springs, how they were made, and how best to apply them to square pianos:

The utility of my invention is to keep perpetually the tension of the strings to all kinds of Musical Instruments strung with wire, gut or any other material so that the same tones will be produced at all times notwithstanding the expansion and contraction of the strings by heat and cold, or from atmospherical variations with respect to moisture and dryness or any alterations that should take place in the figure of the instrument from those causes - my method of effecting this is by Springs. I take any elastic substance, simple or compound, that is sufficiently hard and capable of being bent, cut, cast or otherwise formed into a curve and I make the same into springs helical, spiral, straight (sic) or otherwise as best suits my purpose for keeping strings of instruments to their tension. There are several kinds of springs which may be applied to the purpose of keeping in tune stringed musical instruments, but as the helical spiral spring is in my opinion the best, I shall first describe its construction and application.
They are formed generally from steel wire as it produces the greatest elastic force when properly tempered. I coil this wire round a cylinder of such size as I intend the springs to be of and when it is coiled to a sufficient length, I bend outwards about half a turn each end for a loop. My method of tempering them is as follows. I make them rather more than what is usually termed a blood-red heat, and then immerse them in oil. If they are hard, I lay them on a plate of iron with as much oil as will nearly cover them, so as to make them so hot as to turn them of a light brown colour. I find this the best method of tempering springs of any kind and if attended to properly, they will never lose their elastic force.

The springs may be applied to the small or square piano forte, either behind the hammers on the back block, or behind the belly bridge, but the former method is perhaps preferable, and is to be done as follows - one end or loop of the springs must be secured down to the back block and if the common bridge pins are used the bearing of the strings against the pins must be diminished as much as is found practicable and proper. The bridge pins, which generally slope considerably, must also be set more perpendicular to the bridge - a steel pin may be placed underneath the string on the bridge still further to diminish the friction at that point. When a string is looped to the spring, it is passed over the bridge pins on both bridges and drawn up as usual. It is found that the spring will not act as it should if the bearing on the bridge pins near the spring exceeds an angle of $\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ in $6^\circ$. But a very good method of diminishing this bearing is to substitute in the place of the common pin a stud, such as is described in treating of the Grand Piano Forte, with a finely polished undersurface, with two nicks pinched or filed in it. This stud must be driven firmly into the bridge - when this method is adopted, the back block of the instrument must be formed into an inclined plane, tapering upwards from the bridge to the back of the instrument, as before described. On the back block, the one end of the spring is secured and the string hooked to the other end of the spring, after which it passes under the stud and is tuned up as usual.

The Muir, Wood & Co. squares fitted with the springs differ in dimension and design from those lacking the device. The firm was apparently unable or unwilling to adapt the springs into their current standard model. Instruments fitted with springs follow the patentee's preference with respect to their placement: each has the wrest-plank positioned to the right of the soundboard. Although the firm's early pianos were built also to this design, this practice was changed after about 1802 (see Table VI.5, p.427). The springs are fitted and secured along the back block (or, what would have been the hitch-pin plank) and are fastened to it by metal hooks.
To illustrate further differences between square pianos with and without springs, Table VI.11 (overleaf) compares details from instrument no.532 with those from no.497. The former, completed in about autumn 1805, was the fourth to be fitted with compensating springs (see p.416), while the latter dates from about six months earlier. The differences significantly exceed the margin of variation found between piano no.497 and other standard squares by the firm (see pp.419, and 431). A comparison with similar details from the unnumbered pianos reveals further that instruments with the springs, despite similarities in internal layout, were not simply copies of this earlier model, or adaptations from unsold stock.

The details contained in Table VI.11 show that the manufacture of pianos fitted with springs involved a radical departure from that of the firm's standard instruments; the length of the case sides was decreased (by between 10-15%), the keyboard made smaller, and the string scaling shows a marked additional foreshortening in the bass and tenor registers.

The reasons for these differences are not clear; however, they necessitated a number of technical compromises. The most obvious of which relates to the application of the springs in the bass register. The patent specification revealed that this was a problem area. Without an increase in the normal angle of the string on passing the (nut) bridge pin, the springs would not be able to fulfil their compensating function. An adequate reduction could easily be achieved in the upper and middle register, there being sufficient space on the back block to straighten the path of the string. However, in the bass, such an adjustment would involve the extension of the back block backwards and to the left. This would have necessitated a considerable increase in the overall size of the case, more so since the longest strings required the longest springs. The specified alternative to this extension (fixing the block on an inclined plane tapering upwards from the nut and using metal studs in place of bridge pins), would have been both difficult and expensive to produce, and, one suspects, would have encouraged case distortion through the pull of the strings on the inclined surface.
In response to the problem, Muir, Wood & Co. did not apply springs to the over-spun bass strings (notes 1-13, FF-F); their original absence is confirmed by the lack of steel pins on the nut (to reduce friction - as described in the specification); these pins start on F# (note 14). Without springs on the bass strings, the angle of bearing from the nut to the hitch-pin was made sufficiently sharp to permit a substantial reduction in case dimensions.

Table VI.11  A Comparison of Dimensions between Square Pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. with and without Helical Tuning Springs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>no.497 (without)</th>
<th>no.532 (with)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>total length</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.h.s. to key-well</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r.h.s. to key-well</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total width</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>depth (excl. lid)</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of spine</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of cheeks</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of sides</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Keyboard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>no.497</th>
<th>no.532</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>three octave measure</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average length of Naturals</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average width of Naturals (touch-plates)</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average width of Naturals (upper section):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g1</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d1</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average length of sharps:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top</td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>76.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average width of sharps:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In spite of the relentless "scientific" explanation of the springs contained in the specification and published pamphlet, one remains sceptical concerning their effectiveness. Their efficiency depended largely on the string being able to move freely over the nut as the spring acted to compensate for any circumstantial changes in pitch. In spite of the addition of the steel pins, as recommended, one suspects that, even if the string were free to adjust, a degree of friction intervened - dictating at what point such movement could occur and by how much. One suspects also that changes in temperature and humidity affected the springs as they affected the strings. On a practical level, and in addition to the problems concerning tone quality in the lower register of the piano, the replacing of a broken string (with its spring) was rendered a complex exercise.

Although at least thirty Muir, Wood & Co. squares were fitted with the springs, the device did not attain an extended period of favour. By 1809, and probably long before, it had been abandoned. Aside from considerations of technical effectiveness, the novelty of

Table VI.11 (contd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>no.497 (without)</th>
<th>no.532 (with)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c^4</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f^3</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c^3</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f^2</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c^2</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f^1</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c^1</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1088</td>
<td>964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>1063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>1234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the springs would only have been short-lived. However, for a brief period, they distinguished some of the instruments of Muir, Wood & Co. from those of other makers, and thus helped create an innovative rather than imitative image for the firm.

A Comparison with Contemporary London-made Instruments

In the following survey, details from three squares by Muir, Wood & Co. will be compared with similar London-made instruments: firstly, one of the unnumbered Edinburgh pianos with an early 19th square by Broderip & Wilkinson; secondly, Muir, Wood & Co. piano no.497, a standard pre-1809 French frame model, with Broadwood square no.8646; and, thirdly, an Edinburgh instrument of about 1816, typical of the post-1814 six-legged design, with a contemporary Broadwood.

Throughout this survey of instruments by Muir, Wood & Co., it is apparent that the two unnumbered squares, which are identical in all significant details, differ considerably from other French frame models. These differences range from the basic internal layout, damping system and case dimensions, to various decorative features such as the design of the key-lever mouldings.

The basic design of these unnumbered instruments follows that patented by William Southwell in 1794 and acquired by Longman and Broderip. This firm, which traded from two large London showrooms, did not manufacture its own instruments; instead they were made under licence by numerous small workshops. To each piano was affixed the firm's distinctive oval enamel name-plate, which, after 1794, usually carried the words "New Patent". Following the financial collapse of the business in 1798, square pianos of the same design and similar dimensions appeared under the names of two successor firms: Longman & Clementi, and Broderip & Wilkinson. A number of early Clementi squares (for example, no.1848) and those of Broderip & Wilkinson continued to present their inscription on an oval plaque of
the same design and dimensions as that used by the former firm (maximum length c.106 mm, maximum height c.62 mm). Plaques identical to these were used also on some instruments by Muir, Wood & Co. in about 1803 (for example pianos nos.368, 401 and 413), indicating, at least, that the Scottish firm enjoyed links with the same supplier in London.

