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The Tunebooks of J. B. Malchair, Oxford, c.1760-1812



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Abstract

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From at least 1760, when he moved to Oxford, the German-born musician and artist, John Malchair (1730-1812), collected tunes of various nations. His sources ranged from printed books to acquaintances at the University and even, on one occasion, the whistling of a man in the street. Over the next thirty-five years, Malchair assembled four volumes of tunes, only the third and fourth of which are extant. Malchair's third tunebook is titled 'Vol. 3^{d}: The Third Collection of Tunes'; his fourth tunebook is called 'The Arrangement', and in it he 'arranged' about 500 tunes already known to him into three categories: Welsh, Irish and Scottish. This thesis will describe Malchair's collecting habits in the context of collecting in Britain in the eighteenth century, and the publication of collections of tunes, as well as providing a more detailed focus on these activities in England.

Malchair created a title page for 'English Tunes' within 'The Arrangement' but added no music to this section of the manuscript, yet there are several 'English' tunes that have been included in other sections. In addition, there are a number of apparent contradictions, such as where the same tune is included under two different national headings. I will explore a range of examples in order to explain Malchair's scheme of national categorisation, and consider Malchair in relation to those among his contemporaries and near-contemporaries who also addressed questions of national categorisation in music.

Malchair's tunebooks are different from most others, while also growing out of a shared pre-existing and widespread culture of tunebook-keeping and personal music-collecting. I will argue that this difference stemmed from the fact that his tunebooks were not for personal music-making, as was usually the case, but instead formed a 'collection'. I will posit two hypotheses: first, that Malchair's purpose in collecting was to compare tunes as he found them (rather than editing them) and thereby to identify the 'best' version; and, second, that Malchair's aim in categorising his tunes was to demonstrate the characteristic music of each nation, and that in categorising he was primarily concerned not with geographical origins, but rather with national style.

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Contents

Preface: Notes on selection of sources and methodology 15

Introduction 19

Select biography of John Malchair, 1730-1812 25

Malchair as a collector 31

Malchair's intentions 34

Malchair's work in context 56

Chapter 1: Survey of collectors in the eighteenth century 77

Cultures of collecting 78

Collections of music 82

Printed books of tunes 84

Manuscript tunebooks 101

Conclusion 120

Chapter 2: Collecting tunes in eighteenth-century England 123

Printed sources 126

Manuscript sources 136

Malchair's network 148

Are there any English tunes in Malchair's collection? 157

Conclusion 163

Chapter 3: Categories and national labels in Malchair's 'The Arrangement' . 167

Defining 'national music' 170

'The Arrangement' 178

Changes of categorisation from source 187

How were Malchair's categories viewed later? 195

'Extra' tunes 201

Conclusion 206

Chapter 4: The tunebooks of John Malchair 211

The temporal relationship between volumes 3 and 4 211

'The Foregoing Volumes': use of 'Vol. 3^{d}' in putting together 'The Arrangement' ..214

The 'watershed moment': cross-references between the volumes 225

The 'most favourit tunes' 229

Volume 2 ('Coll 2[d]') and volume 1 233
Conclusion 235

Chapter 5: William Crotch's influence on and use of Malchair's collection 237
William Crotch in Oxford 239
William Crotch's use of 'Vol. 3[d]' 245
Crotch's later professional work and his interest in 'national music' 254
What Crotch's work might reveal about Malchair's methods 259
John Beale Crotch's manuscript 262
Conclusion 270

Conclusion 273

Appendix 1a: Introductory material to 'The Arrangement' 279

Appendix 1b: Transcription of the introductory material in 'The Arrangement' 289

Appendix 2: Transcription of William Crotch's account of Malchair's life, from GB-Ob MS Mus. d.32 299

Appendix 3: Musical manuscript sources referred to in this thesis 313

Appendix 4: Select timeline of printed music referred to in this thesis 319

Bibliography 325

List of Tables and Figures

Cover: Malchair's tunebook, 'Vol. 3[d]: The Third Collection of Tunes'

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Introduction 19

Figure I.1: drawing by Malchair 29

Figure I.2: p. 24 of Malchair's 'Vol. 3[d]', GB-Lcs QM 3619 33

Table I.1: structure of the introductory pages of 'The Arrangement' 35

Figure I.3: frontispiece of Edward Jones' *Relicks of the Welsh Bards* 71

Chapter 1: Survey of collectors in the eighteenth century 77

Figure 1.1: The Beggar Boy, p. 9, from the 1652 edition of *The Dancing Master* 89

Figure 1.2: James Aird's Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs, vol. 1, p. 50 GB-En Glen.16a(1-2) 92

Figure 1.3: John Parry's *British Harmony*, p. 35 98

Figure 1.4: a typical eighteenth-century personal, pocket tunebook 102

Chapter 2: Collecting tunes in eighteenth-century England 123

Figure 2.1: ALMS 11, fol. 1 137

Figure 2.2: ALMS 17.2, fol. 1 138

Figure 2.3: DX 74/5, Joseph Barnes' tunebook, fol. 7 (pages unfoliated) 140

Figure 2.4: Elizabeth Williams' tunebook, GB-Lcs QM 11749, p. 1 143

Figure 2.5: Yarker MS, GB-Lcs QM 5234, p. 68 144

Figure 2.6: W. H. Giles' tunebook, GB-Lcs QM 2286, p. 6 145

Figure 2.7: Malchair's non-print sources 149

Table 2.1: tunes in Crotch's *Specimens* under 'Old English Tunes and Some Tunes of Doubtful Origin' 161

Chapter 3: Categories and national labels in Malchair's 'The Arrangement' . 167

Figure 3.1: Malchair's 'The Arrangement', GB-Lcm MS 2091 168

Table 3.1: sequence of the contents of 'The Arrangement' 178

Figure 3.2: suggested order of construction of 'The Arrangement' 182

Table 3.2: tunes re-categorised by William Crotch 196

Figure 3.3: an example of John Muir Wood's annotations 200

Table 3.3: tunes in 'The Arrangement' not included in Malchair's index 202

Table 3.4: explaining the extra tunes.....205

Chapter 4: The tunebooks of John Malchair.....211

Table 4.1: tunes in 'Vol. 3d' that appear in 'The Arrangement' 214

Table 4.2: chart showing the location of tunes copied, in 'Vol. 3d' and 'The Arrangement' 221

Figure 4.1: graph showing the location of tunes copied.....222

Figure 4.2: note glued into 'The Arrangement' (folded).....230

Table 4.3: 'the most favourit tunes' 231

Table 4.4: tunes that also appeared in volume 2 234

Chapter 5: William Crotch's influence on and use of Malchair's collection.....237

Figure 5.1: p. 17 of Crotch's 'Malchair' manuscript 242

Table 5.1: tunes in Malchair's tunebooks in Crotch's handwriting.....246

Figure 5.2: p. 21 of William Crotch's 'Tunes of Various Nations'.....248

Table 5.2: tunes that appear in Crotch's handwriting in Malchair's collection....250

Table 5.3: recategorised tunes, and where they appear in Crotch's 'Tunes of Various Nations' 250

Figure 5.3: select Crotch family tree 248

Figure 5.4: p. 26 (fol. 17v) of J. B. Crotch's tunebook, ...265

Figure 5.5: p. 14 of John and William Crotch's *Original Airs*, GB-NWr 11244 .266

List of Abbreviations

CDN-On	Library and Archives Canada, Music Division, Ottawa
GB-AB	National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru), Aberystwyth
GB-En	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
GB-Lcm	Royal College of Music, London
GB-Lcs	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London
GB-Llb	British Library, London
GB-NWr	Norfolk Records Office, Norwich
GB-Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford
GB-Occc	Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford

Note on Transcriptions

I have quoted from eighteenth-century documents throughout this thesis. I have not corrected spelling or removed underlining, and have retained the superscript formatting in words such as 'y^{e}' for 'the' and 'w^{ch}' for 'which', among others. All editorial suggestions or comments are indicated with square brackets. As most of the sources I have used are personal manuscripts, deleted and inserted words are frequent occurrences. For clarity and consistency I have used the following conventions in my transcriptions:

[ ] editorial suggestions or comments

< > deleted words

↑ ↓ additions to the text

text in a different hand

Preface:
Notes on selection of sources and methodology

This thesis begins, in Chapters 1 and 2, with a survey of music-collecting activity, publications and tunebooks in Britain in the eighteenth century, and particularly in England. All those tunebooks and publications referred to in this thesis are listed in Appendices 3 and 4. My method of selection for manuscript sources began with John Adams' wiki project Folkopedia,[1] which includes a list of tunebooks of various periods and styles of repertoire. I made a note of any tunebooks created in the eighteenth century and, as very few of these resources have been digitised, made arrangements to visit those archives which held the largest number of potentially useful tunebooks (or locations where there were several archives close to each other such as Cumbria and London). Once at each institution I augmented my selection by searching internal digital or paper catalogues for further sources, which often yielded results not listed in the institution's online catalogue.

A number of tunebooks from the Folkopedia list have been reproduced digitally online as part of Chris Partington's Village Music Project,[2] but I have not made use of these transcriptions because they are not scans, rather the tunes have been transcribed from the manuscripts in ABC format, a text-based machine-readable music notation system, and made downloadable as a series of PDF documents with modern typescript notation. These reproductions only include the tunes, without marginalia, and have idiosyncratic features as a result of the limitations of ABC format, such as including the label

[1] 'Folkopedia' <http://folkopedia.efdss.org/> [accessed 26 June 2018].
[2] Chris Partington, 'Village Music Project' <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/> [accessed 26 June 2018].

'English' or 'England' at the discretion of the transcriber, usually because the tunebook is held in England, or was made by an English person, and not because this was noted on the manuscript source.

Other websites have been more useful, however, and I have made use of the Traditional Tune Archive wiki, as well as Chris Partington and others' personal research sites, to gather additional information about these tunebooks from those who have studied them in the past.[3] I have also sought out and used online scans of printed and manuscript tunebooks where these exist, to allow me a wider geographical reach without having to travel to so many archives in person, particularly those overseas. The primary websites for such scans are Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO), the International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP), Archive.org, and the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (VWML).[4]

Of the seventy or so manuscript tunebooks (or similar, such as tutor books or folders of loose sheets) I have seen, I have referred to thirty-four in this thesis, selecting those which share features with Malchair's tunebooks (such as national labels or named sources), or which are very different from them while still ostensibly being collections of tunes (such as presentation-style manuscripts which are still 'tunebooks', as opposed to books containing hymns or lessons). These manuscripts are listed, alongside information about their compilers and locations where available, in Appendix 3. In

[3] 'Traditional Tune Archive' <https://tunearch.org/wiki/TTA> [accessed 30 August 2018]; Chris Partington, 'Chris Partington' <http://www.cpartington.plus.com/> [accessed 26 June 2018]; Simon Chadwick, 'Early Gaelic Harp' <http://www.earlygaelicharp.info/sources/> [accessed 26 June 2018]; Jack Campin, 'Sources' <http://www.campin.me.uk/Flute/Webrelease/Flute/Sources.htm> [accessed 9 September 2018].

[4] 'Eighteenth Century Collections Online' <https://www.gale.com/uk/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online> [accessed 23 June 2018]; 'International Music Score Library Project' <http://imslp.org/> [accessed 23 June 2018]; 'Archive.Org' <https://archive.org/> [accessed 26 June 2018]; 'Vaughan Williams Memorial Library' <https://www.vwml.org/> [accessed 23 June 2018].

addition to manuscript sources, I have referred to forty-eight printed music collections, all of which are listed, alongside other relevant material, in Appendix 4.

Since there currently exist so few studies of English tunebooks, I have focused in Chapter 2 of this thesis on collecting activities in England, giving examples of both published collections of English music and tunebooks made in England. While Chapter 1 is a broader survey of collecting activity across all four nations (including mention of published collections of Welsh and Irish tunes), I have been able to view only one manuscript tunebook created in eighteenth-century Wales, and none from Ireland. The main eighteenth-century manuscript source for Irish music is Edward Bunting's transcriptions of performances at the Belfast Harp Festival from 1792, published in three volumes from 1796. As Bunting was employed to collect tunes, and conducted this work in such a different way from Malchair, and as the collection was only published after Malchair's final tunebook was completed in 1795, Bunting's work has not been used in this thesis.

In practical terms, in order to work more easily with Malchair's tunebooks, I began by creating a database using FileMaker Pro, the same software used by Oxford University Museums, of all the musical items contained in Malchair's 'Vol. 3^{d}' and 'The Arrangement', as well as of William Crotch's manuscripts 'Tunes of Various Nations' and 'Malchair',[5] and 'Dance Tunes', the manuscript book of John Beale Crotch. I referred to the University of London's 'Designing Databases for Historical Research'

[5] 'Malchair' is embossed on the spine of the book, and this is how I will refer to the manuscript throughout this thesis. However, the catalogue reference for this manuscript is taken from the first page of tunes: 'Tunes composed by John Malchair for the 3 stringed Violin in 2 Parts or books also Part III consisting of others for the common Violin The whole adapted by Wm Crotch for the Piano Forte'. Bodleian Library, MS Mus. d.32.

guide in the creation of this resource.[6] Using a database for this research has made it easier to search for tunes, duplications, and cross-references, especially when comparing documents held in two separate archives where the originals cannot be viewed side by side. One might speculate as to how Malchair might have constructed his collection differently had such tools been available in 1795.

[6] 'Designing Databases for Historical Research: C. Fundamentals of Database Design' <http://port.sas.ac.uk/mod/book/view.php?id=75&chapterid=134> [accessed 3 July 2017]; 'Designing Databases for Historical Research: F. Problems Facing the Historian' <http://port.sas.ac.uk/mod/book/view.php?id=75&chapterid=149> [accessed 3 July 2017].

Introduction

On the 8th of June 1795, J. B. Malchair added a title to his manuscript tunebook, 'The Arrangement', and laid down his pen. He had been collecting tunes since at least 1760, when he moved to Oxford, and over the ensuing thirty-five years had collected around 500 melodies, some in several versions. The kind of repertoire that Malchair collected was what would today be known as 'folk' or 'traditional' music: melodies of 16-32 bars in length, usually in binary form, used interchangeably for dance and song.[1] Including the contents of the only other tunebook of Malchair's still extant, 'Vol. 3^{d}', there are 835 items of music in Malchair's collection as known today.[2]

The evidence of the marginalia added to these two manuscripts by Malchair and also William Crotch, as well as introductory notes by Malchair, and Crotch's later published work, indicate that this material was brought together consciously and deliberately. Yet to read about the history of collecting one could believe that such activity did not even begin in England until the mid-nineteenth century, although it is acknowledged that there was some interest in Scotland before this. For example, Margaret Dean-Smith in her 1952 *Guide to English Folk Song Collections* declares that it was not until Reverend John Broadwood's 1843 publication, *Old English Songs*, that England saw its first

[1] The word 'folk' was not used by Malchair, or by his near-contemporary and friend, William Crotch, therefore I will not be using this word to refer to the music discussed in this thesis. However, 'folk' is today used to refer to exactly the same repertoire as is under consideration here: country dance tunes, 'national music', ballads and songs. Indeed, many modern authors use the terms 'folk', 'traditional' and 'oral' interchangeably with reference to this music. As will be explained in Chapter 3, Malchair used the phrase 'old tunes' among others, while Crotch referred to both his own and Malchair's collections as being of 'national music'.

[2] These sources are: John Malchair, 'The Arrangement, Being an Extract of the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch Tunes Contain'd in the Foregoing Vols, & Placed in Separate Classes', c.1792-95, Royal College of Music, MS 2091; and 'Vol. 3^{d}: The Third Collection of Tunes', c.1783-94, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, QM 3619.

collection made for the sake of the tunes rather than the words to songs and ballads.[3] Likewise, Jan Ling, writing in 1997, places the 'systematic collection of folk music' decisively in the nineteenth century.[4] Yet Malchair, who considered his collection complete in 1795, was undoubtedly systematic in his collecting, as will be shown in this thesis.

Using as my central case study the tunebooks of J. B. Malchair, compiled between c.1760 and 1795, and then expanded by William Crotch between 1797 and around 1804, this thesis will show that collecting of tunes took place in the eighteenth century, and took place in England. Given that Malchair's tunebooks are relatively well known, it is surprising that this observation has not been made before. Indeed, Malchair's work has frequently been misinterpreted, with folklorist Margaret Dean-Smith looking only at his interest in Playford's *Dancing Master*,[5] and scholar Celia Pendlebury classifying Malchair's 'Vol. 3^{d}' as a 'domestic' tunebook for personal music-making at home.[6] My contention is rather that Malchair's tunebooks were rarely if ever used for playing from, but instead formed a repository, a place of safekeeping and display, for Malchair's tune collection. In this thesis, I will demonstrate that Malchair should be recognised as a collector in addition to being a musician, and I will situate his work historically by comparison with that of other collectors, compilers and publishers of tunes in the eighteenth century.

[3] Margaret Dean-Smith, *A Guide to English Folk Song Collections, 1822-1952, with an Index to Their Contents, Historical Annotations, and an Introduction* (Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1954), p. 17.
[4] Jan Ling, *A History of European Folk Music* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997), p. 2.
[5] Margaret Dean-Smith, 'The Preservation of English Folk Song and Popular Music: Mr. Malchair's Collection and Dr. Crotch's Specimens', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 7.2 (1953), pp. 106–11.
[6] Celia Pendlebury, 'Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of "Traditional" Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland' (unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Sheffield, 2015).

Definitions and comparisons will be given in Chapter 1 (a survey of collecting activity) and Chapter 2 (collecting in England), where I will ask what collecting was for, both for Malchair and for his contemporaries, and show how Malchair's work was both part of a trend and also stands apart because of his methods of collecting (using a wide range of sources), his purpose (the pursuit of knowledge by comparing tunes from different sources, rather than as a collection of performance repertoire), and the resulting form of his tunebooks, particularly 'The Arrangement'. Having described several published tune collections and manuscript tunebooks in Chapters 1 and 2, Malchair's tunebooks and the process of their creation will be detailed in Chapters 3 and 4. Finally, Chapter 5 will discuss the influence of William Crotch on Malchair's tunebooks, and his use of Malchair's collection in his publications of national music.

In examining Malchair's collection and placing it in context, this work addresses two key theses: the first relates to the nature of collecting activity in the eighteenth century, and the motivation behind this activity. The evidence of their tunebooks and printed collections suggests there were three linked desires for collectors in the eighteenth century: first, the ambition to find the 'oldest' version of a tune, the assumption being that the older the source, the purer or more 'authentic' the tune. Second, a preoccupation with origins, whether geographical or historical. Third, the search for the 'best' tune, or best version of a certain tune: this was not necessarily the oldest or the one that came from oral tradition, and could even be an edited version, or comprising two versions spliced together. Examples of collectors and authors demonstrating these three intentions will be given in Chapters 1-2. Malchair demonstrated all three desires to some extent, but his main concern was to find the 'best' version of any tune in his collection, although rather than editing and splicing different versions of the same piece

of music, he collected several versions of the same melody so that readers could 'amuse' themselves by comparing them, an intention that will be discussed below.[7]

This search for quality – the best tunes, and the best versions of particular tunes – among players as well as collectors means that many tunebooks extant today contain tunes copied from elsewhere: from publications, friends' manuscripts, or performances. There appears to have been little interest in searching for unknown tunes as there would be when the Victorians and Edwardians made trips into the countryside to hear songs 'from the mouths of the people',[8] and little desire at all for newly composed material, other than from a handful of exceptional composers. The rejection of music with a named composer was a well-recognised trend: Francis Collinson relates how Nathaniel Gow[9] wrote a harpsichord piece which he based on the street cries in Edinburgh in order to be able to describe it as traditional and thereby sell it more successfully.[10] For Malchair, even where tunes were notated from live street performance his concern was that he had found a good one, rather than that he had found something old or pure, preserved only in oral tradition, more 'authentic' than what he copied from books. Indeed, for Malchair, 'authenticity' did not derive from orality: he believed some of the newer books he used contained more 'authentic' versions of old tunes because the compilers had removed 'additional notes' added by recent performers.[11] In order to find the 'best' versions of tunes, Malchair made frequent comparisons, and in particular consulted seven different editions of Playford's *Dancing Master* to find the best

[7] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 3.
[8] Sabine Baring-Gould and Henry Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People* (London: Patey & Willis, 1889).
[9] The fourth son of Niel Gow, Nathaniel Gow (1763-1831) joint-owned a publishing business in Edinburgh with William Shepherd from 1796.
[10] Francis M. Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London: Routledge & KPaul, 1966), pp. 2–3.
[11] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 9.

versions of particular tunes, without necessarily subscribing to the belief that the older editions held the 'original' versions of the tunes.[12]

A second key argument in this thesis relates to Malchair's near-obsessive categorisation of the tunes in his collection, which he grouped as 'Welsh', 'Irish' and 'Scotch'.[13] For Malchair, as would be the case for many compiling tune collections in the nineteenth century, the purpose of collecting 'national music' was to identify and express particular characteristics of a nation, to demonstrate and gain some insight into the character of a people through their native music. This is why, unlike Burns, Malchair did not edit the tunes as he collected them. While it is possible to apply a logic to Malchair's categorisation, as will be presented in Chapter 3, there is no way to be sure of his criteria, and other than 'comparison' his method cannot be determined either. However, in this Malchair was not atypical, for William Crotch similarly neglected to explain why he had grouped tunes the way he did in *Specimens of Various Styles of*

[12] In Malchair's introductory notes he refers to the editions of 1652, 1665, 1670, 1675, 1695, 1696 (which was the second part to the 1695 edition), and 1706. He also used the 1728 edition, which was printed without a date (he referred to it as 'Ed. 18'). He must have owned all but the 1652 edition, which he viewed in the Ashmolean Library, as the catalogue of Malchair's music sold after his death (*A Catalogue of a Valuable and Extensive Library of Music, comprising the several collections of the late Mr. Malchair* [...] *Mr. Harrison, and other eminent professors* [...] *which will be sold by auction, by Mr. White* [...] *the 1st of March, 1814, and three following days.* (London, 1814), British Library, General Reference Collection S.C.1076(4)) lists 'six editions' of *The Dancing Master* in 'seven books'. This catalogue specifies the dates for these books as 1670-1706 – the omission of the date 1728 is explained by it not being printed on that edition, but the omission of the date 1665 remains a mystery, as it is almost certain he owned the copy now at the Bodleian Library (W. Harding Mus. F 327) based on the fact it features his handwriting, Crotch's handwriting, and an inserted page familiar from his treatment of his manuscript tunebooks.

[13] While Malchair referred consistently to 'Scotch' tunes, and other collectors used the word 'Scotish' I will use the modern form 'Scottish' where not directly quoting him. The terms may be taken interchangeably.

Music (1806),[14] other than by alluding to the authority of Malchair and his other sources.[15]

In this thesis, I will argue that Malchair's national labels refer, in different places, to both geographical origins and style, demonstrating that in 1795 to label a tune 'Scotch' did not necessarily imply a statement of its geographical origin, as was assumed in the mid-nineteenth century by authors such as John Muir Wood and William Chappell. While it is impossible to be completely certain of Malchair's intention in his use of the labels 'Scotch', 'Welsh' and 'Irish' (among others), his ambiguous and apparently contradictory use of these terms at the very least shows that Matthew Gelbart's 2007 theory, that geographical origins had become dominant by the end of the eighteenth century, should not be applied across the board, even if it wa a geographical label that was being used.[16]

Although this thesis is not intended to focus on the life of John Malchair, so much as his tunebooks and what they reveal about the collecting of tunes and national music in eighteenth-century England, it is necessary to begin by providing a brief biography, describing how Malchair lived and his collecting activities. Following this, I will consider Malchair's intentions in his music collecting: Malchair was an artist as well as a musician and collector, who left few letters or other personal documentation for the

[14] The first volume of Crotch's work was printed in either 1806 or 1807: its publication was announced in the Morning Chronicle for 26 December 1806, and the work itself was entered at Stationer's Hall on 17 November 1807. I will refer to the publication date as 1806 throughout this thesis. For further detail on the printing of all three volumes see Howard Lee Irving, 'Empiricism, Ideology and William Crotch's Specimens', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 9 (2012), p. 238.

[15] William Crotch, *Specimens of Various Styles of Music, Referred to in a Course of Lectures Read at Oxford & London and Adapted to Keyed Instruments* (London: Printed for the author by R. Birchall, 1806), I, Leicester University, David Wilson Library, Rare Books, SCT 00067.

[16] Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of Folk Music and Art Music: Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*, New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

researcher, yet there are several written sources (as opposed to drawings and tunebooks) that provide insight into his outlook and understanding of the music he worked with. Foremost among these is his introduction to 'The Arrangement', which will be analysed here in detail and quoted throughout this thesis. Finally, I will give an account of how Malchair's work has been treated by other authors, and introduce the secondary literature relevant to this study.

Select biography of John Malchair, 1730-1812[17]

Joannes Baptist Malscher was born in Cologne in January 1730, the eldest son of Joannes Malscher and Elizabeth Rogeri, who had by then been married for almost three years. The young Joannes was baptised at St Peter's Church on Sunday 15 January, probably the first Sunday following his birth.[18] The family lived on Sternen Gasse, in a humble house next door to a dwelling that had been occupied by the artist Rubens a hundred and fifty years earlier, as was still regularly noted by local residents.

It was Joannes' brother, the second son, who followed their father into his trade as a watchmaker. Meanwhile, at the age of fourteen, Joannes joined the Cathedral choir, and it was presumably around this age that he also began to learn to play the violin. He continued to sing in the Cathedral choir until he was twenty; a year later, in 1751, he

[17] To avoid extensive footnoting in this section, the majority of dates and other information can be found in the following sources: Colin Harrison, *John Malchair of Oxford: Artist and Musician* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1998); William Crotch, 'Malchair'. The biographical sections of Crotch's 'Malchair' manuscript are transcribed in Appendix 2.

[18] Colin Harrison, *John Malchair of Oxford: Artist and Musician* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1998), p. 9. I have chosen to follow Harrison by referring to the young Malchair as Joannes, but elsewhere Malchair is noted to have been baptised Johann: Robert J. Bruce, 'Malchair [Malscher], John [Johann Baptist]', *Grove Music Online*, 2001 <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17528> [accessed 29 September 2016]; and T. B. Healey, 'Malchair, John [formerly Johann Baptist Malscher] (bap. 1730, D. 1812), Folksong Collector', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2006 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/56011> [accessed 30 April 2018].

departed Cologne for France and was never to return (as far as is recorded), although he left money to his sister's family in his will, written fifty years later.[19]

Leaving Germany, Joannes Malscher lived first at Nancy, before moving to England in 1754 where he Anglicised his name. In London, John Malchair taught music to tradesmen for low fees but soon his talents for drawing were noticed by a Frenchman who introduced him as drawing master to a ladies' school. At this stage Malchair's English was not yet fluent, and his teaching was presumably conducted in French.[20] While his English soon improved, he continued to 'write with an accent', that is, his idiosyncratic spelling might perhaps hint at his spoken pronunciation.

Now in his mid-twenties, Malchair gave concerts at inns (presumably on the violin) until a British soldier, a friend of his father's, introduced him to Sir William Hamilton, who brought him to Lewes where he taught music to army officers. It was here that Malchair met Sir Robert Price of Foxley, Herefordshire, who was to become his first patron. Through this connection he moved to Hereford, and worked as a musician in Bristol.

From 1758 Malchair led the second violins in the orchestra for the Three Choirs Festival (a role he continued to fill until 1776), but it was only in 1759 that real financial security

[19] John Malchair, 'Final Will and Testament', fols 376-377v, Public Record Office, Probate 11/1542 (formerly PCC Heathfield 147).

[20] William Crotch, 'Malchair', fol. 4. Malchair's linguistic talents, then, included French in addition to German and, later, English. In his sketchbooks he wrote an occasional title in Latin, and in his tunebooks gave tune titles in Welsh and Irish, although these were presumably copied from his sources and do not necessarily imply a knowledge of these languages. In addition, he copied out music in Italian (including some cantatas or canzonetts from Dr Aldrich's collection, now held at the Royal College of Music, MS 1098) and it is possible he could also speak a little Welsh, for he toured there three times in the 1780s and '90s and commented that 'here English is an acquired language and much wors spoaken than french in England, by no means so common'. Quoted in Harrison, p. 150.

was offered, in the form of the post of leader of the band at the Oxford Music Room. He travelled to Oxford to audition, and might have lost out to another applicant, the Dutchman Pieter Helendaal, had it not been for a relative of Malchair's patron Robert Price, Shute Barrington, one of the Music Room stewards, taking his side. Barrington recommended Malchair on the basis that he was an orchestral player, while Helendaal, though physically more attractive, had immodestly performed one of his own concertos for the audition and therefore gave the impression he would be less reliable as leader of the band.[21] Malchair led the Oxford Music Room band for the next thirty-two years, resigning as leader (according to Crotch) in 1792, after his violin was broken by an orange thrown from the audience during a student brawl brought on by the new Society Articles and, in particular, rising ticket prices.[22]

The same year as he took up his new post in Oxford, 1760, Malchair was married to Elizabeth Jenner. The register records that 'John Malchair, of the Parish of Holywell, in the City of Oxford, Batchelor & Elizabeth Jenner, of this Parish[,] Spinster, A Minor [that is, under twenty-one years old], were Married in this Church [St George's, Hannover Square] by Licence of the A:B: of Canterbury, this Twenty fourth Day of October In the year [1760]'.[23] The marriage was witnessed by Johnathan and Mary Hensby. Malchair later drew the church in which they were married and remarked on the back that it had been the happiest day of his life.[24] Settling in Oxford the pair frequently went for walks together, he sketching while Elizabeth took in the view – a distant female figure appears in some of his sketches from this time. Their favourite

[21] William Crotch, 'Malchair', p. 51. See Appendix 2.
[22] William Crotch, 'Malchair', pp. viii and 48; Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 72.
[23] 'St George Hanover Square Marriage Register 1760-1768', City of Westminster Archive Centre, vol. 15, p. 50, no. 301.
[24] John Malchair, *London, St George's, Hanover Square, 26 Feb 1759*, Ashmolean Museum, DBB 1225.

place to wander was Hinksey Ferry, a crossing place in the river just south of the city.[25] Elizabeth's name also appears on the back of a sketch from July 1771, 'A walke Round the Medow, Oxford[.] Eliz: & John Malchair[.] 13- of July 1771. /7 [i.e., 7pm]'[26] and one from November 1771, on which Malchair noted 'M^{r}. and M^{rs}. M. Went in a Chaise to take a Sunday's Dinner With D^{r}. Wynne at D^{r}. Edwards's Parsonage House at – BesselsLeigh. Nov: 24–1771'.[27] John and Elizabeth did not have any children, and she died thirteen years after their marriage, in August 1773.

Arriving in Oxford, Malchair secured a second job, teaching undergraduates to draw, and was allowed to describe himself as the University's drawing master, a title he would pass on only when his sight began to fail, to William Delamotte, in 1797. Malchair often noted on the back of his drawings who he had been with at the time, and several names recur frequently. In the late 1760s he organised drawing trips to hills overlooking the city, or to gardens within the University; he drew the views from pupils' windows, and organised a house boat trip on the river on which several drawings were made. This vocation took him to country estates during the summer holidays, between the Music Room's seasons, where he produced many scenes of his own while also, presumably, teaching drawing to a family's children and performing music with his hosts and their guests in the evenings.

[25] John Malchair, *Ferry Hinksey*, 1789, Ashmolean Museum, DBB 963 On the reverse: 'This was the most favourit Villa of Mrs Malchair when livinge: here my miende is fullest of her, here I love to roam.'
[26] 'Sketchbooks of John Malchair, Volume I: Oxford, 1769-1772', p. 33, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 443/1. The picture shows Friar Bacon's Study, which stood on Folly Bridge, with the setting sun behind, which means the 'Medow' referred to was to the east of Folly Bridge: this is Christ Church Meadow.
[27] 'Sketchbooks of John Malchair, Volume I: Oxford, 1769-1772', p. 38.

Figure I.1: drawing by Malchair

'A view of Foxley in Herefordshire. belonging to Uvedal[e] Price Esq[r].
Wednesday Sept: 16. 1772 /6 [6pm]'[28]

Reproduced with permission from Corpus Christi College, Oxford



While Malchair's first two tunebooks are no longer extant, it is likely he began collecting tunes in the 1760s, beginning by copying tunes from *The Dancing Master*, but also collecting from manuscripts provided by friends, and from their singing to him. Malchair's interest in collecting was not limited to his own tunebooks, and in the 1780s he catalogued the collections of Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church from 1689-1710, and Richard Goodson, Professor of Music at Oxford from 1682-1718, which were then, as now, held at Christ Church College.[29] Malchair compiled the catalogue in July 1787, at the same time as he was building his own tune collection in 'Vol. 3[d]'. Malchair

[28] 'Sketchbooks of John Malchair, Volume III', p. 46, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 443/3. The House at Foxley was demolished in 1948.
[29] John Malchair, 'Catalogues: Goodson, Aldrich. Music Presented to Christ Church College Library, Oxon', 1787, Royal College of Music, MS 2125.

perhaps found his task less interesting than his own collecting, as indicated by the fact that he sometimes gave blanket entries '8 books in a bundle, all lumber probably'.[30]

Much of what is known of Malchair's later life, from the 1790s onwards, comes from William Crotch (1775-1847), about whom more detail will be provided in Chapter 5. Though forty-five years Malchair's junior, the two men were good friends. Crotch came to live in Oxford in 1788, aged twelve, and played weekly concertos at the Music Room during the following year, where it is likely he encountered Malchair regularly.[31] From 1790 he was organist at Christ Church, and from 1792 (the year Malchair resigned as leader of the Music Room band) Crotch was Director of the Music Room, taking over from Philip Hayes. He received his Bachelors degree two years later, in 1794, aged eighteen, and in 1797 became Professor of Music, and was awarded his doctorate. Crotch stated in his 'Malchair' manuscript that he became friends with Malchair from around 1797,[32] although it is likely they were well-acquainted prior to this, as in 1793 Malchair had encouraged Crotch to publish three piano sonatas,[33] and Crotch also gave an account of the occasion on which Malchair's violin was broken at the Music Room in 1792.[34] Nevertheless, perhaps it was only from 1797, by which time Malchair was losing his sight, that regular visits began, first with Malchair visiting Crotch, bringing music to discuss, then with Crotch's weekly visits to Malchair's rooms in Broad Street, after the older man hurt himself walking into a barrow. Crotch recorded that the final

[30] Alec Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music, c.1600-1960*, Sandars Lectures; 1961 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 14.
[31] William Crotch, 'Memoirs of Dr Crotch', p. 64, Norfolk Records Office, GB-NWr MS 11244.
[32] William Crotch, 'Malchair', p. 21, where the words 'more intimately' were added at a later date. A transcription is provided in Appendix 2.
[33] William Crotch, 'Memoirs', p. 78.
[34] William Crotch, 'Malchair', fol. viii.

time he wrote down tunes for Malchair was on 3 December 1799, though the last time he saw him was around 1812, the year Malchair died.[35]

Malchair as a collector

Before proceeding it is worth clarifying some key terms. By 'collector' I mean someone who actively seeks to make a collection, who considers what they might include and exclude ('selection' and also potentially 'editing'), and who curates it for display ('curation' or 'arrangement'), whether publicly or privately (in terms of music, this would include printed and manuscript forms). I exclude from my definition those who simply amass items without considering the whole, as one might keep old letters without discrimination, or write down as memory aids only those tunes that have yet to be memorised. Alec Hyatt King gives a similar (if unnecessarily gendered) definition in his article, *Some British Collectors of Music* –

> We cannot, I think, call a man a collector just because he may amass the music of his own country and his own day for performance either by himself or by others. Were this so, any English royal person, nobleman, or country gentleman who ever maintained a musical establishment would, *ipso facto*, qualify as a collector.
>
> For a man to be estimated a true collector, we surely require evidence of something wider and deeper, something which denotes a breadth of outlook, a certain spirit of curiosity and a quest for knowledge of the musical past.[36]

By this definition a 'collection' would be the product of deliberate activity. I will therefore exclude those collections which today might be regarded as such but which at the time of their collection were accidental or unconscious accumulations, as when a person does not notice or care that they have several of the same already. Malchair's work, in contrast, was consciously a collection: Figure I.2, p. 24 of Malchair's 'Vol. 3^{d}', is typical of Malchair's careful provenancing of the tunes he collected, with cross-

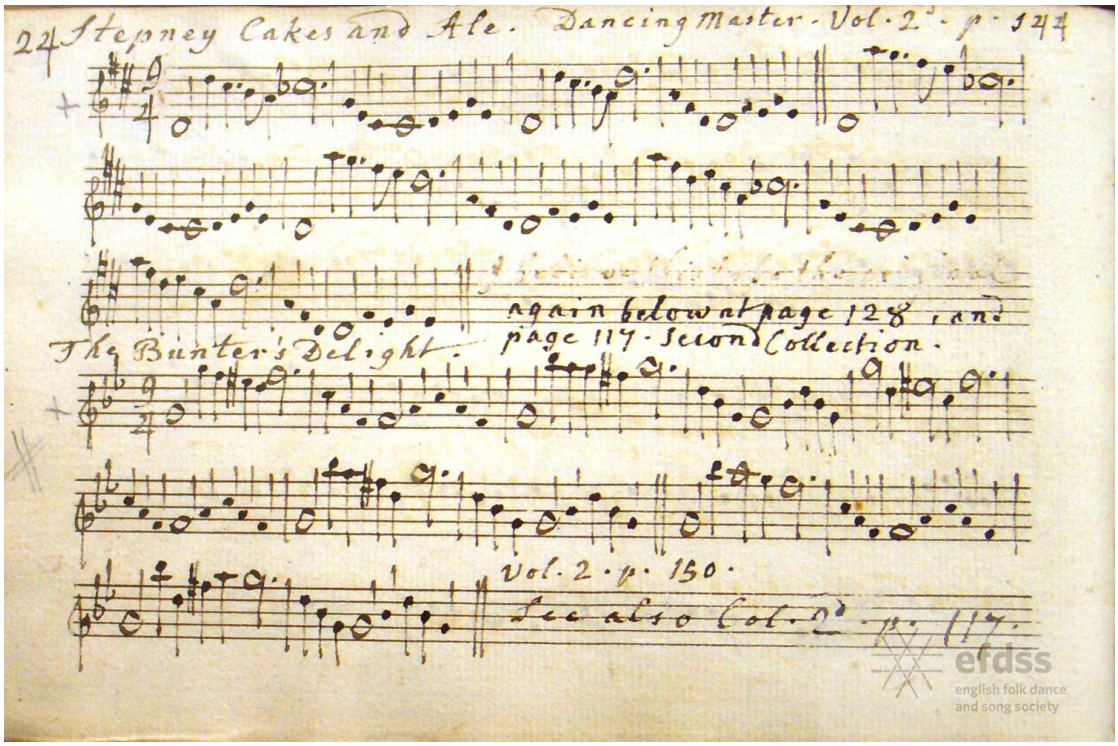
[35] William Crotch, 'Malchair', p. 31.
[36] King, p. 7.

references to where else they could be found in his own collection – which he referred to as such.

Many who published 'collections of music' in the eighteenth century were more interested in lyrics, possibly because these were easier to print than melodies. For example, Allan Ramsay's first song publications, *Tea-Table Miscellany* (1723) and *The Evergreen* (1724), contained only words, and Joseph Ritson's *English Songs*, published sixty years later, followed a similar format of printing the words first and only providing the melodies in a later volume (Volume 3, 1783).[37] The broad approach to 'music collecting' adopted in this thesis therefore brings with it a caution when discussing literature about collectors who either solely or additionally collected lyrics, because even if Malchair's contemporaries might have seen lyric collections as 'music collections', modern commentators might not. For example, Neil Grobman draws various conclusions about ballad collecting, but his interest is in the search for national poets and not the collection of ballad melodies or even the words to songs.[38] Therefore it must be borne in mind that neither the ideas of eighteenth-century song collectors, nor the conclusions of modern historians who write about them, can be assumed to apply equally to those who collected tunes and those who collected the words.

[37] Throughout this thesis, 'Allan Ramsay' refers to Allan Ramsay senior, the Edinburgh writer and publisher, and not Allan Ramsay junior, his son, the portrait painter.
[38] Neil R. Grobman, 'David Hume and the Earliest Scientific Methodology for Collecting Balladry', *Western Folklore*, 34.1 (1975), pp. 16–31.

Figure I.2: p. 24 of Malchair's 'Vol. 3d', GB-Lcs QM 3619
Reproduced with permission from the English Folk Dance and Song Society



With regard to music, I have chosen to consider both print and manuscript tune collections within my definition, as, although they may have been created for different purposes, research by Harold Love has shown that a handwritten manuscript could – at least in the seventeenth century – circulate in society just as a printed book would, without any sense of its being inferior or incomplete.[39] While tunebooks in the eighteenth century were more usually personal jottings than professionally compiled scribal copies, it was common for them to be lent freely and for individual tunes to be copied from one musician's book to another. Malchair himself copied melodies from 'an old manuscript book of the Revd Mr John Jones, Jesus Col, Oxon',[40] and many of Malchair's tunes subsequently made it into print via the work of William Crotch, who acknowledged his debt to Malchair in *Specimens of Various Styles of Music*.[41]

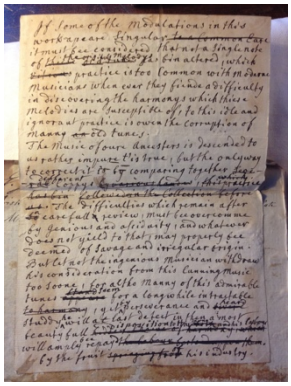
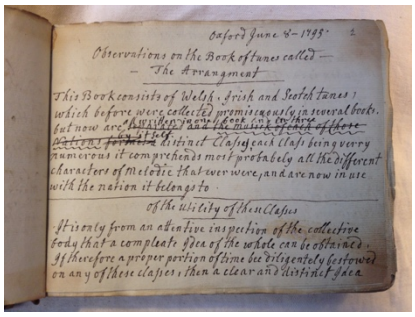
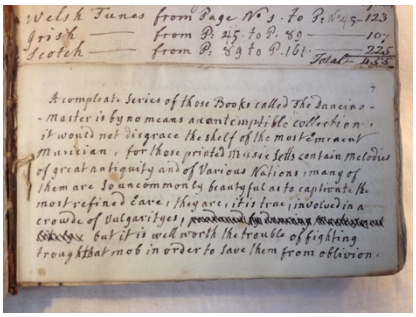
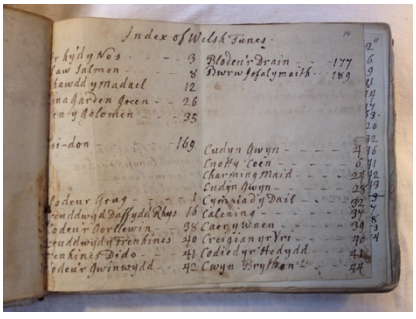
[39] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 35.
[40] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 19.
[41] Crotch, I, p. 3.

Malchair's intentions

A key question in this thesis is whether it is possible to work out what Malchair intended when he grouped tunes in 'The Arrangement' into sections headed 'Welsh Tunes', 'Irish Tunes' and 'Scotch Tunes'. It would be impossible to know for sure what these phrases meant to him because he left no clear written account of his thinking, but it is apparent that at least in some instances he meant something other than tunes 'from' Wales, Ireland or Scotland, and this will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Malchair's introduction to 'The Arrangement', or rather, the sheets of paper affixed at the start of the tunebook, are virtually all the evidence that exists regarding his understanding and interpretation of this music and his own collecting activities. Images of all seventeen pages of introductory material are provided in Appendix 1a, with a transcription in Appendix 1b.

The structure of these introductory materials is shown in Table I.1. I will refer to these documents as Malchair's introduction, or introductory remarks, even though he did not use these phrases himself. Together, they comprise just over 1,800 words. I will characterise each part of Malchair's introduction below, before discussing the contents thematically.

Table I.1: structure of the introductory pages of 'The Arrangement'
All images from 'The Arrangement' are reproduced with permission from the Royal College of Music, London

Folio	Section	Thumbnail image
-	A folded sheet stuck to the inside front cover.	
2-3	Malchair's introduction to 'The Arrangement', split into the following sections: • 'Observations on the Book of tunes called –/–The Arrangement –' • 'On the utility of these Classes' • 'Concerning the labour et cet.' These sheets are glued in.	
4-9	Notes on Playford's *Dancing Master*, and which editions Malchair used; also some remarks on particular tunes and the 'Music of antient times'. These pages are on smaller sheets, stitched together, with the final page glued to a larger sheet (fol. 9) preceding the index.	
10-19v	The introduction is followed by the index: these pages are also glued in. The index is followed by the first page of the original binding, which is scored, and numbered '1' by Malchair.[42] It is where the first section of Welsh tunes begins, although there is no title. Thumbnails of subsequent significant pages (such as section title pages) are provided in Chapter 3.	

[42] I will refer to both folio and page numbers in 'The Arrangement': Malchair numbered his own pages and his cross-references refer to these numbers. Those pages without numbers (the pages glued in at the front of the book, and the inserted title pages) are referred to by their folio numbers.

The folded sheet attached to the front cover (which will be discussed further in Chapter 4) begins rather haphazardly, which may indicate that it was the second page of a longer note. Its contents indicate that it was intended to be read by someone other than Malchair, and his remarks assume prior knowledge of his interests and collection. It may have been a letter intended for someone who borrowed his collection, such as William Crotch, or part of a set of notes he planned to write up into a formal introduction at a later stage.

The note begins with a discussion of harmony, and a statement that none of the melodies in 'the Collection' has been altered to fit keyboard arrangements. It also refers to his method – the comparison of different versions of the same tunes – which Malchair returns to on fol. 3. The page includes a number of crossings out (indicated by angled brackets in the quotations below) which suggests that if this note was intended as an introduction it was still a work in progress. The sheet is glued into the front of the book over the name of George Jenner, Malchair's nephew, who inherited the book after Malchair's death, therefore while the note may have been intended for the collection in some sense, it was affixed after 1812.

After the glued-in note, the first three folios of 'The Arrangement' are set out formally, almost as a draft for publication, with fol. 1 bearing the title and date, followed by an epigraph from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. The next three written pages (fols 2, 2v and 3) set out the contents and function of the collection under the headings 'Observations on the Book of tunes called –/–The Arrangement –', 'On the utility of these Classes', and 'Concerning the labour et cet.'. In these pages Malchair uses the words 'collection', 'collected' and 'choice', with reference to his methods, and the

words ‘nation’, ‘country’, ‘character’, ‘class’ and ‘belongs’, which provide crucial evidence for how he understood the categorisation of these tunes. He also uses the word ‘original’, and refers several times to concerns about the age of tunes, and how they were altered in performance. This is a topic he returns to at the end of his introduction. These themes will be drawn out below with quotations from Malchair’s text.

Eleven pages (fols 4-9r), on smaller sheets of paper stitched together, detail the editions of Playford’s *Dancing Master* that Malchair used, with further information as to his opinion of tunes ‘of great antiquity’, and how they were altered over time (for example, in their use by dancing masters). This section of his introduction changes in tone in its second half, where Malchair gives examples of particular tunes he found moving, and reflects on the harsh circumstances of the past which he felt led to the creation of such ‘plaintive’ melodies. He returns at the end to the practical issue of collecting (where one might find copies of *The Dancing Master*) and again reflects on how the use of melodies for dancing changed the tunes.

On fol. 9 a scrap of paper is glued under the final sentence of the above. This reads as a typical closing to a preface, addressed to his reader. However, its presentation, written on a ripped corner and glued to the final page of his introduction, contradicts the formal tone of the words it bears. I believe that, while Malchair was considering the publication of his collection, his ideas were not yet fully formed: this accounts for the presentation and structure of his introductory sheets, which is echoed in the piecemeal construction and resulting appearance of the entire tunebook (see Chapter 3).

While Malchair's introduction moves frequently between topics, there are five broad themes I would like to highlight: Malchair's references to his 'collection'; his accounts of how 'The Arrangement' came together and his comparative method; his mode of address, which indicates his intention to publish; his mentions of 'nation', 'character' and 'class' and what light these shed on his understanding of the categorisation of this music; and his discussion of 'ancient music' and harmony, and how tunes have been affected by their use.

Central to this thesis is the notion that Malchair should be considered a collector, as defined above, and not only somebody who notated tunes in a tunebook. A fundamental feature to note, then, is Malchair's use of the words 'collection' and 'collecting' several times in his introduction (in addition to on the front cover of 'Vol. 3^{d}'), the first occurrence of which is in the folded note glued to the inside front cover, where he refers to 'the Collection before us':

> The Music of oure Ancesters is descended to us rather impure t'is true, but the only way to correct it is by comparing together <several> ↑different↓ Coppys <by various handes>, <this> ↑<which>↓ practice <has bin followed in the Collection before us>.

Although he then crossed out this phrase, his initial use of the word 'Collection' makes clear that Malchair thought of and referred to his work as a 'Collection'.

The first of three sections relating to the contents of 'The Arrangement' begins, on fol. 2:

> Observations on the Book of tunes called –
> – The Arrangement –
> This Book consists of Welsh, Irish and Scotch tunes, which before were collected promiscuously in several books, but now are <separated and the musick of each of those Nations ↑by itself↓ forms a> ↑all written in one book and in three↓ distinct Classes, each Class being verry numerous it comprehends most probabely all the different characters of Melodie that ever were, and are now in use with the nation it belongs to.

This statement is central to my interpretation of Malchair's collection and its categorisation. His reference to his collection being in one 'Book' when it had been in 'several books' before, confirms that he conceived of his collection as being of tunes, rather than of books of tunes (although he also refers to 'my little collection' of editions of *The Dancing Master*).

The 'several books' referred to are, I believe, volumes 1-3 of his collection, which would confirm that Malchair believed 'The Arrangement' to contain the same selection of tunes as his first three volumes. However, my analysis in Chapter 4 suggests that relatively few tunes were copied across, and that he was still using printed books as direct sources for 'The Arrangement', as he did for 'Vol. 3^{d}'. Furthermore, if 'the Collection before us' was intended to refer to 'The Arrangement', it is surprising, for rather than containing '<several> ↑different↓ Coppys' for the purpose of comparison, there are not many duplicated tunes in 'The Arrangement' (that is, the same tune appearing twice), compared with the number in 'Vol. 3^{d}' bearing cross-references to tunes in his second volume. This might lead to the conclusion that 'the Collection before us' referred to his three earlier tunebooks and not to 'The Arrangement'. But perhaps the note does not refer to 'The Arrangement' at all. In any case, it seems this note was composed before Malchair had fully gathered his thoughts.

Regardless of which specific books he was referring to, his use of the words 'collected' and 'collection' reinforces that this is how he viewed his work, rather than seeing himself as an 'editor', which is how William Crotch refers to his own activity in

Specimens.[43] The second section of Malchair's 'Observations' begins with one of the most illuminating comments relating to Malchair's collecting activity:

> Concerning the labour et cet.
>
> The leasure howers of many years were employed in forming this collection, ney, necessary busness was at times incrotched uppon when the fitt of collecting Grew Violent.

This confirms that Malchair derived no income from his collection, and indicates that he pursued his collection as a hobby, perhaps even with no plans to share it or have it printed until much later, as will be discussed in Chapters 3-4.

Whether or not he planned to share his work, Malchair does indicate what 'The Arrangement' was to be used for. The final section of the sentence of his opening section, quoted above – that his collection comprehends 'all the different characters of Melodie that ever were, and are now in use with the nation it belongs to' – is perhaps Malchair's clearest indication of his intention in making 'The Arrangement': to create a book of illustrative examples, as in a guide or textbook, to demonstrate each of the 'different characters of Melodie'. His aim was not to create a comprehensive repository of all tunes, as was the original intention for James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* (vol. 1, 1787) and Jospeh Ritson's *Select Collection of English Songs* (1783), for example.

The second paragraph of the note glued to the front cover (discussed above with reference to his use of the word 'Collection') describes Malchair's intention as not simply to collect, but to seek out the best versions of particular tunes: 'The Music of oure Ancesters is descended to us rather impure t'is true, but the only way to correct it

[43] For example, see Crotch, I, p. 129.

is by comparing together <several> ↑different↓ Coppys'. When Malchair uses the verb 'correct' here, I believe he is referring to finding a way to determine which is the least 'impure', thus correcting the process of de-purifying, rather than subjectively 'correcting' notes in the melodies. In his tunebooks Malchair did not edit the tunes, and copied them exactly as he found them, except for the very occasional and clearly labelled occurrence, as when he rewrote a tune from Playford's *Dancing Master* with a new time signature, noting that older editions had it wrong.[44] Crotch seems also to have followed this practice, making a note, for example, when 'These four bars are composed by the Editor, he having forgotten the genuine passage.'[45]

There are further details of Malchair's method in the section 'Concerning the labour'. Although he never makes clear his criteria for selecting the 'best' tunes, he describes how –

> Some thousands of tunes were examined repeatedly and compared with different setts in order to Mature the Choice.

He also explains why certain tunes appear twice:

> Scarcely any duplicate has obtained a place in this numerous collection from inadvertence, but many are givn on purpose for the sake of difference among them, so, that by comparing them, the reader may amuse his judgement.

This comment also hints at his own enjoyment of this comparison. Finally, he adds:

> Others are given to shew how differentely the same tune is often playd in one province of the same Country, to what it is in another, not from misconceiving the Original, but an ambitious display of tallent. A superior Bard may also have improved a production of an inferior, in such cases the comparison is instructive as well as entertaining.

(I will comment further on his judgement of the 'ambitious display of tallent' and the 'superior Bard' below.)

---

[44] For example, on the tune 'Tri hanner Tôn' Malchair wrote 'the time should be six eights in a barr'. John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 162.
[45] In the Polish tune 'Palacca', no. 263. Crotch, I, p. 129.

While comparison was not unheard of, this more usually took place as part of a selection process, with only one variant selected for inclusion. George Thomson described in his preface to *Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs* (volume 1, 1809) how, when collecting melodies in Wales, he 'found a good many Airs very nearly duplicates of each other […] These he [the editor, i.e., Thomson himself] attentively compared with each other, and with the Airs bearing the same names in the printed publications; and then selected from the different copies what seemed to him the most simple and perfect form of each Air.'[46] Malchair's decision to include both variants for his readers themselves to compare was therefore unusual.

It is only towards the end of Malchair's introduction, following his comments on *The Dancing Master*, that his activities in comparing tunes are described in more detail:

> This collection [each edition of *The Dancing Master*] is indeed a repetition of the same tunes for the most part, but often with different readings, sometimes old tunes are Omited and new ones inserted, we also see tunes corrupted. For instance, Argeres, 1st tune in the Dancing-M. of 1665- is deficient of a whol bar in Editions 1670 – and 1675.

His familiarity with this repertoire is readily apparent; his activity was unusual enough for Margaret Dean-Smith to comment, 'It was probably the first time that *The Dancing Master* had been used in this way, and the first time the tunes it contains had been scrutinized, compared and generally subjected to musical examination and study.'[47]

Referring to the editions of *The Dancing Master* he saw in building his own collection of tunes, Malchair lists seven editions, the earliest dated of which was printed in 1652

[46] George Thomson, *A Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs Adapted for the Voice: United to Characteristic English Poetry Never before Published, with Introductory & Concluding Symphonies and Accompaniments for the Piano Forte or Harp, Violin & Violoncello*, 3 vols. (London: Printed & sold by Preston [...] and by G. Thomson the editor and proprietor Edinburgh, 1809), I, p. 1.
[47] Dean-Smith, 'The Preservation of English Folk Song and Popular Music: Mr. Malchair's Collection and Dr. Crotch's Specimens', p. 110.

(the second edition).[48] He appears to have been fascinated by these music books, and copied many tunes from them into 'Vol. 3d' (and, as shown in Chapter 4, volume 2 too), making corrections to time signatures or adding bar lines. The section of his introduction on these volumes begins without a title, on fol. 4:

> I cannot tell at what time the English Press was first employd to this purpose, the Earliest collection of Old tunes that I ever did see was printed at London in the yeare 1652. it consists of one hundred and twelf pages, the notes are of a lossinge forme, without ligatures and bar's, which mak the reading of them difficult in thiese days, when all things are become easy by the assistance of Rule and Methode, so that it is possible to bee a Musician Poet or Painter without aide from Parnassus.
>
> This early publication of the Dancing-Master may bee seen in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford, the Catalogue Marke uppon it is W.125.[49]

Malchair's use of the library, as well as buying his own books, gives an impression of antiquarian activity, which confirms my assessment of him to be detailed in Chapter 1, as an active and conscious collector. In a similar vein, Malchair remarks on where copies of *The Dancing Master* might be found, demonstrating an assiduity in discovering rare books:

> Here ends my Collection of the Dancing Master printed in the Seventeenth Century, I wish it ware Perfect, but it is difficult at this time to recover that work, Bookeller at times meete with an oad Volum or more when they purchas old Fammely Libraries but they recon them mere lumber and destroy them. the way than to save those books, is to desire a Book seller to lay them by and offer a price to him. They are also met with at Cheese Mongers and grocers shops or on the stalls in the streets of London.

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[48] The tunes marked as having been taken from the 1652 edition occur in 'Vol. 3d' between pp. 61-75, with cross-references added to corresponding tunes from p. 34 onwards which Malchair had previously taken from the 1665 edition. Only ten of the forty-seven tunes from the start of the sequence on p. 61 to the last tune from *The Dancing Master* on p. 75 were not from the 1652 edition: six of these ten are from the 1665 edition, and the others are interjections from life – occasions he notated music heard in the streets or from the singing of friends. Since he heard the 'Poor Woman' singing in May 1784 on p. 42, and notated 'The Budget for 1785' on p. 73 in July 1785, assuming he added these tunes to 'Vol. 3d' in sequence from front to back, Malchair saw the 1652 *Dancing Master* in the Ashmolean Library between late 1784 and the summer of 1785.

[49] The 'W' refers to the library of Anthony Wood, at that time held at the Ashmolean Museum, but now part of the Bodleian. The item is John Playford, *The Dancing Master: Or, Plain and Easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to Each Dance, to Be Playd on the Treble Violin*, *The second edition, enlarged and corrected from many grosse errors which were in the former edition.* (London: Printed for John Playford, 1652), Bodleian Library, Wood 125.

In his notes on *The Dancing Master*, Malchair refers to these books as 'my little Collection' (fol. 4) and 'my Collection of the Dancing Master' (fol. 8v), which adds a new dimension to my picture of him as a collector, for though he owned many of these books and refers to them as his collection, he did not regard this as the end of his collecting activity. Malchair did not simply want to own the books, but was to go through them ('repeatedly') to select tunes to copy out to form his own 'Collection', from which he would later 'arrange' a selection of melodies into three national groups. A 'collection', then, could refer to any one of several levels of activity; it was both the means to the end and the end itself.

In addition to revealing something about how Malchair conceptualised his collection, and the comparative method he used in selecting tunes and variants for his reader to enjoy, his introduction describes the structure of 'The Arrangement', a topic I shall return to in Chapter 3. Malchair's description comes at the end of his three-page introduction, with further comments on fol. 9 (which would have been the next page until the *Dancing Master* notes were glued in):

> The Book is divided into first and second part, the Index is in classes, but the two parts are incorporated.

That is, the index was intended to list all the tunes in the volume, divided into Welsh, Irish and Scotch sections, although the volume itself was split into two parts, with the Welsh, Irish and Scotch sections repeated after an inserted title page, 'Part the Second', on fol. 102. This comment indicates that the introduction was written after the manuscript and index had reached what Malchair regarded as their finished state, at which point he tallied the tunes:

> The number of tunes contained is as followes
> Welsh tunes – 123
> Irish – 107

Scotch – 225
Total 455

The numbers above do not agree with the number of items listed in his index: other tunes having been added to the book and their titles slotted into gaps, by both Malchair and Crotch. As well as these additions, there are twenty-two tunes not included in the index at all, though the tunes appear in the manuscript; these 'extra' tunes are listed and discussed in Chapter 4.

Even if it is not entirely accurate today, that Malchair included this tally indicates that at some point he considered his collection of tunes in 'The Arrangement' complete. Malchair's tone throughout his introduction suggests the same, giving the impression that he was presenting the collection for publication, although I do not believe he ever reached a stage where he considered it ready. There is no evidence that he ever took further steps towards printing, although he presumably gave permission for William Crotch to use many of the tunes in *Specimens*. The formality with which Malchair presents his collection is apparent from his title page at fol. 1, for although the title has been squashed in at the top of the page and in the corner, the words are typical of the sorts of printed collections Malchair would have been familiar with, and the page features an epigraph taken from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* ('Give me some Music…'), which was also quoted by Crotch in *Specimens*. Malchair's title is:

A Collection of Welsh, Irish and Scotch Tunes.
Part the First
Selected & arranged by J. B. Malchair
Oxon. 1795.

At the other end of his introduction, written on a scrap of paper glued below the final sentence on fol. 9, Malchair concludes with the reassuring statement that:

> The ingenious and Candit artist will readyley allow in the perusal of the work that I have not bin sleeping over it and tho he may here and there concieve differentaly he Must often admire.

Addressed to a general reader, rather than to a friend or musical colleague, this sentence is typical of introductions to printed books and collections of poetry and music, although its physical form, written to fit the uneven side of the ripped scrap (see Appendix 1a), suggests that Malchair was still gathering and arranging his thoughts. It may even have been the case that it was not Malchair himself who appended the introductory notes to 'The Arrangement', or the scrap of paper to fol. 9: he may have left these sheets loose, along with the folded note now glued to the cover, and all of them were sorted and attached by George Jenner after Malchair's death. It is conceivable that even though these notes refer to 'The Arrangement', Malchair never intended for them to be included with the book in this order, or indeed at all.

One of the central arguments in this thesis relates to what Malchair meant by his categorisation into national groups. In his section titled 'Observations on the Book of tunes called –/–The Arrangement–' (fol. 2, quoted above), he used the word 'nation' – twice if the deleted mention is also counted: '<the musick of each of those Nations ↑by itself.↓ forms a> [distinct class]', and then, correcting himself, wrote instead, 'each Class being verry numerous it comprehends most probabely all the different characters of Melodie that ever were, and are now in use with the nation it belongs to'. Unlike other collectors and tunebook-compilers of the eighteenth century (who will be described in Chapters 1 and 2) Malchair made his choice of categorisation clear by organising the book into three national 'classes', and almost always fully referenced his sources for the tunes, so that it is usually easy to see or work out why particular tunes were grouped under each heading. From his specificity in naming 'Welsh', 'Irish' and

'Scotch' as his 'three distinct Classes' it is clear that Malchair intended his use of the word 'nation' to refer to these groups.

However, even if the top-level categories are clear, there is a small number of tunes for which Malchair's categorisation is not obvious at all, and his introductory notes do not shed any light on these, as he never revealed exactly what was meant by 'the nation it belongs to'. I will argue in Chapter 3 that Malchair's national categories and labels do not necessarily refer to the geographical locations from where this music came, but were used instead to refer to the locations where music of particular characters was 'now in use', to where the music could be said to 'belong', whether or not it was claimed to have originated there. That Malchair was aware of questions surrounding claims for the national origins of many tunes is made clear in his comment on fol. 2v:

> The class of Scotch tunes is the most numerous, becose, more than half of the tunes that are playd in Scotland are originally Irish. [William Crotch added underneath:] *See Mr Malchair's remark between PP 88 & 89.*

The 'remark' referred to is on a sheet of paper glued to the title page for the first selection of 'Scotch Tunes' (fol. 65), and states that Scottish tunes had been 'blanded [blended] with so many Irish which the Scottish Nation have formerly adopted, and are now tought to look uppon as theire ohn'. Malchair thus acknowledged that it was not easy to categorise tunes according to geographical origins, this comment perhaps implying that he categorised according to where a tune was considered 'their own', and was not concerned with where it had come from before it was 'adopted'.

There are other similarly ambiguous comments throughout his introduction, such as the phrase 'of Various Nations' with reference to the tunes in *The Dancing Master*. The word 'of' gives no clue as to whether he meant 'belonging to' stylistically or 'from' in

a geographical sense. The Playfords themselves, aside from John Playford naming the first edition of 1651 (an edition Malchair did not see) *The English Dancing Master*, gave no hint as to the national origins or associations of the tunes contained in their books, and both Malchair and Crotch categorised them variously (occasionally differing from each other – see Chapter 3) as Irish, Scottish or Welsh, as well as labelling individual tunes French, Polish or Italian, and, in Crotch's *Specimens*, 'Old English tunes and some tunes of doubtful origin'.

In addition to Malchair's remark on fol. 65 about Scotland adopting Irish tunes, he makes a number of comments that focus not on geography but on the character of tunes, and I believe it is on this basis that some of his categorisations were made. On fols 2-2v, following the 'Observations', Malchair gives a second heading and explains his use of 'classes' in further detail:

> On the utility of these Classes
>
> It is only from an attentive inspection of the collective body that a compleate Idea of the whole can be obtained. If therefore a proper portion of time bee diligentely bestowed on any of these classes, then a clear and distinct Idea will areise concerning the character of the Music.

The use of the singular 'character' here gives pause, for the word was used in the plural just above, in the sentence 'all the different characters of Melodie that ever were'. In this statement, therefore, Malchair is clearer about the fact he believed each nation to have one character of music which belonged to it, even though there could be several melodies displaying that character, making 'each Class […] verry numerous'.

Malchair's use of the word 'Idea' twice in this section (although he uses it nowhere else) is interesting, and might allude to the Platonic theory of ideas or forms, whereby a form (in the sense of a blueprint or 'type') can be held up as the 'ideal', which all

others of the same kind should invoke.[50] Plato's theory of forms was at the root of eighteenth-century British concepts of taste and aesthetics,[51] and so there is no doubt that Malchair would have absorbed these ideas.[52] Seen in this light, Malchair's intention was to present tunes that fitted his notion of what a 'Welsh' (etc.) tune should be, and which, whatever their individual shape or version, contained within them some characteristic of the 'ideal' Welsh tune. He wanted to convey, through giving 'numerous' examples, 'the compleate Idea of the whole'.

Malchair's other theme in his introduction is ancient music and its use for dance and song, and how such melodies are difficult to harmonise. In the note glued to the front cover, Malchair refers to 'The Music of oure Ancesters'. Malchair never uses the phrase 'national music', although Crotch refers to Malchair's collection as such, but it is certain that Malchair regarded the repertoire he collected to be 'old' or 'ancient'. Indeed, he collected much of it from Playford's *Dancing Master*, the first edition of which was by then over a century old. The more recent publications he used, including Edward Jones' *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784) and Joseph Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (1786), made sweeping claims in their own introductions as to the age and antiquity of the tunes.[53] The other claim frequently

[50] Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, trans. by Harold N. Fowler (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1921), XII, p. 389.
[51] See, for example, Joseph Addison's essay on the pleasures of the imagination, first published in *The Spectator*, numbers 411-421, 1712. Joseph Addison, *The Works of the Late Right Honourable Joseph Addison, Esq; In Four Volumes*, 4 vols. (London: printed for Jacob Tonson, at Shakespear's-Head in the Strand, 1730), III, pp. 454–484.
[52] Malchair uses the word 'taste' only once, in his note added to the title page for 'Scotch Tunes' in 'The Arrangement', fol. 65: 'Mr Joseph C. Walker […] is just in giving his Country the merit of superior skill & taste in Music'.
[53] Edward Jones, *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards: Preserved by Tradition, and Authentic Manuscripts, from Remote Antiquity; Never before Published. To the Tunes Are Added Variations for the Harp, Harpsichord, Violin, or Flute. With a Choice Collection of the Pennillion, Epigrammatic Stanzas, Or, Native Pastoral Sonnets of Wales, with English Translations. Likewise a History of the Bards from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, and an Account of Their Music, Poetry, and Musical Instruments, with a Delineation of the Latter* (London: Printed for the author, and to be had

made by such publications was for the 'purity' of the repertoire, and this language is echoed by Malchair in his note, where he states that 'The Music of oure Ancesters is descended to us rather impure t'is true'.

Malchair expresses near-reverence for 'Melodies of great antiquity' at the start of his section on *The Dancing Master*:

> A compleate Series of those Books called The Dancing-Master is by no means a contemptible collection, it would not disgrace the shelf of the most Eminent Musician, for these printed Music Setts contain Melodies of great antiquity and of Various Nations, many of them are so uncommonly beautyful as to captivate the most refined Eare, they are, it is true, involved in a crowde of Vulgarityes, <produced by dancing Masters most likely,> but it is well worth the trouble of fighting through that mob in order to save them from oblivion.

Malchair's admiration for those tunes which 'are so uncommonly beautiful as to captivate the most refined Eare' almost certainly reveals his motivation for making his collection in the first place, before he began to label and categorise: he genuinely liked this music, whatever else he thought of its age or national associations.

His expression of a desire to 'save them from oblivion' is typical of introductions to printed collections of tunes and poetry. In a similar vein, towards the end of his *Dancing Master* notes, Malchair comments that the 'misapplication' of vocal music for dancing had 'preserved such treasur'. This language matches that used by other collectors and compilers of printed tunebooks, such as Joseph Ritson, who referred to old English songs as 'pearls' in mud.[54] Despite his comments on the negative effects of the appropriation of tunes, Malchair seems to have been content to copy out old songs

of him, at No 9, Princes-Street, Hanover-Square, 1784); Joseph Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (Dublin: Printed for the author, by L. White, 1786).

[54] Joseph Ritson, *A select collection of English songs, in three volumes* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1783), p. i.

without the lyrics, commenting only on the 'melody' and 'tune', even when he acknowledged that the melody recorded was from a song.

Other than by their potential loss to 'oblivion', Malchair also feared 'old tunes' were damaged by their treatment by 'Moderne Musicians'. Malchair's folded note is largely concerned with how to harmonise these tunes, beginning:

> If some of the Modulations in this work appeare singular <to a Common Eare> it must bee considered that not a single note of <these old tunes> ↑the original Melodys↓ has bin altered, which <vitious> [vicious] practice is too Common with Moderne Musicians when ever they finde a difficulty in discovering the harmonys which thiese Melodies are susceptible of, to this idle and ignorant practice is owen [owing] the corruption of manny <an> old tunes.

In this opening paragraph Malchair distinguishes between 'modern musicians' and presumably those who, like himself, better understood the repertoire and how it should be harmonised. He continues:

> The difficulties which remain after <so> ↑a↓ carefull <a> review, must bee overcomme by genious and assiduity, and whatever does not yield to that, may properly bee deemed of savage and irregular origin.

