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**Scoring for Celebrity:
The Authority of the Vocalist in *Love in a Village* (1762)**

By Berta Joncus

Love in a Village was eighteenth-century London's most popular opera. The story of a man and his dog helps explain why (Slide 2, detail Fig. 1). At the opera's first rehearsal, a spaniel reportedly 'attached herself' to principal tenor John Beard as he entered the theatre. According to an 1825 account, he 'made her his characteristic attendant at that opera' – as shown in John Zoffany's oil of Beard singing in Act 1 (Slide 3, Fig. 1).¹ Beard's bitch publicized the tenor's private self – as did the songs and stage action of *Love in a Village*.

Working with Vanessa Rogers and Zak Ozmo on the critical edition of this opera, I've found Beard's fingerprints everywhere. He was Covent Garden's manager, and this opera celebrates his personal taste, his back catalogue, and the stars of his theatre, himself included. *Love in a Village* is essentially a ballad opera. It is based on Charles Johnson's 1729 *Village Opera*, and like all ballad operas is full of earlier music set to new words. English-language song, a sentimental plot and familiar stage types gave the cast of *Love in a Village* ballad opera's tools for self-promotion.

But *Love in a Village* was given out as a wholly new form of English opera, and Johnson's wordbook was silently plagiarized. Fashion and rectitude distanced *Love in a Village* from its humble provenance. Instead of ballad opera's ubiquitous common tunes – that is, melodies in the public domain – the music of *Love in a Village* came mostly from oratorio, Italian opera, and pleasure garden concert airs. Instead of being the butts of farce, the principal characters in *Love in a Village* were to be emulated and applauded. These shifts allowed the two English sopranos at Beard's theatre, Charlotte Brent and Isabella Hallam, to mount an artistic challenge to reigning Italian prime donne, whose arias they appropriated. Otherwise, cast members mostly sang to Beard's tune, in the literal sense of performing

music associated with him. Beard played the only character new to *Love in a Village*, and this figure, called Hawthorne, is actually Beard *in propria persona*.

As a ballad opera principal from 1737, Beard had come to specialise in four stage types: the lover, the huntsman, the patriot and the drinker. From the mid-1740s, Beard became principal tenor at Ranelagh Gardens. He sang mostly in the splendid Rotunda (Slide 4, Fig. 2), where fashionista paraded before and even during Ranelagh's immersive, pastoral-themed concerts. Amorous play, and its dire consequences for women, were constant themes of London's garden concerts, led typically by a mature playhouse tenor opposite an ingénue. (Slide 5, detail Fig. 2).² Beard dominated Rotunda concertizing, leading out-of-season as well as regular season concerts. His concert repertory, because co-extensive with his line in playhouse song, reinforced his characterization as honest, loving, brave, jolly, clubbable, patriotic, and gentlemanly.

In 1759 Beard married into the family of John Rich, who held Covent Garden's royal license. Rich handed over the theatre to Beard, making him the first singer ever to direct a patent theatre. On becoming manager, Beard – like Rich, a famous Harlequin, and like rival actor-manager David Garrick at Drury Lane – switched the repertory focus of his house to suit his own line of stage character. As manager, Beard relied from the start on ballad opera, mounting and starring in an adaptation of John Gay's 1728 *Beggar's Opera* for his managerial debut. Beard had led this work since 1737, and for the 1759 Covent Garden production, commissioned someone, possibly Thomas Arne, to rescore its music. This *Beggar's Opera* launched not just Beard as manager, but also the hot new soprano Brent, twenty-five years his junior (Slide 6, detail Fig. 5). She sang Polly opposite his Macheath. Overnight, *The Beggar's Opera*, to which audiences had become jaded, was restored to favour, and Brent rocketed to fame.³