Although a close comparison between one of the unnumbered Scottish instruments and two roughly contemporary pianos by Broderip & Wilkinson (nos.524 & 1486) reveals many similarities, there are also some differences. The overall case width of the former is smaller: the case sides, key-well cheeks and spine are thinner (generally by between 3-8 mm). As a result, the string scale is shorter (by about 7 mm for c2, extending to about 20 mm for FF). The Muir, Wood & Co. bridge is undercut to a greater extent than those of the London instruments and its treble end has an unusual scroll-like moulding. The London instruments have a double action mechanism, while the Scottish model has a single action. The hammer shanks on the London pianos each have a metal guide pin, not present on the Edinburgh instrument, and the shapes of the respective damper heads do not match: those on the Scottish instrument are taller, while on the London pianos, the dampers extend one note further over the compass (reaching d3, note 58).

Amongst smaller details, the Edinburgh nameboard is thinner and lacks fretted panels, and some basic keyboard dimensions do not match; for example the average length of both black and white notes is greater on the Scottish model by between 6-9mm. The lengths of the key-levers differ also, particularly in the lower part of the compass (by as much as 25mm for FF), and the patterns in which they are cut do not precisely match: the London layout includes a higher number of crooked levers. Although the key-lever mouldings on the Muir, Wood & Co. (unnumbered) piano match those commonly used by Longman & Broderip (see Diagram VI.3, B, p.425), the firm of Broderip & Wilkinson adopted a new design on commencing business. On the Edinburgh piano, the mahogany hammer-rail cover is secured by 13 screws, compared with 11 or 12 on the London model, and its brass rod
supports are not positioned in the same places. There are also further minor discrepancies concerning, for example, the soundboard surround pieces and lid hinge arrangement.

Generally, the standard of cabinet work on the Edinburgh piano is not as meticulously high as one would expect of a long-standing, London manufacturer; for example, the lower banding on the nameboard displays an untidy mixture of mahogany and rosewood pieces with obvious joins, the sycamore inset carrying the firm's inscription is crudely and unevenly cut, and the tapered legs of the frame are rather ill-proportioned and less slender than was the London norm. A further absent characteristic are the numerous marks and signatures stamped or written in various concealed places by the makers of the London pianos' component parts. With regard to internal markings, the Edinburgh squares carry only string gauge numbers written in ink on the relevant key-levers; these details rarely appeared on contemporary instruments from the London house in question.

One concludes that, although the unnumbered pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. follow the basic design of Southwell's patent and many features resemble those found on contemporary instruments by Broderip & Wilkinson, the numerous differences of dimension and detail confirm that they were not produced by the same workshops. The design was adopted by Muir, Wood & Co., during their early years in business, probably after an agreement with the patentee. The chief advantage of this model over most of its contemporaries lay in its extended compass of five and a half octaves, while the Edinburgh firm's use of the single action with a simple damping mechanism, and the absence of a pedal, helped keep production costs down.

In about 1803, the design of Muir, Wood & Co.'s squares was changed (see Table VI.5, p.427); excluding the round-corner models, standard instruments after this time resembled closely those of Broadwood. It is significant that this change followed the London maker's decision to cease the supply of their pianos to Muir, Wood & Co. (see pp.412-3). One suspects that, while receiving Broadwood models, the Edinburgh firm was obliged to base their own instruments
on an alternative design. The striking similarities between squares by the two firms has led to the suggestion that Muir, Wood & Co. simply placed their own name on imported Broadwood pianos, or finished or assembled their instruments from an imported Broadwood kit. The validity of this suggestion will be examined through comparisons between typical square pianos by the two manufacturers.

A comparison between a typical Muir, Wood & Co. square piano of the French frame type (piano no.497, c.1805) and a near-contemporary Broadwood instrument (no.8646, c.1804) reveals a great number of similarities. Both instruments have the standard compass of five and a half octaves, with the hammers for the "additional notes" (d♯²-c⁴) striking through a gap in the back of the soundboard. The damping systems are identical; each has brass under-dampers (with the crooked-head type) which serve notes FF-c♯³ (nos. 1-57). These can be simultaneously raised by a foot pedal.

The cases of the two instruments share the same basic dimensions and design, and are made of similar materials: mahogany with a single decorative strip of sycamore inlay containing an ebony stringer. The nameboards are of pine veneered in figured sycamore with mahogany banding, top and bottom. The nameboards each feature a fretted grille, cut to a similar design (the so-called "Muzio Clementi" pattern). Each also has an identical, internal triangular fret in the back right-hand corner. Table VI.12 (overleaf) compares the basic dimensions of the two instruments.

Although the details contained in Table VI.12 show many similarities between the two instruments, they reveal also two notable differences. Firstly, the case of the Edinburgh piano has a significantly thicker spine than that of its London counterpart, and secondly, some of the dimensions of Broadwood keyboard are smaller than those of the Muir, Wood & Co. instrument. In addition, the naturals of the latter do not have a scored line running parallel to the line which marks the join of the two pieces of ivory. This is similarly absent from contemporary Muir, Wood & Co. squares, but is a
feature of Broadwood instruments of the period. Its function was to disguise the fact that two pieces of ivory had been used.

Table VI.12 Comparison of Dimensions of Square Pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. (no.497) and John Broadwood & Sons (no.8646)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muir, Wood &amp; Co.</th>
<th>Broadwood &amp; Sons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no.497</td>
<td>no.8646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Case</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total length</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>1623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.h.s. to key-well</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r.h.s. to key-well</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total width</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>depth (excl. lid)</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of spine</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of cheeks</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of sides</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Keyboard</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three octave measure</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average length of naturals</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average width of naturals (touch-plates)</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average width of naturals (upper section): g¹</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d¹</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average length of sharps: top</td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>79.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average width of sharps: top</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are numerous minor differences between these instruments; for example, although both are fitted with a single action mechanism, the brass rods (or jacks) used on the Muir, Wood & Co. square are threaded throughout their length, while those on the Broadwood are threaded only at the top and bottom. The inner part of the right-hand nameboard cheek on both instruments has a section cut away to allow space for the bass strings to pass freely. However, the shape of these cut-outs are different; that of the Edinburgh instrument is semi-circular, while on the London piano an elongated triangular piece has been removed. The number and type of hinges used on the respective lids do not match; on the Muir, Wood & Co. square, the right-hand lid flap is secured by three brass hinges each held by six screws (3 x 2), while that on the Broadwood has just two hinges held by four screws (2 x 2). The designs of the boxwood key-lever mouldings similarly differ, as shown in Diagram VI.4 (overleaf). Along with the other features listed above, these moulding designs are common to other surviving contemporary squares by each firm:
Later instruments by Muir, Wood & Co., such as square no.1969, similarly share many salient details with contemporary Broadwood models, for example no.22381 (c.1817). Both have a compass of five and a half octaves, with the hammers for the additional notes (as above) striking through a gap in the back of the soundboard. The dampers are of the over-damping, "clothes peg" variety and can be simultaneously raised by a foot pedal.

As with comparable French frame models by the two firms, the cases of these later pianos share the same basic dimensions (see Table VI.13, overleaf), and are veneered and decorated in a similar fashion: mahogany inlaid with brass or ebony stringing, and decorated with strips of moulded brass fitted along the bass and corners. Each instrument is supported by six reeded legs. The nameboards are veneered in rosewood, with decorative frets, cut in the same pattern (a lattice-type design), and each instrument has an identical, internal triangular fret in the back right-hand corner.
For much of the compass, the scaling of these two instruments is very similar, although minor differences occur in the tenor register. Further to this, and as was the case with earlier squares by Muir, Wood & Co., the dimensions of the respective keyboards do not match, particularly with regard to the length of the keys. In addition, the Edinburgh firm used stained mahogany for its sharps, instead of ebony as generally used by Broadwood.

Table VI.13  Comparison of Dimensions of Square Pianos by Muir, Wood & Co. (no.1969) and John Broadwood & Sons (no.22381)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Muir, Wood &amp; Co. no.1969</th>
<th>Broadwood &amp; Sons no.22381</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>total length</td>
<td>1669</td>
<td>1655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.h.s. to key-well</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r.h.s. to key-well</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total width</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>depth (excl. lid)</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of spine</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of cheeks</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thickness of sides</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Keyboard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muir, Wood &amp; Co. no.1969</th>
<th>Broadwood &amp; Sons no.22381</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>three octave measure</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average length of naturals</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average width of naturals (touch-plates):</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average width of naturals (upper section):</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g¹</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d¹</td>
<td>84.4</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average length of sharps base</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>average width of sharps base</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table VI.13 (contd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muir, Wood &amp; Co.</th>
<th>Broadwood &amp; Sons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scaling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no.497</td>
<td>no.8646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c⁴</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f⁴</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c⁴</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f⁴</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c⁴</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f⁴</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c⁴</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1143</td>
<td>1132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1279</td>
<td>1277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>1446</td>
<td>1454</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are further differences between the two instruments. Firstly, although both are fitted with a double action mechanism, the additional notes of the Muir, Wood & Co. model use the single action. Secondly, whereas the tuning pins on the latter instrument are placed to the left-hand side (FF-F) and along the back of the case (F#-c⁴), the pins for the Broadwood's additional notes (d#-c⁴) are placed on the right-hand side of the soundboard. Thirdly, the shapes of the cut-out sections at the back of each soundboard, through which the upper hammers pass, are different, as is the number and arrangement of the wooden strips which surround the soundboard. Fourthly, the bass end of the bridge on the Edinburgh piano is more undercut than that of the London instrument (allowing four strings to pass over the undercut section, as opposed to one). Fifthly, the right-hand lid flap on the London model is fastened to the main lid by three brass hinges; the Edinburgh piano has only two. Sixthly, the designs of the respective key-lever mouldings differ (see Diagram VI.4, p.450).