I believe that here, referring to a tune 'yielding' Malchair meant 'to harmony', as seems to be made clear in the following section:

> But let not the ingenious Musician withdraw his consideration from this Cunning Music too soone, for altho Manny of this [these] admirable tunes <appeare> ↑<stand> seem↓ for a long while intractable <to harmony>, yet ↑by↓ perseverance and <severe> ↑heard [hard]↓ studdy he will at last detect in then [them] a most beautyfull <hidden Chance of harmony, which> ↑disposition to Harmony and his labour↓ will amply ↑bee↓ repayd <the labour bestowd uppon them.> by the fruit <springing from> ↑of↓ his industry.

The focus on harmony in this note is interesting, as 'The Arrangement' contains virtually no harmony parts at all. This might add further weight to the suggestion that the note was not intended to refer specifically to 'The Arrangement', or might even

suggest that Malchair intended, or had already begun elsewhere, to create a harmonised version for publication.[55]

On the other side of the note, and with no explanation, Malchair adds 'See the Original Score for the Most favourit tunes' and lists fourteen tune names and page numbers, which, I will demonstrate in Chapter 4, refer to tunes in an unknown tunebook and not to Malchair's collection or any known printed source.[56] It is possible that this list, having been written on the other side of the sheet of paper, was not in any way connected to the text on the first side of the note.

In addition to tunes being edited to fit harmonisation, Malchair was concerned that tunes might be changed through ambitious performance. As quoted above, on fol. 2v, at the end of the section 'Concerning the labour', Malchair defends his inclusion of duplicates, writing,

> Others are given to shew how differentely the same tune is often playd in one province of the same Country, to what it is in another, not from misconceiving the Original, but an ambitious display of tallent. A superior Bard may also have improved a production of an inferior, in such cases the comparison is instructive as well as entertaining.

It is interesting that Malchair gives no judgement as to whether or not 'an ambitious display of tallent' could improve a tune, although the juxtaposition of this remark with the next suggests that only a 'superior Bard' could do so. In support of this interpretation is a comment at the end of his introduction, on fol. 9, in which Malchair expresses his belief that 'An ostentatious display of execution on the Violin and flute

[55] Malchair composed or substantially composed twelve of the accompaniments to tunes in Crotch's *Specimens* (Crotch credits Malchair in his Preface).

[56] It occurred to me that Malchair's comments on harmonisation might have been made with reference to Crotch's arrangements for *Specimens*, but none of the ten tunes Crotch used from this list features harmony composed by Malchair. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that the note was part of a body of correspondence with Crotch about the use of Malchair's collection and how best to harmonise tunes.

has often much injured the old Melodies.' Whatever he thought of the outcome, this statement at least confirms that Malchair understood the transmission of such music and how it might evolve over time, whether orally or on paper.

Likewise, Malchair appears to have favoured older melodies where there were two variants to compare, but did not explicitly state that older tunes were by default better than newer versions of the same tune. For example, he states on fol. 9, at the end of his introduction, that 'at times they are more simple in the later publications when pains was perhaps <had> taken to discover Authentick Copyes. the excellence of which being <at that time> then better felt': older tunes might be better, but he considered newer sources more reliable in relating these. Malchair's use of the word 'authentic' (fol. 9), like his use of 'original' (in the folded note and again on fol. 2v), and also 'genuine' (once, in the margin of 'Vol. 3^{d}'),[57] is interesting, for it suggests that he believed there to be a 'real' version of each tune. Yet his mention of improvement by 'a superior Bard' and his reluctance to edit material even when he considered it inferior demonstrates that his aim was not only to seek these 'originals' out where he could, but also to show how tunes could be varied. His marginal comment, 'this is better, and from E[dition] 1652 [of *The Dancing Master*]',[58] is typical, in that he records his opinion without explicitly stating that the tune was better because it was older: the older date appears merely coincidental. Malchair's belief seems to be that at some point between 1652 and the publication of the majority of his sources in the mid-eighteenth century, many of the 'old tunes' were somehow corrupted. Interestingly, he did not blame editors or

[57] On the tune 'Under and Over', comparing this 1652 version to one from the 1665 edition of *The Dancing Master*. Malchair, 'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 71.
[58] On both 'Paul's Steeple' and 'A Health to Betty', Malchair, 'Vol. 3^{d}', pp. 67 and 68.

publishers for this, as Ritson did (see Chapter 2), but instead deemed it on account of tunes' 'misapplication' for use, particularly in 'ostentatious display' and for dancing.

Malchair's attitude towards the use of these tunes in dance and song is expressed in three comments spread out across his introduction, parts of which have been discussed above in other contexts. Towards the end of his *Dancing Master* notes, without specifying any particular examples, Malchair comments that the tunes work better as songs than dances:

> Many of the Melodies in those books are full as improper for the dance as that of the hundred Psalme, and evedentely belong to the human Voice, no one however will quarrel with this misapplication as it has preserved such treasur.

He adds, on fol. 9:

> Melodies for songs being to simple for dancing, were crowded with additional Notes in order to give them more Motion.

Such remarks indicate that Malchair viewed the tunes he collected as having originally been song tunes, which is particularly interesting in light of the fact that he rarely collected the lyrics (or accompaniments) to melodies, even when these were provided by his source. Malchair's preference for simpler melodies (those not 'crowded with additional Notes') is reminiscent of a comment later made by George Thomson, although the latter confessed to editing the melodies for, 'owing to the Airs having hitherto been adapted almost entirely for playing, and not for singing, the Editor was obliged to *simplify* particular passages' in order to present them with lyrics in *Select Collection of Original Welsh Airs*.[59]

[59] Thomson, I, p. 1.

I have been unable to find any reference to Malchair playing for dancing, and to judge by his comments here and in his folded note it seems he did not think highly of dancing or dancing masters. Alternatively his scorn might have been reserved only for the poor quality of modern composition, as it is well documented that Malchair's preference was for older music,[60] defined by the *Academy of Antient Music* as that composed at least twenty years ago.[61]

Between these two comments on the use of tunes for dancing is a third reference to the use of these tunes, this time for song:[62]

> It would be curious to know the words that formerly went to the Tune caled The Begger-Boy, this Melodie is admirabely calculated to rise compassion and has in it the Pure Voice of Nature, all blinde Beggars that Now actualy pore out their Complains in the public streets of london in notes of theire ohn, bare witness of this truth.

In referring to street musicians and beggars Malchair may have had in mind some of the tunes he himself collected from singers and instrumentalists he heard in the streets of Oxford; it certainly conjures up an impression of the soundscape of eighteenth- (and by implication seventeenth-) century city streets. In a similar vein, in the next paragraph, Malchair remarks:

> In the tune called the Brittons and that of the Twins all is the Voice of sorrow and distress, and nothing that I can point out in the Elegant Moderne Music, is so capable of exciting those sensations, and <if it> ↑whatever of↓ reises nearly upp to that power, <it> is shure to resemble those old standart Paternes ↑of↓ plaintive Music.

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[60] Philippe Jung, *Guide d'Oxford: avec un catalogue de tout ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans toute la province d'Oxford: avec la route de Douvres à Londres* (Oxford: se vend chez tous les libraires d'Oxford, 1789), p. 90. Jung recorded that Malchair had a taste for 'ancient' composers, such as Handel, Geminiani and Corelli. The catalogue of Malchair's music sold after his death confirms his tastes.

[61] Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music*, Music in Britain, 1600-2000 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 72.

[62] While Playford did not state where any of the melodies he printed came from, many of them were taken from songs of the stage and from popular ballads. See Stephanie Carter, 'Published Musical Variants and Creativity: An Overview of John Playford's Role as Editor', in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013). Many of these tunes would have been familiar to Malchair and his contemporaries as songs, even if only the melodies and dance instructions were printed in *The Dancing Master*.

These comments are developed immediately, in a somewhat dramatic manner:

> Bigottry, Chivallery and Oppression, seeme to have given a complexion to the Music of antient times, which nothing now can equal, when Men are religious without superstition or bigottry, Gallant and brave without the pomp of Chivallery, and when the regular and heighly improved Order of Society has almost universaly banished Oppression and alarme.
>
> To Bigottry we are in a great Measure endebted for the Many Excellent Compositions for the Church.
>
> To Chivallry for the Song of Love and Heroisme.
>
> From Oppression and want of comfort have flown the Notes of Grief and Melancholy.
>
> May they never flow thence any more, let these melodies serve now to correct the excess of spirits for which they are as proper as to assuage griefe.

My understanding of this section is that Malchair believed the older music to be found in the Playfords' collection to be far superior to anything that could be composed in his own time because of the harder circumstances of life in the past – this despite his belief stated above that contemporary beggars could relate to the pains suffered by those of former times. I believe his final sentence should be understood to mean 'assuming that we are rid of bigotry, pomp and oppression, music will no longer need to be used to express them; these melodies can instead be used to calm excesses of excitement as much as to assuage grief'.

Malchair's intentions, then, are never made explicit, even though his introductory remarks do provide a great deal of insight into how he viewed his collection and how he hoped it might be used. Nevertheless, as will be shown in Chapters 1-2, for such information to be included in a tunebook or even in a printed collection was very rare indeed in the eighteenth century.

Malchair's work in context

Malchair's collection makes a fascinating case study for work on music collecting and the understanding and categorisation of national music in the late eighteenth century,

yet save for three authors Malchair's work has been largely neglected by historians of music and collecting alike. The first mention of Malchair in historical literature is by J. H. Mee, in his history of the Oxford Music Room.[63] In the 1950s Margaret Dean-Smith wrote about Malchair's comparison and analysis of the tunes in Playford's *Dancing Master*, the source he used most frequently.[64] Most recently Susan Wollenberg has written about Malchair as a musician in Oxford, but, like the foregoing authors, has not dealt in depth with his collecting practices.[65]

This neglect ceases to be so surprising when considered in the context of the wider literature, for very little at all has been written about collecting practices in the eighteenth century outside of the history of museums and fine art collections. For example, Ken Arnold has written on the organisation of English collections of natural history, medical items and numismatics without consideration of any of the arts, and Susan Pearce has used historical museum collections to describe collecting as both a symptom and cause of modern Western culture.[66] As in the examples detailed below, studies of eighteenth-century musicians rarely mention music collecting, literature on music collecting tends to date the start of this activity to the mid-nineteenth century, and authors addressing eighteenth-century collecting practices largely ignore music. While Scottish tunebooks have been paid more attention (for example, in work by

[63] John Henry Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe: A Record of Eighteenth-Century Enterprise at Oxford* (London: John Lane, 1911).
[64] Dean-Smith, 'The Preservation of English Folk Song and Popular Music: Mr. Malchair's Collection and Dr. Crotch's Specimens'; Margaret Dean-Smith, 'The Preservation of English Folk-Song and Popular Music', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 6.2 (1950), pp. 29–44.
[65] Susan Wollenberg, 'Malchair the Musician', in *John Malchair of Oxford: Artist and Musician*, by Colin Harrison (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1998), pp. 33–44; Susan Wollenberg, 'John Baptist Malchair of Oxford and His Collection of 'National Music'', in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 151–61.
[66] Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums*, Perspectives on Collecting (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2006); Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, Collecting Cultures Series (London: Routledge, 1995).

Matthew Gelbart),[67] described as both a cause and result of cultural nationalism in the eighteenth century, the act of collecting itself has been little considered, and certainly not for England in this period.

The survey of literature below relates to the practice of music for professional musicians, amateurs and audiences in eighteenth-century Oxford, and then, with reference to my two hypotheses, to the activities of music collectors who might be compared with Malchair, and the contemporary understanding of the use of national categories in music.

Malchair spent over fifty years in Oxford, and, other than upon his first arrival in England in 1754, does not appear to have spent any significant amount of time in London, commonly held to be the centre of eighteenth-century English musical life. But Georgian Britain was marked by the musical vibrancy of its regions and the opening up of a range of musical job opportunities across the country, according to Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, with towns treating it as a matter of pride to distinguish their offering from that of regional centres and the capital.[68] It may have been this availability of work that attracted Malchair to Britain in the first place, having left his parents in 1750 and spent four years in France before coming to England. Additionally, as a foreign musician, he may have found it easier to find work in England than in Europe, as such artists 'gave the appearance of having a social, cultural and educational status which distinguished them from their English colleagues': they had 'foreign

[67] Gelbart, *The Invention of Folk Music and Art Music*; Matthew Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay, the Idea of "Scottish Music" and the Beginnings of "National Music" in Europe', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 9.1 (2012), pp. 81–108.
[68] Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007), p. 2.

accents, the appearance of cosmopolitanism, sometimes a familiarity with several languages, and ingratiating manners'.[69]

One of the chief differences between centre and periphery in terms of music was the involvement of amateurs in the promotion and performance of music outside London. Many London concerts operated on a purely commercial basis, organised by the musicians themselves, while provincial concerts tended to rely on the support of enthusiastic gentlemen or a local music club.[70] Musicians' payment structures and the overlap with the amateur world have been described by authors including Deborah Rohr and Cyril Erlich, while there are in-depth studies of individual musicians by Roz Southey on Charles Avison, and Ian Woodfield on Johann Peter Salomon, to name but two.[71] Woodfield's work on the society violinist Salomon is of particular interest with regard to Malchair, as both men were foreign musicians and spent weekends and summer weeks engaged at country houses, entertaining and tutoring.[72] Just as for Salomon, it is not clear whether or not Malchair received a wage from such patrons: his income appears to have derived in the main from his work as a drawing master and as band leader at the Oxford Music Room, but the fact that he made drawings at a variety

[69] Deborah Adams Rohr, 'A Profession of Artisans: The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians, 1750-1850' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1983), p. 98.
[70] Michael Tilmouth, 'The Beginnings of Provincial Concert Life in England', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. by Christopher Hogwood and Richard Luckett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1–18 (p. 12).
[71] Deborah Adams Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Roz Southey, *The Ingenious Mr Avison: Making Music and Money in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2009); Ian Woodfield, *Salomon and the Burneys: Private Patronage and a Public Career*, Royal Musical Association Monographs; No. 12 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
[72] Woodfield, pp. 4 and 23.

of country houses indicates that he at least visited, probably taking on a role somewhere between guest and professional.[73]

The Oxford (now Holywell) Music Room opened in 1748, and originally seated around 400 people.[74] In the eighteenth century the Oxford Music Room occupied the grey area between amateur and professional music (which were separated by only the blurriest of lines in this period), operating as a music club lending music for home rendition by amateurs, but run by a body of stewards who managed the day-to-day administration of the building, organised rehearsals, loaned instruments, and promoted concerts for which professional musicians were auditioned, hired and paid.

It is possible to imagine the life of a performer at the Oxford Music Room based on notices from the stewards printed in Jackson's Oxford Journal, and by comparing to other performance spaces of the period: authors such as Jennifer Hall-Witt, Simon McVeigh, William Weber, and Susan Wollenberg have vividly described such scenes.[75] For example, in 1773 members were asked not to allow dogs to wander into the Music Room; in 1787 audiences at the Sheldonian were instructed to refrain from requesting encores so that the performances could progress; and in Edinburgh there was a

[73] For example, John Malchair, *Mr Lamberts, Hope End, 9th Sep: 1768. Herefordshire*, Corpus Christi College Library, Sketchbook V, p. 4; John Malchair, *Harleyford, the Seat of Mr Clayton near Marlow*, 1769, Corpus Christi College Library, V 19.
[74] Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 1–3.
[75] Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880*, Becoming Modern (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press ; Hanover ; London, 2007); Simon McVeigh, 'The Violinist in London's Concert Life, 1750-1784 : Felice Giardini and His Contemporaries' (unpublished DPhil, University of Oxford, 1989); William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste : Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.*

prohibition on throwing things at the band.[76] As described above, Malchair's violin was broken in 1792 by an orange thrown from the audience 'in the midst of such an uproar as I never heard before at any place of public entertainment',[77] and it can be surmised that it was this, alongside the struggling finances of the Music Room, that prompted his resignation from the band, aged sixty-two.

While Malchair himself was among the professional musicians at Oxford's Music Room and was paid for his work, this is not to say he did not also participate in music purely for enjoyment. William Crotch's biographical notes state that Malchair knew many tunes by heart, which he played to Crotch after he became blind, for Crotch to write down. It is unlikely that these country dances were part of the repertoire for the music room (they are not listed in any extant concert programmes), and it would be interesting to know with whom, if anyone, Malchair played these tunes, and in what context. Outside of their professional engagements Malchair mixed with some of his Music Room colleagues socially and with a number of gentlemen amateurs, some of whose names are recorded in his tunebooks for having sung him melodies for his collection. Roz Southey has described the difficulty some gentlemen experienced in retaining social respect when they became involved in musical activity: as a result, amateur players were usually not named in the programme, while 'trade' musicians were, which makes it difficult to know which local musical gentlemen Malchair might have known, if he did not refer to them in his own writings.[78] Those individuals named in Malchair's tunebooks will be discussed in Chapter 2.

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[76] Mee, pp. 62–63 and 117; Roy Johnston, 'The Pleasures and Penalties of Networking: John Frederick Lampe in the Summer of 1750', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 219–42 (p. 222).
[77] 'Letters of John Guard', fol. 11, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc. d. 185.
[78] Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

Malchair's colleague, and probably leader of the second violins,[79] Philippe Jung, recorded that in his professional musical life Malchair had a taste for 'ancient' composers, such as Handel, Geminiani and Corelli.[80] The idea of playing older music that could be considered 'classic' was growing in popularity in the eighteenth century: William Weber, Tim Eggington, and Peter Holman have detailed the rise of the 'antient music movement' and the interaction between taste and social class, while Suzanne Aspden has written on the interpretation of Handel in particular.[81]

But while such literature contributes to an understanding of Malchair's professional life, the kind of music he enjoyed, the environment in which he played and the colleagues he worked with, there is very little written about keeping a tunebook or collecting tunes, about recording *aides memoire* for music that would otherwise be played by ear, or about searching for or studying exemplars of regional and national musical output. To understand his collecting activities, then, perhaps it would be more fruitful to view Malchair's work from the point of view of the history of collecting.

In his efforts as a collector Malchair behaved in a way that has not yet been written about for the eighteenth century, particularly for England. Malchair's collecting activities are more in line with those of the folklorists and ethnomusicologists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than with those documented for his contemporaries, and indeed, most of the literature on the collecting of such music focuses on the folk

[79] According to research by Susan Wollenberg: see 'Malchair the Musician', in *John Malchair of Oxford: Artist and Musician*, by Colin Harrison (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1998), pp. 33–44.
[80] Jung, p. 90.
[81] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England : A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Eggington; Peter Holman, '18th-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Suzanne Aspden, 'Handel's Epigones in the Late 18th Century', *Händel Jahrbuch*, 2016, pp. 251–63.

revival of the Victorian period, as in the work of Ian Russell and David Atkinson, E. David Gregory, and Mark Freeman.[82] The main problem with viewing Malchair's collection through this lens is the tendency to see his interest as 'folksong collecting', an activity well-understood by the late Victorian era but of which there was not yet a concept in Malchair's day. Even though the term 'folksong' was coined in 1773 (by Gottfried Herder in his *Essay on Ossian*),[83] the country dance music collected by Malchair and others in their tunebooks (see Chapters 1-2) was not considered 'folk' music until at least a century later, when it began to be collected alongside song.

It is noticeable that the majority of authors writing about the collecting of music do not consider that the collection of everyday, vernacular music began before the nineteenth century. For example, Jan Ling, writing about Europe as a whole, attributes the late Victorian folksong revival to the influence of composer-collectors such as Bartok in continental Europe and Vaughan Williams in England.[84] Similarly, Neil Grobman dates the emergence of 'modern standards of integrity' in collecting old songs no earlier than the 1820s, with William Motherwell in *Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern* (1827) recording songs 'almost exactly as he had heard them from folk-singers'.[85] Grobman places the origins of collecting earlier than most, but he still ignores the existence of lyric and music collectors in the eighteenth and also the seventeenth centuries.

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[82] Ian Russell and David Atkinson, *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, Occasional Publications (Elphinstone Institute); 3 (Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004); E. David Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters: The Recovery and Editing of English Vernacular Ballads and Folk Lyrics, 1820-1883* (Lanham, Oxford: Scarecrow, 2006); Mark Freeman, 'Folklore Collection and Social Investigation in Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century England', *Folklore*, 116.1 (2005), pp. 51–65.

[83] Johann Gottfried Herder, *Auszug Aus Einem Brifwechsel Über Ossian Und Die Lieder Alter Völker*, 1773.

[84] Ling, p. 2.

[85] Grobman, p. 30.

More recently, studies have begun to emerge that acknowledge collecting activities in the eighteenth century, if only in passing. For example, in his article on the work of Allan Ramsay, Matthew Gelbart describes Ramsay's work 'selecting' music to publish, although he does not specify Ramsay's sources: Gelbart simply states that in Scotland 'songs and music were copiously abundant', and that the musical culture of the early eighteenth century was entirely based upon manuscript and oral transmission.[86] Since collecting *per se* is not the focus of such scholarship, this work can be of limited use here: there are no details of provenance or methods of collecting, and no indication of what might be considered usual or unusual for the eighteenth century. Gelbart's work on the categorisation of music in the eighteenth century, however, is highly relevant to Chapter 3 of this thesis, and will be introduced below.

In order to understand Malchair's collecting practice in its proper context it is necessary to look at collecting activity prior to 1760, around which point, I believe, Malchair began his first tunebook (reasons for giving this date are detailed in Chapter 4). Music collecting – that is, writing down music for the purpose of gathering together several pieces in a single place, whether a folder of notes or printed book – was taking place at least as early as the Elizabethan period. Alongside personal commonplace books where broadsides might be tucked or words and music written down, the first published songbooks were appearing. These were known as Garlands, such as *The Garland of Good Will*, compiled by Thomas Deloney in 1595, which contained song words and poetry, with tune names given although music was not itself included.[87] With the development of moveable type and special paper for music printing, in the seventeenth

[86] Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay, the Idea of "Scottish Music" and the Beginnings of "National Music" in Europe', pp. 82–83.
[87] See E. David Gregory, p. 25.

century the Playfords, John and his son Henry, developed a virtual monopoly on music publication. Drawing much of the music from oral tradition, John and Henry Playford, and then John Young, who bought the business, published eighteen editions of *The Dancing Master*, 1651-1728, among a range of other titles.[88]

It was not only the publication of music collections that created an atmosphere conducive to a collector such as Malchair; many collections of poetry, ballads, and song lyrics were also published. A number of modern authors attribute great significance to James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland* (1760)[89] and *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem* [...] *composed by Ossian* (1762),[90] and to Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* (1765)[91] for the influence they had on the development of nationalism and antiquarianism: see, for instance, Rosemary Sweet, John Mullan and Christopher Reid, James Porter, Margaret Dean-Smith, Neil Grobman, and E. David Gregory.[92] Percy's work in particular is credited as the inspiration for folklore revivals across Europe,[93] and certainly falls in the right period to have influenced Malchair, aged 35 at its publication (although there is no evidence that he read it this early, or indeed at all). Mullan and Reid regard David Herd's *Ancient*

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[88] Stephanie Carter, 'Published Musical Variants and Creativity: An Overview of John Playford's Role as Editor', in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), p. 88.
[89] James Macpherson, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Galic or Erse Language* (Edinburgh: Printed for G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1760).
[90] James Macpherson, *Fingal: An Ancient Epic Poem, in Six Books: Together with Several Other Poems, Composed by Ossian the Son of Fingal. Translated from the Galic Language, by James Macpherson* (London: printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, in the Strand, 1762).
[91] Thomas Percy and Nicholas Michael Groom, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996).
[92] Rosemary Sweet, 'Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 34.2 (2001), pp. 181–206; John Mullan and Christopher Reid, *Eighteenth-Century Popular Culture: A Selection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); James Porter, *The Traditional Music of Britain and Ireland*, Music Research and Information Guides; 11 (New York; London: Garland, 1989); Dean-Smith, 'The Preservation of English Folk-Song and Popular Music'; Grobman, 'David Hume'; E. David Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters*.
[93] Nicholas Michael Groom, 'Preface', in *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, by Thomas Percy (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996), p. 2.

and Modern Scottish Songs (1769) as the start of a revival of interest in old songs, inspired by the *Reliques*, and according to Gregory it was in reaction to the *Reliques* that Joseph Ritson championed a more scientific approach to editing material and developed a concern for authenticity, as expressed in the preface to his *Select Collection of English Songs* (1783).[94] Gregory labels Ritson the first major scholar-collector and publisher of old English vernacular songs, turning the collecting of music into a more systematic endeavour, with concern for the provenance and history of the items he collected for publication. There are similarities in method between Ritson and Malchair, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, and the publications of Macpherson, Percy and Herd may have influenced each of their approaches, as well as growing out of and helping to sustain a spirit of collecting in the mid-eighteenth century.

Some of the earliest printed collections of music were those produced by John and Henry Playford in the second half of the seventeenth century. Though printed in London, the Playfords' books contained tunes that were Scottish in style and often origin too, and the early eighteenth century saw a range of publications that fed the 'fad' for Scots tunes and 'Fascination for all things Celtic'.[95] The development of music printing in Edinburgh helped this business flourish. A chronological sample of the publications of this type referred to in this thesis is given in Appendix 4. In addition to printing tunes collected from oral circulation, composers devised new melodies in what they perceived as a Scottish style, often based on pentatonic scales, and it was perhaps this concept of the Scottish 'sound' that Malchair had in mind when he categorised the 'Scotch Tunes' in his collection. Robert Burns, among others, composed new words to

[94] Mullan and Reid, p. 78; E. David Gregory, pp. 38–40.
[95] Porter, p. xx.

existing tunes, also editing tunes to fit the words better; a number of these songs (words with tunes in piano arrangement) were published in James Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum* (6 volumes, 1787-1803).[96] These publications were successful outside of Scotland, with many others printed in London, such as George Thomson's *A Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs* (1793).[97]

Collections of lyrics and music from other parts of Britain and Ireland were also being printed. The publications available, and in particular those which Malchair used, will be discussed in Chapters 1-2. Mention of English music is conspicuously absent from the publications record (despite the printing of many of these collections in London) other than in Burk Thumoth's *Twelve English and Twelve Irish Airs* (c.1746),[98] Joseph Ritson's *English Songs* (1783) – although this contained only lyrics until its third volume, and James Aird's *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs* (6 volumes, 1782-1801) – although in these volumes the tunes were not individually categorised.

While there were certainly English-composed and English-style tunes in use and circulating in England at this time, the collecting impulse tended to focus on the foreign, particularly the Scottish, Welsh and Irish. This reflected and reinforced the popularity of what was being printed, particularly in Edinburgh. The outpouring of collections of Scottish tunes (as well as poetry and history) from the Scottish press, most notably by

[96] James Johnson, *The Scots Musical Museum: Humbly Dedicated to the Catch Club, Instituted at Edin. June 1771* (Edinburgh: N. Stewart, R. Bremner, Corri & Sutherland, R. Ross, 1787-1803), volumes I–VI. A more accessible modern edition is Murray Pittock, ed. *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns: Volumes II and III: The Scots Musical Museum* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
[97] George Thomson, *A Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs for the Voice. With Introductory and Concluding Symphonies by [Various Composers]* (London: T. Preston, 1793).
[98] Burk Thumoth, *Twelve English and Twelve Irish Airs with Variations, Set for the German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord / Book the Second.* (London: Printed for J. Simpson, 1746).

Allan Ramsay, has been presented as a direct consequence of the 1707 Acts of Union between England and Scotland, with such outputs seemingly part of an attempt to make clear Scotland's cultural independence from England.[99] It is interesting to note that while there are hundreds of such publications for Scotland, and certainly tens for Wales and Ireland, there is barely a handful for England. That the publication focus in England was on non-English music supports the idea that it was fascination with an exotic 'other' that drove the printing of collections of music perceived as foreign.

Joanna de Groot has shown that the concept of a 'nation' emerged as a new feature of history writing in the early modern period, associated with state and dynastic power and the construction of a shared history and culture. In Britain, especially after 1707, this means that the changing relationships between the dominant English and the Welsh, Scottish and Irish residents of the 'British' Isles were particularly significant for the writing of 'national' histories in Britain.[100] Colin Kidd has argued that what emerged after 1707 was not a new kind of British identity, but an Anglo-British identity in which the English were primary.[101] As such, there was no need for the English to develop distinctly national cultural, social, political or artistic expression in the way that was seen as necessary elsewhere by Ramsay and others.

Instead, the English seem to have moved in two directions simultaneously, both of which were different from what was taking place in Scotland, Wales and Ireland

[99] Gelbart, *The Invention of Folk Music and Art Music*, p. 29; Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay, the Idea of "Scottish Music" and the Beginnings of "National Music" in Europe', p. 82.
[100] Joanna de Groot, *Empire and History Writing in Britain c.1750-2012* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 9, 45–46.
[101] Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms', *The Historical Journal*, 39.2 (1996), pp. 361–82 (p. 373); see also Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 155.

respectively: either the English identified with a larger 'British' identity, to the extent that England and Britain almost became synonyms, or they retreated inwards, focusing on regional or local identities. Linda Colley described both of these trends when she wrote of patriotism and nationalist history bringing British people together against the common enemy of France, even while they maintained local identities.[102] Likewise, writing in the same year, Eric Evans argued that,

> The quest for a distinctively *English*, as opposed to a *British*, identity in this period is, in fact, one that will prove fruitless. 'British' is the dominant descriptor of patriotic identification; and at any level more local than that of 'Britain', the English were more likely to identify with their own regions and localities than with the whole country of England *per se*.[103]

Other authors have tended to fall on one side or the other, with John M. MacKenzie focusing on the local, pointing out that following the principles of the four-nation approach to their natural conclusion would reveal not only four nations, but perhaps five, six, or seven distinct ethnic identities to consider, including areas such as Cornwall and Yorkshire, and cities like Liverpool which had both an imperial outlook and large populations of people from other nations, such as Ireland.[104] Meanwhile, Krishan Kumar has focused on the overarching British identity, arguing that it was only because Scotland, Ireland and Wales were junior partners in Great Britain that they needed a secondary identity – as a kind of compensation. Had the English developed their own national identity, dissent from Great Britain might have logically followed, thus the English fastened attention on the notion of 'Great Britain' and the British Empire,

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[102] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, Revised edition (New Haven Conn; London: Yale University Press, 2009; first published 1995), p. 372.
[103] Eric Evans, 'Englishness and Britishness: National Identities, c.1790-c.1870', in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, ed. by Alexander Grant and Keith J Stringer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 223–43 (p. 232).
[104] John M MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? The Historiography of a Four-Nations Approach to the History of the British Empire', in *Race, Nation and Empire: Making Histories, 1750 to the Present*, ed. by Catherine Hall and Keith McClelland (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 133–53 (p. 136).

which is why 'it is so hard to find expressions of English nationalism in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries – whether in political and social thought, literary and artistic culture, or popular movements'.[105]

Musically, too, each of these trends is apparent in England, with both 'British' tunes (such as 'Rule Britannia' and 'God Save the King') and local tunes (the 'Lancashire Hornpipe' was as ubiquitous and varied in England as was the 'Scotch Air') being written, arranged, collected and published, to the neglect of any national 'English' tunes.[106] Suzanne Aspden has observed that other than *The Beggar's Opera* and possibly Arne's *Artaxerxes*, mid-eighteenth century English opera lacked any 'major' works.[107] Malchair, despite using Burk Thumoth's collection, which labelled twelve of the melodies included as 'English', created a title page for 'English Tunes' in 'The Arrangement', which he then left blank. Though he gave no explanation for this, it would be easy to speculate that, unlike for his other three 'classes', Malchair simply struggled to find any sources for his 'English Tunes' section. I will dispute this in Chapters 2 and 3, arguing instead that he initially intended to return to this section: he frequently removed or added in pages to his tunebooks, so could easily have cut out this page or even crossed through his title, yet the page remained intact, with the ten fols following it left blank.

[105] Kumar, p. 179 and 184.
[106] The notion of regionalism versus nationalism in England, and the question of what makes a song 'British' as opposed to being shared by more than one of the four nations, were discussed at a meeting of the Romantic National Song Network in June 2018. Their project website is due to be completed and made public in March 2019. 'Romantic National Song Network' <https://rnsn.glasgow.ac.uk/> [accessed 26 June 2018].
[107] Suzanne Aspden, 'Ballads and Britons: Imagined Community and the Continuity of "English" Opera', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 122.1 (1997), pp. 24–51 (p. 26).

Figure I.3: frontispiece of Edward Jones' *Relicks of the Welsh Bards*
Music Collections R.M.13.e.29: © *British Library Board*



Other trends can be identified outside of the musical sphere, such as the geological division of England into four quadrants, with not only a north-south divide, but also an east-west divide. According to David Matless' study of historical perceptions of the English landscape, the southern landscape was tidy and arranged as a garden, while the north was highland and wild, all unplanned muddle. To the east were large farms, while to the west was the myth-laden Celtic fringe and the West Country.[108] Such conceptions of the countryside crept into musical discourse also, with the frontispiece of Edward Jones' *Relicks of the Welsh Bards* featuring a harp player, the figure from Thomas Gray's poem 'The Bard', standing on a mountainous crag overlooking a raging river, on the other side of which stands a group of Edward I's soldiers, pointing towards him, unable to cross (Figure I.3).[109]

More broadly, the fact that nations were the category of choice for Malchair in the 1790s is interesting to observe. Taking a step back, it is evident that questions of categorisation were of growing concern to all collectors in the eighteenth century, as early modern cabinets of curiosities took on recognisably modern form as study and display collections. Collections of organic specimens, for example, were more fully catalogued and began to be used for scientific analysis: they aimed to be collections of the typical, organised by 'type', rather than collections of curious rarities and exceptions to the normal rules. There is a great deal of literature on the cultures of collecting that led to the establishment of the British Museum in 1759 (see David M Wilson, Rosemary Sweet, Horace and Katharine Vernon, Albert Gunther, Ken Arnold,

[108] David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), p. 18.
[109] Jones, *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*, frontispiece. Below the frontispiece are eight lines of Gray's poem, and the attributions: 'Drawn by [Philip James de] Loutherbourg', 'The figures, engraved by [John] Hall, and the landscape by [Samuel] Middiman'.

and John Potvin and Alla Myzelev).[110] Ken Arnold, for example, partially attributes this trend to the writings of Francis Bacon, who wanted to present the nation as an organised and unified system of knowledge.[111] There are parallels to be drawn between these early museological developments and the methodical way in which Malchair went about collecting and organising his tunes, and it is possible he had first-hand experience of various private collections at the houses of members of the gentry, whose children he taught to draw, and whose houses he occasionally visited, as revealed by his artwork completed there. He was also friends with a number of scientifically-minded men, including the Oxford astronomer Sir Thomas Hornsby, which may have encouraged his systematic approach to collecting.

Malchair's practical applications for his collection fit this broad pattern of seeking to order the world. His concern to categorise by nation is also indicative of a growing trend to define nations and their people. Matthew Gelbart has argued that 'the earliest catalyst for the extended classification by origins was nationalism', where 'nationalism' is understood to have been a cultural rather than a political phenomenon until the 1790s.[112] Other work on this subject places this shift much later, for example, Frank Howes, writing about nationalism as a motive for collecting, states that 'Although folk-song collections were made in Scotland and Ireland in the eighteenth century, there was no nationalism in English musical life till the end of the nineteenth century.'[113]

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[110] David M. Wilson, *The British Museum: Purpose and Politics* (London: British Museum Publications, 1989); Sweet, *Antiquaries and Antiquities*; Horace Middleton Vernon, *A History of the Oxford Museum, by H.M. and K.D. Vernon.* (Oxford, 1909); Albert Everard Gunther, *The Founders of Science at the British Museum, 1753-1900: A Contribution to the Centenary of the Opening of the British Museum (Natural History) on 18th April 1981* (Halesworth, Suffolk: Halesworth Press, 1980); Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious*; John Potvin and Alla Myzelev, *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).
[111] Arnold, p. 21.
[112] Gelbart, *The Invention of Folk Music and Art Music*, p. 24.
[113] Frank Howes, *Folk Music of Britain - and Beyond* (London: Methuen, 1969), pp. 89–91.

However, it is clear that Howes regards 'nationalism' in a nineteenth-century sense, rather than considering the cultural manifestations of national thought in Britain prior to this, which are more relevant to Malchair's work, as described by Linda Colley, Christine Gerrard, Suzanne Aspden, and Howard Weinbrot.[114]

Malchair's use of national categories – and also separate marginal national labels, which occasionally contradict the top-level categorisation – will be carefully analysed in Chapter 3, for Malchair's practice does not fit into the scheme described by Matthew Gelbart. Gelbart's hypothesis is that during the eighteenth century the notion of categorising by function was replaced by categorisation by geographical origin, which is still the most common form of categorisation today.[115] In the 1850s, less than half a century after Malchair's death, the scheme of categorisation he used in 'The Arrangement' was unintelligible to those who studied his tunebooks: William Chappell, who borrowed 'The Arrangement' in 1856, called it a 'map of absurdities', and his contemporary John Muir Wood commented in pencil on the tune 'Roast Beef' in disbelief: 'Placed here among Irish Tunes!!'[116] It is clear, therefore, that Malchair's categorisation was not acceptable by the mid-nineteenth century, and in Chapter 3 I will set out how Malchair's categorisation might be interpreted in a way that makes sense of both his own labels and also these near-contemporary comments.

[114] Colley, *Britons*; Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725-1742*, Oxford Scholarship Online (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); Aspden, 'Ballads and Britons'; Howard D. Weinbrot, *Literature, Religion, and the Evolution of Culture, 1660-1780* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).
[115] Gelbart, *The Invention of Folk Music and Art Music*, pp. 14–15.
[116] William Chappell, 'William Chappell to William Husk', 8 December 1856, Royal College of Music, tucked inside 'The Arrangement', RCM MS 2091; John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 71, in the handwriting of John Muir Wood.

National categorisation is a central theme of this thesis, and, in addition to providing a clear interpretation of Malchair's system, I will argue that Malchair's collection of 'national music' and his concern to categorise into national 'classes' were not motivated by national feeling in the same way as Gelbart has described for collections of Scottish music, such as those of Allan Ramsay and George Thomson. Instead I posit that Malchair's work was the product of an age where ideas of the nation and national character were constantly being discussed, and were believed to correspond to behaviours, mores and 'essences', as considered contemporaneously by David Hume in his 1748 essay on national characters, and discussed in the modern literature by Colin Kidd and Joep Leerssen respectively.[117] I will show in Chapter 3 that Malchair's understanding of his national groups and additional labels was not based simply on where a tune originated (as Gelbart would have it), but were intended also to indicate the music's style. However, I will proceed with the caveat that, as Steve Roud has written,

> it is seldom clear whether a nationalist argument is about *origin* or *use*…. It is easy to assume that if a tune is found in a particular region or country it must have originated there, and this suggestion is especially strong if the tune 'sounds like' other tunes also claimed as local.[118]

This analysis of Malchair's categorisation in Chapter 3 will be followed in Chapter 4 by an account of the contents of 'Vol. 3^{d}' and 'The Arrangement', detailing how the two books overlap and drawing further conclusions about how each was created, as well as providing evidence for some of the contents of the first two volumes of Malchair's collection, now lost. Chapter 5 considers how William Crotch added to and used the contents of Malchair's tunebooks, detailing how tunes from Malchair's

[117] Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Joseph Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).
[118] Steve Roud, *Folk Song in England* (London: Faber and Faber, 2017), p. 81.

collection were included in *Specimens* and also considering what light Crotch's work sheds on Malchair's categorisation. Before that, however, this thesis begins in Chapter 1 with a survey of collecting activity in Britain in the eighteenth century, including printed and manuscript collections of tunes (as well as songs and poetry) and highlighting various trends. This is followed, in Chapter 2, by a more specific focus on English collecting, incorporating the collection of English tunes, and the collection of other material by English people and those, such as Malchair, who were living in England.

Chapter 1

Survey of collectors in the eighteenth century

The large number of extant tunebooks and printed collections of tunes from the eighteenth century implies that it was a near-universal experience to own such items. Indeed, it was normal for upper-class children to learn a musical instrument, and most would have recorded their exercises in tunebooks; even rural fiddlers who signed their name with an 'X' had tunebooks into which they copied the latest tunes.[1] The survival of hundreds, even thousands, of manuscript tunebooks from the late eighteenth century suggests that there would then have been many more such collections that have since been lost. In print, too, the eighteenth century saw an outpouring of collections of tunes created and sold across Britain and Ireland.[2]

The collecting of music was not out of step with other pursuits of the middle and upper classes in the mid-eighteenth century. The British Museum was founded in 1753 and opened in 1759: it was the first national public museum, and it was claimed its collections illustrated the sum of human knowledge.[3] The creation of such institutions both grew out of and spurred on the antiquarian movement, as evidenced by the preoccupations of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society. Rosemary Sweet has described how antiquaries in England sought to record the remains of Anglo-Saxon monuments in order to provide their country with a unifying national past, and a sense

[1] Rebecca Dellow, 'Vernacular Instrumental Manuscript Sources 1860-1875. Paradigmatic of Popular Culture or Folk Tradition?' (forthcoming).
[2] As the United Kingdom did not include Ireland until the 1801 Acts of Union I shall use the term 'Britain and Ireland' to include England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland; the term 'Britain' shall be used to refer to England, Wales and Scotland; I shall avoid 'British' altogether to avoid ambiguity because in the eighteenth century it was often used to refer specifically to ancient Welsh culture.
[3] Wilson, p. 13.

of pride.[4] Malchair displayed a similar outlook in both his artwork and his music, drawing and painting buildings that were soon to be demolished, and recording tunes in his manuscripts to ensure they were preserved.[5]

This chapter begins with an overview of the cultures of collecting in eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland, then considers how some authors described their collections, their intentions, and their own activity, using words like 'selection' and 'editor'. I will then describe a range of music publications, considering in particular the books Malchair used, and give examples of manuscript tunebooks from Scotland, England and Wales, asking what these reveal about collecting activities in the eighteenth century. This general survey will be complemented in Chapter 2 by a more particular focus on such activities in England, and a comparison of Malchair's work to that of his contemporaries.

Cultures of collecting

While the most high profile collections were those made by rich ladies and gentlemen of, say, natural specimens or books,[6] collecting was an activity practised at every level of society. It was not only material objects that were collected, but also songs and tunes, stories and folklore, and other intangible forms of popular culture. Such collections were generally labelled antiquarian, and if published took titles such as *Antiquitates*

[4] Sweet, 'Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England'.
[5] For information on Malchair's topographical drawings see Julian Munby, 'Malchair and the Oxford Topographical Tradition', in *John Malchair of Oxford: Artist and Musician*, by Colin Harrison (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1998), pp. 45–57. However, Munby expresses doubts as to what extent Malchair was guided by an antiquarian impulse. It is certainly the case that he was not seeking absolute accuracy, and employed artistic licence to achieve particular views and perspectives, even though he almost always drew from life.
[6] For example, Charles Cobbe's wide-ranging cabinet of curiosities, Anna Blackburne's collection of animal and plant specimens, and Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland's collection of minerals and shells. Arthur MacGregor, *The Cobbe Cabinet of Curiosities: An Anglo-Irish Country House Museum* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2015).

Vulgares; or, the Antiquities of the Common People (Henry Bourne, 1725), *Observations on Popular Antiquities* (John Brand, 1777), or *A Provincial Glossary, with a Collection of Local Proverbs, and Popular Superstitions* (Francis Grose, 1787). While such publications were sometimes incredulous and even mocking in their reports of popular activities and sayings, they formed part of the movement away from a search for the strange, towards a system of measuring and classifying in order to better explain that which might at first appear anomalous.[7]

Such systems have been described in various ways by modern authors, whose analyses are highly relevant to the collection of music. For example, Ken Arnold describes three strategies variously adopted in seventeenth-century museums: describing an object (a narrative approach), defining an object's purpose (a functional approach), and ordering and arranging objects (a taxonomic approach). By analysing the objects of their study in one of these three ways (or a combination), collectors aimed to understand something about the world from which the objects had been extracted.[8] Seen in this light, Malchair's grouping of tunes was an effort to better describe and trace the characteristics of the nations to which the tunes belonged.

Susan Pearce describes how the act of collecting lifts objects away from their context, and how, once part of a collection, items remain linked to their original context only by the imagination.[9] By 1700, gentlemen philosophers no longer trained their gaze to find resemblances between the strange: now they sought to measure distinction and to classify objects so as to find an explanation for their existence.[10] Such notions apply

[7] Pearce, p. 123.
[8] Arnold, pp. 5–6.
[9] Pearce, p. 27; see also Potvin and Myzelev, p. 2.
[10] Pearce, p. 123.

equally to music and songs taken from their original context and notated in manuscript tunebooks, where the concept of 'national music' might either link or divide pieces of music and musical cultures.

By the end of the eighteenth century museums and other institutions were appearing, which formalised the tradition of amateur antiquarianism that was already a well-established element in polite society.[11] Styles of display help identify this shift, for example, collections of art began to be displayed in chronological order of creation in order to best demonstrate 'high' and 'low' points of artistic achievement. These trends reveal another aim for collectors and curators: visitors to a collection should learn rather than admire.[12] Such an aim was similarly stated by Malchair at the start of 'The Arrangement', when he wrote that 'in such cases the comparison is instructive as well as entertaining'.[13] In this way it makes sense to compare the inclusion of tunes in a manuscript or printed book with the arrangement of objects in a museum, as described by Arnold and Pearce, with the aim of understanding something greater about the musical items or the context from which they came. A collector's level of engagement with this goal can be determined by their apparent consciousness of collecting activities, their presentation and consideration of how the contents sit together in the whole, and any additional commentary provided such as source notes or music history.

That different compilers and collectors of music demonstrated different aims for their work, means that instead of regarding all of them as 'collectors', it might be more accurate to call them 'compilers', 'selectors', 'editors' or 'anthologists'. While many

[11] Sweet, p. 192.
[12] Pearce, p. 126.
[13] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 3.

did not make their aims clear, some were more willing to discuss their intentions, especially towards the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth. For example, Donald MacDonald stated in his 1822 collection of piobaireachd (Scottish pipe music, with a melodic theme followed by elaborate and formal variations) that he wanted to reduce pipe music for organ, piano, violin and flute to help students of these instruments.[14] Likewise, almost a century earlier, John and William Neal's 1724 *Collection of the Celebrated Irish Tunes* was arranged for violin, flute, and hautboy (oboe), rather than for harp, which had the effect of making this repertoire more accessible – though it cannot be known whether this was primarily for artistic or marketing reasons.[15] Meanwhile, in 1720s Edinburgh, Allan Ramsay published Scottish melodies with the aim of using them to unify and promote a sense of Scottish cultural consciousness.[16]

While it is impossible in most cases to know what motivated the creation of tune collections – profit or politics, learning or teaching – the differing attitudes of collectors are of interest here because, to understand Malchair's activities, it is more useful to compare his work with that of musicians and writers who were similarly engaged with the collecting process, than with that of those who passively accumulated music and other material. In the next section I will look more closely at how self-aware these other collectors were, and at how they defined and described their work.

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[14] In Jan Ling, *A History of European Folk Music* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997), pp. 16–17, the sentiment is attributed to 'a collection of Highland Vocal Airs, 1784', presumably referring to Patrick McDonald's *Highland Vocal Airs* of 1784. Donald Macdonald's publication, which includes the preface quoted by Ling, is *A Collection of the Ancient Martial Music of Caledonia, Called Piobaireachd. As Performed on the Great Highland Bagpipe. Now Also Adapted to the Piano Forte, Violin and Violoncello. With a Few Old Highland Lilts Purposely Set for the above Modern Instruments. To Which Is Prefixed A Complete Tutor for Attaining a Thorough Knowledge of the Pipe Music Respectfully Dedicated to the Highland Society of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Walker & Anderson, 1822).

[15] *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes Proper for the Violin, German Flute or Hautboy* (Dublin: John and William Neal, 1724).

[16] Ling, pp. 16–17; Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay'.

Collections of music

There were countless publications in the eighteenth century whose titles included the word 'collection', with many authors (or printers) including multiple 'keywords' in order to attract as wide an audience as possible: for instance, using 'new' as well as 'old', and, unusually (see Chapter 2), 'English' in addition to 'Scotch', as well as besting each other by using words like 'complete' and 'celebrated'. For example, John and William Neal's *Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes* (1724), William Thomson's *Collection of the Best Scotch Songs*, otherwise known as *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725), and the anonymous *Complete Collection of Old and New English and Scotch Songs* (printed by T. Boreman in London, 1735), as well as William McGibbon's *Collection of Scots Tunes* (1742), James Oswald's *Collection of Curious Scots Tunes* (1742), and Robert Bremner's *Curious Collection of Scotch Tunes* (1759).

Equally, some works did not feature the term 'collection' at all, despite their contents being of the same kind as those which did. For example, the numerous publications titled 'Twenty Four Country Dances For the Year X', such as Peter Thompson's for 1754 or John Johnson's for 1758.[17] There were also authors who referred to their works as a 'selection', as did John Parry (Bardd Alaw, 1776-1851) author of *Selection of Welsh Melodies* (1809), and William Napier, in *A Selection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs* (1790-2).[18]

[17] *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1754. With Proper Tunes and Directions to Each Dance* [...] *The Tunes Proper for the Violin, German-Flute and Hautboy*. (London: Printed for Peter Thompson, 1754); *Twenty-Four Country Dances with Proper Tunes and Directions to Each Dance, as They Are Perform'd at Court, Bath and All Publick Assemblies for the Year 1758.* (London: Printed for Jno. Johnson, 1758).

[18] John Parry, *A Selection of Welsh Melodies with Appropriate English Words, Adapted for the Voice, with Symphonies & Accompaniments for the Piano Forte or Harp* (London: Printed & sold at Bland & Wellers, 1809); William Napier, *A Selection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs Chiefly Pastoral. Adapted for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin by Eminent Masters* (London: W. Napier, 1790-2).

More confusingly, there is the descriptor 'select collection' chosen by Ritson for his *Select Collection of English Songs*, and by George Thomson for *A Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs*. One of the reasons to choose this more specific phrase was to distinguish the work from the mass of 'collections' available. Indeed, Ritson went some way to justify why he felt it worth publishing at all in such a congested market, writing that 'the multiplicity of similar compilations afford rather an argument for, than an objection to an additional undertaking, upon an improved plan'. In this he made clear that his work involved a careful selection process, rather than the simple amassing of material.[19] As a collector of English material, Ritson will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 2.

Not only did the titles of publications feature a range of descriptors, their compilers also described their own roles in a variety of manners. While Malchair consistently referred to 'The Arrangement' as a 'collection' and his own activity as 'collecting', he stated on his title page that tunes had been 'selected and arranged [into categories] by J. B. Malchair'.[20] By contrast, William Crotch referred to himself only as 'editor', as did Joseph Ritson in his preface to the *Select Collection*.[21] While Ritson, who objected strongly to Ramsay's alterations to words and tunes, presumably meant 'editor' only in terms of choosing the contents of his collection, the same word was used by William Motherwell (writing in 1827) to refer to alterations made to song texts. Just as Malchair took care not to edit the notes of tunes and instead included duplicates in order to 'shew how differentely the same tune is often playd in one province of the same Country, to what it is in another',[22] Motherwell explained that in Scottish ballads 'the same story is

[19] Ritson, *Select Collection*, pp. i–ii.
[20] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 1.
[21] Ritson, *Select Collection*, p. ii.
[22] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 3.

told after a different fashion in one district of the country, from what it is remembered in another'. Further, Motherwell expressed his feeling that while editors had previously merged versions to create the best poetry, 'This mode […] of editing ancient ballads [is] highly objectionable, as effectually marring the venerable simplicity of early song, destroying in a great measure its characteristick peculiarities', and he appealed to 'the collector and editor of Traditionary ballads' to give each song 'purely and simply as he obtained it'.[23] In the eighteenth century, then, the terms 'collection', 'selection', 'collector', 'selector' and 'editor' covered a range of situations, and the use of different words to describe similar activities, and use of the same words to describe different activities, resulted from the fact that, for the first time, compilers of tune collections were now collectors and editors (among other roles) as well as lyricists and musicians, a combination that had not existed before the 1720s.[24]

Since there seems to have been no clear concept of what a 'collection' or a 'collector' was, I will consider below a wide variety of material, both printed and manuscript, whether or not its creator named it a 'collection'. This survey is intended to provide context for Malchair's activities, and will also specifically identify the works Malchair used in forming his own collection and which might therefore have coloured his views.

Printed books of tunes

Almost all extant eighteenth-century manuscript sources containing this sort of repertoire were preceded by published sources, and relied on them to varying extents

[23] William Motherwell, *Minstrelsy: Ancient and Modern* (Glasgow: J. Wylie, 1827), pp. v–vii.
[24] Kirsteen McCue, 'Singing "More Old Songs than Ever Ploughman Could": The Songs of James Hogg and Robert Burns in the Musical Marketplace', in *James Hogg and the Literary Marketplace: Scottish Romanticism and the Working-Class Author*, ed. by Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 123–38 (p. 128).

for the tunes they contain. Malchair, for example, made use of at least fourteen printed sources in forming his collection, including books of English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish tunes. I will first describe four new trends in printed music collections of the eighteenth century, before providing a chronological survey of the most influential publications of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with particular reference to William MacPherson's analysis of Playford's *Dancing Master*. I will also consider scholarship on the effects and influence of the mid-eighteenth century publications of James Macpherson, Thomas D'Urfey and Thomas Percy by authors including Fiona Stafford, Howard Gaskill, Nick Groom, Karen MacAulay, Claire Nelson, David Johnson and Robert Pearsall. I will then give a nation-by-nation account of the printed sources Malchair used, with reference to research by Matthew Gelbart and Clare Nelson on Scottish tune publications, Joan Rimmer and Phyllis Kinney on Welsh tune publications, and Lesa Ní Mhunghaile on Irish tune publications.

There are several trends to highlight in the publication of tunes in the eighteenth century: first, a new focus on melodies as opposed to only lyrics, aided by improving printing technologies, and the increasing availability of musical moveable type. William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*, first published 1733, included the melodies as well as the words to songs and has therefore been viewed as a deliberate attempt to foster enthusiasm for tunes as opposed to lyrics.[25] Malchair's collection is notable for its neglect of lyrics.

Second, and most noticeable, is the intense interest in Scottish tunes, particularly in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, which James Porter refers to as a 'fad' and a

[25] Porter, p. xix.

'Fascination for all things Celtic'.[26] Many composers devised pentatonic melodies of their own which they passed off as 'traditional', and a large number of collections were published including books of compositions and arrangements by James Oswald, William McGibbon and Robert Bremner.[27] Welsh and Irish tunes also became sought after, and the most prominent collections of these were, for Welsh music, John Parry of Ruabon's *Antient British Music* (1742), *Collection of Welsh, English & Scotch Airs* (1760), and *British Harmony* (1781), Edward Jones' *Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784), and, for Irish music, Joseph Cooper Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (1786), all of which will be discussed below.

Third, there was a focus on older and 'ancient' melodies, and a new appreciation for songs learnt from oral tradition or from rediscovered historic manuscripts. In this regard, the publication of James Macpherson's volumes of Ossianic poetry, the first of which, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, printed anonymously in 1760, marked a turning point. Macpherson's work was closely followed by Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, a collection of poetry and ballads, discovered in an old manuscript and edited to suit modern tastes (1765). Subsequent publications, including David Herd's *Ancient Scottish Songs* (1769), Joseph Ritson's *A Select Collection of English Songs* (1783) and *Scottish Songs* (1794), and James Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum* (6 volumes, 1787-1803) responded to and fed back into this interest. Claims of authenticity based on the use of oral sources became increasingly common, as in

[26] Porter, p. xx.
[27] James Oswald, *The Caledonian Pocket Companion Containing Fifty of the Most Favourite Scotch Tunes Several of Them with Variations All Set for the German Flute, by Mr Oswald*, 12 vols (London: Printed for J. Simpson in Sweetings Alley opposite the East Door of the Royal Exchange, 1743-59); William McGibbon, *A Collection of Scots Tunes: Some with Variations for a Violin, Hautboy or German Flute, with a Bass for a Violoncello or Harpsichord* (Edinburgh: Printed by Richard Cooper, 1742); Robert Bremner, *Thirty Scots Songs Adapted for a Voice & Harpsichord by Robert Bremner. The Words by Allan Ramsey* (London: printed & sold by Preston & Son at their warehouses, 1750).

Edward Jones' 1802 collection of Welsh music, *The Bardic Museum*, where Jones described how the tunes he recorded were 'committed to writing from hearing them sung by old people, and from their being played by the most venerable Harpers, in North Wales'.[28]

Connected to this was a fourth trend: the concern with accuracy and 'authenticity', as the continued outpouring of publications stimulated discussion in print and in private correspondence about how much editing such collections should undergo.[29] Where conscious collecting activity may have been taking place before this point, printing commentary alongside tunes now became a common practice, and collections such as Ritson's *Select Collection of English Songs* (1783) and Jones' *Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784) included scholarly analysis of the repertoire and its history. Malchair's work fits with this latter approach of seeking to better define and explain the tunes he presented.

In detailing examples of printed tune collections from around Britain and Ireland I will begin with publications printed in England, the most influential of which was Playford's *Dancing Master*, which was also a major source of tunes for Malchair: he used seven different editions in compiling his collection, the earliest of which was the second, dated 1652 (see Figure 1.1). First published in 1651, John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* (the title of which lost the word 'English' after the first edition) contained 105 tunes and the choreography to the country dances of the same name. The

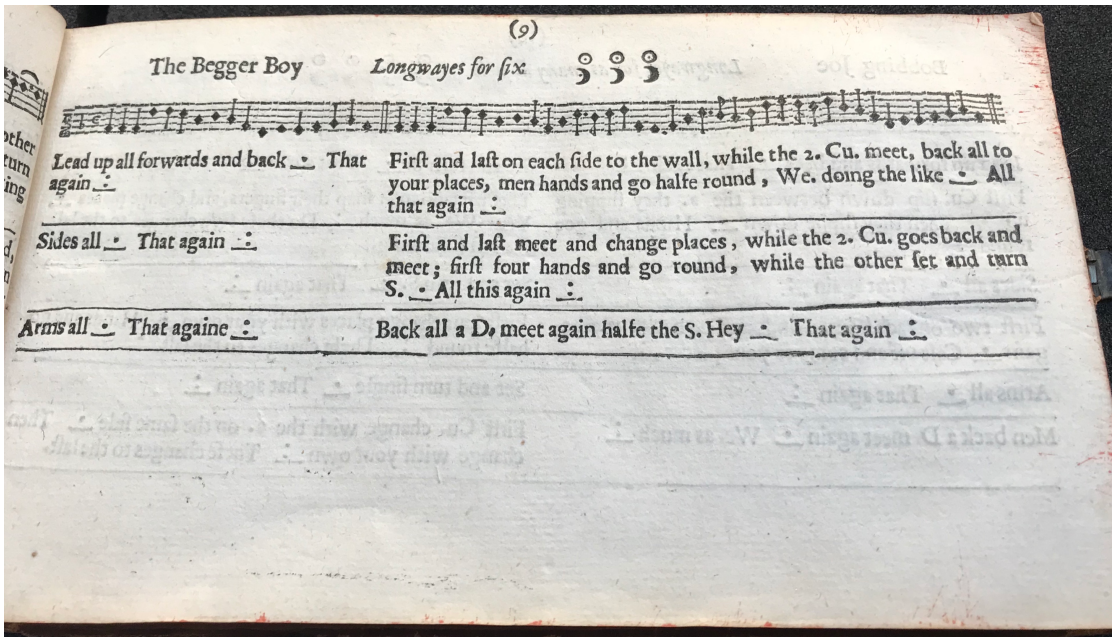
[28] Edward Jones, *The Bardic Museum, of Primitive British Literature* [...] *Forming the Second Volume of the Musical, Poetical and Historical Relicks of the Welsh Bards and Druids* [...] *With English Translations and Historical Illustrations: Likewise the Ancient War-Tunes of the Bards, Etc.* (London: A. Strahan, 1802), p. xi.
[29] Robert B. Pearsall, 'Scott and Ritson on Allan Ramsay', *Modern Language Notes*, 66.8 (1951), pp. 551–553.

book went through eighteen editions and several supplements between 1651 and 1728, during which time John passed his publishing business to his son Henry, who eventually sold it to John Young.[30]

It is impossible to know John Playford's motivation in putting together the first volume of tunes: his focus on older melodies might suggest that he was acting to preserve this repertoire, but William MacPherson, who has written the most comprehensive study on *The Dancing Master*, states that 'It would perhaps be going too far to call John Playford an antiquary, for, at least in the early years of the D[ancing]M[aster], he was probably not so much searching out old tunes for the sake of their age, as publishing the music that the country dance was commonly danced to at the time.'[31] In providing a collection for dancing masters (as the title suggests), John Playford was probably trying to provide a useful and marketable service, reproducing those tunes most commonly used and which would therefore sell most copies in print. This is underlined by the inclusion of many hits of the London stage by well-known composers of the day. For example, more than a dozen pieces by Purcell are found in the ninth to twelfth editions, though none bear his name.[32] Such a lack of annotation indicates a practical use of the book, rather than interest in the origins or history of the music.

[30] For a detailed introduction to Playford's Dancing Master see William MacPherson, 'The Music of the English Country Dance, 1651-1728: With Indexes of the Printed Sources' (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1984).
[31] MacPherson, p. 93.
[32] MacPherson, p. 76.

Figure 1.1: The Beggar Boy, p. 9, from the 1652 edition of *The Dancing Master* Wood 125: *reproduced with permission from the Bodleian Library*


(9)

The Begger Boy — *Longwayes for six*

Lead up all forwards and back ⁘ That again ⁘ — First and last on each side to the wall, while the 2. Cu. meet, back all to your places, men hands and go halfe round, We. doing the like ⁘ All that again ⁘

Sides all ⁘ That again ⁘ — First and last meet and change places, while the 2. Cu. goes back and meet; first four hands and go round, while the other set and turn S. ⁘ All this again ⁘

Arms all ⁘ That againe ⁘ — Back all a D. meet again halfe the S. Hey ⁘ That again ⁘

Another key early collection of songs and music printed in England was Thomas D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (six volumes, 1698-1720), which was originally published by Henry Playford. These books contained D'Urfey's own compositions, many of which were considered 'Scotch'[33] as well as contemporary songs. His work was incredibly popular, with ten of his compositions used in *The Beggar's Opera*. D'Urfey profited from the fashion for 'Scotch' music at this time, though he did so through his own compositional skill rather than by collecting songs from Scotland, or even from Scottish visitors to his hometown as Malchair was later to do. D'Urfey, who referred to his work as a 'Collection', described his aim as one of entertainment, to 'compleat your Diversion' when the songs and poems were 'perform'd in your merry and vacant Hours'.[34] Allan Ramsay, in an attempt to match

[33] Karen McAulay, *Our Ancient National Airs: Scottish Song Collecting from the Enlightenment to the Romantic Era*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 210–13.
[34] See the 'Dedication' to his subscribers in the 1719 edition. Thomas D'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth: Or Pills to Purge Melancholy; Being a Collection of the Best Merry Ballads and Songs, Old and New.* (London: Printed by W. Pearson, for J Tonson, 1719).

D'Urfey's success in this genre, took many of D'Urfey's 'Scotch' songs and reprinted them with Scottish spelling.[35] Ramsay's and others' Scottish publications will be discussed separately below.

The next notable English collection to appear was Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* in 1765, 'a straightforward response to James Macpherson's Ossian'.[36] Unlike D'Urfey, Percy seems to have had a broader cultural aim in mind, using his collection of forty-eight ballads and an 'Essay on the Ancient English Minstrels' to reinvent English poetic tradition, giving English minstrels a contemporary role both cultural and ideological, exactly mirroring the aims of Macpherson's Celtic balladry.[37]

Percy's work had a strong influence on Joseph Ritson who, according to Claire Nelson, 'took the antiquarian ideal to new extremes, describing all his predecessors' work as "palpable and bungling forgery, without the slightest resemblance of any thing ancient or original"'.[38] As a collector of English repertoire Ritson's methods and approach will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, but it is worth noting here that his work comes the closest to Malchair's in terms of his approach to the material, with his concern to distinguish his work as a '*select* collection' with its contents carefully curated 'upon an improved plan'. Other significant English publications of this period were the two *General Histories of Music* by Charles Burney[39] and John Hawkins.[40] Malchair

[35] David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford University Press: London, 1972), p. 131 and 134.
[36] Claire Nelson, 'Tea-Table Miscellanies: The Development of Scotland's Song Culture, 1720-1800', *Early Music*, 28.4 (2000), pp. 597–604, 607–18 (p. 608).
[37] Claire Nelson, p. 608.
[38] Claire Nelson, p. 608, quoting Joseph Ritson, *Scotish Songs* (London: J. Johnson, 1794), p.lxii.
[39] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London: for the author, 1789), III.
[40] John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1776), IV.

mentioned each of these works, though it cannot be known how much of either volume he read.

The only printed music collection used by Malchair that contains tunes individually labelled English (as opposed to simply having the word 'English' in the book's title) was Burk Thumoth's *Twelve English and Twelve Irish Airs* of 1746, from which he took just one tune, 'Bumpers Esquire Jones', and this he categorised as Irish, noting in the margin 'The Music by Carolan'.[41] I will return to Malchair's neglect of 'English Tunes' in Chapters 3-4.

The largest group of tunes in Malchair's 'Arrangement' is that categorised as Scottish, with the contents mostly taken from published books of Scottish melodies. In 'The Arrangement' Malchair wrote that he had 225 'Scotch' tunes, out of a total of 455, compared with zero categorised as 'English' – the exact number of tunes included in 'The Arrangement' will be detailed in Chapters 3-4.

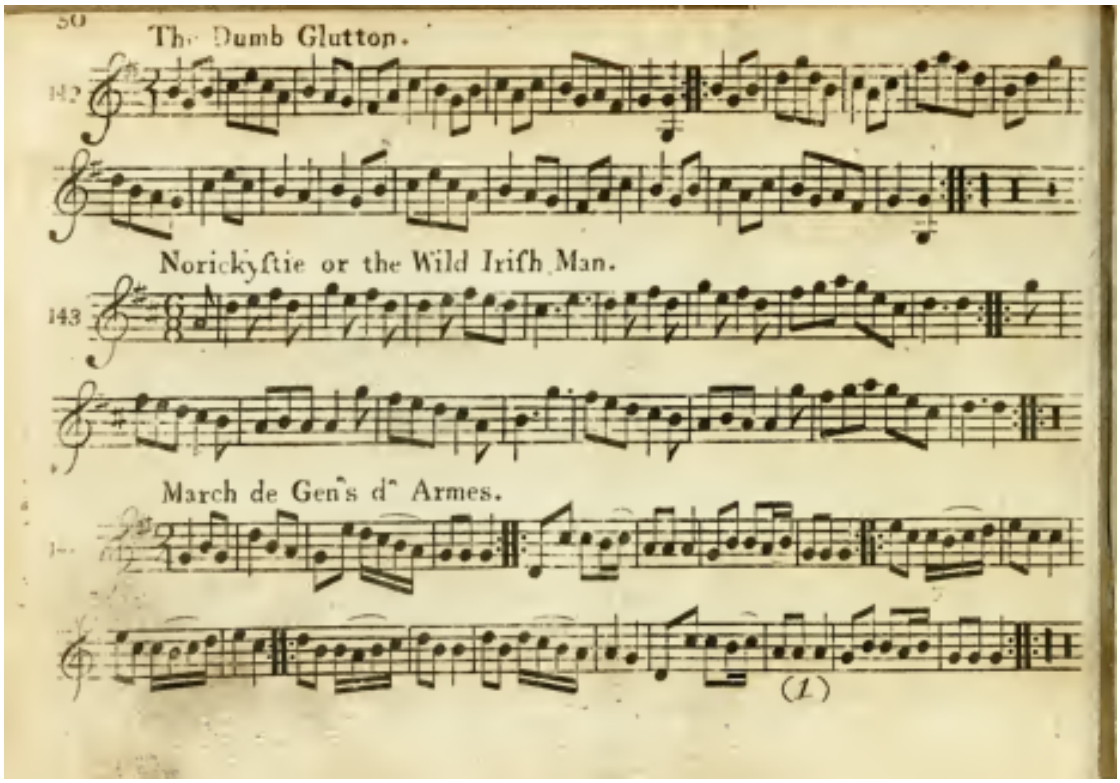
Malchair named six printed books of Scottish tunes that he had used:

- 'McGibbons Coll. of Scotch tunes'[42] – William McGibbon, *A Collection of Scots Tunes*. First published by Richard Cooper in Edinburgh in 1742, Malchair appears to have used the later edition with additions by Robert Bremner, published from 1759.
- 'Aird's coll.'[43] – James Aird, *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs*. Glasgow: James Aird, 1782-1801 (6 volumes). (See Figure 1.2.)
- 'Thomson[']s Orpheus Calledonius'[44] – William Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius: or, A Collection of Scots Songs*. London, 1733 (2 volumes).

[41] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 47 and 87.
[42] Malchair cites this collection in 'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 25. In footnotes referring to where Malchair cited a particular publication, the reference is to the citation given. Tunes taken from that collection may be spread over a number of pages, and there may be other mentions of that publication elsewhere in Malchair's tunebooks.
[43] Malchair attributes tunes to 'Aird's coll.', 'Aird's select. Vol. III' and 'a printed collection'. See John Malchair, 'Vol. 3d', pp. 75, 88–90, 101, 103; and 'The Arrangement', pp. 48, 67, 73, 74, 78.
[44] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 234.

- 'Scots Musical Museum by James Johnson, Printed Edinburgh'[45] – James Johnson, *The Scots Musical Museum*. Edinburgh: Johnson and co, 1787-1803 (6 volumes).[46]
- 'Patrick McDonald's Collection'[47] – Patrick McDonald, *A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs, never hitherto published*. Edinburgh: printed for the publisher, 1784.[48]
- 'Burk Thumoth's Coll'[49] – Burk Thumoth, *Twelve Scotch, and Twelve Irish Airs with variations*. London: John Cox, c.1745.

Figure 1.2: James Aird's Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs, vol. 1, p. 50[50]
GB-En Glen.16a(1-2): *reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland*



The first home-grown publication of Scottish music was Allan Ramsay's *Tea Table Miscellany*, first published in 1723 – although he did not publish the tunes to the songs for another three years. William Thomson was the first to unite words and music in the

[45] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', pp. 235–52.
[46] Malchair took tunes from volume 2 (1788), volume 3 (1790), and volume 4 (1792).
[47] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 72; and 'The Arrangement', pp. 110–33 where the name is spelt 'MacDonald'.
[48] Patrick McDonald's name is spelt variously 'McDonald' and 'MacDonald', both in the eighteenth century and today. As McDonald is the spelling given on the front page of his *Highland Vocal Airs*, I will use this spelling throughout.
[49] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', pp. 47, 51, 53, 56.
[50] Malchair collected the third tune on this page, 'March de Gens d'Armes' in 'Vol. 3d', p. 90.

same volume in *Orpheus Caledonius*, which was an attempt to profit from Ramsay's collection by publishing the same songs as Ramsay with melodies, figured bass and vocal ornaments.[51] It was Thomson's work that prompted Ramsay to produce his own tunes.

