

*Routledge Research in Music Series*

# **MUSIC BY SUBSCRIPTION**

**COMPOSERS AND THEIR NETWORKS IN  
THE BRITISH MUSIC-PUBLISHING TRADE, 1676–1820**

Edited by Simon D. I. Fleming and Martin Perkins



# Music by Subscription

This book breaks new ground in the social and cultural history of eighteenth-century music in Britain through the study of a hitherto neglected resource, the lists of subscribers that were attached to a wide variety of publications, including musical works. These lists shed considerable light on the nature of those who subscribed to music, including their social status, place of employment, residence, and musical interests. Through broad analysis of subscription data, the contributors reveal insights into social and economic changes during the period, and the types of music favoured by groups like music clubs, the aristocracy, the clergy, and by men and women. With chapters on female composers and listeners, music and the slave economy, musical patronage, the print trade, and nationality, this book provides innovative perspectives that enhance our understanding of music's social spheres, the emergence of music publishing, and the potential of digital musicology research.

**Simon D.I. Fleming** holds a PhD in music from Durham University, and formerly taught in the Department of Music. He is currently Head of Music at the Queen Elizabeth Sixth Form College, Darlington, UK.

**Martin Perkins** holds a PhD from the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, Birmingham City University, where he lectures in music history, theory, and performance.

## **Routledge Research in Music Series**

### **Opera, Emotion, and the Antipodes Volume II**

Applied Perspectives: Compositions and Performances

*Edited by Jane W. Davidson, Michael Halliwell, Stephanie Rocke*

### **Researching Secular Music and Dance in the Early United States**

Extending the Legacy of Kate Van Winkle Keller

*Edited by Laura Lohman*

### **Orpheus in the Academy**

Monteverdi's First Opera and the Accademia degli Invaghiti

*Joel Schwindt*

### **Sound in the Ecstatic-Materialist Perspective on Experimental Music**

*Riccardo D. Wanke*

### **Sound Heritage**

Making Music Matter in Historic Houses

*Edited by Jeanice Brooks, Matthew Stephens and Wiebke Thormählen*

### **West Side Story, Gypsy, and the Art of Broadway Orchestration**

*Paul R. Laird*

### **Modes of Communication in Stravinsky's Works**

Sign and Expression

*Per Dahl*

### **Music by Subscription**

Composers and their Networks in the British Music-Publishing Trade, 1676–1820

*Edited by Simon D.I. Fleming and Martin Perkins*

For more information about this series, please visit: <https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Research-in-Music/book-series/RRM>

# **Music by Subscription**

Composers and their Networks in  
the British Music-Publishing Trade,  
1676–1820

**Edited by**  
**Simon D. I. Fleming**  
**and Martin Perkins**

First published 2022  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa  
business*

© 2022 selection and editorial matter, Simon D. I. Fleming and Martin  
Perkins; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Simon D. I. Fleming and Martin Perkins to be identified  
as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their  
individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77  
and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or  
reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical,  
or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including  
photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval  
system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks  
or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and  
explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-0-367-74850-0 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-75683-3 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-16355-8 (ebk)

DOI: [10.4324/9781003163558](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003163558)

Typeset in Times New Roman  
by KnowledgeWorks Global Ltd.



Supporting musical examples can be accessed  
via the online Routledge Music Research Portal:  
[www.routledgemusicresearch.co.uk](http://www.routledgemusicresearch.co.uk)

Please enter the activation word RRMusic and your email address  
when prompted. You will immediately be sent an automated email  
containing an access token and instructions, which will allow you to  
log in to the site.

# Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	vii
<i>List of tables</i>	viii
<i>List of contributors</i>	x
<i>Library Sigla</i>	xv
<i>Frontispiece</i>	xvi
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
SIMON D. I. FLEMING AND MARTIN PERKINS	
<b>SECTION 1</b>	
<b>The production of musical works by subscription</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>2 Thomas Mace and the publication by subscription of <i>Musick's Monument</i> (1676)</b>	<b>21</b>
STEPHANIE CARTER	
<b>3 Cecilia Maria Barthélemon's <i>Three Sonatas</i>, op 1</b>	<b>39</b>
MICHAEL KASSLER	
<b>4 Maria Hester Park and her subscribers</b>	<b>57</b>
LISE KARIN MELING	
<b>5 Publishing music by subscription in eighteenth-century Edinburgh: John Watlen and his collections of Circus Tunes</b>	<b>73</b>
SIMON D. I. FLEMING	
<b>6 William Felton and John Pixell: The musical circles of the vicar composer</b>	<b>93</b>
SIMON D. I. FLEMING	

**SECTION 2**

<b>The consumption of music published by subscription</b>	111
<b>7 Gentry, servants, and musicians: A network of subscribers in north-east England</b>	113
ROZ SOUTHEY	
<b>8 The music-making of the Bridgeman family, Weston Park</b>	131
MARTIN PERKINS	
<b>9 A big data study: Musical societies in subscription lists</b>	152
SIMON D. I. FLEMING AND MARTIN PERKINS	
<b>10 Strathspeys, reels, and instrumental airs: A national product</b>	177
KAREN E. MCAULAY	
<b>11 Profiting from the slave economy and subscribing to music: The British experience in the eighteenth century</b>	198
DAVID HUNTER	
<b>12 Foreign composers, the subscription market, and the popularity of continental music in eighteenth-century Britain</b>	221
SIMON D. I. FLEMING	
<i>Index</i>	242