In addition to these differences between instruments, documentary evidence does not support the suggestion that the Edinburgh firm simply re-labelled imported pianos. Firstly, following the dispute between the two makers, the Broadwood ledgers do not contain evidence of renewed trading arrangements. Secondly, since the price of Edinburgh-made pianos was one of their chief advantages over London instruments, it would have been illogical for an Edinburgh firm to have imported squares in order
to re-label them for sale at a lower price. Although Broadwood offered a dealer's discount of about 25% (see p.279), this reduction brought the price of their instruments down to about the level often charged by Edinburgh makers (see pp.399-400). Once an importer had paid for the insurance and transportation of an instrument from London, it was clearly not possible for him profitably to match the price charged by native makers. Thirdly, shipping lists do not show that pianos were sent to Muir, Wood & Co from London, and finally, an account of the firm's workshop (see p.437) referred to the extensive piano-making activities.

SUMMARY

From differences in the appearance, design and mechanism of extant instruments, and from evidence relating to their years of manufacture, the square pianos of Muir, Wood & Co. can be placed into five categories: instruments without a serial number; the standard French frame model (c.1803-1809); those with rounded-front case corners (c.1809-1814); later instruments with square-fronted cases (c.1814-1818); and transitional or experimental models, including those fitted with "Helical Tuning Springs" (after c.1805). With the exception of three of these model-types, the extant square pianos of Muir, Wood & Co. followed closely the design and dimensions of contemporary Broadwood instruments. The exceptions are the early unnumbered pianos, those fitted with tuning springs, and pianos with rounded front case corners.

Although the standard square-fronted Muir, Wood & Co. squares share many similarities with contemporary pianos by Broadwood, there are numerous minor differences, which, in conjunction with documentary evidence, suggest that the northern firm did not simply re-label imported instruments. It was clearly in Muir, Wood & Co.'s interest to produce instruments which appeared identical to those of London's principal manufacturer, but were sold for considerably less, and with the nationalistic attraction of a Scottish label to boot. In addition, and on a practical level, it was easier and less expensive to imitate a proven instrument rather than design a new one.

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There are few differences between surviving pianos in each of the first, second and fourth categories listed above (i.e. all those with square-fronted cases), although none are identical in every feature. Production at Muir, Wood & Co.'s Amphion Place factory undoubtedly involved a system of divided labour, however the scale of manufacturing did not apparently necessitate absolute standardisation.

The firm's pianos with rounded front corners show a greater degree of individuality than their more angular counterparts. The introduction of this model, which was unique to Edinburgh, reflected the success and confidence enjoyed by the business. They appeared during a generally healthy period for Edinburgh's music merchants. The same period (c.1809-1814) saw the expansion of Rohead & Son's business (see p.408), the establishment of George Brysson's workshop (see p.405), the opening of Richard Horsburgh's New Town showroom (see p.403), and, more significantly, the commencement of two large-scale music shops which dealt extensively in the sale of imported pianos: Penson & Robertson and Robert Purdie (see Table III.1, p.209). These years saw also a revival in the city's concert life after successive seasons of public indifference (see pp.66-7).

The use of component parts identical to those found on London-made instruments (for example, oval name-plates, brass moulding strips and triangular fretwork pieces), suggests that the Edinburgh firm obtained these from the same source. Similar parts appear on squares by other makers in the Scottish capital. However, the only documentary information relating to the Edinburgh trade in imported components concerns Muir, Wood & Co.'s successor, Wood, Small & Co. (see p.461).

THE SECOND GENERATION OF MANUFACTURERS c.1818-1830

During the 1820s, piano-making in Edinburgh was dominated also by two large firms: Wood, Small & Co. and Paterson, Mortimer & Co.
The former was the successor to Muir, Wood & Co. Its partners were the two senior figures most active in the old firm: Andrew Wood and George Small (see p.414). The circumstances surrounding the formation of Paterson, Mortimer & Co. is less clear, but the firm assumed at least some aspects of Rochead & Son's business. The date of their commencement of trade in Edinburgh (1819) occurred shortly after the demise of Rochead & Son, and in 1820 they acquired the former firm's workshop premises at no.370 Castlehill 113. It is not clear whether Paterson, Mortimer & Co. made pianos prior to this date; although the 1819 directory described the firm as "musical instrument makers", their early advertisements do not mention their own instruments 114. Perhaps, by way of getting established, Rochead's outstanding stock had been bought with the workshop, to be completed and sold by the new firm.

The business functions of Wood (manufacturing) and Small (retailing) were mirrored in the rival firm. Whilst Paterson directed the retailing side and made periodic journeys to London to select new stock, Mortimer ran the workshop. Reflecting this division of responsibilities, Paterson resided in the New Town (at no.1 Bellevue Crescent) and Mortimer lived on site in the Old 115.

Each firm traded from a shop in a fashionable area of the city, but situated close to their respective factories. In 1820 Paterson, Mortimer & Co. opened new premises at no.51 New Buildings, North Bridge 116, having moved from no.18 North Bridge where, a few months earlier, they had first established their business 117. However, as the success of the firm continued, the draw of the New Town became irresistible. In 1826 they moved again, this time to no.43 Hanover Street, an establishment envied by their rivals:

Paterson and Mortimer have opened a shop in fine style in Hanover St. - quite elegant and plenty of Cabinet and Square Pianos - We have hardly one of either kind for sale. 118

The workshop remained at Castlehill, although Mortimer had since taken a separate address at no.82 South Bridge (1825) 119, another indication of the firm's increased prosperity. In addition to their
Edinburgh shops, the rival businesses each maintained a retailing outlet in London (see pp.257-8).

Although Wood, Small & Co. remained in Leith Street (presumably under lease) for a few years following John Muir's death, the shop was eventually sold in 1822, and a new shop opened at no.12 Waterloo Place 120. Construction of Waterloo Place had only recently been completed 121 - it was the new eastern approach to Princes Street. The various businesses which chose to occupy premises on its smart shopping parades, although not enjoying the central position of their Princes Street or George Street counterparts, had the enticing benefit of new and spacious surroundings, conveniently accessible from both New and Old Towns.

Both firms offered a range of musical goods and services. Although of the two, Wood, Small & Co. maintained the widest retailing stock, its activities were significantly scaled-down from those of its predecessor. Without John Muir's financial backing, it was necessary to run the business in a different way. This approach was made clear from the firm's earliest advertisements:

WOOD, SMALL & CO. having in view a new arrangement in their business, intend to dispose of part of their large stock of PIANO-FORTES, HARPS, VIOLINS, FLUTES, SPANISH GUITARS, MUSIC &c &c at their Warehouse, Leith Street, at prices very considerably under the usual rate. The sale to commence on Tuesday next and to continue one month. Every article will have the price affixed to it, a credit of 6 months or 7½ per cent discount for ready money, but no further abatement can be made.122 [1820]

The fixed short-term credit facilities and inducement offered for cash sales suggest some degree of urgency: at the time, money was needed both to maintain the skilled workforce and to buy-out the required parts of Muir's estate (the shop and factory). Although retailing activities were reduced, in manufacturing Wood, Small & Co. sought to continue the same level of success enjoyed by the predecessor firm.
The Scale of Production

On commencing business, and faced with a new competitor, Wood, Small & Co., sought to capitalise on the distinguished and long-standing tradition of its predecessor:

WOOD, SMALL & CO., late MUIR, WOOD & CO., return their sincere thanks to their friends and the public, for the kind patronage they have experienced, which has enabled them, for 22 years, to carry on the most extensive MANUFACTORY of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS in SCOTLAND, and to procure from London, at a very great expense, the best workmen in every department of their business, they can now with confidence say, that the PIANO-FORTES, ORGANS and HARP, made at their Manufactory, either in respect to workmanship, tone, or durability, are not inferior to any in the Kingdom. 123

However, by the mid-1820s it appears that Paterson, Mortimer & Co. had overtaken their rivals in terms of output. Both firms made square and cabinet pianos. Although Paterson, Mortimer & Co. occasionally described themselves as "Manufacturers of Upright, Grand and Square Pianos" 124, their various advertisements mentioned only "a choice selection of CABINET and SQUARE PIANOS" as being available for public inspection. If they did produce grands, it was done in an inexplicably self-effacing manner.