These publications were the catalyst for an explosion of printed musical material that emphasised the national origins of Scottish music. As Matthew Gelbart has shown, before the 1720s there was only a limited sense that ethnic identity could be expressed through the medium of music. Ramsay's influence meant that 'Suddenly tunes were being called upon less for immediate practical use, or to represent individual patrons or celebrate local occasions, and more to represent, and later characterize, a nation – to be a body of national music'.[52] This new value system meant that for people of Ramsay's generation it seemed perfectly normal to use and rewrite pan-national material to its best advantage: to have music now 'Own'd and refin'd' by Scots themselves, as Ramsay himself had put it in his 1721 poem 'To the Music Club'.[53] By the end of the century such actions would be viewed as unforgivable carelessness with ancient, communal cultural icons: Joseph Ritson, in 1794, accused Ramsay of being a 'reprehensible' editor because he rewrote material rather than preserving the 'ancient and original words', which are now 'irretrievable'.[54]

Such publications continued to appear – and to sell – with the middle of the century seeing publication of Robert Bremner's *Thirty Scots Songs* (1750) and James Oswald's

[51] Claire Nelson, p. 600.
[52] Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay, the Idea of "Scottish Music" and the Beginnings of "National Music" in Europe', p. 81.
[53] Allan Ramsay, *The Poems of Allan Ramsay: With Glossary, Life of the Author, and Remarks on His Poems* (London: A. Strahan, 1800), II, pp. 357–58.
[54] Joseph Ritson, *Scotish Song*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1794), I, pp. lxiii–lxv.

Collection of the Best Old Scotch and English Songs (1761), both of which also made use of Ramsay's lyrics while providing their own music.[55] However, the shift towards an antiquarian view of such music is evident, even without the inclusion of historical essays, in the fact that both authors felt it necessary to emphasise the antiquity of their work, labelling it 'genuine' or 'old', which contrasts with the behavior of Henry Playford and John Walsh half a century before who had emphasised the novelty of the tunes they published.[56]

As described above, the most significant publication to emerge in the mid-eighteenth century was Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760), which epitomised the shift from interest in fashionable tunes to the antiquarian pursuit of historic texts.[57] The publication of Macpherson's Ossianic poetry had three main effects on Scottish music publications. First, it stimulated an outpouring of books of Scottish song, many of which were published in London. Second, there was a resurgence of philosophical interest in this repertoire, which would affect Scottish music and its interpretation (including as a national art) for the rest of the century. Third, there was a shift in attitudes to Scottish culture both within and outside Scotland.[58] Thinkers such as James Beattie (1735-1802) and John Gregory (1724-73) questioned the origin, antiquity and national character of music and examined the link between music and language. Their conclusions were similar to those of Rousseau, emphasising the primitive origins of song and stressing the dependence of music on language.[59] The question of whether music should itself be considered a language, and its role in the origins of culture, were

[55] Bremner; James Oswald, *A Collection of the Best Old Scotch and English Songs: Set for Voice with Accompaniments and Thorough-Bass for the Harpsichord* [...] (London: printed for J. Oswald, 1761).
[56] Claire Nelson, pp. 600–1.
[57] Macpherson, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*.
[58] Claire Nelson, p. 603.
[59] Claire Nelson, pp. 603–4.

Europe-wide concerns in the eighteenth century, and were discussed in print by Condillac, Diderot, D'Alembert and Descartes in addition to Rousseau, in relation to the music of various nations of Europe and further afield.[60]

Macpherson claimed his book contained extracts of poems recalled by people in the Highlands, which he had translated. Questions of the work's authenticity were raised after he could not produce the original sources from which he had made the translations. A report of 1805, edited by Henry Mackenzie, concluded that Macpherson had based his work on popular Highland ballads, incorporating traditional plots and passages of accurate translation as part of long poems spun from his own imagination.[61] Today, Macpherson's work is presented as an accurate reflection and representation of Scottish culture an attempted by an educated Highlander to mediate between Gaelic and English tradition,[62] but in the fifty-five years following its publication, as well as throughout the two centuries following, Macpherson's work has provoked both enthusiasm and enquiry, with readers divided between admiration for the poetry and suspicion about its antiquity. For many readers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the whole question of authenticity was irrelevant: most of the enthusiasm for this best-selling work came from people who were quite unconcerned about its sources, seeking ancient literature for escapism and romance, not accurate reporting of history.[63]

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[60] For further detail on these texts see Downing Thomas, *Music and the Origins of Language: Theories from the French Enlightenment* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[61] 'Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian' (Edinburgh 1805), quoted in Fiona J. Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James MacPherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), p. 3.
[62] Stafford, in James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*, ed. Howard Gaskill, with an introduction by Fiona J. Stafford (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. xv.
[63] Stafford, *The Sublime Savage*, pp. 161 and 171. For further information on Macpherson see Howard Gaskill, *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (Athlone Critical Traditions Series; v. 5. London: Continuum, 2008) and Nick Groom, *The Forger's Shadow: How Forgery Changed the Course of Literature* (London: Picador, 2002).

Be that as it may, as a result of Macpherson's apparent fraud, a concern for 'authenticity' developed from the 1770s onwards, at the same time as the appearance of new collections by musicians such as Daniel Dow, Niel and Nathaniel Gow, Robert Mackintosh and Isaac Cooper. These musicians creatively integrated Highland and Lowland practices, while demonstrating a familiarity with (and desire to conform to) the idea of authenticity and folk purity.[64] Such concern for authenticity was also expressed by Robert Burns who, when providing lyrics to George Thomson for *A Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs* (1793), urged Thomson to ensure the preservation of Scotland's native airs in the arrangements he was commissioning from Europe's foremost composers, writing in 1793 that, 'Whatever Mr Pleyel does, let him not alter one iota of the original Scots Air; I mean, in the Song department [...] let our National Music preserve its native features.'[65]

Scottish music had a particular vogue in Europe at this time, but there was less awareness of Irish music and very little at all of Welsh, despite the fact that there had been top-level professional Welsh harpers either based in London or performing there, throughout the eighteenth century. For example, William Powell (d. 1750), the first performer of some of Handel's works, appointed harper to the Prince of Wales in 1736, and the blind harper John Parry of Ruabon (1710-1782).[66]

[64] Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay', p. 108.
[65] *Robert Burns: The Complete Letters*, ed. J. A. Mackay (Darvel, Ayrshire, 1987; R/1990), p.629: letter from Burns to Thomson, 26 Apr [1793], quoted in Nelson, p. 613.
[66] Joan Rimmer, 'Edward Jones's Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards, 1784: A Re-Assessment', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 39 (1986), pp. 77–96 (p. 77).

Malchair made use of two printed sources of Welsh tunes:

- 'Antient Welsh airs – John Parry's Coll. printed by longman & Broderip'[67] – John Parry, *British Harmony being a Collection of Antient Welsh Airs the traditional remains of those originally sung by the bards of Wales*. First published 1781.[68] (See Figure 1.3.)

- 'Jones p.71. Very little of the Amoroso in this my Master Jones.'[69] – Edward Jones, *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards: preserved, by tradition and authentic manuscripts, from very remote antiquity; and never before published*. London: for the author, 1784.

John Parry published three collections of Welsh tunes: *Antient British Music* (1742), which was put together with the help of Evan Williams, a harper, organist and Welsh versifier; *A Collection of Welsh, English & Scotch Airs with new variations, also Four new lessons for the harp or harpsichord* (1760); and *British Harmony: Being a Collection of Ancient Welsh Airs, the Traditional Remains of those originally sung by the Bards of Wales* (1781).[70] This third book, a page of which is shown in Figure 1.3, was the one used by Malchair as a source for his collection. It contains forty-two tunes, including ballad and carol tunes, popular Welsh melodies and harp airs.[71]

[67] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', pp. 16, 27, and 37. I have not been able to find a copy of the Longman and Broderip edition Malchair claimed to have used. It was possibly an unauthorised reprint, as the 1781 edition was 'Printed for & sold by John Parry, Ruabon, Denbighshire & P. Hodgson at his music-shop, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, London, 1781'. Jesus College, Oxford, in addition to the 1781 edition, hold an 1802 edition published by Broderip & Wilkinson, but this appeared long after Malchair completed 'The Arrangement' in 1795.

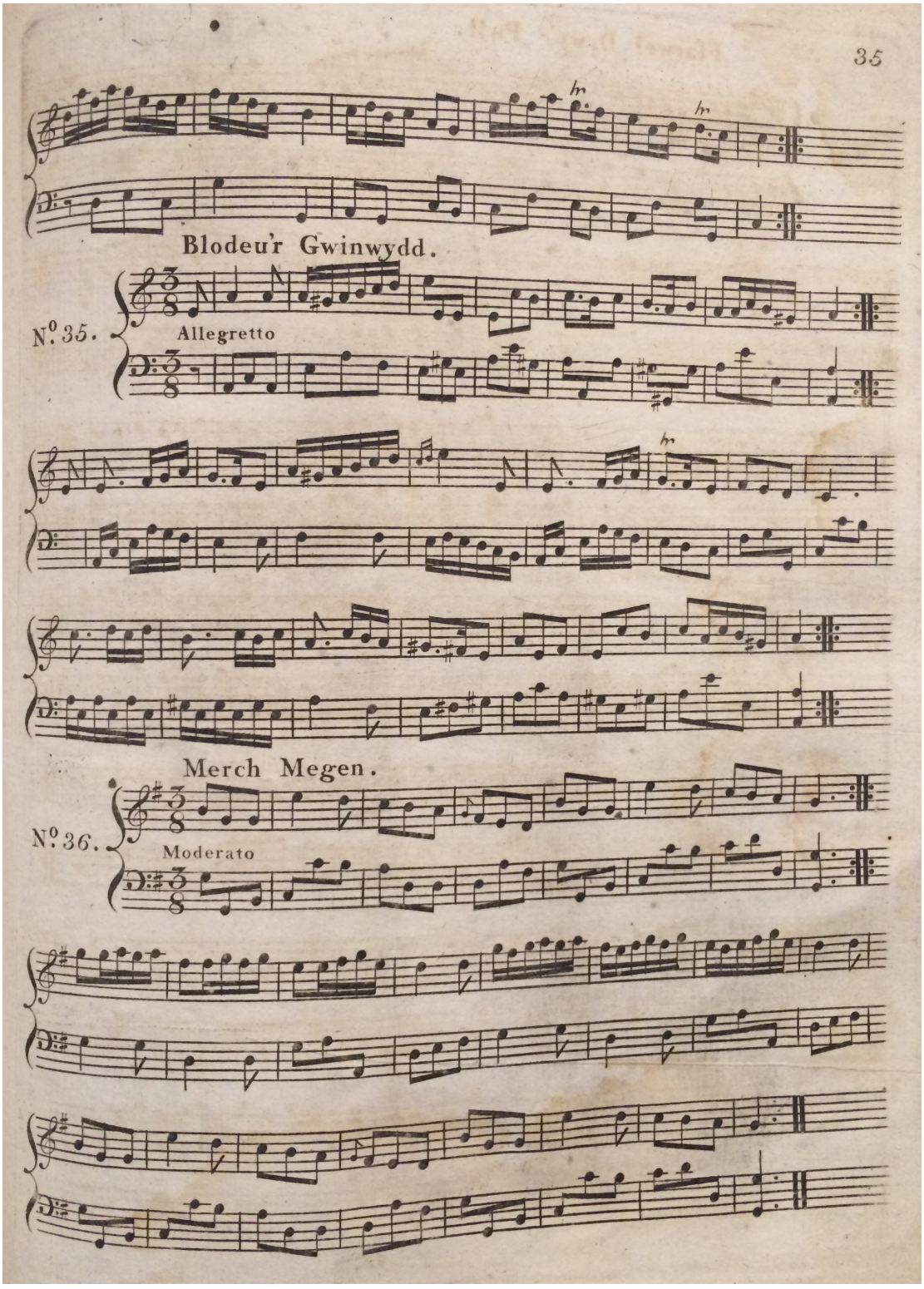
[68] It is worth noting that there were two John Parrys who published collections of Welsh tunes: John Parry of Ruabon, the blind harper (1710-1782), and John Parry, Bardd Alaw (1776-1851), whose *Selection of Welsh Melodies with appropriate English words* was published in 1809. Malchair only used the works of the earlier John Parry, and therefore, unless otherwise stated, all references to John Parry are to John Parry of Ruabon.

[69] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement'. The tune 'Alaw Salmon' is marked 'Amoroso' in Jones' Relicks.

[70] Rimmer, pp. 77–8.

[71] For more information on John Parry, and details of the tunes contained in his printed collections, see Kinney, pp. 40–55.

Figure 1.3: John Parry's *British Harmony*, p. 35[72]
Jesus College Fellows' Library L.1.25 Gall.:
Reproduced with permission from Jesus College, Oxford



[72] Malchair copied the melody of 'Merch Megan' into 'The Arrangement', p. 32.

The other published Welsh collection used by Malchair was by Edward Jones (1752-1824), a performer, arranger, composer and teacher who moved to London aged 22-3, where he lived and worked for the next half century. Jones' *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* contains twenty-nine pages of history, eleven pages on *penillion* and pastorals, four pages on instruments, a glossary of Welsh pronunciation, and fifty-nine items of music. Such a large, serious historical and literary work found its primary market in 'Welsh London': a minority among London Welshmen who powered such interests with money.[73] Jones' sources included manuscripts (though few are extant today for purposes of comparison) as well as friends, family members and correspondents in Wales.[74] The musical content of the *Relicks* was not new, and was not even consistently harp music, but rather popular music playable on a harp. However, Jones' selection of material reflects what was considered 'Welsh' at the time, and his 'History' provides evidence of Welsh attitudes even if it contains little accurate factual information.[75]

All but one of these publications (Parry's 1781 *British Harmony*) were printed in London, rather than in Wales. By comparison with Wales, Ireland had a flourishing print trade, and the first book of Irish tunes published in the eighteenth century appears to have been John and William Neal's *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes*, printed in Dublin in 1724.

Malchair used comparatively few Irish sources, and only one that was published in Ireland:

[73] Rimmer, pp. 79–80.
[74] Kinney, p. 68.
[75] For more information on Edward Jones, see Kinney, chap. 4, pp. 57–69.

- 'Walker[']s Hist. Mem. Of the Irish Bards'[76] – Joseph C. Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*. Dublin: Luke White, 1786.
- 'Thompson[']s Hibernian Muse'[77] – *The Hibernian Muse; a collection of Irish airs*. London: S. A. & P. Thompson, 1790.
- 'Burk Thumoth's Coll'[78] – Burk Thumoth, *Twelve Scotch, and Twelve Irish Airs with variations*. London: John Cox, c.1745. Also *Twelve English and Twelve Irish Airs with variations* [...] *Book the Second*. London: J. Simpson, c.1746.

Walker's *Historical Memoirs* (1786) came about as a consequence of a political shift in Ireland which meant that by the 1740s and '50s those who had previously considered themselves Anglo-Irish or Hiberno-English began to feel their political and economic interests were separate to those of England. Compounding this feeling, James Macpherson's publications of Ossianic poetry in the 1760s claimed Scottish provenance for these poems, which prompted Irish scholars to attempt to reclaim what was felt to be their own heritage and to disprove the version of Irish history offered by Macpherson.[79] With questions raised as to the authenticity of Macpherson's work, audiences for such publications began to expect a greater degree of antiquarian study and historical evidence. Walker's work was one of many books that raised issues of purity and national revival in Irish culture, issues that were being highlighted in Scotland by Niel and Nathaniel Gow and Robert Burns. As a result of this backdrop, while Walker relied on others for translations into English of the verses, he acknowledged the importance of having sources inasmuch as he almost always provided the Gaelic originals of the poems, complaining when he could not (as was the case for 'Tiagharna Mhaigh-eo') that his copies were 'mutilated' and 'incorrect'. Other

[76] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', pp. 75, 85, 93, 214–5 and 220–2.
[77] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', pp. 85–6.
[78] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', pp. 47, 51, 53, 56.
[79] Lesa Ní Mhunghaile, 'Joseph Cooper Walker's Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards (1786): Significance and Impact', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 23 (2003), pp. 232–48 (pp. 236–7).

Irish works produced in the aftermath of the controversy sparked by Macpherson included Charles Henry Wilson's *Select Irish Poems translated into English*, which appeared four years before Walker's *Memoirs*, but it was Walker's book that had the greater impact due to its wider distribution. It was not the last such work to appear, however, being followed into print by Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789), and Sydney Owenson's *The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale* (1806).[80]

Thompson's *Hibernian Muse* (1790), another book used by Malchair, includes tunes arranged for treble and bass, and a short essay on the history of Irish music drawn from Walker's work. Like many other printed collections, Thompson made clear the antiquity of the tunes included. Typical of many authors of such collections, he referred to himself as 'editor' (in a passage addressed to the reader discussing the basses added to the tunes), and called the work a 'collection'.

Manuscript tunebooks

While the content of published collections catered to a market, manuscript tunebooks that might only have circulated within a small group, if at all, provide greater insight into what musicians were actually playing, heard, or were interested in enough to copy out. Since this thesis is concerned with tunebooks in particular, I will begin this section by setting the scene, quoting several descriptions of manuscript tunebooks in order to be clear about their typical form, purpose and content, before describing individual tunebooks made in eighteenth-century Scotland, England and Wales, highlighting features pertinent to a comparison with Malchair's tunebooks.

[80] Mhunghaile, pp. 232–4.

Figure 1.4: a typical eighteenth-century personal, pocket tunebook

Reproduced with permission from The English Folk Dance and Song Society

GB-Lcs QM 3049, labelled 'Anon./MS. Book of dance tunes/18th cent.'

This book is discussed in Chapter 2, under 'Manuscript sources'.



In the eighteenth century, manuscript tunebooks were typically pocket-sized, in landscape format, measuring around six by four inches, with anything from a dozen to several hundred pages. The covers were usually board covered in leather, later books feature a marbled cover. Normally the pages would be hand-scored, perhaps using a rastrum, but could also be shop-bought ready-ruled books. Malchair's tunebooks appear to be of this latter type, although he also cut pages out and glued in extras where required.

Editing books in this way was common in the eighteenth century, and even printed books might be 'grangerised', or subject to 'extra-illustration', that is, extra pages either for text or illustration might be inserted into an existing book by someone who was

neither the publisher nor the printer.[81] This practice was so common that Burns requested James Johnson make him an interleaved copy of the *Scots Musical Museum* to which he added notes on the songs.[82] Many manuscript tunebooks feature pages cut to stubs, to some of which were then added printed material or extra sheets of handwritten music or lyrics. Such activities suggest that these books were not only working tunebooks, but also that the sequence of tunes was important, either for use by the owner themselves, or so that the work made sense when lent to friends.

As for the content of manuscript tunebooks, in his Preface to the 1896 edition of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, Thomas Hardy gives a very clear description of the tunebooks that abounded at the start of the nineteenth century, used by church bands or quires, and which he himself used when playing fiddle tunes:

> Their music in those days was all in their own manuscript, copied in the evenings after work, and their music-books were home-bound.
>
> It was customary to inscribe a few jigs, reels, horn-pipes, and ballads in the same book, by beginning it at the other end, the insertions being continued from front and back till sacred and secular met together in the middle, often with bizarre effect[.][83]

The eighteenth-century tunebooks I have viewed do often have two 'ends', but the distinction between secular and sacred music is not so clear: more frequently the back of the book contains exercises, fingering charts and other lesson materials, with tunes and other pieces starting from the front.

Francis Collinson, in his 1966 study of *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, similarly notes how common the practice of keeping a tunebook was:

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[81] 'Ashmolean Museum: Sutherland Collection - Grangerization' <http://sutherland.ashmolean.museum/Grangerization.shtml> [accessed 21 December 2017].
[82] McAulay, p. 152.
[83] Thomas Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2004), p. 162.

> It has been an established practice from the early days of the coming of the violin proper into Scotland, i.e. the beginning of the eighteenth century or thereabouts, for fiddlers to write out their own repertoire of tunes in a manuscript music book. […] These fiddlers' tune-books are of a characteristic small oblong format, of an average size of about eight inches by six.[84]

That tunebooks – even printed ones – were intended to be carried around is confirmed by James Johnson in the introduction to *The Scots Musical Museum*, where he noted that previous collections 'have been printed in such large unportable Sizes, that they could by no means answer the purpose of being pocket-companions; which is no small incumbrance, especially to the admirers of social Music'.[85]

The function of a tunebook is usually easy to work out from the sort of music contained: country dance tunes for dancing, exercises for lessons. Occasionally more specific functions are discernible from the form and layout of the music, as in the Agnes Hume manuscript compiled from around 1704, held at the National Library of Scotland, adv. MS 5.2.17, which includes four consecutive pages, fols 18-21, with identical copies of the tune 'John Anderson My Jo', the last copy featuring dancing instructions, to be shared among the musicians playing for the dance.[86] However, there is the possibility that tunes later used for dancing were originally copied out to accompany songs, and vice versa. Because of this multi-functionality of the tunes, tunebooks might be used by more than one person over time, thus a book begun by a country dance fiddler containing all the latest compositions might be used and added to by a flautist playing drawing-room arrangements with a harpsichord accompaniment. The James Lishman

[84] Francis Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, 1966, pp. 266–7.
[85] James Johnson, *The Scots Musical Museum: Humbly Dedicated to the Catch Club, Instituted at Edin. June 1771*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Sold and subscriptions taken in, by & for the publisher – N. Stewart, R. Bremner, Corri & Sutherland. R. Ross[,] Edinburgh & all the music sellers in London, 1787), I, p. iii.
[86] Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay', pp. 84–5.

manuscript, later owned by Thomas Browne, is a good example of this sort of layered ownership, and will be discussed below.

Like Hardy and Collinson, David Johnson, writing in 1984, acknowledges how common it was to keep a tunebook in the eighteenth century, and additionally comments on the motivation of these musicians:

> It is likely that many fiddlers in the second half of the 18th century had pipe-dreams of producing, one day, a printed collection of their own [but] they settled for making a private manuscript instead. Into this they would put the 'correct' versions of famous tunes (i.e. as they played them themselves – differently from the printed sets); new variations which they had made up or learnt from friends; and other excellent pieces which, scandalously, no one in Edinburgh had yet had the good sense to publish. Any remaining spaces could be filled up with items copied from the Bremner collection belonging to their friend down the road. They would spend months discussing their selection procedures and notation problems, driving their wife [or husband] to distraction; gradually, their parlour would submerge in small bits of music-paper. Finally the fair copy would be made, and might be bound personally by its maker.
>
> Completed, the manuscript was naturally far too precious to be played from, marked with fingering, or even shown to anyone but old, trusted friends. Its destiny was to become a family heirloom.[87]

In these rather dismissive comments, Johnson neglects to consider those manuscript tunebooks kept by professional musicians which never saw publication, or the fact that many fiddlers might have created tunebooks because they wanted their own copy of previously printed tunes – rather than because they were unable to publish their own collection.

A good example of the kind of tunebook described by Johnson is GB-En MS 21717, the tunebook of James Knox, a mid-eighteenth-century volume that includes music for fiddle solo and duet, as well as flute duets, by European composers of the day and by

[87] David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century: A Music Collection and Historical Study*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2005), p. 8.

Scottish composers such as McGibbon and Oswald. It contains a wide range of unattributed traditional music as well as tunes by Knox himself. The volume also contains sections on musical theory, precious stones, sea shells and notes on the arrangement of a horizontal sundial from Ephraim Chambers *Cyclopaedia of Arts and Sciences* (1728). As a result this tunebook feels very personal, for while it is large and laid out neatly as if for presentation rather than carrying in the pocket, the particular combination of contents suggests it was only ever intended to be used by its owner.

Of course, individual musicians had different reasons for wanting to create a tunebook, just as those who published collections of tunes had their own reasons for doing so. But for manuscript tunebooks it can be easier to deduce the creator's motivations, based on the tunes included and from the way the work is presented. It is worth noting that there are very few examples of tunebooks that have an equivalent in print, that is to say, the manuscript drafts of later publications, and this has made it very difficult to work out whether Malchair created 'The Arrangement' for print, for personal use, or for circulation in its manuscript form. The work of William Crotch, and the airs composed and published by John and William Crotch, are rare examples where a manuscript draft (or something like it) does exist – these will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Where Francis Collinson defines fiddlers' tunebooks as those used by 'fiddlers to write out their own repertoire', and David Johnson writes exclusively about 'private' manuscripts, Samuel Bayard coined the term 'home players', whom he credits as having the largest repertoires: they were 'those who stored up tunes mainly for the love

of the music itself, modestly distrusting their ability to play for dances'.[88] An example of this is John Brysson's tunebook, GB-En MS 3346, a book of violin tunes, although the notation indicates that the book was owned or at least used by a flute player (throughout the work certain tunes have been duplicated in alternative keys 'for German flute'). Many of the tunes also include a bass part, which suggests the owner played these tunes in various ensembles. The book has an index but, apart from this, the nature of its presentation suggests that it was a working tunebook for home use, or a rough copy from which parts were copied out onto separate sheets or into other individuals' books to play from: basses and melodies are often included on distanced pages, some bass staves have been left empty, there are occasional crossings out of titles or even whole tunes, and there are gaps between tunes on some pages while elsewhere they are crammed onto the staves.

Another example of a working or fiddlers' tunebook is that of James Gairdyn (GB-En MS 3298, c.1700-50), which contains a large number of 2-4 bar incipits, indicating the first few notes (pitches only) of each tune. The book was seemingly compiled largely for the purpose of helping Gairdyn remember tunes he already knew, while the whole melodies included were perhaps tunes he wrote out to learn. Some of the extracts are from tunes newly composed or first published around the time of their notation in this tunebook.[89] While deliberately made, his collection underwent no curation, editing or consideration of presentation or juxtaposition: tunes abandoned might easily sit alongside favourites.

[88] S. P. Bayard et al, *Dance to the fiddle, march to the fife. Instrumental folk tunes in Pennsylvania* (University Park &c.: The Pennsylvania State University press, 1982), p. 3.
[89] For example, melodies by Purcell and Handel. See MacPherson, p. 111.

More recently than Collinson, Johnson, and Bayard, in 2015 Celia Pendlebury attempted to categorise manuscripts according to function as 'domestic', 'military' or 'professional dancing master'.[90] For Pendlebury, 'domestic' tunebooks are those 'collated by people who played instruments as a hobby', and as well as tunes they often include carols, songs and pieces by named composers collected for leisure purposes, whether family use or community events. Their collectors earned their livelihoods by other means even if they occasionally received incidental fees for their music.[91] Military manuscripts, Pendlebury's second category, were those usually owned by military professionals and which therefore contain music used for marching, or with titles referencing battalions or battles. The inclusion of country dance music, hymns, and songs indicates that military musicians also played for social events, worship and public entertainments.[92] Pendlebury's third category, the tunebooks of professional dancing masters, focuses on those manuscripts compiled for use in teaching dance to the upper classes; these books contain more compositions than other kinds of tunebook.[93]

However, I find Pendlebury's distinctions do not work for all manuscripts, as many books had more than one owner over time, or the same owner had several uses for a single book. In these cases marches, 'Scotch' tunes, minuets, ballads and hymns frequently sit side by side – sometimes with other music starting from the back of the book, whether of a different kind to that at the front or separated for a reason not known to anyone but the book's creator. As a result of the spread of printed collections, much

[90] Pendlebury, p. 54.
[91] She includes Malchair's 'Vol 3d' in the 'domestic' category, although I would argue that it does not sit comfortably here.
[92] Pendlebury, pp. 65–9.
[93] Pendlebury, p. 69 and 73.

of the repertoire in all three kinds of manuscript is the same, and Pendlebury notes that of the manuscripts she studied there were more tunes common to more than one manuscript than there were tunes unique to any individual tunebook.[94]

Rather than trying to create a new set of categories, it is my aim in what remains of this chapter to describe a selection of tunebooks I have viewed that highlight some of the features and functions described above. I will also highlight characteristics that can be straightforwardly compared with those of Malchair's work: where compilers of tunebooks named their sources for tunes, where they included national, functional or other labels or categories, indications as to whether the compiler wrote the tune down by ear or copied it out, and clues as to the context in which the tunebook was used.

Many eighteenth-century tunebooks are to be found among family papers in archives that are otherwise not musical. For example, among the papers of the Browne Family of Troutbeck (then Westmorland, now Cumbria), held at the Armitt Library in Ambleside, are eight items of music that were owned and used by members of the Browne family. These include four manuscript tunebooks, three folders containing individual sheets of music, and one printed tutor book. The manuscript items were compiled by various hands from a date after 1778 (the birthdate of John Cook, inscribed in ALMS 12) and the mid-nineteenth century (Thomas Browne, c.1810-1890/1, began ALMS 11 in 1833).[95] The tunebooks are catalogued alongside sketches, newspaper cuttings, historical notes, and horological diagrams, which suggests that music was one of many hobbies enjoyed by members of the family.

[94] Pendlebury, pp. 64–5.
[95] It is not clear what relationship, if any, the Browne family had to John Cook or James Lishman, the original owners of the tunebooks ALMS 11 and 12.

The tunes in these volumes have been notated by several hands as the books were acquired from outside or passed through the family. The tunes are a combination of English, Irish and Scottish jigs, reels and marches, including 'Edinburgh Castle', 'Trip to London' and 'Set her against the wall'. No source or other textual information is given, with the titles being the only non-musical writing. These items belie the neat categories of 'dancing master' and 'domestic' employed by Pendlebury because James Lishman (1777-1849), the creator of the tunebook ALMS 11, was a dancing master, and this book was created for use teaching dancing, but then used for domestic music-making once acquired by Thomas Browne around 1833. The repertoire in Lishman's book is consistent with country dance repertoire popular around 1800, with at least seven tunes taken from the printed collections of Playford, Walsh and Aird. Spaces have been infilled by another hand, which Chris Partington estimates to have been at least fifty years later (i.e., in the mid-nineteenth century) based on the repertoire.[96] Likewise, the book of John Cook (ALMS 12) was begun in the 1770s and at that time contained only psalm tunes, but was taken over by Thomas Browne in 1833 for fiddle tunes.

A similar example of a personal tunebook is the only tunebook I have seen that was made in Wales, now held at the Royal College of Music. A book of only twelve fols, GB-Lcm MS 2086 is listed in the library catalogue as 'Fragments of a Welsh MS., containing songs and music for harp'. The book contains eleven pieces of music, ranging from a Prelude by Dr Davies, a Minuet by Evan Williams, and notes on the 'Key of Strings and Pitch', to a hymn, and the songs 'Busy curious thirsty fly', 'The

[96] Chris Partington, 'Browne Info' <http://www.cpartington.plus.com/Links/Browne/Browne%20Info.html> [accessed 13 November 2017].

Shepherd's Invitation' and 'Here ends', for which the titles and incomplete lyrics are written variously in Welsh and English, and on one occasion in both languages side by side. In its mix of content, from tunes by named composers to a song said to have been 'sung before the Knights of Arthur', and for the fact that it includes lesson material, songs, tunes and a hymn, this book is typical of the other personal tunebooks described here. It is also familiar in its form, with two or three grand staves to a page (some pages have been cut shorter), and music written both from the front of the book and upside down from the back, with no apparent reason for the split between these two locations (it is not the case, as for Thomas Hardy's musicians, that secular and sacred music are separated, for example). Malchair included the lyrics to two of the Welsh songs he copied from Edward Jones' *Relicks*, notable because these are the only tunes in the body of the book for which he provided lyrics, and he does so in, respectively, English, and both Welsh and English. As in GB-Lcm MS 2086, Malchair included tune titles in the Welsh language, as he did for Irish tunes, with only the occasional translation into English.

While Thomas Browne's tunebook ALMS 11, and the Welsh tunebook GB-Lcm MS 2086 appear to have been private stores of repertoire and contain only musical material, other tunebooks were used for more than one purpose by the same owner where paper was scarce or perhaps where the tunebook was simply handy. This sort of dual use is exemplified by a manuscript at the Cumbria Archive Centre in Carlisle: DX 74/5, titled 'The Compleat Tutor for the Violin of Joseph Barnes of Wolsty Close, 1763-1795'.[97]

[97] These dates are from the catalogue entry for the tunebook; the dates given within the manuscript indicate Barnes started using it in 1762. Chris Partington and Sue Allan have provided background information on Joseph Barnes (although the tunebook is incorrectly referred to as DX 74/2). See 'Barnes Info' <http://www.cpartington.plus.com/Links/BarnesJ/Barnes%20Info.html> [accessed 13 November 2017].

The first nine pages of this manuscript are lessons in how to hold and play the violin, almost certainly copied from an older book by a teenage Joseph Barnes in 1762 ('December ye 30th 1762' is the earliest date given in the manuscript – on a subsequent page following notes on 'The VII Liberal Sciences' is written '1763 Scholar J. Barnes'). After these pages, the manuscript takes the format of the right-hand page containing between six and nine staves with tunes, and dates ranging from 1768-9, the left-hand pages containing only text and dates between 1776-95. These three sets of dates reveal that Barnes kept this book for at least thirty-three years, using it for different purposes as the need arose. On the right-hand pages, where the tunes are notated, the key and time signatures are often incorrect or missing altogether, suggesting an attempt to notate tunes by ear, or simply the inexperience of the writer. The text on the left-hand pages consists very curiously of veterinary, horticultural and medicinal remedies, including 'for Red water in a cow', 'for a strain in a horse' and 'a diet drink by Mr Elliot'. The split between the dates of use suggests that the musical and farm-related functions of his book were not contemporaneous, and that having been learning the violin between 1762-9, for twenty years in his adult life, 1776-95, Barnes used his tunebook as a regular commonplace book for recipes necessary and useful in his work as a yeoman farmer. (See Figure 2.3.)

Some 'personal' tunebooks might be described as 'presentation' books: the MacFarlane or McFarlan manuscripts (volumes II and III are GB-En MS 2084-5) are the most obvious of this kind. Each volume is titled 'A Collection of Scotch Airs With the Latest Variations. Written for the use of Walter McFarlan of Thatilk By David Young'; volume II is dated 1740. McFarlan was a member of the Edinburgh Musical Society; David Young was a fiddler, described as 'W[riting] M[aster]' on the front of the second

volume. The volumes are large, in portrait orientation and written in a practised calligraphy; they each contain almost 300 pages of tunes with an alphabetical index at the start of each volume. Some of the tunes are labelled as being from the collections of McGibbon or Oswald, and some bear the initials 'DY' implying they are David Young's own compositions. David Young was also responsible for the Drummond Caste manuscript, titled *A Collection of Country Dances written for the use of his Grace the Duke of Perth by Dav. Young, 1734* (in the possession of the Earl of Ancaster at Drummond Castle), and a manuscript held at Oxford, *A Collection of the Newest Country Dances Performed in Scotland written at Edinburgh by D.A. Young, W.M. 1740* (GB-Ob MS Don. d. 54).

The Gillespie manuscript (GB-En MS 808), titled 'A Collection of the Best and Most Favourite Tunes […] Collected and Transcribed by James Gillespie' in 1768, takes a similar physical format to the McFarlan volumes, and likewise includes an alphabetical index at the start. Although its title page and appearance do not suggest it was the tunebook of a jobbing musician, the contents of Gillespie's volume are organised by type as 'Airs and March's [sic]', 'Scots Tunes', 'Minuets', and 'Hornpipes, Jiggs and Reels'. The inclusion of several pages of 'Lessons for the Violin' suggests that this book was created for a wealthy student of the instrument, although the lack of annotations or signs of use might suggest that the student did not get very far. By contrast, the McFarlan manuscript is not divided into sections with title pages, but it is noticeable that there are some groups of tunes of like kind: pp. 234-61 of volume III, for example, feature ten marches (each titled simply 'March') grouped together.

The use of the word ‘Collection’ in the titles of these two works is interesting, as it hints at the intention of their creators to create a book with a purpose, a book that could be read and understood by others. The inclusion of a title page at all, in addition to their neat appearance, marks these manuscripts out as ‘presentation’ books, rather than personal working tunebooks. The majority of manuscript tunebooks have no title at all, or at most simply the word ‘book’ or the date, perhaps with an indication of ownership, as in the case of ‘Yarker’s Book’ (GB-Lcs QM 5234) and ‘Elizabeth Williams/Country dances […] 1798’ (GB-Lcs QM 11749). The primary difference here may be that the McFarlan and Gillespie manuscripts were commissioned by their owners from professional musicians, while these others were personal working tunebooks created in a piecemeal fashion. Malchair’s tunebooks sit somewhere between these two situations, containing elements of formal display (a title, an epigraph, his name, the date), but with the title crammed into a corner of the page, some words of his introduction crossed out, and additional notes glued in.

In both Scottish and English tunebooks it appears rare for national categories to be given in the manner of Malchair’s collection. It might have been the case that the nationality of a tune was considered obvious by the owner of the tunebook, or that it was not important as it did not affect the tune’s use. In any case, those those tunes that did not fit the rest of the contents were clearly marked by titles such as ‘Welsh March’ or ‘Scotch Air’, which made broader categorisation superfluous. Malchair was unusual in his interest in collecting and categorising tunes from a range of nations, and for labelling these tunes clearly, suggesting that his collection may have been intended for something more than playing from.

With so few references to national categories in the tunebooks I have viewed (other than in occasional tune titles) I can only give two examples of where nations are mentioned in manuscript tunebooks, and these examples primarily show how inconsequential such references are, even where they do occur. The manuscript GB-En MS 5449 (c.1765) contains exercises upside down at the back, and from the front of the book a selection of tunes, mostly Scottish and Irish. The heading 'Irish Tunes' appears at the top of a page, but this refers only to the one page of untitled melodies, and there are tunes elsewhere in the book that would have been likely to have been considered Irish that are not labelled as such. The book includes on p. 40 a 'Venetian Ballad' by Sig^{r} Hasse, and on p. 46 a tune titled 'Mr Bremner's Jigg'. Other than a handful of such composer attributions, however, composers or sources are not mentioned.

Another example is GB-En MS 2086, a selection of Highland and Lowland songs and dances, donated to the Edinburgh Society of Antiquarians by Captain Robert Riddell of Glenriddell in 1785. The book has a two-page introduction, presumably by its compiler, Reverend Mr James Little, which notes that nine of the tunes in the book,

> are published by Monro at Paris, with excellent running Basses[.] I Believe it now to be a very Scarce Book to be gott – and this Collection is Valuable on account of many of the Trebles being Coppyed into it – The Irish Tune of Failte na Miosque – Page 36th I never before met with – This Book is presented to Cap^{tn} Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, by the Revd Mr James Little Minister of the Gospell at Colvend in Galloway – It contains 76 Scotts tunes[.]

The total of seventy-six 'Scotts tunes' includes the aforementioned tune 'Failte na Miosque' which Little acknowledged to be 'Irish', although there is not enough other information to know whether Little intended to imply the tune belonged to both nations, or whether he was simply using 'Scotts tunes' as a catch-all term for these tunes in general.

The work of Robert Riddell (1755-94) is worth considering here, although it requires a brief diversion away from manuscript tunebooks. Riddell, the recipient of Little's tunebook, was a friend of Robert Burns and author of *A Collection of Scotch, Galwegian and Border Tunes*.[98] Without naming James Little, the first page of this publication acknowledges that one of 'The two first tolerable Collections of Scottish Music, (not accompanied with words to the tunes,) [was] by M^{r}. Monro at Paris; the chief excellence of [which] is the fine Basses that accompany the tunes'. However, Riddell claimed that his book contained tunes 'chiefly wrote from Performers, who could not write or read Music', and gave notes on the individuals who provided the tunes. Riddell's short introduction is interesting for confirming the usual conflation of collections of song and tunes under the term 'music', and also for his emphasis on illiterate performers, which was becoming seen as the mark of authenticity for music collections by the end of the eighteenth century. Further, on the subject of national categories, Riddell included in his collection two tunes that he acknowledged to be 'English': 'Lassie gae milk on my Cow-hill', which he described as 'An English west Border Air' similar to 'Willie stays lang at the Fair' (which he also included), and 'Noble Squire D-Acre. Comes over the Border', which he described as 'the March of the Dacre family, which was once the most powerfull as it is one of the most ancient, on the English West Border'. I shall return to the general absence of 'English' tunes in publications of this period in Chapter 2, and discuss how a tune might be considered to belong to more than one nation in Chapters 3 and 5.

[98] Robert Riddell, *A Collection of Scotch, Galwegian and Border Tunes for the Violin and Piano Forte, With a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord Selected by Robert Riddell of Glenriddell Esq* (Edinburgh: Johnson & Co. Music Sellers Lawn Market, 1794).

As a collector, Riddell might be usefully compared with Malchair. Although there is no evidence that Malchair was aware of Riddell's work, the similarity between their introductory comments reveals that Malchair's attitude towards his purpose and his expectations of his readers was not unique. Where Malchair expressed his hope that 'by comparing [versions of tunes from different sources or regions], the reader may amuse his judgement',[99] Riddell explained that 'For the amusement of the curious in research, Anecdotes are given concerning the Tunes, when they could be procur'd by the Selector'.[100] This passage is also interesting for Riddell's use of the word 'Selector' in place of the more common 'editor' or 'collector'. Indeed, as Riddell actively sought out tunes in the field and published 'Tunes that have not appeared in print, and of Tunes formerly printed, of which very different sets are now given', he would easily qualify as a 'collector' according to the definition set out in my Introduction.[101] He does use the verb 'collect' and the noun 'collection', as well as naming individuals alongside phrases such as 'I got from' and 'I am indebted to', suggesting that he knew these musicians personally. Yet at the same time his comment that the tunes 'were Collected in various parts of Scotland, and on the Borders; for the Selectors [sic] amusement' might be taken to suggest that the tunes were collected on his behalf by someone else (perhaps James Little).[102] Either way, he seems to have viewed the selection process as separate to that of collecting in the field.

Both Riddell and Little expressed the view that the value of their work rested on the fact that it contained melodies not easily found elsewhere: Riddell emphasised this by providing a list of sources for the tunes in his collection. Little gave sources for a

[99] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 3.
[100] Riddell, p. i.
[101] Riddell, p. i.
[102] Riddell, p. i and iii.

handful of his tunes; for example, he noted that individual tunes were 'By a Lady', 'By Mr Oswald', and the tune 'Dainty Davie Ladie' has 'No 881' written next to the title, suggesting it came from a numbered collection, most probably a personal manuscript as printed collections rarely contain so many tunes. In contrast, the Lishman/Cooke/Browne tunebooks discussed above contain one or two attributions: an 'Air by Pleyel', and a tune marked 'Bishop' in the margin, but these are the exceptions, and there are no instances where more than one tune was acknowledged to have been taken from the same source.

Other creators of manuscript tunebooks, however, were more diligent in naming their sources. The manuscript tunebook of Cumbrian High Sheriff Humphrey Senhouse (1705-1770) at the Cumbria Archive Centre, D/Sen 12 Box 239_1,[103] contains 143 tunes, 100 of which were added in 1746-7 by his son, also Humphrey (1731-1814, Member of Parliament for Cockermouth from 1786, and for Cumberland 1790-96), accompanied by a note of their sources. Humphrey junior took over the book from his father and started afresh, turning it upside down and numbering his own pages and tunes from the back of the book. After the hundredth tune, at the bottom of p. 52, Senhouse junior totalled his sources as follows: 'Ed Stanley 45 – Trevor Corry 20 – Al Home 19 – Henry Mathewman 8 – Gentleman's Magazine 4 – John Casson 4'. Chris Partington has highlighted how unusual this is in his online account of these tunebooks, where he also notes that the individuals Ed Stanley, Trevor Correy, Al Home, Henry Mathewman, and John Casson were all members of the aristocracy and gentry, as opposed to the compilers of printed books, and were all personally known to the

[103] The shelf mark for this tunebook is D/Sen 12 Box 239_1, the Archive Centre's full catalogue reference is: D/Sen Senhouse family of Netherhall, Maryport - 1259-1958, 12 Printed and pictorial Boxes, Box 239 Music, [item] 1.

Senhouse family, one of the pre-eminent landed families in Cumbria.[104] Unlike Malchair, however, Senhouse only collected each tune once, and made no marginal notes or cross-references. His inclusion of lyrics (as on pp. 21 and 27-8) and notes such as 'First Part over again' (p. 50) suggests that his purpose was to play these tunes, perhaps with those particular friends, and not to compare variants.

Malchair's tunebooks, while a product of a world where it was common to keep a personal fiddler's tunebook, remain unique in both content and function. While other tunebooks were clearly made for, say, dancing or music lessons, Malchair's tunebooks can only be understood as a 'collection', although the contents are ostensibly similar to those of other books. In contrast, for example, the tunebook of Patrick Cuming (GB-En MS1669, Edinburgh 1723) appears, from the concentration of dance forms such as minuets among its contents, to have been used to play for dancing; and GB-En MS 21734 is a late eighteenth-century flute book containing a fingering chart, notes on music theory, and unprovenanced treble tunes and marches, indicating that the book was probably used for tutoring, created by teacher or pupil. Other books contain instructions that indicate the volume was intended to be played from rather than merely owned as a well-presented tunebook, as is the case for GB-En MS 21752, a late eighteenth-century book, which, though it is large and contains an index, includes a mixture of handwritten and printed material (the latter glued to pages that have been cut to stubs for the purpose) and has the performance instruction on the inside front cover, 'The Strathspay Reels are play'd much slower than the others.'

[104] Chris Partington, 'Senhouse Info' <http://www.cpartington.plus.com/Links/Senhouse/Senhouse%20Info.html> [accessed 20 November 2017].

One interesting detail about this volume (GB-En MS 21752) is that on p. 79 there appears next to the 'Duke of York's March' the note 'another page 97'. This style of cross-reference is immediately familiar from Malchair's tunebooks, although one might conclude from the lack of any other duplicates and cross-references that comparison was not the primary concern of the compiler of this volume, as was the case for Malchair.

Conclusion

Despite the detailed descriptions of tunebooks by Francis Collinson and David Johnson, and the attempt to categorise tunebooks into different types made by Celia Pendlebury, it remains impossible to delineate between one book and another in terms of 'type' because so many tunebooks were used by more than one person, or used by the same person for more than one purpose. However, it is useful to observe the different uses tunebooks were put to (lessons, storage, presentation, sharing, collecting, composing) and the different forms they took (size, neatness, choice of language, inclusion of harmony or lyrics, starting from the front and back), as well as the contents (tunes of different nations, national or functional labels, attribution of sources, cross-references, inclusion of an index).

Malchair's work shares a number of features with other books from across Britain, demonstrating that he was not unusual in his general activity and the presentation of his tunebooks, though his concern for collecting, categorisation, comparison and cross-referencing appears atypical. It is interesting to note that other than the contents shifting depending on local repertoires, the various formats of these tunebooks and apparent uses to which they were put are consistent across Scotland, England and Wales: it is

not possible to tell where a tunebook was made without considering the tunes it contains.

In trying to distinguish between the actions of different musicians and publishers in eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland, their own usage of the words ‘collector’ and ‘collection’, in addition to ‘selection’ and ‘editor’, muddies the waters: most of these authors were not ‘collecting’ material in the way that Malchair was. The level of ‘active’ and ‘deliberate’ collecting among musicians varied greatly, and it would be impossible to know what was in the mind of each ‘collector’ when they began their work and to what purpose it was put once started. However, it is sometimes possible to determine the author’s aims from their level of engagement with the music they brought together, such as in the juxtaposition of particular items or in introductory or marginal remarks, and it is only on this basis that a comparison with Malchair’s collection can be made.

Of the printed books and manuscripts I have seen, it is hard to find any that compares directly with Malchair’s work, although many contain one or more similar features. The majority of printed collections contain nothing more than tunes with titles – or song-texts with titles, and the tunes printed separately – and most manuscripts, even if they do include marginal comments, are not consistent in referencing sources (the Senhouse tunebook is a notable exception to this trend). Rarely is there any introductory text or marginal notes providing further information about either the origins of the tunes (compositionally or geographically) or the use of the music. No doubt this was because the use of the music was common sense to those who bought the books. The music could, in any case, be put to a number of uses, and, indeed, it was common for song-

tunes and dance-tunes to be used interchangeably, and in a range of situations, from formal assemblies and balls to entertainment at inns and at home. Such text would therefore have been superfluous, and might even have restricted sales by specifying a single use for the music. In this sense, then, Malchair's collection is most similar to those books that include introductions setting out the work's *raison d'être*, such as Edward Jones' *Relicks* and Ritson's *Select Collection*, and this adds further weight to the suggestion made in my Introduction that Malchair thought he might one day publish his collection.

In Chapter 2, I will focus on Malchair's direct contemporaries in England – the people he worked with and collected tunes from, and the books that were available to him in Oxford – and describe in more detail the activities of collectors, compilers and musicians in England in the eighteenth century. While the printed materials available and tunebooks made in England are broadly of the same form (and even some of the same contents) as those found in Scotland and Wales, a closer examination of collecting activities specific to 'English tunes' will help to answer the question of why there appear to have been so few tunes considered 'English' compared with those labelled 'Scotch', 'Irish' or 'Welsh'.

Chapter 2

Collecting tunes in eighteenth-century England

English tunes have long been neglected in academic study, with work on eighteenth-century music and collecting tending to focus on Scottish tunes or particular figures in Welsh and Irish music history. England seems to have lacked even the rare celebrities of collecting, such as Turlough O'Carolan and Edward Bunting in Ireland, Edward Jones and John Parry in Wales, or Allan Ramsay and Robert Burns in Scotland. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to describe collecting activity of the eighteenth century (whether or not those collectors considered the tunes they collected to be 'English'), and to locate this activity geographically in England.

Victorian commentators such as William Chappell tried to give prominence to the history of English music, against a backdrop of the popularity of Scottish music, which was widely seen as both more ancient and more interesting. Chappell expressed this in his preface to *English National Airs* (1838), where he wrote of his hope that his collection would 'excite a feeling of surprise, that while, within the last century, so many collections of Irish, Scotch, and Welch airs have appeared, in the same period scarcely one Collection of English should have been made'.[1]

By contrast, Henry Davey, writing in 1895, did not hold 'national music' or English composition in high regard, and wrote scathingly of the poor quality of eighteenth-

[1] William Chappell, *A Collection of National English Airs: Consisting of Ancient Song, Ballad, & Dance Tunes, Interspersed with Remarks and Anecdote, and Preceded by an Essay on English Minstrelsy* (London: Chappell, 1838), p. iii.

century composition, although he conceded 'There was, however, a number of short pieces, or more strictly of tunes, produced in the 18th century which have become a part of the nation's artistic possession. Every leading musician composed tunes which are interwoven with the national life, as familiar as household words. Otherwise nothing was produced of importance during the whole 18th century except by foreigners.'[2] He summed up English music of the eighteenth century thus: 'it will be seen to be a fair type of the age–solid, prosaic, respectable, dull', adding that it was only in the pursuit of patriotism that 'noble, immortal music was achieved'.[3] He had little regard, however, for music that was national or traditional in style, writing that 'The English folk-songs were more neglected [than those of other nations]; though a great number of melodies were produced [such as songs by Charles Dibdin]. Only in distant corners was the ancient folk-music preserved [as it was in Northumberland]'. By way of explanation he added, 'None of the English poets have thrown themselves upon our folk-tunes, as Burns did upon the Scotch, and Moore upon the Irish.'[4] I would argue in contrast that there was plenty of interest in English music during the eighteenth century, and that even though Scottish music continued to be more popular among both musicians and the general public, this does not mean that it was the only kind of music collected.

I will address the definition of 'national music' in Chapter 3, where I discuss the categorisation of tunes in depth, but for the purposes of this chapter I will consider any music that was explicitly labelled 'English' at the time. This will include music by English composers, music composed in England, and music considered English in style.

[2] Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (London: London: J. Curwen and Sons, 1895), p. 369.
[3] Davey, p. 431.
[4] Davey, p. 429.

One of the most interesting questions raised by Malchair's tunebooks is why, when he created a title page for 'English Tunes' in 'The Arrangement', he left this section blank. This is especially puzzling when he relied so heavily on one of the most significant tune collections published in England: Playford's *Dancing Master*. It is worth considering Malchair's attitude towards Playford's publications, for he is remarkable as perhaps the first to compare the contents of different editions, rather than using the books only to supply new performance repertoire. Margaret Dean-Smith, writing in 1957, opened her edition of *The Dancing Master* by acknowledging that the first to recognise in 'a curious work entitled The Dancing Master a source of native English melody was Jean-Baptiste Malchair'. He was, she felt, 'Concerned to refute the declaration of John Parry of Ruabon that the English, of all the inhabitants of Britain, possessed no music of their own'.[5] However, Malchair did not recognise any of the tunes in Playford's *Dancing Master* as 'English' (or at least did not record this), and re-cateogrised as 'Welsh', 'Scotch' and 'Irish' those he chose to reproduce in 'The Arrangement'. William Crotch did suggest that some of the same tunes might be 'English', or at least 'of doubtful origin' in *Specimens* (these instances will be listed in full below), but the fact still remains that it is not possible to name a single tune that Malchair definitely regarded as English, even though he used a range of English sources in his work, and collected a number of tunes that his contemporaries regarded as English.

This chapter will focus on collecting activities in England, as well as describing the earliest tune collections to explicitly include melodies considered English. I will look first at published collections that claim to include English tunes (regardless of which

[5] Margaret Dean-Smith, *Playford's English Dancing Master, 1651: A Facsimile Reprint* (London: Schott & Co Ltd, 1957), p. 6. Before anglicising his name to John, Malchair's first names were Joannes or Johann Baptist, and though he lived in France from 1750-54 I have not seen any contemporary sources that name him Jean-Baptiste.

nation they were published in), and then consider manuscript collections of tunes made in England. This chapter will also include a description of Malchair's methods and approaches to tune collecting, as a case study for methods of tune collecting taking place in England at this time. A survey of those individuals who contributed tunes to Malchair's collection will broaden knowledge of Malchair's network from his colleagues at the Oxford Music Room, as provided by J. H. Mee and Susan Wollenberg: Malchair's network included a circle of 'unsung musicians' whose profession, income or main activities may not have prominently included music and who therefore have not previously been acknowledged as musicians – despite the fact that they either performed or notated tunes and, through Malchair, had an active role in the collecting of music.

Printed sources

Many authors have remarked on the repetition of particular pieces in printed tune collections of this period.[6] John Playford's *Dancing Master* and its countless spin-offs featured many repeated melodies and these books have mixed and obscured sources. Similarly, despite its title, Henry Playford's *Collection of Original Scots Tunes (Full of the Highland Humours)*, published in 1700, contained tunes of the same Anglo- and Lowland-Scottish stock as those circulating in many Lowland-Scottish manuscripts.[7] Gelbart considers Henry Playford's collection of *Original Scots Tunes* the first modern

[6] See, for example, Tim Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music*, Music in Britain, 1600-2000 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 12–13; Kirsten Gibson, 'Author, Musician, Composer: Creator? Figuring Musical Creativity in Print at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century', in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (The Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 63–86 (pp. 69–70); David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford University Press: London, 1972), pp. 113 and 139; David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century: A Music Collection and Historical Study*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2005), pp. 6–7.
[7] Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay', pp. 89–90.

characterisation of ‘Scottish music’ to ignore Scotland’s internal rifts and present it as a whole, a feature that would subsequently characterise the publications of Allan Ramsay.

It would be impossible to say how many of the tunes printed by the Playfords were geographically from Scotland and how many were composed by English musicians in imitation of a perceived Scottish style, but the prevalence of the word ‘Scotch’ in the titles of such publications indicates the importance of this label in marketing such collections, despite the fact that anything claimed as a ‘Scots tune’ was taken as such: there were no clearly defined criteria for what made a tune Scottish. The marketing advantage of using a national label did not seem to hold true in England, where the label ‘English’ is conspicuously absent. English tunes and songs, or rather publications of collections with the word ‘English’ in the title, did not enjoy the same surge in popularity until the mid-nineteenth century.

Partially accounting for this was the popularity of Scottish music in the first few decades of the eighteenth century: Scottish music was more fashionable and already selling well, and English composers and publishers had no socio-political reasons (in the vein of Allan Ramsay) to create, collect or print English tunes. Compared with Scotland, national identity in England and therefore music labelled ‘English’ was perceived as less exciting and less interesting, so it was of no benefit to label new collections or compositions as such. In a world where most musicians and publishers copied music from each other’s printed collections and manuscript tunebooks, the lack of availability of sources for English music inevitably resulted in a reduced body in circulation. With mention of ‘English’ tunes being so rare in the mid- and even the late

eighteenth century, Malchair's title page for 'English Tunes' (alongside the fact that he never included any melodies under this heading) provides a rare opportunity for insight into the attitudes of collectors towards English music at this time, as will be discussed below.

In addition to Scottish tunes and songs, the other style of repertoire selling well in England in the mid-eighteenth century was continental European music, which was in fashion among English elites: those whose children benefited from music and dance tutors, who bought music to play at home, and who paid performers and subscribed to concert series. Claire Nelson has commented that in Scotland these practices existed alongside the singing of songs in dialect at home, around the 'tea-table' of Ramsay's title, and that such activities were practised by the upper classes as much as anyone else.[8] Such activities were rarer in England: in 1794 John Ramsay of Ochtertyre observed that 'a song in the dialect of Cumberland or Somersetshire could never have been generally acceptable in England, because [these] dialects [were] never spoken by people of fashion', while in contrast, during the 1720s 'every Scotsman from the peer to the shepherd spoke a truly Doric [i.e., Scots] language',[9] meaning, presumably, if not the same dialect, one that could be understood by other Scots in a way that was not true for dialects spoken in England.

Gradually, however, books did begin to appear that labelled their contents 'English', both in Scotland and in England. For example, *A Complete Collection of old and new*

[8] Claire Nelson, p. 599.
[9] *Scotland and Scotsmen in the eighteenth century from the MSS of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre*, ed. A. Allardyce, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1889), i, pp.18-19, quoted in Claire Nelson, p. 599.

English and Scotch Songs[10] was published in 1735,[11] and *Vocal Melody, or the Songster's Magazine* (words only) appeared from 1751.[12] 1759 saw the publication of a collection of songs (words only) sung at Ranelagh, Vauxhall and Marylebone Gardens,[13] and various books titled *Vocal Miscellany* appeared, claiming to contain both English and Scottish songs. The first *Union Song Book*, a long-running title containing 'the Most Celebrated Scots and English Songs' (again, words only), first appeared in 1781.[14]

It may seem surprising that publishers of English songs were not printing the melodies alongside the words, or even in a separate volume, but the tunes to these melodies were often available in print elsewhere, in dance manuals or sets by specific composers, or were known to musicians from popular ballads or instrumental tutor books. Such melodies were versatile, being used interchangeably as song-tunes, dance-tunes, and for performance, and there was, to judge from the lack of labelling, no interest in the geographic origins of this music.

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[10] Neither this edition, the 1736 4-volume edition, nor the 1745 2-volume edition contains the tunes, despite the full title of each stating 'with their respective tunes prefixed'. It might be the case that 'prefixed' refers to the handful of occasions where a tune is indicated in addition to the song number or title, or perhaps a separate volume containing the tunes was at one point available.

[11] *A Complete Collection of Old and New English and Scotch Songs, with Their Respective Tunes Prefixed*, 2 vols. (London: printed and sold by T. Boreman near Child's Coffee-House, St. Paul's Church-Yard; and Sold likewise at his Shop at the Cock on Ludgate-Hill, 1735), I.

[12] *Vocal Melody, or the Songster's Magazine: In Three Parts. Being a Collection of Two Thousand of the Most Celebrated English and Scotch Songs. With an Alphabetical Table of Contents to Each Volume. And a Glossary at the End of the Third Volume, Explaining the Scotch Words*, 3 vols. (London: printed for R. Baldwin, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1751), I.

[13] *The Apollo: Or, the Muses Choice: Being a Collection Of the Most Celebrated New Songs, Sung at Ranelagh, Vauxhall, Marybone-Gardens &c. &c.* (London: Printed for J. Pridden, Bookseller, at the Feathers, in Fleetstreet, 1759).

[14] *The Union Song-Book: Or, Vocal Miscellany. Being a Choice Collection of the Most Celebrated Scots and English Songs. Likewise a Variety of Favourite Airs And Catches. To Which Is Added, Toasts, Sentiments, and Hob-Nobs, &c. &c. &c.* (No. 45, Cheapside, London: Printed by and for W. Phorson/Phawson; B. Law, Ave-Mary Lane, and John Brown, 1781).

While the label 'English' was almost entirely absent from the titles of songbooks until the late eighteenth century, it occasionally appeared within the text. For example, in John Freeth's *Political Songster* (1790), the song 'A Trip from DUBLIN in search of a REGENT' was subtitled 'An English Song to an Irish Tune'.[15] Likewise, Edward Daniel's account of his tour through Wales (published 1793) mentioned 'a poor blind female harper' who 'could speak no English, nor play any English tunes, except *Captain Mackintosh* and the *White Cockade*'.[16] This comment is curious because 'White Cockade' was elsewhere considered Scottish, having first appeared in print in John Playford's *Apollo's Banquet* (first published 1669) in 1687 under the title 'Scots tune', and becoming the melody for Robert Burns' poem 'A Highland Lad my Love was Born' in 1785, in addition to being used for a range of other lyrics.[17]

Notwithstanding this smattering of references, a printed collection of melodies explicitly marketed as 'English' did not appear until Burk Thumoth's *Twelve English and twelve Irish airs with variations*, published around 1745-50, and this is the only printed collection of melodies to label unambiguously a portion of the contents (and then only half) 'English', until the appearance of Ritson's *Select Collection of English Songs* in 1783. Ritson, however, was hardly a champion of English melody, being primarily concerned with lyrics, although this work included the melodies in the third volume. As the only two books of the eighteenth century to give prominence to traditional English tunes (as opposed to those melodies by named composers selling their own work) it is worth providing more detail on these and their creators.

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[15] John Freeth, *The Political Songster Or, a Touch on the Times, on Various Subjects, and Adapted to Common Tunes, the Sixth Edition, with Additions* (Birmingham, 1790), p. 152.
[16] Edward Daniel Clarke, *A Tour through the South of England, Wales, and Part of Ireland, Made during the Summer of 1791* (London, 1793), p. 257.
[17] 'The White Cockade' <http://tunearch.org/wiki/Annotation:White_Cockade_(1)_(The)> [accessed 5 March 2018].

Burk Thumoth was an Irish editor, composer and flautist based in Bristol, although he also performed in Dublin and London from 1739. He died in 1747, seven years before Malchair arrived in England, although Malchair was also based in Bristol for a short time and was teaching music there in 1758, so it is possible that he first discovered Thumoth's work through a mutual acquaintance in that city. It seems Thumoth's two tune collections were published as an appendage to his performance career, as he was once noted to have played 'several favourite Scots and Irish airs' after a concert.[18]

Joseph Ritson's publications in the 1780s-'90s mark the start of a turn from the use of national labels as a marketing strategy, to their being a sign of antiquarian interest in traditional music. Where Ramsay and later Burns, through their Scottish music publications, wanted to revitalise the genre, Ritson's priority was to notate songs and their melodies accurately. E. David Gregory identifies Ritson as the first such scholar, presenting Ritson's work as a reaction to Percy's *Relicks*, stating that Ritson championed a more 'scientific' approach to editing the material and was concerned for authenticity.[19] As Karen McAulay has remarked, this divide between poet and antiquarian became more marked in the next generation of collectors.[20]

Although more focused on 'lyric poetry'[21] than melodies, Ritson's *Select Collection of English Songs* bears fruitful comparison with Malchair's 'The Arrangement', particularly on account of his method of collection. Not only did Ritson use books in

[18] The Bristol *Oracle*, 27 August 1745. Quoted in Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 14: S. SIDDONS TO THYNNE, p. 429.
[19] E. David Gregory, pp. 38–40.
[20] McAulay, p. 232.
[21] Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, p. i.

libraries, with 'no one song here published, which was not in print before', he also organised songs by type, and subdivided them further into classes, in much the same way Malchair did for his tunes. In Ritson's case, however, his categories were love, drinking and miscellaneous songs, with each 'subdivided into many interior portions or classes', so that 'the reader may yet perceive an attention to, and propriety in the arrangement and disposition of each [of the latter two classes]'.[22]

Ritson, like Malchair, expressed concern for gathering together the best of the genre: while Malchair wrote of Playford's *Dancing Master* that the 'uncommonly beautiful' tunes were 'involved in a crowde of Vulgarityes', but that it was 'well worth the trouble of fighting through that mob in order to Save them from oblivion',[23] Ritson wrote of his fear that 'these beauties' of the repertoire were being 'buried alive' by the poor compositions in circulation and would never be known to the general reader. He concluded by writing 'Every one who wishes to possess a pearl, is not content to seek it in an ocean of mud.'[24] Such an attitude was commonly expressed in collections of poetry as well as in those of music: for example, the Exeter organist William Jackson (1730-1803) expressed a similar sentiment in one of his *Letters on Various Subjects* (first published 1782), writing of the works of the bard Quarles he had selected to print, 'they are buried, it must be confessed, in a heap of rubbish, but are of too much value not to be worth some pains in recovering. […] My intention is to clear some of his shining passages of their incumbrances; which may occasion their being noticed, and preserved from oblivion.'[25]

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[22] Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, pp. viii, ii–iii and v.
[23] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 4.
[24] Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, p. i.
[25] William Jackson, *Thirty Letters on Various Subjects*, The third edition, with considerable additions. (London: printed for T. Cadell, And Sold By T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, (successors to Mr. Cadell) In The Strand, 1795), p. 126.

A third way in which Ritson's approach was similar to Malchair's was his interest in the ages of songs. While Malchair wrote generally of the antiquity of the music he collected, Ritson took a more methodical approach, marking some songs with an 'O.' to indicate they were old, and 'V. O.' to indicate they were very old, by which he meant composed before 1700.[26] William Crotch demonstrated a similar attitude in *Specimens*, the preface to which is peppered with remarks as to whether or not particular tunes or types of music should be regarded as 'ancient'.[27] Malchair's title page for English tunes restricted his intended selection to those 'of Modern date of Y^rs^: 17&1800',[28] distinguishing them from those tunes he regarded as 'very ancient'.[29] In addition, as set out in my Introduction, Malchair expressed his belief that older melodies were better and that by comparing several versions the less adulterated version could be teased out or discovered, writing 'The Music of oure Ancesters is descended to us rather impure t'is true'.[30] Taken together, Malchair's preference for older tunes and his implication that there was no English music from before 1700 (or at least none worth collecting), suggest that Malchair did not like English tunes. It may even have been their modernity that caused his distaste, as it was well-known that his preference was for 'ancient' music – although he evidently thought, at least initially, that there might be some more recent compositions worth including in his collection.

While both Malchair and Ritson believed that older tunes had been corrupted over time, unlike Malchair, Ritson chose from among his sources the version of each song he

[26] Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, p. viii.
[27] Crotch, I. For example, on p. 10 Crotch writes that 'The Sicilian Mariners' Hymn to the Virgin, which has lately been so popular, is simple and natural, but does not seem to be ancient', while on p. 5 he writes that 'No. 27, Ailleacan Dubh O, is inserted in O'Keefe's Poor Soldier; in which are several other Irish airs: this is considered as very ancient, and is very beautiful'.
[28] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 191.
[29] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 117.
[30] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', on a folded sheet stuck inside the front cover.

believed most accurate, where Malchair included both versions of tunes that differed in order to allow his reader to compare them, an intention he explained in his introduction. Ritson wrote that his songs were 'selected from the best editions of the works of their respective authors, and other approved and authentic publications, or corrected by a careful collation of numerous copies'. In addition, in a statement reminiscent of Malchair's diligence in naming sources, Ritson promised his collection was better than other such works on account of 'the great number of names of the real authors of the songs, prefixed to their respective performances'.[31]

Ritson's choice to include only those versions he felt most accurate, and not to include more than one version, can be accounted for by the fact that, while their methods are comparable, Ritson's aim was different from Malchair's. While Malchair wanted to save tunes from 'oblivion' and to instruct his reader and entertain, as expressed in his introductory text, Ritson's aim in producing his collection was to create 'a national repository of melody and song'.[32] An advert for the collection further confirms that it was 'designed for a standing Repository of the efforts of English genius in melody and song',[33] much as Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* was intended as a comprehensive repository of Scottish melody.[34] Ritson's focus on English songs, aside from the clarity of the title, is supported by Ritson's stated aim to eventually produce a collection of Scottish songs (his book, *Scotish Song*, was published just over a decade later, in 1794): on this basis he justified his exclusion of those in his *Select Collection of English Songs*.

[31] Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, p. vi.
[32] Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, p. xiv.
[33] This unreferenced newspaper clipping is pasted into the copy of Ritson's book at the University of California. Joseph Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1783), University of California Libraries <https://archive.org/stream/selectcollection01ritsiala#page/n23/mode/2up> [accessed 16 January 2018].
[34] Johnson, I, p. iii.

It is interesting to note alongside this that Ritson justified his inclusion of Irish songs among the English by reference to the colonisation of Ireland by the English.[35]

Such an attitude, also demonstrated by Malchair when he wrote of the absorption of Irish music by the Scottish,[36] was very much of its time. Only decades later, with the work of William Chappell in the mid-nineteenth century, were melodies strictly divided along national lines, their geographical origins traced as far back in time as possible in an attempt to achieve a greater degree of certainty in the classification of these melodies. Karen McAulay has described how William Chappell brought many of the debates about nationality and the authenticity of melodies claiming to be 'English' or 'Scottish' out into the open. However, Chappell also raised hackles, and in subsequent editions of his works sought a compromise, adopting the phrase 'Scottish by association' and accepting assimilated composed songs as being part of Scottish heritage.[37]

Though published editions of English tunes were thin on the ground even in the second half of the eighteenth century, the existence of these few indicate that such music was of interest to the general musician, and that it was of interest to people within England itself, despite not having the exotic appeal of Scottish music. Thumoth's books, for example, give equal weight to the music of the two nations represented in each case (English and Irish, and Scottish and Irish), without attempting to highlight the 'otherness' of any category. Just as with printed books of Scottish tunes in Scotland, English musicians bought these books and copied melodies into their own tunebooks

[35] Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, pp. vi–vii.
[36] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', between pp. 88–9
[37] McAulay, p. 233.

to play at dances, at music societies, and with friends. In the next section of this chapter I will turn to these manuscript tunebooks and look more closely at collecting activity in England in the second half of the eighteenth century.