Love in a Village was the third ballad opera Beard re-vamped for polite taste.⁴ In 1757 he had led Johnson's *Village Opera* for a player's benefit at Drury Lane and it was almost certainly his idea in 1762 to revive it for a grand production at Covent Garden. In stark contrast to Beard's first two Covent Garden ballad opera revivals, whose original songs were preserved and tarted up, all the music of *The Village Opera* was jettisoned. Advertisements boldly announced not just that *Love in a Village* was a 'New Comic Opera', but that its songs came from distinguished composers, including 'Handel, Boyce, Arne, Howard, Baildon, Festing, Geminiani, Galluppi, Giardini, Paradies, Agus, Abos' (Slide 7, Fig. 3), which was true.⁵ Absent the Italian arias for Brent and Hallam, the majority of songs had either been Beard's or had been taken from Beard's rival, Thomas Lowe, as shown in Table 1.

Because the music of *Love in a Village* followed Town taste, the low origins of its wordbook were hidden. So why was that particular wordbook chosen? The answer is probably that it was meant to double Brent's success. Uniquely among ballad operas, the action of *The Village Opera* features two heroines who are bosom buddies. *Love in a Village* accommodated the Covent Garden debut of the seventeen-year-old Isabella Hallam, and after the opera took the Town by storm, Hallam went on to become a star in her own right (Slide 8, Fig. 4).

To convert *The Village Opera* into *Love in a Village*, Beard turned to the twenty-nine year-old Isaac Bickerstaffe, later dubbed by critics the 'dramatic cobbler'. Two years earlier Bickerstaffe had proven to Beard his aptitude for crafting star vehicles by writing the hit Beard-Brent afterpiece, *Thomas and Sally* (Slide 9, Fig. 5). For *Love in a Village* Bickerstaffe combined Johnson's 1729 *Village Opera* with a 1673 farce, *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* by William Wycherley. In his wordbook preface Bickerstaffe implied, without saying so directly, that he alone had written it, and had asked Beard to mount it. I believe this was a ruse to shield Beard from the charge of plagiarism, which he must have known was a risk.

Indeed, *The Village Opera* was immediately recognized – the theft from Wycherley went unnoticed – and Bickerstaffe took the blame. “Mr Bickerstaff must”, one critic wrote, “have very little of the ingenuous about him, if he does not confess, that he ... stole ... from Mr. Johnson, and that whatever alterations he has made, are considerably for the worse”.⁶

Hawthorne, the one new character created by Bickerstaffe for *Love in a Village*, was an iteration of the Beard persona. Hawthorne presides over, rather than drives, the stage action. In bluff pastoral song he sermonizes about love, precisely as Beard routinely did when leading Ranelagh concerts. The chief moral of *Love in a Village* is as polite as its new music; namely, that women must defend virtuous love.

In the story, Rossetta avoids an arranged marriage by pretending to be the chambermaid of her schoolmate, Lucinda. Rosetta’s intended, Young Meadows, has likewise fled his home, and been hired in Lucinda’s household as a gardener. Meanwhile Lucinda, also facing an unwanted match, is plotting to elope with her true love, Jack Eustace, who insinuates himself into the household by getting himself hired as her music master. Lucinda’s father, a woman-chasing old goat, decides to make the ‘chambermaid’ Rossetta his prize. His neighbour Hawthorne and his puritanical spinster sister try to constrain him. Rossetta and Young Meadows fall in love, but Rossetta, believing Meadows to be a gardener and therefore impossibly far below her social station, rejects him. When Meadows’ father arrives in search of his son, Hawthorne helps the two lovers discover that they had always been meant to be bride and groom (Slide 10, Fig. 6). The spinster aunt catches Jack trying to elope with Lucinda and locks him in a closet, but he escapes and persuades Lucinda’s father to let his daughter marry him. Cue: pastoral dance. Preceding the dénouement is Rossetta’s public shaming of Lucinda’s father. The sexual predations of this character, emblematically named ‘Justice Woodcock’ (Slide 11) provide low comic relief and grounds for the opera’s moral. For

her big finale, Rossetta sings that a woman must defend virginity and true love, since men like Woodcock will seek to destroy them for their own pleasure.