# Figures

1.1	Title Page to R. F. J. Bardouveau's <i>A Collection of Sacred Music</i> (1819)	2
1.2	First Page of the Subscription List to George Frederick Pinto's <i>Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte With an Accompaniment for a Violin</i> (1806), First Issue	8
1.3	Second Page of the Subscription List to Charles Dibdin's <i>The Musical Tour</i> (1788)	9
5.1	A Breakdown by Title of the Subscribers to Natale Corri's <i>Three Sonatas, for the Piano Forte of Harpsichord</i> , op 1 (c. 1790)	77
5.2	Title Page to John Watlen's <i>The Celebrated Circus Tunes</i> (1791)	80
5.3	A Breakdown by Title of the Subscribers to John Watlen's <i>The Celebrated Circus Tunes</i> (1791)	84
6.1	The Song "The Landskip" from John Pixell's <i>A Collection of Songs, Recitatives and Symphonies</i> , op 1 (1759), Dedicated to the Countess of Aylesford	105
8.1	Title Page to Johann Weippert's <i>Four Sonatas for The Pedal-Harp, Harpsichord, or Piano-Forte</i> , op 2 (1790)	140
8.2	The West Midlands Region with Seats of Bridgeman Family and Acquaintances. Boundaries Represented are Pre-1974 Creation of West Midlands County	145
9.1	Final Two Pages of the Subscription List to Edward Miller's <i>The Psalms of David</i> (1790), Which Records Institutional Subscribers	169
11.1	The Counts of Subscriptions to Music Publications, Per Person	206
12.1	First Page of Welcker's Four-Page Catalogue, Attached to John Garth's <i>Six Voluntaries for the Organ</i> , op 3 (1771)	227

# Tables

1.1	Titles of Individuals That Frequently Appear in the <i>Dataset of Subscribers</i>	12
4.1	Published Works to Which Maria Hester Park Subscribed	66
5.1	Musical Works Published by Subscription in Edinburgh	76
6.1	The Numbers of Subscribers to Works by Felton and Pixell	97
6.2	Professional Musicians who Subscribed to Felton's op 1	99
6.3	Musical Societies that Subscribed to Felton's and Pixell's Works, with the Number of Copies Purchased	103
7.1	Musical Works to Which the Bowes Subscribed, Taken From Their Accounts	115
7.2	Subscriptions of Mary and George Bowes From The <i>Dataset of Subscribers</i>	117
8.1	List of Bridgeman Family Members Who Subscribed to Music	132
8.2	A Summary of The Subscriptions to Musical Publications (1721–95) by Bridgeman Family Members	133
8.3	Subscribers to Johann Erhardt Weippert's <i>Four Sonatas for The Pedal-Harp, Harpsichord, or Piano-Forte, With An Accompaniment for The German-Flute or Violin and Violoncello</i> , op 2 (1790)	143
9.1	Music Clubs that Appear in the Largest Number of Subscription Lists	161
9.2	Works to Which the Oxford Musical Society Subscribed	162
9.3	The Ten Instrumental Works that Attracted the Most Music Club Subscriptions	166
9.4	The Ten Works that Attracted the Most Music Club Subscriptions	168
9.5	The Ten Secular Vocal Works that Attracted the Most Music Club Subscriptions	170
9.6	Oratorios that Attracted the Most Music Club Subscriptions	171
10.1	Scottish Fiddle Collections in Chronological Order With the Percentage of Male Subscribers	180
10.2	Works Subscribed to by the Dukes and Duchesses of Buccleuch, 1733–1810	184

10.3	Musicians Subscribing to John Bowie's <i>Collection of Strathspey Reels</i> (1789), Niel Gow's First to Third Collections, and Malcolm McDonald's Second to Fourth Collections	188
11.1	Slaves Embarked in Africa and Delivered to North and South America and the Caribbean (Ship Countries of Origin)	200
12.1	Works to Which Felice Giardini Subscribed	231
12.2	Works to Which Venanzio Rauzzini Subscribed	233

# Contributors

## **Stephanie Carter, Newcastle University, UK.**

Stephanie Carter is an Associate Researcher at Newcastle University, Editor for Northamptonshire Victoria County History Trust and a trainee archivist. She completed her doctoral thesis at the University of Manchester on late seventeenth-century English music print culture and has taught a range of undergraduate and postgraduate courses at the universities of Manchester and Newcastle. She has published on music ownership and circulation, the role of the publisher as music editor, and the sale of printed music outside London in *Early Music History, The Library*, and other publications. Most recently, she has co-edited (with Kirsten Gibson and Roz Southey) *Music in North-East England, 1500–1800* (Boydell, 2020). Her present research focuses on the archives at Alnwick Castle, the movement of musical goods as recorded in the Exchequer port books and the music trade in early modern England.

## **Simon D.I. Fleming, Durham University, UK.**

Simon D.I. Fleming is Head of Music at the Queen Elizabeth Sixth Form College in Darlington and has taught part-time in the Music Department at Durham University. His research focuses on music in the British regions during the long eighteenth century. He has written extensively on music in eighteenth-century Britain, contributing essays on “Compositional Activity in Durham City 1750–1810: Its Influences and Impact” in *Music in North-East England, 1500–1800* (Boydell, 2020), “Publishing Music by Subscription in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Concertos of Charles Avison” in *Data Visualization in Enlightenment Literature and Culture* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2021) and “The Lady’s Choice: Women and the Purchase of Music Through Subscription” in *Women and Music in Georgian Britain* (Forthcoming).

Much of Simon’s earlier research focused on the North of England, and his PhD was on music production in eighteenth-century Durham City.

He has also produced several articles on Charles Avison, and is currently preparing a monograph on his music. He has furthermore produced articles on John Garth of Durham, William Howgill of Whitehaven, John Pixell of Birmingham, the musicians of Carlisle Cathedral, the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, music in eighteenth-century Stamford, and the attitudes to eighteenth-century British music during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Articles on the topic of subscription lists include studies on music subscription in English, Welsh and Irish Cathedrals, music subscription in India 1789–1811, and an investigation into the gender of subscribers and the important role women had as patrons of music.