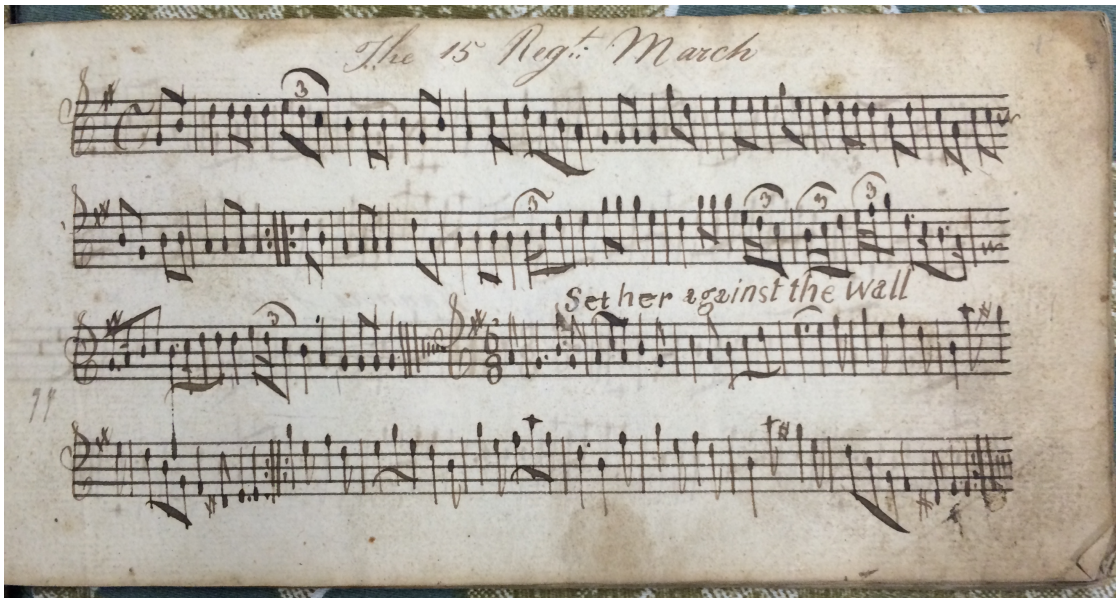
Manuscript sources

Although there is no doubt that English tunes form a significant portion of the material collected in tunebooks (personal music notebooks, tutor books, and presentation-style manuscripts) across Britain in the eighteenth century, I have not come across a single manuscript where 'English' tunes were contemporaneously labelled as such, in the same way that so many tunes were labelled 'Scots'/'Scotch' or 'Welch'/'Welsh' in both Scottish and English tunebooks and printed books. To judge by the titles of the tunes, the reason for this is that English tunes were named for their regional rather than national identity, as in the case of the 'Lancashire Hornpipe', 'Cumberland Reel', and 'Morpeth Rant'. While there are also Scottish tunes with titles like 'Perthshire Air' and indeed the entire genre of 'Strathspey' (slow reels from the Spey Valley) which emerged in the 1760s,[38] it is striking that there is no equivalent of the generic titles 'Irish Jigg' or 'Scots Tune' for England, even in Scottish manuscripts where English tunes might have been regarded as 'other' and therefore worth identifying as such. This is a conspicuous difference and, taken alongside the lack of printed books labelling their contents 'English', perhaps accounts for Malchair's apparent difficulty in finding English tunes to include in 'The Arrangement'.

[38] See Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 120–1; and Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century*, p. 213.

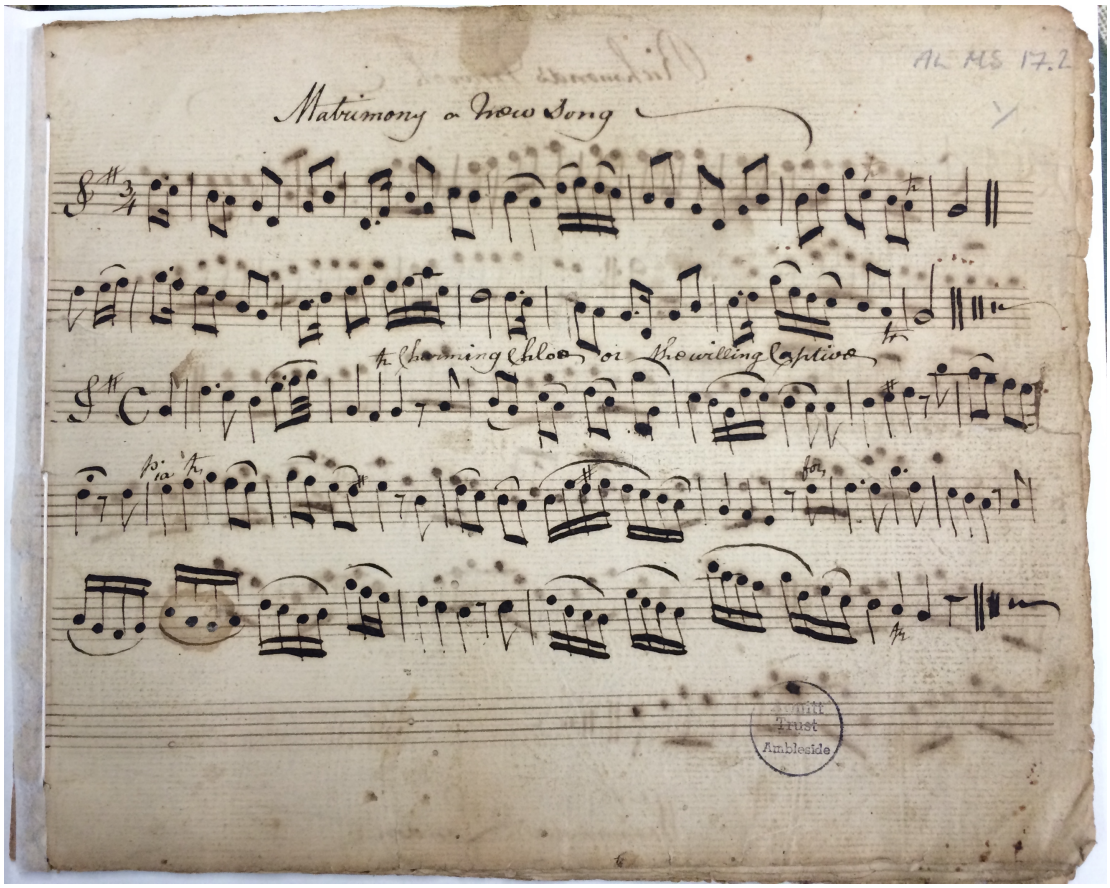
The lack of labels in the majority of tunebooks reinforces the idea that Malchair was doing something very different in his collection, even if he similarly failed to categorise any tunes as 'English'. This general lack of concern for categories also demonstrates that, contrary to Matthew Gelbart's suggestion, it was not until well into the nineteenth century that geographical labels became standard, even if they had seemed a natural category to choose for Malchair and many others in the eighteenth century – I will discuss this in further detail in Chapter 3. There is a range of similarities and differences between Malchair's tunebooks and those of his contemporaries, and likewise many points of comparison between those tunebooks made in England and those made in Scotland. By describing other tunebooks made in England in the eighteenth century I intend to show that collecting was taking place in England in the eighteenth century, and that Malchair's work, though distinct, grew out of a culture where it was normal to collect tunes in a manuscript tunebook.

Figure 2.1: ALMS 11, fol. 1
Reproduced courtesy of the Armitt Trust



I will begin by describing the physical appearance of some typical tunebooks, starting with those discussed in Chapter 1: the Browne family tunebooks (including the James Lishman and John Cook tunebooks) held at the Armitt Library, and the Senhouse family tunebooks and Joseph Barnes manuscript at the Cumbria Archive Centre. A full list of tunebooks mentioned in this thesis is given in Appendix 3.

Figure 2.2: ALMS 17.2, fol. 1
Reproduced courtesy of the Armitt Trust



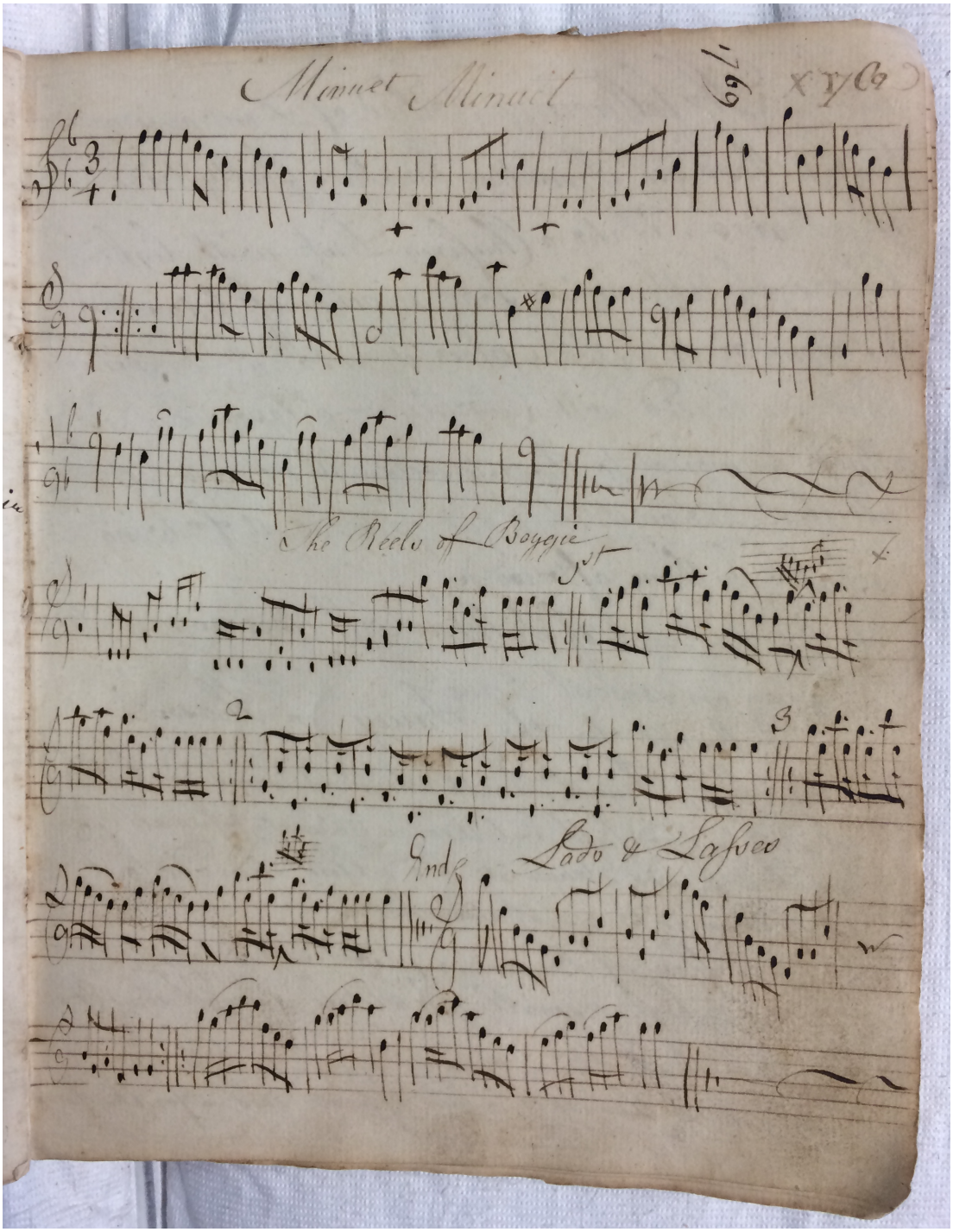
The Browne family tunebooks (particularly ALMS 11-13), though originating in different decades and from different musicians, are all similar in physical structure and layout, being narrow landscape tunebooks with only four long staves to a page, as shown in Figure 2.1. They were working tunebooks rather than presentation volumes, with tunes added at different times and by different hands, and have no index. ALMS

14 is slightly different in that it is not a pre-made tunebook but rather a series of loose sheets roughly stitched together down the left-hand margin (rather than in a central fold), although aside from having only three staves to a page the appearance of each page is like that of the other tunebooks.

The Browne family tunebook ALMS 17.2 (Figure 2.2, above) is slightly different in appearance, being taller, with six staves to a page. This tunebook contains a greater proportion of minuets and other continental dance music, so its size might be accounted for by the fact that it was never intended to be carried around in a pocket, and was instead used inside the house for dancing or music lessons; some tunes have a treble harmony line suggesting they were played by two people sharing the book. The Senhouse tunebooks, at the Cumbria Archive Centre, are of a similar larger size, with items 1, 3 and 4 (the full shelf mark preceding these item numbers each time is D-Sen 12, box 239) having six staves to a page. Items 2 and 5 appear to be presentation volumes: they are much larger, with ten staves to a page – although still of the same width – and with neat handwriting recording tune titles, melodies and also words. Item 6 is a set of loose sheets in much the same vein.

Joseph Barnes' book (Figure 2.3, below), by contrast, is in portrait layout, with between six and nine hand-drawn staves to a page. Barnes' tunebook also differs greatly in its presentation, with a title page, written introduction and fingering charts, as described in Chapter 1. As his inaccurate notation would not have been much use to anyone but its creator, the book was almost certainly made by Barnes for his own personal use.

Figure 2.3: DX 74/5, Joseph Barnes' tunebook, fol. 7 (pages unfoliated)
Image courtesy of Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlise.



Despite these variations in construction and layout, the contents are largely the same in each of the tunebooks named above: melodies without accompaniments (with the exception of item 5, Senhouse's presentation-style book, which has keyboard arrangements, and item 3, which has occasional treble duet lines), largely popular airs,

dance tunes, and the tunes to songs without the lyrics, of a mixture of English, Scottish and some other national styles.

The mixture of English and Scottish repertoire (alongside one or two Irish or Welsh tunes) is a feature of all the English tunebooks (by which I mean tunebooks known to have been compiled in England) I have seen. However, Malchair seems to have been more comprehensive than most, including in his two tunebooks not only tunes he labelled 'Welsh', 'Irish' and 'Scotch', but also music claimed to be French, Italian, German, Austrian, Polish, Norwegian, Spanish, Turkish, Scandinavian, Chinese, Virginian, West Indian, and Persian. It would, of course, be impossible to say that the majority of collections actually did contain melodies from only one nation for, as John Glen wrote in 1900, 'undoubtedly the writers inserted in their manuscripts whatever tunes pleased their fancy'.[39] However, Glen is here referring only to the musics of Britain and Ireland. There is no other collection I have seen to feature the music of so many nations, nor to label them so clearly.

The inclusion of music regarded as Scottish and English (as well as Irish and Welsh) in manuscript tunebooks, although rarely labelled as such, is evident in tunebooks made across England, and is not only typical of those from border counties such as the Cumbrian examples given above. For example, this combination is also found in a manuscript at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library in London, GB-Lcs QM 3049, a tunebook labelled by the Library 'Anon./MS. Book of dance tunes/18th cent.' (see Chapter 1, Figure 1.4 for an image of the book's cover). This tunebook is likely to have been compiled in Lincolnshire, based on the inscription 'ex libris Yarborough Anderson

[39] John Glen, *Early Scottish Melodies.* (Edinburgh: J. & R. Glen, 1900), p. 18.

(cl. 1917)', which presumably refers to the library of Charles Anderson (1748/9-1823), who was created Baron Yarborough in 1794.[40] The book is well-preserved, and the handwriting and format is consistent with tunebooks from the late eighteenth century. The contents include both typical Scottish titles such as 'Scots Bonnet' and 'Flowers of Edinburgh', alongside Irish tunes 'The Irish Washerwoman' and 'Prince Royal' (today usually known as 'Princess Royal'), and tunes with English-related titles such as 'Wakefield Hunt', 'Lincolnshire Lads' and 'Norfolk Freeholders', which give further support to the idea that this book was created in or near Lincolnshire. Based on the contents of the tunebooks I have viewed at the National Library of Scotland, I would consider it unusual to find tunes with English regions in their titles in tunebooks compiled in Scotland.

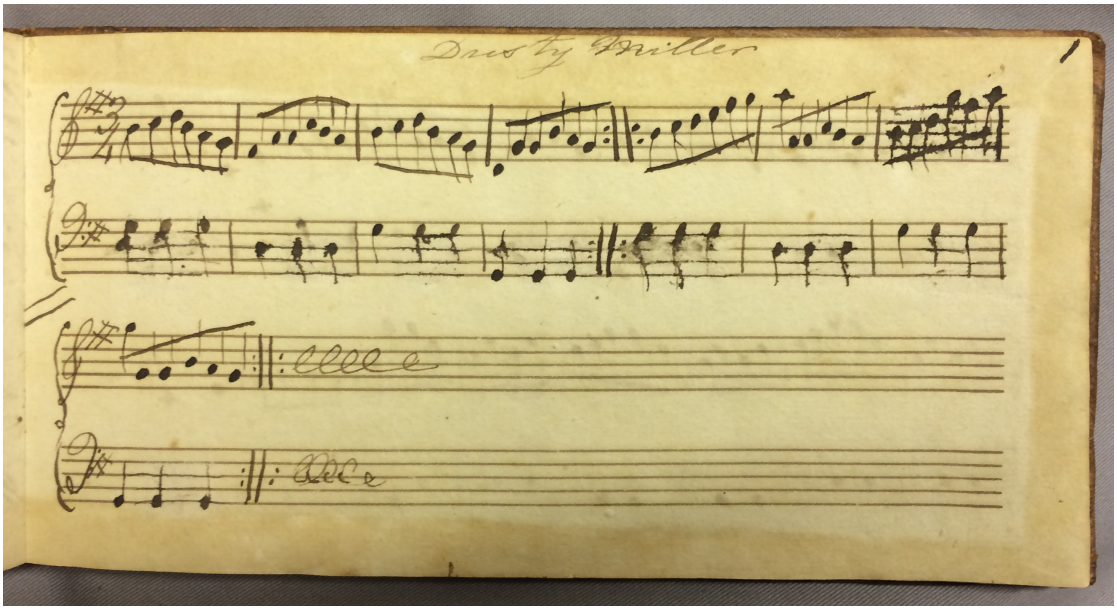
Aside from the near-ubiquitous 'Flowers of Edinburgh' and 'Irish Washerwoman', there are other common overlaps in content between tunebooks compiled in Scotland and England, including tunes with titles like 'Dibdin's Fancy' and 'Pleyel's Air'. Tunes with named composers are common in manuscript tunebooks in both England and Scotland, but are rarely found in Malchair's collection: the only composers named in Malchair's tunebooks are Carolan,[41] James I of Scotland,[42] William Shield[43] (a contemporary popular composer based in County Durham, best known for his comic

[40] He added his grandmother's maiden name, Pelham, to his own in 1763. Today the Lincolnshire village is known as Yarburgh, though the baronetcy retains the old spelling.
[41] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 47, although this is not the only tune composed by Carolan collected by Malchair.
[42] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 149, Malchair's attribution reveals his scepticism: 'This tune and the wordes to it are supposed to be ye composition of [...]'.
[43] John Malchair, 'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 7. The note refers to Shield as composer of the comic opera *Rosina*, rather than specifically of the tune 'The Maid of the Mill', which is used in the opera.

opera *Rosina* of 1781),[44] Ely ('a German, and of the Dukes Band'),[45] and himself.[46]

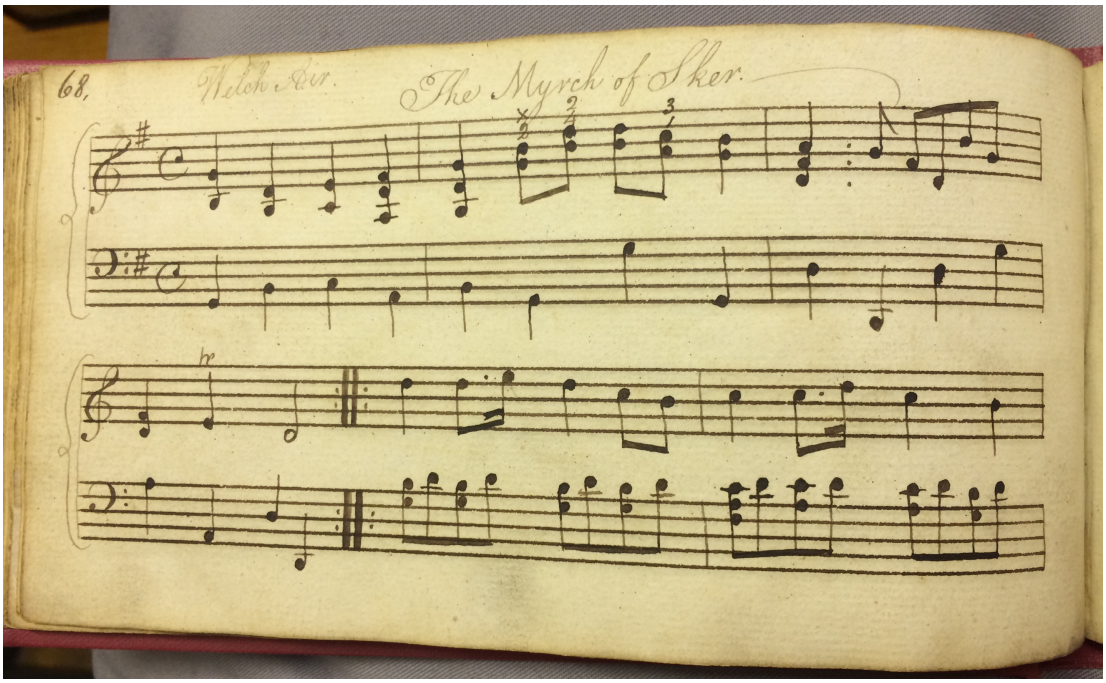
A similar mix of contents, both in terms of nationality and also style, is found in Elizabeth Williams' book (Figure 2.4) of 'Country dances, Scotch reels, Airs, Marches, Hornpipes, Waltz's [sic], Strathspeys, &c. &c. &c.' arranged for keyboard, and dated 1798 (GB-Lcs QM 11749).[47] The tunes contained include 'Dusty Miller', 'Drops of Brandy' and 'Minuet' (attributed to Giordani), 'Lesson' and 'Waltz'. The book was clearly not a presentation copy, as it has rough, different sized handwriting on the contents page, which suggests Williams filled in each new tune as she added it, rather than copying them up all at the same time.

Figure 2.4: Elizabeth Williams' tunebook, GB-Lcs QM 11749, p. 1
Reproduced with permission from The English Folk Dance and Song Society



[44] For further information on William Shield see Amelie Addison, 'National Airs in the Life and Works of William Shield (1748-1829)' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, forthcoming).
[45] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 269.
[46] John Malchair, 'The Arrangement', pp. 72, 73, 276.
[47] The details on the flyleaf of this manuscript have been given incorrectly in Pendlebury, p. 262, which names Elizabeth Williams as 'Elisabeth Williamson' and gives the date as 1790 instead of 1798. This error appears to have originated in *Hardcore English: A Collection of 300 Tunes from English Manuscript, Recorded and Aural Sources*, ed. by Barry Callaghan and Pete Stewart (London: English Folk Dance and Song Society, 2007), p. 104.

Figure 2.5: Yarker MS, GB-Lcs QM 5234, p. 68
Reproduced with permission from The English Folk Dance and Song Society



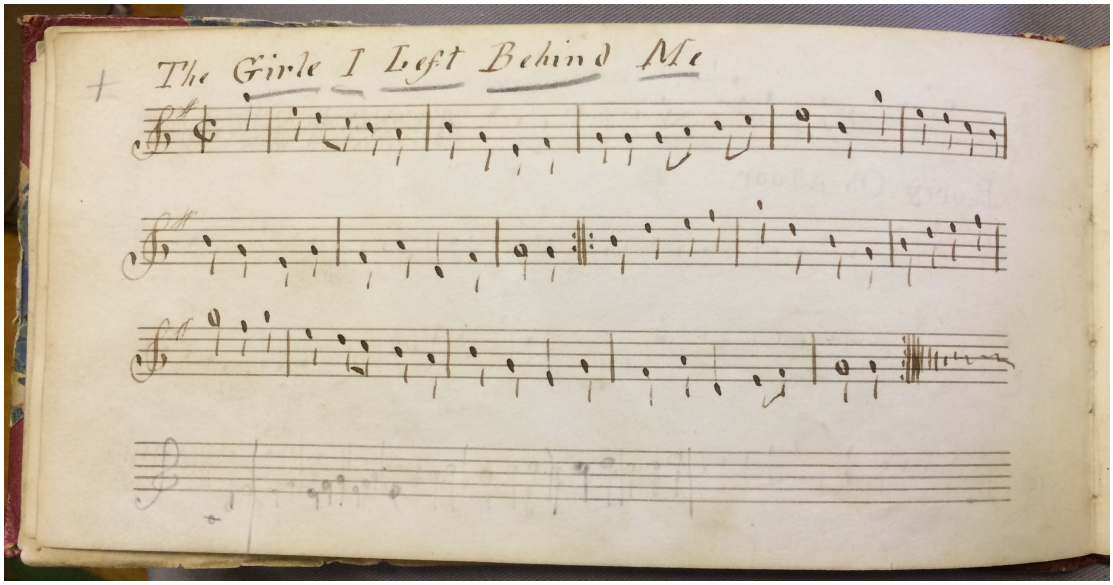
Another tunebook made in England that combines tunes of various nations, as well as composed melodies, is the Yarker manuscript (GB-Lcs 5234), shown in Figure 2.5. Compiled in Cumbria and dating from 1797, this manuscript contains both dance tunes and song tunes, many with a hunting connection.[48] As in many other manuscripts made in England and Scotland, this tunebook contains 'Flowers of Edinburgh', 'Maggie Lauder', 'Rosiland [Rosalind] Castle' and 'Brighton Camp' (also known as 'The Girl I Left Behind Me'), as well as melodies by Charles Dibdin and Niel Gow, and a 'Lesson by Stanley'; it also features 'Rule Britania [sic]' and a piano arrangement of 'The Myrch of Sker' with a note in the margin that this is a 'Welch Air' (see Figure 2.5). Familiar from Malchair's collection are 'Birks of Invermay' and 'Morgan Rattler'.[49]

[48] Chris Partington, 'Yarker Info' <http://www.cpartington.plus.com/Links/Yarker/Yarker%20Info.html>.
[49] These have the titles 'The Birks of Envermay' ('The Arrangement', p. 93) and 'Jacksons Bonner Bougher' ('The Arrangement', p. 210 and 'Vol 3d', p. 109).

From the back of the book there are psalm tunes and a fingering chart, which suggest this book was for personal use by the compiler.

Each of the above tunebooks, to judge by the contents, layout and form of the physical book, seems to have been compiled for its owner to play from, with no thought as to other uses it might serve, or as to the collection *per se*.

Figure 2.6: W. H. Giles' tunebook, GB-Lcs QM 2286, p. 6
Reproduced with permission from The English Folk Dance and Song Society



Finally, I will include in my survey of English tunebooks the manuscripts of William Henry Giles, a fiddler from Bampton in Oxfordshire (GB-Lcs QM 2286 and QM 222). These are worth mentioning because Giles lived in the same area as Malchair, albeit compiling his tunebooks forty-five years after Malchair completed 'The Arrangement'. Giles' tunebook QM 2286 is dated 21 October 1839: presumably this is the date it was begun, as a 'Quick Step' notated several pages in is marked 'June 2nd/[18]41 12 oclock at Night', which suggests Giles notated the melody from hearing it played on this date. This manuscript is typical of nineteenth-century tunebooks in that it was compiled by

a musically literate person, and includes several secondo parts or left-hand accompaniments, indicating that Giles played socially. Upside down from the back, the book contains hymns and psalms, precisely as described by Thomas Hardy: a description rarely fulfilled so exactly in tunebooks of the preceding century.

Just as in the eighteenth-century tunebooks described above, there is a mix of repertoire associated with Britain and Ireland, with 'Flowers of Edinburgh' and 'Jenny Jones', 'The New Oyster Girl' and 'Off She Goes' all included, along with 'The Girl I left Behind Me', which is shown in Figure 2.6. There are also tunes with more exotic names, including 'The Canadian Boat Song', 'Copenhagen Waltz', 'Hungarian Waltz' and 'Bavarian Air'. Even in the 'tunes' side of the book not all are traditional-style melodies: Giles included 'At Close of Day', noting that it was 'The Favourite Tyrolien Air in William Tell'. None of these geographically-named tunes are found in Malchair's tunebooks (although it may have been the case that, as with the air from *William Tell*, they were composed after Malchair compiled 'The Arrangement'), though the ideas of coupling a geographical identifier with a style ('Welsh Air'), and the taking of a tune from popular stage music are common to both compilers' tunebooks. Nevertheless, the repertoire played by Giles around 1840 was clearly very different from that which interested Malchair between 1760 and 1795. This is because Giles' book was compiled from live performances and used to play from, and therefore reflects popular repertoire of the 1830s-'40s, while Malchair's collection was derived largely from printed books, many of which could be considered historical by the end of the eighteenth century.

That the contents and layout of contemperaneous tunebooks in different parts of the country were so similar strongly suggests that musicians were copying from

publications and also from each other's tunebooks. Sadly, since sources are so rarely given in either print or manuscript collections, many links in these chains of copying are broken, and it is difficult to gain a true picture of the extent of the practice of copying tunes out from other written sources. It is for this reason that Malchair's work is so useful in the study of the history of music collecting in England, for he is the only collector I have seen to acknowledge his use of a range of different written sources, to name the individuals who contributed, and to give detailed provenance for the majority of his collection. Giving full provenance for tunes might have been interesting to a performer like Humphrey Senhouse junior (see Chapter 1), but it was essential to a collector who wanted to find the most 'authentick' version 'by comparing together <several> ↑different↓ Coppys <by various handes>'.[50] Malchair's frequent cross-references stand testament to his engagement with this process, as in 'Vol. 3^{d}' where he often wrote variations of the note 'See another Col: 2^{d}. p. 85'.[51]

As detailed in my Introduction, the section of Malchair's introduction to 'The Arrangement' titled 'Concerning the labour' accounts for this difference to other collectors' work by indicating that Malchair saw comparison as his collection's *raison d'être*. Comparing tunes from different editions of the same publication over time, or from different publications, was a task that had taken him a great deal of time to complete: he wrote, 'Some thousands of tunes were examined repeatedly and compared with different setts in order to Mature the Choice.' He also deliberately collected several examples of the same tune, the relevant passage of his introduction explaining:

> Scarcely any duplicate has obtained a place in this numerous collection from inadvertence, but many are givn on purpose for the sake of difference among them, so, that by comparing them, the reader may amuse his judgement.

[50] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 9 and on the note glued to the inside front cover.
[51] This particular example is in Malchair, 'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 35.

> Others are given to shew how differentely the same tune is often playd in one province of the same Country, to what it is in another, not from misconceiving the Original, but an ambitious display of tallent. A superior Bard may also have improved a production of an inferior, in such cases the comparison is instructive as well as entertaining.[52]

It was only by providing the provenance of his tunes that such comparison was possible, and it is clear that this comparison was one of his primary reasons for making his collection.

Because he named his sources, Malchair's tunebooks present a rare opportunity to see how this music was passed from tunebook to tunebook, from print, manuscript and oral sources into his collection – and later back into print again via the work of William Crotch. As well as considering the printed sources Malchair used, described in Chapter 1, it is worth studying the network of people from whom he collected tunes, as they provide a rare case study of how collecting was actually carried out in England in the late eighteenth century.

Malchair's network

Among Malchair's sources for the tunes in his collection are not only printed collections and manuscripts, but also named and unnamed individuals who performed tunes which he notated. Malchair was clearly known for this activity, and involved friends, acquaintances and colleagues in his work. Margaret Dean-Smith describes Malchair's collecting as an 'active search' for tunes, which involved interaction with people who approached him as he painted outdoors.[53] While I have found no evidence for this precise method, we know from Malchair's marginalia that he often carried his

[52] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 3.
[53] Dean-Smith, 'The Preservation of English Folk-Song and Popular Music', p. 37.

tunebook with him to collect tunes, just as he often carried a sketchbook, and that when he did not have it with him he would remember the tune until he returned home, as when he 'heard a Man whistle this tune in Magpey Lane Oxon Dbre 22 1789. Came home and noted it down directly'.[54] According to Dean-Smith such activity was possible because of his affable personality: he was agreeable, modest, at ease with anyone, and had charm of address; 'he had precisely the rare combination of talents that later marked the deliberate (and successful) folk-song collector'.[55]

Aside from authors or composers, there are sixteen individuals or small groups given as sources in Malchair's collection, nine of whom are named (as opposed to being described). All sixteen are listed in Figure 2.7.

Figure 2.7: Malchair's non-print sources

Manuscripts • 'an old manuscript book of the Revd Mr John Jones, Jesus Col[lege], Oxon'[56] • 'Recievd the following five tunes by a letter from the Revd Mr Samyel Riall, signed Upham June 13 1786 Ireland'[57] • 'Noted down by Mr Barnard from having heard it playd in Ireland where this tune is said to bee verry ancient'[58]
Live performance • 'Tune wch Mr Malchair heard a man sing in Harlech Castle'[59] • 'This and the three following Tunes ware written down from hearing them playd by an Irish Piper and Fidler at Oxford. May 15 – 1784'[60]

[54] Malchair, 'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 88.
[55] Dean-Smith, 'The Preservation of English Folk-Song and Popular Music', p. 37.
[56] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', for example, p.19, other tunes from this source are found pp. 22-3.
[57] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 75.
[58] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 217.
[59] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 191, in William Crotch's handwriting.
[60] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 45.

- ‘Played by a Piedermontese Girl on a Cymbal in Oxford Streets, December 22 1784’[61]
- ‘From the Singing of a Poor Woman and two femal Children Oxford May 15 1784’[62]
- ‘Played in the streets at Oxford Ash Wednesday Feb: 25. 1789 […] this was play’d by a Flute a bec and Tambour’[63]
- ‘A Political Balad on Mr Pit’s Taxes’, ‘Sung in the streete July 21 – 1785 – Oxon’[64]
- ‘I heard a Man whistle this tune in Magpey Lane Oxon D^bre^ 22. 1789. Came home and noted it down directely.’[65]
- ‘Noted down from having it sung to me by Mr Franckland’[66]
- ‘From the singing of Mr Cunningham of Christ. Ch: Oxon:’[67]
- ‘From the Honble Mr Linsey of Baliol Coll: Oxon: Noted down from his singing the Tune.’[68]
- ‘Noted down from th[e] singing of Mr Jackson an Irish Gentleman’[69]

Other

Malchair also recorded the following names as sources. It is unclear whether the tunes were notated from live performance or sent to him in manuscript form.

- ‘this tune was given me by my friend M^r^. Fischer the Hoboe [oboist]’[70]
- ‘J. Murray’[71]
- ‘Revd Mr Jones’[72] (the same individual as provided the manuscript listed above, but where his name appears without mention of the manuscript it may have been the case that Jones performed a tune for Malchair)

[61] Malchair, ‘Vol. 3^d^’, p. 60.
[62] John Malchair, ‘Vol. 3^d^’, p. 42. Celia Pendlebury has transcribed this as ‘feral’ children, and Margaret Dean-Smith as ‘small’ children, but I am confident that the word is ‘femal[e]’. Pendlebury, p. 54; Dean-Smith, ‘The Preservation of English Folk Song and Popular Music: Mr. Malchair’s Collection and Dr. Crotch’s Specimens’, p. 111. Scans of this page and the rest of Malchair’s ‘Vol. 3^d^’ are available to view online at ‘Malchair’, *Vaughan Williams Memorial Library* <https://www.vwml.org/topics/historic-dance-and-tune-books/Malchair> [accessed 30 September 2018].
[63] Malchair, ‘Vol. 3^d^’, p. 82.
[64] Malchair, ‘Vol. 3^d^’, p. 73.
[65] Malchair, ‘Vol. 3^d^’, p. 88.
[66] Malchair, ‘Vol. 3^d^’, p. 73.
[67] Malchair, ‘The Arrangement’, p. 98.
[68] Malchair, ‘The Arrangement’, p. 105.
[69] Malchair, ‘The Arrangement’, p. 70.
[70] Malchair, ‘Vol. 3^d^’, p. 60.
[71] Malchair, ‘Vol. 3^d^’, pp. 111–15. This may alternatively be ‘I’ or ‘G’ Murray.
[72] Malchair, ‘The Arrangement’, p. 23.

Much of the biographical work on Malchair (for example, by J. H. Mee, and Susan Wollenberg) focuses on just a handful of characters, primarily his colleagues at the Oxford Music Room, his early patrons, and the pupils named on the back of his drawings. The individuals named in Figure 2.7, however, are neglected because they have never before been acknowledged as musicians. That is, they did not have any known connection to the Oxford Music Room or the University's School of Music, nor did they play or teach professionally. Instead, they were professionals in other fields, or members of the gentry with no profession at all. There are also the seven people or small groups whose names Malchair did not record, perhaps because he did not speak to them, or did not think to ask their names, even when he stayed long enough to draw them, as in the case of the Irish piper.[73] It may be the case that this was because of the obvious class difference between Malchair and those musicians he heard in the streets. In order to further demonstrate the range of Malchair's sources I will give brief biographical information for each of the named figures.

Malchair took four tunes from Reverend Mr John Jones of Jesus College.[74] These all appear in 'The Arrangement' and there is no reference to Jones in 'Vol. 3^{d}', therefore it must be the case that Malchair either knew Jones at the time he was compiling volumes 1 and 2 of his collection, between c.1760-84, or met him later, when compiling 'The Arrangement' 1792-5. The former is most likely, as in Crotch's manuscript 'Tunes of Various Nations', into which he copied a number of tunes from Malchair's collection, he noted that a tune was 'from an old M.S. of Rev.d Mr Jones of Jesus Coll.

[73] John Malchair, *Oxon May 15 - 1784. A Blind-Irish Piper. From This Man I Noted Some Beautiful Irish Tunes as He Played Them on the Bag-Pipe*, Ashmolean Museum, WA 1925.122, DBB 1037.
[74] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', pp. 19, 22, 23.

now Dr Jones',[75] updating Malchair's provenance as he copied it. Jones, having already been ordained by the time Malchair referred to him, was almost certainly a Fellow at Jesus College rather than an undergraduate. The most likely candidate is therefore the John Jones who matriculated in 1740 and was Fellow 1746-96 (the other possible candidate matriculated 1765 and was Fellow 1773-91 and left Oxford thereafter). Beyond this, little other information is available about either character, and no music manuscripts were left at Jesus College which might help identify their owner or his interests.[76] It is also possible that Malchair never personally knew John Jones, but copied his name from the flyleaf of an old manuscript he borrowed from someone else, although John Parry's *British Harmony* (1781) includes among its subscribers 'J. Jones, B.D Fellow of Jesus Col Oxon, *3 books'*, which, assuming this to be the same J. Jones, confirms that Malchair and Jones were direct contemporaries in Oxford, and therefore would have known each other personally.

Reverend Mr Samyel (Samuel) Riall (1741-1822) of Upham, Ireland supplied five tunes to Malchair by letter in June 1786.[77] Riall was an acquaintance of John Skippe, with whom Malchair also corresponded.[78] Riall received his BCL (Bachelor of Civil Law) from St Mary Hall, Oxford. He married in 1770, in Ireland, at the age of 29, and was Rector of Kilenaule in Tipperary.[79]

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[75] On the tune 'Sweet Richard'. William Crotch, 'Tunes of Various Nations Collected & Written by Dr. W. Crotch', p. 13, Norfolk Records Office, GB-NWr MS 11097.
[76] With thanks to Dr Robin Darwall-Smith, Archivist at Jesus College, for help identifying these figures.
[77] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', pp. 75–8.
[78] The letters between Riall and Skippe are at the National Library of Ireland, those from Malchair, the 'Harris Martin' letters, 12 of which are from Malchair to Skippe, are in a private collection I have not been able to locate, although some are quoted in Ian Fleming-William's unpublished typescript. For Riall's letters see National Library of Ireland, 'Landed Estates Database' <http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie/LandedEstates/jsp/refsource-show.jsp?id=1> [accessed 21 February 2018], reference #26027.
[79] Paul Turner, 'Riall/Ryall Dossiers' <http://www.paulturner.ca/Phillips/Ryall/ryall-dossiers.htm> [accessed 8 March 2018].

'Mr Franckland' provided Malchair with one tune, 'Love and Europa'.[80] Thomas Frankland (1750-1831) of Thirkleby, Yorkshire, was the son of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, and succeeded to the baronetcy on his father's death in 1784. He is not named in Joseph Foster's list of matriculated students, and therefore probably attended Oxford University without taking a degree, though he was a drawing pupil of Malchair's.[81] Frankland's name is included on the back of at least two of Malchair's drawings from 1771, when Malchair organised sketching parties around Oxfordshire: one of these is inscribed 'From the River in Port Meddow near Oxford July 10 1771 House Boat expedition P. Rashleigh T. Frankland Rd. Mead.'[82]

'Mr Cunningham of Christ Ch. Oxon' sang the tune 'Kellekranky' to Malchair for 'The Arrangement' (or an earlier tunebook, from which the tune was copied into 'The Arrangement').[83] He might therefore be presumed Scottish, as there are many Scottish songs referring to the Battle of Killiecrankie that took place on 27 July 1689. I have not been able to identify a student called Cunningham matriculated at Christ Church in the right period – although Cunningham may not have matriculated, or may have been a Fellow or other associate of the College. However, there was a Robert Cunynghame who matriculated on 29 December 1787, brother of Sir David Thurlow Cunynghame, 6th Baronet, from Livingston, Co. Linlithgow, Scotland.[84]

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[80] Malchair, 'Vol. 3[d]', p. 73.
[81] Other Franklands, including Thomas' son (matriculated 1799), are listed. See Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886: Their Parentage, Birthplace, and Year of Birth, with a Record of Their Degrees* (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1891), II, p. 490.
[82] 'Sketchbooks of John Malchair, Volume II', p. 27., Corpus Christi College Library, GB-Occc MS 443/2. Frankland is also named on p. 24 (7 July 1771), and in Volume VII on p. 13 (26 May 1774).
[83] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 98.
[84] Foster, I, p. 327.

Likewise, the 'Honble Mr Linsey of Baliol Coll: Oxon:' is difficult to identify. Linsey sang Malchair the tune 'Rothemurches Rant' (which Malchair noted was a strathspey), and possibly also the song notated above it, 'The old Highland Laddie'.[85] Again this might imply Scottish heritage, and the use of 'Hon[oura]ble' implies parliamentary or landed status. The only person with a similar name matriculated at Oxford in the correct period (that is, between 1760 and 1800) was Charles Dalrymple Lindsay, son of James, Earl of Balcarres, Fife, Scotland. Matriculated at Balliol on 1 December 1779, aged nineteen, Lindsay received his BA in 1783, MA in 1786 and DD by diploma in 1804. He was vicar of Sutterton, Lincolnshire, from 1793, and then Dean of Christ Church in Dublin. He died in 1846.[86]

Malchair's friend 'Mr Fischer the Hoboe' was Johann Christian Fischer (1733-1800), a German composer and performer, and one of the most prominent oboe soloists in Europe in the 1770s. Around 1781 he was appointed one of Queen Caroline's chamber musicians on an annual salary of £180, and performed regularly in other cities in the 1770s and '80s, including at the Oxford Music Room.[87] That Fischer provided Malchair with a tune for his collection (titled 'An Old German tune', though Malchair thought it 'certainly Norwegian')[88] is evidence that Malchair had friendly relationships with his work colleagues and that they discussed and played music together outside of the formal concerts at the Music Room.

[85] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 105.
[86] Foster, III, p. 853.
[87] Claire M. Nelson, 'Fischer, Johann Christian' <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9484> [accessed 8 March 2018].
[88] Malchair, 'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 60.

'J. Murray' provided Malchair with certainly two and possibly five tunes from Spain.[89] Malchair captioned the tunes in Spanish, presumably copying straight from Murray's information: 'The Boleras danced last year at the Theatre of Cadiz – 1791 – J. Murray'.[90] One of these, 'Chande', described as 'A Spanish dance. Much resembling the Irish Music', was included in 'The Arrangement' under 'Irish Tunes' (this will be discussed in Chapter 3).[91] I have not been able to identify J. Murray, nor an I. Murray or G. Murray (as which one of the 'J's might be interpreted), who might have been in contact with Malchair in the early 1790s. William Crotch perhaps had the same problem of identification, recording in both his manuscript 'Tunes of Various Nations' and the published *Specimens* only that 'those [Boleras] in this work were given to Mr. Malchair by Mr. Murray, and were danced at Cadiz in 1791'.[92]

Mr Barnard provided Malchair with an untitled Irish tune, which he noted down while in Ireland and later supplied to Malchair, probably in February 1793, as it is the first tune following the dated title 'Second Collection of Irish Tunes' in 'The Arrangement'.[93] Reverend William Henry Barnard (1767/9-1818), grandson of the Bishop of Derry, was a drawing pupil of Malchair's. He matriculated at Pembroke College in 1790 and graduated with a BCL in 1797.[94] This makes him one of Malchair's final pupils, as Malchair gave up his drawing master practice in 1797 and by 1799 his sight was almost entirely gone. Barnard's name occurs on the back of some of Malchair's drawings as having been present, and his work is said to be that most often

[89] Malchair, 'Vol. 3[d]', pp. 111–15.
[90] 'La Boleras que se baylò [bailo] el anno passado [pasado] al Theatro de Cadiz – 1791 – J. Murray.'
[91] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 208.
[92] Crotch, I, p. 10; see also William Crotch, 'Tunes of Various Nations', p. 20.
[93] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 217.
[94] Foster, I, p. 62.

confused with his master's.[95] Their artistic friendship was close: Barnard gave Malchair several drawings from a trip to the north and west coasts of Ireland in 1792, including one of the Giant's Causeway,[96] and Barnard drew two of the four images of Malchair known to exist. In both of these whimsical sketches Malchair plays the violin.[97]

In addition to those people identified with some degree of certainty, there are several musicians whose identities it would be near-impossible to work out, unless they are mentioned in other as yet unknown sources: the Irish piper and fiddler, the Piedmontese girl with a cymbal, the poor woman and her two female children, the ballad singer, the player of the flûte à bec and tambour, the whistler of Magpie Lane, and Mr Jackson, the Irish gentleman. Yet knowing that Malchair had contact with such a range of people and involved them in his tune-collecting activities reveals a great deal about both his personality and his method. The fact that he noted down any details at all about the players shows that he cared about the provenance of his tunes, about how the music was played (he even wrote instructions for how to imitate the sound of the hurdy gurdy or cymbal on the violin using a key behind the bridge),[98] and indicates that he had a certain amount of respect for these beggars and buskers, although that he did not record their names might suggest he did not converse with them. These observations are useful

[95] 'Gallery Label, September 2004: Rev. William Henry Barnard' <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/barnard-the-back-of-a-house-in-oxford-t08129> [accessed 6 March 2018].
[96] Ashmolean Museum 1928.246, DBB 323.
[97] One of these two drawings is Ashmolean Museum 1928.239, DBB 318; the other is in a private collection, although a reproduction can be seen in Harrison, p. 39. The two others identified by Harrison are the head of Malchair among figures in Sandby's etching of the Rysbrack sale in 1764 (presumably the one labelled 'Melshaw'), British Museum 1904,0819.723; and what is believed to be a self-portrait from 1765, AM 1925.76, DBB 991.
[98] Malchair, 'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 60. Malchair's marginal instructions read: 'Play all these Notes uppon the 2^{d} string of the Violin, and lett the 3^{d} String serve as a drone to them. Lay a large Key behinde the bridge, this wil give the Sound of the Cymbal.'

in building a case study of how collecting was actually carried out in England in the late eighteenth century.

Are there any English tunes in Malchair's collection?

Although Malchair included in his collection a number of tunes which would today be regarded as English, and which were certainly commonly played in England, as evidenced by their occurrence in other manuscript tunebooks from different regions, it remains a curious fact that despite initially dividing 'The Arrangement' into four sections and writing title pages for four nations, the 'English Tunes' section of Malchair's manuscript was left blank. His decision to musically describe only three of those four nations (and that it was a decision, not simply a matter of running out of time) is confirmed by his title as well as his introduction, which both refer to three classes. There are two questions here: first, why did he decide that it was better to cover only three nations, though at one point he had anticipated including tunes for four; second, what then did he think of the tunes elsewhere in the manuscript that since at least Chappell's day have been regarded as English?

In Chapter 3 I will establish the order in which 'The Arrangement' was put together, and suggest that Malchair abandoned the 'English Tunes' section of his tunebook after he decided to make the tunebook originally titled 'Vol. 4' into 'The Arrangement', perhaps with thoughts of printed publication in mind. I will suggest that the fact the title page for 'English Tunes' was never removed indicates that Malchair may never have fully abandoned his intention to include at least some English material.

As to my second question, the prime example of an apparently 'English' tune being categorised as something else is the tune 'Roast Beef', which Malchair included in the 'Irish' section of his manuscript, much to the annoyance, in the mid-nineteenth century, of both William Chappell and John Muir Wood, whose comments will be quoted in Chapter 3.[99] The words to 'Roast Beef' were originally written by Englishman Henry Fielding for *The Grub Street Opera* in 1731.[100] The play is set in Wales, and was originally titled *The Welch Opera* according to the play's own spoken introduction. Stage directions in the 1766 edition of the script indicate that 'AIR XLV' was to be sung to the tune of 'The king's old courtier', but the melody Malchair recorded (and the version that is referred to in the many ballads 'to the tune of *Roast Beef*') was a later setting by another Englishman, Richard Leveridge, and was first published in 1737.[101] The song gained great popularity and by the end of the century was routinely used across the army as a call sign for dinner.[102]

It is possible that Malchair was simply filling space in an old tunebook, copying out tunes in the first space he came to: 'Roast Beef' being a single-line tune at the bottom

[99] In addition to Malchair's curious categorisation I have also found this tune in GB-En MS 21752, p. 27, where it is labelled '(Reel)' and sits alongside Scottish tunes without additional comment.
[100] Henry Fielding, *The Works of Henry Fielding, Esq; with The Life of the Author*, Third Edition (Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand, 1766), II, p. 227.
[101] Richard Leveridge, 'The Roast Beef Song' (London, 1737), Bodleian Library, (W) Harding Mus. G 270 (9).
[102] Captain I. H. Mackay Scobie, *An Old Highland Fencible Corps: The History of the Reay Fencible Highland Regiment of Foot, or Mackay's Highlanders, 1794-1802. With an Account of Its Services in Ireland during the Rebellion of 1798* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1914), pp. 65–6. Mackay Scobie records that a Regimental Order on 4 August 1795 stated that 'The drum to beat "Roast Beef" every day at two o'clock for the men to dine. The orderly officer to report to the commanding officer if this order is not strictly attended to.' He adds in a footnote that 'This was a custom common in English regiments, which had been gradually introduced throughout the Army.' The tune is recorded in a number of printed tune collections as 'The Dinner Call – or Roast Beef of Old England', as in *The Art of Playing the Fife* by Samuel Potter, Head Drum Major in the Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards (London: for the author, 1817), p. 16; and the tune was recorded in manuscript by John Buttrey, c.1790-1805, associated with the fifers of the 34th Foot Regiment, where the tune appears as no. 223, titled 'The Roast Beef of Old England', with a harmony part titled 'Secondo to No 223 the Mens Diner Drum' (John Buttrey CDN-On MS R5532-0-5-E, Library and Archives Canada). I am grateful to Eamonn O'Keeffe for his help with the above references.

of a six-stave sheet, this at first seems a believable conjecture. Likewise, there is an eight-bar tune included in the 'Scotch' section called 'Hookley [Hockley] in the Hole', named after an area of Clerkenwell, in London, known for its bear- and bull-baiting. This tune first appeared in print in the 1651 edition of *The English Dancing Master*, but I have seen no reference elsewhere to it being considered either Scottish or English. It too appears on a single line at the bottom of an otherwise full page, and comes seemingly at random in the middle of a numbered sequence of tunes from Patrick McDonald's *Highland Vocal Airs* that includes the twenty-eight tunes before it and the twelve after.

Malchair therefore seems to have been trying not to leave gaps at the bottom of pages (although there are gaps elsewhere in the book), but there are several reasons why it would be wrong to dismiss Malchair's categorisation as accidental in these cases. First, he was not simply looking for an empty stave on which to record these tunes quickly while he remembered them: even today there remain empty pages in the manuscript. Furthermore, it is not necessarily the case that the occurrences of these tunes are the first times he wrote them down: rather than scribbling these tunes into the first empty stave he found as soon as he heard them (or when it occurred to him to include them, since they were both well-known tunes), he was copying them up into his new book, deliberately including them in particular sections – if also finding an appropriate space for them so as not to leave empty staves.

Second, the physical evidence supports the view that he intended to place them here. The ink and handwriting used for each of these tunes suggests a consistent flow, not a hurried later addition. More conclusively, both 'Roast Beef' and 'Hookley in the Hole'

are named in Malchair's alphabetical index under their respective national headings, and were not squashed in after the index had been completed as some other entries are. This leads to the conclusion that he intended for the tunes to be in these sections.

A third reason why it would be wrong to question Malchair's choice of categorisation for these tunes is that Malchair obviously took his categorisation very seriously and considered his choice carefully, therefore, even if his choice of label seems implausible today, that is no reason to doubt that he had sound logic for including a tune where he did in his tunebook: it is safe to assume that there was a reason why Malchair felt these tunes' characters to be respectively Irish and Scottish.

So, it seems that there *are* tunes in Malchair's collection that since at least 1856 (Chappell's letter to William Husk) have been regarded as 'English', but which Malchair did not acknowledge as such. But what about fifty years or a hundred years before Chappell, when Malchair was making his collection, or when he first moved to Oxford in 1760 and began the now-lost volume 1? William Crotch's work might shed some light on this. In 1806 William Crotch's *Specimens* included thirty-one tunes under the heading 'Old English Tunes and Some Tunes of Doubtful Origin', twenty-one of which can be found in Malchair's two tunebooks. These tunes are listed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: tunes in Crotch's *Specimens* under
'Old English Tunes and Some Tunes of Doubtful Origin'

	Tune title (including source indicated by Crotch)	**Location in *Specimens***	**Malchair tunebook reference**[103]
1	The Britons, *Dancing Master*, 1696	No. 186, p. 97	'The Arrangement', p. 264, in Crotch's writing
2	The Twins, *Dancing Master*, 1665	No. 187, p. 97	'The Arrangement', p. 265, in Crotch's writing
3	The Beggar Boy, *Dancing Master*, 1652	No. 188, p. 97	'Vol. 3d', p. 120; 'The Arrangement', p. 264, in Crotch's writing
4	The Garter or King James's March, *Dancing Master*, 1695	No. 189, p. 98	-
5	Pye Corner, *Dancing Master*, 1695	No. 190, p. 98	-
6	Crosby Square, *Dancing Master*, 1706	No. 191, p. 99	-
7	Light o' love	No. 192, p. 99	-
8	Hombey House, 'Dancing Master 18th Edn'	No. 193, p. 99	'Vol. 3d', p. 12
9	Charming Maid, 'Dancing Master 18th Edn'	No. 194, p. 100	'The Arrangement', p. 24 (Welsh)
10	The Merry Milk Maids	No. 195, p. 100	'Vol. 3d', p. 20
11	The Charmer	No. 196, p. 101	'Vol. 3d', p. 21
12	Salutation, *Dancing Master*, 'Edn The 18th'	No. 197, p. 101	'Vol. 3d', p. 32
13	Paul's Steeple, *Dancing Master*, 1665	No. 198, p. 102	'Vol. 3d', p. 35 and p. 68
14	The Shepherd's Daughter, three versions, including *Dancing Master*, 1652 and 1665	No. 199, p. 102	'Vol. 3d', p. 36 and p. 116
15	Porter's Lamentation, *Dancing Master*, 1665	No. 200, p. 103	'Vol. 3d', p. 37
16	Amorisco, *Dancing Master*, 1665	No. 201, p. 103	'Vol. 3d', p. 37
17	The Garland	No. 202, p. 104	'Vol. 3d', p. 49 and p. 71
18	The Carman's Whistle, from Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book	No. 203, p. 104	'Vol. 3d', p. 110
19	An Old Woman Clothed in Gray	No. 204, p. 104	-

[103] This column includes each tune's categorisation in 'The Arrangement' where the tune is recorded before p. 264. Tunes added from p. 264 of 'The Arrangement' were not categorised, though they follow on from the end of the second Scottish section. The sections of the tunebook will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

20	Stingo or Oil of Barley, *Dancing Master*, 1652; followed by another version called 'Cold and Raw'	No. 205, p. 105	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 36
21	All in a misty Morning, also a second version from *The Dancing Master*, 1652	No. 206, pp. 105-6	-
22	London's Loyalty	No. 207, p. 106	-
23	Cheshire Rounds	No. 208, p. 106	'The Arrangement', p. 209 (Irish)
24	King's Maggot or New York	No. 209, p. 107	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 14; 'The Arrangement', p. 266, in Crotch's writing
25	Cobler's Hornpipe	No. 210, p. 107	'The Arrangement', p. 266, in Crotch's writing
26	Orange Nan	No. 211, p. 107	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 15
27	Sir Roger de Coverley	No. 212, p. 108	'The Arrangement', p. 223, in Crotch's writing[104] (Irish)
28	The Dusty Miller	No. 213, p. 108	'The Arrangement', p. 52 (Irish)
29	Saturday Night and Sunday Morning, *Dancing Master*, 1652	No. 214, p. 108	-
30	Alamonde de France (also a version from *Dancing Master* 1652 called 'Nonesuch')	No. 215, p. 109	-
31	[Untitled]	No. 216, p. 109	-[105]

Of the thirty-one tunes in *Specimens* categorised as English or potentially English, sixteen are in Malchair's tunebooks in his own handwriting, and five others occur in Crotch's handwriting, although that is not to say that Malchair did not approve their inclusion in his collection. Ten tunes are unaccounted for, in that they are not in either of Malchair's extant tunebooks and no other source is indicated: they may have come from Malchair's earlier tunebooks, or from another source.

[104] Crotch recorded two versions, one of which has the note: 'Another ed^{n} of the same tune given to M^{r} M by W Crotch', which indicates that Malchair was aware of these tunes, and they were perhaps categorised according to his instructions.

[105] This is not the same melody as any of the untitled tunes in either of Malchair's two tunebooks; I have not been able to trace its source.

At first glance it might seem possible to conclude from this that Malchair collected at least twenty-one tunes that were acknowledged to be 'English' within his own lifetime. However, the fact that Crotch did not make clear which of these tunes he considered 'Old English' and which were to him 'of Doubtful Origin' means it is not possible to say with certainty that Malchair included in his collection any tunes that Crotch definitely regarded as 'English'. In addition to the vague wording of Crotch's heading, Crotch elsewhere seems to have acknowledged the ambiguity presented by some tunes, for example, when he included the tune 'Sweet Richard' among his 'Welch Tunes', adding '(as Danced in England 1796 &c)', a comment presumably based on personal experience.[106]

Conclusion

In Chapter 3 I will look more closely at Malchair's assembly of 'The Arrangement' and ask why (and when) he decided not to add any 'English Tunes of Modern date' to his collection after all. Meanwhile, it is worth observing that had Malchair completed this section of his tunebook it would have been one of very few books in either manuscript or print, even as late as the 1790s, to include tunes labelled 'English'. Perhaps, then, it should not be surprising that Malchair, despite an earlier intention, did not in the end devote a portion of his tunebook to English tunes.

It remains unclear why English music was rarely included (or at least identified) by those creating tune collections, working in England and elsewhere. While James Aird's six volumes included uncategorised tunes considered 'Scottish, English, Irish, and

[106] Crotch, I, p. 77, tune no. 151. In his manuscript, 'Tunes of Various Nations', p. 10, the same tune has the more specific note, 'as it is played in ball rooms in ye years 1796 &c.'

Foreign', James Johnson wrote in *The Scots Musical Museum* that his proposed scheme 'to have adopted a Considerable Variety of the most Musical and Sentimental of the English and Irish Songs' did not 'meet with general approbation' and was therefore postponed and never taken up again.[107] Yet Johnson went on to include in his first volume two tunes labelled 'English Air', demonstrating that mere mention of the word 'English' was not enough to injure sales.[108]

Since the contents of manuscript tunebooks tended to be derived from printed collections, and printed books rarely gave national labels to individual tunes, it makes sense that manuscripts should reflect the layout of printed collections in not categorising tunes. The tendency of printed volumes, as well as manuscripts, to include large numbers of tunes that were already printed in other books suggests that the prevailing attitude in creating collections was one of promotion and curation of a repertoire already in circulation, rather than of discovery of new pieces, or publication for people who were not yet familiar with this repertoire. It may also have been the case for publishers that to reproduce previously printed tunes gave a collection credibility. This means that for Malchair to have included a selection of 'English Tunes', even only those 'of Modern date' in 'The Arrangement', would have necessitated greater effort.

The fact that Malchair did not remove the 'English Tunes' title page from his tunebook, though he made similar edits elsewhere, suggests that even after 'The Arrangement' was completed in 1795 he might have had it in the back of his mind to return to the tunebook and include tunes in this section. Interestingly, when English melodies were

[107] Johnson, I, p. iii.
[108] Johnson, I, pp. 29 and 39. For labels see index pp. v-vi.

printed by Ritson and later others, it was the older material (for Ritson, ‘very old’ tunes from before 1700) that held the most interest – rather than those tunes of modern date that Malchair had had in mind. The publication of this repertoire was less to do with the fashion and mass appeal that had spurred on the printing of Scottish tunes and more to do with the growth of antiquarian interest in this material.

Chapter 3

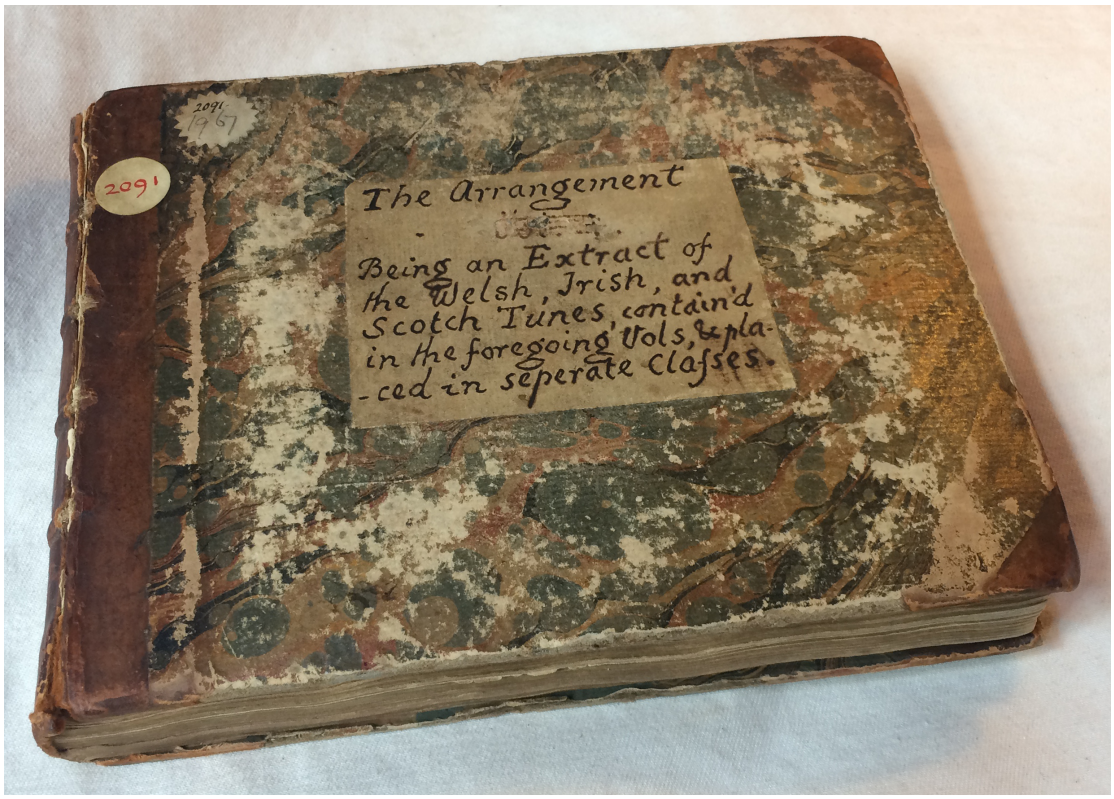
Categories and national labels in Malchair's 'The Arrangement'

While the marginalia and sources Malchair used in putting together 'Vol. 3[d]' of his tune collection indicate that he was an active collector, the layout and text of 'Vol. 4' or 'The Arrangement' take this notion of 'active' collecting further, for they reveal just how carefully Malchair was thinking about this music. Not only was he collecting those tunes he considered 'uncommonly beautiful […] in order to save them from oblivion',[1] he also had a quite different aim in mind: he wanted to showcase the characters of Irish, Welsh, and Scottish music. This he expressed in his introduction to 'The Arrangement' when he wrote, 'It is only from an attentive inspection of the collective body that a compleate Idea of the whole can be obtained.'[2]

To provide such a guide for his readers Malchair divided the contents of his fourth tunebook into three groups: Welsh, Irish, and Scottish tunes, arranging his collection under these headings in the manuscript. Having done so he created an index, wrote an introduction to the work, and scratched out 'Vol. 4' on the cover of the tunebook, retitling it 'The Arrangement, Being an Extract of the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch Tunes contain'd in the foregoing Vols, & placed in separate classes' (see Figure 3.1). The fact that Malchair thought carefully about how he presented his collection is clear from the alterations and additions the manuscript underwent, as will be described below.

[1] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 4.
[2] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fols 2–2v.

Figure 3.1: Malchair's 'The Arrangement', GB-Lcm MS 2091
Reproduced with permission from the Royal College of Music, London



Both outside and within the musical sphere, the question of how to categorise the world was a preoccupation among those collecting objects and writing books. Early modern cabinets of curiosities began to take on recognisable form as study and display collections: collections of organic specimens, for example, were more fully catalogued and began to be used for scientific analysis; they aimed to be collections of the typical, organised by 'type', rather than collections of curious rarities and exceptions to the normal rules.[3] In 1735 Carl Linneus' *Systema Naturae* was published, describing a new system for classifying plants, followed by his *Species Plantarum* in 1753, a systematic binomial classification of every plant he knew. There were such concerns in the musical world too, as when Johann Mattheson in *Der vollkommene Cappellmeister* (1739)

[3] See, for example, MacGregor, pp. 20 and 33. On the continuation of changes in taste and categorisation in the nineteenth century see Nadine Rottau, '"Everyone to His Taste" or "Truth to Material": The Role of Materials in Collections of Applied Art', in *Material Cultures, 1740-1920: The Meanings and Pleasures of Collecting*, by John Potvin and Alla Myzelev (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 71–85.

attempted to create and explain musical categories of high, middle and low, and to map these onto noble, moderate and trifling musical styles, as well as on to church, theatre and chamber repertoires.[4] Malchair read the respective histories of music by Charles Burney and John Hawkins (both of which he cited as sources for tunes), who discussed the benefits and pitfalls of the categories of 'ancient' and 'modern' music, albeit not always in those terms;[5] and Malchair lent his tunebooks to his close friend William Crotch who, around 1806, almost a decade after they became friends, published his own categorisation of many of the same tunes, and began a series of lectures in London which riled 'ancients' and 'moderns' in equal measure.[6] Malchair, then, appears to have been in the thick of debates relating to the categorisation of music, although his own concern was only for national categories.

Discourse on national characteristics was commonplace in the mid-eighteenth century. For instance, the Scottish thinker David Hume developed what has become known as the nature-nurture debate in his 1748 essay *Of National Characters*, where he argued that the character of a nation is influenced more by the custom, education, and government of a nation's people than by their place of birth.[7] In this chapter I will show how Malchair displayed awareness of this notion in categorising his collection, not only grouping tunes into three 'classes' but also commenting in the margins where a tune's style seemed to differ from this categorisation. While in most cases Malchair's categorisation of his tunes agrees with that of his source, there are several interesting

[4] As described in Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'*, p. 16.
[5] For a comparison of their views on the ancient-modern debate see Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England*.
[6] Howard Lee Irving, *Ancients and Moderns: William Crotch and the Development of Classical Music*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).
[7] David Hume, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, new edition (London: printed for A. Millar; and A. Kincaid and A. Donaldson, at Edinburgh, 1758), pp. 119–129.

cases where, while nineteenth-century commentators simply thought Malchair was wrong, I would suggest instead that Malchair was categorising tunes not only by their geographical origins but also by taking into account their stylistic qualities. Such ideas are expressed in Malchair's introduction.

In order to demonstrate that Malchair was thinking carefully about his categorisation, and to try and deduce why he categorised his collection the way he did, I will first define 'national music', then describe Malchair's construction of 'The Arrangement' and the process that resulted in 'Vol. 4' being renamed, before turning to consider what is revealed by the categorisation of particular tunes. I will conclude by discussing later reactions to his work and the implications this has for understanding the categorisation of national music in the late eighteenth century.

Defining 'national music'

The term 'national music', often synonymous with 'national song', included a wide variety of musical styles in the eighteenth century. In its most generic form, the phrase was used to mean 'the music of nations', that is, music that could be said to be, for instance, 'Italian' or 'Scottish' for whatever reason. This is how Joseph Ritson employed the term in his 1783 'Historical Essay on the Origins and Progress of National Song'.[8] The phrase could also be applied more specifically to the outpouring of new compositions in imitation of the traditional Scottish style: this is a definition David

[8] J. Ritson, *A select collection of English songs, in three volumes* (London, 1783), pp. i–lxxii. The phrase is used similarly in Pierre Jean, *A Tour to London, Or, New Observations on England and Its Inhabitants* (London: Printed for Lockyer Davis, 1772), p. 3; Jean André Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England.* (London: printed for J. Nourse, 1755), pp. 111–2; Ange Goudar, *The Chinese Spy; Or, Emissary from the Court of Pekin, Commissioned to Examine into the Present State of Europe. Translated from the Chinese. In Six Volumes.* (London: printed for S. Bladon, 1765), p. 216; and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Thoughts on Different Subjects. In Two Volumes.* (London: printed for S. Crowder, J. Coote, W. Griffin; and J. Knox, 1768), pp. 24–6.

Johnson adopts, as detailed below, although I have yet to find any contemporary references to support this specificity in his use of the phrase. Key to either definition is the idea that it is only possible for such music to be created by natives of the land in question, thus in 1766 John Gregory (using 'national Music' in this case to refer to the older melodies, implying a difference between the 'real thing' and its imitation) described how:

> There is a peculiarity in the stile of the Scotch melody, which foreigners, even some of great knowledge in Music who resided long in Scotland, have often attempted to imitate, but never with success. It is not therefore probable, that a stranger, who resided only three or four years in Scotland, should enter so perfectly into the Taste of the national Music, as to compose airs, which the nicest judges cannot distinguish from those which are certainly known to be of much greater antiquity[.][9]

David Johnson draws a similarly firm distinction between traditional and newly composed melodies in the Scottish style, though for him the term 'national music' is restricted to the newer compositions. For Johnson 'national music' is that composed in the Scottish idiom, in imitation of traditional airs, and usually labelled 'anonymous' to increase profit from its publication. Changing from national 'music' to 'song' – although I believe these may be regarded as synonymous for purposes of definition – Johnson goes on:

> Scottish national songs were invented early in the eighteenth century. They are a kind of pseudo-folk-song, designed for a genteel class of people who regard real folk-songs as crude and beneath their attention, and to which they can attach the feelings of tradition and national identity which other people express through the oral tradition. They were a kind of artificial substitute for the real thing.[10]

According to Johnson, therefore, to a person of the eighteenth century the phrase 'national music', beyond geography, referred to the age of a melody and the

[9] John Gregory, *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man, with Those of the Animal World*, second edition (London: printed for J. Dodsley, 1766), p. 127.
[10] Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 130.

circumstances of a tune's composition. To collect national airs would therefore imply that one was at the forefront of musical fashion, seeking out newly composed melodies that emulated the traditional Scottish style.