While the derivative stage action of *Love in a Village* was hidden from most, everyone knew that its music was unoriginal; indeed, song recognition was part of the evening's entertainment. Music helped spectators distinguish the vulgar characters, who were assigned common tunes, from the heroes and heroines, who sang high-style music. Within the opera's high-style borrowings as well, music articulated rank: while both lead sopranos performed Anglicized Italian arias, Hallam was given light rondeau airs, while Brent sang the big show stoppers, the grandest of which were both by the celebrated Galuppi. But the chief criterion for choosing any air in *Love in a Village* was its earlier settings, which had to illuminate the song's new words, a practice of ballad opera.

Take, for example, number 19, the duet 'Let rakes and libertines resign'd', based on Handel's 'Ask if yon damask Rose' from his oratorio *Susanna*. The original air, sung by an attendant, praises Susanna's incorruptible virtue.⁷ The biblical story would have been familiar to audiences:⁸ two Elders desire Susannah, and during her husband's absence attack her while she bathes. Because she repulses them, the Elders falsely claim to have seen her committing adultery. She is condemned to death, but saved by Daniel, who exposes the Elders' perjury. Singing Bickerstaffe's new words, Jack and Lucinda foreswear "sensual pleasures" and vow fidelity. The affective temperature rises when the textures thicken and their voices finally unite in the last stanza. Here's Handel's original, and the duetting third stanza of 'Let rakes and libertines resign'd' (Slide 12 [comparison of verses]; audio ex. 1 Handel 'Ask if you damask rose' air 34 *Susanna* 0:00 to 0:44; and 'Let rakes and libertines resign', air 19 *Love in Village* from 1:27 to 2:06).

Clearly Bickerstaffe was working closely with the music arranger: this was Edward Toms, rather than Thomas Arne, as scholars have until now assumed. Toms was a trumpeter

royal whom Beard, who sang birthday odes annually at court from 1733, may have known from these occasions.⁹ By 1762 Toms may indeed already have been playing in the Covent Garden band, as we know he did later. In any case, in the early 1760s Toms stood at the start of an active career as a pastiche arranger.¹⁰ He was reportedly of the view that it was “necessary to cast the characters before the songs are adapted to music, as some airs would suit one performer much better than they would suit another in the same character”.¹¹ In other words, he grasped that the business of pastiches was star promotion, an understanding which Beard surely welcomed.

The playwright John Reed called Toms the ‘compiler’ of the songs in *Love in a Village*, meaning that Toms chose and arranged the music. Evidence suggests that in selecting the music Toms collaborated, not just with Bickerstaffe but with Beard and maybe even Brent, so clearly was her music taken from the repertory of reigning Italian *prima donna*. By plundering their arias, and singing them in English, Brent significantly advanced her career. Indeed, *Love in a Village* won acclaim precisely on these grounds. As one critic wrote, “As we have now a power of representing English Operas, it is to be hoped that the Italian pieces may soon be exploded”.¹²

The naked promotion of Brent in *Love in a Village* is perhaps clearest in her climactic number, air 24 “Young I am, and sore afraid”. It came from Galluppi’s opera *Enrico* and pitted Brent against the aria’s legendary first performer, the castrato Monticello who had sung the title role (Slide 13, Fig. 7).¹³ In the original, Enrico sings of his determination to procure his beloved. In *Love in a Village*, Rossetta deploys the same music to ward off the icky advances of Justice Woodcock. Toms changed Galluppi’s aria by beefing up the score, excising athletic leaps, shortening sequences, and lopping off the da capo aria’s ‘B’ Section to make a binary air (Slide 14 and Slide 15, Fig. 8; audio example 2, Air 24 ‘Young I am and sore afraid’ B section 1:48 to 2:12). He adapted the other Italian arias he borrowed for Brent

and Hallam in a similar way: richly accompanied yet abbreviated, Italian opera music in *Love in a Village* allowed the English first sopranos to balance siren power with modesty.