As part of his college position, Simon runs a Baroque ensemble, whose repertory includes music that he has researched or edited. The ensemble has played at venues across Europe. Simon currently lives in Durham and is the organist at Durham's St Nicholas' Church. His collection of early music prints and manuscripts is held by Durham University Library.

### **David Hunter, University of Texas, USA.**

David Hunter is Librarian Emeritus at the University of Texas at Austin, where he was Music Librarian and Curator of the Historical Music Recordings Collection for almost thirty years. Extensive archival research from 1995 yielded numerous research articles related to Handel on such topics as patronage, publication subscribers, audiences, ill-health, pensions, and the musician's personal circle. Critical examination of popular biographical myths culminated in Hunter's *The Lives of George Frideric Handel* (Boydell, 2015). Other publications include *Opera and Song Books published in England, 1703–1726: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Oxford, 1998). His current research explores the use of the profits of slavery for musical purposes during the years 1600–1800 in the Anglo-Atlantic sphere, the first fruits of which have appeared in *Early Music, Notes, The Galpin Society Journal*, and *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Ethnomusicology*.

### **Michael Kassler**

Michael Kassler is an Australian musicologist. His books include *Samuel Wesley (1766–1837): A Source Book* (2001, written with Philip Olleson); *Charles Edward Horn's Memoirs of his Father and Himself* (2003); *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall, 1710–1818* (2004); *The English Bach Awakening: Knowledge of J. S. Bach and his Music in England, 1750–1830* (2004); *A. F. C. Kollmann's Quarterly Musical Register (1812): An Annotated Edition with an Introduction to his Life and Works* (2008); and *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (2011), all published by Ashgate/Routledge.

**Karen E. McAulay, Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, UK.**

Karen McAulay combines roles as Postdoctoral Researcher and Performing Arts Librarian at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland. She is a Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals (FCLIP), holds a postgraduate diploma in Librarianship and a post-graduate certificate of Learning and Teaching in Higher Arts Education, and is also a Fellow of Advance HE (FHEA).

Karen has been seconded to postdoctoral research on the Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded Bass Culture project with the Universities of Glasgow and Cambridge, resulting in the creation of the *Historical Music of Scotland* website, HMS.Scot; and was the Principal Investigator of the AHRC-funded Claimed From Stationers' Hall network, conducting research into British legal deposit music collections in the Georgian era and co-editing a special issue of *Brio* (Vol. 56, no. 2, 2019) to bring together scholarship about this topic; and has also participated in a number of other research networks. She speaks and publishes widely both as a musicologist and as a librarian, and particularly enjoys multidisciplinary research in which she can combine musicology, librarianship and pedagogy. She maintains continuing interests in late eighteenth/nineteenth century paratext, Georgian women's musical activities, book and library history, bibliography and teaching research and referencing skills.

Karen's first monograph, *Our Ancient National Airs: Scottish Song-Collecting from the Enlightenment to the Romantic Era*, was published by Ashgate (now Routledge) in 2013, following her graduation with a PhD from the University of Glasgow in 2009. She has also contributed a chapter to *Understanding Scotland Musically* (Routledge, 2018) and articles for *Music in the Social and Behavioral Sciences: An Encyclopedia* (Sage, 2014) and *Sage Encyclopedia of Music and Culture* (2019).

She is currently pursuing research into late nineteenth and early twentieth century Scottish music publishing, writing with a view to a second monograph in the near future.

**Lise Karin Meling, The University of Stavanger, Norway.**

Lise Karin Meling holds a BA in piano performance and an MA in musicology from NTNU, Norway and a Doctorate in Early Music from Indiana University, USA. Her doctoral dissertation was entitled *Maria Hester Park (1760–1813): The Life and Works of an Unknown Female Composer, with an Analyses of Selected Keyboard Sonatas*. She is an Associate Professor of Music at the Faculty of Performing Arts, The University of Stavanger, Norway, where she teaches music history, performance practice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and

harpsichord performance. Her research projects encompass topics in early music and music and gender: she has looked at the role of female composers and their social status in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, issues in notation (Élisabeth-Claude Jacquet de La Guerre and her unmeasured preludes in particular), music historical discourses, performativity and expressions of femininity in popular music and gender in music scholarship. In the last few years, she has focused on the gendered history of musical instruments, particularly keyboard instruments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She has examined the role of the piano in nineteenth-century Norwegian fiction, by performing searches at the Norwegian National Library's digitized collections, to find out in which contexts pianos are mentioned, focusing particularly on gendered references. Her article about female piano playing in nineteenth-century Norwegian fiction in *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* in 2019, was nominated "Article of the year" and received honourable mention. Her latest research focuses on subscription lists in Britain with regards to female composers. She has authored several publications, both scholarly articles, book chapters as well as textbooks in music history. Meling is also active as harpsichord performer where she has performed unknown works by female composers, as well as being an active participant in national and international conferences, lecture recitals, interviews, and radio and TV appearances.

### **Martin Perkins, the Royal Birmingham Conservatoire, UK.**

Martin Perkins is a scholar, performer and educator with a particular interest in music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He gained BMus and MA degrees in performance from Royal Birmingham Conservatoire and embarked on a performing career specialising in early keyboards and continuo. He subsequently gained an MPhil in critical editing from the University of Birmingham and has since published the first modern editions of music by Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, Barnabas Gunn, John Valentine, Jacchini and Graun. Most recent critical editions include *Weston Park Cello Music*, (Septenary Press, 2017) – a collection of unique late eighteenth-century cello sonatas that he discovered, and the first edition of Giovanni Battista Vivaldi's Cantata "Donde avvien che tutt'ebro di vera gioia l'universo" (Edition HH, 2020). More recently he completed a PhD in music-making in the English country house, 1750–1820. Forthcoming academic publications include co-editing Petrucci's *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton, Canti B*, and updated articles for *Oxford Music Online* on Jeremiah Clark and Joseph Harris.