The subtext of Johnson's definition, and his work in general, is that these newer compositions cannot be considered 'authentic' Scottish traditional music (or songs) and that the older music, passed down by oral tradition, is superior – though he acknowledges that, unlike for Gregory's 'nicest judges', for observers today it is often difficult to distinguish between older music and newer compositions. Johnson's opinions are typical of those of other mid-twentieth century authors writing about what they were happy to call 'folk' music, for whom it was possible to draw a hard line between oral and written musical cultures, between 'real' and 'manufactured' music, and between the music of the 'genteel class of people' and of those 'beneath' them.[11] The Scottish musician and publisher John Muir Wood (1805-1892) seemed to believe that 'authentic' national music was not only older, but also anonymous, writing in a marginal comment referring to tunes from *Apollo's Banquet* (1669), 'There was no pretence of their being really National however, for the names of the composers are given' (see Figure 3.3 below).

The relative 'authenticity' of different kinds of national music is discussed in the work of other writers, recent and more historical, with 'Scottish' music of the sort created by Playford and D'Urfey described in 2013 by Karen McAulay as 'manufactured'; while in the mid-nineteenth century William Chappell referred to such tunes as 'Anglo-

[11] The most obvious example of this attitude is David Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985). For a robust critique of such authors (although his own focus is on a later historical period) see Christopher Bearman, 'The English Folk Music Movement 1898-1914' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hull, 2001).

Scottish'.[12] For these two authors it appears to be the nationality of the composers (who were largely English) that made newly composed Scottish 'national music' inferior to Scottish music of tradition, while Johnson acknowledges that there was none who did more to create and promote Scottish national music than Allan Ramsay, the Edinburgh publisher.

Taking a step back, what is consistent across all these authors' definitions is that, as for Ritson, regardless of the age of the music, its place of composition or publication, or the nationality of its composer, tunes considered 'national music' were of a style that had come to be understood as 'Scottish'. This more general understanding of the term 'national music' could be applied equally to the music of more nations than just Scotland, and this is the way the majority of eighteenth-century writers used the phrase, with 'national music' meaning any music in a recognisable national style, whatever the nation. For example, in his *Thoughts on Different Subjects*, Rousseau declared that,

> Harmony having its principle in nature, is the same in all nations; or, if it has some differences, they are introduced by those of the melody: thus we should judge the particular character of a national music, by the melody only; the more, as this character, being principally given by the language, the tune, properly expressed, must feel its greatest influence.[13]

Rousseau here associated language and music, with melody taking its character from the language of the song sung to that melody. There existed a wider European debate at this time about the origins of both language and music, which tended to take on a national or at least a geographical aspect, as Downing Thomas observes when he writes, 'Rousseau places a great deal of emphasis on the geographical and temporal variation of language and music', although, for Rousseau, 'The "nation" stands less for actual

[12] McAulay, p. 213.
[13] Rousseau, *Thoughts on Different Subjects. In Two Volumes.*, p. 24.

geographico-political boundaries, than it does for a larger set of affective, cultural, and political concerns and ideals.'[14] Rousseau thereby conceived of national music as that enjoyed by 'peoples' defined by their linguistic and cultural similarities, thus 'an Italian requires Italian tunes, a Turk would require Turkish tunes. One is affected only by accents that are familiar'.[15]

It is in this broader sense, with 'national music' referring to the music of any particular nation, that William Crotch – and presumably Malchair – used the term. Although Malchair never himself used the phrase in his writing,[16] Crotch used 'national music' several times in his Preface to *Specimens of Various Styles of Music* (1806) to refer to Malchair's collection, and thereby indicated that in his opinion the term included both traditional and recently-composed tunes, and both tunes of Scotland and of other nations.

Though Malchair collected tunes from living composers, and recorded their names where known, his primary interest was in older melodies from Britain and Ireland, such as those in *The Dancing Master*, which he described as 'Melodies of great antiquity and of Various Nations, many of [which] are so uncommonly beautyful as to captivate the most refined Eare'.[17] This sort of music, which Malchair called 'old music', was very much in vogue at the end of the eighteenth century, by which time, as Matthew

[14] Thomas, p. 129.
[15] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The First and Second Discourses Together with the Replies to Critics and Essay on the Origin of Languages*, ed. and trans. by Victor Gourevitch (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), p. 284.
[16] Malchair used the word 'nation' in his introduction to 'The Arrangement', but never (in his extant writings) referred to 'national music'. Instead he referred to the music in his collection as 'English Tunes', 'Scotch Tunes', 'Irish Tunes' or 'Welsh Tunes', as well as more generally as 'old tunes', 'The Music of our ancesters', 'Cunning Music', 'admirable tunes', 'music of antient times' and 'the old Melodies' – in contrast to 'Elegant Moderne Music'.
[17] Referring to the tunes in Playford's Dancing Master. Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 4.

Gelbart has shown, it became common for music to be thought of according to the place it was from.

Gelbart has argued that 'by the last third of the century, when it came to categorising musical practice, music's origins were becoming as important as its specific occasional functions', that is, whether a particular piece was, say, a dance tune, a processional, or sacred music.[18] For Gelbart, the reason for this was to support the claims of cultural nationalists:

> I suggest that the earliest catalyst for the extended classification by origins was nationalism. Cultural nationalists needed to claim communal property, which eventually included tunes. If they could show that a melody originated in the right place, it could become cultural capital. Such thinking created a habit of viewing music in terms of abstract reified 'works' – or at least, initially, reified tunes – whose origins mattered.[19]

As David Johnson has acknowledged, at the forefront of this movement was the Edinburgh writer and publisher Allan Ramsay, whose 1723 *Tea-Table Miscellany* was the first of a deluge of printed collections of tunes under national headings (though most commonly of 'Scottish' music), many of which Malchair used in making his own collection. Gelbart argues that Ramsay 'carefully articulated and forged an implied narrative of national music' which linked lowland and highland traditions under a single cultural banner, preceding similar musical movements across Europe. Significantly for this thesis, Gelbart argues that Ramsay –

> provided the impetus to change the organizing principle for Scottish music collections. The contents of such collections had previously been determined with a more functional than ideological thrust. Ramsay started the process of organizing collections around national origins and national – even nationalist – symbolism.[20]

[18] Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'*, pp. 14–15.
[19] Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'*, p. 24.
[20] Gelbart, 'Allan Ramsay', pp. 82–3.

However, while I agree with Gelbart that the use of national labels as the organising principle for such collections increased throughout the eighteenth century – until it almost seemed there was no other way to categorise, title or market such music by the start of the nineteenth century – I would argue that the use of these labels, even in the late eighteenth century, did not always refer to the geographical origins of a *tune*, but rather to the place the tunes' *style* had supposedly originated. Therefore what should have been named precisely as 'national music of Ireland' (that is, music in the national style, whether composed in Dublin or London) had come to be labelled simply 'Irish'; and the term 'Irish' was used indiscriminately to refer to tunes that were claimed to have originated in Ireland and those that only sounded as if they might have done. Not focusing in depth on the use of such labels by individuals other than Ramsay (a Scot composing Scottish music) I believe that Gelbart overlooks this nuance, and it is my aim to address his neglect in this chapter.

The use of national labels to refer to music of a particular style rather than only to the geographical origin of a tune means that it was perfectly reasonable for Englishmen to put their names to compositions labelled 'Scottish', 'Irish' and 'Welsh'. This will be discussed in Chapter 5 using as a case study William Crotch and John Beale Crotch's 1803 publications of such music. Meanwhile, when looking at Malchair's categorisation of tunes, the label 'Irish' can be read as either 'music from Ireland' or 'compositions in the Irish style'. Malchair seems to have appreciated that there were two different ways to use national labels, and used them in 'The Arrangement' in both of these senses at different times, although there are a number of ambiguous uses, as will be discussed below. It is often impossible to work out which meaning he intended,

especially in cases where it is not clear why he thought particular melodies were, say, 'Irish' in either sense.

The majority of Malchair's categorisation in 'The Arrangement' was derived from his sources, so that a tune he copied out of a book of Welsh melodies will be found grouped with other tunes from that book in the 'Welsh Tunes' section of his manuscript. However, there are a handful of exceptions to this general rule. The fact that Malchair did use these labels in both senses, and distinguished between where a tune was from and the national style of the melody, is evident from certain marginalia where, for example, a tune in the 'Welsh' section was acknowledged to be 'Very Irish', though the categorisation derived from his source was honoured.[21]

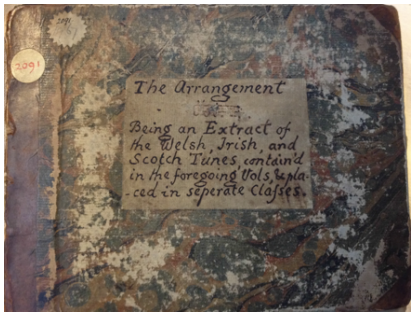
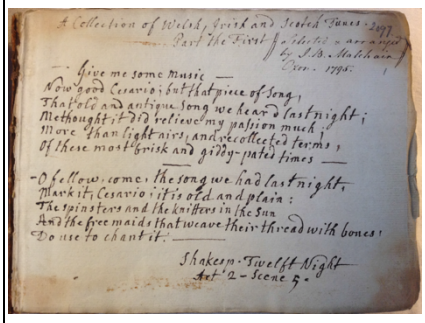
Though Malchair's use of national labels might at times therefore be considered ambiguous, his overall intention in his categorisation was made clear: to accurately describe the characters of Irish, Scottish and Welsh music. In his introduction to 'The Arrangement' Malchair wrote that his collection 'comprehends most probabely all the different characters of Melodie that ever were' and explained that 'If therefore a proper portion of time bee diligentely bestowed on any of these classes, then a clear and distinct Idea will areise concerning the character of the Music.'[22] It is statements such as this that indicate his concern was to categorise his tunes reliably, and which should prevent the modern reader from disregarding his occasional unexpected choices as mere errors.

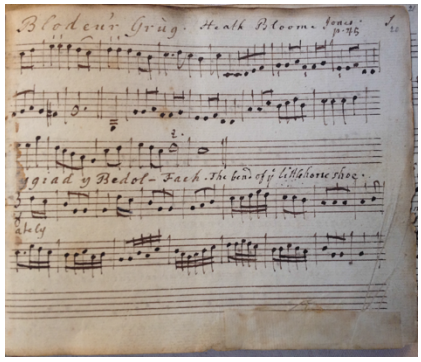
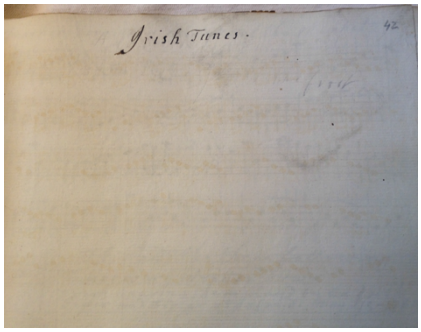
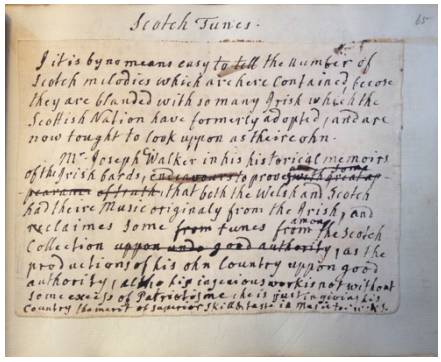
[21] This comment appears next to 'Monk's March', which Malchair collected from Edward Jones' *Relicks of the Welsh Bards*. 'The Arrangement', p. 7.
[22] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fols 2–2v.

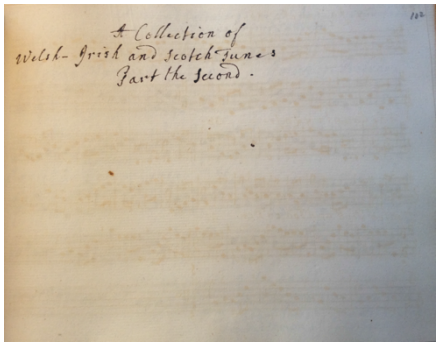
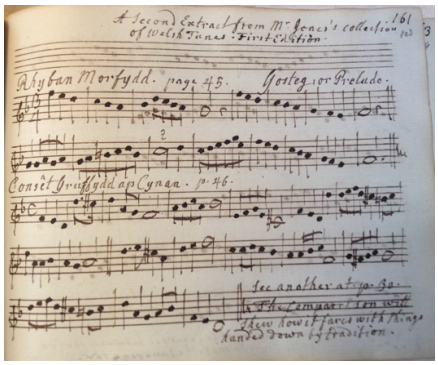
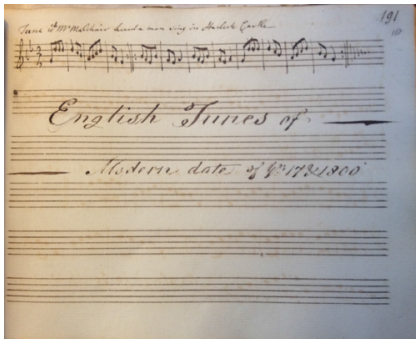
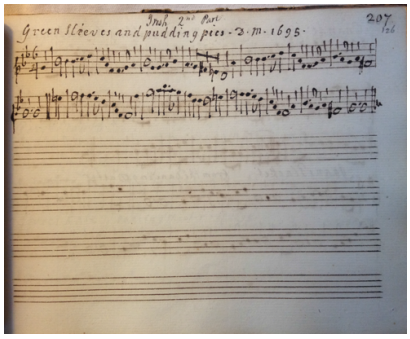
‘The Arrangement’

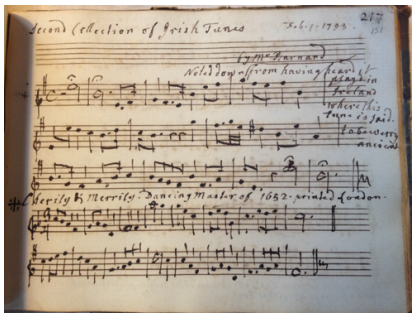
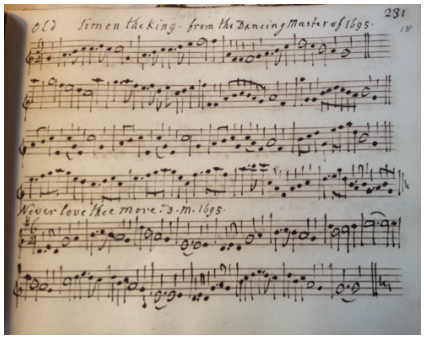
The piecemeal construction of Malchair’s fourth tunebook, ‘The Arrangement’, reveals a great deal about Malchair’s thinking during the period, 1792-5. Table 3.1 gives an overview of the various sections in ‘The Arrangement’. The number of sections in this tunebook, and the various titles that appear either within the pages or on separate title pages glued in, indicate that the book was not simply a written-up copy of tunes ‘contain’d in the foregoing Vols’, as its full title suggests, but was carefully constructred, arranged, and rearranged. Full-size images and a transcription of the text up to the end of fol. 9 are provided in Appendices 1a and 1b.

Table 3.1: sequence of the contents of ‘The Arrangement’
All images of ‘The Arrangement’ are reproduced with permission from the Royal College of Music, London

Folio	Page	Title/contents	Images of pages to be discussed
	Cover	‘Vol. 4’ has been scratched out, replaced by: ‘The Arrangement, Being an Extract of the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch Tunes contain’d in the foregoing Vols, & placed in separate classes.’	
1		Title written above existing content: ‘A Collection of Welsh, Irish and Scotch Tunes. Part the First Selected & arranged by J. B. Malchair Oxon. 1795.’	
2		Introduction: ‘Oxford June 8 – 1795’ ‘Observations on the Book of tunes called–/– The Arrangement’ and ‘Of the Utility of these Classes’	

2v		Number of tunes given.	
3		‘Concerning the labour et cet.’	
4-9		Detail on *The Dancing Master* editions used.	
9		On the larger page to which *The Dancing Master* sheets are glued: ‘The Arrangement’, with page numbers and numbers of tunes.	
10		‘Index of Welsh Tunes’	
12v		‘[Index of] Irish [Tunes]’	
14v		‘[Index of] Scotch [Tunes]’	
19v		Pencil calculation of number of tunes	
20	1	Welsh tunes begin (no title page or title)	
42	between 44 and 45	‘Irish Tunes’ title page In pencil: ‘Part the first’	
65	between 88 and 89	‘Scotch Tunes’ title page, with a glued-in sheet of introduction.	

102	between 160 and 161	‘A Collection of Welsh, Irish and Scotch Tunes Part the Second.’ Note that the word ‘Welsh’ is to the left of the otherwise centralised text, suggesting it was added later.	
103	161	Welsh tunes, with the title ‘A Second Extract from Mr Jones’s Collection of Welsh Tunes. First Edition’	
118	191	‘English Tunes of Modern date of Yrs 17&1800’ – followed by pages of empty staves. Note that unlike the other title pages, glued in on blank sheets, this one is written across the staves.	
126	207	‘Irish 2nd Part’ is written above the page content. From p. 207 the page numbers are in pencil with ink over the top.	

131	217	‘Second Collection of Irish Tunes’ ‘Feb. 1. 1793.’	
134-5	223-5	Originally empty pages, now filled with tunes in William Crotch’s handwriting.	
135v-137v	225-230	Blank pages	
138	231	In pencil: ‘Scotch 2nd Part’	
154	263	I regard this as the last page of tunes in ‘The Arrangement’ proper, concluding the ‘Scottish 2nd Part’ (see below).	
154v-161v	264-278	Tunes in Malchair and Crotch’s handwritings. Some of Malchair’s are German and Italian, and dated 1784 (i.e., they are taken from ‘Vol. 3d’).	

While the order of the book as seen today might seem quite natural, it was not constructed from start to finish chronologically: pencil markings and additions to the text indicate that it was put together in a piecemeal fashion, with pages added and removed. In addition, that the entire structure of Welsh-Irish-Scottish tunes is repeated in ‘Part the Second’, although the index covers the entire collection, suggests the bipartite structure resulted from Malchair’s finding more tunes to include at a later date, and was not his planned structure from the outset.

There are only three sections of 'The Arrangement' whose creation can be put in definite order: the beginning of the Welsh tunes on p. 1, the date 1 February 1793 on page 217, and the date 8 June 1795 on the title page. Starting with these it is possible to work out a probable order in which Malchair constructed the rest of the tunebook. I have set this out as a numbered list for ease of reading, in Figure 3.2. The implications of this sequence will be discussed below.

Figure 3.2: suggested order of construction of 'The Arrangement'

1. Welsh tunes entered at the start of the tunebook, which at this point was still just 'Vol. 4'. Malchair numbered the first page '1'.
2. A section each of Irish and Scottish tunes followed.
3. This was followed by the full-page title 'English Tunes', written over the staves at p. 191.
4. Malchair glued in two title pages – for Irish and Scottish Tunes (possibly also for the first section of Welsh tunes, although if so this has not survived).

I believe at this stage, perhaps after a hiatus (see below), Malchair delayed his plan to include English Tunes and, leaving a gap he could still have filled later, added more Irish and Scottish tunes –

5. A second section of Irish tunes was added starting at p. 217, titled 'Second Collection of Irish Tunes'
6. Malchair left two blank pages after this section, subsequently filled with tunes by William Crotch, before the second section of Scottish tunes, which has a title in pencil.
7. An extension to the second set of Irish tunes was added in front of p. 217, from p. 207, and titled 'Irish 2nd Part'. This section must have been added after the section starting at p. 217 or the title on p. 217, 'Second Collection of Irish Tunes', would either have been unnecessary, or would have read 'Third Collection of Irish Tunes'.

As will be described in detail in Chapter 4, 19 of the tunes in the 'second parts' were copied from 'Vol. 3d', compared with only eleven in the original selection. This suggests he was looking for extra material with which to pad out, or at least to ensure the comprehensiveness of, 'The Arrangement'.

Tidying up his presentation to make the book's two sections balance –

8. Another title page, 'Part the Second', was added at fol. 102, only naming 'Irish and Scotch Tunes'.
9. A title indicating 'Part the First' was added to fol. 1 above the existing content of that page.
10. A second section of Welsh tunes was added, fitted in between the end of the first part of the book, and the 'English Tunes' title page.

11. The word ‘Welsh’ was correspondingly added to the title page at fol. 102 (between pp. 160-1).

Believing he had completed his manuscript –

12. Index written (fols 10-19), including tunes from both Parts. These pages were glued in, probably by Malchair, before the first page with staves (p. 1, fol. 20).
13. Number of tunes calculated for each section and for the volume in total, in pencil, on the back of the last page of the index.
14. These totals were copied out onto a fresh sheet in ink, which was added in front of the index (fol. 9).
15. Sheets inserted about his editions of Playford’s *Dancing Master*. These are several smaller sheets sewn together, the last page glued to fol. 9. (See Introduction to this thesis for analysis of these.)
16. Title and date, 8 June 1795, added to fol. 1. Introduction added (fols 1-3), repeating the total number of tunes and naming the ‘three classes’. These pages were glued in at the very front of the book. (See Introduction to this thesis.)
17. Volume retitled from ‘Vol. 4’ to ‘The Arrangement […]’, again, naming the three classes.

After 1797, when Malchair and Crotch became close friends –

18. The book was shared with William Crotch, along with ‘Vol. 3^{d}’ (presumably also volumes 1 and 2) and various editions of *The Dancing Master*. Crotch added some tunes to ‘The Arrangement’ (and ‘Vol. 3^{d}’) and added these to the index. (It is not clear whether Crotch added these tunes before or after Malchair counted the totals, as the numbers given are lower than the actual number of tunes contained even before taking the additions into account – see below on the ‘extra’ tunes).
19. A small number of tunes were added to the manuscript which are not included in the index or tally.

The progression of this manuscript from ‘Vol. 4’ to ‘The Arrangement’ described in Figure 3.2, with its presentation becoming more formal as Malchair made additions, including the title pages and his introduction, suggests that Malchair had in mind the publication of his work. However, the continued existence of the ‘English Tunes’ title page, and the inclusion of additional tunes at the back that were not part of the formal sequence of Welsh-Irish-Scottish categorisation means it is unlikely the manuscript ever reached a state he considered ready for printing. Instead, while Malchair initially believed his project to have been completed in 1795, when he wrote the date on the title

page, his ideas continued to evolve, and it may have been that in the end he encouraged Crotch to include tunes from his collection in *Specimens* as a last-chance opportunity for his own work to be seen in print, albeit not as 'The Arrangement'.

There are two items in Table 3.1 that have wider implications for understanding Malchair's work. First, that the 'Part the Second' title page at fol. 102 seems to have had the word 'Welsh' added later, suggests that Malchair began the second part of his tunebook with only Irish and Scottish melodies. It is possible that in looking at his expanding collection ('tidying up' his manuscript, as in points 8-11 in Figure 3.2) he decided to add the second section of Welsh tunes to mirror the structure of the first half of the book: this is heavily suggested by the fact that the second set of Welsh tunes relies on a source he had already used in the first part, introduced as 'A Second Extract from Mr Jones's collection of Welsh Tunes'. If Malchair indeed sought out a second selection of Welsh Tunes for reasons of structure, this supports the idea that he was considering presentation carefully, possibly with a view to printing the collection.

Second, the style and position of Malchair's 'English Tunes' title page, and the original gap of twenty-five pages left after it (fols 191v-130v inclusive), shed further light on how Malchair's ideas of the book changed as he added to it. The continued existence of this page, along with the few dates provided, and Malchair's known biography, provide an opportunity to make an educated guess as to the dates at which this work – and his shifts in attitude – took place.

It is not possible to know for certain when Malchair started working on 'Vol. 4', but the latest date in the main body of 'Vol. 3^{d}' is 1791 (see Chapter 4 for further detail on

the contents of Malchair's previous volumes), and it would make sense for him to have begun his new tunebook shortly after that.

The title 'English Tunes' is written across the staves of p. 191 (fol. 118): from this I would infer that this title was written before Malchair added the other title pages, which are blank sheets glued in between already-numbered pages. As shown in Figure 3.2, I believe that at the point this title page was written the tunebook contained only the first three sections – Welsh, Irish and Scottish tunes. At this stage, Malchair considered these sections finished, and decided to turn his attention to 'English Tunes of Modern Date'.

The fact that Malchair created a title page for 'English Tunes' but then did not include any such tunes, suggests that something disturbed his work – either a lack of available repertoire, or perhaps something in his life distracted him. The break in his progress was at least long enough to justify dating the page when he resumed. I suggest, therefore, that this hiatus came between his last concert at the music room in or before March 1792[23] and the date at the start of the 'Second Collection of Irish Tunes', February 1793.

Malchair left twenty-five blank pages between the 'English Tunes' title and p. 217, ten of which he later filled from pp. 207-16 (fols 126-130v) when he added more Irish tunes. Malchair probably filled this section backwards starting from p. 216 and ending with the single tune on p. 207: this tune appears by itself at the top of the page, with four empty staves below it – a layout unlikely to have occurred if he began on p. 207,

[23] 'Letters of John Guard', fol. 11. Guard's letter of 13 March 1792 recounts the incident when Malchair's violin was broken – 'in the midst of such an uproar as I never heard before at any place of public entertainment'. The date of the letter helps narrow down the date of the concert to in or before March 1792. Crotch's 'Malchair' manuscript (see Appendix 3) records only that it was 'about ye year 1792'.

as the first tune on p. 208 fills only three staves, so could easily have been accommodated on p. 207 had he started there. His choice to work backwards adds weight to the idea that he remained aware of the location of his 'English Tunes' title page (otherwise why not add in these tunes forwards from the end of the previous section?), and continued to hold hope of including English tunes in his book at some point, consciously leaving p. 191 in place rather than cutting it out, as he did with pp. 121-4 and 127-30 in 'Vol. 3^{d}'.[24] This lack of removal suggests that whatever Malchair's intentions, the manuscript was never fully ready for printing, even if he was happy to show it to Crotch in manuscript form.

February 1793, then, marks a turning point in the creation of this manuscript, when Malchair decided to move past the 'English Tunes' title page and add more Irish and Scottish tunes. This may have been because he was considering printing the collection and believed Irish and Scottish tunes would be more marketable, even if he had not yet fully decided to abandon his intention to include English tunes. The theory that Malchair may have started to think about printed publication only when he was already half-way through his tunebook is plausible because, a year after his last concert at the Music Room, Malchair may have been looking for a new source of income alongside his drawing practice (which he maintained until 1797, when his sight began to fail). Further evidence that Malchair was considering his financial security comes in a letter of 17 April 1793 from Malchair to Dr Wynne, a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, but resident in London. In this letter, Malchair expressed his intention to sell his stocks

[24] The contents of the removed pages are not known, except for, on p. 128, the tunes 'Stepney Cakes and Ale', to which there is a cross-reference from p. 24 of 'Vol. 3^{d}', and 'The Carman's Whistle', which is cross-referenced from p. 110; and on p. 129 the tune 'Winchester Wedding. Or the King's Jigg', cross-referenced from p. 31, where Malchair wrote 'see an attempt to restore the time of this tune at p.129'.

and the subscriptions he had received from his friends in order to purchase an annuity.[25] In terms of his manuscript tunebook, then, February 1793 seems to have been the point at which Malchair decided to make 'Vol. 4' into 'The Arrangement, Being an Extract of the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch Tunes contain'd in the foregoing Vols, & placed in separate classes', and was probably when he began noting down ideas for his written introduction to the collection, which he completed in June 1795.

Changes of categorisation from source

Beyond Malchair's stated aims in his introduction, there are two reasons to believe that he was thinking very carefully about the 'arrangement' of his tunes into three classes: first, because at times he changed the categorisation of tunes compared with his sources, and second, because there are a small number of discrepancies between his categorisation and his marginal comments.

Determining where Malchair 'changed' the categorisation of a tune can be tricky, as many of his sources did not give national categories for tunes. However there are several instances in 'The Arrangement' where Malchair's categorisation is surprising, as in the following examples:

1. The tune 'Maggie's Tocher', which Malchair calls 'A trip to Marilebon' was taken from Playford's *Dancing Master*; Malchair called it Irish 'by supposition'. Crotch called this tune Scottish, and this is how it would be labelled today. It is not clear what led Malchair to 'suppose' this tune (and those others similarly marked) to be Irish.

[25] John Malchair, 'Letter to Dr Wynne', 17 April 1793, pp. 1–2, Codrington Library, All Souls College, Oxford, CTM, p. 404b, no. 375c.

2. The song 'Roast Beef', discussed in Chapter 2, had an English composer and was used on the English stage (albeit in a play originally titled *The Welch Opera*). I believe Malchair took this tune from James Aird's *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs*.[26] Malchair categorised this tune as Irish 'by supposition', and, as for 'A trip to Marilebon' above, it is unclear why.
3. 'Bumpers Esquire Jones' is a tune Malchair copied from Burk Thumoth's *Twelve English and Twelve Irish airs*, where it is categorised as English; Malchair called it Irish, on the basis that it is included in Thompson's *Hibernian Muse*.
4. 'Matthew Briggs' came from Aird's *Selection*.[27] This tune is also known as 'Drummond Castle' (the Castle itself is located in Perthshire), and appears in the 'Drummond Castle Manuscript' (see Table 3.4 below, and Appendix 3),[28] yet Malchair categorised the tune as Irish. It is unlikely he knew about the manuscript source for this tune, or its alternative (and geographically suggestive) name.

In addition to those tunes where Malchair decided upon a different categorisation to his source, there are a few instances where he appears to have changed his mind within his own tunebook. For example:

5. 'Green Sleeves and Pudding Pies' appears twice in 'The Arrangement': in the Irish section (second part) and, at first glance, it also appears to be in the Scottish section (second part).[29] However, its latter appearance is on p. 270 of 'The Arrangement', where I believe tunes were being included after the manuscript had been formally 'finished' in 1795, without mind to the fact that, starting from the back of the book,

[26] James Aird, *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs: Adapted for the Fife, Violin, or German Flute*, 6 vols. (Glasgow: Printed & sold by Jas. Aird, 1782), vol. 1, p. 27, no. 77.
[27] Aird, vol. 2, p. 59, no. 160.
[28] 'Matthew Briggs - Drummond Castle' <http://tunearch.org/wiki/Annotation:Drummond_Castle_(1)> [accessed 28 April 2017].
[29] 'The Arrangement', pp. 207 and 270.

they eventually made contact with the end of a section titled 'Scotch'. For example, the 'Duke of York's March' appears on p. 268 with a note that it was 'Composed by Ely, a German, and of the Duke's Band'. That the inclusion of 'Green Sleeves' in the Scottish section was accidental, is supported by the fact that the appearance of 'Green Sleeves and Pudding Pies' on p. 270 is not indicated in Malchair's index, while the 'Irish' version is included in the correct section of the index.

6. 'Eppie McNab' is likewise to be found categorised as both Irish and Scottish in 'The Arrangement'.[30] The number 336 by the tune in its latter location identifies Malchair's source as Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, vol. 4. The 'Irish' version is from James Aird's *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs*, printed in Glasgow, which does not specify that this tune is Irish.[31] This suggests that Malchair relied on the authority of his source for his categorisation, unless the source did not label the tunes individually, in which case he used other information or possibly simply his own judgement. What is clear is that Malchair saw no contradiction in a tune being both Scottish and Irish in its two variants. These two versions of the tune differ a great deal (with different time signatures and keys, albeit with a similar shape to the melody), though the fact that Malchair gave a reference on each to the page number of the other indicates that he recognised their connection.
7. 'Corn Rigs are Bonny', also called 'My Nanny O', is another tune included twice: in the first Irish section, and in the first Scottish section of 'The Arrangement'.[32] Again, Malchair cross-referenced these to each other. This tune appeared in Burk

[30] 'The Arrangement', pp. 212 and 246.
[31] Aird, vol. 2, p. 60, no. 163.
[32] 'The Arrangement', pp. 109 and 61.

Thumoth's *Twelve English and twelve Irish airs* (as Irish air 'My Nanny O'), but I have not been able to identify Malchair's source for his Scottish version.[33]

And then there are occasions where Malchair added his own comments and opinions in the margin, without changing the top-level categorisation:

8. Beside 'The Irish Ragg' Malchair noted 'the Scotch tune of Dessy Moll and Mary Gren is very like this'.[34]
9. On the tune 'Ymdaith Mwnge', 'Monks March', Malchair noted that it is 'Very Irish', though he collected it from Edward Jones' *Relicks of the Welsh Bards*, and included it in the Welsh section accordingly.[35]
10. An anomaly in a number of ways, the tune 'Chande', given to Malchair by J. Murray, is listed among the Irish tunes in 'The Arrangement', although the index identifies it as 'a Spanish tune'. Above the tune itself Malchair has written 'Much resembling the Irish Music'.[36]
11. Malchair noted in pencil next to 'Difyrrweh Gwyr Dyfi' ('The Delight of the Men of Dovey'), 'Most certainly Irish'. The tune came from Parry's *Antient Welsh Airs, or British Harmony*, no. 21, p. 25, and was included in the first Welsh section, with another version of the same tune appearing in the second Welsh section.[37]

[33] It is to be found, in a different key and with some additional dotted rhythms, but otherwise identical to Malchair's version on p. 109 of 'The Arrangement', in Johnson, vol. I, p. 89, no. 88, where it is attributed to Ramsay. A very different version to all the others is in vol. VI, p. 600, no. 580, with the subtitle 'by Burns'. The closest version in print I have found to Malchair's tune on p. 61 of 'The Arrangement' is in William Thomson, *Orpheus Caledonius or a Collection of the Best Scotch Songs Set to Musick by W. Thomson* (London: Engraved & Printed for the Author at his house in Leicester Fields, 1725), p. 38, National Library of Scotland, Ing.241.
[34] 'The Arrangement', p. 61.
[35] 'The Arrangement', p. 7.
[36] 'The Arrangement', p. 208.
[37] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 31. The other version of the tune appears on p. 184.

The fact that Malchair's top-level categorisation is almost always supported by the authority of his sources (where these are named) indicates that this was his primary method of determining the national category for a tune. However, it is also clear that he did not categorise blindly, and would add or edit his marginalia if new information confirmed his earlier 'supposition'. This was the case for the ten tunes, including 'A trip to Marilibon' and 'Roast Beef' (numbers 1 and 2 in the list above), which Malchair indicated were Irish 'by supposition', alongside an eleventh where 'by supposition' was erased and 'Discovered to be Irish' written instead.[38] Such comments reveal that Malchair was thinking carefully about the categorisation of his tunes, and intended the inclusion of these in the Irish section – they were not simply slipped in on an empty stave. Malchair also appears to have made decisions for himself that were not backed up by any source, as where he took tunes from sources that did not specify a national category for individual tunes, such as Playford's *Dancing Master* and Aird's *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs*.

But if Malchair was relying on his sources for information on the national category of the tunes, how is it possible to explain the cases listed above, where Malchair contradicted his source, included the same tunes in two different sections, or where a categorisation was made without reference to a source? I believe the explanation lies in Malchair's use of the terms 'Irish', 'Scotch', and so on: Malchair's categorisation, taken alongside his marginal comments, is consistent with the beliefs that a tune could exist in, say, both Scottish and Irish variants; and that a tune could, in the case of 'Chande' (no. 10 above), *be* Spanish but *sound* or *look* Irish.[39] Re-reading the above lists with

[38] 'The Arrangement', pp. 52-6.
[39] Malchair never made explicit whether his opinions in these cases were a result of the sound of the tune, the appearance of the notation on the page, or something else entirely (for example, the nationality of a performer, the language of a text set to the melody, instruments used in its performance, the harmony

this in mind, the sense of Malchair's labelling immediately becomes apparent, and explains why he did not change the categorisation in these cases, but only added his thoughts and cross-references as additional pieces of information.

If Malchair used national labels to refer to both geographical origins and the style of his tunes, I believe the section titles given in 'The Arrangement' – 'Welsh', 'Irish', 'Scotch' – were broadly, though not exclusively, intended to delineate the former. A clue as to his intention is given in his introduction, where the following deletion, indicated by < >, reveals how his plan for 'The Arrangement' changed:

> This Book consists of Welsh, Irish and Scotch tunes, which before were collected promiscuously in several books, but now are <separated and the musick of each of those Nations ↑by itself↓ forms a> ↑all written in one book and in three↓ distinct Classes, each Class being verry numerous it comprehends most probabely all the different characters of Melodie that ever were, and are now in use with the nation it belongs to.[40]

This suggests that Malchair intended to group tunes not as 'music of each of those Nations' but in 'three distinct Classes' showing 'the different characters of Melodie [...] with the nation it belongs to'. Malchair's edit demonstrates that he did not want to present particular *tunes* as belonging to these nations, but rather tunes demonstrating particular *characters* (or *styles*) of music, which belonged to those nations. This interpretation of his introduction is consistent with his tendency to place tunes from a printed collection of, say, 'Scotch Airs' together in the 'Scotch' section of his manuscript, while also allowing him to place the Spanish tune 'Chande' in the Irish section without contradiction.

heard with it, or the key or time signature). Crotch's reference to Malchair playing national airs from memory confirms that Malchair knew many of these tunes by heart, but while it might be reasonable to assume that his opinions are based on the tune as he heard it in his head or as he played it on the violin, Malchair did not himself state as much.

[40] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 2.

That Malchair was prepared to include tunes of ambiguous categorisation, and that he attempted to define and label them in 'The Arrangement' – a book intended to make clear to readers the characteristics of music of different nations – shows that he was aware of the gradations between various national styles, and wanted to demonstrate to his readers that while it was true that music 'from here' will often 'sound like this', there were exceptions to the general rule: such inclusions make his book stronger as a pedagogical text. This is likewise the case for those occasions where Malchair collected the same tune from two different sources and categorised it as, say, both Irish and Scottish: he explicitly acknowledged such duplicates with cross-references to each tune, and noted in his introduction that such examples 'are given to shew how differentely the same tune is often playd in one province of the same Country, to what it is in another'.[41] That is, the same sequence of notes could be played in distinct national styles and even end up with two different titles, while retaining its identity as a particular tune. This statement is the closest Malchair came to explaining what it was that he was comparing: how the tune was 'now in use', that is, how it was *played*, and by implication, how it *sounded*, rather than his comparison being related to its history or a tune's appearance on the page.

In acknowledging that there was sometimes room for doubt as to the national categorisation of a tune, Malchair often (though not always, as made clear above) indicated the evidence for his categorisation in terms of the source he took it from, or gave (by marginal comment rather than top-level categorisation) his own thoughts on the matter. For example, by the tune 'Sandy o[']er the Lee' he noted 'Not pure

[41] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 3.

Scotch',[42] though he categorised it as Scottish. Explaining the difficulty of categorisation in such cases, a note stuck to the 'Scotch Tunes' title page describes how music could be imported from another country and adopted as native:

> Mr Joseph ↑C.↓ Walker in his historical memoirs of the Irish bards, <endeavours to> proves <as some> <with great appearance of truth,> that both the Welsh and Scotch had theire Music originaly from the Irish, and reclaimes some <from> tunes from ↑among↓ the Scotch Collection <uppon under good authority>, as the productions of his ohn Country uppon good authority, altho his ingenious work is not without some excess of Patriotisme, he is just in giving his Country the merit of superior skill & taste in Music [compared] to W[ales] & S[cotland].[43]

Malchair's use of the words 'authority', 'prove' and 'truth', as well as his attitude in judging the reliability of Walker's claims, are typical of the eighteenth century, when reason and authority were 'two of the chief preoccupations' of the age, according to Gerald Cragg.[44]

Most prominently, John Locke, discussing government and religion, questioned whether reason (the experience of the senses) could displace the authority of earlier generations and of ancient thought which had power only through custom.[45] But more relevant to Malchair's usage, especially taken with his use of the word 'supposition' with reference to the Irish tunes mentioned above, is the work of David Hume, who wrote in his 1739 *Treatise of Human Nature* that the quality of a historian's work rested on the transparency of their historical claims:

> [F]act is establish'd on the unanimous testimony of historians […] these ideas were either in the minds of such as were immediately present at that action, and receiv'd the ideas directly from its existence; or they were deriv'd from the testimony of others, and that again from another testimony, by a visible graduation, 'till we arrive at those who were eye-witnesses and spectators of the

[42] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 142.
[43] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 65.
[44] Gerald R. Cragg, *Reason and Authority in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp. vii–viii.
[45] See, for example, Ruth W. Grant, 'John Locke on Custom's Power and Reason's Authority', *The Review of Politics*, 74.4 (2012), pp. 607–29.

> event. […] without the authority either of the memory or the senses, our whole reasoning wou'd be chimerical and without foundation. Every link of the chain wou'd in that case hang upon another; but there wou'd not be any thing fix'd to one end of it, capable of sustaining the whole; and consequently there wou'd be no belief nor evidence. And this actually is the case with all *hypothetical* arguments, or reasonings upon a supposition; there being in them, neither any present impression, nor belief of a real existence.[46]

While it is not known whether or not Malchair read the work of David Hume, concerns as to the use of written historical sources and the trust placed in authors and editors of historical music and song had been discussed in depth with direct relevance to music following the publication of Macpherson's *Ossian* in 1760. Malchair's use of language, and his careful consideration of Walker's claim that Irish tunes had been adopted by the Scots, demonstrate that he was aware of the need to provide evidence to support his categorisations, and to mark 'by supposition' where no such evidence was available. In a similar vein, Crotch was concerned to ensure the reliability of his sources, which included Malchair, and noted in a footnote at the beginning of *Specimens* that 'The Editor [that is, Crotch] has, in general, endeavoured, as far as lies in his power, to authenticate the airs contained in this Volume, by noticing the sources from whence he received them.'[47]

How were Malchair's categories viewed later?

As the majority of Malchair's printed sources did not clearly indicate national categories for the tunes contained, it is difficult to say how many tunes there are for which Malchair disagreed with his source. However, looking forward in time, to the nineteenth century, it is interesting to compare Malchair's categorisation with that used by subsequent collectors to label the same tunes, and to consider how particular

[46] David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects.*, 3 vols. (London: printed for John Noon, at the White-Hart, near Mercer's-Chapel, in Cheapside, 1739), I, pp. 149–51.
[47] Crotch, I, p. 4.

individuals reacted to Malchair's work specifically. William Crotch, who acknowledged his heavy reliance on Malchair's collection in *Specimens of Various Styles of Music* (1806), redistributed some tunes into alternative national groupings without explanation. Tunes printed in *Specimens* that were categorised or labelled differently in Malchair's tunebooks are shown in Table 3.2.[48]

Table 3.2: tunes re-categorised by William Crotch

	Tune	**Malchair**	**Crotch**
1	The Sheep Shearers, or Next Oars	Scottish[49]	Irish
2	Stepney Cakes and Ale	Scottish	Irish
3	Corn Rigs are Bonny, or My Nanny O	Scottish & Irish	Irish
4	Charming Maid	Welsh	English/of doubtful origin
5	Porter's Lamentation	Polish	English/of doubtful origin
6	Amorisco	Italian	English/of doubtful origin
7	Cheshire Rounds	Irish	English/of doubtful origin
8	The Dusty Miller	Irish	English/of doubtful origin

Crotch also included in *Specimens* many tunes from Malchair's 'Vol. 3^{d}' which Malchair did not explicitly categorise. Some of these had Playford's *Dancing Master* as their source, and it is not clear on what authority Crotch made his categorisation. For example, Crotch's selection of French tunes includes 'A Lovely Lass [to the Friar Came]', which follows a Scandinavian tune in Malchair's 'Vol. 3^{d}' and which can be found in Aird's *Collection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs*, vol. I, no. 138. Similarly, among Crotch's Italian tunes is 'Parthenia, a Dance', and among the Spanish is 'Saraband', both of which are credited to *The Dancing Master* edition of 1665, but

[48] To create this list I used my database to search Malchair's collection for each of the titles named by Crotch in volume I of *Specimens*, and manually compared side-by-side all the untitled tunes in Crotch's volume with all the untitled tunes in Malchair's two tunebooks. If Crotch recorded tunes under different titles, or added titles to untitled tunes (or removed titles) it is possible that these tunes were overlooked in my search. However, these eight are enough to prove the point that Crotch did not always take Malchair's categorisation as unquestionable fact.

[49] 'The Rakes of Westmeath', which is similar though not identical, is recorded twice in the Irish section of 'The Arrangement', on p. 60 and p. 86.

which in Malchair's tunebook have no such categorisation, and are among a selection of tunes from this edition of *The Dancing Master* including the geographically titled 'Wal[l]ingford House' and 'Scots Rant'. In Malchair's tunebook, 'Parthenia' additionally bears the pencilled name 'Mr Price' with no additional explanation.[50] Crotch's own tunebook, 'Tunes of Various Nations', which might be considered an early draft for *Specimens*, held at the Norfolk Records Office, reveals that Malchair and Crotch discussed categorisation, and provides additional examples of cases on which they did not agree. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Like Malchair, William Crotch was clearly aware of the idea that the same tune might belong to two different nations as, despite the fact that several of the tunes he added to 'The Arrangement' have the word 'Irish' in their titles (for example, 'Irish Trevalin', 'The Irish Lady, or Aniseed'), they were all included by Crotch in the 'Scotch' section of Malchair's tunebook and listed as 'Scotch' in the index. There is some degree of explanation for this in *Specimens*, where Crotch gave both the Irish and Scottish names for some of these tunes, noting that 'Irish Trevalin', also called 'Limbrick's Lamentation', was known in Scotland as 'Lochaber'.

In addition to the five tunes listed above that Crotch recategorised as 'Old English Tunes and Some Tunes of Doubtful Origin', there are a further sixteen tunes given under this heading that Crotch sourced from Malchair's tunebooks. That is to say, twenty-one of the thirty-one potentially 'English' tunes listed by Crotch are taken from Malchair's tunebooks – and yet Malchair left his 'English Tunes' section blank. Four

[50] This might refer to Malchair's patron and friend Robert Price (1717-1761), or, more likely, because 'Vol. 3d' was compiled in the 1780s, Robert's son Uvedale Price (1747-1829).

of these tunes are in 'The Arrangement' only in Crotch's handwriting, and therefore it is impossible to know whether Malchair knew them. At the same time, that Crotch did not feel strongly enough to declare in print that these tunes were 'English' without doubt adds weight to the notion that there was not enough provenanced repertoire available for Malchair to have created a section of English tunes equal in size to even the smallest of the other three sections (107 tunes by his own count). I will return to the tunes listed in Table 3.2 in Chapter 5 (Table 5.3), where I consider the work of William Crotch in greater depth.

While Crotch was a friend of Malchair's, he was forty-five years his junior, and it is possible his contrasting categorisation of these tunes was a consequence of this. It is certainly the case that subsequent commentators of a similar generation to Crotch (b. 1775) and the generation after (for example, William Chappell, b. 1809) disagreed with Malchair's ideas. In 1856, the same year Chappell published the second volume of *Popular Music of the Olden Time* [...] *illustrative of the National Music of England*, and sixty years after the creation of 'The Arrangement', he borrowed Malchair's manuscript. A letter from Chappell to William Husk can still be found between pages of Malchair's manuscript, discrediting Malchair's 'incorrect' categorisation of the tunes. He wrote,

> I return you Mr Malchair's manuscript with many thanks – As far as the nationality of the tunes goes, it is a *map of absurdities* – as a proof he places "The Roast Beef of Old England" among Irish tunes – I cannot conceive any tune less Irish than that, setting aside that we know it to have [been] composed by Leveridge – but he has carried over his principle, that every thing must be Irish, Scotch, or Welsh, and nothing English, fully.[51]

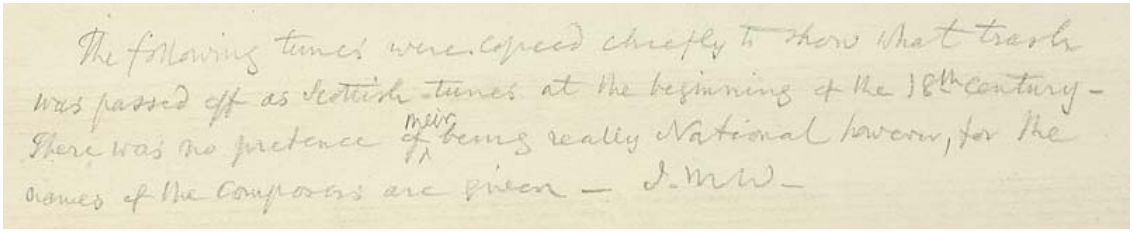
[51] William Chappell to William Husk, 8 December 1856. Tucked into 'The Arrangement'. My emphasis.

An anonymous hand, writing in 'The Arrangement', also took issue with Malchair's categorisation of this tune. The writing is similar to that of J. M. W. (presumably John Muir Wood, 1805-1892, musician, publisher and writer), and the comment reads 'Placed here among Irish tunes!!' – with an underlining and two exclamation marks. As described in Chapter 2, this tune was well known at all levels of society, being familiar to English theatre audiences, used by various branches of the military, and seen as almost a running joke in artistic circles: its full title, 'The Roast Beef of Old England', was used by Hogarth for his 1748 painting of the Gate of Calais. Comments in the same 'J. M. W.' hand can be found elsewhere in 'The Arrangement', as on p. 61, 'Among the Scotch collections also', indicating the duplication of 'My Nanny O'; on p. 51 where an alternative title is given in brackets in the same handwriting '(Blue bonnets over the border)'; and on p. 31 where, in response to a pencil note by Malchair following the Welsh tune 'Difyrrweh Gwyr Dyfi', 'Most Certainly Irish', is written, 'No. The lamentation only – the tune is a corruption of two airs both English.' Similar comments appear on p. 9, where the Welsh tune 'Tôn y Fammaeth' is designated 'A corruption of "Green Sleeves"', and on p. 10 where the Welsh tune 'Pen Rhaw' is indicated to be 'The Corruption of John Come Kiss Me Now'.

While it is not certain that this is the hand of John Muir Wood, he seems the most likely candidate, as he took a pencil, and sometimes a pen, liberally to manuscript tunebooks, often initialing his comments and making note of William Chappell's research, as when he noted in the margin of Frank Kidson's manuscript copy of Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*, alongside 'The Broom of Cowden Knows', 'Wm Chappell writes – "An English Tune. Attend – the original Ballad – English" (The author must however have carried off the burden of CowdenKnows from Scotland. – Which shows our priority –

J. M. W.)'.[52] Wood's marginal comments most frequently discuss the national origins of tunes, occasionally with vivid language, such as the note shown in Figure 3.3, that 'The following tunes were copied chiefly to show what *trash* was passed off as Scottish tunes at the beginning of the 18th century' (my emphasis). A series of tunes each titled 'Scotch Tune', taken from the Playfords' *Apollo's Banquet* (1669), follows the remark.[53]

Figure 3.3: an example of John Muir Wood's annotations
Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland


The following tunes were copied chiefly to show what trash was passed off as Scottish tunes at the beginning of the 18th century – There was no pretence of being really National however, for the names of the Composers are given – J.M.W.

While Chappell and Wood might have seen eye to eye on the categorisation of some tunes, Chappell's assertions about the potential English origins of a number of Scottish tunes resulted in his professional disgrace in Scotland, as Karen McAulay describes: Chappell eventually abandoned plans to produce a Scottish song collection of his own, handing his existing material to Wood to help him to complete the new edition of George Farquhar Graham's *Songs of Scotland* (first published 1849, revised by Wood in 1887).[54] It was assumed Wood would have less trouble, as he was himself a Scot.

The annotation of manuscripts seems to have been quite common among antiquarians throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, with Anne Gilchrist (1863-

[52] Frank Kidson, 'M. S. Airs from Various Sources: Volume I', 1876, fol. 11, National Library of Scotland, MS 3301, also Glen 209a.
[53] Frank Kidson, 'Transcript of Tunes Found in Various Editions of Playford's Dancing Master, Including Those for the Treble Violin, and of Tunes in William Christie's Collection of Strathspeys', fol. 48v, National Library of Scotland, MS 3300, also Glen 185.
[54] McAulay, p. 199.

1954) taking a pencil to many of the historical manuscripts in her own collection, some of which are now held at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. As Karen McAulay has indicated, the nineteenth-century preoccupation with origins and authorship (with a view to securing cultural capital) led commentators such as William Chappell, David Laing, and Andrew Wighton to interpret the work of earlier collectors according to nineteenth-century values rather than considering how such music would have been viewed at the time of compilation. Taken together, these comments by Victorian commentators reveal that whatever scheme Malchair might have been using in the 1790s for grouping his tunes, by the mid- and later nineteenth century the geographical scheme described by Gelbart was dominant: so much so that these authors do not seem to have been able to conceive of an alternative explanation for Malchair's more questionable categorisations.

'Extra' tunes

Malchair's introduction to 'The Arrangement', written after he considered the manuscript complete, sets out that the volume contains 455 tunes: 123 Welsh tunes, 107 Irish and 225 Scotch tunes. In fact, using a database to count the tunes in 'The Arrangement' reveals there are a total of 524 items (sixty-nine more than he recorded in the index), of which 140 are categorised as Welsh; 115 as Irish; and 243 as Scottish. These 'extra' tunes are interspersed throughout the manuscript and were not all simply added at the end after the completion of the introduction in 1795. Partly they can be accounted for by duplicates, which Malchair only counted once where the database records two items; but there are twenty-two 'extra' tunes that are not given in his index at all. These are listed in Table 3.3.[55]

[55] Some of these are not in Malchair's handwriting, although they were probably added with his

Table 3.3: tunes in 'The Arrangement' not included in Malchair's index

	Page	Title	Section of tunebook
1	18	Of Noble Race was Shinkin	Welsh (first part)
2	19	[untitled][56]	Welsh (first part)
3	39	Caer y Waen	Welsh (first part)
4	174	Conset Dafydd ap Gwilym	Welsh (second part)
5	80	Matthew Briggs	Irish (first part)
6	210	Jacksons Bonner Bougher	Irish (second part)
7	217	[untitled]	Irish (second part)
8	221	Aillenian Dubh O!	Irish (second part)
9	99	Bessie's Haggies	Scottish (first part)
10	111	No. 19	Scottish (first part)
11	112	Youth of my Love	Scottish (first part)
12	112	[untitled]	Scottish (first part)
13	116	[untitled]	Scottish (first part)
14	124	[untitled]	Scottish (first part)
15	232	Wet and cold are my people	Scottish (second part)
16	245	What can a young lassie do wi' an auld man	Scottish (second part)
17	266	Washington[']s March	Scottish (second part)
18	268	New Short Troop	Scottish (second part)
19	272	[untitled]	Scottish (second part)
20	275	The Grand Duke of Tuscany[']s March	Scottish (second part)
21	276	[untitled]	Scottish (second part)
22	278	The Cricket	Scottish (second part)

There are also several tunes without individual names that I have not included in my count of twenty-two because they are included in the index under general headings such as 'Argyleshir Airs' (two tunes), or 'North Highland Reels' (this and subsequent such titles give eight tunes altogether). Likewise, though Malchair recorded three tunes each called 'Skye Dance' on p. 132 and two called 'Harris Dance' on p. 133, there is only one corresponding, and notably singular, entry for each in the index. Because these tunes were in all practicality included in the index, albeit not individually, I have not counted them as 'extra'.

knowledge, as they are followed by further tunes in his writing.

[56] This tune is 'from an old Manuscript Book of the Revd. Mr. John Jones. Jesus Col. Oxon'.

It makes sense that Malchair should have omitted from his index those eight tunes without names or which were simply numbered (see row 10). From the remaining fourteen items I will discount a further four tunes that appear from p. 264 of 'The Arrangement', because, as explained above, I consider p. 263 to be the last page of the tunebook's categorised sequence as far as Malchair was concerned (although the last page of the manuscript is numbered 278): while the categorised 'Scotch Tunes' continue until p. 267, the tunes on pp. 264-7 are in Crotch's handwriting, and therefore it cannot be known for certain whether Malchair intended for them to be included, or even knew that they had been added. I suspect that they were added after he had lost his sight, for had he still been in the process of adding to and editing his tunebook himself he would have inked over the pencilled page numbers for pp. 264-7, as he did for all the pages from p. 182 onwards – prior to that, no pencil is evident.

Even before looking at the remaining ten tunes that are missing from the index, there are discrepancies between the book's contents and the index, where tunes notated in Malchair's handwriting were added to the list by Crotch. The highest numbered page in the index in Malchair's handwriting is p. 263: 'The Lass of Livingston'. However, the second tune on that page, 'A trip to the Jubile[e] – or Edinborough Castle', while notated by Malchair, was added to the index (once each under each title) by Crotch. The following pages, pp. 264-7, contain eleven tunes in Crotch's handwriting, all but one of which have been added to the index by Crotch in the 'Scotch' section, the exception being the penultimate tune, 'Washington[']s March' (marked 'Ed 1665'), which was not included. Being the penultimate tune in the tunebook, and having been included in *Specimens* as Scottish, I suspect that its inclusion in this location in 'The Arrangement' was deliberate, and its omission from the index accidental.

From p. 268 to p. 278 (the final page of the manuscript), tunes once again appear in Malchair's handwriting. Some of these are without titles, one is a composition of his own dated 1784, there is a pencil outline of a 'Minuet' with the initials 'G. J.' (presumably George Jenner), and one tune, 'The Cricket', is followed by a sequence of minims and semibreves notated with bar lines but without a clef which might be the outline of a separate tune recalled by ear or an attempt at harmony for the tune above. The eight items on these pages, I surmise, were added from the back of the book, pp. 268-78, and were not intended to be included in the arrangement of tunes in national categories. Originally this distinction would have been clearer, as there would have been a gap of four pages, pp. 264-7, after the end of the 'Scotch Tunes' section, but these were subsequently filled by Crotch's additions. None of the tunes on these final pages is listed in the index, even though one is a duplicate of 'Green Sleeves and Pudding Pies', which is also recorded on p. 207, and it would have been easy to add '& 270' to the index, the equivalent of which was done in similar cases.

Excluding untitled tunes and those after p. 264, there are ten tunes yet to account for in 'The Arrangement' that were not included in Malchair's index. Though these tunes were omitted from the index, I can only assume that this was accidental, as Malchair's sources, where these are known or can be worked out, indicate that Malchair deliberately placed these tunes in their respective 'classes'. These sources and my reasoning are shown in Table 3.4. It therefore does not seem possible that Malchair was ever slotting tunes into empty staves (as might have been assumed for 'Roast Beef' and 'Hookley in the Hole', as described in Chapter 2), without considering the categorisation implied by their position.

Table 3.4: explaining the extra tunes

	Page in 'The Arr.'	**Title and categorisation in 'The Arrangement'**	**Notes**
1	18	Of Noble Race was Shinkin [Welsh]	This tune is from Playford's *Dancing Master* (1695). It was sung by the character of Rice ap Shenkin, the Welshman, in D'Urfey's *The Richmond Heiress* (1693).[57]
3[58]	39	Caer y Waen [Welsh]	This tune was taken from Parry's *Antient Welsh Airs, or British Harmony* (p. 23) and written down in sequence with other tunes from that book.
4	174	Conset Dafydd ap Gwilym [Welsh]	One in a long sequence of tunes taken from Edward Jones' *Relicks* (this tune from p. 75).
5	80	Matthew Briggs [Irish]	This tune is also known as 'Drummond Castle' and is to be found in a number of Scottish tunebooks of the period, such as James Aird's *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs* (vol. 2, p. 59, no. 160).
6	210	Jacksons Bonner Bougher [Irish]	The B-part of this tune is identical to that of 'Morgan Rattler', while the A-part is very similar. Malchair collected this tune from Aird's *Selection* (vol. 3, p. 208), where it is explicitly labelled Irish.
8	221	Aillenian Dubh O! [Irish]	From Walker's *Historical Memoirs* (appended without page numbers, tune no. IX).
9	99	Bessie's Haggies [Scottish]	This tune was printed in William McGibbon's *Scots Tunes* (Book II, p. 32, c.1759), which Malchair refers to as the 'little printed Scotch Edition'.[59]
11	112	Youth of my Love [Scottish]	This has the number 38 in the margin, which confirms that it, like the tunes around it, comes from Patrick MacDonald's *Highland Vocal Airs*.
15	232	Wet & cold are my people [Scottish]	This is the tune to a song from Patrick MacDonald's *Highland Vocal Airs* (no. 72).
16	245	What can a young lassie do wi' an auld man [Scottish]	From James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* Vol. 4, p. 327, no. 316.

[57] 'Of Noble Race Was Shenkin' <http://tunearch.org/wiki/Annotation:Of_Noble_Race_was_Shenkin> [accessed 28 April 2017].
[58] Row numbers are preserved from Table 3.3, thus are not consecutive.
[59] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 89.

Conclusion

Analysis of the construction of 'The Arrangement' has helped explain Malchair's presentation of his collection, and working out his sources for those categorisations which at first appear problematic has, for the most part, revealed the reasons for his choices. By comparing the dates given in different sections it has been possible to work out a probable timeline for when he wrote different parts of the tunebook, and to add detail to his biography, for example, by considering that the recommencement of work on the book during 1793 may have been a result of his declining income after he had stopped leading the band at the Music Room. The appearance of the handwriting of William Crotch in the book also provides insight into the trusting nature of their friendship, and suggests that Malchair had no further plans for the manuscript after he began losing his sight (1797-9) and had given up on the idea of having it printed himself.

As regards Malchair's categorisation of tunes there are several conclusions that can be drawn. First, his categorisation was primarily determined by that given by his sources. Where he had two conflicting sources he often named both, and recorded the tune twice (in slightly different versions) in order to include it under each national heading. Where he believed a tune should be included in a category different from that given by his source, he made a note of this, and where the source made no claim as to the national label that should be applied, Malchair noted that he had categorised based on 'supposition' rather than evidence, as in the case of 'Roast Beef' – this tune, along with 'Matthew Briggs' and at least sixty other tunes, Malchair copied out from various volumes of Aird's *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs* where they were printed without individual categorisation. From his reliance on sources, Malchair's

method, like that described by David Hume, appears similar to that of an antiquarian seeking out historical sources for his claims.

Second, the fact that Malchair appears to have had a logical reason for almost all of his categorisations, including for those tunes he neglected to include in the index, means that even if certain tunes were slotted in later because they fitted on an empty stave he was always conscious of which section he was placing them in. Therefore it is almost certain that Malchair had a reason to consider the Playford tune 'Hookley [Hockley] in the Hole' Scottish. Again, the fact that apparently random placements seem always to have logical reasons after all suggests that for those tunes that have been categorised incorrectly (according to today's standards), the source Malchair used simply has yet to be identified.

A third conclusion can be drawn – and further questions asked – regarding the pages of 'The Arrangement' after p. 263 where, I argue, Crotch and Malchair were placing tunes in a more haphazard way. The appearance of Crotch's handwriting in different locations adds to the difficulty in constructing a timeline, as does the fact that only some of the tunes in Crotch's handwriting are listed in the index. This might suggest that the tunebook was added to after Malchair had finished it, or alternatively that Malchair asked Crotch to include certain tunes, which the note glued to the inside front cover of the tunebook listing some 'favourit tunes' might suggest. This will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Fourth, analysing Malchair's categorisation practices has revealed that he was more interested in where tunes were 'now in use' than he was in presenting a black and white

view of the geographical origins of these tunes. This is proven by his inclusion of certain tunes twice, in two different sections, as was the case for 'Eppie McNab', for which he included both Scottish and Irish versions. The fact that Malchair knew he had the same tune twice and that this was not simply an error or oversight is confirmed by his cross-references, and it is likely that he consciously decided to keep both versions as by doing so felt he was providing further evidence to serve his purpose – to demonstrate the characteristic music of each nation.

Furthermore, these instances of duplication and cross-referencing show that Malchair went through his tunebooks several times, was aware of what was in his collection, and returned to it later to make corrections and add cross-references where necessary (this will be discussed further in Chapter 4). Evidence of such actions not only provides further confirmation that he thought carefully about his categorisation, but also reveals that this is the most up to date version of the collection – it is unlikely to have been the case that he changed his mind on either his scheme for categorisation or the categorisation of a particular tune at a later date, but neglected to write it down.

Finally, the opinions of Victorian commentators on Malchair's work are interesting to note, for they confirm that Malchair was categorising and labelling his tunes according to an earlier logic. It is remarkable that even though Malchair gave provenance for the majority of his tunes, these later musicians seem to have assumed Malchair's approach to be the same as their own, and consequently judged many of his categorisations to be incorrect. It is only with historical distance that it is possible to detect the shifting criteria upon which such decisions were made. While Malchair categorised based on the authority of his sources, Chappell's contemporaries considered instead the

nationality of the composer, earlier printed or manuscript sources that Malchair did not have access to, or relied on the evidence of their own ears, as Chappell's letter suggests. The prevalence of this approach is demonstrated by a letter from Andrew Wighton to William Chappell, dated 8 February 1859, where he stated that rather than seeking out the earliest printed or manuscript versions, 'I concluded that it would be more easy and satisfactory to prove whether the Tunes were Scotch or English, by their Characteristics, etc'.[60] This was an approach that Malchair may have used to add marginal notes to his tunes, but his primary categorisation is consistently linked to the authority of his sources.

Malchair was deeply concerned with categorisation. The diligence of his method is demonstrated by his interest in finding multiple sources for tunes, and his comparison of different renditions of the same tune, even when these came from the same publisher (as in different editions of *The Dancing Master*). Such an approach is exceptional in manuscript tunebooks of this period, and is rarely evident even in printed collections of the day, which do not usually give provenance or include comments on individual tunes, or attempt to organise their contents beyond the overall subject given in the title. By the nineteenth century, however, Malchair's antiquarian tendencies were becoming more mainstream, and the act of collecting more popular. This is demonstrated by the comments of a reviewer of Wood's revised *Songs of Scotland* in 1885, who made clear that what mattered was not the arguments about what was authentic or original that had dominated in the 1820s and 30s, but that a collection was comprehensive, musically

[60] Wighton's Copy of His Letter to William Chappell, 8 February 1859, Dundee Central Library, Wighton Collection 31669 (William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 1859, Vol. II), Manuscript correspondence bound at back. Quoted in McAulay, p. 216.

competent, and demonstrably 'authoritative'.[61] Malchair exhibited this concern for authority a century before such an approach became widespread in music publishing, even if he himself was not recognised by his near contemporaries as such an authority.

[61] Review (Anon): 'The Popular Songs of Scotland, with Their Appropriate Melodies. New Edition Revised [Glasgow: J. Muir Wood & Co.]', *Musical Times*, 1st January (1885), p. 35, quoted in McAulay, pp. 198–9.

Chapter 4

The tunebooks of John Malchair

Compiled over the course of several decades, Malchair's collection of tunes eventually expanded to at least four tunebooks, of which only volumes 3 and 4 (the latter retitled 'The Arrangement') are today extant. The relationship between all four of Malchair's tunebooks – their periods of completion, the tunes they contain, and their marginalia – is important to establish, as this provides insight into how Malchair perceived his own collection, and how he conceived of 'The Arrangement' both before and after its renaming. Having addressed Malchair's fourth tunebook, 'The Arrangement', in depth in Chapter 3, I will now turn to his other tunebooks, working my way backwards from 'Vol. 3^{d}' and 'The Arrangement', to discuss what is known or can be deduced about volumes 1 and 2.

The temporal relationship between volumes 3 and 4

The dates given for the collection of particular tunes in 'Vol. 3^{d}' and 'The Arrangement' reveal an overlap between the two books in the early 1790s which needs to be addressed, as it might be thought to suggest that the tunebooks were not used sequentially, with 'Vol. 3^{d}' completed and then 'Vol. 4' begun, as I argued in Chapter 3. However, I believe any such overlap is much smaller than it at first appears. The tunebook 'Vol. 3^{d}' contains tunes dated as having been collected in 1784, 1785, 1789, 1791, 1794 and 1800, which suggests that Malchair continued to use this book long after beginning 'Vol. 4' in or around 1792. However, as the latest dated tune is in Crotch's handwriting, the last time Malchair wrote a tune in 'Vol. 3^{d}' was 1794.

I would go further than this, and suggest that the date 1794 should also be given a second look. Based on the contents at the end of 'Vol. 3^{d}', I would argue that p. 118 was the last page completed while the book was in regular use (the final page of the book is numbered 132). Page 118 was written sometime between 1791 and 1794, these dates being given on the pages to either side. I suggest that Malchair stopped using this tunebook once he started using 'Vol. 4', around 1792.

Page 118 of 'Vol. 3^{d}' is the last of three pages containing tunes taken from the 1695 edition of *The Dancing Master*, preceding which are the Spanish tunes collected from Mr J. Murray. Alongside the Spanish tunes on p. 111, Malchair included the date 1791, although it is not clear whether this refers to the date the tunes were heard ('last year'), the date Murray notated them, or when Malchair recorded them.[1] Nevertheless, as p. 118 is prior to the mention of 1794 (which comes on p. 119), this would suggest Malchair last used the tunebook in or around 1791, and then dated the new page when he returned to the book three years later.

This suggestion is supported by the fact that the content of p. 119 differs to that of p. 118, which contains tunes copied from the 1695 edition of *The Dancing Master*. Page 119 begins with an untitled tune noted down 'From a hand Organ in the street, Oxon, Nov. 21. 1794',[2] which is followed by a tune from the 1675 edition of *The Dancing Master*, 'Put on thy Smock [on] Monday', and then a tune in Crotch's handwriting, 'An Irish tune noted down from the playing of ye Oxford Militia Band Oxon March 1800'. The next page, though numbered '120' in Malchair's hand, contains two further tunes

[1] 'La Boleras que se baylò [bailo] el anno passado [pasado] al Theatro de Cadiz – 1791 – J. Murray.'
[2] A version of this tune was published in Aird, vol. v, p. 25, no. 59 as 'Major Crichton's Delight'. It is more commonly known today as 'Davey Davey Knick Knack'.

in Crotch's handwriting, one dated 1800, the other from *The Dancing Master*. Following this, pp. 121-124 (two folios) are missing, as are pp. 127-130 (another two folios), despite Malchair having referred earlier in the volume to duplicated tunes on pp. 128 and 129.