Reserving Italian music for the lead sopranos reinforced the sentimental bond they enacted. Such representation was a polite alternative to the jealousy audiences expected from first songstresses, Italians especially. The opera's opening number dramatized sisterly love between two sopranos. For this duet, Toms adapted John Weldon's 'Let ambition fire thy mind', cleverly turning its associations with rivalry into their exact opposite. The story behind Weldon's air was well-known: in 1701 the composer had won a public competition for the best setting of William Congreve's *Judgement of Paris*. 'Let Ambition fire thy mind' had gone on to become a mainstream common tune, often printed, and found in at least five ballad operas (Slide 16, Fig. 9). From Weldon's simple continuo air, Toms crafted an extravagant through-composed duet (audio sample 3, Air 1 'Hope though nurse' 0:54 to 1:46 with Slide 17, music example and verses). Toms' euphonious arrangement and Bickerstaffe's verses transformed music that had arisen from rivalry between composers, and had dramatized female vanity, into an expression of mutual support between two English heroines.

The majority of the songs in *Love in a Village*, whether newly composed or drawn from Beard's repertory, are by Arne (Table 1). He was then in a creative partnership with Brent, his former pupil and almost certainly his lover and where Brent went, Arne's music followed.¹⁴ Arne had earlier urged Beard's rival Garrick to employ her at Drury Lane; Garrick had refused, reportedly saying that music was "pickle to his roast beef", to which Arne had retorted, "Davy, your beef shall be well pickled before I have done".¹⁵ Arne's threat became reality: once Beard hired Brent at Covent Garden, her ascent was unstoppable. *Love in a Village* was the fourth in a series of Beard-Brent hits with Arne's music. As Thomas Davies later wrote, it was "that bewitching Syren Brent", singing Arne's music, that caused

Covent Garden to overtake Drury Lane as London's leading theatre. *Love in a Village* was the terminal point of this transition, and in 1763 an embittered Garrick withdrew to France for a year.¹⁶

In addition to Arne's five songs,¹⁷ other new music commissioned for *Love in a Village* included an overture by Karl Friedrich Abel. A virtuoso bass viol player and versatile musician (Slide 18, Fig. 10), Abel had in 1759 quit his court post in war-torn Dresden to eventually wind up in London, where he was appointed to the King's Band, and chamber musician to the Queen. Before *Love in a Village* Abel had played only one public concert,¹⁸ so the opera effectively launched his music among London audiences. Two years later, the public would flock to concerts which he organized and led in collaboration with his friend Johann Christian Bach.¹⁹ Publishers lavished attention on Abel's overture, titled *Sinfonia*: it headlines the "Table of the Songs" (Slide 19, Fig. 11) in all the wordbooks. John Walsh first engraved it in vocal score as part of his fourth "Set of Songs" from *Love in a Village* – and then printed it separately, in eight instrumental parts, in the collection *Abel, Arne and Smith's Six Favourite Overtures* (London: John Walsh, 1763; Slide 20, Fig 12).

Abel's three-movement *Sinfonia* shows why he commanded attention, not just among connoisseurs but also among next-generation composers like Mozart. Abel had already begun experimenting with large-scale instrumental composition, and for his *Love in a Village Sinfonia* he collapsed a three-movement classical symphony into an opera overture of about seven minutes. In the first movement, Abel toys with monothematic sonata form, breaking up and re-combining the opening motif against scalar runs in the middle section (audio sample 4, *Sinfonia*, 1st movement, 0:00-1:37). The second movement is a through-composed minuet in two sections (audio sample 4b, *Sinfonia*, 2nd movement, 0:00-0:30). The vivacious final movement harvests a gavotte for its energy, repeating (although not developing) the opening motif in a rondo rooted harmonically in a ternary frame (audio sample 4c, *Sinfonia*, 3rd

movement, 0:00-0:48). As in his symphonies, Abel drastically reduces the middle movement's texture to heighten contrasts, and constantly shifts his pairing of woodwinds and strings to invigorate motivic play.