As a director Martin has performed operas by Handel, Lampe, Mozart and Purcell, and has overseen projects to reconstruct passion oratorios by Keiser and Telemann. With his ensemble, the Musical &

Amicable Society, he has directed over seventy concerts, many of them featuring first performances of music relating to his research. Their recordings, informed by his research into late eighteenth-century music-making in Britain, led to a dedicated programme as part of BBC Radio 3's Early Music Show. Martin is the Head of Historical Performance and Instrument Curator at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire. His organology research has included work on the Historical Instrument Collection of seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century wind, brass and keyboard instruments, and digitisation projects.

### **Roz Southey, Newcastle University, UK.**

Roz Southey is a lecturer and research associate at Newcastle University. Her research focus is on the historical and social contexts of eighteenth-century music making in the north-east of England. She is the author of *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Ashgate, 2006) and *The Ingenious Mr Avison: Making Money and Music in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle* – a biography of Charles Avison (Tynebridge Publishing, 2009), and has co-edited (with Eric Cross) *Charles Avison in Context* (Ashgate, 2018) and (with Stephanie Carter and Kirsten Gibson) *Music in North East England, 1500–1800* (Boydell, 2020).

She has also published in journals including *The Consort* and *Early Music* and has given papers at a number of musical and historical conferences; she appeared in *Rule Britannia: Music, Mischief and Morals* (BBC4), and on BBC Radio 3 with Lucie Skeaping in a programme on music in eighteenth-century Newcastle. She is also the author of a number of novels, including *The Charles Patterson Mysteries* – a crime series featuring a musician-detective in eighteenth-century Newcastle – and a volume of articles on local history in the Lake District, as well as several short stories. Her present research focuses on the musical interests of the Bowes family of Gibside in County Durham, examining their activities in both London and the north-east, and their relationships with both national and regional musicians.

# Library Sigla

## Germany

**D-B** Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz,  
Musikabteilung, Berlin

## Great Britain

**GB-AS** Woodhorn, Northumberland Museum and Archives,  
Ashington

**GB-Bu** Special Collections, Main Library, University of  
Birmingham, Birmingham

**GB-Ctc** Trinity College Library, Cambridge

**GB-En** The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

**GB-DRc** The Cathedral Library, Durham

**GB-DRcro** Durham County Record Office, Durham

**GB-DRu** University Library, Durham

**GB-Gu** University Library, Glasgow

**GB-Lbl** British Library, London

**GB-Lcm** Royal College of Music, London

**GB-Lna** The National Archives, London

**GB-NTp** Public Libraries, Newcastle upon Tyne

**GB-P** AK Bell Library, Perth

**GB-SA** University Library, St Andrews

**GB-STA** Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford

**GB-WWro** Warwickshire County Record Office, Warwick

## The United States of America

**US-NHub** Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript  
Library, New Haven, CT

# Frontispiece



Robert Edge Pine (1730–88): *The Bridgeman Family* [c. 1780]

# 1 Introduction

*Simon D. I. Fleming and Martin Perkins*

## Epigraph

It is over thirty years since the late Stanley Sadie, as part of his contribution to H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske's pioneering eighteenth century volume of *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain*, observed the benefits that a wider study of subscription lists would bring.<sup>1</sup> Since that time a significant amount of work has been undertaken in researching the British musicians of this period, both professional and amateur, and the music that they performed. Sadie's challenge has, nevertheless, remained largely unfulfilled. That is not to say that there were not some musicologists who specifically explored the topic of the subscriber. One of the earliest studies, in this regard, was David Hunter and Rose M. Mason's work on the lists of Handel, published in 1999.<sup>2</sup> This work was extended by, among others, Michael Talbot and Michael Kassler.<sup>3</sup> Other academics have included references to subscription lists in their writings, although none would refer to more than a small handful at any one time. In fact, no one has attempted, until now, to index the subscribers to every musical publication, presumably as they felt daunted by the amount of work such a project would entail.

## Publication by subscription

The issuing of works by subscription was a common method of publication in eighteenth-century Britain. There were clear benefits in this approach for composers, authors, and editors, who were unable or unwilling to finance publication themselves, as it gave them the opportunity to see their works in print but minimised their upfront costs. More often than not, the title page would include the phrase "printed for the author," or something to that effect, indicating that the composer commissioned and financed the printing of his or her own work (as seen in [Figure 1.1](#)). However, such a marking in itself does not necessarily mean that a work was published by subscription. For instance, it could instead mean that the composer or editor used their own money.<sup>4</sup> Through the subscription method, it was possible for an individual to sell enough copies of a work in advance to meet the

Figure 1.1 Title Page to R. F. J. Bardouleau's *A Collection of Sacred Music* (1819).<sup>5</sup>

cost of engraving the plates, undertaking any necessary typesetting and the actual printing. This method is, however, not to be confused with a different model, in which a publisher or composer would issue a series of pieces in the form of a periodical, with “subscribers” agreeing to purchase some or all of the instalments. In our subscription method, those wishing to purchase a

copy of an upcoming work would register their interest and, when printing was complete, they would be expected to make their promised payment. In return for subscribing, patrons would often receive a discount on the intended sale price, and their name would frequently be included in a list attached to the work.

There were various reasons as to why any individual might choose to subscribe. Naturally, many would have known the author personally and it is no surprise that, in the average list, a significant proportion of subscribers lived in the immediate vicinity of the composer's home town or city.<sup>6</sup> Unsurprisingly, a good number were professional musicians, some of whom subscribed reciprocally; others, particularly unmarried women, were probably pupils.<sup>7</sup> Further subscribers may have come into contact with the composer at the time a subscription was being taken, while some would have heard about the publication through a notice, such as a printed handbill or newspaper advertisement. The following example, for a collection of psalm tunes produced by Thomas Jackson, is typical:

#### DIVINE MUSIC.

##### PROPOSALS

For publishing by Subscription, Price Three Shillings.  
 TWELVE PSALM-TUNES, and eighteen double and single  
 Chants, with a new Species of Chant (which has been  
 universally admired) to the Benedicite. The Psalm Tunes may  
 be adapted to the Old or New Version, and are very proper for  
 Cathedral, Collegiate, Parochial, and Country Choirs. The  
 whole composed for four Voices.