After p. 120, the extant numbered pages are 125-6 and 131-2, and these contain music very different from that which went before: untitled harmony, the 'Chinese Air' from Rousseau's *Dictionary of Music*, a Persian song, then two final tunes from Aird's *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs* (volumes 2 and 3). These tunes were almost certainly added after 1794 (the date on p. 119), which begs the question of why Malchair did not record them in 'The Arrangement': it may have been that he was unsure of their categorisation.

I therefore argue that Malchair changed the way he used 'Vol. 3^{d}' between completing p. 118 and starting p. 119. The fact that the date 1794 comes at the top of the new folio (p. 119), suggests that there had been a significant gap since the last tune he recorded. It makes sense, then, that Malchair started 'Vol. 4' between 1791 and 1793 (I suggested 1792 in Chapter 3) and only occasionally returned to add tunes at the back of 'Vol. 3^{d}' from p. 119 because he did not want to spoil his 'arrangement' by including random entries, at least until he had decided how to categorise them or whether to include them at all. The same practice is evident at the end of 'The Arrangement', as described in Chapter 3. I suggest that the additions in 'Vol. 3^{d}' were made after 1794, and those in 'The Arrangement' after 1795, when Malchair considered 'The Arrangement' finished and had titled and dated the first page.

'The Foregoing Volumes': use of 'Vol. 3d' in putting together 'The Arrangement'

Malchair declared in the title of 'The Arrangement' that the book was a compendium of the tunes 'contain'd in the foregoing Vols'. What is surprising, however, is that out of the 315 items in 'Vol. 3d', hardly any are present in Malchair's 'Arrangement'.[3] The thirty-seven tunes that appear in both tunebooks are listed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: tunes in 'Vol. 3d' that appear in 'The Arrangement'

	Title	**Page in 'Vol. 3d'**	**Page in 'The Arrangement'**
1	A Health to Betty	67, 34	151[4]
2	Boyne Water	105	212
3	Cassey's Jig	109	210
4	Chande	112	208
5	Charming Maid	18	24
6	Corn Rigs are Bonny	7	109
7	Dribbles of Brandy	107	211
8	Eppie McNabb	105	212, 246[5]
9	Gathering of Peascods	61	190
10	Goodnight and Joy be Wi' You All	106	254
11	Happy Conclusion	18	25
12	High Way to Edinburgh	107	254
13	Hugar Ma [Mu] Fean	49	47
14	Irish Round, or Kinington Wells [in 'The Arrangement' it is called 'Curri Koun Dilich']	25	66
15	Irish Trot[t]	62,[6] 104	214
16	Jackson's Bonner Bougher	109	210
17	John Small's Minuet	108	211
18	King's Maggot or New York	14	266 C[7]

[3] I have compared the titles of tunes using a database, and also manually compared the melodies of tunes that are untitled. However, this does not take into account any tunes where two melodies themselves are the same but have different/absent titles. Such examples are routinely highlighted by Malchair himself, as in the case of 'Irish Round' (row 14), which will be discussed below. It is reasonable to assume that Malchair indicated all the duplicates with differing titles included in his collection, as this was stated in his introduction as one of his reasons for creating 'The Arrangement'.

[4] This tune was taken from Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* and not from 'Vol. 3d', as explained below.

[5] The version of the tune that appears on p. 246 has a different time signature and the melody differs. While Malchair cross-referenced the tune on p. 212 in his marginalia, indicating that he believed they were versions of the same tune, it is the version on p. 212 that is copied from 'Vol. 3d', as confirmed not only by the fact that it is identical but also because the other two tunes on p. 105 of that volume were also copied to p. 212 of 'The Arrangement'.

[6] The 'Irish Trott' on p. 62 is an unbarred piece in a different key, which Malchair attempted to bar on the stave below, but crossed out his work.

[7] 'C' indicates that the tune is written in Crotch's handwriting.

19	Rattle the Stones	51	46
20	Scots Rant	45	110
21	Shantruish	105	212
22	Stepney Cakes and Ale[8]	24	252
23	Strachen Varriga	51	45
24	Sweet Mally	89	88
25	The Beggar Boy	120 C	264 C
26	The Collier's Daughter	16	253, 262[9]
27	The Compleat Britain	8	25
28	The Grand Duke of Tuscany's March[10]	58	275
29	The Irish Lady, or Aniseed Water Robin	34	224 C
30	The Job of Journey Work	106	211
31	The Major	104	59,[11] 213
32	The Merry Dancers	104	213
33	The Pursuit	27	110
34	The Sheep Shearers, or Next Oars[12]	17	109
35	The Su[i]tors of Selkirk	106	224 C, 254
36	Tom Tinker[']s my True Love][13]	64	54
37	Washington's March	48	266 C

In counting the number of tunes from 'Vol. 3d' that Malchair copied into 'The Arrangement' caution is required, for although Table 4.1 includes all titles that are duplicated between the two tunebooks, not all of these are copies. This is often clear in the tunebooks because of references to different sources on each version, and can be confirmed by differences in the melody, time signature, key and so on. For example, 'A Health to Betty' occurs twice in 'Vol. 3d', where it was taken from *The Dancing*

[8] In 'The Arrangement' the piece is written without key signature or accidentals, while in 'Vol. 3d' it has a key signature of two sharps, with flats in front of three Cs at the ends of phrases in the melody. In all other respects the tunes are identical, so it can be assumed to be a copy from 'Vol. 3d': either Malchair simply assumed a musician would know where to flatten and sharpen the 3rds and 7ths, or he preferred a version lacking F#s and C#s. There is a reference in the margin to the tune 'again below at page 128' but this page is no longer part of the tunebook.

[9] While this second version is essentially the same tune, the version on p. 253 is clearly the copy, as it is identical to that given in 'Vol. 3d'.

[10] This tune is identical in both versions other than the fact that in 'Vol. 3d' it is in D major, and in 'The Arrangement' it appears in A major.

[11] The version on p. 59 is, in essence, a major version of the same tune, although with ten four-bar phrases compared with the other version's three.

[12] It is interesting that in copying this tune across Malchair modernised his 1780s notation, from using a flat to cancel the C# in the key signature to using a natural sign. Other than this the tunes are identical.

[13] These tunes are not the same. The version in 'Vol. 3d' is from Playford, and Malchair compares the version on p. 64 to the version in the 1695 edition of *The Dancing Master*, implying that his copy in 'Vol. 3d' is from a different source. Malchair noted that he recorded a different tune of the same title in his second volume of tunes, so perhaps the version in 'The Arrangement' was copied from there.

Master editions of 1652 and 1665. However, the version in 'The Arrangement', as well as being in a different time signature (6/8 instead of 6/4) has the marginal note '25', which is the page reference for this tune in Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*: it appears in 'The Arrangement' in a sequence of tunes taken from Thomson's volume, starting on p. 145 of the tunebook. For this reason I will exclude 'A Health to Betty' and also 'Tom Tinker' (which, on inspection, is not one tune included twice but two different melodies given the same title) from my tally of tunes copied from 'the foregoing Vols'.

In addition to these two exclusions, four of the tunes listed appear in Crotch's handwriting, and sometimes thus in both volumes: those tunes in Crotch's handwriting have been marked with a '$_C$'. As it cannot be known what agency Malchair had in the inclusion of these tunes in 'The Arrangement' I will disregard these in the count of tunes copied from the earlier book. My final exclusion is 'Irish Round', which I do not believe Malchair copied from 'Vol 3^d', as will be explained below. Removing these, in addition to the above exclusions, leaves only thirty tunes in 'The Arrangement' that Malchair copied from 'Vol. 3^d'.

While thirty is not an insignificant number of tunes to have taken from 'Vol. 3^d' – enough to concede the truth of his statement that 'The Arrangement' was compiled of tunes from the foregoing volumes – it seems surprisingly small as a proportion of the total number of tunes in 'The Arrangement', which was 455 according to Malchair's count and, when including duplicates and untitled tunes, is 519: thirty tunes is respectively 6.5% and 5.8% of these totals. Assuming around the same number of tunes were also taken from each of the first two volumes, this still represents less than a fifth of the total contents of 'The Arrangement', and even if twice as many tunes were taken

from these first two volumes as from the third (150 tunes in total), the proportion would still be only around a third, and there would remain over 300 tunes in 'The Arrangement' that appear for the first time in that tunebook and not in 'the foregoing Vols'.

There are two possible solutions to this puzzle, each equally plausible: either Malchair took many more tunes from his first two tunebooks than he did from the third, or he used additional sources for 'Vol. 4' which, though acknowledged in his marginalia, are not listed on his title page. I am inclined to believe the latter more likely, as twenty-six of the tunes in 'Vol. 3^{d}' were already duplicates of those in his second collection of tunes (these will be listed and discussed below), therefore unless volume 2 was a disproportionately large collection Malchair almost certainly compiled 'Vol. 4'/'The Arrangement' primarily from new sources.[14] This would appear to be confirmed by the consecutive presentation of many groups of tunes: for example, Malchair copied out a sequence of forty tunes taken from Patrick McDonald's *Collection of Highland Vocal Airs* (numbered 13 to 184 in McDonald's book), and while it is possible these were first copied into volumes 1 or 2 and then transferred here, it seems more likely that Malchair copied them directly from McDonald's printed collection, especially as the book was first published in 1784, which is the earliest date given in Malchair's 'Vol. 3^{d}' (first appearing on p. 42), thus volumes 1 and 2 were almost certainly completed long prior to that year. Malchair is listed as a subscriber to McDonald's book, so it may have been the case that since he owned the printed book containing these tunes there was no need to copy them out until he created 'The Arrangement'.

[14] Malchair made no reference to volume 1 in his marginalia in 'Vol. 3^{d}', though he referred to his 'Second Collection', 'Coll. 2nd', or 'Col. 2^{d}' on a regular basis. (NB., the full title of 'Vol. 3^{d}' is 'The Third Collection of Tunes'.)

The thirty tunes copied from 'Vol. 3^{d}' into 'The Arrangement', though small in number, are revealing in their location and distribution in both their source ('Vol. 3^{d}') and final destination ('The Arrangement'). Table 4.2 shows the concentrations of these tunes in each volume, with tunes on the same or successive pages highlighted in the same colour. The information on the left and right halves of the table is the same, but on the left is organised according to the sequence of tunes as they were collected into 'Vol. 3^{d}' and on the right according to the sequence of the tunes as they were organised in 'The Arrangement'. (The same information is shown as a graph in Figure 4.1.)

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Table 4.2: chart showing the location of tunes copied, in 'Vol. 3[d]' and 'The Arrangement'

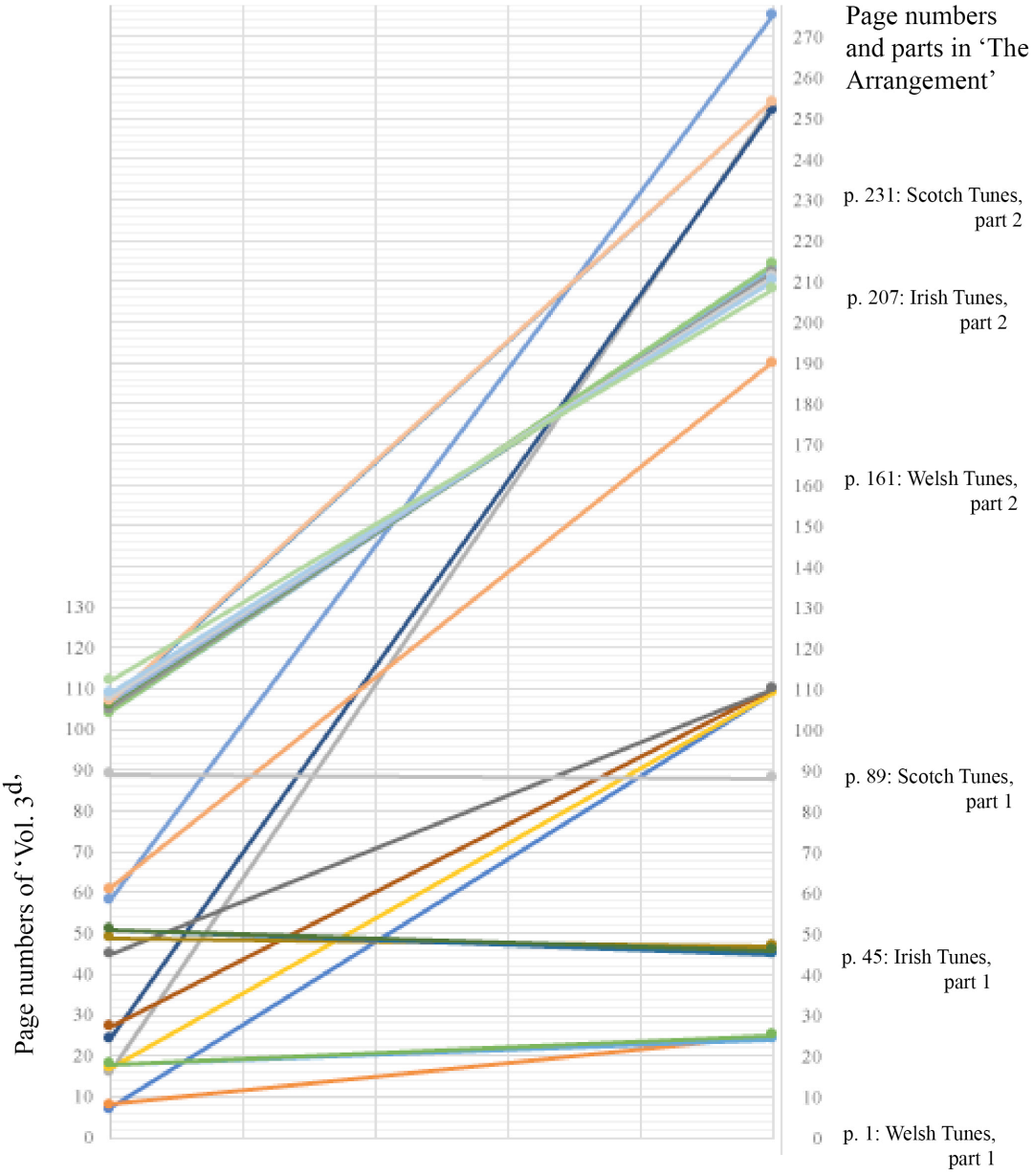
In sequence as they appear in 'Vol. 3[d]'				In sequence as they appear in 'The Arrangement'		
Title	**'Vol. 3[d]'**	**'The Arr.'**		**'The Arr.'**	**'Vol. 3[d]'**	**Title**
Corn Rigs are Bonny	7	109		24	18	Charming Maid
The Compleat Britain	8	25		25	8	The Compleat Britain
The Collier's Daughter	16	253		25	18	Happy Conclusion
The Sheep Shearers, or Next Oars	17	109		45	51	Strachen Varriga
Charming Maid	18	24		46	51	Rattle the Stones
Happy Conclusion	18	25		47	49	Hugar Ma [Mu] Fean
Stepney Cakes and Ale	24	252		88	89	Sweet Mally
The Pursuit	27	110		109	7	Corn Rigs are Bonny
Scots Rant	45	110		109	17	The Sheep Shearers, or Next Oars
Hugar Ma [Mu] Fean	49	47		110	27	The Pursuit
Strachen Varriga	51	45		110	45	Scots Rant
Rattle the Stones	51	46		190	61	Gathering of Peascods
The Grand Duke of Tuscany's March	58	275		208	112	Chande

Table 4.2 continued

Gathering of Peascods	61	190		210	109	Cassey's Jig
Sweet Mally	89	88		210	109	Jackson's Bonner Bougher
The Major	104	213		211	106	The Job of Journey Work
The Merry Dancers	104	213		211	107	Dribbles of Brandy
Irish Trot[t]	104	214		211	108	John Small's Minuet
Shantruish	105	212		212	105	Shantruish
Boyne Water	105	212		212	105	Boyne Water
Eppie McNabb	105	212		212	105	Eppie McNabb
The Su[i]tors of Selkirk	106	254		213	104	The Major
Goodnight and Joy be Wi' You All	106	254		213	104	The Merry Dancers
The Job of Journey Work	106	211		214	104	Irish Trot[t]
Dribbles of Brandy	107	211		252	24	Stepney Cakes and Ale
High Way to Edinburgh	107	254		253	16	The Collier's Daughter
John Small's Minuet	108	211		254	106	The Su[i]tors of Selkirk
Cassey's Jig	109	210		254	106	Goodnight and Joy be Wi' You All
Jackson's Bonner Bougher	109	210		254	107	High Way to Edinburgh
Chande	112	208		275	58	The Grand Duke of Tuscany's March

In Figure 4.1 the same information as shown in Table 4.2 is expressed as a graph, drawing attention to where neighbouring tunes were copied wholesale from one set of pages in 'Vol. 3d' to a similarly consecutive set of pages in 'The Arrangement'. The numbered vertical axes represent, on the left, the location of the duplicated tunes in 'Vol. 3d', and on the right, the page numbers they were copied to in 'The Arrangement'.

Figure 4.1: graph showing the location of tunes copied



Key to coloured lines (tunes) in Figure 4.1



What is quickly revealed by Table 4.2, the chart representation, is the overall distribution of these copied tunes in each volume. The tunes taken from 'Vol. 3^{d}' are in twelve locations in that volume (where consecutive pages are counted as one location), but are copied to only nine locations in 'The Arrangement'. This confirms that Malchair was going through 'Vol. 3^{d}' and copying tunes into suitable sections of his new tunebook. Looking at the page numbers themselves, the fact that he was already copying tunes into 'The Arrangement' as early as pp. 24-5 of the new tunebook, and that all three 'first parts' contain tunes copied from 'Vol. 3^{d}', suggests that copying tunes from 'Vol. 3^{d}' was his plan from the outset. However, it is not as clear cut as that, because the distribution of the copied tunes throughout 'The Arrangement', and the fact that they are not in the same order in both books, as shown visually by the crossing lines in the Figure 4.1, the graph, shows that he went through 'Vol. 3^{d}' at least twice to copy out tunes. I suggest that Malchair went through 'Vol. 3^{d}' the first time when

copying into ‘Vol. 4’, and a second time after he had decided to make the tunebook into ‘The Arrangement’ and to start a ‘second part’ for each of the three national classes.

Counting the numbers of tunes that fall in each part (the break coming at the title page on p. 160), almost twice as many tunes from ‘Vol. 3^{d}’ found their way into the second part of ‘The Arrangement’ as into the first part: a ratio of 19:11. While these numbers are too small to reveal anything pivotal, the difference adds weight to the idea that it was only when creating the second part of his new tunebook that Malchair decided to properly mine ‘Vol. 3^{d}’ (and presumably also volumes 1 and 2) for content.

The distribution of these tunes also contrasts from one tunebook to the next. The tunes copied into the first parts of ‘The Arrangement’ are from seven locations in ‘Vol. 3^{d}’, copied to only four in ‘The Arrangement’ (again, where consecutive pages are counted as one location); those used in the second part come from six and go to five. While the contrast is not that great, it is noticeable that the difference is in the same direction each time (with less spread in ‘The Arrangement’), with the second parts in each category involving a more dedicated copying regime, and therefore with more tunes copied.

It is interesting to note that Malchair adopted the same approach to copying tunes into ‘The Arrangement’ from ‘Vol. 3^{d}’ as he did when copying tunes out of published sources, that is, he copied a chunk at a time, even if these were sometimes split between different national categories once they reached ‘The Arrangement’. Table 4.2’s blocks of colour show this: six pages of ‘Vol. 3^{d}’, pp. 104-9 (shown in green in Table 4.2), were copied wholesale, but these tunes were divided in ‘The Arrangement’ between the sections for Irish tunes at pp. 210-214 (bright blue) and Scottish tunes at p. 252-4 (bright

pink). Beyond indicating his approach, this concentration of tunes suggests that in working on the second parts of 'The Arrangement' Malchair was making a conscious decision to copy tunes from 'Vol. 3d' in a way he had not done while copying tunes into the first parts. It might even have been the case that his 'watershed moment' – when he decided to make 'Vol. 4' into 'The Arrangement', and decided that 'The Arrangement' should be 'an Extract of the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch Tunes contain'd in the foregoing Vols, & placed in separate classes' – took place after he had already completed the second sections, which is why his dedicated trawl through 'Vol. 3d' resulted in his having to extend backwards (from p. 217 to 207) the 'Irish tunes 2nd Part' and why the cluster of Scottish tunes he copied out ended up at the very end of the manuscript.

The 'watershed moment': cross-references between the volumes

Further evidence to support the timing of the 'watershed moment', the moment that 'Vol. 4' became 'The Arrangement', as occurring only after Malchair had begun assembling the second part of the tunebook – and particularly around the time of his work on the earlier section of the second set of Irish tunes from p. 207 – is provided by the inclusion of a single cross-reference to a duplicated tune in 'Vol. 3d' that actually names 'The Arrangement'. This reference is on the tune 'Irish Round. Or Kinington Wells', on p. 25 of 'Vol. 3d', and reads 'See the Arraign'ment page 66'. At p. 66 of 'The Arrangement' is the tune 'Curri Koun Dlicih', which is the same tune as 'Irish Round', although it is a tone higher, in 3/4 instead of 6/4, and features in addition a long third section which adds thirty-seven bars to its length.[15]

[15] This is one of only two instances where a tune in 'The Arrangement' is in 'Vol. 3d', but the latter was not his source, the other being 'A Health to Betty'.

What is significant about this annotation is that, other than in this instance, Malchair's cross-references in 'Vol. 3[d]' only ever refer backwards – to his second volume of tunes, or to his printed, manuscript, and live sources, as in his marginal notes 'from the Edition of 1665' or 'from an old manuscript'. Sometimes a reference was added later, when Malchair found a new source for the same tune and noted this next to his original copy of it. For instance, the tune 'Tom Tinker' on p. 64 of 'Vol. 3[d]' has next to its title, 'Same as Ed. 1665 [of *The Dancing Master*] except the third note which is F', while noted on the stave at the end of the tune is 'Tom Tinker – a different tune[,] see Coll 2[d] p. 85', and underneath, 'in Ed. Of 1695 [of *The Dancing Master*] this tune has no more than the repetition of the first strain by way of second'. On occasion, rather than just recording the existence of another version, Malchair copied it out; this was especially the case where he felt the more recent discovery was better, as when he wrote on 'A Health to Betty', 'See another in Coll. 2[d] p. 20' alongside the note 'this [present version] is better and from Ed. 1652'.[16] Such annotations in 'Vol. 3[d]' make it clear that Malchair had a very good memory for tunes he had collected in the past, and that he frequently returned to his old tunebooks to note page numbers and compare versions.

The fact that Malchair referred to 'the Arraign'ment' at all, and, furthermore, that he named it as such, indicates that he had renamed his tunebook by the time he added this note. This begs the question of whether this annotation can help date Malchair's 'watershed moment', when 'Vol. 4' became 'The Arrangement'. The appearance of a reference to p. 66 of 'the Arraign'ment', relatively close to the beginning of his new tunebook, might at first appear to suggest that he considered it 'The Arrangement' when he was compiling the first selection of Irish tunes (in which p. 66 appears). However, I

[16] 'Vol. 3[d]', p. 67

would contend that this cross-reference in 'Vol. 3[d]' was not made until a much later stage, after he had reached p. 263 of 'The Arrangement' and had written its new title on the cover. The main reason for this belief is that Malchair did not copy this tune from 'Vol. 3[d]' as he did with the thirty tunes listed in Table 4.1: he got it from Burk Thumoth's *Twelve Scotch, and Twelve Irish Airs*,[17] and seems not to have recalled the version in 'Vol. 3[d]' at the time he completed p. 66 of 'The Arrangement'.

There are several reasons why it is reasonable to believe Malchair had forgotten about the tune in 'Vol. 3[d]' by the time he wrote the version in 'The Arrangement', and only added the cross-reference later. First, the tunes not only have different titles, but are also in different keys, and are of significantly different lengths, although the first two sections of the melody in each are identical, so unless it was a tune he had played and knew well, it is not guaranteed he would have recognised it on sight. This is compounded by a second reason: the length of time between writing down each tune. Even if he had known the tune well in the 1780s he might not have done years later, or even if he remembered the tune he might not have recalled that he had written it down in 'Vol. 3[d]'. Page 25 of 'Vol. 3[d]' comes before the first date in that book, 1784 on p. 42, and, as described above, it is unlikely that Malchair began work on 'Vol. 4' until 1792, and did not complete the manuscript until 1795: there was therefore a gap of at least eight years, and probably eleven or more, between the collection of the tune in 'Vol. 3[d]' and his re-reading of that tunebook at a date following the 1795 completion of 'The Arrangement' and his making the annotation next to it.

[17] Burk Thumoth, *Twelve Scotch, and Twelve Irish Airs with Variations: Set for the German Flute[,] Violin or Harpsichord* (London: Printed for, and sold by John Simpson, 1745), pp. 40–1, Irish airs, no. VIII.

Other factors support the theory that the note was made later: that he referred only to 'the Arraign'ment' and not to his original source might suggest that he had just come across the tune again and realised it was a duplicate, even that he had forgotten the original source. After all, the very idea of 'The Arrangement' was to take tunes from these previous tunebooks, as indicated by the volume's title. If he had realised when he came across it in Thumoth's publication that the tunes were similar, it makes more sense that he would have either copied the tune across from 'Vol. 3^{d}' with all the others he took without comment, or, if he preferred the Thumoth version, he would have made a note on the item in 'Vol. 3^{d}' that there was another version in Thumoth's collection, rather than referring only to his own copy of it on p. 66 of 'The Arrangement'. The fact that Thumoth is not mentioned (his name comes a few pages earlier in 'The Arrangement', and it is only by going through Thumoth's publications and comparing the contents that it becomes apparent that all seventeen tunes, pp. 57-69, are from Thumoth's two collections) suggests that by the time Malchair put the reference in 'Vol. 3^{d}' he had forgotten where he had got the tune from, and was not concerned to search back to find his own earlier reference. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that Malchair made his annotation at the same time as he wrote the tune in 'The Arrangement', or that the book already bore that title at the time he wrote p. 66.

A final point this cross-reference highlights is that Malchair did not customarily refer to his earlier collections in 'The Arrangement'. Similarly, it is worth noting that in 'Vol. 3^{d}' and 'The Arrangement', while there are twenty-six references to 'Coll. 2^{d}' or similar (which I have been referring to as volume 2), there is none to volume 1, and only this one reference forwards to 'the Arraign'ment'. This is additional evidence that Malchair

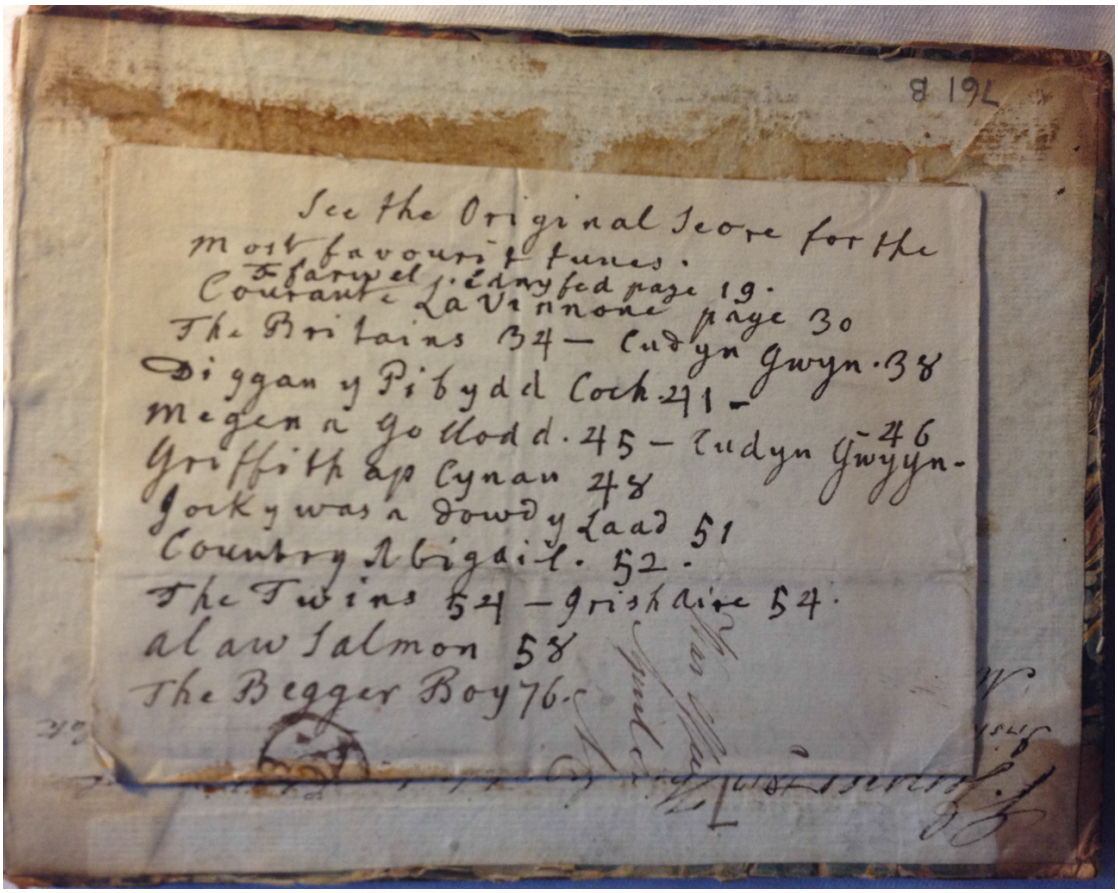
considered ‘The Arrangement’ to be a best copy, and not part of the working series of volumes 1-3.

A final anomaly: while Malchair did provide comparisons and cross-references, within ‘The Arrangement’ itself, he only referred to pages in the same volume – with the exception of a note on p. 101, where he referred to a tune in ‘Coll. 2^{d}. page 33’. Did he add the reference much later, perhaps at the same time as his reference to ‘the Arraign’ment’ in ‘Vol. 3^{d}’? Or was there something in particular on p. 33 of volume 2 that Malchair wanted to draw attention to? It makes most sense for this reference to have been added later, when he realised he had included a duplicate unintentionally. The same cannot be said for the thirty tunes listed in Table 4.1 that were taken from ‘Vol. 3^{d}’. This suggests that Malchair had made a decision before he started compiling ‘Vol. 4’ not to refer back to these earlier volumes, but only to note his original source for a tune.

The ‘most favourit tunes’

On a piece of paper glued to the inside front cover of ‘The Arrangement’ (the other side of which was discussed in my Introduction) is a list with the inset heading ‘See the Original Score for the most favourit tunes’. (See Figure 4.2.) These ‘most favourit tunes’, and the page numbers given for them, are shown in Table 4.3, along with where (if at all) these tunes appear in Malchair’s tunebooks.

Figure 4.2: note glued into 'The Arrangement' (folded)
Reproduced with permission from the Royal College of Music, London



While almost all of these tunes are found in 'The Arrangement', they are not to be found on the pages indicated on Malchair's list, therefore the note does not refer to the tunebook it is glued into. Neither do the page numbers refer to 'Vol. 3[d]' (in which Malchair himself did not record any of these tunes), nor their printed sources (where, again, the page numbers do not agree). The numbers also bear no relation to the location of the same tunes in Crotch's manuscript 'Tunes of Various Nations' or his published *Specimens*, each of which includes the same ten of these fourteen tunes (excluding 'Jocky was a dowdy Laad', 'Country Abigail', 'Irish Aire', and 'Alaw Salmon').

Table 4.3: 'the most favourit tunes'

	Tune name	**Page**	**'The Arrangement'**
1	Ffarwel Ednyfed	19	'Ffarwel Ednyfed Fychan', p. 3. Source: Jones' *Relicks*, p. 57
2	Courant La Vinnone	30	-
3	The Britains	34	'The Britons', p. 264, Crotch's handwriting. Source: *Dancing Master* 1696
4	Cudyn Gwyn	38	p. 4. Source: Jones' *Relicks*, p. 49
5	Diggan y Pibydd Coch	41	'Digan y Pibydd Coch', p. 13. Source: Jones' *Relicks*, p. 61
6	Megen a Gollodd	45	p. 6. Source: Jones' *Relicks*, p. 62
7	Cudyn Gwynn	46	p. 28. Source: Parry's *Antient Welsh Airs*, no. 6, p. 11
8	Griffith ap Cynan	48	p. 30. Source: Parry's *Antient Welsh Airs*, no. 14. Also p. 21, where the marginalia compares it to a version in Jones' *Relicks*, p. 46
9	Jocky was a dowdy Laad	51	-
10	Country Abigail	52	-
11	The Twins	54	p. 265, Crotch's handwriting. Source: *Dancing Master* 1665
12	Irish Aire	54	Possibly 'An Irish Air', p. 72 Source: Patrick McDonald's *Highland Vocal Airs*, no. 186, p. 32
13	Alaw Salmon	58	p. 8. Source: Jones p.71
14	The Begger Boy	76	'The Beggar Boy', p. 264, Crotch's handwriting. Source: *The Dancing Master* 1652 and 1665. This tune is the only one on the list that also appears in 'Vol. 3^{d}': 'The Beggar Boy', p. 120, Crotch's handwriting.

While it is possible 'the Original Score' refers to volume 1 of Malchair's collection, it is unlikely because Malchair's first two volumes of tunes were compiled in the 1760s and '70s (reasons for these dates will be given at the end of this chapter), and he had reached p. 42 of 'Vol. 3^{d}' by 1784 – yet five of the tunes on the list are from Edward

Jones' *Relicks* (or at least this is the source he gave for tunes of the same titles in 'The Arrangement'), which was not published until 1784. The 'Original Score' referred to therefore remains a mystery, and is presumably another manuscript tunebook (as opposed to a publication, as it combined tunes from several sources). That these tunes all come from the same manuscript is heavily implied by Malchair's reference to the singular 'Original Score' and the ascending page numbers in the list: one can imagine him flicking through the tunebook to compose his note.

Whatever 'Score' the list refers to, the question remains as to why Malchair wrote the list at all. As only three of the tunes appear in 'The Arrangement' in Crotch's handwriting, and three more do not appear at all, it cannot be that Malchair intended for Crotch to copy out these tunes while 'The Arrangement' was in his possession, or as a reminder to himself to include these tunes. While the absence of 'Courant La Vinnone' (row 2) from 'The Arrangement' can be explained by its presumably being French in character (Crotch recorded it among the French national music in *Specimens*), the absence of 'Jocky was a dowdy Laad' and 'Country Abigail' cannot be explained away so easily, as Malchair appears to have been confident in categorising many similar tunes.[18] It seems, then, that this side of the note does not have any relevance to 'The Arrangement' at all, providing further evidence for the suggestion made in my Introduction that the main text of the note, referring to 'the Collection before us', may refer to a selection of tunebooks and not only (if at all) to 'The Arrangement'.

[18] 'Jockey was a Dowdy Lad' was composed by Jerimiah Clarke, published in London, and sung in D'Urfey's *The Campaigners* in 1698, in which it appears on p. 26 of the script. 'Country Abigail' is to be found in Playford's *Dancing Master* from the 7th edition onwards (1686), on p. 119. In addition, if these were indeed Malchair's sources for these tunes, these provenances confirm what can be seen from the other items in the list – that the listed page numbers do not correspond to his sources.

Volume 2 (‘Coll 2^{d}’) and volume 1

Although Malchair’s second collection of tunes is now lost, it is possible to partially reconstruct the tunebook’s contents from the cross-references he provided in ‘Vol. 3^{d}’ and ‘The Arrangement’. All the page references given in these tunebooks are listed in Table 4.4.

The sources for these tunes in ‘Vol. 3^{d}’ and ‘The Arrangement’ are all editions of *The Dancing Master*: 1652, 1665, 1695, 1706 and 1728. This suggests that while these were not the editions from which these tunes were taken for volume 2 (as he was comparing variations, not copying out the same tunes), volume 2 contained predominantly, if not exclusively, tunes from editions of *The Dancing Master* Malchair had seen earlier. As there are no tunes in either ‘Vol. 3^{d}’ or ‘The Arrangement’ that can definitely be traced to the 1670 or 1675 editions, and only one from the 1696 edition, Malchair almost certainly used these editions in compiling his earlier volumes of tunes. Having established that Malchair frequently returned to books he had already used to select more tunes, it is probable that in compiling volumes 1 and 2 he also took tunes from the 1665 edition, and perhaps also the 1695, 1706 and 1728 editions, which he used for his later tunebooks.

Table 4.4: tunes that also appeared in volume 2

	Tune name	**Volume 2**	**Duplicate**
1	The Beau's Delight. Or hark how the Cock Crows	p. 97	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 9
2	Stepney Cakes and Ale	p. 117	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 24
3	The Bunter's Delight	p. 117	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 24
4	The B[ishop] of Chester's Jigg or the Fit's come on me now	p. 35	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 25
5	A Health to Betty	p. 20	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 34 and p. 67 'The Arrangement', p. 151
6	Paul's Steeple	p. 85	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 35 and p. 68
7	Stingo of the Fyle [Oil] of Barley	p. 45 (Cold and Raw)	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 36
8	Simple Simon	p. 40	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 38
9	Under and Over	p. 49	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 39 and p. 71
10	Wal[l]ingford House	p. 79	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 44
11	Winifred's Knot – or – Open the door to three	p. 6	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 64
12	Uptails all	p. 58 and p. 70	'Vol. 3^{d}', p, 64
13	If all the World were paper	p. 19 and p. 35	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 64
14	Tom Tinker	p. 85	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 64
15	Non Such	p. 109	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 66
16	Mr Webb's Fancy	p. 37 (Cheerily and Merrily)	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 66 'The Arrangement', p. 265 (in Crotch's handwriting)
17	Have at thy Coat Old Woman	p. 83	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 66 and p. 117
18	Lady lye near me	p. 51	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 67
19	The Punk's Delight	p. 24	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 68
20	Black Nag	p. 36 (Galloping Nag)	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 116
21	Tythe Pig	p. 44	'Vol. 3^{d}', p. 116
22	Cock up your Beaver	p. 33	'The Arrangement' p. 101

While the absence of any reference to Malchair's first volume of tunes means there is no way to guess at its contents, it is possible to work out a probable date for when Malchair began the volume. If the spread of dates in 'Vol. 3^{d}' is taken as representative of the time it took Malchair to fill each of his tunebooks, this provides crude dates for volume 3 of 1783-94, for volume 2 of 1772-83, and for volume 1 of 1760-72. As

Malchair arrived in Oxford in 1760 it is therefore conceivable that volume 1 was not only the first in this sequence of four tunebooks, but even the tunebook in which Malchair first began collecting tunes. Dating the start of Malchair's collecting activity to coincide with his arrival in Oxford in 1760 suggests an image of the thirty-year-old's excitement at moving to a new city, taking up his post as leader of the Oxford Music Room band, marrying Elizabeth Jenner, and beginning a more stable period in his life: long-term residence in a city full of books and opportunities for picking up new tunes. One might picture him delightedly discovering historical sources in the Ashmolean, borrowing books from friends, and eagerly subscribing to new published collections of tunes. In his manuscripts, there is evidence that he raided newly printed books for his own collection (he was a subscriber to Patrick McDonald's *Highland Vocal Airs* of 1784, for example), taking as many as forty tunes from a single source. The picture of Malchair that results is one that he himself alluded to, of an incredibly active and diligent collector working fiercely whenever 'the fitt of collecting grew Violent'.[19]

Conclusion

Analysing Malchair's four tunebooks has explained how each book relates to the others, and, in particular, has suggested the dates Malchair used each, and how each of the earlier three tunebooks contributed to 'The Arrangement'. It has also allowed me to deduce when this fourth tunebook became more than just 'Vol. 4'. In addition, by analysing the two extant tunebooks I have accounted for some of the contents of volume 2 and a separate 'Original Score' which, if nothing else, confirms that Malchair collected tunes and constructed his tunebooks in a consistent fashion, using similar sources, over three decades.

[19] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 3.

In paying such close attention to when and how the tunebooks were put together, I have answered the question raised in my Introduction of how he used them. Rather than being personal books, used by a 'home player' or 'domestic musician', Malchair's tunebooks form a collection, used for categorising and comparing 'old tunes'. Malchair's deep familiarity with this repertoire is demonstrated by his frequent cross-references to tunes elsewhere in his collection, which I have suggested he did at the point of collection, when he found a new version of a tune he had already transcribed, and also sometimes many years afterwards, when flicking through completed volumes and recognising prior instances of tunes he had subsequently collected again, diligently recording the page references when this happened. Such attention is rarely demonstrated in published collections of tunes and presentation-style manuscripts, let alone manuscript tunebooks, so it is a feature that appears to make Malchair's work unique.

Chapter 5

William Crotch's influence on and use of Malchair's collection

William Crotch (1775-1847) was forty-five years younger than Malchair, yet the two men became very good friends. They regularly performed together at the Oxford Music Room after Crotch moved to Oxford in 1788, just before his thirteenth birthday, and remained friends until Malchair's death in 1812, engaging in drawing trips in the 1790s as well as frequent visits to each other's homes to exchange musical repertoire. Twenty-two of the tunes in Malchair's two extant tunebooks are in Crotch's handwriting, and at least 120 of the melodies in Crotch's 1806 publication, *Specimens of Various Styles of Music*, came from Malchair's collection (including those tunes that appear in Crotch's handwriting in Malchair's tunebooks, but not counting duplicates).[1] Crotch recorded Malchair's advice to him on the subject of landscape drawing, and Malchair and Crotch were respectively the first and second Presidents of Oxford's 'Great School' of artists. After Malchair's death, George Jenner, Malchair's nephew, gave Crotch Malchair's drawings from his tours of Wales, which Crotch wrote was 'an invaluable present'.[2]

[1] Looking only at English tunes, Dean-Smith reported that 'Crotch used about thirty tunes from Malchair's *Collections* for his English "specimens" and assigned a further small number to Scotland'. Dean-Smith, 'The Preservation of English Folk Song and Popular Music: Mr. Malchair's Collection and Dr. Crotch's Specimens', p. 110. In this comment Dean-Smith seems to suggest that all the 'English' tunes in Crotch's Specimens came from Malchair (there are thirty-one tunes in that section, numbered 186-216), but in fact only fourteen (excluding two duplicates) appear in Malchair's tunebooks in his own handwriting, with five more in Crotch's handwriting, bringing the total to nineteen tunes (as discussed in Chapter 2). She also neglects to observe that Crotch did not categorise these firmly as 'English' but rather as 'Old English tunes and some tunes of doubtful origin', without indicating which was which. In addition, there are seventy-three 'Scotch tunes' (numbers 77-149) in Crotch's *Specimens*, of which eighteen came from Malchair's tunebooks.

[2] William Crotch, 'Malchair', p. 14.

Virtually neighbours on Broad Street from 1797, when Crotch married Martha Bliss, until the Crotch family's move to London around 1805, by which time Malchair was blind and infirm, they saw each other regularly. Crotch's handwritten memoirs attest that in the summer of 1798 'dear Old Malchair was much with us – sometimes twice a day'.[3] No doubt as a consequence of this routine verbal contact, there is no known written correspondence between them. However, Crotch's introduction to *Specimens* suggests that Malchair acted as a mentor to Crotch, guiding his opinions and the content of his professional work on the subject of 'national music'. The presence of Crotch's handwriting in Malchair's tunebooks shows that there was a two-way exchange of repertoire, and perhaps also of ideas. One question addressed in this chapter is, therefore, what can Crotch's work reveal about Malchair's tunebooks?

Between 1797 and 1805, the two men shared thoughts, manuscripts and probably printed materials too. Crotch's 'Malchair' manuscript records that Malchair played tunes for Crotch to write down, and Crotch not only copied out many of the tunes collected by Malchair but also published some of these. Yet I would not go so far as to describe this as collaboration. Their mutual interest in 'national music' did not develop into a joint venture where each man shared in the credit and the profit. They had been colleagues at the Music Room, but did not formally work together after Malchair's last concert in 1792, when Crotch was still only seventeen years old, five years before their most intense period of friendship. In this chapter I will describe and more accurately characterise the nature of their musical exchanges, which I believe would be best considered a mutual interest involving the sharing of information, that is, co-operation and association, rather than collaboration.

[3] William Crotch, 'Memoirs', p. 87.

The first part of this chapter will detail Crotch's early professional life and the development of his friendship with Malchair. I will then approach the co-operative musical relationship between Crotch and Malchair from both sides: first discussing the additions made to Malchair's tunebooks by Crotch, then looking at Crotch's later professional life, *Specimens* and the influence Malchair had on this work. Finally, I will examine a set of tunes published by William and his older half-brother John Beale Crotch, and ask a second question: what does this work reveal about the interpretation of 'national music' at the turn of the nineteenth century?

William Crotch in Oxford

William Crotch first visited Oxford in 1779, when he performed on the organ at the Oxford Music Room at the age of three.[4] It was on one such occasion that he met Philip Hayes, whom, little though anyone realised at the time, he would later succeed as Professor of Music.[5] At the age of twelve, in 1788, Crotch came to live in Oxford, and lodged with the singer and music seller William Matthews.[6] The boy played weekly concertos at the Music Room during the following year, which J. H. Mee describes as a means of boosting the band and selling more tickets.[7] It is likely that it was through these concerts that he got to know Malchair, already long-established leader of the band: Crotch attended a benefit for Malchair on 5 June 1788, a matter of days after he

[4] Mee, p. 64. Advertisements for his concerts appeared in Jackson's Oxford Journal on 3 July 1779, and on 5 and 22 July 1783.
[5] Susan Wollenberg, *Music in 18th Century Oxford*, 1981, p. 90.
[6] Harrison, p. 37; Jonathan Rennert, *William Crotch (1775-1847): Composer, Artist, Teacher* (Lavenham: Terence Dalton, 1975), p. 32.
[7] Mee, pp. 64 and 109–11; Charles Francis Abdy Williams, *A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge: With a Chronological List of Graduates in That Faculty from the Year 1463* (London: Novello, Ewer and Co, 1893), p. 96; Harrison, p. 37.

arrived in Oxford.[8] In December 1791 his host, William Matthews, died, and he went to lodge instead with Robert Bliss, a bookseller on High Street.[9]

Crotch held three organist's posts in Oxford: at Christ Church and at the University Church from September 1790 (aged fifteen), and at St John's College from 1797. He also played at the Oxford Theatre.[10] In 1792, Dr Philip Hayes resigned as Director of the Oxford Music Room, in disgust at comments shouted from the audience at his pupil, the musician Mr Webb.[11] Crotch was asked to take over, and directed concerts from the harpsichord from 1792 until his move to London in 1805. In this same period Crotch achieved his Bachelor's degree, aged eighteen, on 5 June 1794,[12] and three years later, aged twenty-one, was elected Professor of Music by unanimous vote, following Philip Hayes' death in March 1797.[13] He received his doctorate later the same year. As Professor of Music, Crotch took on two apprentices of the late Professor's as assistants, and became owner of the Professor's garden behind the Music Room.[14] In addition to this, Crotch gave music lessons to the local nobility (riding up to twenty miles to do so)

[8] William Crotch, 'Memoirs', p. 64.
[9] Rennert, p. 34.
[10] Rennert, p. 30. Rennert is vague about what dates Crotch began each of these posts, but provides the detail that in 1790 his patron Schomberg's illness meant he had to reconsider his position, and it may have been in response to this that he took up work as an organist. I have pieced together the dates of these appointments from the following information: according to Anthony Boden and Paul Hedley, *The Three Choirs Festival, A History* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 46–7, Thomas Norris, previously organist at Christ Church and St John's College, died in September 1790 (Rennert incorrectly gives this date as September 1789). Susan Wollenberg, in *Music in 18th Century Oxford*, p. 96, records that upon Norris' death, Philip Hayes took the organist post at St John's while Crotch took that at Christ Church; Crotch took the post at St John's upon Hayes' death in 1797. Mee, p. 64, also gives September 1790 as the date that Crotch took over the post of organist at Christ Church. I have not been able to confirm when or in what context Crotch played at the Oxford Theatre (presumably the Sheldonian).
[11] Rennert, p. 39. As usual, Rennert does not give a source for this anecdote, although it is conceivable that it could have been in March, after the same fracas during which Malchair's violin was broken.
[12] Rennert, p. 36.
[13] Mee, p. 64; Rennert, p. 40.
[14] Rennert, p. 40.

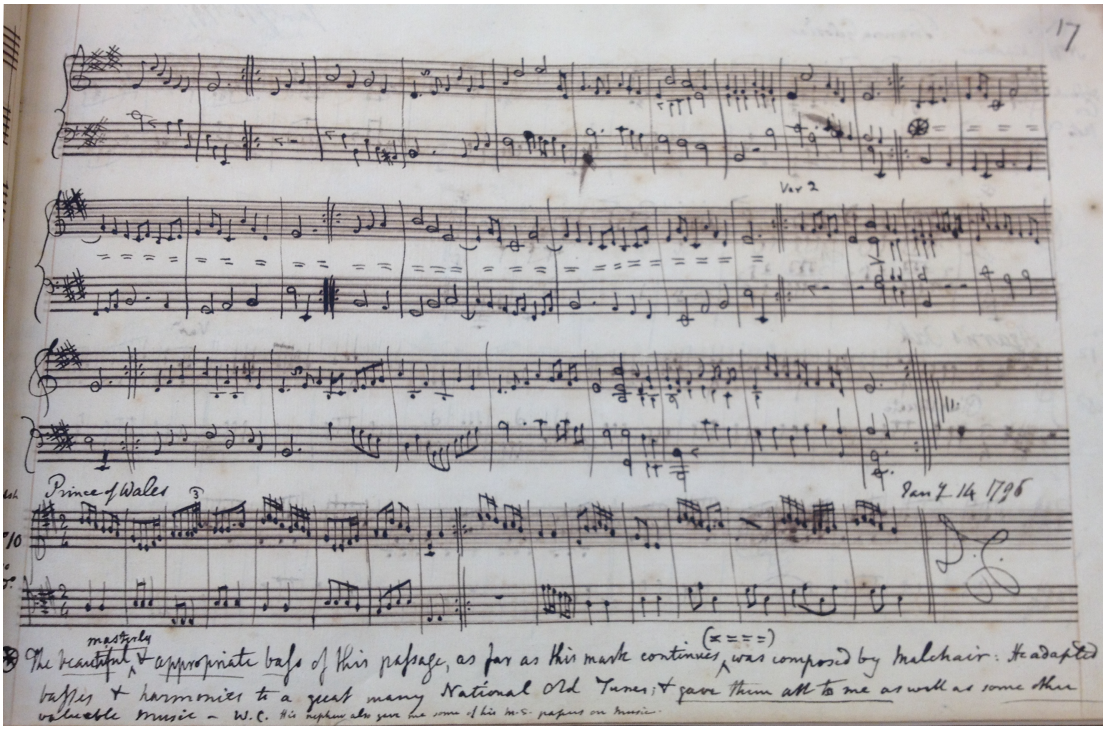
and took part in weekly private concerts at the home of Sir Digby Mackworth, singing tenor or playing viola or chamber organ.[15]

1797 was a portentous year for William Crotch, and having already become Professor of Music and received his doctorate, on 10 July, a few days after his twenty-second birthday, he married Martha Bliss, the daughter of his landlord. Crotch recorded in his memoirs that 'I was marr^{d} to Martha Bliss, eldest daughter of Mr Bliss Bookseller High St Oxford having admired her for 9, loved her for 7, & courted her for 5 years.'[16] They moved to Broad Street, where William built an observatory on the roof of their house in order to indulge his interest in astronomy. In 1801 they moved to Holywell.[17]

Crotch's friendship with Malchair is revealed in a number of sources, the most detailed of which are Crotch's 'Malchair' manuscript (GB-Ob MS Mus. d.32) and his unpublished 'Memoirs' (GB-NWr MS 11244). Crotch's 'Memoirs' are handwritten sheets forming a chronological account of his own life, based on his notes in old pocketbooks and his memories of the events recounted.[18] The 'Malchair' manuscript is a tunebook, larger than Malchair's own, containing compositions by Malchair, as written down by Crotch. After Malchair's death, Crotch filled the margins with extracts 'from an old pocket book of some account Malchair gave me of himself after he was blind'.[19] A sample page of this manuscript is shown in Figure 5.1, and a transcript of the marginal biographical notes is provided in Appendix 2.

[15] Rennert, p. 48.
[16] William Crotch, 'Memoirs', p. 85.
[17] Rennert, pp. 40–1, 50.
[18] Crotch's memoirs are part of Norfolk Records Office MS 11244, a bound volume assembled by A. H. Mann in the 1920s, which also includes newspaper cuttings and photographs. Page numbers referred to for this document are Crotch's own, as given in the corner of each page of the sheets forming the 'Memoirs'.
[19] William Crotch, 'Malchair', Bodleian Library, MS Mus. d.32, p. iv.

Figure 5.1: p. 17 of Crotch's 'Malchair' manuscript
Reproduced with permission from the Bodleian Library



While these sources necessarily provide a one-sided story, there is limited corroborating evidence of Malchair's side of the friendship in that Crotch's name appears as his companion on the back of many drawings, and Malchair played Crotch his compositions and provided ten bass lines as well as over 120 tunes for *Specimens*. It may also have been for the younger man's benefit that Malchair tried his hand at composing marches for the Oxford Loyal Volunteers in June 1798, with whom Crotch would enroll as a Lieutenant in 1804. Crotch wrote beneath these tunes in his 'Malchair' manuscript that:

> Both these were rejected on account of the Rhythm – the bars not consisting of numbers the root of wch is 4. I mean 4. 8. 12. 16. 20 &c…
> Malchair began to alter the slow march with a view of remedying this defect. This however did not please him & he never finished it.[20]

[20] William Crotch, 'Malchair', p. 49.

More significant evidence of their friendship is the fact that Malchair seems to have been very keen to help Crotch with his work on national music and lent the young man his tune collection. It is noticeable that Crotch's is the only other hand to have appeared in Malchair's tunebooks during his lifetime,[21] which could be said to demonstrate that Malchair respected Crotch enough to allow this.

This evidence from Malchair's side, of a respectful and trusting musical relationship between the two men, suggests that Crotch's assessment of their friendship is accurate in both the 'Malchair' manuscript and his 'Memoirs', and was not exaggerated or mischaracterised. In his 'Malchair' manuscript Crotch wrote that,

> About this time [July 1797] I became ↑more intimately↓ acquainted with Malchair & he paid me a daily visit at 4 o'clock staying till 10 mins before 5 when I was obliged to go to the Ch[rist] Ch[urch] Players. He brought a music book under his arm ↑for me to play to him↓ & sometimes brought a new tune for me to write down as his eyes became too dim to see even his large notes any longer. He continued these daily visits till breaking his shin against a wheelbarrow in Trinity Court where he used to take a few turns, he never again ventured out. After confining himself at the house he had 2 falls down stairs but they did not materially injure him. His strength wasted very gradually. I used to call on him every Sunday after morning Sermon.[22]

I do not believe that when Malchair brought Crotch 'a music book […] to play to him' that this refers to Malchair's tunebooks, due to the vagueness of the description: by the time Crotch made this note, after Malchair's death in 1812, he was well-acquainted with the tunebooks and had copied many of the tunes into his manuscript 'Tunes of Various Nations' before publishing many of them in *Specimens* in 1806.

[21] The signature of Malchair's nephew, G. Jenner, who inherited 'The Arrangement', appears by certain tunes, and there are comments by John Muir Wood as discussed in Chapter 3, but these were all added after Malchair's death.
[22] William Crotch, 'Malchair', fol. vii verso.

Though 1797 was when they got to know each other better as friends, it is likely that Crotch and Malchair were acquainted prior to that year, and even as early as 1788, when Crotch arrived in Oxford, as well as having met several times previously when Crotch performed at Oxford during his childhood tours. Crotch remembered that Malchair's violin was broken by an orange thrown during a student fracas at the Music Room in 1792,[23] and Malchair encouraged Crotch to publish three piano sonatas in 1793, of which Crotch wrote:

> This year I published 3 Sonatas which did my friends more credit than they did me, for there was a noble list of Subscribers. However they must have had some sort of merit for Malchair approved of them, and so must some of my drawings for I heard of his praising these too.[24]

Jonathan Rennert recounts several instances of Crotch's early interactions with Malchair, Philip Hayes, and the Oxford Music Room band prior to his moving to Oxford in 1788. For example, on one occasion the young William Crotch was invited to perform between the acts after having been spotted in the audience by the leader of the band.[25] When William's mother protested, saying that they had no music with them, a piece of music was found in a cupboard for William to play from.[26] Crotch's repeated and apparently memorable appearances at the Oxford Music Room – both on stage and

[23] William Crotch, 'Malchair', fol. vii verso.
[24] William Crotch, 'Memoirs', p. 78.
[25] Rennert's confusing use of the term 'leader of the band' continues throughout his book, where it is used interchangeably to refer to the Director of the Music Room and/or harpsichord player (Philip Hayes, then William Crotch) and the lead violinist (John Malchair). He also uses the same phrase when discussing Crotch's composition showcasing the clarinet, where the obligato part of the aria was played by Oxford Music Room clarinettist John Mahon – 'who was leading the band'. Rennert, p. 37. This latter use was perhaps derived from Crotch's statement that 'John Mahon I think lead for a little while [after Malchair resigned]'. Crotch, 'Malchair', p. 48.
[26] Rennert, p. 24. This story is recounted in Crotch's memoirs (GB-NWr MS 11244, p. 25) as a quotation from a letter sent to Crotch by his patron Reverend Alexander Goucher Schomberg in 1808, titled 'Some Memoirs of the early life of William Crotch'. The anecdote runs: 'July 10 [1783] You were very ready to play between the Acts at ye music room the other Evening. We went home for your music, but thinking it improper to keep the company waiting it was agreed that you would play the first piece wch came to hand from ye Orchestra books.' Crotch added a footnote here: 'I wish he had said whether he meant that I played it at first sight or that they found some piece I already knew.' It is therefore apparent that Rennert's account of a conversation between 'the leader of the band' and Mrs Crotch – 'How about this piece of Clementi?' – for which he gives no source, was almost certainly imagined.

in the audience – mean that Malchair and Crotch must have been acquainted since William's childhood, but, despite these early encounters, it seems that it was only from 1797, by which time Malchair was losing his sight, that regular visits began, as described above. Crotch recorded that the final time he wrote down a tune for Malchair was on 3 December 1799, though the last time he saw him was around 1812, the year Malchair died.[27]

William Crotch's use of 'Vol. 3d'

The appearance of William Crotch's handwriting in both of Malchair's extant tunebooks reveals the trusting friendship and overlap of interests between the two men. The twenty-two tunes that appear in 'Vol. 3d' and 'The Arrangement' in Crotch's handwriting are listed in Table 5.1.

Though the titles of those twenty-two tunes which Crotch added to 'The Arrangement' were included in the index to that tunebook, they were squeezed in between the existing entries after Malchair had completed his own index. This almost certainly denies the possibility that these tunebooks were passed back and forth in a joint enterprise to finish the collection. As described in Chapters 3 and 4, Malchair finished his work in 1795, and while Crotch seems to have respected Malchair's categorisation, and was adding tunes in the spirit of the collection, the relatively small number of additions he made implies that he was not trying to contribute to the project in any major way, nor to take it over himself, though he did use many of Malchair's tunes in *Specimens*.

[27] Crotch, fol. iv.

There are three tunes among these twenty-two – 'The Twins', 'The Britons' and 'The Beggar Boy', all of which are from Playford – that Malchair definitely knew, even if he did not know that Crotch had added them to his tunebooks, because Malchair listed them among 'The most favourit tunes' in his note glued at the front of 'The Arrangement'. It is possible that some of the tunes Crotch added into 'The Arrangement' might have been found in Malchair's earlier volumes.

Table 5.1: tunes in Malchair's tunebooks in Crotch's handwriting

	p.	**Tune name and marginalia**
'Vol. 3d'		
1	119	An Irish tune noted down from the playing of ye Oxford Militia Band Oxon March 1800
2	120	Austrian tune played by ye Oxford Militia band Oxon March 1800
3	120	The Beggar boy Printed 1652 & 1665 – Dancing [Master]
'The Arrangement'		
4	191	Tune wch Mr Malchair heard a man sing in Harlech Castle
5	223	Molly Aoloa or Gramacharee Molly
6	223	Roger of Coverley Ed 1695 also Beggars Opera 2nd part Air 37
7	223	Another edn. of the same tune given to Mr M by W Crotch Sr Roger de Coverly. The former is the most genuine
8	224	The Maid peep'd out at ye window or The Friar in the Hall this part is not in the Edn of the year 1665 nor in 1652[28]
9	224	The Irish Lady or Aniseed Wales Robin 1665 & 1652
10	224	The Suitors of Selkirk
11	225	Ten Pound Lass
12	264	Jack on ye Green
13	264	The Beggar Boy Dancing Master 1652 & 1665
14	264	The Britons Dancing Master of 1696
15	265	The Twins Dancing Master 1665
16	265	Cheerily & Merrily 217
17	265	Cavylilli Man Ed. 1695
18	266	Nobe's Maggot
19	266	Cobbler[']s Hornpipe
20	266	Kings Maggot or New York
21	266	Washington[']s March Ed 1665
22	267	The Abbot of Canterbury – or Daniel Cooper

[28] The tune is no. 65 in the 1665 edition of *The Dancing Master*, but is not listed in the contents page.

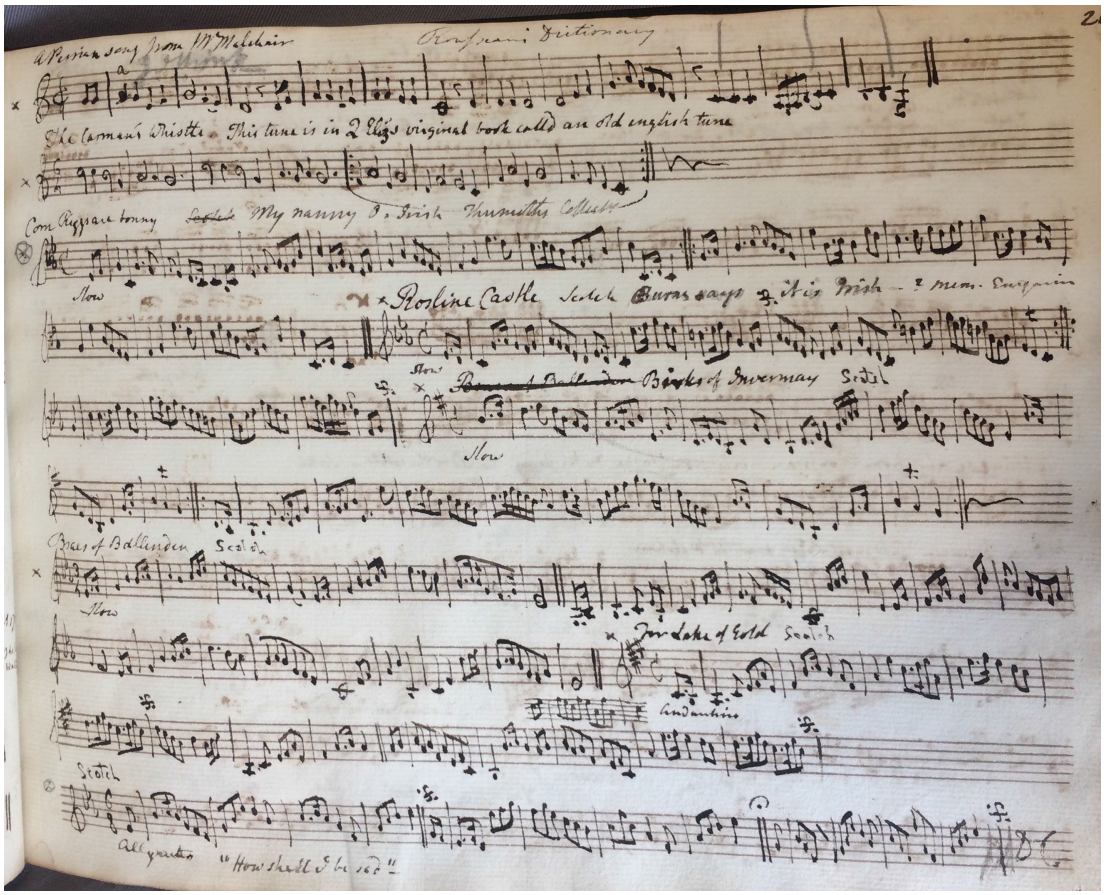
A manuscript tunebook among Crotch's papers at the Norfolk Records Office, later bound by Arthur Henry Mann (1850-1929) and given the title 'Tunes of Various Nations', might be regarded as the 'missing link' between Malchair's tune collection and Crotch's *Specimens*. Containing a large number of tunes from Malchair's tunebooks, as well as marginal comments such as 'English? Mr M. thinks Scotch',[29] this book appears to be where Crotch copied tunes from Malchair's collection in the late 1790s. However, the tunes from Malchair's collection were not copied wholesale, and are interspersed with selections from printed books and tunes from other sources, which suggests that rather than being a direct copy of Malchair's work, this manuscript was Crotch's working tunebook for a period at the turn of the nineteenth century (c.1799-1802), from which he later selected tunes for *Specimens*. The tunebook, like Malchair's volumes, contains only the melodies to the tunes for the most part, though keyboard arrangements would be created for publication.

Two features of this manuscript are of relevance here. First, in addition to a number of tunes that are familiar from Malchair's extant collection, there are several tunes attributed to Malchair as collector which do not appear in 'Vol. 3^{d}' or 'The Arrangement', and it is probable that Crotch copied these from one of Malchair's lost tunebooks, the dates given for their collection making it unlikely that Malchair was communicating either tune or backstory to him from memory at the end of the century. For example, towards the start of Crotch's manuscript are two untitled tunes, the first of which bears two comments: 'A Canadian tune set down from Mr Jonnanisen's [?] playing [by] Malchair 1774', and 'NB Mr Jonnanisen was himself a french Gentleman who was sent to their country[,] exchanged when young for a canadian gentl. & had

[29] Next to the tune 'Old Sr. Simon ye King'. William Crotch, 'Tunes of Various Nations', p. 9.

travelled in ye most [illegible] parts'.[30] Likewise, Crotch noted that one tune was 'Duplicated from a welch M. S. by Mr Jones of Jesus Coll. 1778. From Mr Malchair'.[31] This is presumably the same manuscript to which Malchair attributed tunes in 'The Arrangement', where he did not give the date. As none of the tunes attributed to Jones' manuscript by Crotch or Malchair appear in 'Vol. 3^d' it is probable these were originally notated by Malchair in an earlier tunebook.[32]

Figure 5.2: p. 21 of William Crotch's 'Tunes of Various Nations'
GB-NWr MS 11097: *reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Record Office*



[30] William Crotch, 'Tunes of Various Nations', p. 5.
[31] William Crotch, 'Tunes of Various Nations', p. 4.
[32] This date lends weight to the dating of 'Vol. 3^d', suggesting Malchair began 'Vol. 3^d' after 1778 (in Chapter 4 I suggested 1783).

Second, marginalia in Crotch's manuscript imply that as well as copying these tunes from Malchair's collection, they spoke about them, as, while it is possible Crotch deduced Malchair's thoughts from comments written in the margins of his tunebooks, Crotch included some notes that are not recorded with tunes copied from Malchair's extant tunebooks. For example, on the tune 'Charming Maid', Crotch commented that 'Mr M. thinks this Flemish & played on ye bells but the compass seems too great'.[33] Likewise, on 'Porter[']s Lamentation' he noted 'Mr Malchair thinks this Polish',[34] and on 'Stepney Cakes and Ale' Crotch wrote 'M^{r} M thinks D minor? because it is thus [i.e., as written] in a very unmusical scale'.[35] However, the fact that Crotch was copying for the most part, and not notating tunes and discussion from live interactions with Malchair, is indicated by his near-exact copying of phrases that occur in Malchair's work, such as on the tune that was 'Noted by Mr Barnard from having heard it played in Ireland where it is said to be very ancient'.[36] Malchair's corresponding note in 'The Arrangement' reads: 'Noted down by Mr Barnard from having heard it playd in Ireland where this tune is said to be verry ancient'.[37]

Of the twenty-two tunes that Crotch added to Malchair's two extant tunebooks (listed in Table 5.1), Table 5.2 shows those also contained in his manuscript 'Tunes of Various Nations' (row numbers from Table 5.1 have been preserved).

[33] William Crotch, 'Tunes of Various Nations', p. 15.
[34] William Crotch, 'Tunes of Various Nations', p. 16.
[35] William Crotch, 'Tunes of Various Nations', p. 15.
[36] William Crotch, 'Tunes of Various Nations', p. 40.
[37] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', p. 217.

Table 5.2: tunes that appear in Crotch's handwriting in Malchair's collection, that can be found in Crotch's 'Tunes of Various Nations' manuscript

	p.	Tune name and marginalia	Page in Crotch's manuscript, and any other details
'Vol. 3d'			
3	120	The Beggar boy Printed 1652 & 1665 – Dancing [Master]	p. 13, from *The Dancing Master*, 1652
'The Arrangement'			
4	191	Tune wch Mr Malchair heard a man sing in Harlech Castle	p. 48, 'Welsh Tune noted down from a man singing in Harlech castle'
5	223	Molly Aoloa or Gramacharee Molly	p. 10, labelled 'Irish'
6	223	Roger of Coverley Ed 1695 also Beggars Opera 2nd part Air 37	p. 57v,[38] 'Sir Roger de Coverley – or the mallman comes on Monday […] NB the Dancing Master Ed.n is diff.t half a bar no. 3rd [illegible]'
7	223	Another edn. of the same tune given to Mr M by W Crotch Sr Roger de Coverly. The former is the most genuine	As above – the tune only occurs once in this manuscript
9	224	The Irish Lady or Aniseed Wales Robin 1665 & 1652	p. 16, '(seems very ancient) Ed.n of 1652 [of *The Dancing Master*]'
10	224	The Suitors of Selkirk	p. 19, 'Scotch <Irish>. Sutors [illegible] battle of Flodden Field'
12	264	Jack on ye Green	p. 13, '<English> Scotch. From Mr Bowler to Mr M[alchair].'
13	264	The Beggar Boy Dancing Master 1652 & 1665	As above (row 3) – the tune only occurs once in this manuscript
14	264	The Britons Dancing Master of 1696	p. 55, from *The Dancing Master*, 1696
15	265	The Twins Dancing Master 1665	p. 12, from *The Dancing Master*, 1665
16	265	Cheerily & Merrily 217	p. 57v, 'Irish or Scotch? 1652 DM'
18	266	Nobe's Maggot	p. 14, 'probably Irish [then in pencil:] <English> Irish'
19	266	Cobbler[']s Hornpipe	p. 58, '<Scotch part>'
20	266	Kings Maggot or New York	p. 55, 'a good old Hornpipe'
21	266	Washington[']s March Ed 1665	p. 16, 'Ed. 1665 evidently bagpipe & prob.y Scotch.'