Other composers with court appointments were major sources of the music of *Love in a Village*.²⁰ These included Samuel Howard (Air 5) and James Oswald, Chamber Composer to King George III from January 1761.²¹ Oswald was a Scotsman who specialised in arranging or fabricating "Scotch ballads"; his twelve-volume, self-published *Caledonian Pocketbook* was then all the rage.²² Three of the common tunes in *Love in a Village* are from Oswald's *Pocketbook*, and two others from Oswald's arrangements in his song collections (Table 1).²³

As we have seen, *Love in a Village* had many authors. Beard was its artistic director, co-ordinating a creative team consisting chiefly of the playwright Bickerstaffe, the arranger Toms, the siren Brent and her composer Arne, the debutante Hallam, and the symphonist Abel. What drove this production was its promotion of celebrities and of Beard's taste and personal history. For him, Bickerstaffe deftly combined two old comedies to show off Brent and Hallam to advantage, while modelling his one new character, Hawthorne, on Beard himself. The secrecy around Bickerstaffe's low playbook sources underlines that Beard's aim was to elevate comic opera at Covent Garden. Garden concert songs, many sung earlier by Beard himself, dominated the borrowings; in *Love in a Village*, the polite easy airs for which Beard was known effectively became new-style common tunes. These blended agreeably with old-style common tunes, which, because assigned to low characters, flagged vulgarity. Precisely as in ballad opera, songs were instructive, and chosen so that their old settings enriched the new.

Numbers from Italian opera ranked not just fictional characters but also the sopranos who performed them. It is this music I believe that above all accounts for the longevity of

Love in a Village. The sopranos' Anglicized arias offered audiences appealing new prospects: they could listen to English rather than Italian; they could appreciate native rather than foreign talent; and above all, they could watch British gentlewomen helping each other. This was a new representation of femininity, modelled through a music that united and harmonized the sopranos who performed. No wonder that *Love in a Village* would later become *de rigueur* for early career sopranos, such as Elizabeth Billington, who made her triumphant London debut as Rossetta in 1786 (Slide 21, Fig. 13).²⁴

In 1762, however, *Love in a Village* represented above all Beard the manager. This is evident in Zoffany's painting, which gives an erroneous impression of the importance of the character Hawthorne. Zoffany shows Beard mid-performance, singing Air nine, "Let gay ones and great" (Slide 22, Fig 1). The air is about Hawthorne's love of country life, especially hunting with his guns and his dog. Beard must have brought Phillis, the spaniel which had attached itself to him, into Zoffany's studio, as no report about *Love in a Village* from the 1760s mentions a dog on stage. It was Thomas Busby, writing in 1825, who first gave out that Phillis had been a cast member, drawing his conclusion possibly from a print Zoffany's oil (Slide 23, Fig 14). By making Phillis part of his portrait, Beard made Hawthorne an extension of himself. Such staging was typical of Beard, and typical of *Love in a Village*, which invited audiences into Beard's convivial world of good fellowship, elevated amours and happy endings.

¹ Thomas Busby, *Concert room and Orchestra Anecdotes*, vol. 2 (London: Printed for Clementi & Co. Cheapside, and Knight & Lacey, Paternoster Row 1825); cited in Neil Jenkins, *John Beard: Handel and Garrick's Favourite Tenor* (Bramber: Bramber Press 2012) 258.

² "To propagate Sound for Sense: Music for Diversion and Seduction at Ranelagh Gardens', *London Journal: A Review of Metropolitan Society Past and Present* 38, no. 1 (2013): 34–66. Trans. Katharina Hottmann in *Liedersingen: Studien zur Aufführungsgeschichte des Liedes*, ed. Katharina Hottmann, *Jahrbuch Musik und Gender*, vol. 6 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2013), 51–73.