By THOMAS JACKSON, Organist of Newark.

*N. B.* Those Persons who are inclined to encourage this Work, are requested to send in their Names as soon as possible to Mr. *Wainwright* and Mr. *Moffey*, at their Music-Shops; Mr. *Harrop*, Printer, *Manchester*; or Mr. *Jackson*, Organist, of *Newark*, in order to ascertain the Number of Copies to be taken off.<sup>8</sup>

In this instance, Jackson was able to source enough subscriptions to make publication possible, but his attempts to secure subscribers for his next production, a set of *Sixteen Marches*, appear to have been unsuccessful given that no copy has been recorded. The handbill he produced to promote this publication offered potential subscribers a purchase price of four shillings and six pence a copy, as opposed to the five shillings to non-subscribers.<sup>9</sup> Some handbills, such as those used to promote Benjamin Goodison's edition of Henry Purcell's (1659–95) works, included a list of the subscriptions so far received, no doubt as a means to entice more people to subscribe.

For some subscribers, particularly those in the upper classes, the subscription method was attractive as the presence of a list enabled them to publicly demonstrate their patronage of the arts, and some would have certainly subscribed for pretentious purposes. This would also, to a degree, apply to the newly arrived members of the middle class; their inclusion would not only indicate their rise in affluence and social status, given that subscribing to new music was an expensive activity, but also provide them with a means by which their names might appear alongside members of the nobility. For some, the music would almost certainly have been of less importance than the appearance of their name on the list; such subscribers may not even have minded if the music turned out to be of a poor quality. A significant number of the clergy also tended to subscribe who, as well as being university-educated, were often capable musicians and drawn towards musical pursuits as amateurs. Additionally, given the high incomes that many clergy received, they could afford to subscribe to the latest published works; others, such as William Felton (1715–69) and John Pixell (1725–84), who are the topic of [Chapter 6](#), were active as composers and had their music published.

Not all music published by subscription was newly composed and it was not unusual for editors to issue works by earlier composers by this method. For example, Matthew Camidge (1764–1844), in 1789, published his edition of Henry Lawes's (1595–1662) *Psalmody for a Single Voice*. There was also Goodison's collection of music by Purcell, and the edition of Handel's works produced by Samuel Arnold (1740–1802) from the late 1780s.

One potential caveat to the subscription process, and to this research project, is that not every work issued by subscription appears to have had a list. For instance, there are no extant copies of Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts* (1683) with a list, even though we know from newspaper advertisements that it was to be published by subscription.<sup>10</sup> There are a number of reasons as to how this situation might have developed. Firstly, it is possible that, despite the advertisements, not enough subscribers were sourced to cover the publication costs; in these instances, the composer might have had to finance at least part of the publication process themselves, or perhaps they had the support of a wealthy benefactor. The list with the lowest number of subscribers in the *Dataset of Subscribers* is attached to A. Gazul's *Three Concertante Duetts, for Two Flutes* (c. 1815), which has 19 subscribers in total. If we accept David Johnson's estimate that around sixty copies would need to be sold in order for such a venture to pay for itself, then one concludes that Gazul would not have achieved enough sales to cover all his expenses.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, this work would presumably have required further financial support and, in this case, his dedicatee, Sir William Williams, might have been the main benefactor. In other instances, it could be that an offer from an individual to finance publication made the subscription process redundant. Secondly, it is possible that a work might have been published by subscription but that, for whatever reason, a list was never produced or, by chance, that no copies

have survived with their lists intact. There is also the question as to whether every copy of a work would have a list, or whether one was only included with those copies sent to subscribers. An example of the latter appears to have been Richard Mudge's (1718–63) *Six Concertos in Seven Parts* (1749), as none of the library-held copies we have seen have a subscription list.<sup>12</sup> We know that this work was issued with a subscription list as a few years ago a copy with a list was advertised by an internet-based book dealer on the *Abebooks* website. As the price was excessive, a decision was made to not purchase it as we then believed that a copy of the list could be easily sourced from elsewhere. If it was not for this single copy, we might have assumed that Mudge's concertos had never been issued with a list in the first place. The reality is that new lists continue to emerge on a regular basis. At the time of writing this introduction, a hitherto unknown first issue of the list attached to John Danby's (1757–98) *First Book of Catches Canons, and Glees* (1785) was discovered due to its appearance on the online auction website, *eBay*. Other lists will no doubt continue to emerge over the coming years and decades.<sup>13</sup>

### The subscription list project

The aim of the subscription list project was to acquire copies of all the lists attached to every music-related publication issued in Britain and Ireland up to and including the year 1820. While our main focus was the lists of the eighteenth century, it made sense to extend our cut-off year to 1820 as many of the trends that we hoped to uncover would have continued post 1800. We also extended backwards to 1676, as this is the year in which Thomas Mace's (c. 1613–c. 1706) *Musick's Monument* was published, the only relevant work issued in the seventeenth century, and the subject of [Chapter 2](#). Naturally, as part of our research, we have come across lists outside these parameters. As a result, we have included in the *Dataset of Subscribers* works issued in other English-speaking communities, such as the United States and British India. There are also instances in which British composers would have their works issued on the continent and these have also been included. For example, Alexander Munro's *A Collection Of the Best Scots Tunes Fited to the German Flute* (1732), which was published in Paris. We have furthermore acquired some lists attached to works published after 1820, but only included them in the *Dataset of Subscribers*, where the composer had issued other works by subscription within our original date parameters. In total, the *Dataset* currently contains 760 subscription lists. Many are unique to a publication, but some, which appeared over successive issues or a series of volumes, are also identical, a surprise given that one would expect the number of subscribers to increase as time went on. In other cases, as more subscribers were received, a list could be replaced with an updated version, or an extra page might be added to the end of the original list. More often, any extra names would be added to the list by hand.