[38] Crotch's page numbering goes awry at this point: the numbered page sequence runs from 1-60, with numbering only on the recto (odd numbers) – until pp. 57-8, where Crotch numbered p. 57 as normal, but wrote 58 on the next recto. Therefore, the back of page 57, I have numbered 57v.

Table 5.2 shows that sixteen of the twenty-two items (fourteen of twenty tunes, excluding duplicates) that Crotch wrote into Malchair's tunebooks also appear in his own manuscript, 'Tunes of Various Nations'. It is not clear whether Crotch copied these into Malchair's tunebooks from his own, or whether he copied them into his own manuscript from Malchair's. Either way, it is clear that Crotch was the source for at least one of these tunes (and two versions of it), for he wrote in Malchair's book that 'Sir Roger de Coverly' was 'given to M^{r} M by W Crotch'. The fact that he did not record both versions of the tune in his own tunebook, but only noted that there was a difference suggests that he wrote them into Malchair's book first, and copied only his preferred version into his own manuscript.

Crotch's 'Tunes of Various Nations' also sheds light on the eight tunes he recategorised in *Specimens* (see Chapter 3). Table 5.3, below, lists the same tunes as Table 3.2 in Chapter 3, and provides additional information.

Table 5.3 (below) makes several things apparent: first, in terms of categorisation, it seems that Crotch recorded Malchair's categorisations into his own manuscript, then, as his thoughts developed, he went back and edited these labels (using a variety of ink and pencil, indicating this probably took place on several separate occasions) by crossing out and/or adding his own national label beside each of these tunes. Second, the omission of 'The Dusty Miller' (among a number of other tunes not recategorised and therefore not listed here) from Crotch's manuscript, although it appears in *Specimens*, provides further evidence that 'Tunes of Various Nations' was a working manuscript and not a draft of Crotch's later publication.

Table 5.3: recategorised tunes, and where they appear in Crotch's 'Tunes of Various Nations'

	Tune	**Page number and source given by Malchair***	**Malchair's categorisation**	**Crotch's categorisation in *Specimens***	**Notes in Crotch's 'Tunes of Various Nations' manuscript**
1	The Sheep Shearers, or Next Oars	'Vol. 3[d]', p. 17 'The Arr.', p. 109 Source: *DM* 1728	Scottish†	Irish	p. 15, 'appears very ancient. Scotch or Irish. certainly bagpipe.'
2	Stepney Cakes and Ale	'Vol. 3[d]', p. 24 'The Arr.', p. 252 Source: *DM* 1728	Scottish	Irish	p. 15, 'probably Irish. from y[e] Dancing Master. No C#. M[r] M thinks D minor? because it is thus in a very unmusical scale.'
3	Corn Rigs are Bonny, or My Nanny O	'Vol. 3[d]', p. 7 'The Arr.', p. 109 and 61 Source: probably Thumoth‡	Scottish & Irish (respectively)	Irish	p. 21, 'Corn Rigs are Bonny <Scotch>[,] My Nanny O Irish'
4	Charming Maid	'Vol. 3[d]', p. 18 'The Arr.', p. 24 Source: *DM* 1728	Welsh	English/of doubtful origin	p. 15, 'M[r] M. thinks this Flemish & played on ye bells but the compass seems too great'
5	Porter's Lamentation	'Vol. 3[d]', p. 37 Source: *DM* 1665	Polish	English/of doubtful origin	p. 16, 'M[r] Malchair thinks this Polish. There is a tune called Porter's dream. Not very good.'
6	Amorisco	'Vol. 3[d]', p. 37 Source: *DM* 1665	Italian	English/of doubtful origin	p. 16, 'probably <Italian> Moorish'
7	Cheshire Rounds	'The Arr.', p. 209	Irish	English/of doubtful origin	p. 55, '<Irish?> <Scotch?> probably English.'
8	The Dusty Miller	'The Arr.', p. 52	Irish ('by supposition')	English/of doubtful origin	-

* To save space in this column, 'The Arr.' refers to 'The Arrangement', and *DM* refers to *The Dancing Master*.
† 'The Rakes of Westmeath', which is similar though not identical, is recorded twice in the Irish section of 'The Arrangement', on p. 60 and p. 86.
‡ Thumoth, *Twelve Scotch, and Twelve Irish Airs with Variations*, p. 22, no. XI, where it is titled 'Corn Riggs are bonny'; Thumoth, *Twelve English and Twelve Irish Airs*, p. 32, no. IV, where it is called 'My Nanny O'.

Third, that five of these seven tunes are located together on pp. 15-16 of Crotch's manuscript suggests that Crotch collected them at the same time. Meanwhile, the fact that they come from a wide range of page locations in Malchair's tunebooks suggests that this was not Crotch's direct source, although his marginalia indicate that he referred to Malchair's notes (or to the man himself) in addition. All five of these tunes (and none of the others from the list above) are from editions of *The Dancing Master*, which suggests this was his source – in fact, all sixteen of the tunes on pp. 15-16 of Crotch's tunebook are from *The Dancing Master*.

'Tunes of Various Nations', then, was not a copy of Malchair's tunebooks, though derived from the same sources, and clearly benefitting from reference to Malchair's collection. Yet Crotch's manuscript still represents something of a 'missing link' between Malchair's work and the published *Specimens*. In addition, having derived some of its content from Malchair's earlier volumes of tunes (evident from the date 1778 on 'A Welsh Tune', taken from the manuscript belonging to Rev. Jones of Jesus College)[39] it is possible that with further analysis this tunebook might shed light on the contents of Malchair's lost volumes 1 and 2.

That Crotch made his own copies of so many tunes from Malchair's collection reveals that he borrowed Malchair's tunebooks over a long period of time, most probably between 1799 (the earliest date in Crotch's handwriting in Malchair's 'Vol. 3^{d}') and 1802 (the latest date in Crotch's manuscript). It is possible that Crotch may even have kept Malchair's tunebooks until 1804, the date written at the front of Crotch's

[39] William Crotch, 'Tunes of Various Nations', p. 4.

'Malchair' manuscript – although Crotch added the word 'Probably' next to the date, suggesting this note was made much later (the latest date in the tunebook is 1823).

Crotch's later professional work and his interest in 'national music'

In December 1798, in a departure from then normal practice at Oxford, Crotch began his career as a lecturer.[40] At first he was assisted by the Music Room band, but later he performed his own demonstrations on various keyboard instruments. His audience included distinguished members of the University such as Masters and Professors, as well as undergraduates.[41] His work increasingly took him to London, and around 1805 he and his family moved there.[42]

Crotch's lectures have been published in two forms: his own publication of 1831, *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music read in the University of Oxford and in the Metropolis*, and in Howard Irving's *Ancients and Moderns* (1999), which includes an analysis of and transcription of Crotch's original notes from the lectures delivered around 1806, which differ in parts from the published versions. Condensing his thirty-year lecturing career into his 1831 volume, Crotch chose to focus his attention on older music and ignored composers contemporary with his lectures: he therefore comes across as a champion of a pre-1760 golden age of ancient music. However, Irving has corrected this impression by explaining that while Crotch's live audiences circa 1805 may have appreciated his opinions on contemporary composers such as Haydn, such criticism was no longer new or relevant by 1831 and thus it was left out of the published lectures. Irving's analysis of the earlier manuscript versions of the

[40] Irving, *Ancients and Moderns*, p. 10; Rennert, p. 42.
[41] Rennert, p. 42.
[42] Rennert, p. 50.

lectures therefore provides insight into Crotch's thinking at the time: rather than championing ancient music and deriding modern styles he advocated a mixture of ancient and modern repertoire in performances, and was even of the opinion that ancient music should be limited in concert programmes, writing elsewhere that 'I have always been of the opinion that one concerto of Corelli is enough for the longest bill'.[43] This contrasts notably with Malchair's preference for 'ancient' music described by Jung in *Guide d'Oxford*.[44]

Despite this, it remains the case that, as Howard Irving acknowledges, through his lectures Crotch became de facto spokesperson for the ancient music community,[45] and even today authors see Crotch in this light, with Tim Eggington describing Crotch's tastes in music as of the tradition of the Academy of Ancient Music: advocating the use in modern composition of 'ancient' features such as counterpoint.[46] This latter notion, that Crotch championed older music to help in the creation of better quality new music, lends weight to the idea that his interest in 'national music' was primarily pedagogical. Indeed, in the Preface to *Specimens* he made this aim explicit, stating that he intended his collection of music –

I. To improve the taste, by introducing the performer to every kind of excellence, and thereby prevent his being bigoted to particular sorts of music, or particular masters.
II. To give a practical History of the progress of the Science.
III. To present in one work to the Student in Composition a great variety of matter for his study and imitation.
IV. To furnish performers in general with good subjects for practice, calculated for all stages of their progress; many of the specimens being necessarily easy of execution, some difficult, but all, it is conceived, excellent in their respective kinds.[47]

[43] 'Correspondence', quoted in Irving, *Ancients and Moderns*, p. 41.
[44] Jung, p. 90.
[45] Irving, *Ancients and Moderns*, p. 3.
[46] Eggington.
[47] Crotch, I, p. 1.

This might account for his inclusion in both Malchair's 'The Arrangement' and his own publication of two or even three versions of the same tune, for the sake of comparison. For example, in 'The Arrangement' he included two versions of 'Roger de Coverly', as listed in Table 5.2, and in *Specimens* there are three versions of 'The Broom of Cowdenknows'.[48] The desire to educate by comparing how the same melody could be treated differently is notably similar to Malchair's aim as expressed in his introduction to 'The Arrangement'.

The depth of Crotch's interest in national music is demonstrated not only by the fact that he devoted an entire book of his three-volume *Specimens* to the subject, but also in his engagement with it outside of commentary, writing down tunes for Malchair (perhaps even playing them with him), adding tunes into Malchair's tunebooks that he had heard or found in books, and composing and arranging tunes in various national styles with his brother, John Beale, which will be discussed below.

Such deep interest has surprised a range of authors, some responding positively and others more critically. For example, Rennert writes favourably that, in gathering and commenting on so many examples of national music in *Specimens*, William Crotch demonstrated he was a scholar familiar with vast quantities of both 'ancient' and 'modern' music.[49] Likewise, Margaret Dean-Smith observed, from her vantage point after the first 'folk revival' in England, that Crotch seemed to have an innate understanding of repertoire familiar to her as 'folk music', which he termed 'national music'. She explains that he knew how a tune was distributed geographically, how it

[48] Crotch, I, p. 51, tune 90.
[49] Rennert, pp. 44–5.

could be the 'same' tune regardless of provenance, and how it might vary without losing its identity. Crotch, like Malchair, made clear his understanding when he included in his work several versions of the same tune, referring to them each as 'another edition'. Dean-Smith wrote that Crotch was accustomed to music for the bagpipe and harp, and had nothing against the flattened 7th so often 'corrected' in printed collections: she notes that he criticised those editions of tunes where it was sharpened, calling them incorrect.[50] Beyond this, he respected the tradition of learning music by ear and even complimented the Welsh and Scots for thus communicating and learning much more detail in their music than was conveyed on the page. He had a high opinion of such music and its performers, and did not consider the lower classes to only be capable of simple melodies and harmonies.[51]

However, not all authors are as complimentary to Crotch as Dean-Smith, Rennert and Irving. Frank Kidson, who studied Malchair's 'Vol. 3^{d}' upon its coming to the English Folk Song Society in 1907 and compared it to Crotch's *Specimens*, felt that 'Malchair appears to have known a very great deal about National Music of all kinds & Crotch, really, very little'.[52] Similarly, William Chappell, in his letter of 1856 to William Husk, wrote that Crotch had not been discerning enough when using Malchair's work:

> This donkey [Malchair] would have done no mischief if he had not forced another in Dr Crotch to quote him as an authority. The only excuse for Dr Crotch is that he was only twenty years of age when he delivered his Lectures at

[50] Though this is indeed the impression one gets, I have not seen this remark in Crotch's published or unpublished work. Marginalia in his unpublished manuscript, 'Tunes of Various Nations', indicate that he was comfortable working with modes, and that it was not only flattened 7ths he accepted, for he questioned the tonality of the tune 'Stepney Cakes and Ale', suggesting that rather than having two sharps in the key signature and occasional naturals marked before Cs (making the tune swap between D major and D mixolydian), the tune should be in D minor and feature 'no F# no C# certainly!' but instead a B♭, making it the natural minor, or aeolian mode (GB-NWr MS 11097, p. 15).

[51] Dean-Smith, 'The Preservation of English Folk Song and Popular Music: Mr. Malchair's Collection and Dr. Crotch's Specimens', p. 109.

[52] On a note in an envelope tucked into Malchair's 'Vol. 3^{d}' at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. Titled 'Note' and signed 'Frank Kidson, July 1907'.

> Oxford.[53] He has also the prudence to say "Malchair says this" & "Malchair says that" & not to take the onus upon his own shoulders.[54]

It is noticeable in the above quotations that even where these authors sought to attack or defend one man or the other, they seem to be in agreement that Malchair and Crotch's methods and attitudes were linked – although I would argue that the notion that Malchair 'forced' Crotch to quote him should be viewed with scepticism. Their sharing of repertoire and years spent in regular contact playing and discussing this music, as described by Crotch, easily account for their shared opinions and approaches.

At the same time as Malchair can be seen to have influenced Crotch's work, it might also be the case that Crotch's attitudes and opinions had an effect on Malchair's work. For example, Malchair's encounters with the teenaged Crotch in the period 1792-5, while Malchair was working on 'The Arrangement', might have inspired Malchair to consider the publication of his work. However, as Malchair completed 'The Arrangement' in 1795 and made no reference to conversations with Crotch in his extant writings, it would be impossible to say what thoughts were inspired by their conversations in the period 1797-1802, when they met regularly.

If nothing else, then, Crotch's use of Malchair's work and his additions to Malchair's tunebooks, as well as the work he did with his brother, to be discussed below, demonstrate that an interest in national music was reasonably common among musicians in the late eighteenth century, and that such subjects were suitable for sharing, discussing, and publishing. There is therefore potential value in showing the

[53] In fact, Crotch was twenty-three when he began his Oxford lectures in December 1798, and twenty-nine when first invited to lecture in London in 1804.
[54] William Chappell to William Husk, 8 December 1856. This letter is tucked into Malchair's 'The Arrangement' at the Royal College of Music, MS 2091.

similarities in their way of thinking, and it might be that the work of one shines a light on the methods of the other.

What Crotch's work might reveal about Malchair's methods

Having presented Malchair's collecting activities in the context of eighteenth-century collecting and the institutionalisation of museums, it is pertinent here to discuss Howard Irving's observation that Crotch demonstrated in his work a 'scientific' method, organising *Specimens* 'with an almost museum-like detachment […]. Crotch's empirical, dispassionate, and one might say scientific approach in the *Specimens* mirrors a shift observable in British culture generally around the turn of the century toward empiricism'.[55] Irving posits that 'Crotch's relatively objective approach to criticism in the *Specimens* is most noticeable in his treatment of so-called "national" music' where, unlike in the volumes on concert music, he is more successful in 'pursuing a programme of value-free criticism' – and points out that it is in this part of his work that Crotch was most indebted to Malchair. Malchair was, according to Irving, known for his techniques of observation, particularly in his landscape drawing, and, as I have observed in this thesis, he demonstrated even-handedness and a degree of objectivity in his music-collecting habits and the documentation of his collection, in that he almost always distinguished between the authority of particular sources, received wisdom, and his own opinions.

Irving, like others before him, credits Malchair as the originator of traits later found in John Constable's painting:[56] 'Crotch is cited as the source through which the empirical

[55] Irving, 'Empiricism, Ideology and William Crotch's Specimens', p. 237.
[56] Ian Fleming-Williams was perhaps the first to make this connection, in an unpublished typescript used as the basis for Colin Harrison's introductory chapter in Harrison; see also Susan Wollenberg's chapter in the same volume, 'Malchair the Musician'.

emphasis and methods of John Malchair, drawing master at Oxford and central figure of a school of landscape artists there, were transferred to Constable.'[57] The same assertion was made in 1975 by Rennert, although he does not indicate whose argument he is referring to when he writes: 'It has been further argued that Malchair's teachings found their most influential advocate, not in these well-known public figures, but in Oxford's professor of music, William Crotch, who passed on the old man's theories to someone who could put them to best advantage – John Constable.'[58] What do these authors mean by this? What were these observational techniques and empirical approach? Since these words were not used about Malchair or Crotch within their own lifetimes I will rely on a modern definition: an empirical method is one in which knowledge is pursued 'by means of direct observation, investigation, or experiment (as distinct from deductive reasoning, abstract theorizing, or speculation)'.[59]

Malchair was aware of the benefits of direct observation when drawing, and became known for his drawings 'after nature', indicating on the back of his work when it was created 'from recollection'. In 1757 he noted in his sketchbook that 'the Methode of drawing in a book [carried with him] was adopted from Robert Price Esq[r] of Foxley in Herefordshire'.[60] Crotch in turn learned various techniques from Malchair, and recalled one occasion when out drawing:

> At first entrance the view struck me as good. I however remembered the constant advice of my good friend and able master Malchair, *always to walk about my subject before I began to draw*. I accordingly moved a few steps towards the N. W. and found the objects arranged much better. I was just going to begin my sketch but thought it was not impossible that a few more steps to the right might still improve my view – which they accordingly did. […] If thou

[57] Irving, 'Empiricism, Ideology and William Crotch's Specimens', p. 245.
[58] Rennert, pp. 93–4 This earlier source may have been the same one cited by Irving: Ian Fleming-Williams' article, 'Dr William Crotch (1775-1847): Member of the Oxford School and Friend of Constable', The Connoisseur 159 (May 1965): 28-31.
[59] 'Empirical, Adj. and N.' <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/61341> [accessed 13 August 2018].
[60] On a loose sheet tucked into 'Sketchbooks of John Malchair, Volume II'.

> hast but twenty minutes to spare – spend at least five in walking about your subject and take my word as well as Mr Malchair's you will not spend it in vain. Oh that I had taken this advice of my old Master's when at Battle Abbey! And a thousand times besides.[61]

In musical terms, the close observation and investigation of tunes is easy to detect in the many comparisons and attempts to categorise or label tunes in each man's tunebooks. Making judgements based on experience rather than theory was, as Crotch described in his lectures, how he had formed his opinions of the music provided in *Specimens*, attending performances and only later checking the score to confirm his impressions.[62] It is not clear whether Malchair (or Crotch) adopted this method in their tune-collecting by playing the tunes they wrote down, although Malchair played many tunes from memory on the violin, and Crotch not only arranged but also performed the tunes in *Specimens* as part of his lectures. It can therefore be assumed that both men had more than simply a theoretical, paper-based familiarity with the tunes they each collected. Beyond this, their accuracy and the provision of provenance in their tunebooks suggest an approach where knowledge had to be grounded in the real world and fully documented as to its sources. This is in line with David Hume's notion of authenticity quoted in Chapter 3 (that a chain needed to be established back to the first witness): in both men's tunebooks notation is accurately copied, any changes made (such as barring or accidentals) are indicated, and information based on sources or supposition labelled accordingly. It can also be argued that Malchair's speculation (or, as he called it, supposition) should not disqualify him from being considered 'empirical' in his approach, as he clearly marked where his own opinions were not based on external evidence, even if he did not always provide a full account of any

[61] Quoted in Rennert, p. 94.
[62] Irving, 'Empiricism, Ideology and William Crotch's Specimens', pp. 242–3.

evidence he relied on, as in the anomalies of categorisation listed in Chapter 3. It is tempting indeed, therefore, to conclude that the 'empirical' method with which Crotch is credited, was learned from Malchair.

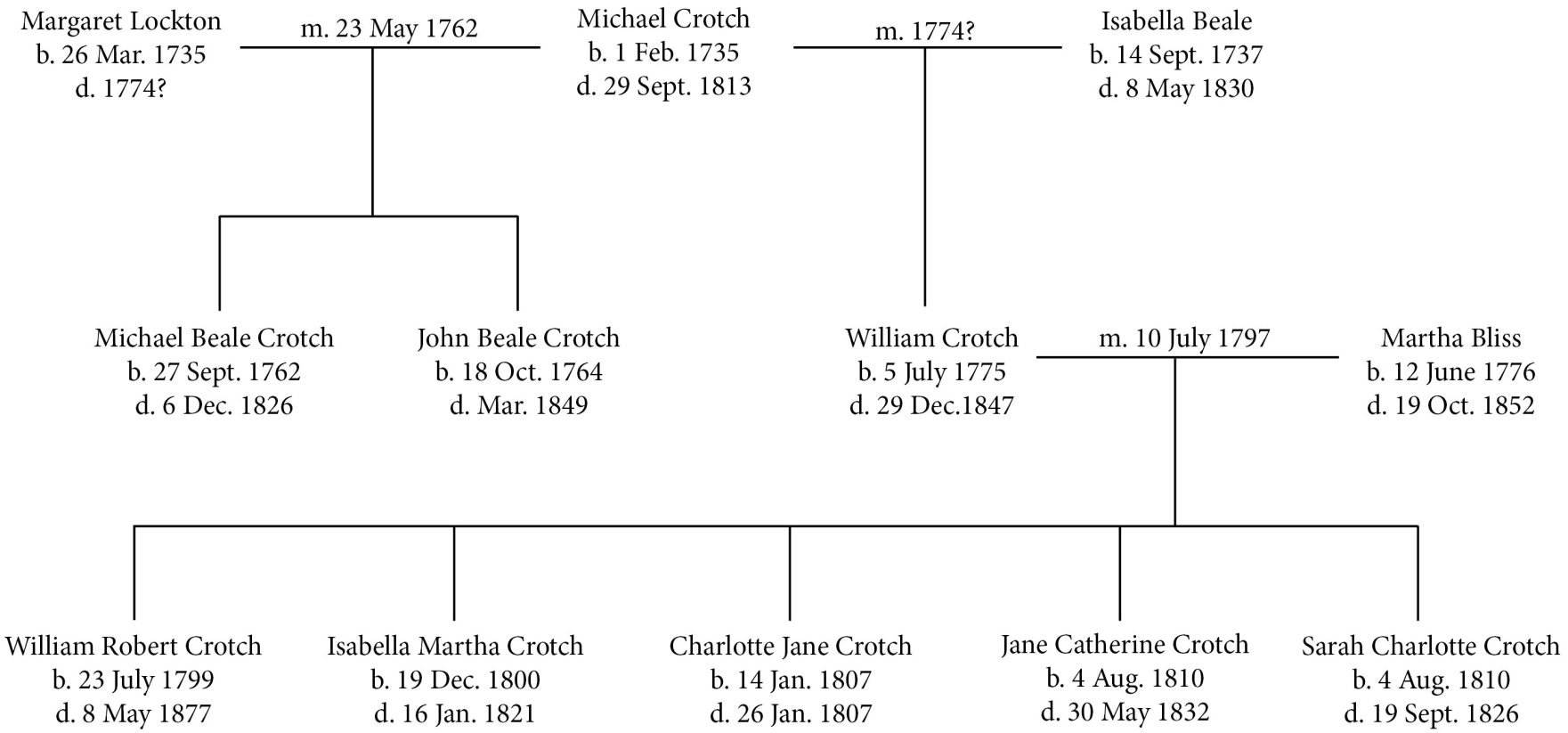
While avoiding the anachronism of describing Malchair as 'scientific', it is still possible to conclude that Malchair was methodical and precise, adopting an approach based on his own experience of the tunes alongside written evidence (that is, the claims of what he deemed reliable sources) which he fully referenced. It also makes sense to conclude that he passed this method of working and way of presenting and annotating tunes on to Crotch, with Crotch's approach (which has been far more thoroughly documented and discussed, both by himself and by authors since) perhaps providing further information about Malchair by inference. If Crotch's writings can be used (cautiously) in this way, to infer information about Malchair's methods, then there is much to be learned also from the publication of national music composed by William and his half-brother, John Beale Crotch.

John Beale Crotch's manuscript

William had two elder half-brothers, Michael and John. Both were given the middle name Beale: presumably this was a family name of their mother, Margaret Lockton. Confusingly, Beale was also the surname of their father's second wife, William's mother, Isabella, though William was given no middle name.

Figure 5.3: select Crotch family tree

Constructed using information from Crotch's 'Memoirs' (GB-NWr MS 11244),
notes by A. H. Mann compiled in the 1920s (GB-NWr MS 11206), and using Ancestry.co.uk.

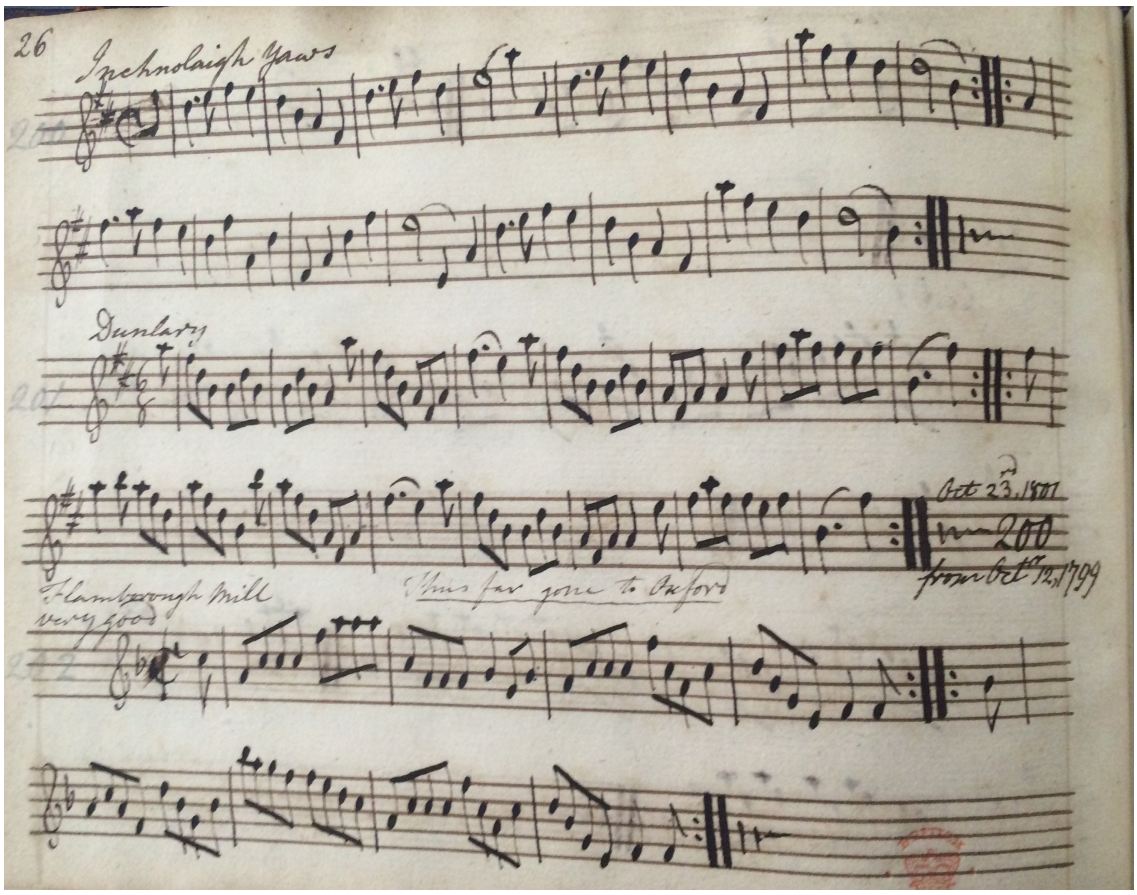


John Beale, their father's second son, was around eleven years older than William.[63] Rennert describes how William was on tour constantly between the ages of three and nine and was spoilt by the attention, and how with John he was allowed to behave as a child in a way that he was prohibited from doing when on tour.[64] It was John who taught William to play the violin, and to read music.[65] The two were good friends and corresponded about how to construct fortifications using mathematics, among other topics.[66] As to his professional life, John Beale Crotch trained as a piano tuner in Aberdeen, and worked as a tuner and repairer in London.[67] In 1791 he joined Broadwood's as a tuner and by 1797 he was setting up his own business in London.[68]

John Beale Crotch is relevant here on account of his compositions of 'national music', which are contained in two sources: a manuscript tunebook of John's compositions from 1799-1802 (of which only the second of two volumes is extant),[69] and three published volumes of compositions by John and William Crotch containing some of the same melodies along with others, arranged for piano forte.[70] While it is impossible to know whether Malchair heard any of these compositions or discussed them with William during social calls, these sources are instructive for the ways in which the tunes are titled and labelled with national categories.

[63] William Crotch, 'Memoirs', p. 1.
[64] Rennert, pp. 17–20.
[65] William Crotch, 'Memoirs', p. 11 and 15.
[66] Rennert, p. 30.
[67] Rennert, pp. 19–20.
[68] Rennert, p. 41.
[69] J. B. Crotch, 'A Collection of Dance Tunes for Flute or Violin', 1799-1802, British Library, GB-Lbl Add. MS 30272.
[70] John and William Crotch, *Original Airs in Various and Familiar Styles for the Piano Forte*, 3 vols. (London: Printed for the Authors, 1803), Norfolk Records Office, GB-NWr MS 11245.

Figure 5.4: p. 26 (fol. 17v) of J. B. Crotch's tunebook,
GB-Lbl Add. MS 30272: © *British Library Board*

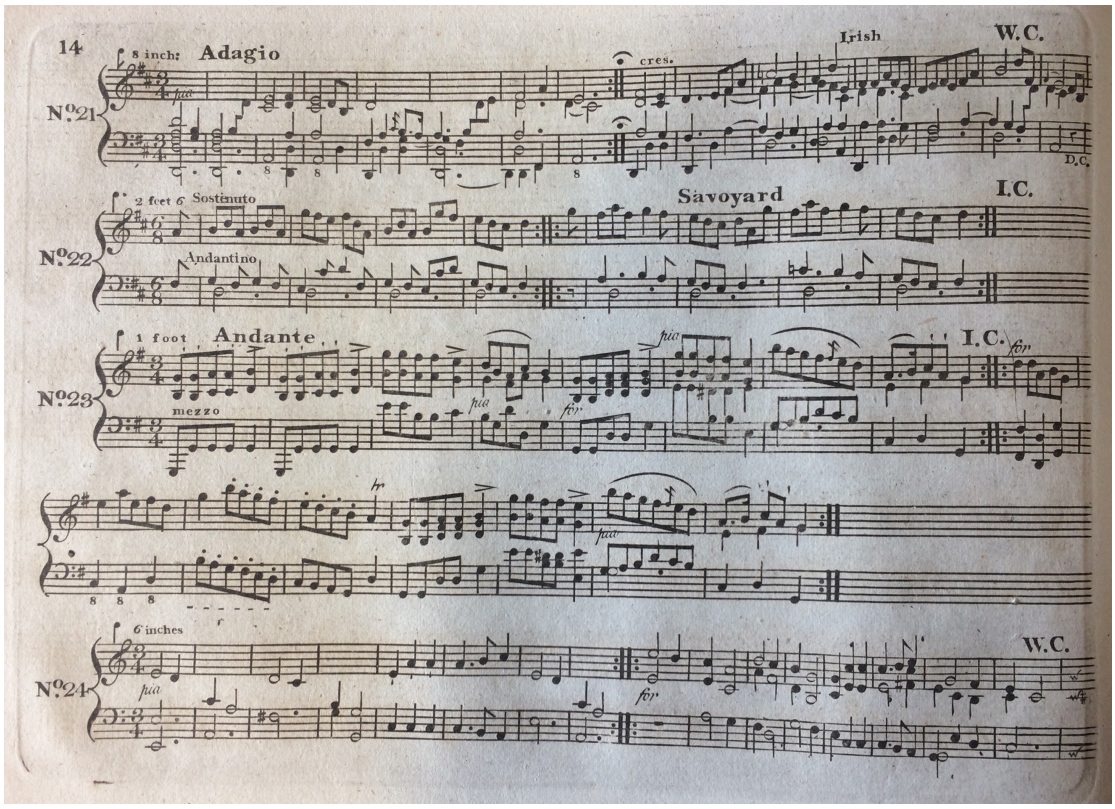


In the manuscript, an introductory remark indicates 'All the tunes this way of the book [from the front] are my own composition, & are in addition to a collection of 130 in another Book.'[71] Comments and corrections have been added throughout by William: the recurring comment 'thus far gone to Oxford' can therefore be presumed to mean sent to William for feedback (see Figure 5.4). The double-stopped harmony given on some tunes and the pitch range indicate that this book was written with the violin in mind – though the catalogue reference for the book in the British Library suggests flute as an alternative, and the published versions are all arranged for piano forte.

[71] J. B. Crotch, 'Dance Tunes', fol. 4.

The three printed volumes contain fifty-one tunes under the title *Original Airs, in Various & Familiar Styles for the Piano Forte; Composed by John & Will.m Crotch*. Twenty-eight of the tunes are John's and twenty-three William's: the initials 'J.C.' (or 'I.C.') and 'W.C.' indicate which composer wrote each tune. Fifteen of John's tunes printed in these volumes are to be found in his manuscript, presumably the other thirteen attributed to him were taken from the lost first manuscript volume. An example page from this publication is shown in Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5: p. 14 of John and William Crotch's *Original Airs*,
GB-NWr 11244: *reproduced with permission of the Norfolk Record Office*



John's exposure to national styles of music in Scotland and London might account for his interest in this repertoire, although just as many of his tunes were given titles relating to Ireland, England and Wales as to Scotland. In any case, it seems plausible that income was the primary motive behind the creation of these books: as a piano tuner

John could sell these books to his customers, and that is why he chose to take tunes he originally composed for the violin and arrange them for the piano forte. His address is given as one of the locations where the books could be bought. The collaboration with his more famous half-brother William would offer him more prominence as well as a second sales outlet in Oxford. John's primacy is evident from the choice to market the volume as being for the piano forte alone, while all William's own published keyboard compositions were advertised as being for piano forte or harpsichord. Confirming a financial motive, each tune is marked with a pendulum length – a method William had devised for measuring tempo, and written about for the *Monthly Magazine* in January 1800. A reference to this is given on the first pages of volumes I and II,[72] and volumes II and III also include the announcement that 'Pendulums 1.6 each may be had of J. Crotch'.[73]

For William, this volume was one of his first forays into publishing national music, as its publication around 1803 came two years before he began giving lectures in London, and up to four years before the appearance of *Specimens*. It is therefore interesting to note that while the printed tunes almost all have titles like 'Air', 'Romance', and 'Reel', in John's original manuscript these tunes have more imaginative titles, often with a geographical basis, such as 'Dublin Boy', 'Sherwood Forest', or 'The Liffy'. Not only did these more descriptive titles not survive into the printed edition, the geographical implications were also ignored, so that, for example, the tune 'Sherwood Forest' (named after the forest in England) became 'Savoyard' (as in the Savoy region of

[72] John and William Crotch, *Original Airs*, p. 1 (volume I) and p. 11 (volume II). Although the work is presented as three volumes, with three separate title pages, the page numbers are continuous from one volume to the next.
[73] John and William Crotch, *Original Airs*, p. 11 (volume II) and p. 21 (volume III).

France),[74] and 'Margate Assembly' (again, named after a place in England) was titled 'Alegretto' with the label 'French' to one side. John occasionally retitled tunes within the manuscript itself, for example, scribbling out 'Leith Pier' and replacing it with 'Cauld Crowdy Mowdy' – 'Cold Gruel'.[75] Such alterations indicate that John was considering the popular appeal of his work, and it is possible that John may have taken further advice from his younger yet more experienced brother at the point of printing, both in giving new national descriptors and in dropping his creative titles in favour of performance directions as titles.

While not all of the tunes in the published volumes have national labels attached, the fact that many do, and that these were sometimes different from the nationality implied by John's original titles, suggests that these labels were as made up as the tunes they were applied to. Since these are all compositions by John or William Crotch – two Englishmen composing tunes in England – to have given these tunes national labels other than 'English' means that the labels say more about the perceived style of the music than its composer or place of composition. The same seems to apply to age, for William labelled one tune 'Old English', though the familiar 'W.C.' indicates that it was his own composition and therefore modern. This would signify that the same meaning was intended by the note 'in the Irish style' as the label 'Irish', which appear on tune 6, p. 6, and tune 21, p.14 respectively (neither tune is in John's manuscript).

[74] It is not clear whether this is intended as a title or a description, as the word 'Savoyard' is in the larger font of the other titles, but to the right of the page, as was more common for national designations in these volumes (see Figure 5.5). On balance, I believe it more likely to have been intended as a description, meaning this tune was published without a title at all, which is the case for a handful of other tunes also.
[75] J. B. Crotch, 'Dance Tunes', p. 2.

This is important to observe, because by implication this provides extra evidence that, as described for Malchair's work in Chapter 3, the labels attached to tunes did not necessarily represent the geographical origins of a tune, but might instead refer to the apparent style of the music. After all, the labels used by John and William Crotch in these volumes were not intended to fool the reader into thinking the tunes were from, say, Scotland: each tune is accompanied by the composer's initials. Instead the composers wanted readers to note that each tune had been composed in a particular national style.

However, this system of labelling was not universally adopted, and national labels are absent from the majority of printed and manuscript collections, even at the end of the eighteenth century, as noted in Chapter 1. It is interesting to compare the Crotch brothers' approach with the editorial policy of Nathaniel Gow,[76] for whom the desire for profit led him to omit composers' names if he thought that passing off the tune as 'traditional' would be better for sales. Gow even applied this strategy to his own compositions until he had achieved wide fame as a composer and saw that his music would sell better if given its correct attribution.[77] Such tricks were not undertaken by the Crotch brothers, perhaps in the interests of accuracy (as Crotch had learned from Malchair) or perhaps simply for purposes of self-promotion.

[76] While there is no evidence that Nathaniel Gow and William Crotch knew each other, there is a connection to Oxford: Joseph Reinagle, cellist at the Oxford Music Room and a friend of Crotch's (he is mentioned as a composer of marches in Crotch's 'Malchair' manuscript), had taught Nathaniel cello in Edinburgh.
[77] Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century*, p. 220.

Conclusion

It is difficult to gain a full picture of Malchair's collection without understanding how William Crotch came to make additions to it. In this chapter I have also shown that this can be turned around, so that Crotch's much more prolific output might provide information about Malchair's methods and attitudes.

I have suggested that their outlook and methods should be regarded as similar, and that this similarity resulted from their conversations in the 1790s. Even if Crotch's way of thinking was not adopted wholesale from Malchair, it is still possible to assert that one of the reasons the two men were such good friends was that they saw eye to eye on so many issues: they were interested in discussing similar subjects, and their methods and wider attitudes, such as the pedagogical objectives of their work, were in alignment.

My analysis of John and William Crotch's publications, and John Beale Crotch's manuscript, suggests that while geographical words might have been predominant as a means of labelling tunes, the use of the words 'Irish', 'Welch', and so on to describe music did not imply that these tunes or their composers came from these nations, as Gelbart's thesis suggests, but rather indicated the style of the tune, that is, the nation the composer was trying to conjure up with the melody, or the tradition they were trying to emulate. Accepting the fact that, for the Crotch brothers, such labels referred to styles, it is interesting to ask where this interpretation originated. If it was not a mainstream approach (and Gelbart's work suggests it was not) then perhaps it was indeed the case that the Crotch brothers' understanding of national categories was the result of William's contact with his elderly mentor, John Malchair.

While Malchair and Crotch discussed national music, and their work overlapped a great deal, I would hesitate to describe this as a formal collaboration, while by contrast the joint publication produced by the Crotch brothers would definitely be regarded as such, even while each composer's identity remained distinct. Malchair lent his collection and probably other tunebooks and manuscripts to Crotch in the 1790s, but this was a favour to a friend, and *Specimens*, published at least four years after Crotch had finished copying Malchair's tunes into 'Tunes of Various Nations', was not a joint enterprise.

For Malchair, 'The Arrangement' was his own product, the coming together of all his work to date, and completed in 1795. After this point, since the manuscript remained unpublished, it was actually through Crotch that Malchair's collection was to have the most impact: as Susan Wollenberg has remarked, it was probably as a result of Malchair's influence that Crotch devoted an entire volume of *Specimens* to 'national music'.[78] Through Crotch's publication, then, Malchair's collection had a far wider audience than he could ever have imagined.

[78] Wollenberg, 'Malchair the Musician', pp. 38–41.

Conclusion

How should John Malchair be remembered – as musician, collector, artist, or drawing master? He was all of these things, although it was accurate for J. H. Mee to note in 1911 that 'Oxford, where he lived and worked for so long, only remembers him for his drawings.'[1] Even at the time of his death, *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (or, at least, the anonymous author of the death notice) recorded him as a drawing master without mentioning his musical post, nor his collecting hobby,[2] and Malchair himself remarked in 1784 that his drawing practice occupied the majority of his time: 'I teach [drawing] from ten till eight in the Evening, without intermission'.[3] Should his musical endeavours be regarded as secondary to his artistic work, and his collecting more peripheral still? The research laid out in this thesis demonstrates that this would be an underestimation of Malchair's passion for collecting music, and of the work he produced. Even without reading beyond the first three pages of 'The Arrangement', the importance to him of this activity is made clear in his reference to times when 'the fitt of collecting Grew Violent'.[4] This thesis, then, has brought some balance to the historical assessment of Malchair.

In the context of eighteenth-century English culture, this combination of interests and occupations was fairly typical. William Crotch, like Malchair, was both a musician and artist, while the musician William Herschel (1738-1822) developed his talents in astronomy and came to receive a pension from the crown for this work.[5] But while

[1] Mee, p. 85.
[2] 'Jackson's Oxford Journal' (Oxford, 19 December 1812).
[3] Letter 9, 1784, quoted in Harrison, p. 19. I have not been able to trace the original letters (see below).
[4] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 3.
[5] Michael Hoskin, 'Herschel, William (1738–1822), Musician and Astronomer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Briograhy*, 2008 < https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13102> [accessed May 30, 2019].

Malchair might have appeared ordinary to his contemporaries, his tunebooks reveal that his interest in collecting and categorising tunes was far from typical. While, as noted in Chapter 1, owning a tunebook was common in the mid-eighteenth century, Malchair's methodical collecting and the way he organised these tunes were unusual. The title of 'The Arrangement', in contrast to that of his 'Third Collection of Tunes', perhaps demonstrates that Malchair wanted to emphasise that what he had created was more than merely a 'selection' or 'collection'.

Considering Malchair's collecting activities, his behaviour was more typical of an antiquarian than a musician. Although this is not a word Malchair used himself, the word 'antiquarian' first came into use in 1761,[6] acknowledging a pre-existing culture concerned with the gathering of knowledge into repositories, the ordering of objects and papers, and the preservation of learning. At the same time as Malchair was compiling his tunebooks, aiming to preserve 'beautyful' tunes from 'oblivion', others, such as naturalists and bookdealers, were searching out and attempting to preserve knowledge found in old papers, establishing archives at which this work would be made publicly accessible.[7] While better known antiquarians such as John Aubrey (1626-97) and Hans Sloane (1660-1753) focused on papers, antiquities, natural specimens and other physical objects, Malchair's subjects were intangible: the music and landscapes that surrounded him, which he brought together in his tunebooks and sketchbooks. Yet despite this difference in subject matter, Malchair's antiquarian tendencies are confirmed by the manuscripts he left behind, his attempt to order his musical world

[6] Kelsey Jackson Williams, *The Antiquary: John Aubrey's Historical Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 3–4, quoting a letter from William Warburton to Richard Hurd dated March 1761.
[7] Elizabeth Yale, *Sociable Knowledge: Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), p. 207.

arising from the same impulse that led others to create cabinets of curiosity or national museums, each 'sequestering objects from social use, revaluing them, and reordering them in the collector's private space'.[8] In Malchair's case this space was not a gallery or library but his tunebooks.

In this thesis, I have presented two hypotheses relating to the tunes Malchair collected and how he categorised them. First, I have argued that Malchair's purpose in collecting was to compare tunes as he found them (rather than editing them) and to identify the 'best' version. Second, that Malchair's aim in categorising these tunes was to demonstrate the characteristic music of each nation, and that in categorising he was primarily concerned not with geographical origins but with national style.

Looking at Malchair's work in a broader context, there are two significant conclusions that should be drawn. First, that there was collecting in England in the eighteenth century, and that this was conducted using both written and live sources, none of which has properly been acknowledged in the historical narrative. Malchair's methods and practices make for an interesting comparison, for at the same time as George Thomson and Robert Burns were receiving money for editing and printing collections of Scottish songs (although even with greater fame this did not provide a sustainable income), and Edward Bunting was being paid to notate melodies at the Belfast Harp Festival, Malchair's collecting took place only during 'leasure howers'.[9] The distinction between professional and amateur music – or 'occupational' and 'recreational' musicians, as

[8] Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 248.
[9] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 3.

Christopher Marsh describes them[10] – was not clear-cut in the eighteenth century, and this comment demonstrates that it was possible to occupy both spaces at the same time, carrying out musical activities on a paid basis and also outside of those times. Malchair's assertion that his collecting had taken place during 'The leasure howers of many years' was perhaps intended to highlight the 'many years' more than the 'leasure howers', to reinforce that he had 'not bin sleeping over it'.[11] Alternatively he might have considered it necessary to suggest the need for proper recompense from his readers when the time came to seek subscribers for a printed edition.

Second, looking at Malchair's work in context makes clear that while national music was of interest to both musicians and publishers, and the use of national labels in classification was being explored in both manuscript and printed works, there was no established system for how to use them. For example, James Aird listed 'Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign' as the provenance of the airs in his collection, without distinguishing which was which, while Burk Thumoth presented two collections very clearly demarcated into Scottish and Irish, and English and Irish tunes.

This ambiguity in the use of national categories derived from the fact that there remained no clear criteria for what made a tune 'Scotch' or 'English' – or for that matter 'Cornish' or 'Oxfordian'. Despite writing several pages about his collection, Malchair failed to make clear his reasons for some of the choices he made, so that even today the logic of Malchair's categorisation cannot be fully explained. This left Susan Wollenberg to characterise his work as no more than a 'well intentioned effort to

[10] Christopher W. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[11] Malchair, 'The Arrangement', fol. 9.

understand and classify the different national types'[12] even if, as I have argued in this thesis, Malchair achieved his own aim to demonstrate the variety of stylistic characteristics practised in each nation, or, in his own words, to present in his collection 'all the different characters of Melodie that ever were, and are now in use with the nation it belongs to'.

Debate as to which tunes (as opposed to which styles or versions of tunes) 'belong' to which nation, as well as how to characterise the music of any one nation, has continued into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. David Johnson pointed out in 1984 that the qualities of eighteenth-century Scottish fiddle music changed and developed even as that century progressed,[13] and, in the introduction to his 2018 collection of tunes from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Cumberland, John Offord conceded that tunes played in Cumbria at that time had not necessarily originated there, and that it would be difficult to describe a particularly 'Cumbrian' or even 'English' style, for, 'Considering the proximity of the three countries [England, Scotland and Ireland], it would be very strange if the music was not related. […] People did not suddenly stop playing jigs and reels if they crossed the border from Scotland.'[14] Such debates have resulted, in the last few decades, in the creation of numerous research databases, many of which are now online. If anything, the ever-expanding nature of these resources proves that it would be impossible to restrict any one tune to a single function or location – or title, or even time signature or style. For example, the Traditional Tune Archive contains numerous entries as all-encompassing as the following:

[12] Wollenberg, 'Malchair the Musician', p. 43.
[13] Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century*, p. 2.
[14] John Offord, *Bonny Cumberland: Music from the Manuscripts of Fiddlers in the Lake District c.1750-1880* (London: Green Man Music, 2018), p. vi.

Title:	The Girl I left Behind Me, Brighton Camp, As Slow Our Ship, Johnny Goodwin, Pretty Little Girl, Spailpin Fanach, The Rambling Laborer, The Wandering Harvest Labourer, The Waxies Dargle
Region:	Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland, United States
Genre/Style:	Contra, English, Irish, Military, Morris, Old-Time
Meter/Rhythm:	Air/Lament/Listening Piece, Country Dance, Hornpipe/Clog, March/Marche, Polka, Set Dance, Two-Step[15]

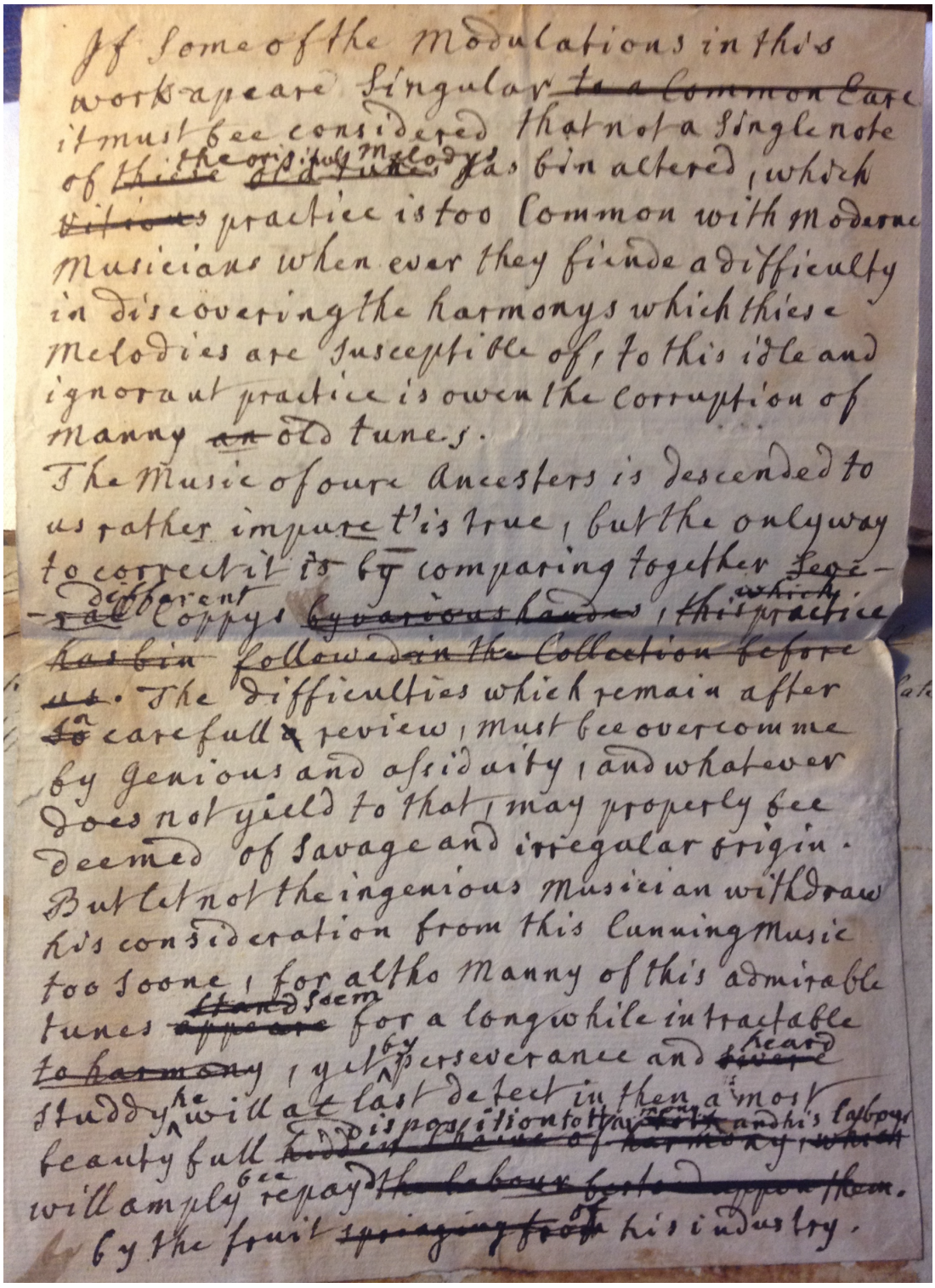
In this context, Malchair's system – with his three national classes, his inclusion of different versions of the same tune under different headings, and his additional marginal labels and comments – might have been unusual for the eighteenth century, but is in accord with attempts to answer questions about this repertoire that have preoccupied musicians to the present day

[15] Derived from 'The Girl I Left Behind Me', *Traditional Tune Archive* <https://tunearch.org/wiki/Girl_I_Left_Behind_Me_(1)_(The)> [accessed 24 September 2018].

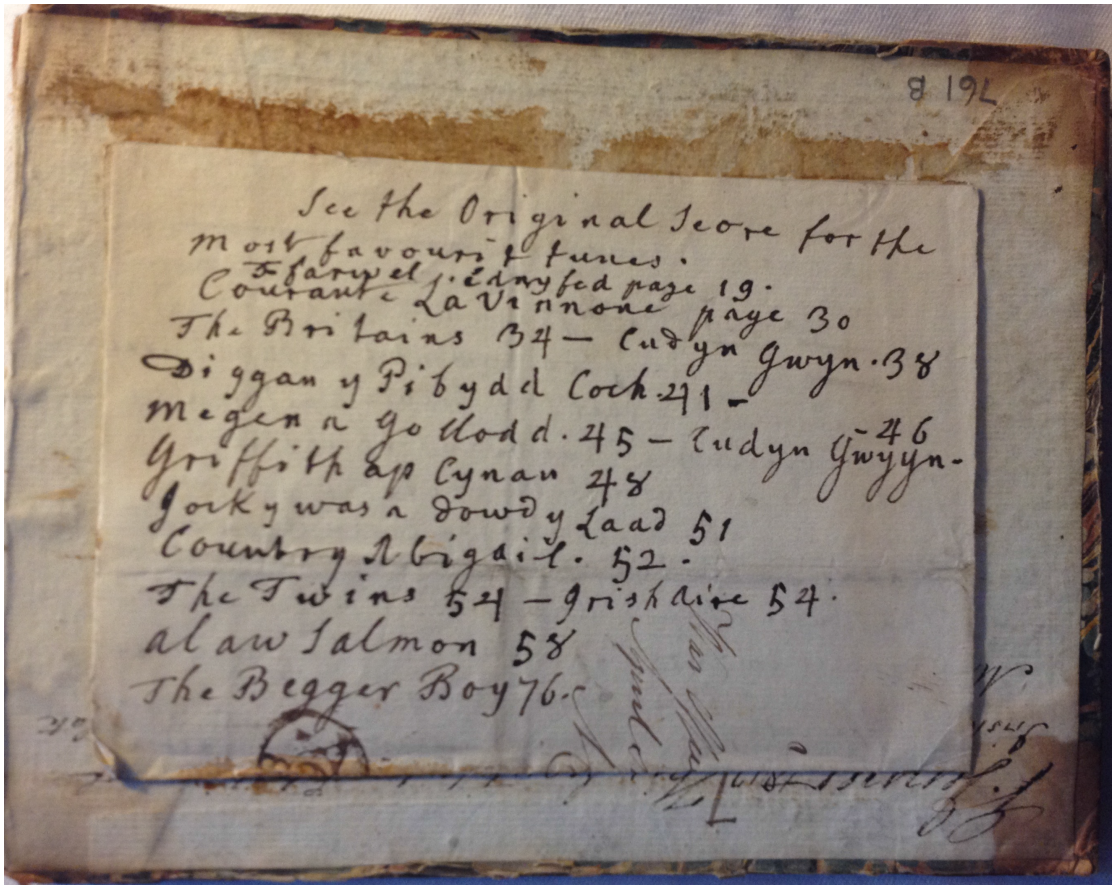
Appendix 1a:

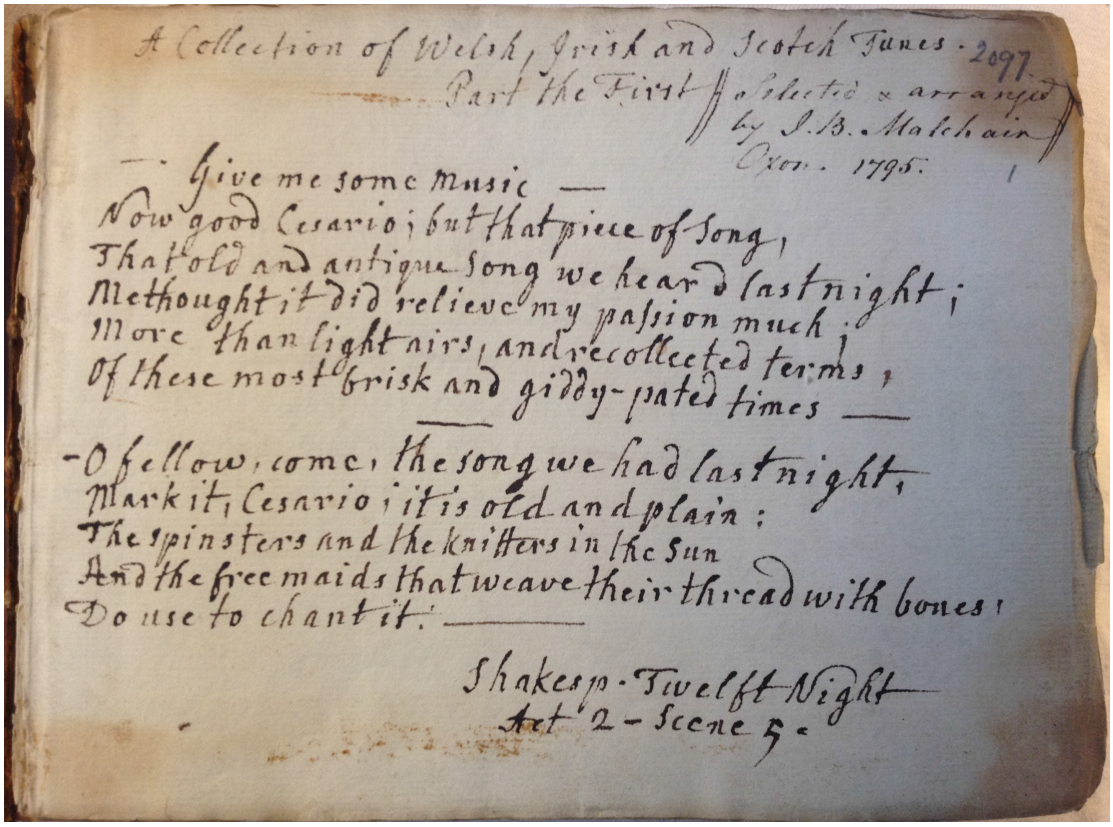
Introductory material to 'The Arrangement'

Images reproduced with permission from the Royal College of Music, London



If some of the Modulations in this
work apeare singular ~~to a common Eare~~
it must bee considered that not a single note
of ~~thiese~~ the original Melodys ~~old tunes~~ has bin altered, which
~~vitious~~ practice is too common with moderne
Musicians when ever they fiende a difficulty
in discovering the harmonys which thiese
Melodies are susceptible of, to this idle and
ignorant practice is owen the corruption of
manny ~~an~~ old tunes.
The Music of oure Ancesters is descended to
us rather impure t'is true, but the only way
to correct it is by comparing together ~~seve-~~
~~-ral~~ different coppys ~~by various handes~~, ~~this~~ which practice
~~has bin~~ ~~followed in the Collection before~~
~~us~~. The difficulties which remain after
~~so~~ a carefull review, must bee overcomme
by genious and assiduity, and whatever
does not yield to that, may properly bee
deemed of savage and irregular origin.
But let not the ingenious Musician withdraw
his consideration from this cunning Music
too soone, for altho manny of this admirable
tunes ~~stand~~ ~~appeare~~ seem for a long while intractable
~~to harmony~~, yet by perseverance and ~~severe~~ heard
studdy he will at last detect in then a most
beauty full ~~hidden chaine of harmony, which~~ disposition to harmony and his labour
will amply bee repayd ~~the labour bestowed upon them.~~
by the fruit ~~springing from~~ of his industry.


See the Original Score for the
most favourite tunes.
Courante La Vannone page 30
The Britains 34 — Cudyn Gwyn. 38
Diggan y Pibydd Coch. 41 —
Megen a Gollodd. 45 — Cudyn Gwyyn. 46
Griffith ap Cynan 48
Jorky was a dowdy Laad 51
Country Abigail. 52.
The Twins 54 — Grishaire 54.
alaw Salmon 58
The Begger Boy 76.


A Collection of Welsh, Irish and Scotch Tunes. 2097.
Part the First
Collected & arranged
by J. B. Matchain
Oxon. 1795.
— Give me some Music —
Now good Cesario; but that piece of Song,
That old and antique Song we heard last night;
Methought it did relieve my passion much.
More than light airs, and recollected terms,
Of these most brisk and giddy-pated times —
— O fellow, come, the song we had last night,
Mark it, Cesario; it is old and plain:
The spinsters and the knitters in the Sun
And the free maids that weave their thread with bones:
Do use to chant it. —
Shakesp. Twelft Night
Act 2 — Scene 5.

Oxford June 8 – 1795. 2

Observations on the Book of tunes called —
— The Arrangment

This Book consists of Welsh, Irish and Scotch tunes, which before were collected promiscuously in several books, but now are all written in one book and in three ~~separated and the musick of each of those Nations formes a~~ by it self distinct Classes, each Class being verry numerous it comprehends most probabely all the different characters of Melodie that ever were, and are now in use with the nation it belongs to.

Of the Utility of these Classes

It is only from an attentive inspection of the collective body that a compleate Idea of the whole can be obtained, If therefore a proper portion of time bee diligentely bestowed on any of these classes, then a clear and distinct Idea

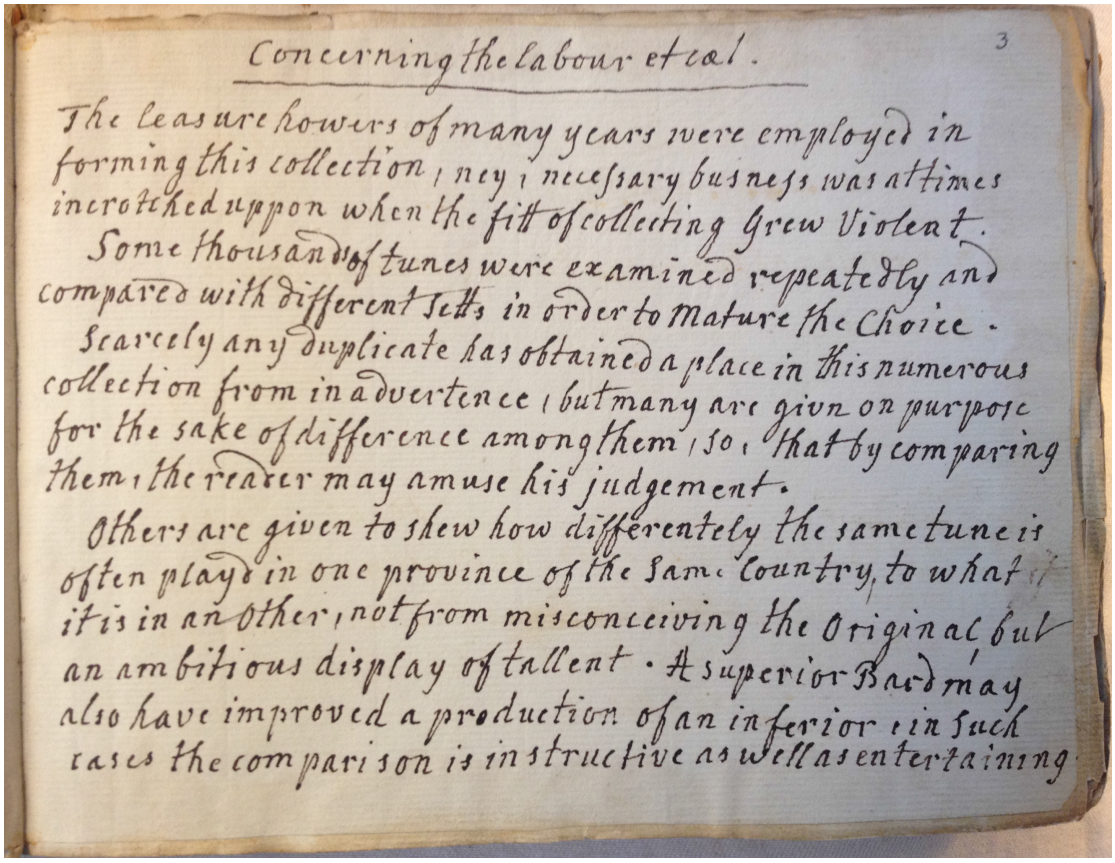
will arcise concerning the character of the Music.

The Book is divided into first and second part, the Index is in classes, but the two parts are incorporated.

The number of tunes contained is as followes

Welsh tunes	123
Irish	107
Scotch	225
Total	455

The class of Scotch tunes is the most numerous, becose, more than half of the tunes that are playd in Scotland are originally Irish. See M Malchais remack between pp 88 & 89.



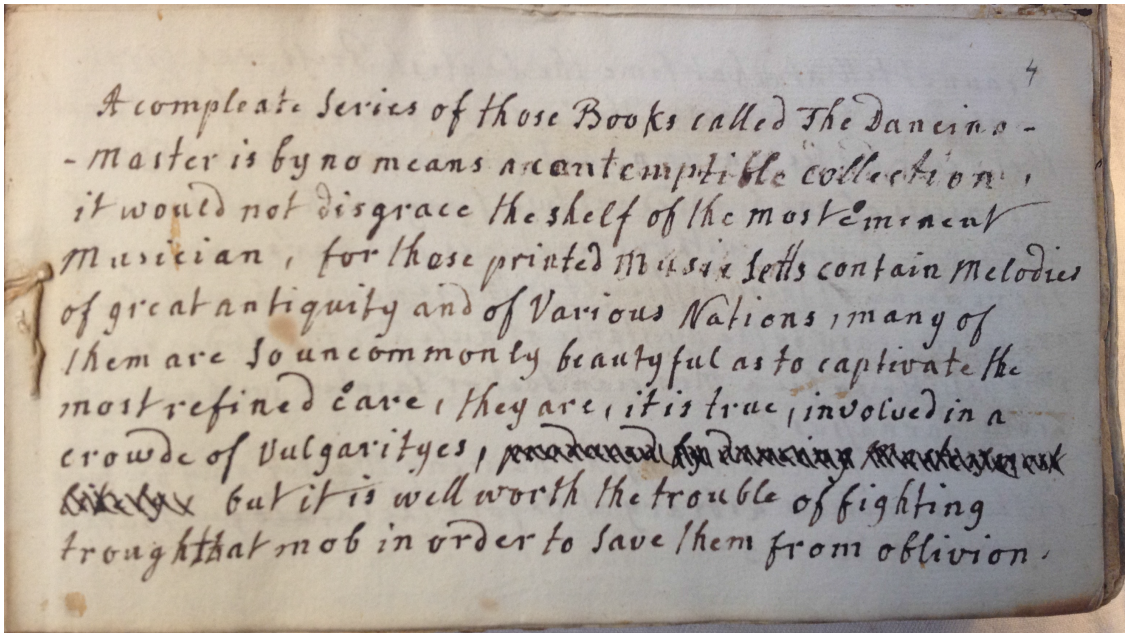
Concerning the labour et cal. 3

The leasure howers of many years were employed in forming this collection, ney, necessary business was at times incroached uppon when the fitt of collecting Grew Violent.

Some thousands of tunes were examined repeatedly and compared with different setts in order to mature the Choice.

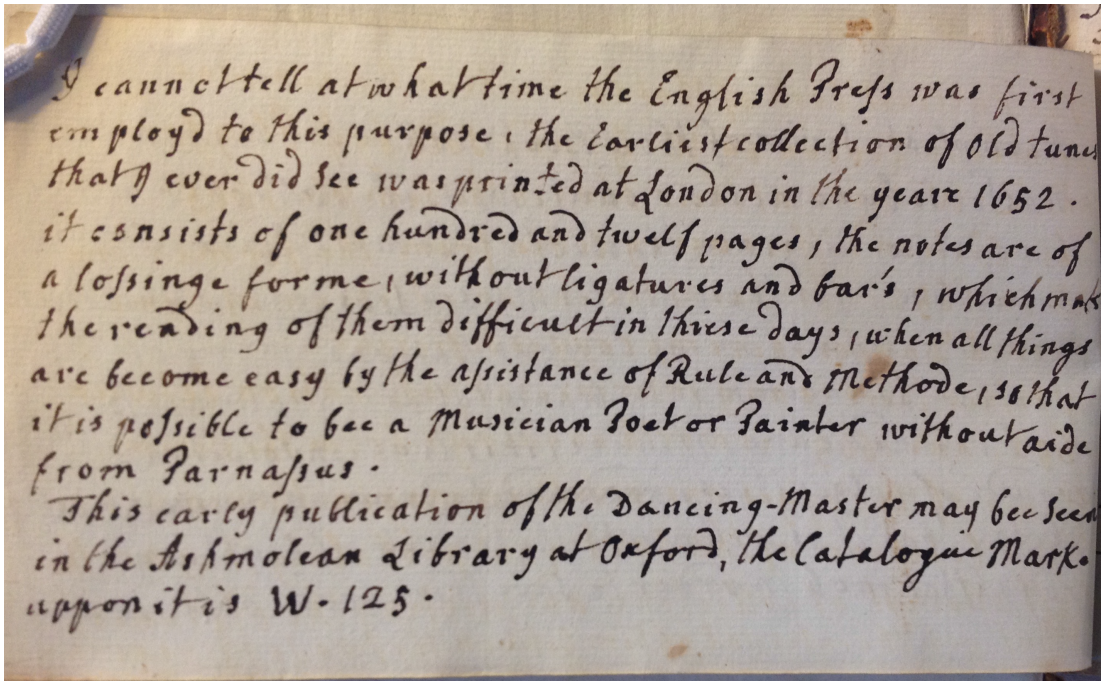
Scarcely any duplicate has obtained a place in this numerous collection from inadvertence, but many are given on purpose for the sake of difference among them, so, that by comparing them, the reader may amuse his judgement.

Others are given to shew how differentely the same tune is often playd in one province of the same country, to what it is in an other, not from misconceiving the Original, but an ambitious display of tallent. A superior Bard may also have improved a production of an inferior, in such cases the comparison is instructive as well as entertaining.