Wood, Small & Co.'s square pianos carry a serial number; this continues the previous partnership's sequence. Of those located, only one instrument also has a date of manufacture, this being the year 1823 (piano no.2565). The earliest piano (no.2201) is identical to the latest known example by Muir, Wood & Co. (no.2163), which suggests a date of manufacture close to its near-twin: 1819-1820. The initials of Andrew Reid feature on instruments no.2523 and 2685. Reid left the firm in March 1826, his role as "finisher" being assumed by Andrew Wood's eldest son, Robert (see below). The initials "R.W." also appear on piano no.2685, indicating that the instrument was constructed during this period of change.
Based on this information, it can be estimated that the partnership produced almost 500 square pianos during an eight-year period between mid-1818 and 1826. The economic recession between 1827-1829 probably led to a decrease in output during their later years. By 1829, the serial number sequence may have reached little above 2800. This gives a total estimated production of some 600 square pianos in almost eleven years.

The output of Paterson, Mortimer & Co. is more difficult to gauge. Two instruments with serial numbers in the early 400s are extant, the first being no.419; the latest known instrument is no.1011. Taken at face value (and allowing that the sequence perhaps did not start at no.1), an overall production of about 1000 instruments is suggested. However, this exceeds the rate of output achieved by Muir, Wood & Co., and is probably an over-estimate.

There is insufficient information to estimate the number of cabinet pianos produced by the two workshops. Only one instrument, by Wood, Small & Co., is known to survive, while an order for damper wires (see p.461) suggests that the firm made at least 20 instruments, and that production was continuous, rather than based on a number of individual commissions. There is a single account of a cabinet piano by Paterson, Mortimer & Co., supposedly their first instrument, in a booklet celebrating the firm's centenary. Its present whereabouts is unknown:

The instrument was of the type designated Cabinet. It had the height and appearance of a bookcase with keys, the case of carefully selected mahogany, with ebony lines and mercurial gilt mounts. The firm are happy in their present possession of one of these models in a most excellent state of preservation, which can be inspected in their premises.

The combined output of square pianos by Edinburgh's two major firms during the 1820s may have reached about 1600 instruments. During the same period in London, Broadwood produced in excess of ten times as many squares, in addition to over 5000 grands, almost 4000 cabinet pianos, and some 1500 cottage uprights. The production level achieved by the other major firms in the English capital also
increased significantly. The combined effort of the principal Edinburgh firms was unable to achieve the same level of production in proportion to that of London makers as had been maintained by Muir, Wood & Co. during their 20 years in business.

Workforces

From the available evidence, it is difficult to establish the size of the respective workforces. Whereas, Wood, Small & Co., undoubtedly retained many if not all of the workmen of its predecessor, its rival looked southwards, and announced the arrival of: "workmen who have studied their profession under the most eminent makers in London" 128. Of the two craftsmen with a known association with Paterson, Mortimer & Co., at least one was a local man, Andrew Reid (see p.470). The origin of the other, G[eorge] Tait, is not clear.

The two extant squares by Paterson, Mortimer & Co. carry the signature "G. Tait" in ink on key-lever no.56. Since his name did not appear in the city directories or lists of craftsmen during the 1820s, Tait was probably a journeyman wright employed by the firm. His name appears on the keyboard of a square by Wood & Co. (see p.469) dating from about 1835.

The names of a few of Wood, Small & Co.'s workmen are known. Andrew Reid worked as a "finisher" for both Muir, Wood & Co. and the successor firm; his initials appear on extant square pianos dating from between c.1809 (no.1041) and c.1825 (no.2685). His skills were evidently in demand since, in 1826, he was poached by the firm's rival: "Patterson intised Reid away from us in an under hand Manner"129. His place in the firm was taken by Wood's son, Robert:

...you would also likely be informed that Andw. Reid had left us and gone to Patterson about 12 months ago, but we found no loss in the want of him as your Brother Robert is a good finisher as we ever had and most obliging in every respect. 130

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In Andrew Wood's letters the names of Wilson and Biggery are mentioned as employees (see p.465). Of these, the former may have been James Wilson, a local tuner, who was listed in the city directories at various Old Town addresses between 1810-1836 (see p.234). Biggery's name did not similarly appear; he was probably a journeyman wright.

As retailers, little is known about Paterson, Mortimer & Co. For their rivals, Small ran the shop in Waterloo Place, with various assistants. These included (at different periods) Wood's sons Andrew and John Muir, and a regular shop-man:

I have had to bring your Brother Andw. from the worke shope to assist Presley, the Boy we had when you went from home has left us. 131

Throughout the 1820s, Andrew Wood retained responsibility for the workshops, despite spending an increasing amount of time away from Edinburgh, selling, tuning and repairing instruments. During 1826-1827, for example, he made extended journeys to Newcastle, Hull, York, Dublin and numerous destinations in the south of Scotland 132. That he does not appear to have travelled north of Edinburgh suggests that similar duties here were carried out by another employee (as had been the case for Muir, Wood & Co., see p.236). The constant round of tuning and repairing provided the firm with a steady, if modest, source of income which was particularly important at times when trading was otherwise unpredictable.

The Instruments

The square pianos by both firms reflected the prevalent furniture design of London-made instruments. Wood, Small & Co. were more conservative than their rivals; their instruments match the later examples of Muir, Wood & Co.: most cases have square front corners, share similar dimensions (for example, Wood, Small & Co. piano no.2523 133 measures 1689 x 628 x 249) and stands on six reeded
legs with a music drawer between each front pair. Some, for example no. 2287, have rounded front corners and four legs, although they have the same internal layout as the square-fronted models. The standard instruments of Paterson, Mortimer & Co. have slightly curved front case corners and six mahogany legs; although more expensive to produce, this shape was currently preferred by many London makers, notably Broadwood.

Numerous decorative features of pianos by both firms were strongly imitative of London instruments, including the strips of brass baseboard moulding, the brass leg finials, and the nameboard frets. There is evidence that Wood, Small & Co., bought intricate component parts for their pianos from a London sub-contractor:

We sent Aubrey and Bullock, through Wheatstone Strand, some Cabinet Damper wires to be exchanged & also an order for other things, I forget where they were to be sent to, either Gouldings, Wheatstone or Monro & May's, however the things have not come to hand and are much wanted.... We are quite at a stand for want of Cabinet and Square P.F. Damper wires, the Cabinet wires must be of the small not the thick kind - We want 50 set of Sqr & 20 set Cabinet Damper wires - also Copper covering wire ordered - perhaps you could take a coach & call upon Aubrey at No.1 William St. Lambeth Marsh.135 [1825]

The damper wires mentioned in the above extract, were thin, finely threaded brass wires, required in large numbers (about 60 per piano) and difficult to produce by the non-expert. Its seems likely, since some decorative features of instruments by Paterson, Mortimer & Co., such as nameboard grilles and internal triangular fretwork, match those found on instruments from both London and Edinburgh, that the firm followed a similar practise to its rival in this area. It was cheaper to import quantities of smaller complex parts from a specialist rather than attempt manufacture oneself.

The same action type (English double), damping system (wooden over-dampers), pedal mechanism and basic keyboard dimensions are common to all extant pianos by both firms. These features were not radically altered by any British maker during the period. This was not the case with regard to keyboard compass.
The surviving squares by Wood, Small & Co., and early examples by Paterson, Mortimer & Co., have a compass of five and a half octaves (FF-c⁴). By the early-1820s this was largely outmoded, with six octaves (FF-f⁴) becoming the standard on instruments by the principal London firms. During this period, orders for Broadwood squares increasingly specify the extended compass 136. Some of these instruments were fitted with an iron hitch-pin plate to help resist the increased string tension (see pp.293-4).

Although extant later instruments by Paterson, Mortimer & Co. have a six-octave compass, they do not incorporate an iron hitch-pin plate. None of the surviving Wood, Small & Co. pianos features either modification. It is possible that the design of the firm's later instruments, none of which has been located by the author, was updated to include these changes. George Small expressed an interest in the subject in a letter to Wood's son:

Give an account of the best Iron Piano in Paris, and pick up all useful information you can before leaving. 137 [1826]

However, one suspects that the financial problems which afflicted the business during the late-1820s placed constraints on the workshop's abilities to modernise its instruments.