In deciding which lists to include in the subscription list project, it was agreed that we needed to be as broad as possible and encompass everything associated with music. As a result, this study not only incorporates musical works but also volumes that may contain no music notation whatsoever. This includes books of songs, poetry, psalms, libretti to ballad operas, autobiographies of musicians, and essays on music, dancing and music theory. There are also books that have at first glance no relationship to music at all, such as *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster* (1804). This book, however, was written by the organist at Doncaster's parish church, Edward Miller (1735–1807), who additionally issued five collections of music by subscription, the lists for which are also in the *Dataset of Subscribers*.<sup>14</sup> Another is Harriet English's *Conversations and Amusing Tales* (1799), which, even though it has little to do with music, made reference to a song as part of the drama. English then included a printed score of the song in the book, a work entitled "Address to the British Fair" and set to music by Samuel Webbe (1740–1816).<sup>15</sup> Another non-musical work that we included is John Alcock's (1715–1806) *The Life of Miss Fanny Brown* (1760). This thinly veiled allegory, published under the pseudonym of John Piper (in reference to his being an organist), describes Alcock's turbulent relationship with the clergy and vicars choral of Lichfield Cathedral. The list of subscribers reveals an expected number of Lichfield locals but also many professional colleagues from across the country, including William Boyce (1711–79), who had presumably heard of the controversy surrounding Alcock's situation.<sup>16</sup>

In sourcing the lists, we had a variety of methods at our disposal. One of the most important resources was the indexes of the books with subscription lists, assembled by the late Peter Wallis of Newcastle University. His *Book Subscription Lists: a Revised Guide* (1975) was produced in partnership with Francis Robinson. This was followed by Peter and Ruth Wallis's *Extended Supplement to the Revised Guide* (1996).<sup>17</sup> We also had access to the British Library's card catalogue which, although out of date, listed many of the music publications that the library holds that have a subscription list.<sup>18</sup> The rise of the internet as a research tool has also made the identification and sourcing of subscription lists much easier. Online resources used to locate lists include the British Library's website, along with *Google Books*, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO), the *Internet Archive*, the websites of the National Library of Scotland, the Western University Library, the People's Collection Wales, the Historical Music of Scotland, the Hathi Trust, and the *International Music Score Library Project* (IMSLP). Other lists have been found through online searches and works with lists regularly appear on *eBay* and *Abebooks*. Some of these, that we have been able to purchase, have no other known copies. Some antiquarian music dealers have also been helpful. We particularly need to acknowledge the support of Colin Coleman, who not only provided copies of any lists that came into his stock, but even used his influence to source lists from other dealers on our behalf.

### Assembling the *Dataset of Subscribers*

Our locations in Birmingham and Durham made us ideally situated to access the libraries in the West Midlands, the North of England, and Scotland. We also made regular trips to London to visit the British Library and the Foundling Museum. During these visits we would photograph the lists, along with the title pages and any other significant information, such as prefaces and dedications; these would be brought home to transcribe. In the early days, the names would be typed into a Microsoft Word document, but this activity was both tedious and excessively time consuming. The timing of this project has coincided with a significant advancement in optical character recognition software, and we used a variety of these tools to speed up the transcription process. This included the automatic character recognition functions often available from the content hosts (e.g., *Google Books* and the Hathi Trust) and applications such as ABBYY FineReader and Google optical character recognition (OCR). Once the transcriptions were completed, these names were then added to a spreadsheet. In total, the *Dataset of Subscribers* has over 156,000 entries. It is this *Dataset* that has been the main source for our authors as they produced their chapters.<sup>19</sup>

Most subscription lists tend to be grouped into sections by the first initial of a surname, although there are examples, such as James Fishar's *Twelve New Country Dances* (c. 1780), where the names appear to be in the order in which subscriptions were received.<sup>20</sup> Important subscribers, particularly royalty, are not included in the main body of a list but appear at its head. Within each section, the subscribers are not normally listed alphabetically; aristocrats appear first followed by other subscribers from the lower ranks, such as gentlemen. Even the importance of individual members of a family is reflected in the lists, with the head of the household appearing first, followed by his wife and then children, oldest to youngest. In some lists, it is evident that a few names were received late. These were sometimes added to the list by hand (Figure 1.2) or incorporated into a second issue.<sup>21</sup> In some cases, gaps were deliberately left so that extra names might be added to the plates for a second volume or edition. In such instances, the name of an aristocrat could potentially appear below the name of a person of more humble stature. This is particularly evident in Samuel Arnold's edition of Handel's works, issued between 1787 and 1797, in which there were so many changes to the plates over the course of publication that the engraving of an entirely new list became a necessity. Another method was to group subscribers by the place they lived, as can be seen in the list attached to Charles Dibdin's (1745–1814) *The Musical Tour* (1788); this is presumably due to the way subscriptions were received with agents in each town forwarding their lists of subscribers to the author (see Figure 1.3).<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, in cases where a significant number of subscribers were received after the subscription list was produced, a list of extra subscribers was sometimes added at the end; an example can be found in Richard Neale's



SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.		
<p>LIVERPOOL.</p> <p>— Williamfon, Eq. 2 copies</p> <p>Peter Hope, Eq.</p> <p>H. Leigh, Eq.</p> <p>— Manesty, Eq.</p> <p>Mr. Eyes,</p> <p>Mr. De-la-Main,</p> <p>Miss De-la-Main</p> <p>Mr. Alder,</p> <p>Mr. Taylor,</p> <p>Mr. Wilton,</p> <p>Mr. Butche,</p> <p>Mr. Caffon</p> <p>Mr. Pye, 4 Copies</p> <p>Mrs. Pye, 2 Copies</p> <p>Mr. J. G. Stieffe</p> <p>Mr. E. Rogers</p> <p>Mr. H. Zinck.</p> <p>Dr. Turner</p> <p>Dr. Renwick</p> <p>Mrs. Egerton Smith, 4 copies</p> <p>Miss M. Blundill</p> <p>Mr. Bufigny</p> <p>Mr. Wallworth</p> <p>Mr. Hewen</p> <p>Mr. Capstick</p> <p>Mr. Preston</p> <p>Mr. Doulby</p> <p>Mr. Wiatt</p> <p>Mr. Neilfon</p> <p>Mr. Sibbald</p> <p>Mr. Thomas Parker, jun.</p> <p>Mr. Boden</p> <p>Mr. Richards</p> <p>Mr. Grundy</p> <p>Mr. J. H. Pemberton</p> <p>Mr. Gore, 2 Copies</p> <p>M. Crane, 2 Do.</p> <p>Mr. Billinge</p> <p>Mr. Walker</p> <p>Mr. Rimmer</p> <p>Mr. Chilton</p> <p>Mr. Dampe</p> <p>Miss B. Coupland</p> <p>Miss Okill</p> <p>Mr. Woodward</p> <p>Miss Overend</p> <p>Mr. Blackburne</p> <p>Mr. Bradley</p> <p>Mr. Caruthers, <i>Everton</i></p> <p>Capt. Fisher, <i>Richmond</i></p> <p>Mr. Smith, <i>Boflam, Staffordshire</i></p>	<p>NEWARK.</p> <p>S. C. Colclough, Eq.</p> <p>Geo. Stovin, Eq.</p> <p>Rev. Mr. Raftal</p> <p>Mr. Wilcockfon, 2 Copies</p> <p>Mr. Wallis</p> <p>Mr. J. Tomlinfon, printer</p> <p>Messrs. Allin and Ridge</p> <p>Mr. Morley</p> <p>Mr. Holt, fenior.</p> <p>Mr. Allen</p> <p>Mr. Handly, junior</p> <p>Rev. Mr. Cheales.</p> <p>Captain Doddfworth.</p> <p>Mr. R. Brooksfby</p> <p>Mr. Guthrie</p> <p>Mr. James Barker</p> <p>Mr. Marfhall</p> <p>Roger Pocklington, Eq. <i>Wintborpe</i></p> <p>Mr. James Clarke, <i>North Mufkham.</i></p> <p>Mr. Hardy, <i>North Witbam</i></p> <p>Rev. Mr. Ward, <i>South Scarle</i></p> <p>Mr. F. Sharp, <i>Grantbam.</i></p> <p>Mr. Calah, organift, <i>Peterborough.</i></p> <p>Rev. Mr. Fowler, <i>Southwell.</i></p> <p>Mr. Underwood, <i>Milton Mowbray</i></p> <p>Rev. Mr. Charlefworth, <i>Offington</i></p> <p>A. L. Emerfon, Eq. <i>Wefl Keiford</i></p> <p>Mr. Heald, <i>Broughton,</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">SHEFFIELD.</p> <p>John Shore, Eq.</p> <p>Mr. Pearfon</p> <p>Lieut. Cliff</p> <p>Mr. Sambourne</p> <p>Mr. Proctor</p> <p>Mr. Fenton</p> <p>Capt. Vicars</p> <p>Mr. Vavafour</p> <p>Mr. Hawkefley</p> <p>Mr. Broomhead Ward, junr.</p> <p>Mr. Clement</p> <p>Mr. Rhodes</p> <p>Mr. Pero</p> <p>Mr. Watfon</p> <p>Mr. Martin</p> <p>Mr. J. Woollen.</p> <p>Mr. Jofeph Travis</p> <p>Mr. Gales, 6 Copies</p> <p>Mrs. Gales.</p> <p>Mr. Bottom, <i>Workfop.</i></p> <p>Rev. Mr. Mafon, <i>Afton</i></p>	<p>Rev. Mr. Alderfon, <i>Eckington</i></p> <p>Mr. Foljambe, <i>Aldwark</i></p> <p>Mrs. Foljambe, ditto</p> <p>Rev. Mr. Holden</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NEWCASTLE.</p> <p>Chrift. Fawcet, Eq.</p> <p>Geo. Colpits, Eq.</p> <p>John Lofh, Eq. <i>Woodfide</i></p> <p>Mr. Greenwell,</p> <p>Mr. Hawdon</p> <p>Miss Hindmarft.</p> <p>Mr. Avifon</p> <p>Mr. Hodgfon</p> <p>Mr. Page</p> <p>Mr. Davidfon</p> <p>Mr. Hunter</p> <p>Mr. Hounfom.</p> <p>Mr. Hefilton</p> <p>Mr. Imay</p> <p>Mr. Fifher</p> <p>Mr. Hall</p> <p>Miss Davidfon</p> <p>Mr. E. Wilfon</p> <p>Miss Naters</p> <p>Mr. R. Haigh</p> <p>Mr. E. Walton.</p> <p>Mr. T. Gaul</p> <p>Mr. Lofh</p> <p>Mr. W. Hannay Blyth.</p> <p>Miss Carr, <i>Dunfton-bill</i></p> <p>Rev. Mr. Latton, <i>Woodborn</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">YORK.</p> <p>Walter Fawkes, Eq.</p> <p>Mrs. Fawkes</p> <p>Richard Langley, Eq.</p> <p>Miss Ann Langley</p> <p>Philip Saltmarth, Eq.</p> <p>W. O. Gage, Eq.</p> <p>Daniel Wilfon, Eq. 2 copies</p> <p>Mann Horsfield, Eq.</p> <p>Tate Wilkinfon, Eq.</p> <p>William Gay, Eq.</p> <p>Rev. J. Thompfon</p> <p>Mr. F. Atkinfon</p> <p>Mr. Tate</p> <p>Mr. W. Beverley, junior</p> <p>Mr. Haxby</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Mr. Blanchard</p>