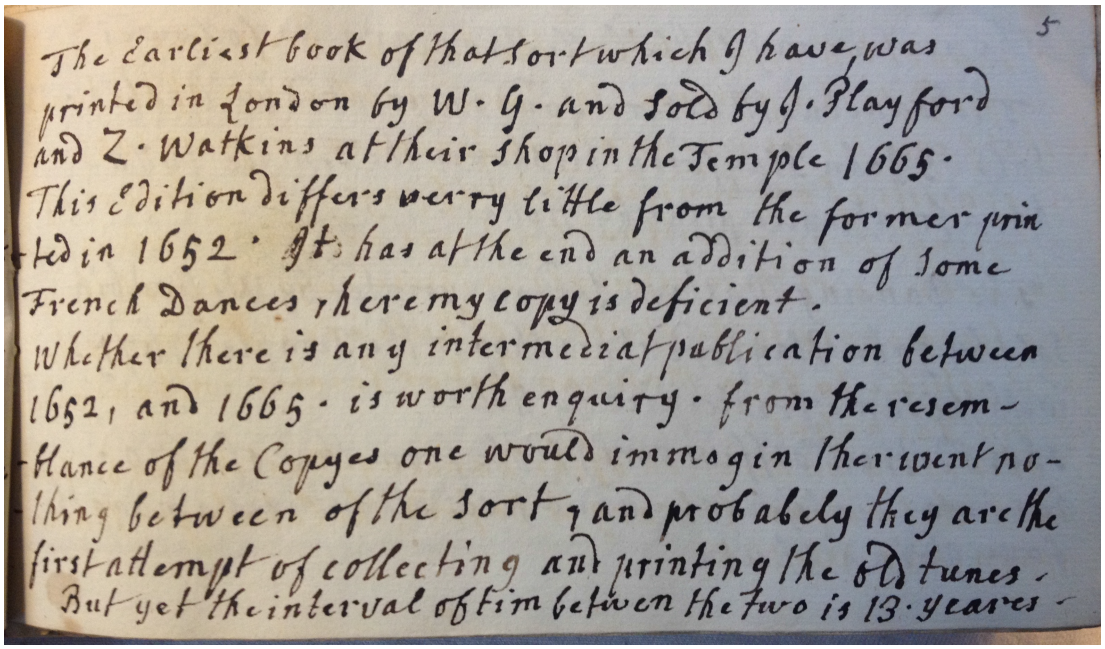


4

A compleate Series of those Books called The Dancing-Master is by no means a contemptible collection, it would not disgrace the shelf of the most eminent Musician, for those printed Musick setts contain Melodies of great antiquity and of Various Nations, many of them are so uncommonly beautyful as to captivate the most refined Eare, they are, it is true, involved in a crowde of Vulgarityes, ~~produced by dancing masters~~ but it is well worth the trouble of fighting trough that mob in order to save them from oblivion.

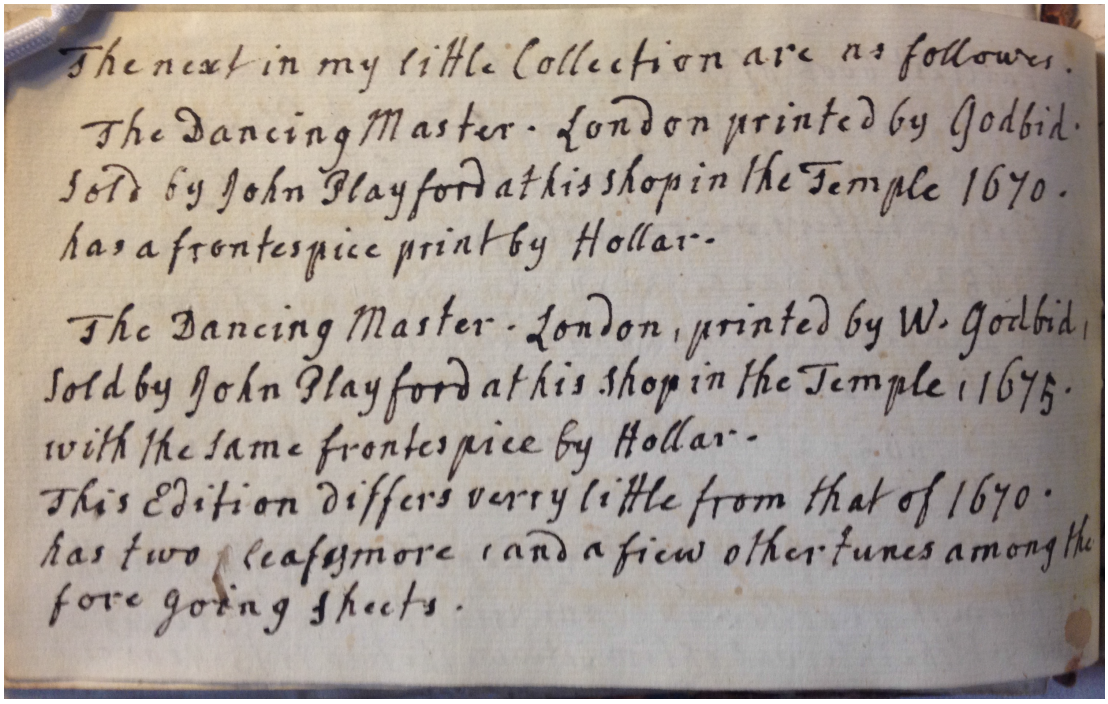


I cannot tell at what time the English Press was first
employd to this purpose; the Earliest collection of old tunes
that I ever did see was printed at London in the yeare 1652.
it consists of one hundred and twelf pages, the notes are of
a lossinge forme, without ligatures and bars, which make
the reading of them difficult in thiese days, when all things
are become easy by the assistance of Rule and Methode, so that
it is possible to bee a Musician Poet or Painter without aide
from Parnassus.
This early publication of the Dancing-Master may bee seen
in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford, the Catalogue Marke
upon it is W. 125.



5

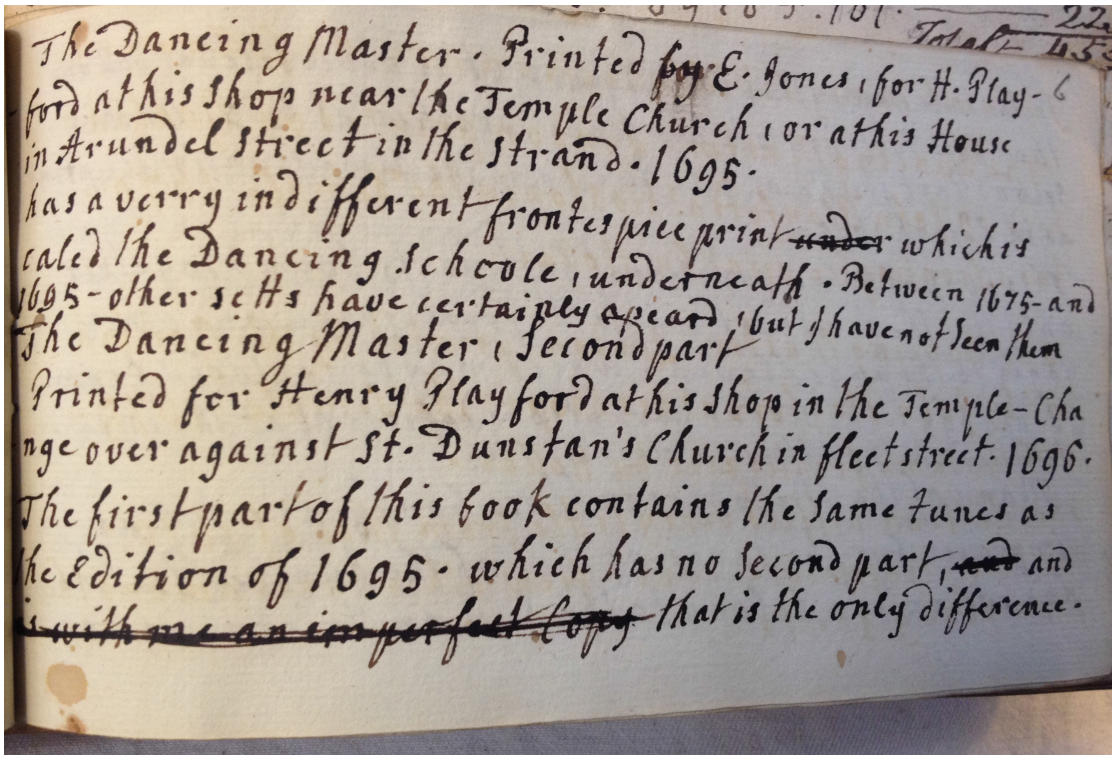
The Earliest book of that sort which I have, was
printed in London by W. G. and sold by J. Playford
and Z. Watkins at their Shop in the Temple 1665.
This Edition differs verry little from the former print
ted in 1652. It has at the end an addition of some
French Dances, where my copy is deficient.
Whether there is any intermediat publication between
1652, and 1665. is worth enquiry. from the resem-
blance of the Copyes one would imagin there went no-
thing between of the sort, and probabely they are the
first attempt of collecting and printing the old tunes.
But yet the interval of tim between the two is 13. yeares.



The next in my little Collection are as followes.

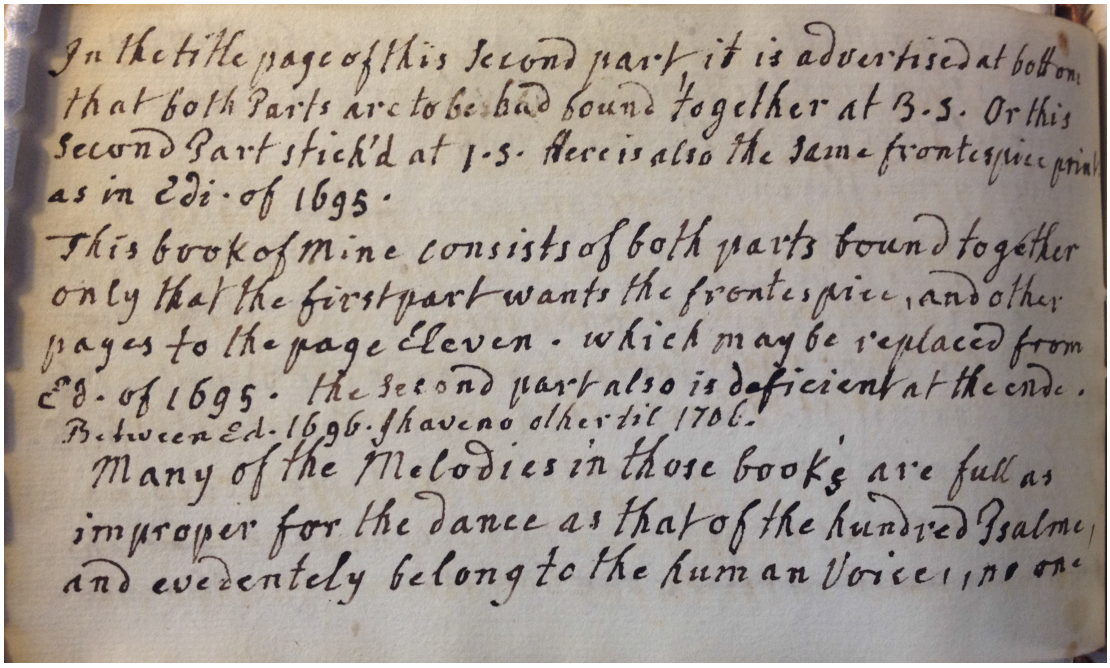
The Dancing Master. London printed by Godbid. Sold by John Playford at his shop in the Temple 1670. has a frontespice print by Hollar.

The Dancing Master. London, printed by W. Godbid, Sold by John Playford at his shop in the Temple, 1675. with the same frontespice by Hollar.
This Edition differs verry little from that of 1670. has two leafs more, and a few other tunes among the fore going sheets.



The Dancing Master. Printed by E. Jones, for H. Playford at his shop near the Temple Church, or at his House in Arundel street in the strand. 1695.
has a verry indifferent frontespice print ~~under~~ which is caled the Dancing schoole, underneath. Between 1675 and 1695 other setts have certainly apeard, but I have not seen them

The Dancing Master, Second part
Printed for Henry Playford at his shop in the Temple-Change over against St. Dunstan's Church in fleet street. 1696.
The first part of this book contains the same tunes as the Edition of 1695. which has no second part, ~~and~~ and ~~is with me an imperfect copy~~ that is the only difference.

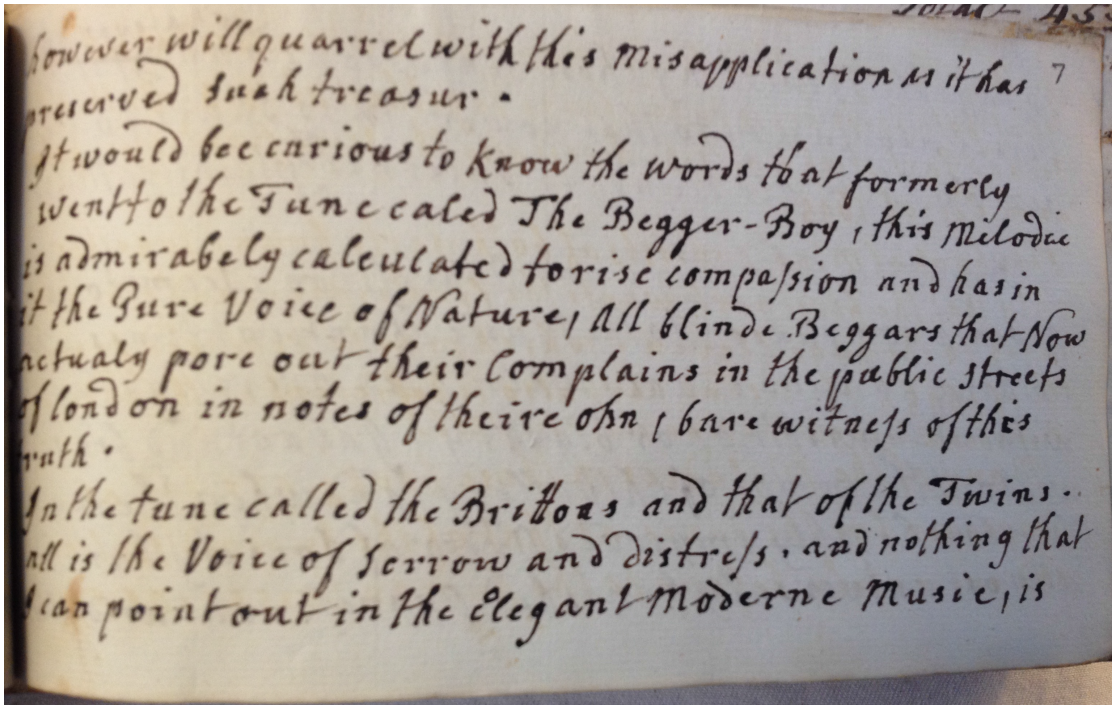


In the title page of this Second part it is advertised at bottom that both Parts are to be had bound together at 3-5. Or this Second Part stick'd at 1-5. there is also the same frontespiece print as in Edi. of 1695.

This book of mine consists of both parts bound together only that the first part wants the frontespiece, and other pages to the page Eleven. which may be replaced from Ed. of 1695. the second part also is deficient at the ende.

Between Ed. 1696. I have no other til 1706.

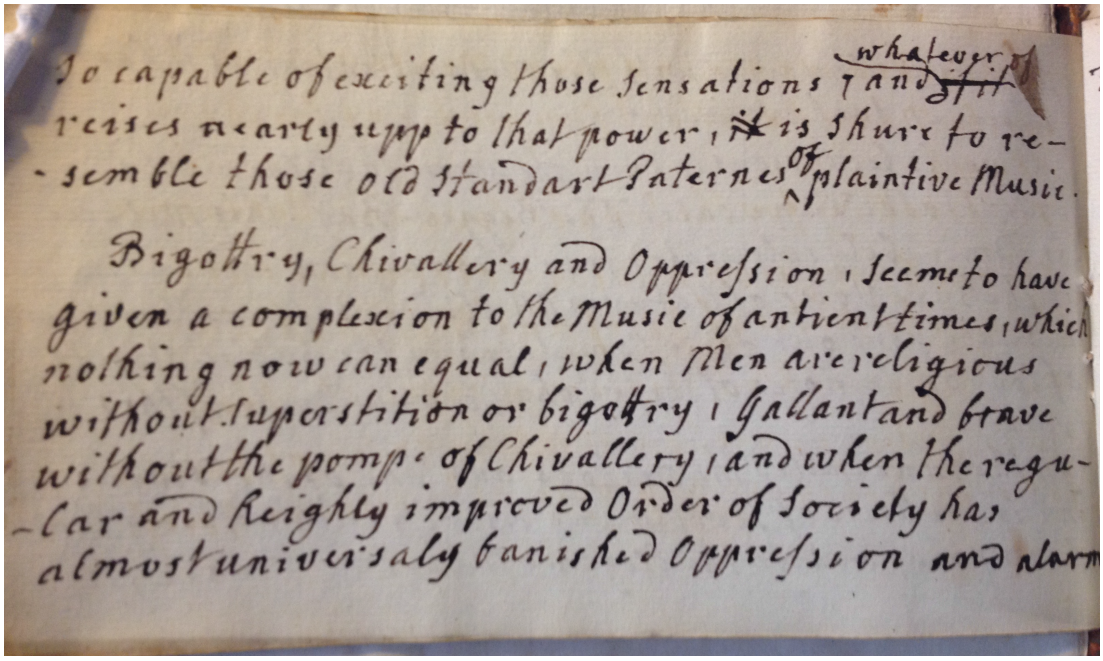
Many of the Melodies in those books are full as improper for the dance as that of the hundred Psalme, and evedentely belong to the human Voice, no one



however will quarrel with this misapplication as it has preserved such treasur.

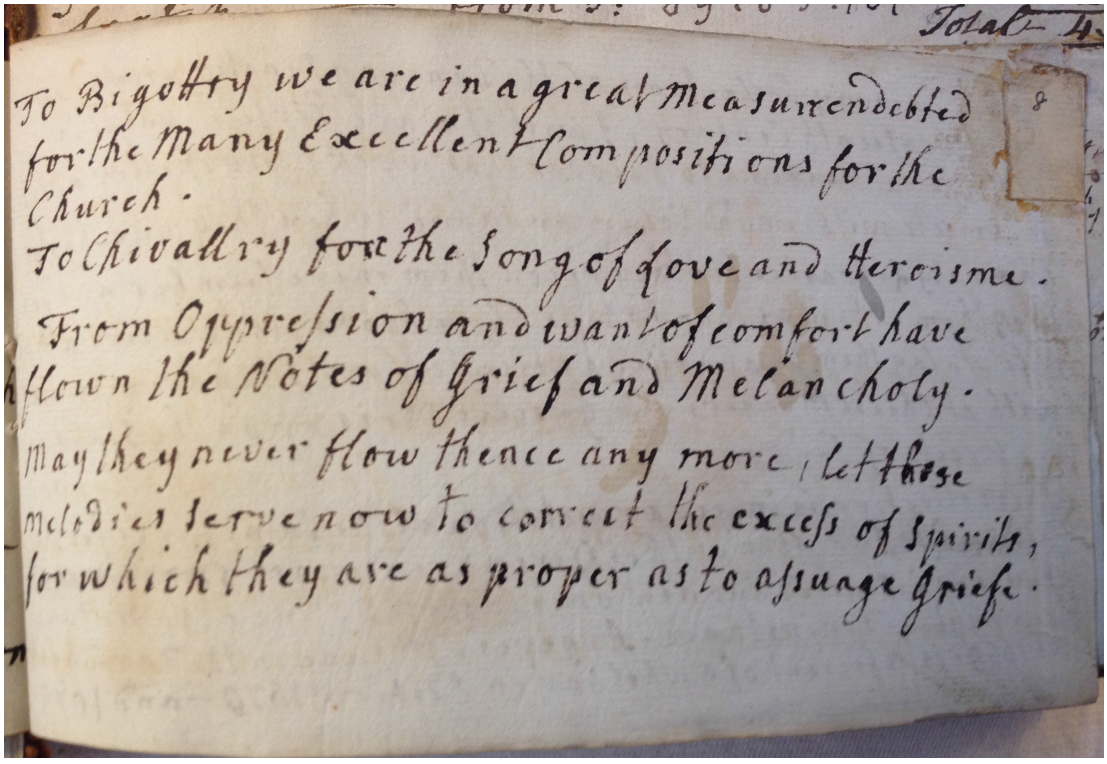
It would bee curious to know the words that formerly went to the Tune caled The Begger-Boy, this Melodie is admirabely calculated to rise compassion and has in it the Pure Voice of Nature, All blinde Beggars that Now actualy pore out their Complains in the publice Streets of London in notes of theire own, bare witness of this truth.

In the tune called the Britons and that of the Twins. all is the Voice of Sorrow and distress. and nothing that I can point out in the elegant Moderne Music, is



So capable of exciting those Sensations, and whatever it reises nearly upp to that power, it is Shure to re-semble those old Standart Paternes of plaintive Music.

Bigottry, Chivallery and Oppression, seeme to have given a complexion to the Music of antient times, which nothing now can equal, when Men are religious without superstition or bigottry, Gallant and brave without the pomp of Chivallery, and when the regu-lar and heighly improved Order of Society has almost universaly banished Oppression and alarm



Total 4

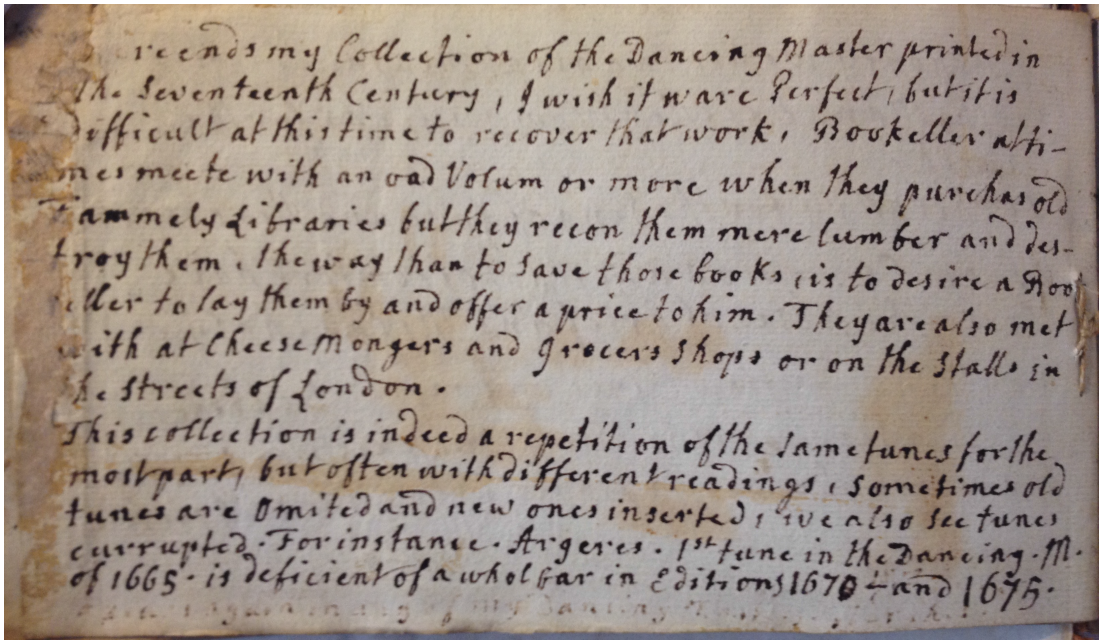
To Bigottry we are in a great Measure endebted for the Many Excellent Compositions for the Church.

To Chivallry for the Song of Love and Heroisme.

From Oppression and want of comfort have flown the Notes of Grief and Melancholy.

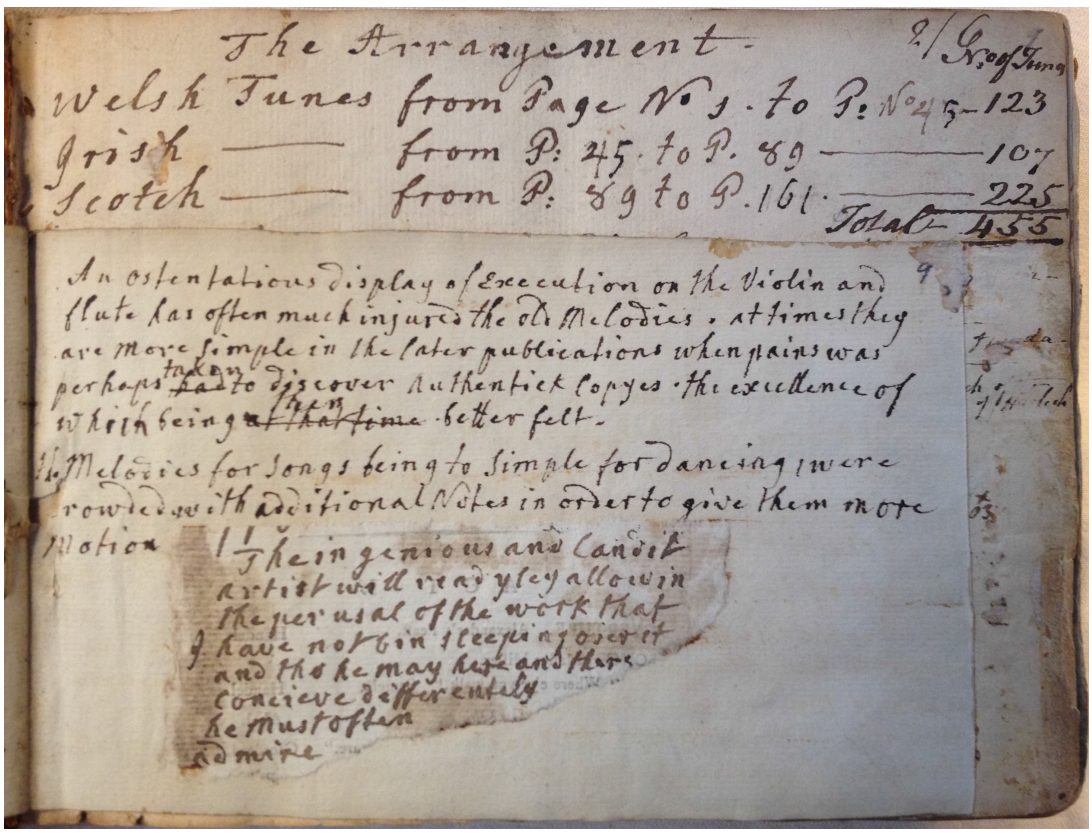
May they never flow thence any more, let those melodies serve now to correct the excess of Spirits, for which they are as proper as to assuage Griefe.

8



reends my Collection of the Dancing Master printed in the Seventeenth Century, I wish it ware Perfect, but it is difficult at this time to recover that work, Bookeller at times meete with an oad Volum or more when they purchas old Fammely Libraries but they recon them mere lumber and destroy them. the way than to save those books, is to desire a Bookeller to lay them by and offer a price to him. They are also met with at Cheese Mongers and Grocers Shops or on the Stalls in the Streets of London.

This collection is indeed a repetition of the same tunes for the most part, but often with different readings, sometimes old tunes are Omited and new ones inserted, we also see tunes currupted. For instance. Argeres. 1st tune in the Dancing. M. of 1665. is deficient of a whol bar in Editions 1670 and 1675.



The Arrangement. 2/ No. of Tunes

Welsh Tunes	from Page No. 1. to P. No. 45		123
Irish	from P. 45. to P. 89		107
Scotch	from P. 89 to P. 161.		225
		Total	455

An ostentatious display of Execution on the Violin and flute has often much injured the old Melodies. at times they are more simple in the later publications when pains was perhaps taken to discover Authentick Copyes. the excellence of which being then better felt.

Melodies for Songs being to simple for dancing, were crowded with additional Notes in order to give them more Motion

1 The ingenious and Candid artist will readyley allow in the perusal of the work that I have not bin sleeping over it and tho he may here and there concieve differentely he must often admire

Appendix 1b:

Transcription of the introductory material in 'The Arrangement'

This is a transcription of the text reproduced in Appendix 1a, which is discussed in depth in the Introduction to this thesis, and referred to throughout. I have not corrected Malchair's spelling, although occasional editorial suggestions are made for ease of reading.

Key:

[ ] editorial additions, titles, suggestions

< > deleted words

↑ ↓ additions to the text

text in a different hand

[Front cover of tunebook:]

The Arrangement

Being an Extract of the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch Tunes contain'd in the foregoing Vols, & placed in separate classes.

[On a sheet stuck to the front cover:]

If some of the Modulations in this work appeare singular <to a Common Eare> it must bee considered that not a single note of <these old tunes> ↑the original Melodys↓ has bin altered, which <vitious> [vicious] practice is too Common with Moderne Musicians when ever they finde a difficulty in discovering the harmonys which thiese Melodies

are susceptible of, to this idle and ignorant practice is owen [owing] the corruption of manny <an> old tunes.

The Music of oure Ancesters is descended to us rather impure t'is true, but the only way to correct it is by comparing together <several> ↑different↓ Coppys <by various handes>, <this> ↑<which>↓ practice <has bin followed in the Collection before us>. The difficulties which remain after <so> ↑a↓ carefull <a> review, must bee overcomme by genious and assiduity, and whatever does not yield to that, may properly bee deemed of savage and irregular origin. But let not the ingenious Musician withdraw his consideration from this Cunning Music too soone, for altho Manny of this [these] admirable tunes <appeare> ↑<stand> seem↓ for a long while intractable <to harmony>, yet ↑by↓ perseverance and <severe> ↑heard [hard]↓ studdy he will at last detect in then [them] a most beautyfull <hidden Chance of harmony, which> ↑disposition to Harmony and his labour↓ will amply ↑bee↓ repayd <the labour bestowd uppon them.> by the fruit <springing from> ↑of↓ his industry.

See the Original Score for the Most favourit tunes.

Ffarwel Ednyfed page 19.

Courant La Vinnone page 30

The Britains 34 – Cudyn Gwyn .38

Diggan y Pibydd Coch .41.

Megen a Gollodd .45 – Cudyn Gwynn. ↑46↓

Griffith ap Cynan 48

Jocky was a dowdy Laad 51

Country Abigail. 52.

The Twins 54 – Irish Aire 54.

Alaw Salmon 58

The Begger Boy 76.

[Fol. 1:]

A Collection of Welsh, Irish and Scotch Tunes.

Part the First

Selected & arranged by J. B. Malchair

Oxon. 1795.

– Give me some music –

Now good Cesario; but that piece of song,

That old and antique song we heard last night;

Methought it did relieve my passion much;

More than light airs, and recollected terms,

Of these most brisk and giddy-pated times –

–

– O fellow, come, the song we had last night,

Mark it, Casario; it is old and plain:

The spinsters and the knitters I the sun

And the free maids that weave their thread with bones,

Do use to chant it. –

Shakesp. Twelft Night

Act 2 – Scene 5.

[Fols 2, 2v, 3:]

Oxford June 8 – 1795.

Observations on the Book of tunes called –

– The Arrangement –

This Book consists of Welsh, Irish and Scotch tunes, which before were collected promiscuously in several books, but now are <separated and the musick of each of those Nations ↑by itself.↓ forms a> ↑all written in one book and in three↓ distinct Classes, each Class being verry numerous it comprehends most probabely all the different characters of Melodie that ever were, and are now in use with the nation it belongs to.

On the utility of these Classes

It is only from an attentive inspection of the collective body that a compleate Idea of the whole can be obtained. If therefore a proper portion of time bee diligentely bestowed on any of these classes, then a clear and distinct Idea will areise concerning the character of the Music.

The Book is divided into first and second part, the Index is in classes, but the two parts are incorporated.

The number of tunes contained is as followes

Welsh tunes – 123

Irish – 107

Scotch – 225

Total 455

The class of Scotch tunes is the most numerous, becose, more than half of the tunes that are playd in Scotland are originally Irish. *See Mr Malchair's remark between PP 88 & 89.* [This is the handwriting of William Crotch.]

Concerning the labour et cet.

The leasure howers of many years were employed in forming this collection, ney, necessary busness was at times incrotched uppon when the fitt of collecting Grew Violent.

Some thousands of tunes were examined repeatedly and compared with different setts in order to Mature the Choice.

Scarcely any duplicate has obtained a place in this numerous collection from inadvertence, but many are givn on purpose for the sake of difference among them, so, that by comparing them, the reader may amuse his judgement.

Others are given to shew how differentely the same tune is often playd in one province of the same Country, to what it is in another, not from misconceiving the Original, but an ambitious display of tallent. A superior Bard may also have improved a production of an inferior, in such cases the comparison is instructive as well as entertaining.

[*Dancing Master* notes, fols 4-9, on smaller pages:]

A compleate Series of those Books called The Dancing-Master is by no means a contemptible collection, it would not disgrace the shelf of the most Eminent Musician, for these printed Music Setts contain Melodies of great antiquity and of Various Nations, many of them are so uncommonly beautyful as to captivate the most refined Eare, they are, it is true, involved in a crowde of Vulgarityes, <produced by dancing

Masters most likely,> but it is well worth the trouble of fighting through that mob in order to save them from oblivion.

I cannot tell at what time the English Press was first employd to this purpose, the Earliest collection of Old tunes that I ever did see was printed at London in the yeare 1652. It consists of one hundred and twelf pages, the notes are of a lossinge forme, without ligatures and bar's, which mak the reading of them difficult in thiese days, when all things are become easy by the assistance of Rule and Methode, so that it is possible to bee a Musician Poet or Painter without aide from Parnassus.

This early publication of the Dancing-Master may bee seen in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford, the Catalogue Marke uppon it is W.125.

The Earliest book of that sort which I have, was printed in London by W. G. and sold by J. Playford and Z. Watkins at their shop in the Temple 1665. This Edition differs verry little from the former printed in 1652. It has at the end an addition of some French Dances, here my copy is deficient.

Whether there is any intermediat publication between 1652, and 1665 is worth enquiry. From the resemblance of the Copyes one would immagin ther went nothing between of the sort, and probabely they are the first attempt of collecting and printing the old tunes.

But yet the interval of tim betwen the two is 13 yeares.

The next in my little Collection are as followes.

The Dancing Master – London printed by Godbid. Sold by John Playford at his shop in the Temple 1670. Has a frontespice print by Hollar.

The Dancing Master – London, printed by W. Godbid, sold by John Playford at his shop in the Temple, 1675. With the same frontespice by Hollar.

This Edition differs verry little from that of 1670. Has two leafes more, and a fiew other tunes among the foregoing sheets.

The Dancing Master – Printed by E. Jones, for H. Playford at his shop near the Temple Church, or at his House in Arundel Street in the Strand. 1695.

Has a verry indifferent frontespice print <under> which is caled the Dancing Schoole, underneath. Between 1675- and 1695- other setts have certainly apeard, but I have not seen them[.]

The Dancing Master, Second part

Printed for Henry Playford at his Shop in the Temple-Change over against St. Dunstan's Church in fleet street. 1696.

The first part of this book contains the same tunes as the Edition of 1695. Which has no second part, and <is with me an imperfect Copy> that is the only difference.

In the title page of this second part it is advertised at bottom that both Parts are to be had bound together at 3.s. Or this Second Part stich'd at 1.s. Here is also the same frontespice print as in Edi. Of 1695.

This book of Mine consists of both parts bound together only that the first part wants the frontespice, and other pages to the page Eleven, which may be replaced from Ed. Of 1695. The second part also is deficient at the ende. Between Ed. 1696 I have no other til 1706.

Many of the Melodies in those books are full as improper for the dance as that of the hundred Psalme, and evedentely belong to the human Voice, no one however will quarrel with this misapplication as it has preserved such treasur.

It would be curious to know the words that formerly went to the Tune caled The Begger-Boy, this Melodie is admirabely calculated to rise compassion and has in it the

Pure Voice of Nature, all blinde Beggars that Now actualy pore out their Complains in the public streets of london in notes of theire ohn, bare witness of this truth.

In the tune called the Brittons and that of the Twins all is the Voice of sorrow and distress, and nothing that I can point out in the Elegant Moderne Music, is so capable of exciting those sensations, and <if it> ↑whatever of↓ reises nearly upp to that power, <it> is shure to resemble those old standart Paternes ↑of↓ plaintive Music.

Bigottry, Chivallery and Oppression, seeme to have given a complexion to the Music of antient times, which nothing now can equal, when Men are religious without superstition or bigottry, Gallant and brave without the pomp of Chivallery, and when the regular and heighly improved Order of Society has almost universaly banished Oppression and alarme.

To Bigottry we are in a great Measure endebted for the Many Excellent Compositions for the Church.

To Chivallry for the Song of Love and Heroisme.

From Oppression and want of comfort have flown the Notes of Grief and Melancholy.

May they never flow thence any more, let these melodies serve now to correct the excess of spirits for which they are as proper as to assuage griefe.

Here ends my Collection of the Dancing Master printed in the Seventeenth Century, I wish it ware Perfect, but it is difficult at this time to recover that work, Bookeller at times meete with an oad Volum or more when they purchas old Fammely Libraries but they recon them mere lumber and destroy them. The way than to save those books, is

to desire a Book seller to lay them by and offer a price to him. They are also met with at Cheese Mongers and grocers shops or on the stalls in the streets of London.

This collection is indeed a repetition of the same tunes for the most part, but often with different readings, sometimes old tunes are Omited and new ones inserted, we also see tunes corrupted. For instance, Argeres, 1st tune in the Dancing-M. of 1665- is deficient of a whol bar in Editions 1670 – and 1675.

An ostentatious display of execution on the Violin and flute has often much injured the old Melodies. At times they are more simple in the later publications when pains was perhaps <had> taken to discover Authentick Copyes. The excellence of which being <at that time> then better felt.

Melodies for songs being to simple for dancing, were crowded with additional Notes in order to give them more Motion.

[On a scrap of paper glued to fol. 9:]

The ingenious and Candit artist will readyley allow in the perusal of the work that I have not bin sleeping over it and tho he may here and there concieve differentaly he Must often admire.

Appendix 2:
Transcription of William Crotch's account of Malchair's life, from GB-Ob MS Mus. d.32

Marginal notes relating only to the tunes (e.g., 'bass by JM') and which do not illuminate Malchair's life and character have been largely omitted, though those giving dates are included. Long dashes are given as full stops where this was their purpose and capital letters added at the start of the following sentence.

Key:

[ ] editorial additions, titles, suggestions

< > deleted words

↑ ↓ additions to the text

[Introductory page, fol. iv:]

Extract from an old pocket book of some account Malchair gave me of himself after he was blind.

He was born at Cologne on the Rhine, & was son of a watchmaker, a tradesman that at that time in Germany had to make all the parts of a watch. (I think he told me on another occasion that he was a Chorister). He came to England. And at London taught music on cheap terms to Mechanics. A Frenchman perceived his talents for drawing & introduced him as drawing master to a ladies school. He also got into little Concerts at public houses &c. He met with a Captain (Bonfield I think)[1] who having been detained

[1] These parentheses are given as square brackets in the original, but I have changed them to rounded parentheses here to avoid confusion.

with artillery at Cologne knew his father – this was after the battle of Dettingen. Malchair remembers the English being at Cologne and he remembers the good humour of ye English Centinels who would shake hands with him, & let him ride on ye gun &c. This Captain introduced Malchair to Sir Wm Hamilton. Mr Price (the father of ye great Uvedale Price) came to Lewes when the regiment of this Captain was quartered & where Malchair was teaching the officers music. Hence Malchair visited Hereford & Bristol. W. C.

I believe the last time I saw him was in 1812. W. C.

[Title page, fol. vii:]

Tunes

composed by John Malchair for the 3 stringed Violin in 2 Parts or books

also Part III ↑consisting of↓ others for the common Violin

The whole adapted by Wm Crotch for the Piano Forte

[Fol. viii:]

When Mr Malchair (long – ↑about 20 years – commencing about ye year 1752[2]↓ – leader of the band at the Oxford Music Room & *[see below] drawing Master) became dim sighted (the fore-runner, as he perceived, of blindness,) he contrived various methods of amusing himself without using his eyes – as repeating Poetry – walking a certain number of times round the room – & playing on the Violin National Airs wch he had learnt by memory. & thus he parcelled out his time so completely that unless he was

[2] This is incorrect: the leader auditions were held in 1759, and Malchair's first benefit was held in 1760. Malchair's last appearance at the Music Room was in 1792, 32 years after he became leader. Malchair's sight began fading some time after 1795 (when he completed 'The Arrangement', and was still writing musical notation of a normal size) and was almost lost entirely by 1799 (his last known drawing, which is very vague and sketchy).

unwell he never found solitude an inconvenience, & the call of a friend rather discomposed than obliged him. He had 2 violins – one a fine Cremona on wch he used to lead ↑was broken by an Orange thrown at the Orchestra during a tumult of young men about ye year 1792 after wch he never lead – it was mended.↓ The other remained unused for sometime with its 4th String broken. And having read in Ant^{y} Wood that he first played on a Violin of 3 strings ↑tuned in 4ths↓ it suggested to him the idea of making this use of his neglected Violin. He accordingly tuned the first string very low – according to his own account to B the 2nd to F# and the 3rd to C# but when I heard them they were A E & B. The next thing was to contrive a notation – & he accordingly wrote the notes according to the fingers used on the Violin – so that the 1st tune looked thus [ABC#A] & sounded thus [EF#GE] or acc^{g} to himself [F#G#AF#].[3]

The Tunes of ye 1st part.

The 1st 22 tunes ↑of ye 1st part↓ were written by himself in a very large hand, thus [large notes drawn in demonstration] & then from 23 to 31 ↑inclusive, of Part III, except 26 & 27 & 29↓ were written down by Wm Crotch from Mr Malchair's playing after he became blind. Mr Malchair had himself arranged some of them for the Piano Forte transposing them but they are not in this collection. The tunes composed for the common Violin were made before these & at various periods.

* Malchair became a drawing Master before he c^{d} speak English to a boarding school at the instigation of a French Master of some school who managed it all for him. & M.

[3] Several bars of a tune in notation, complete with double stopping, are given in the original.

told the story with great humour. Malchair lived some time at Bristol – he previously played a Ripieno Violin[4] at London on his first arrival.

Q[uestio]n born 1727 <died 1807?> died about 1812 or 13.

[The rest of the text in this appendix is written in the margins of pages, around the tunes. If not next to the tune, the text is linked to the relevant tune titles by various styles of asterisk, which are not included here. The title below comes at the top of page 1.]

Tunes composed by John Malchair the basses ↑principally↓ by Wm Crotch – also the time of the tunes which is not marked in the M. S.. The names were given by their author. The variations are his own.

N° 3 Willow Tree

The Maiden Willow, or English Willow not lopped, was a great favourite of our Author (& of course of mine).[5]

Malchair always wrote the Da Capo in notes at full length that the 2nd part might be repeated.

N° 6 The Waits of Cologne on the Rhine

The birth place of our Author where he was a Chorister. The Waits are musicians who attend the House-boats of travellers ↑down↓ ye Rhine.

See Specimens Vol I German Tunes & Preface

[4] i.e., in the orchestra, not as a soloist.

[5] These parentheses are given as square brackets in the original, but I have changed them to rounded parentheses here to avoid confusion.

N° 18 Dalmatian – The Camel & the Monkey

In a lesson by Hüllmandel[6] (wch Malchair is not likely to have heard) is a movement apparently copied from the same source as this.

N° 23 Asiatic – Fantoccini

I have seen this passage in a Cossaque tune. It is not impossible that Malchair might have heard it in his youth.

An African sung something like this about the shieti [? streets] 1823. Poor Africaine.

Part IInd

(Mr Malchair called these additional melodies.) (He used to perform the 1st ↑Part↓ at a sitting)

N° 4 Torna mia cara

Composed Decr. 21. 1796

N° 5 Ffarwell Dinasmowddy

Malchair staid some weeks with Revd Mr Cooke of Oriel Coll. At Dinasmowddy, wch was his favourite spot in North Wales, in ye year 1795. He also visited N. Wales in 1789 & 1790. His nephew Mr G. Jenner presented me with all the views his Uncle took on these 3 tours – ! an invaluable present. Yet Malchair would call all his drawings & music mere rubbish when conversing on Holy Subjects! He taught ↑drawing to↓ Sir G

[6] Nicholaus Joseph Hüllmandel, 1751-1823, was a pupil of C. P. E. Bach; married to Mademoiselle du Cazan, of a noble French family, and living in Paris, he sent his wife to London at the start of the French Revolution in 1789 (in which year she had a son) and himself followed on in 1790.

Beaumont & Mr O Bowles of North Aston – Mr Cooke & Mr Barnard ↑of 2d Aylesbury [battalion of volunteers?]↓ were Pupils also.

No 8 Senza Speranza

Decr 28 1796

No 9 The Duke of Courland

Jany 2nd 1797

The beautiful ↑masterly↓ & appropriate bass of this passage, as far as this mark continues ↑(====)↓ was composed by Malchair: He adapted basses & harmonies to a great many National Old Tunes; & gave them all to me as well as some other valuable music. W. C.

His nephew also gave me some of his M. S. papers on music.[7]

No 10 Prince of Wales

Jany 14 1796 [sic – presumably 1797]

No 11 Tiranna Gelosia

Jany 15 1797

No 14 Mrs Lloyd of Caernarvon

A reputable Lady of Caernarvon who was very hospitable to our author.

[7] This comment is on p. 17 of the manuscript, which can be seen in Figure 5.1.

N° 17 The Shepherd of Mull

The bass – Malchair's. & I wrote it for him.

July 22 1797.

About this time I became ↑more intimately↓ acquainted with Malchair & he paid me a daily visit at 4 o'clock staying till 10 mins before 5 when I was obliged to go to the Ch[rist]. Ch[urch]. Players. He brought a music book under his arm ↑for me to play to him↓ & sometimes brought a new tune for me to write down as his eyes became too dim to see even his large notes any longer. He continued these daily visits till breaking his shin against a wheelbarrow in Trinity Court where he used to take a few turns, he never again ventured out. After confining himself at the house he had 2 falls down stairs but they did not materially injure him. His strength wasted very gradually. I used to call on him every Sunday after morning Sermon.

N° 18 Povero ma contento

Part of a favourite Italian morsel of Poetry in wch the lover tells his mistress that when her golden locks are become silver he shall still, tho' poor, be contented. See Burney's His[tory]. Vol IV Page 159 also see my Cantata M. S. Book where I have these words set to music as a Recit[ative]. By Malchair with an air without words in imitation of the Cantatas of Al[essandro]: Scarlatti. July 12 1792.

N° 20 "Dal Dardo del amor"

The harmony Malchair's. Comp[ose]d Aug 29 1797.

N° 22 Adr^{l} Nelson's Victory off the Nile Aug 1. 1798 Composed Decr. 11. 1798.

Malchair endeavoured as he told me to express in this tune the manner of attack viz

approaching in silence & reserving the fire till close to ye enemy.

N° 23 A Calmuc Tartar Tune

Jany 3rd. 1799

I wrote this for him.

N° 24 Sir Robert Vaughan

Decr. 21st. 1798

I wrote this for him.

N° 25 Adagio molto

May 2nd 1799

I wrote this for him

N° 26 The Swarming of the Bees

This tune was composed before many of the preceding. W. C.

N° 27 Duncan's Victory

Written prior to Nelson's.

This was the first tune I saw of Malchair's. It was in the possession of ye Rev^{d}. Thos.

Hornsby.

N° 28 Yarmack

I wrote this for him

May 6. 1799.

N° 30 General Suwarrow[8]

I wrote this for him.

The var^{n}. was composed before the tune.

N° 31 Asiatic

The last I wrote for him. Decr. 3rd 1799

On this page we see, <probably> the last tune ↑probably thatt↓ Malchair <[illegible]> ↑composed↓. On ye next page one <of his earlier> ↑composed 14↓ years ↑sooner↓. This, <[illegible]> eminent for its inimitable simplicity & pathos & strong national character – the other for the excentricity of its character – its originality, genius & science – almost as inimitable in its way as this.

Part III. Tunes composed by J Malchair for the 4 Stringed Violin tuned in the usual manner

N° 1 The Misseldine (qu. Misseltoe?)

The ↑fine↓ bass by JM. With the alteration of one note.

Rendcombe Gloucestershire Sep^{t}. 1785

N° 3 The Witch Elm

Intended as a Trio to the preceding.

Composed originally for 2 Violins & Violincello by JM.

[8] Presumably Russian General Alexander Suvorov, who appears as 'Suwarrow' in Lord Byron's epic poem *Don Juan*.

Nº 4 Courante

Willo' th' Wisp – Jack o' Lanthern – Ignis fatuus

Decr 13 1788.

Bass by JM.

The original was [D].

The original here was A♮ which not being ↑in↓ strict ↑canon↓ W.C. added the ♭.

[At variation 5:] The Air with harmony by W.C. & a little varied – Sepr 9. 1815.

Nº 5 [no title]

April 6. 1787. The bass by JM.

The old French Opera dance style – see Gluck &c

Nº 6 Minuet

April 10 1787 the bass by JM

Nº 7 Gavot

Jany 5. 1787. The bass by J. M.

Nº 8. The frisking of the Lamb or the Month March

Jany 14 1786 ye bass by JM.

[In the second half of the tune the accompaniment is a pedal 5th (D and A), under which is written:] On ye Piano Forte take off the dampers & strike the bass note each bar.

Nº 9 The bounding of ye fawn

Jany 13 1786. The bass by J. M. with some additions by W. C.

Nº 11 Michaelmas Goose

Oakley Park 1789

bass by JM.

Nº 12 Eglantine or Sweet Briar

Ren↑d↓comb Sepr. 1785

bass by JM, inner parts WC.

[Written above the score part-way through the tune:] Handel Joshua from Muffatt.

Nº 15 [untitled]

Oxon Jany. 15. 1787.

Bass by JM, inner part by W. C.

Bass a little altered by W. C.

Nº 17 Minuetto 1mo

This & the following had no bass – WC added them

Nº 18 Minuetto 2nd [Nº 17 is 1mo]

Decr. 1793

Nº 19 Tempo di Borèe. Bon marcato

Oakly Park Aug 22 1789. Bass by J. M.

Nº 20

Decr. 14. 1790. The Treble & bass by J. M. the <inner part> ↑chords↓ by WC.

Nº 28 Dan Barry Kuaban [?]

The bass by J.M. & W.C. June 13. 1783. This seems the oldest tune bearing date & very ingenious & original it is. The phrases all consist of 5 bars[.]

What can its title mean?

Its final cadence resembles a celebrated Minuet of Haydn in the same key.

The Barry Boys children of the Barry family.

[Tunes numbers 29-31 follow 33 and 34, though Crotch's page numbers continue in sequence. Tunes 28 and 33 are on opposite sides of the same folio, therefore this is not simply a binding error.]

[Across staves above tune Nº 33:]

Malchair (upon yᵉ breaking of his Cremona see page opposite page 1) – resigned. John Mahon I think lead for a little while. Soon after Dʳ Hayes was departed by a tumult or Row in wᶜʰ his pupil Mʳ Webb now of Sᵗ Paul's, was insulted <W.C. was there>. Alday was made leader in yᵉ room of [i.e., replacing] J Mahon and W. Crotch was applied to to preside at yᵉ Harpsichord. Wᶜʰ he retained [till] the year 1805. Marshall lead for sometime with him after Alday.

Nº 33 March composed for yᵉ O. L. V. [Oxfordshire Loyal Volunteers].

May I think

Midsummer 1798.

I wrote it for him in June.

[Appended to this tune is 8 bars of treble melody, above which is written:] Rejected subject for a quick step

Nº 34 Quick Step

Bass &c by J. M.

June 15. 1798

I wrote it for him

Both these were rejected on account of the Rhythm – the bars not <being> consisting of numbers the root ['?' has been written above this word] of wch is 4. I mean 4. 8. 12. 16. 20 &c

On account of ye field drum whose beat for the slow march is […] & for the Quick [the same notation but in 2/4 instead of C]

Malchair began to alter the slow march with a view of remedying this defect.

This however did not please him & he never finished it. J Mahon. Reinagle & W Crotch composed Marches wch were played. W. C. afterwards was an officer in the 2nd Volunteer Regiment but composed no marches for it.

J Mahon was clarinet of ye 1st. band & Reinagle on of ye horns. Mr Lloyd taught the fifes of ye O. U. V. [Oxford University Volunteers] & of our Regim.^t. Thus We kept away Bonaparte.

Nº 29

This Air was adapted by M^r. Mahon to one of his own Clarionet Concertos ↑&↓ <[illegible]> W.C. <had> ↑having↓ heard & learnt ↑it↓ by memory <&> without <recollecting> ↓knowing↑ what it was, inserted it ↑as↓ the ↑subject of y^e↓ last movement of a Sinfonia. [Added in pencil:] & played it to Malchair.

Bass by JM.

N° 31 [no title]

When I played this to Malchair he laughed & said "Old Melancholy – dismal indeed – a perfect hanging tune".

Bass by JM.

N° 32 Barrington or St Lucy.

(I think called so in compliment to one of ye B[isho]p of Durham's brothers ↑a General↓)[9]

The Barrington family were always very kind to Malchair. When the (present)[10] B^{p}. of Durham was steward of ye Music ↑Room↓ Hellendaal (afterwards lived at Cambridge) & Malchair were Candidates to be leader of ye Band. Malchair played Geminiani's Concerto in D. Hellendaal played a solo Concerto of his own. Mr Barrington persuaded the stewards to Elect Malchair as more useful than a solo player. Hellendaal was handsome & reckoned on his beauty – poor Malchair tho' a fine figure was ugly. Both were German, & both excellent musicians.

When I first played him this he forgot it was his <u>own</u> & thinking it was an Irish tune he praised & when I told him the name he remembered having composed it himself[.]

[9] Shute Barrington (1729-1826), maternal uncle of Uvedale Price, was successively Canon of Christ Church in Oxford, Bishop of Llandoff, Bishop of Salisbury, and Bishop of Durham. In 1759 he was also one of the Stewards of the Music Room. His brothers were as follows: William Wildman, second Viscount Barrington (1717-93) a politician; John Barrington (1719-64), an army officer; Daines Barrington (1727/8-1800), a judge, antiquary and naturalist; and Samuel Barrington (1729-1800), a naval officer. The 'General' Crotch referred to could therefore have been either John or Samuel. The Barrington estate was at Beckett, near Shrivenham, Berkshire.

[10] The parentheses have been added in pencil, presumably at a time after Shute Barrington was no longer Bishop of Durham.

Appendix 3:
Musical manuscript sources referred to in this thesis

Each of the items listed below is also included in the bibliography.

RISM sigla for archives and collections used below:

GB-En	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh	GB-Llb	British Library, London
GB-Lcm	Royal College of Music, London	GB-NWr	Norfolk Records Office, Norwich
GB-Lcs	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London	GB-Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford

Eighteenth-century manuscripts

Archive and shelfmark	**Title, or catalogue description**	**Compiler**	**Place**[1]	**Date**
GB-En Adv. MS 5.2.17	'Agnes Hume's Music Book'	Agnes Hume	[Scotland]	1704
GB-En MS 1667	'Airs for the Violin'	Patrick Cuming	Edinburgh	1723
GB-En MS 3298, Glen 37	'Gairdyn Manuscript: A Collection of Songs, Marches, Minuets, Sarabands, Country Dances, Etc.'	James Gairdyn	[Scotland]	c.1700-50
In the possession of the Earl of Ancaster at Drummond Castle	'A Collection of Country Dances written for the use of his Grace the Duke of Perth by Dav. Young, 1734'	David Young	Edinburgh/Perth	1734
GB-Ob MS Don. d. 54	'A Collection of the Newest Country Dances Performed in Scotland written at Edinburgh by D.A. Young, W[riting]. M[aster]. 1740'	David Young	Edinburgh	1740

[1] Locations given in square brackets are presumed, based on the tunebook's current location, and its contents.

GB-En MS 2084-5 (vols 2-3)	MacFarlane or McFarlan manuscripts, titled 'A Collection of Scotch Airs With the Latest Variations. Written for the use of Walter McFarlan of Thatilk By David Young'	David Young	Edinburgh/Thatilk	c.1740
GB-En MS 21717	'The Music Book of James Knox'	James Knox	[Scotland]	c.1745-64[2]
Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle, D-Sen 12, box 239, items 1-6	Senhouse family of Netherhall, Maryport - 1259-1958, Printed and pictorial Boxes, Music	Humphrey Senhouse	Cumbria	Before and during 1746-7
Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle, DX 74/5	'The Complete Tutor For The Violin'	Joseph Barnes	Cumbria	1762-95
GB-En MS 5449	'Book of Dance Tunes Chiefly Arranged for the English Guitar or the Cittern'			c.1765
GB-En MS 808	'A Collection of the Best and Most Favourite Tunes For the Violin. In four Parts. Also an Introduction with Directions for Playing the Violin. Perth. Collected and Transcribed by James Gillespie'	James Gillespie	Perth	1768

[2] The National Library of Scotland's single record for the two tunebooks 21717-21718 gives the date of creation as 'circa 1745-circa 1778'. 'Fiddle Music Both Scottish and Classical, Belonging to John Knox', *National Library of Scotland: Manuscript Collections* <http://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/11364> [accessed 10 September 2018]; however, John Robinson suggests that MS 21717 belonged to John Knox senior, and was completed c.1750-64, while MS 21718 was created by John Knox junior, and is dated 1776. 'John Leyden's Lyra Viol Manuscript in Newcastle University Library and George Farquhar Graham's Copy in the National Library of Scotland', *The Viola Da Gamba Society Journal*, 2 (2008), pp. 17–57 (p. 54). The date given here for MS 21717 is an amalgamation of this information.

Armitt Library, Ambleside, Cumbria, ALMS 11-14 and 17.2	‘James Lishman’s Book’ (AMLS 11) ‘John Cooks Tunes Book’ (ALMS 12) ‘Thomas Browne’s music book’ (ALMS 13) ‘Browne of Troutbeck’s music sheets’ (ALMS 14) ‘Browne of Troutbeck’s copy book of old music’ (ALMS 17.2	Browne Family of Troutbeck, including John Cook, James Lishman and Thomas Browne	Troutbeck, Westmorland (Cumbria)	From 1778
GB-En MS 2086	‘Volume of Scottish Music, Comprising Airs, Lowland and Highland, Songs, Dances, a Pibroch, Etc.’	Rev. Mr James Little	Glenriddell, Scotland	Before 1785
GB-Lcs QM 3049	‘Book of dance tunes’		Lincolnshire	C18th
GB-Lcm MS 2086	‘Fragments of a Welsh MS., containing songs and music for harp’		Wales	C18th
GB-En MS 21734	‘Collection of Scottish Tunes and Marches (with Flute Scales)’		[Scotland]	Late C18th
GB-En MS 21752	[No title, catalogue description begins ‘A Music Book Compiled […]’]		[Edinburgh]	Late C18th
GB-Lcs QM 3619	‘Vol. 3^{d}: The Third Collection of Tunes’	John Malchair	Oxford	c.1783-1794
GB-Lcm MS 2091	‘The Arrangement, Being an Extract of the Welsh, Irish, and Scotch Tunes contain’d in the foregoing Vols, & placed in separate classes’	John Malchair	Oxford	c.1792-95

GB-En MS 3346, Inglis 153	'Album of Reels, Minuets, Hornpipes, Marches, and Other Dances, with a List of Reels (incomplete) at the Beginning and Notes of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe." Edinburgh, c 1790. MS 3346, also Inglis 153. National Library of Scotland.' Sometimes known as the Sharpe of Hoddom MS.[3]	John Brysson[4]	Edinburgh	Early 1790s
GB-Lcs QM 5234	'Yarker's Book'	Yarker	Cumbria	1797
GB-Lcs QM 11749	'Country dances, Scotch reels, Airs, Marches, Hornpipes, Waltz's [sic], Strathspeys, &c. &c. &c.'	Elizabeth Williams	[England]	1798
GB-Ob MS Mus. D.32	'Tunes composed by John Malchair for the 3 stringed Violin in 2 Parts or books also Part III consisting of others for the common Violin The whole adapted by Wm Crotch for the Piano Forte'	William Crotch	Oxford	c.1796-1804, containing tunes composed in the 1780s and 90s, with additions made c.1823
GB-NWr MS 11097	'Tunes of Various Nations Collected & Written by Dr. W. Crotch'	William Crotch	Oxford	c.1799-1802
GB-Lbl Add. MS 30272	'A Collection of Dance Tunes for Flute or Violin'	John Beale Crotch	London	1799-1802

[3] Campin.
[4] Confusingly, Una Hunt's Table of Sources gives this manuscript as J. Johnson's 'Reels, Minuets, Hornpipes, Marches for violin, flute etc', c.1765. I have not been able to account for this attribution. *Sources and Style in Moore's Irish Melodies* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 142.

Nineteenth-century manuscripts

GB-Lcs QM 2286 and QM 222	'MS. Fiddle Tunes'	William Henry Giles	Bampton, Oxfordshire	1839-41
GB-En MS 3301, Glen 209a.	'M. S. Airs from Various Sources: Volume I'	Frank Kidson	Leeds	1876
GB-En MS 3300, Glen 185	'Transcript of Tunes Found in Various Editions of Playford's Dancing Master, Including Those for the Treble Violin, and of Tunes in William Christie's Collection of Strathspeys'	Frank Kidson	Leeds	(Probably around 1876, based on the above date)

Appendix 4:

Select timeline of printed music referred to in this thesis

This is not intended to be an exhaustive list, but to provide a list in date order of music and music-related publications mentioned in this work, as well as a handful of others, in order to give an impression of that which was available to Malchair from his arrival in England in 1754 to his completion of 'The Arrangement' in 1795, and the context in which Crotch worked on 'Tunes of Various Nations' and *Specimens* at the turn of the nineteenth century. Further publication information about each of these items (where available) is provided in the bibliography.

Year	**Author/Publisher**	**Place**	**Title**
1651-1728 (18 editions)	John Playford, Henry Playford, John Young	London	*The Dancing Master: Or, Plain and Easie Rules for the Dancing of Country-Dances, with the Tunes to Each Dance. To Which Is Added the Tunes of the Most Usual French Dances. And Also Other New and Pleasant English Tunes for the Treble-Violin*
1719	Thomas D'Urfey	London	*Wit and Mirth: Or Pills to Purge Melancholy; Being a Collection of the Best Merry Ballads and Songs, Old and New*
1723	Allan Ramsay	Edinburgh	*The Tea-Table Miscellany*
1724	Allan Ramsay	Edinburgh	*The Evergreen, being a collection of Scots poems: wrote by the ingenious before 1600*
1724	John and William Neal	Dublin	*A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes Proper for the Violin, German Flute or Hautboy*
1725	William Thomson	London	*Orpheus Caledonius or a Collection of the Best Scotch Songs Set to Musick by W. Thomson*
1734	John Walsh	London	*The British Musical Miscellany, Or, The Delightful Grove: Being a Collection of Celebrated English, and Scotch Songs, by the Best Masters. Set for the Violin, German Flute, the Common Flute, and Harpsichord. Engraven in a Fair Character, and Carefully Corrected*
1735	T. Boreman	London	*A Complete Collection of Old and New English and Scotch Songs, with Their Respective Tunes Prefixed* (2 vols)
1742	William McGibbon	Edinburgh	*A Collection of Scots Tunes: Some with Variations for a Violin, Hautboy or German Flute, with a Bass for a Violoncello or Harpsichord*

1742	James Oswald	London	*A Collection of Curious Scots Tunes: For a Violin, German Flute or Harpsichord*
1742	John Parry of Ruabon	London	*Antient British Music*
1743-59	James Oswald	London	*The Caledonian Pocket Companion (12 vols)*
1745	Burk Thumoth	London	*Twelve Scotch, and Twelve Irish Airs with Variations: Set for the German Flute[,] Violin or Harpsichord*
1746	Burk Thumoth	London	*Twelve English and Twelve Irish Airs with Variations, Set for the German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord / Book the Second*
1750	Robert Bremner	London	*Thirty Scots Songs Adapted for a Voice & Harpsichord by Robert Bremner. The Words by Allan Ramsey*
1750 1751	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	Geneva London	*Discours sur les sciences et les arts* *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences (The First Discourse)*
1751	R. Baldwin	London	*Vocal Melody, or the Songster's Magazine: In Three Parts. Being a Collection of Two Thousand of the Most Celebrated English and Scotch Songs. With an Alphabetical Table of Contents to Each Volume. And a Glossary at the End of the Third Volume, Explaining the Scotch Words (3 vols)*
1754	Peter Thompson	London	*Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1754. With Proper Tunes and Directions to Each Dance [...] The Tunes Proper for the Violin, German-Flute and Hautboy*
1758	John Johnson	London	*Twenty-Four Country Dances with Proper Tunes and Directions to Each Dance, as They Are Perform'd at Court, Bath and All Publick Assemblies for the Year 1758*
1759	J. Pridden	London	*The Apollo: Or, the Muses Choice: Being a Collection Of the Most Celebrated New Songs, Sung at Ranelagh, Vauxhall, Marybone-Gardens &c. &c.*
1759	Robert Bremner	Edinburgh	*A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes: With Variations, for the Violin. With a Bass for the Violincello or Harpsichord*
1760	James Macpherson	Edinburgh	*Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Galic or Erse Language*
1760	John Parry of Ruabon	London	*A Collection of Welsh, English & Scotch Airs with New Variations, Also Four New Lessons for the Harp or Harpsichord [...] To Which Are Added Twelve Airs for the Guittar*
1761	James Oswald	London	*A Collection of the Best Old Scotch and English Songs: Set for Voice with Accompaniments and Thorough-Bass for the Harpsichord*
1761	Neil Stewart	Edinburgh	*A collection of the newest and best reels or country dances, adapted for the violin or German flute, with a bass for the violincello or harpsichord*

1762	James Macpherson	London	*Fingal: An Ancient Epic Poem, in Six Books: Together with Several Other Poems, Composed by Ossian the Son of Fingal. Translated from the Galic Language, by James Macpherson*
1765	Thomas Percy	London	*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*
1766	John Freeth	Birmingham	*The political songster: Calculated for the present year*
1768	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	London	*Thoughts on Different Subjects* (2 vols)
1769	David Herd	Edinburgh	*The ancient and modern Scots songs, Heroic Ballads, &c. Now first collected into one body, from the various miscellanies wherein they formerly lay dispersed. Containing likewise, a great number of original songs from manuscripts never before published*
1774	Daniel Dow	Edinburgh	*Twenty Minuets, and Sixteen Reels or Country Dances for the Violin, Harpsichord, or German Flute*
1775	Daniel Dow	Edinburgh	*Thirty seven new reells & strathspeys for the violin, harpsichord, piano forte or German flute*
1776	John Hawkins	London	*A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (5 vols)
1776-89	Charles Burney	London	*A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (3 vols)
1778	Daniel Dow	Edinburgh	*A collection of ancient Scots music for the violin, harpsichord or German-flute: Never before printed consisting of ports, salutations, marches and pibrachs & c.*
1781	W. Phorson	London	*The Union Song-Book: Or, Vocal Miscellany. Being a Choice Collection of the Most Celebrated Scots and English Songs. Likewise a Variety of Favourite Airs And Catches. To Which Is Added, Toasts, Sentiments, and Hob-Nobs, &c. &c. &c*
1781	John Parry of Ruabon	London	*British Harmony: Being a collection of antient Welsh airs the traditional remains of those originally sung by the bards of Wales carefully compiled and now first published with some additional variations*
1782-1801	James Aird	Glasgow	*A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs: Adapted for the Fife, Violin, or German Flute* (6 vols)
1783	Joseph Ritson	London	*A select collection of English songs, in three volumes*
c.1783	Domenico Corri	Edinburgh	*A new & complete collection of the Most Favourite Scots songs: including a few English & Irish with proper graces and ornaments peculiar to their character, likewise the new method of accompanyment of thorough-bass*

1784	Edward Jones	London	*Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards: Preserved by Tradition, and Authentic Manuscripts, from Remote Antiquity; Never before Published. To the Tunes Are Added Variations for the Harp, Harpsichord, Violin, or Flute. With a Choice Collection of the Pennillion, Epigrammatic Stanzas, Or, Native Pastoral Sonnets of Wales, with English Translations. Likewise a History of the Bards from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, and an Account of Their Music, Poetry, and Musical Instruments, with a Delineation of the Latter*
c.1785	Joshua Campbell	Glasgow	*A collection of favourite tunes with new variations: adapted for the violin & German-flute with a bass for the violoncello and thorough-bass for the harpsichord*
1786	Joseph Walker	Dublin	*Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*
1787-1803	James Johnson	Edinburgh	*The Scots Musical Museum: Humbly Dedicated to the Catch Club, Instituted at Edin. June 1771 (6 vols)*
1790	S. A. & P. Thompson	London	*The Hibernian Muse; a collection of Irish airs: including the most favorite compositions of Carolan, the celebrated Irish bard. To which is prefixed, An essay on Irish music; with memories of Carolan*
1790-2	William Napier	London	*A Selection of the Most Favourite Scots Songs Chiefly Pastoral. Adapted for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin by Eminent Masters*
1792	William Wilson	London	*Twelve Original Scotch Songs for the Voice and Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for the Violin or Flute*
1792-1804	Pietro Urbani	Edinburgh, Glasgow, London, Dublin	*A Selection of Scots Songs, Harmonized, Improved with Simple, and Adapted Graces*
1793	George Thomson	London	*A Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs for the Voice. With Introductory and Concluding Symphonies by [various Composers]*
1794	Robert Riddell	Edinburgh	*A Collection of Scotch, Galwegian and Border Tunes for the Violin and Piano Forte, With a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord Selected by Robert Riddell of Glenriddell Esq*
1794	Joseph Ritson	London	*Scottish Songs (2 vols)*
1796	Edward Bunting	London	*A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music: Containing a Variety of Admired Airs Never before Published, and Also the Compositions of Conolan and Carolan*

1802	Edward Jones	London	*The Bardic Museum, of Primitive British Literature* [...] *Forming the Second Volume of the Musical, Poetical and Historical Relicks of the Welsh Bards and Druids* [...] *With English Translations and Historical Illustrations: Likewise the Ancient War-Tunes of the Bards, Etc*
1803	John and William Crotch	London	*Original Airs in Various and Familiar Styles for the Piano Forte*
1806	William Crotch	London	*Specimens of Various Styles of Music, Referred to in a Course of Lectures Read at Oxford & London and Adapted to Keyed Instruments*
1809	John Parry, Bardd Alaw (1776-1851)	London	*A Selection of Welsh Melodies with Appropriate English Words, Adapted for the Voice, with Symphonies & Accompaniments for the Piano Forte or Harp*
1820	Donald Macdonald	Edinburgh	*A Collection of the Ancient Martial Music of Caledonia, Called Piobaireachd. As Performed on the Great Highland Bagpipe. Now Also Adapted to the Piano Forte, Violin and Violoncello. With a Few Old Highland Lilts Purposely Set for the above Modern Instruments. To Which Is Prefixed A Complete Tutor for Attaining a Thorough Knowledge of the Pipe Music Respectfully Dedicated to the Highland Society of Scotland*
1827	William Motherwell	Glasgow	*Minstrelsy: Ancient and Modern*
1838	William Chappell	London	*A Collection of National English Airs: Consisting of Ancient Song, Ballad, & Dance Tunes, Interspersed with Remarks and Anecdote, and Preceded by an Essay on English Minstrelsy*
1855-9	William Chappell	London	*Popular Music of the Olden Time; a Collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads, and Dance Tunes, Illustrative of the National Music of England*

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