The revised Beggar's Opera opened at Covent Garden on 10 October 1759 and was performed 53 times that season, outstripping its legendary first run of thirty-eight nights. On the waning popularity of *The Beggar's Opera*, and Beard's triumphant revival, see Jeremy Barlow "The Beggar's Opera in London's Theatres, 1728-1761" in *"The Stage's Glory": John Rich, 1692-1761*, ed. Berta Joncus and Jeremy Barlow (Newark Lanham, MD: University of Delaware Press; Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 169-83.

⁴ Beard and Brent led a second successful ballad opera revival, *The Jovial Crew*, which opened 14 February 1760. Beard asked William Bates to "rejuvenate" the ballad opera's songs with "new-style accompaniments". The production ran for twelve years. John Johnson engraved *The Overture in Score and the Accompaniments*; the scoring featured oboes, horns, strings and flutes for the overture original songs and additional dances. Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford University Press: London, 1973), 395-96.

⁵ See, for instance, *The Gazetteer* 14 December 1762 [Issue 10527]

⁶ *The Theatrical Review; or, Annals of the Drama* (London: Printed for S. Williams; and Wilson and Fell, 1763), 29.

⁷ "Ask if yon damask rose be sweet,/ That scents the ambient air;/ Then ask each shepherd that you meet/ If dear Susanna's fair./ Say, will the vulture leave his prey,/ And warble through the grove?/ Bid wanton linnets quit the spray,/ Then doubt the shepherd's love. The spoils of war let heroes share,/ Let pride in splendour shine;/ Ye bards, unenvy'd laurels wear:/ Be fair Susanna mine." 'Susanna', <http://opera.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/susanna.htm>. Accessed 1 October 2016. Although Handel's oratorio faded from memory, its wordbook was popularized from 1755 through Elizabeth Tollet's version, *Susanna, or Innocence Preserv'd*. Tollet adapted the wordbook for the reader, not for performance, and first published the additional songs to "Susanna: or Innocence Preserv'd. A Musical Drama", with the revised wordbook first appearing in 1759. Susanne Dunlap, "Susanna and the Male Gaze: The Musical Iconography of a Baroque Heroine". *Women & Music* 2 (2001): 40-60. Tollet's revised wordbook was first printed in *Poems on Several occasions. With Anne Boleyn to King Henry VIII. An Epistle. By Mrs. Elizabeth Tollet* (London: Printed for John Clarke, at the Bible, under the Royal-Exchange, 1755)], 156-60.

⁸ Although this oratorio dropped from stage repertory, its wordbook was popularized from 1755 through Elizabeth Tollet's version, *Susanna, or Innocence Preserv'd*. Tollet adapted the wordbook for the reader, not for performance, and first published the additional songs to "Susanna: or Innocence Preserv'd. A Musical Drama", with the revised wordbook first appearing in 1759. Susanne Dunlap, "Susanna and the Male Gaze: The Musical Iconography of a Baroque Heroine". *Women & Music* 2 (2001): 40-60. Tollet's revised wordbook was first printed in *Poems on Several occasions. With Anne Boleyn to King Henry VIII. An Epistle. By Mrs. Elizabeth Tollet* (London: Printed for John Clarke, at the Bible, under the Royal-Exchange, 1755)], 156-60.

⁹ In 1757 Beard petitioned the court for having performed birthday court odes for twenty-four years without compensation; his appointment in 1764/5 as 'Vocal Performer in Extraordinary' with a life-long pension of £100 was likely in response to this petition. Peggy Daub, "Music at the Court of George II (r. 1727-1760)" (Ph.D diss., Cornell University, 1985), 325. Household trumpeters were a separate establishment, and in 1694, numbered sixteen. For an overview of changes to the duties of, and administrative arrangements for, the trumpeter royal, see Donald Burrows, 'Trumpets and Drums' in *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 482-485.