Although Wood, Small & Co. may have experienced difficulties in making fundamental changes to the design and structure of their pianos, they were swift to incorporate any technical modifications which were easily applicable to their existing model. One such feature was the divided bass bridge (see p.452, with regard to a Broadwood square), which, excepting early instruments (i.e. before about no.2300, c.1820), became a standard feature on the Edinburgh firm's pianos. It served the bottom 17 notes (FF-A), and facilitated an improved string scaling.
By August 1826 it was generally known that Paterson and Mortimer were parting \(^{138}\). In September, the firm's assets were divided: Mortimer kept the new shop in Hanover Street, Paterson the Castlehill factory \(^{139}\). Given the former role of the partners, this division seems contrary. Perhaps there was benefit in each retaining the premises in which he specialised least: after all, it would be less problematic to re-establish an alternative base for that part of the business in which a he had expertise. Both men proceeded to form firms with new partners.

In conjunction with a local retailer of London-made pianos, P.W. Roy, and the young Edinburgh musician, William Napier, Paterson opened a shop at no.27 George Street under the name of Paterson & Roy. Along with a large selection of London-made instruments, the remaining stock of pianos by Paterson, Mortimer & Co. were offered at reduced prices \(^{140}\). Manufacturing also continued for a short time. However, after Broadwood threatened to stop supplying pianos if the Edinburgh firm continued to make their own \(^{141}\), the Castlehill site was quickly sold. Paterson offered his remaining stock of materials and instruments to Wood, Small & Co. \(^{142}\). From this time, Paterson & Roy dealt exclusively in London-made instruments (predominantly those of Broadwood) and sheet music.

After the break with Paterson, Mortimer also sought a new business partner. Considerable scheming seems to have occurred, with Mortimer apparently securing the services of former employees Andrew Reid and William Napier, only to see both switch to Paterson \(^{143}\). However, by the end of September Mortimer had formed a partnership with a piano tuner, Robert Anderson (see p.232), and re-opened the shop at no.43 Hanover Street under the name of Mortimer, Anderson & Co. \(^{144}\).

From the outset, Mortimer, Anderson & Co. were appointed sole Scottish agents for Anderson's former employer, Stodart & Son:
The scale of the firm's own manufacturing activities is not clear, although an advertisement announcing their formation set out plans on a substantial scale:

As they intend carrying on, upon an extensive scale, the Manufacturing of Piano Fortes, workmen of ability and experience have been engaged, and in repairing instruments their Friends may rely that no exertion shall be wanting on their part to render them complete. 146

Shipping lists reveal that pianos were exported only to destinations in Scotland, for example five pianos shipped to Dundee in July 1828 147. After 1831, the business was transferred to no.79 Princes Street, where the directories described its activities as "Pianoforte and Music Sellers" 148 (they had formerly been "Pianoforte Makers and Sellers" 149). However, manufacturing continued for at least a few years after the move; piano no.2368 is internally dated 1831 150, and another surviving instrument confirms that the serial sequence extended at least to no.2558.

The economic depression of 1827-1829 caused a reduction in the scale of piano-making in Edinburgh from which the trade never fully recovered. Its effects were exacerbated by subsequent events: a growth in the sale of imported instruments through a growing number of Edinburgh dealers (see Table IV.2, p.297), which reflected the increasingly aggressive marketing techniques of the major London houses; and, the introduction of fundamental changes in piano design at a time when Edinburgh firms lacked the resources to adapt.

During the recession, Wood, Small & Co. suffered substantial losses in three areas: firstly, through non-payment by shipping agents responsible for the exportation and sale of the firm's instruments abroad; secondly, through a general decrease in demand and sales; and, thirdly, by losses incurred through investments.
The failure of two leading Glasgow shipping merchants, R.B. and Charles Blyth, and subsequently that of a third brother, E.F. Blyth precipitated that of many smaller firms \(^{151}\), and Wood, Small & Co. were left with losses of some £600 (equivalent to the retail price of about 24 square pianos: more than 4 months' production) \(^{152}\). A further £500 was lost by the failure of Stewart Campbell, one of the firm's agents, who handled the export of instruments to Buenos Aires\(^{153}\).

Following the slump in piano sales, economies were made, although the method chosen by Wood, Small & Co. differed from that of London's principal maker:

Business has really been very dull for 9 months past & there is at present a very general complaint. Broadwood only allows his men to work 6 hours a day. \(^{154}\)

From the Badness of the times we have been obliged to reduce the mens wages ten per cent - they all have submitted to it quietly except Wilson and Biggery. \(^{155}\)

For Broadwood, the intention was to reduce the general level of production, while the Edinburgh firm sought to cut production costs. Broadwood had the advantage of being able to meet demand partly from stock, while Wood, Small & Co., which could not generally afforded to maintain a large supply of its pianos, felt a need to continue manufacturing at their former level simply to keep their workshop going. As a result, new markets were sought for surplus instruments.

However, difficulties persisted even when pianos were taken far afield, as, for example, with the 14 instruments which Wood took to Hull in February 1827 \(^{156}\). In his frustration, Wood expressed a perhaps more soundly-based commercial approach to his firm's dilemma:

I am sure it would be better not to Manifactor more goods than we can retail at home, then run into such risk and expense merely to keep imployed extra ungratfull worke men. I am at a loss to know what to do whither to let them go at what they will bring or buy them in if they do not come up to a certaine price. \(^{157}\)
In spite of this outburst, this was a course of action which he wished to avoid. The manufacture of instruments was clearly central to Wood, Small & Co.'s activities and, although bemoaning the "extra ungratfull worke men" (no doubt ungrateful as a result of the recent cut in their wages), Wood was anxious not to lose skilled labour to a rival:

This you will say is an expencive and unprofitable way of disposing of what we Manufactor; so it is, but it enables us to keep on our men till times get better and does not hurt our sales at home and likewise enables us to raise two or three hundred pounds to meat our payments. 158

Aside from losses directly incurred through its own commercial practices, the company lost further capital through its involvement in a venture of Wood's son, Andrew - a rectifying business. In 1828, its failure left the firm bereft of some £700 159. In addition, the general depression hit another source of income, the letting of two retailing premises:

The rent of our shop No.10 So[uth] Bridge has been reduced almost one half, the one 63 Princes Street has been empty this last twelve months, if we may except letting it for auctions which produces little, neither is it let for the ensuing year. We are therefore proposing to occupy it ourselves and has a ticket upon the Shop in Waterloo Place, but has never been offer'd money for it, the ticket is still on Princes Street shop also and I am afraid they will be both on our hands. 160

Although the shop in Princes Street was subsequently let 161, the financial problems were only slightly alleviated. These, no doubt, contributed to the growing tension between the senior partners. The firm had been suffering commercial difficulties and decline for some years. In 1828, Wood privately expressed a wish to break-off the partnership with Small "and have my sons in with myself - then we will know what and who we are working for" 162. However, the partnership continued into the following year, which was Andrew Wood's last: he died on May 2nd, aged 63 163.
Although the names of two new makers appeared in the city directories between 1819-1822, it seems doubtful they operated on an independent basis. Neither James Stodart nor John Hamilton advertised in the local press, nor have extant instruments been located. Both men were probably senior employees within one of the larger firms, who had achieved a level of social and financial elevation sufficient for an entry in the city directory.

Stodart's addresses were each at the eastern edge of the New Town, hardly a manufacturing district: no.3 Picardy Place (1822-1823) and no.9 St. James's Square (1823-1825). Nothing is known of his background or activities, although a link with the celebrated family of London-based piano makers seems likely. Hamilton previously worked for Muir, Wood & Co., and thus probably for Wood, Small & Co.

During the early-1820s, a further two firms, David Hamilton & Co. and Townsend & Co., included piano-making as part of their business. Each specialised also in making an alternative instrument, and both evolved into successful and large-scale enterprises during the 1830s.

Although John Hamilton probably did not work as an independent maker, the later Hamilton firm, formed in 1822, advertised instruments of its own make. The two firms appear to have been connected, although the nature of this link remains unclear. The changing locations of the various businesses reflected the increasing prosperity of the dynasty: John Hamilton, 38 Libberton's Wynd (1819-1822); David Hamilton and Co., 63 North Bridge (1822-1825) and Hanover Street (1825-1828); and David Hamilton, junior, 30 St. Andrew's Street (1828-1833). From about 1824 organ building became an important part of the firm's activities; at this time David Hamilton (junior) had returned from studies with German builders. Organ building eventually came to dominate then usurp the firm's piano-making activities.
DAVID HAMILTON junior, has at present for SALE a variety of FINGER and BARREL ORGANS; also a few excellent PIANO FORTES, with metallic plates, which he is selling at present at very low prices, as his premises must be cleared out for other large organs he is building. 167

The other firm to include piano-making as part of a wider range of manufacturing was William Townsend & Co. Townsend had made harps in the city since about 1812 168, but only became involved in piano-making in 1828 169: an earlier attempt to form a similar business with Messrs. Hodges, Miller and Anderson came to nothing 170. The timing of the firm's commencement as piano makers (and that of three other individuals in the city during the following year) was probably related to the continuing financial difficulties of Wood, Small & Co. The new firm offered a wide range of instrumental services:

NEW HARP & PIANO FORTE ESTABLISHMENT / no.3 St. Andrew's Street / EDINBURGH / WM. TOWNSEND & CO. beg leave to announce ....that they have commenced business as HARP & PIANO-FORTE MAKERS upon the newest and most approved principles of the most eminent London makers / N.B. Harps, Piano-fortes, Spanish Guitars, Flutes, Flageolets &c tuned and repaired. Metallic plates applied to old Piano-fortes. 171

During the 1830s Townsend & Co. were part of a significant revival of piano-making activities in the Scottish capital.