Figure 1.3 Second Page of the Subscription List to Charles Dibdin's *The Musical Tour* (1788).<sup>28</sup>

be added at the relevant place in a list, although these lines could also be used to avoid the need to replicate a common title between consecutive subscribers. One suspects that any subscribers who wished to remain unidentified would more often than not be omitted without comment, since most lists make no reference to them. In other cases, a note would give the

author's apologies as, due to a delay in forwarding the subscriptions, not all names would be included, such as the following example from John Watlen's (c. 1764–1833) second collection of *The Celebrated Circus Tunes* (1798), further discussed in [Chapter 5](#):

N. B. As there are several Subscription Papers in the Country, and are not yet come to hand, the Author hopes that those ladies and Gentlemen, whose Names are not here inserted, will excuse the omission.

That notice did not, however, preclude the need to add late subscribers to the list by hand, as seen in the copy held by Glasgow University Library.<sup>24</sup> It is quite understandable as well, given that the printer was relying on handwritten lists, that names sometimes appear garbled. The first issue of the list attached to George Frederick Pinto's (1785–1806) *Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte With an Accompaniment for a Violin* (1806) is an unusual example as it has numerous corrections done by hand, going so far as to even correct the first name of Lady Caroline Douglas, which had originally been printed as "Catherine" (see [Figure 1.2](#)); these corrections were then incorporated into the second issue. What is perhaps even more curious about this list is that one of the names added in manuscript to the first issue is likewise added to the second issue by hand, indicating that, even though a new version of the list was already available, a copy with the defective first issue list was still passed on. One further list with manuscript additions worth comment here is that attached to John Stafford Smith's (1750–1836) *Anthems Composed for the Choir-Service* (1793). The copy held by the Royal College of Music has an considerable number of manuscript additions, but what sets this list apart is the handwritten comment at the top of the subscription list's first page, which describes it as "a manuscript of unperformed Promises;" this appears to indicate that a large number of Smith's subscribers never sent their promised payment once the project was complete.<sup>25</sup> To avoid such a situation, some publishers required the subscription to be paid in two instalments: one before publication and the other on completion.<sup>26</sup> Occasionally, the full payment might even be requested in advance, as John Walsh (1709–66) did with his edition of Handel's *Faramondo* (1738).<sup>27</sup>

A further problem we encountered was in relation to the various reissues of the works of Handel by William Randall and H. Wright. When Randall (initially as Randall and Abell) started to reissue Handel's works, he added to it a subscription list of his own creation. Over time this list was expanded upon as new subscribers came forward. When Wright took over from Randall, he reissued Handel's works but included Randall's subscription lists. One suspects that Wright, when he acquired Randall's stock, inherited a collection of unused lists from various stages of the subscription process. He then randomly inserted a list into each copy with little regard as to which version it was. For instance, some copies of Wright's edition of *Messiah* (c. 1785) have an early list, while others have a later version; indeed, the copy

on *Google Books* is identical to the list that Randall attached to his edition of *Jephtha* (1770), and there was no effort on Wright's part to update the details.<sup>29</sup> It includes among the subscribers Charles Jennens (1700–73) and William Boyce, both of whom had died in the 1770s. All these identified variations have been included in the *Dataset*, with the exception of the six different identified issues of Randall and Abell's *Messiah* as the five issues we have seen have identical lists.<sup>30</sup>

A slightly different issue was encountered with Arnold's edition of Handel's works. While some volumes in this series, such as *Giulio Cesare*, always appear to have been issued with a list, the same cannot be said of the other volumes. It is almost as if the publisher randomly inserted the subscription lists in different places as he produced his edition, so that some sets may have a particular list in one volume, while in another set that same list appears in a different place. Every identified volume to contain a list has been included in the *Dataset*, even if that same list is duplicated elsewhere.

There are two additional lists that deserve mention. The first is that attached to J. Todd's *The Pious Christian's Recreation* (c. 1795). The subscribers here are divided into two groups: one "for singing" and the other "for the bass viol." As some individual names are duplicated between the two groups, they cannot be subscribers to the edition itself; they may, instead, have been Todd's students, since the title page records that the music at Normanby Church, North Yorkshire, was "Taught by J. Todd, Printer." In addition, rather than indicate the number of copies, a monetary figure is provided in shillings (S) and pence (D). Another anomaly is found in the list attached to E. Finche's *Five New Songs and a Duet* (c. 1800). The names themselves are unremarkable, but what is usual is that the number of copies is given in two columns, one headed with the letter "M" and the other with a letter "S." We have not been able to confirm what these letters represent.

### **Publishing by subscription: the big data picture**

Assembling the data from the subscription lists into the *Dataset of Subscribers* has given us the ability to reveal patterns, trends, and associations that had, hitherto, not been seen before. It has, for instance, revealed that the subscription method grew considerably in popularity as the eighteenth century progressed.<sup>31</sup> Evidence of this can be seen in the data where, of the publications in the *Dataset*, the average year of publication is late in the century at 1787, while the median year is 1789. The year with the most items issued by subscription was 1790, although this is unlikely to be the modal year.<sup>32</sup> While every attempt has been made to determine the year in which items were published, most items are not dated and around 180 of works in the *Dataset of Subscribers* still have only approximate dates.<sup>33</sup> Any dates, unless we found more concrete evidence to the contrary, were sourced from those provided by the British Library or on *Library Hub Discover*.<sup>34</sup> In England, the earliest known book produced by subscription was John