¹⁰ Eva Zöllner, *English Oratorio after Handel: the London Oratorio Series and its Repertory, 1760-1800* (Marburg: Tectum-Verlag 2002), 30-33, 59-67. Toms joined Samuel Arnold at some point after 1768 to manage oratorio seasons, with programmes that included concertos and instrumental solos. In 1770, Toms and Arnold moved their series from the Little Theatre

in the Haymarket to Covent Garden. During his collaboration with Arnold, Toms arranged pasticcio oratorios. As Zöllner observes, “even for his contemporaries, Toms was an elusive figure”, and documentation about his career is scant. Zöllner, *English Oratorio after Handel*, 59-60. There is no entry for Toms in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music* or in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

¹¹ James Boaden, *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, vol. 1 (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1831–32), 261–62.

¹² “An Account of the new Comic Opera called *Love in a Village*”, *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, 8–10 December 1762 [Issue 844].

¹³ Monticelli provoked wonder among opera goers and antipathy from satirists. See Thomas McGeary, ‘Verse Epistles on Italian Opera Singers, 1724-1736’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 33 (2000), 29-88 and Xavier Cervantes and Thomas McGeary, ‘From Farinelli to Monticelli: An Opera Satire of 1742 Re-examined’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 141, no. 1154 (May 1999), 287-89.

¹⁴ Todd Gilman, *The Theatre Career of Thomas Arne* (Newark Lanham, MD: University of Delaware Press; The Rowman & Littlefield Pub. Group 2013), 301.

¹⁵ David E. Baker, continued by Isaac Reed, *Biographia dramatica*, rev. Stephen Jones, vol. 1 (London : Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown 1812), 11; cited in Olive Baldwin, Thelma Wilson, ‘Brent, Charlotte (1734–1802)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/3322, accessed 9 March 2016]

¹⁶ Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, vol. 2 (London: Printed by Joseph Hill, 1780), 50–51.

¹⁷ (Air 7, Air 17, Air 30, Air 33, and Air 40).

¹⁸ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993), 50–52 and Hans Joachim Marx, “‘A Love of Music to Distraction’: Musik im Leben der englischen Königin Charlotte (1744-1818),” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 71, no. 1 (2014): 2.

¹⁹ Abel’s only advertised concert before 1762, the venue for which may have been Hickford’s Rooms, was on 5 April 1759. After hearing Abel play, the Duke of York recommended him to King George III, Walter Knape, *Karl Friedrich Abel. Leben und Werk eines frühklassischen Komponisten* (Bremen: Schünemann Universitätsverlag, [1973]), 50–52.

²⁰ Beard and Howard had sung together as boys in the Chapel Royal. Index B: “Beard, John Vocal Performer in Extraordinary occ. 1765-1781 (CCR [1765], p. 78; last occ. RK [1782], p. 73). Office abolished 14 Nov. 1782 (LS 13/117, p. 73).” Lord Chamberlain Establishment Books. <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/browse/r/r/C3036441>. Accessed 11 January 2016.

²¹ Frank Kidson, “James Oswald, Dr. Burney and the ‘Temple of Apollo’”, *Musical Antiquary* 2 (1910–11): 34–41, esp. 40–41.

²² On Oswald’s career and output, see John Purser *Scotland’s Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Early Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing 2007), 199–218. Purser rightfully points out that scholars have overlooked Oswald’s importance, and that Scottish traditional music, as mediated in England during the mid-eighteenth century became “a symbol and reality of the [country’s] rural joys” that represents “a kind of cultural imperialism”. *Ibid.*, 200.

²³ Songs taken from the the Pocketbook: are Air 11, Air 13, Air 27 and Air 35.

²⁴ Billington had previously only sung in Dublin; she made her London debut at Covent Garden on 13 February 1786. *Public Advertiser* 13 February 1786 [Issue 16138]: “Rossetta Mrs Billington, From the Theatre Royal, Dublin, being her first Appearance on this Stage”.