THE REVIVAL AND FINAL DECLINE OF EDINBURGH'S PIANO TRADE

c.1830-c.1840

The improvement in economic conditions during the late-1820s coincided with a revival in piano-making activities in Edinburgh. In addition to a handful of moderately-sized firms, a number of independent piano builders appeared in the city directories. These streamlined firms were better suited to meet the challenge of the new trading conditions than had been their larger predecessors. They required only a small share of an expanding market and were generally
able to adopt the new technology and construction methods without the substantial capital investment and the aesthetic adjustment otherwise necessitated by long-standing working practices.

**Successor firms**

There were two successor firms to Wood, Small & Co., both of which continued to retail pianos bearing their own inscription. George Small joined with James Bruce (an organ builder and long-time employee of the former firm), and as Small, Bruce & Co. traded as music sellers and organ builders ("to Her Majesty") from premises at no.54 Princes Street (1831-1834) and no.101 George Street (1834-1837)\(^1\). The firm produced some square pianos, although the unfamiliar signatures found within these instruments and their unrealistically high serial numbers suggest that they were stencilled imports. The partnership ended during the mid-1830s; Bruce continued to make organs (probably until his death in about 1837) whilst Small & Co. sold music and musical instruments into the early-1840s\(^2\).

Trading from Wood, Small & Co.'s former shop at no.12 Waterloo Place was continued by Wood & Co.\(^3\), a firm based on a partnership between Andrew Wood's three surviving sons: Robert, John Muir and George. Robert was responsible for the manufacture of pianos which, following the injection of cash from a bank loan, was continued on an increased scale. The new firm produced as many as 400 square pianos, taking the old number sequence past 3200. Manufacturing continued until 1835, when fire destroyed both the factory and its entire stock of well-seasoned timber: "From this time they ceased to manufacture, and used their experience in selecting from the great English and Continental houses whatever recommended itself as worthy of approval."\(^4\)

The activities of Mortimer, Anderson & Co. from the mid-1820s have been outlined above (see p.463-4). Again the size of their workforce is not known, but it included at least one established
local piano craftsman, William Poole, whose signature appears on square piano no. 2368. Along with Townsend & Co. these were Edinburgh's principal piano manufacturers during the 1830s.

**The Smaller Firms**

Of the four individuals who appeared in the 1829 directory as piano makers, two, Andrew Reid and William Hodges, can confidently be named as former employees within other Edinburgh firms.

Reid's skills as a "finisher" were widely recognised; his 1824 listing as a "piano forte maker, no.9, middle Arthur Place" is an indication of his relative prosperity (he was an employee of Wood, Small & Co. at the time). Although still in the Old Town, his address was to the south of the High Street and away from the traditional manufacturing district. Reid was aware of the value of his skills and appears to have been something of an opportunist. He not only left one major firm to join its rival (see p.458), but on the dissolution of Paterson, Mortimer & Co., he again compromised his loyalties: "Reid goes with Paterson, after promising Mortimer that he would stick to him" 177. Since Paterson was quickly forced to abandon piano-making, Reid perhaps should have followed his original intention. Andrew Wood maintained a close interest in the plight of his former employee, even predicting how events might lead to a continuing employment under Paterson:

So that it strikes me that Patterson intised Reid away from us in an under hand Manner he will find himself bound to continue him to Manufactor in his own name and will notwithstanding their ingagement with Broadwood will get Edinr. Made Instruments to sell cheep from Reid leiterly made by them selves....178

Whether Reid continued in this capacity is not clear. By 1829 he had established a workshop under his own name at no.1 East Broughton Place (on the northern edge of the New Town) 179.
Like that of Reid, the background and training of William Hodges is not known. It seems likely that he worked for one of the larger city firms during the 1820s. In 1828 he was part of a proposed new piano-making partnership with Townsend, Miller and Anderson, although the scheme apparently came to nothing (see p.468). Instead he established his own workshop, on the site of that of the proposed partnership's, and made instruments for at least a decade. As well as offering a wide range of piano services, Hodges' advertisements stressed most of the usual reasons for buying Scottish:

PIANO-FORTES / WM. HODGES PIANO-FORTE MANUFACTURER, ELDER STREET HALL, Edinburgh, begs to inform the Musical Public that he can supply them with 6 or 6½ octave CABINET or SQUARE PIANO-FORTES at 25% below any of the large London-makers. Guaranteed equal to any ever produced in London. The most respectable references can be added / Elder Street Hall.....

PIANO-FORTES.... he continues to manufacture piano-fortes on the most approved London principles, and from well-seasoned materials in the same premises which he has occupied for the past eight years.....Piano forties of every description tuned, regulated and repaired in Town and Country at the same moderate charges which have characterised his establishment since 1828.....The extra keys of 6 octave Grand Pianos removed from bass to treble.....

There are fewer details and apparently no extant instruments by a further two individuals listed in the 1829 directory as piano makers: John Ramsey and Thomas Malcolm. However, Reid's and Hodges' businesses were probably typical; small-scale operations which offered a wide range of services, and produced instruments with the latest technical developments. The limited and specialised scale of activities was the key to their success. It is also notable that each firm worked from the New Town, albeit from addresses on its periphery. The combining of showroom and workshop at a location close to the market reinstated the traditional pattern of the city's late 18th-century keyboard instrument makers.
With so few surviving instruments and little supporting evidence it is not possible accurately to assess the scale of production during this period. As before, squares were the standard type of piano, and although a few firms advertised cabinet pianos, none offered grands. Instruments made in Edinburgh imitated the furniture style of contemporary London models. Reid's piano no. 12 was probably typical: six octave compass (FF-f^4, 73 notes); metal hitchpin plate; gently rounded front case corners and four turned mahogany legs. Later pianos by Townsend & Co. and Small, Bruce & Co. have an extended compass of six and a quarter octaves (FF - a^4, 77 notes) which was then standard for Broadwood squares.

Judging by extant serial numbers, Wood & Co. produced some 600 squares over a five-year period. One suspects that the other larger firms may have added a further 300 between them, whilst the work of at least three individual makers probably amounted to less than 150; for example, Andrew Reid's piano no.12, is dated 1829, and thus his total output probably reached about 50 before 1834, when his name disappeared from the city directories. One thus arrives at an estimated overall total of about 1000 square pianos produced over a ten year period.

SUMMARY

Between the mid-1780s and about 1840, the opportunities of a stable and growing market encouraged over 25 piano-making firms to commence business in Edinburgh. This market was rooted in the increasing demand for domestic keyboard instruments (i.e. square pianos) for the daughters of socially-aspiring families, many of whom lived in the city's New Town.
Locally-made instruments enjoyed two principal advantages over their counterparts from London: price and provenance. Throughout the period, the price of Scottish instruments undercut that of London models by about 25%. This was made possible because of three factors: firstly, there were no packaging, shipping or insurance costs to be met; secondly, workforces were paid at a lower rate than those of London businesses; and thirdly, the high profit margin enjoyed by southern firms was susceptible to under-cutting (the over-pricing of instruments from the English capital was designed to keep them socially exclusive and thus more desirable). The general expansion of the Scottish economy made this a period in which native manufacture prospered in many areas, and an appeal to nationalist pride often accompanied the advertisements of local piano makers.

From the late-1790s, a growing demand for instruments encouraged production on an increased scale from that of the city's first generation of makers. The two firms which were dominant over the ensuing 20 years required a more substantial financial base than had their predecessors. The wealth of John Muir, a prosperous merchant, allowed Muir, Wood & Co. to maintain a wide-ranging and substantial scale of production, with a large factory and skilled workforce. There was sufficient capital to invest in an adequate stock of materials despite a relatively slow rate of turn-over. The source of Andrew Rochead's capital is not clear. Although his firm traded for more than ten years, it was clearly less financially secure and fell victim to the economic slump after 1815. Both firms supplemented their incomes through retailing on an extensive scale, as well as offering the usual after-sales service on their instruments.

A similar fate to Rochead & Son almost befell Wood, Small & Co. in the late-1820s. By this time there were other pressures on local makers relating to the more aggressive marketing (and greatly increased production) by London firms, and the changing mechanical character of square pianos. The necessary investment required to alter radically the design of their pianos and to modernise manufacturing techniques was not available to Wood, Small & Co.
during the years of depression c.1827-1829. Only following the injection of a substantial bank loan were Wood & Co. able to revive their manufacturing activities.

The final phase of manufacturing in the city represented a partial return to the late 18th-century model, with a number of small, usually one-man, firms producing pianos imitative of London models. Such businesses required a relatively small amount of capital outlay in order to begin production. As in earlier times, workshops often served as showrooms. In addition to these firms, larger companies (although more streamlined than former manufacturers) continued to operate throughout much of the decade. Some of these specialised in the production of other types of instrument, notably harps (Townsend & Co.) and organs (Hamilton & Co.).

It seems unlikely that the firms operating in Edinburgh during the late 18th century employed a significant number of workmen. Since few alluded to a workforce within their advertisements, one suspects that most worked alone. However, as the demand for instruments increased, and firms established their own retailing outlets, the numbers involved in each concern inevitably rose.

Aside from raising sufficient capital, the chief problem which faced those who wished to establish piano-making businesses in Edinburgh was the lack of a suitably skilled indigenous workforce. When not founded by a specialist craftsman, firms attracted skilled workmen from London-based firms. Undoubtedly, many of these men were native Scots who welcomed the opportunity to practise their craft at home. Both John Broadwood and Robert Stodart were Scots and, being mistrustful of the English, preferred to train and employ men from their native land.

In order to achieve its prolific degree of production, Muir, Wood & Co. assembled a sizable skilled workforce, some of whom later switched their allegiance to rival firms or formed businesses of their own. A resident pool of skilled labour was thus established in the city. It is not coincidental that the appearance of a number of
independent makers in the late-1820s coincided with the difficulties encountered by one leading firm (Wood, Small & Co.) and the dissolution of another (Paterson, Mortimer & Co.).

Generally, the existence of an imported specialist workforce in the city did much to negate the value of training apprentices in the various crafts of piano-making. The tasks which an unskilled apprentice might perform within the workshop were few, and to embark on a time-consuming programme of training probably seemed unnecessary, since skilled labour could be found in London. It is significant that only members of the families of local makers (notably Andrew Wood's sons) received such training.

When compared to the output of square pianos by London firms, production in Edinburgh between 1785-1840 was modest. Table VI.14 compares the approximate number of square pianos made during each of the phases of the piano trade in Edinburgh with figures from Broadwood relating to the same periods (deduced from the London firm's Number Books, and from the serial numbers on extant, dated instruments):

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>1785-1800</th>
<th>1800-1818</th>
<th>1818-1829</th>
<th>1829-1840</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh firms</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Broadwood</td>
<td>4500</td>
<td>20000</td>
<td>14000</td>
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</table>

Clearly, the Scottish capital's most productive period was during the first two decades of the 19th century. At this time, two firms dominated local output: Muir, Wood & Co. (with about a 50% share), and Rochead & Son (with about 25%). It is significant that the four-fold increase in native production at this time is also reflected in Broadwood's figures, indicating a general expansion in
the British piano trade. Thus, in comparative terms, the relationship between the two figures remains the same as during the late 18th century. Only in later decades does the average production rate in Edinburgh significantly fall whilst that of Broadwood remains the same.

Throughout the period, there was little incentive for Edinburgh firms, large or small, to produce grands. In Scotland, the market for these expensive instruments was extremely limited, and although a few grands were made, none of the capital's makers elected to devote the required capital to undertake large-scale production.

Compared with the scale of piano-making in London, it is clear that, even when combined, the output of Scottish makers was modest. The relatively small scale of their activities is further emphasised on consideration of the small number of cabinet pianos, and statistically negligible number of grands, made north of the border, while Broadwood alone produced some 15000 grands, about 6000 cabinet pianos and over 2500 cottage uprights between c.1785-c.1840. However, second to London, no other British city (Dublin included) could rival the Scottish capital in the number of its piano-making firms, or the scale of their production.
The construction of Edinburgh's New Town was a monumental response to social and economic demands from the city's increasingly prosperous middle and upper class population. It created an atmosphere of social refinement and modernity, reflected in the growth of many types of leisure pursuits practised by its residents, principally in the cause of enhancing their social status. Of these activities, the acquisition of proficient musical skills on the part of young ladies for display within the home, implied a level of both artistic and intellectual refinement.

As the city's population rose during the late 18th and early 19th century, so proportionally did the size of the middle and upper class sections within it. The extent and growth of the market for instruction in music was reflected in the increasing number of teachers which the city was able to support. Demand came principally from female amateurs who wished to take piano lessons. The needs and, more importantly, means of those seeking instruction were reflected in the wide range of teachers who offered lessons; from visiting celebrities, who commanded the highest fees, to resident, female "teachers of music". Further to this, the cost of instruction varied according to the method selected. Lessons were available individually or in classes, either at the home of the instructor, or, more expensively, at that of the pupil. From 1817, J.B. Logier's system for teaching the piano in large classes achieved great popularity in the Scottish capital, notably at the "Academy" of Alexander Robertson.

The demand for instruction in singing was also strong, and created opportunities for teachers over a similar range as that for the piano. In addition, the city was able to support a preceptors in other instruments favoured by female amateurs, in particular, the harp, guitar (English, then Spanish) and flageolet. However, the market was generally insufficient to allow these tutors to specialise exclusively in such instruments.
Music lessons were not generally sought throughout the entire year. However, as the 19th century progressed, the former tradition of taking instruction only during the "winter" period in which public concerts were given was gradually eroded. The uncertain continuance of concerts was undoubtedly a contributory factor here, although a perhaps more significant impetus were the needs of an increasing number of resident, professional instructors and musicians, who relied heavily on revenue from teaching. By about 1820, most teachers commenced lessons in early October and continued until May or early June.

Although the city had long-nurtured a tradition of music-making among gentlemen amateurs, notably through their participation in the concerts at Saint Cecilia's Hall, demand for instruction from such musicians, was limited. Following the dissolution of the Musical Society, the extent to which amateurs participated in public concerts in the city is not clear. As concerts became largely stripped of their aurora of social exclusivity, it appears that members of the more elevated classes were reluctant to perform for the entertainment of the audiences comprised largely of their social inferiors. It is significant that the instruments most favoured by gentlemen amateurs (the flute, violin and 'cello) were suited for use both in the concert hall and home.

Throughout the period, there was little sustained interest in choral music, or demand for its instruction. To some extent, this reflected the controversial status of music within the Presbyterian church. Despite periods of enthusiasm, notably following the city's first musical festival, there was a general inability to support instruction in this area on a sustained basis, whether from civic authorities, individuals or large-scale musical organisations. Similarly, excepting the area of military band instruments, demand for instruction from those seeking to become professional musicians was extremely modest. However, during the period of the French wars, the formation of wind bands created professional opportunities for a significant number of Edinburgh-based musicians as directors, teachers, players or arrangers of music.
Corresponding to the growth and nature of the market for instruction in music during the period, Edinburgh was able to support an increasing number of music shops. The preferred location of these businesses followed the migration of their customers from the Old to the New Town. By about 1820, the principal firms were established in or around Princes Street, which, although conceived as a residential thoroughfare, had developed into a fashionable shopping district. In most cases, Edinburgh's music businesses were based on partnerships between individuals with contrasting but complimentary skills. These often involved local performing musicians, teachers, musical instrument makers and piano tuners, in addition to various merchants of differing specialities. The continuing activities of many proprietors in other areas of music commonly necessitated the employment of others to run their shops, although personal involvement was retained in matters of importance, notably the selection of stock from London.

From the early-1790s, as competition between shops increased, the size, variety and presentation of their stock assumed a greater degree of importance. The showroom was born, in which customers could commodiously inspect new instruments and music prior to purchase. The notion of a "standard" stock changed markedly, as it became necessary to maintain a selection of the latest goods, particularly from London. Peculiar to the music trade, the need for a greater area of floor space to display pianos necessitated an increase in the size of shops. Retailers in Edinburgh established links with the principal London manufacturers in order to secure the latest instruments on the most advantageous terms. Although pianos formed the most significant area of demand, a wide range of other instruments was generally available, including plentiful supplies of military band instruments during the period of the French wars.

In addition to a "standard" stock, music retailers sought to distinguished their businesses from those of their rivals, by specialising in a particular area or item. Some, such as Robert Purdie, Penson & Robertson, and Paterson & Roy, maintained large selections of pianos by Broadwood, while others, such as John Watlen,
John Hamilton and Nathaniel Gow, offered an extensive choice of popular sheet music of their own publication. Similarly, the reputation and success of some firms, such as Muir, Wood & Co. and Rochead & Son, were based on the sale of musical instruments of their own manufacture.

The market for pianos in Edinburgh supported a sustained period of local production which involved over 25 firms. The scale of piano-making in the Scottish capital was exceeded by no other British city except London. Reflecting the overriding area of demand, square pianos dominated the output of each maker. In most instances these instruments were closely imitative of London models, although the larger firms occasionally introduced innovative technical modifications or changes in furniture appearance. The chief attraction of Scottish instruments lay in their lower price and a nationalistic association with their place of origin.

Since the leading London firms deliberately kept the price of their instruments high in order to retain an image of exclusivity, provincial makers were able substantially to undercut the London prices - in the Scottish capital, by as much as a quarter. They were able also to pay their workforces considerable less than the southern rates. As many workman in London piano firms were Scots (reflecting an element of discrimination on the part of their Scottish employers, notably Broadwood and Stodart), Edinburgh firms were often able to entice skilled craftsman back to their native land. The distance from London worked greatly to the advantage of makers in the northern metropolis. The market for Edinburgh pianos extended not only throughout Scotland and the north of England and Ireland, but also to cities in North and South America, Scandinavia, and Russia.

As the period progressed, the English and Scottish capitals enjoyed a balance of trade in printed music. In Edinburgh, the popularity of arrangements of Scottish songs resulted, during the late 18th century, in the appearance of numerous large-scale collected editions, followed during the early 19th century, by a flood of arrangements published singly. This general change in format
reflected the insatiable demand of the amateur market for new, modern pieces in preference to definitive and supposedly enduring collections. In addition, single pieces were cheaper to produce and buy, which made them attractive to publishers and a wide cross-section of the new amateur market alike. The practice of employing foreign musicians as arrangers of Scottish songs (in the quest to produce great art works) was largely discarded after 1800. From about this time local musicians were increasingly involved in arranging the national music. A similar preference was evident in the sale of piano music, notably in the numerous sets of sonatas and variations by Thomas Butler. Generally, musicians in Edinburgh were unable to find encouragement for the publications of "serious" works.

However, the success enjoyed by those who instructed or supplied the amateur music market was not universally viewed with a sense of national pride. The shallow quality of popular music-making was much lamented in contemporary reports and accounts relating to the state of music in Scotland and its capital city, as illustrated by the following extract:

It may be thought that although Music may not be cultivated so generally as might be desirable, still it seems to hold a very fair place as a branch of study: - that, besides the instances given and left to be implied, in proof of the progress of the Art, it has likewise been introduced into all seminaries for the education of ladies, and is deemed an essential part of polite education for the fair sex. This is true, that one can hardly enter the house of an individual moving in a respectable sphere in life, and fail to find the indispensable pianoforte, and fair fingers trained to touch the keys. But even taking this additional very limited, and, as it will appear, very superficial view of the subject into consideration - Is Music really taught here as it ought to be? Are its true beauties impressed with careful and anxious discrimination upon the attention, and gradually unfolded to the understanding? or, Is the system one which aims at forcing into premature development mere manual dexterity, to the utter or serious neglect of mental culture? Let the results speak for the system!

To judge from the species of composition, and authors generally found on the pianoforte desk, it would appear as if it were rarely attempted to impart that refinement of taste, which leads to the appreciation of works of high excellence. The last new waltz, quadrille or polka, and a host of others of a like class, (no doubt to the perfect satisfaction of the publishers &c., who are the only profiters,) are as eagerly run after as
the last new novel, and it would almost seem that this folly has at length been carried so far, that an illustrated or illuminated title page, is now (shrewdly enough) deemed the principal recommendation (as it unquestionably in many cases is!) to a musical composition - or rather publication. What piles of rubbish (a few composers are excepted, whose waltz and other compositions, must meet with admiration, and be listened to with delight, both on account of the beautiful thoughts which they breathe, and the masterly management of the harmonies,) accumulate in thousands of drawing-rooms, one piece after another having served its ephemeral purpose in the pastime of fashionable life, the compositions of the great Masters, and particularly the compositions of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven - compositions which will endure till sound itself ceases - are rarely to be met with, and more rarely to be heard performed in private circles, in a style suited to their sublime character. 1

The widespread lack of interest in "compositions which will endure till sound itself ceases" extended to Edinburgh's concert life. Whilst music-making in the domestic, amateur market flourished, attempts to promote or improve its public, professional presentation, despite notable short-term successes, failed to achieve sustained support.

The decline and dissolution of Edinburgh's aristocratic Musical Society resulted from the effects of a combination of linked problems, ranging from the unfavourable location of Saint Cecelia's Hall, to increasing annual debts and resultant cuts in expenditure and thus appeal. After 1798, concert promoters in Edinburgh were faced with the dilemma of surrounding their events with an aurora of social exclusivity in order to retain the patronage of the nobility and gentry, whilst attracting the largest possible audience in order to make a profit, or at least avoid a loss. For those who sought to promote concert series in the city, a subscription system was employed, in part, to help towards the achievement of such a balance. Substantial discounts were made available to those who could afford a set of tickets, whilst admission to individual concerts was fixed at a rate which at least matched the highest price charged for other entertainments in the city. In addition to their effectiveness in selecting audiences, subscription systems gave impresarios an advance indication of the likely level of support for their concerts, from
which they could control their expenditure, particularly with regard to engaging solo performers on which the success of a season generally hinged.

The chief problem which faced all who attempted to establish regular concerts in Edinburgh during the early 19th century was the highly uncertain level of public support. Even following a successful year there was no guarantee that of a sufficient advance subscription for the ensuing season. Following the dissolution of the Musical Society, concert series in Edinburgh were promoted by resident musicians, the most important of whom was Natale Corri. However, the financial risk and frequent losses incurred became too great for individuals to bear. In 1812, after more than a decade of inconsistent successes and costly failures, the pattern of individual impresarios promoting annual concert series broke down.

As a result of the lack of sustained encouragement for concerts, combined with an absence of competition among the city's musicians, standards generally languished in an unenviable state. Whereas during the late 18th century, the Musical Society had sufficient capital and kudos to entice foreign solo performers to become resident in Edinburgh, by the early 19th century, faced with uncertain prospects of regular employment within a shorter concert season, few non-native solo performers settled in the Scottish capital. One suspects that the impact of the performances given (principally by London performers) during the 1815 festival was heightened to some degree by the generally lean quality of the local ensembles previously endured by Edinburgh audiences.

The poor consistency of public support for concerts in the Scottish capital was related also to competition from rival entertainments, including the theatre, dancing assemblies, and circuses or equestrian entertainments. Although their seasons generally extended over long periods, it was their essentially popular nature which made such events attractive, and cast a resultant shadow of dullness over concerts.
Edinburgh's musical festivals of 1815 and 1819 revived interest in concerts, and precipitated the formation of two large-scale organisations which largely took control of regular public performances in the city. Since the concerts of the Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of Sacred Music (1816-1819) and the Edinburgh Professional Society of Musicians (from 1819) were given predominantly by locally-based performers, they were better able to overcome the chief financial problems which had dogged individual impresarios in earlier years. However, following periods of substantial public support, each suffered a sudden withdrawal of patronage.

The success of the Edinburgh Professional Society during the mid-1820s was particularly noteworthy. After years of indifferent public response, from 1824 (the year in which Kalkbrenner performed with the Society's orchestra) the concerts achieved great popularity and consistently attracted audiences numbering in the region of a thousand. However, in 1828 a combination of factors, ranging from the unprecedented number of rival entertainments in the city, the serious or "elitist" nature of the Society's programmes, to the lack of foreign solo performers, this high level of support evaporated and was not recovered for over a decade.

The programmes of most public concerts in Edinburgh contrasted ensemble works (which usually involved an orchestra) with items featuring one or more solo performers. These works were generally interspersed with popular or novelty items, notably pieces with a Scottish flavour. Following the success of the 1815 festival, promoters attempted to continue the re-education of the public in the value of quality music, and introduced many new works to Edinburgh audiences, including the music of Beethoven and Weber. However, from the manner in which support for such events so dramatically disappeared, the market for "serious" works was small. Patronage for public concerts in the Scottish capital during the late 18th and early 19th century was neither liberal nor discerning.
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<td>Bwd. N.B.</td>
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<td>D. &amp; G.</td>
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29 Ibid., p.159
30 Bwd. Lds. 1794-1796
31 Information from serial numbers in Bwd. N.B. and various extant, dated instruments.
32 Broadwood's patent of 17.7.1783, British Patent no.1379
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36 E.E.C. 30.10.1786 no.10729
37 The principle of pneumatic tyres was patented by Robert William Thompson in 1845: British Patent no.10990
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